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## NEW DOCUMENTS FOR THE TOMB OF PAUL III

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... I fought  
With tooth and nail to save my niche...<sup>1</sup>

The most important sculptural commission in Rome during the reign of Paul III was that for his own tomb, designed by Guglielmo della Porta to be prominently installed in the basilica of St. Peter's, a building which Paul was proud to have restarted after the Sack of Rome (fig. 1). The essential history of the tomb has been reconstructed in a magisterial article by Werner Gramberg.<sup>2</sup> The monument was already planned before Paul's death in 1549, as a magnificent free-standing tomb. As the first pontiff to be buried in the new basilica, Paul naturally wanted his monument to be prominent, selecting a particularly conspicuous spot at the entrance to the crossing, where it would have made a formidable statement about Farnese ambitions.<sup>3</sup> But, as so often with Cinquecento papal tombs, there were inevitable disputes over location, iconography and funding. The major obstacle impeding the initial construction of Paul's tomb was, as is well known, Michelangelo. As architect of the basilica, he began what was to become a lengthy controversy over the tomb's location, a dispute which would have immense consequences for its form. The events immediately leading up to its earliest installations have remained problematic for lack of documentation. New letters published here reveal how the conflict about the tomb's form and site were eventually resolved during the mid-1570s. They shed some light on the continuing tensions between the Fabbrica of St. Peter's who were keen to uphold Michelangelo's ideas, supporting a rather less grandiose monument, and the Farnese family, together with the sculptor, who continued to insist on a free-standing monument. Della Porta would adhere to the latter scheme until the bitter end. The lengthy process of evolution also illuminates the changing iconography of the tomb, and is significant in the context of the debate about religious imagery during the Tridentine years. Some significant problems, however, remain outstanding with regard to the precise locations of the tomb within the basilica before the 1580s.

Like so many Farnese schemes, the monument to the family's only pope was originally planned on a grandiose, not to say megalomaniac, scale. It is worth underlining the extent to which Paul's ambitious artistic patronage was continuous with that of his pre-Sack predecessors, especially that of Julius II and Leo X, in terms of *magnificenza*. Guglielmo della Porta's original design for Paul's tomb was for a free-standing sepulchre, whose conception owed much to Michelangelo's earlier plans for the "tragedy" of the tomb of Julius II. Like Michelangelo's project, it was to undergo numerous compromises and reductions in the twenty-five years between its inception and its installation. It is highly probable that Michelangelo's frustration over the Julius monument motivated, at least in part, his reluctance to have a former protégé create a work, which would simultaneously derive so much inspiration from his own ideas, and outstrip his creation, especially in the final unhappy form in which it was installed in S. Pietro in Vincoli. But Michelangelo's pre-occupations with the basilica as an architectural space from the moment of his appointment as its architect surely also informed his views, and may have led him to believe that large free-standing structures in its open spaces were incompatible with his design. Given the uncertainty concerning the form and site of Paul's tomb, the iconographic programme for its sculpture was necessarily fluid. An examination of the evolution of the iconography is revealing about attitudes to visual imagery, suggesting that before the end of the Council of Trent less precision was necessary than might be expected, and also less purely religious subject matter, even for a monument to be erected in St. Peter's.

Gramberg has convincingly reconstructed the earliest scheme for the tomb, the *Urprojekt*, from a rapid sketch by the sculptor, together with the documentary sources.<sup>4</sup> The most important of the written sources are the letters of the humanist charged with overseeing the execution of the tomb, Annibal Caro, then secretary to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, grandson of Paul III and one of mid-sixteenth-century Rome's most magnificent artistic patrons.<sup>5</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> BROWNING (1845–49).

<sup>2</sup> GRAMBERG 1984. For the tomb's history, see also CADIER 1889; ESCHER 1909, pp. 302–20; STEINMANN 1912; BORZELLI 1920; GIBELLINO-KRASCENNINOKOWA 1944; SIEBENHÜNER 1962; THOENES 1990; Steven F. Ostrow in PINELLI 2000, vol. 4, pp. 613–15.

<sup>3</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, fig. 7.

<sup>4</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 257–61 and figs. 1–3. The documentary sources are conveniently reprinted in *id.*, pp. 340–56.

<sup>5</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, nos. 368 (1550 or 1551: GRAMBERG 1984, p. 340, no. I) and 372 (5 August 1551: *ibid.*, 343f., no. IV). On Caro as artistic adviser, see ROBERTSON 1982. For Alessandro Farnese, see ROBERTSON 1992.



1. Guglielmo della Porta, *Tomb of Paul III, Basilica of St. Peter's, as installed 1627–28*

*Urprojekt*, according to the model which Caro reported that della Porta made, the free-standing monument was to have been crowned with a bronze statue of Paul III. This was to have been mounted on a base decorated with scrolls and reliefs, which would have been placed above a large cuboid structure or “quadro”, flanked by eight marble terms, “con l’altre appartenenze dell’architettura”, to form a “tempietto”. Along each of the sides there would have been a coffin supporting two reclining allegorical figures in marble. The front and back would each have had a “cartellone”, together with two further marble personifications. An oval chamber was enclosed within the “quadro”, which was to contain the Pope’s body, placed within an antique sarcophagus, a feature inspired directly by the first project for the tomb of Julius II.<sup>6</sup> Cardinal Farnese hoped to have this chamber richly decorated: interestingly he advocated the use of mosaic, as well as stucco and painting. The emphasis on rich and varied materials recalls Raphael’s practice in another funerary context, the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, again underlining the continuity of ideas between Paul’s patronage and that of the pre-Sack generation. However, designing a means of entering the chapel was to provoke controversy, and an alternative scheme was commissioned in 1551 from the architect Francesco Paciotto, who was a close friend of Caro. Either Caro, or Alessandro Farnese himself, turned to Paciotto to provide criticisms and reworkings of problematic designs on at least one other occasion, during the planning of Alessandro’s villa at Caprarola.<sup>7</sup>

The bronze statue of Paul III represented him with arm outstretched in a gesture derived ultimately from the famous equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius on the Campidoglio. This gesture, which Caro described as being “in atto di pacificatore”, evidently had a very specific connotation, alluding to the temporary truce, negotiated at Nice in 1538, between the French King Francis I and the Emperor Charles V.<sup>8</sup> While its long-term success was limited, this event was promoted by the Farnese as the greatest political achievement of Paul’s pontificate. Both the event and the pose were

used repeatedly in Pauline imagery for temporary decorations and in fresco cycles, such as Vasari’s Sala dei Cento Giorni and Salviati’s *salotto dipinto*.<sup>9</sup>

Far less precise was the initial programme for the large allegorical figures. The four statues which were eventually executed – *Justice, Prudence, Abundance* and *Peace* – were envisaged in the earliest scheme. But while Paul was still alive, it was intended that these should be accompanied by personifications of the four seasons.<sup>10</sup> Figures suggesting the passing of time, and thus mortality, had of course a notable precedent in Michelangelo’s Medici Chapel, but Caro raised objections on the grounds that the seasons were neither “cose ecclesiastiche né morali”.<sup>11</sup> Similar criticisms were also levelled by Cardinal Marcello Cervini (the future Pope Marcellus II), who was a long-standing *familiare* of the Farnese, and a member of the committee responsible for the form of the tomb. In a letter of 1550, Cervini complained to Bernardino Maffei, a fellow member of the committee in charge of the tomb project,<sup>12</sup> of a widespread tendency to build tombs, even for senior prelates, which were too pagan in their imagery: “Up to now a general consideration has outraged me, namely that these days we make monuments not only for lay people, but also for the heads of our religion, which are for Gentiles, not Christians”.<sup>13</sup>

He went on to demand that the tomb should be adorned with something that appeared less pagan and more decorous (*conveniente*).<sup>14</sup> The sentiment expressed here is evidently akin to that behind contemporary calls for the destruction of Michelangelo’s *Last Judgement*.<sup>15</sup> It might, at first sight, seem surprising that an iconographer like Caro should express such views, since he had probably been responsible for the recent programme for Cardinal Farnese’s chapel, the Cappella del Pallio in the Palazzo della Cancelleria. The imagery there, painted by Salviati, is an extraordinary compound of religious, patristic and wholly pagan subjects. On that occasion, however, he was composing a scheme for a small, private chapel, and there is some evidence to suggest that Alessandro Farnese was rather more relaxed about reli-

<sup>6</sup> See the description by CONDIVI 1998, pp. 24–25.

<sup>7</sup> For Caro, see his letter of recommendation of Paciotto to Ottavio Farnese of 10 April 1551 (CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 365) and his assurances of support to the architect himself (*id.*, no. 544). On this episode, see GRAMBERG 1984, p. 261. For Caprarola, see ROBERTSON 1992, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 372, §4. For the significance of this gesture, see MEZZATESTA 1984, pp. 628–29.

<sup>9</sup> FORCELLA 1885, pp. 53ff. Forcella is not entirely reliable as a source, since he was in the habit of abbreviating the texts he transcribed: KLIE-MANN 1998, p. 215, nn. 17 and 19. For the frescoes, see THOENES 1990, p. 135; ROBERTSON 1992, pp. 65–67; KLIE-MANN 2001a. For a broader context for the use of imperial imagery in Paul’s patronage, see KLIE-MANN 2001b.

<sup>10</sup> Again, a parallel can be drawn with the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, though it is not certain that the Seasons were part of Raphael’s original scheme: SHEARMAN 1961, p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 372 §15 (GRAMBERG 1984, doc. IV). Caro argued this point at greater length in a letter to Marcello Cervini: CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 368 (GRAMBERG 1984, doc. II). Also quoted in THOENES 1990, p. 132.

<sup>12</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, p. 268.

<sup>13</sup> “Fino à hora m’offende una consideratione generale, cioè che oggi noi facciamo li sepulchri non solo le laici ma de capi della nostra religione, non da Christiani, ma da Gentili.” COFFIN 1979, pp. 26–27.

<sup>14</sup> “... qualche cosa che sappia meno del gentile et sia tuttavia vaga et conveniente...” Coffin 1979, pp. 26–27.

<sup>15</sup> For this, see DE MAIO 1981, ch. 2; BARNES 1998, esp. ch. 3.

gious images than his "Theatine" contemporaries.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, what might be tolerated in a private chapel, to which few had access, was significantly different from what was appropriate for a papal tomb in St. Peter's. Evidently both Caro and Cervini considered that higher standards of decorum were called for in this most public and most sacred of places.

Shortly after Paul's death, in 1550, new proposals were put forward for the personifications. The seasons were to be replaced by figures of *Religion*, *Constancy*, *Minerva* and "*Buon Evento*". But these too failed to satisfy Caro's scrupulous taste. He objected that "*Buon Evento*" was ambiguous, and might be misinterpreted, while *Minerva* was superfluous, duplicating the concept expressed by *Prudence*.<sup>17</sup> At this stage, however, Caro felt no sense of urgency concerning a final decision, since nothing could be settled until the tomb's form was finalised.<sup>18</sup>

This lack of haste in producing a tightly coherent programme for the tomb, which so exercised Caro, was echoed in 1558, when it came to agreeing the subjects for eight bronze reliefs for the tomb. In this case too there was a wide divergence over the kind of subjects considered appropriate. As the Bishop of Castro reported to Cardinal Alessandro, in a letter published here, subjects from the Old Testament had been suggested, but these were: "Matters so trite in all the scriptures that I would rather have contemporary stories, since there are so many worthy of great memory that they would occupy a greater place than this" (doc. 2a). Whether Caro's advice over the personifications was followed or not, is not known. Perhaps no decision was taken immediately but, interestingly, when he wrote to the Bishop of Pola, Antonio Elio, the following year in August 1551, Caro claimed to have forgotten what the last two personifications represented, although he had devised their attributes.<sup>19</sup> By 1553 it was decided to limit the personifications to the original four, possibly because of continuing difficulties over the

site, though they would not in fact be included when the tomb was first installed in St. Peter's.<sup>20</sup> But the plan to incorporate eight allegorical statues apparently continued for some time, if a payment made in July 1552 for eight *modelli* for the monument in fact refers to these figures.<sup>21</sup>

Caro's efforts to achieve a tightly-knit programme in which all the personifications were suitable qualities for the Farnese pope, and did not overlap in meaning, shows a concern for decorum and *varietà* which characterises all his imagery.<sup>22</sup> Typical too is his desire to ensure that all the figures were portrayed correctly, "according to the way the ancients would represent them".<sup>23</sup> He even provided alternative attributes, so that his superiors might decide which they considered most appropriate.<sup>24</sup> In practice, as Caro later admitted to Fulvio Orsini, he took the attributes of two figures not directly from classical texts, but from L. G. Giraldis's *De deis gentium*, one of the earliest mythographic handbooks, which were to prove so valuable to later Cinquecento iconographers.<sup>25</sup> The other figures of *Prudence* and *Abundance*, however, he derived from ancient coins, of which he was a keen collector, and which he would use for other iconographic schemes.<sup>26</sup> However, Caro's proposals were always subject to the committee overseeing the project, whose decisions were governed by the unresolved issue of the tomb's site. Caro's very precise concern with *all'antica* accuracy in putting together a programme is characteristic of iconographic schemes of the mid-Cinquecento for which written instructions survive.<sup>27</sup> Such refinement was apparently a relatively new phenomenon, and seems to have been of lesser importance during the first half of the sixteenth century. Certainly, it does not appear to have been widespread in Farnese circles. For example, the overdoor figures in the Sala Paolina in Castel Sant'Angelo seem to have been chosen with little care for coherence, being a mixture of personifications, muses, and a goddess.<sup>28</sup> So too, in the early stages of the planning of Vasari's Sala dei Cento

<sup>16</sup> RUBIN 1987; ROBERTSON 1992, pp. 151–58 and 217. For the term "Theatine" as a description of religious conservatism, see BARNES 1998, pp. 78–80. In 1544 Giovanni della Casa jokingly promised that Titian's *Venus of Urbino* would look like a "Teatina" in comparison with the *Danaë* which Titian was then painting for the Cardinal: HOPE 1977, p. 189; ZAPPERI 1991.

<sup>17</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 368 § 6 (GRAMBERG 1984, doc. II). "*Buon Evento*" had been associated with Paul III in the Carnival celebrations of 1539: FORCELLA 1885, p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 368 § 7.

<sup>19</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 372 § 15 (GRAMBERG 1984, doc. IV).

<sup>20</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 269–72. As late as 1558, however, della Porta thought that they would form part of the monument: GRAMBERG 1984, doc. XIII.

<sup>21</sup> CADIER 1889, pp. 89–90.

<sup>22</sup> ROBERTSON 1982. See also, RUBIN 1987, p. 112.

<sup>23</sup> "...secondo che gli antichi le figurano." CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 372 § 15.

<sup>24</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 368 § 7.

<sup>25</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 3, no. 671 §§ 12 and 14. GRAMBERG 1984, p. 347f., doc. XV, republished this letter, uncertain as to whether it might be connected with the tomb. In fact, this letter probably relates to the personifications for the Anticamera del Concilio in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola: ROBERTSON 1992, pp. 101 and 221f. For Caro's sources, see GIRALDI 1548, pp. 38f., (Justice) and 42 (Peace).

<sup>26</sup> GIBELLINO-KRASCENNINOKOWA 1944, p. 70, n. 21. ROBERTSON 1982, p. 164, n. 21.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, Vincenzo Borghini's remark, concerning his scheme for the Medici wedding of 1565, that "questo concetto tutto è in tal modo concertato insieme, che uscendone punto, si scompiglia tutta la matassa", in SCORZA 1981, p. 59, n. 21. See also, SCORZA 1988, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> ROBERTSON 1990, pp. 7–41, esp. p. 15.

Giorni, the personifications were disposed in relation to the *storie* in a fairly casual manner, with surprisingly little regard to precise meaning, apparently because they were all qualities which were reasonably suitable for the Farnese pope.<sup>29</sup> Such an attitude of course meant that the “programme” for the tomb could be quite flexible, and hence that it was possible to reduce the project without drastically affecting its significance, and this was in fact what eventually had to be done.

Far more problematic than the iconographic scheme was the location of the tomb. Until this was settled, its design could not be finalised. The earliest phases can be briefly summarised. In 1550, when Michelangelo first objected to della Porta's *Urprojekt*, he proposed with the support of the reigning pope Julius III, according to Vasari, that the tomb should be situated in the niche of the north-east pier of the crossing, opposite a site projected for Julius's own sepulchre.<sup>30</sup> This was apparently a friendly act, a tribute to the man who has appointed Julius as a cardinal, and was a gesture made before he fell out so spectacularly with the Farnese. Shortly after Paul's death, Michelangelo proposed to have the tomb installed in a greatly reduced form, as a wall-tomb in the “Cappella del Re”, despite della Porta's objections. According to this scheme, Caro suggested that the statue of Paul would look “like a judge on the Campidoglio”.<sup>31</sup> The precise location at this time has proved difficult to determine. Not until 1574 was Paul's monument installed in St. Peter's in a form which might have seemed definitive, but that would soon change, as subsequent popes jockeyed for position with regard to their burial sites. The tomb was apparently first installed, not in Paul's chosen site, but in the Cappella Gregoriana, though again its exact situation remains controversial.<sup>32</sup> This was done in time for the jubilee of 1575, and apparently satisfied an increasing sense of embarrassment on the part of the Farnese at the lack of a sufficiently grand monument to their pope. It was also more in accord with the sculptor's wishes, Michelangelo having

died in 1564. But after only a brief sojourn, it was translated some time after della Porta's death in 1577, and most likely between 1578 and 1588, to the niche in the south-east pier of the crossing, in re-arranged form (fig. 2). This, however, was not its final destination. Around 1627–8 it was moved again to make way for Bernini's *St. Longinus*, and was set up in reduced form in the left-hand niche of the tribune to provide a counterbalance to, and a foil for, Bernini's tomb of Urban VIII.<sup>33</sup>

Throughout the 1550s Michelangelo remained implacably opposed to della Porta's free-standing project, and this evidently led to enmity.<sup>34</sup> Those who were in favour of the original plan argued that it would be a tremendous waste of labour and expensive materials to reduce the tomb at this stage.<sup>35</sup> This would appear to be confirmed by the accounts which have survived up to 1555, which indicate that della Porta was proceeding as if he were sure that his original project would be executed.<sup>36</sup> This is also suggested by a newly-published letter, written by the sculptor to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in February 1555 (doc. 1). Della Porta there discusses the “quadro” that was shortly to be executed by the architect Giovanni Angelo Galante, or Gelatus.<sup>37</sup> He also refers to sculptures, presumably the four (or eight) allegories, one of which, the *Justice*, Caro had recently described as looking like “a woman emerging from the snow”.<sup>38</sup> “Storie” are mentioned, and elsewhere in the letter della Porta writes of eight “storie di metallo” as a grand ornament to the tomb. These are presumably the same reliefs on whose subject matter the Bishop of Castro would comment in 1558 (doc. 2a). As late as December 1558, the sculptor was working on the various components.<sup>39</sup> Clearly della Porta still had in mind a very grandiose and elaborate monument.

Clearly too, della Porta was still not satisfied with Michelangelo's proposed location in the Cappella del Re, which would not offer sufficient space for his scheme. In 1558 Cardinals Ranuccio Farnese and Guid'Ascanio Sforza,

<sup>29</sup> ROBERTSON 1985, p. 230f.; KLIEMANN 1985; and KLIEMANN 1993, pp. 37–51.

<sup>30</sup> VASARI-MILANESI 7, p. 226. The *colonna degli spiritati* to which Vasari refers was in the north-east pier: SIEBENHÜNER 1962, p. 240, n. 16. Cf. THOENES 1990, p. 130 and fig. 6.2. This means, as Thoenes has rightly argued (p. 138, n. 8), that the drawing at Windsor discussed by Noach (NOACH 1956, pp. 376–79) and Gramberg (GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 271 and 358) cannot be connected with the tomb of Paul III, but must rather be related to the tomb of Gregory XIII, since the tomb is described on the drawing as existing in the south-east pier. Julius III's tomb was in fact located in the chapel of St. Andrew, a saint to whom he was particularly devoted: NOVA 1988, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 269–72. For the quotation, see *ibid.*, p. 345, doc. IV.

<sup>32</sup> OSTROW in PINELLI 2000, vol. 4, pp. 613–45, provides a useful summary of the various scholarly positions on both these stages.

<sup>33</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 279–82. In 1633 it was decided to install Dusquesnoy's *St. Andrew* in the niche instead of the *Longinus*: WITTKOWER 1981, p. 197.

<sup>34</sup> “Il frate gli prese odio, credendo che la facessi per invidia” (VASARI-MILANESI 7, p. 226). See also GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 344–45, doc. V, in which della Porta made disparaging remarks about both Michelangelo and about the scheme for the Del Monte Chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, and the letter in GRAMBERG 1964, vol. 1, pp. 120–21.

<sup>35</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 372 §5.

<sup>36</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 341–43, doc. III, and 345, doc. VI.

<sup>37</sup> For Galante, see the payments published in CADIER 1889, pp. 91–92, and GRAMBERG 1984, p. 345, doc. VI.

<sup>38</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, p. 345, doc. VII.

<sup>39</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, doc. XIII. This is further confirmed by the accounts mentioned in doc. 2a, which are published here as doc. 2b.



2. Leonardo Sormani (?), Tomb of Paul III, 1580s, London, Victoria and Albert Museum



both grandsons of Paul III, together with Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, made a new attempt to resolve the deadlock.<sup>40</sup> The Bishop of Castro reported to Cardinal Alessandro that they had agreed with Michelangelo a site “in one of the four circular *tempietti* outside the cupola”, and sent a plan, which regrettably has not survived (doc. 2a).<sup>41</sup> This is apparently the first mention of the Cappella Gregoriana site in which the tomb would eventually be installed during the 1570s. The Bishop noted that the chapel would take many years to complete, and proposed erecting a temporary structure to protect the monument in the interim. In practice the building of the Cappella Gregoriana was not begun until 1572–3 under Vignola, essentially following Michelangelo’s design.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, the Jesuits came up with another proposal, that the tomb should be moved to the new church, which the Order was about to build.<sup>43</sup> The Jesuits had been making plans for a church since 1550, and had even involved Michelangelo, but this was never a realistic suggestion, since they were unable to have the church built at this time for lack of funds.<sup>44</sup> Their proposal may indeed have been intended as a spur to Farnese patronage. Moreover, it could not have been acceptable to Paul’s heirs, who would accept nothing less than having the family’s only pope buried in St. Peter’s, since otherwise Farnese honour would be diminished. The kinds of objection that must have been raised are made explicit in a letter of Alessandro Farnese’s majordomo, Bishop Alessandro Rufino, of July 1574 (doc. 7).

As if the tomb did not have enough problems already, during the mid-1550s financial problems seem to have arisen. In 1554 it was realised that there was a discrepancy in the funding, since the committee had been assuming that the 10,000 *scudi* that had been deposited for the tomb’s expenses were *scudi d’oro in oro*, only to discover that they were in fact *scudi di moneta*, thus leaving a serious shortfall.<sup>45</sup> The issue had still not been resolved four years later, when the Bishop of Castro was asked to investigate, and sent a balance sheet. This suggests that a significant sum, 9790 *scudi*, entrusted to the late Bernardino Maffei and to

Monsignor Figliucci, was unaccounted for (docs. 2a and 2b).<sup>46</sup> It remains unclear how this issue was eventually resolved.

In the event, Michelangelo was the victor in the struggles of the 1550s, since the statue of Paul III was installed in 1559 on a small base, in spite of della Porta’s wishes. The precise location is, once again, difficult to determine from the written sources.<sup>47</sup> This, however, was not the end of the story. Little is heard of the tomb in the documents between 1558 and 1573. Della Porta was engaged on numerous other projects, but continued to assure Alessandro Farnese of his goodwill.<sup>48</sup> Evidently, he did not consider the tomb to be finished. In a letter of August 1566, which also refers to work by the goldsmith Manno Sbarri for the Cardinal, and to medals being bought from Pirro Ligorio, the Bishop of Forlì, P. G. Aliotti, wrote of della Porta’s desire to complete the monument. He reported that he was being held back by Cardinal Bartolomeo Ferratini, a canon and later prefect of the Fabbrica of St. Peter’s (doc. 3).<sup>49</sup> Two of the key protagonists died during this period. Della Porta’s implacable opponent, Michelangelo, died in 1564, which must have raised Guglielmo’s hopes that he might yet be able to create a free-standing monument. Annibal Caro, who had been much more supportive of the sculptor, died in November 1566. His role seems to have been largely taken over by Bishop Alessandro Rufino, who wrote a series of lively letters on the progress of many of Cardinal Alessandro’s artistic commissions.<sup>50</sup>

In 1573 Cardinal Farnese decided that an effort must be made to have the tomb completed. Besides the disgrace of the family’s failure to erect a proper monument to Paul III, an important consideration was the approaching *anno santo* of 1575 (doc. 4). On 2 July 1573 Rufino reported to his patron on a meeting he had had with Cardinal Morone, who had agreed to intercede with the pope (doc. 4). Gregory XIII was apparently well disposed to the idea of moving the tomb from its present location, presumably in the Cappella del Re, to the site in one of the *tempietti*, in all likelihood the Cappella Gregoriana.<sup>51</sup> He had been told that that site had

<sup>40</sup> For the identities of the various members of the committee, see GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 267–68.

<sup>41</sup> It is tempting to identify this plan with that published by Noach but, as we have seen, this is not possible: above, n. 30.

<sup>42</sup> SIEBENHÜNER 1962, p. 260. For the Cappella Gregoriana, see Ostrow in PINELLI 2000, vol. 4, pp. 666–67, with further references.

<sup>43</sup> Their proposal, “Ragioni per collocare il sepolcro di Paolo III nel edificanda chiesa... del Gesù in Roma piuttosto che nella Basilica di S. Pietro” was published in TACCHI VENTURI 1910–22, vol. 2, pp. 684–86, doc. 22. There it was dated 1554–65. See also THOENES 1990, p. 138, n. 9a.

<sup>44</sup> ROBERTSON 1992, pp. 184–5; ROBERTSON 1999, p. 145f., n. 14, with further references.

<sup>45</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, doc. VIII.

<sup>46</sup> The balance sheet to which the Bishop refers has become separated from the letter in the archive, but appears to be that published here as Document 2(b).

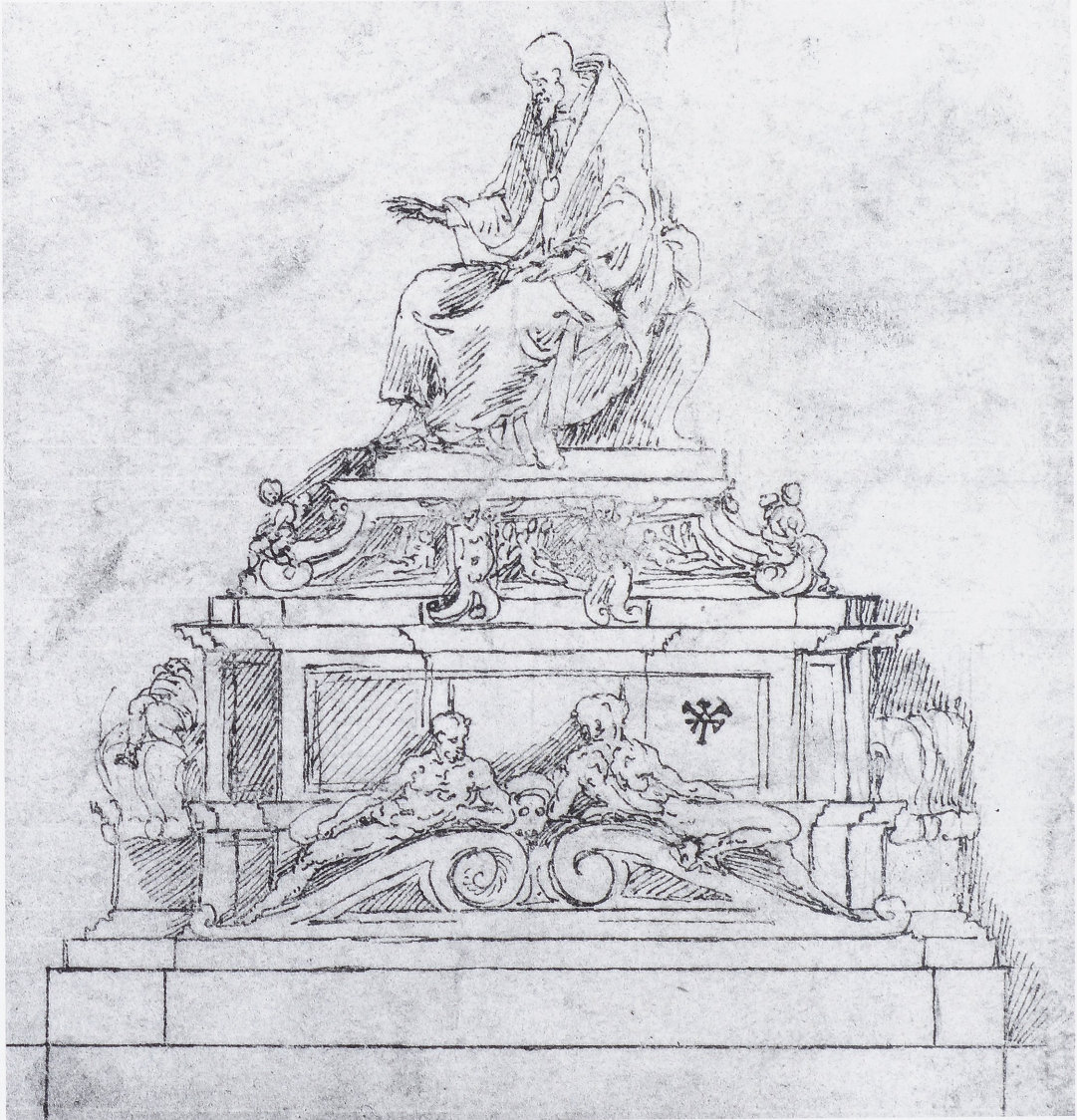
<sup>47</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 274s and 347, doc. XIV. THOENES, p. 130.

<sup>48</sup> See the draft letters in GRAMBERG 1964, vol. 1, pp. 120–21.

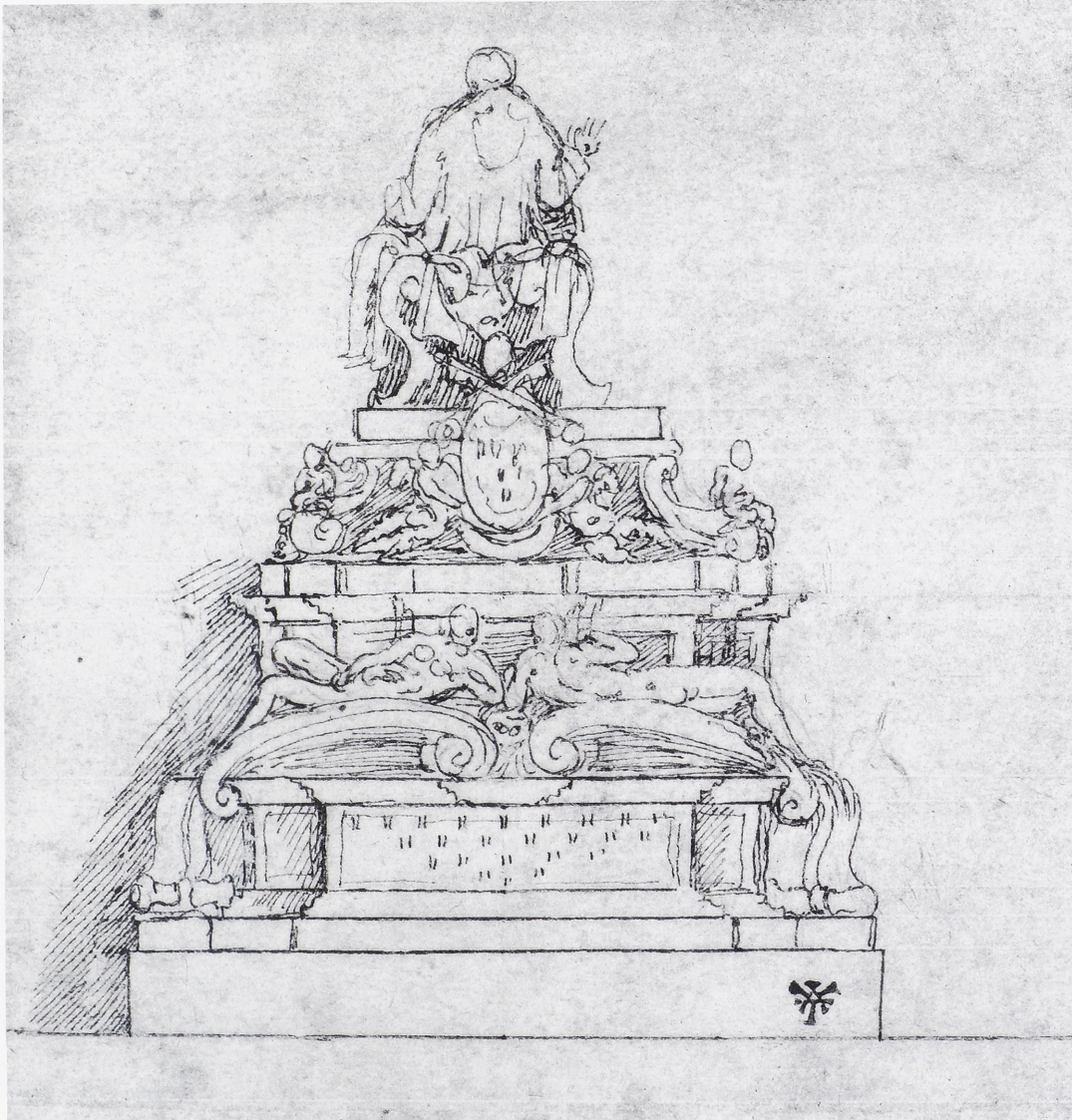
<sup>49</sup> The part of the letter, which refers to Manno was published by RONCHINI 1874, p. 135.

<sup>50</sup> For Rufino, see ROBERTSON 1992, p. 231. ZAPPERI 1998, p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> That the Cappella Gregoriana site was still under consideration is suggested by the evidence of Grimaldi, writing in 1620: GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 276–79 and 356, doc. XXXII. However, as we shall see, Grimaldi’s evidence is problematic: below, p. 212.



3. Workshop of Guglielmo della Porta (?), Study for the Tomb of Paul III, side view, before 1575, London, Victoria and Albert Museum



4. Workshop of Guglielmo della Porta (?), Study for the Tomb of Paul III, rear view, before 1575, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

been granted by Julius III, and that the tomb was almost complete, but that Cardinal Farnese wanted to have it finished in time for the Jubilee. Rufino in the meanwhile was awaiting his patron's instructions. On 29 July Rufino wrote that he had received these, but there is no further information as to what they might have been (doc. 5).

Nothing more is heard of the project until around June of the following year, when Guglielmo della Porta drafted his version of events so far, and particularly of the expenses he had incurred, in letters addressed to Cardinal Alessandro and (probably) Rufino. These letters are undated, but they are clearly from the period when della Porta was angling for the commission to design the rear part of Palazzo Farnese.<sup>52</sup> On 10 July 1574 Rufino described a meeting that he had had with Guglielmo and with Giacomo della Porta, now architect of the basilica, as well as the master who had put the tomb together, presumably Galante (doc. 6). He reported that they had agreed to make the "massizzo", that is the supporting structure, and that it would be relatively small and as cheap as possible. There is no indication at this stage of the form of the monument, but it seems reasonable to assume that Guglielmo was still planning a free-standing tomb. It was suggested by Gramberg that this stage might be represented in a pair of workshop drawings, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (figs. 3–4).<sup>53</sup> However, the documentary evidence indicates that the tomb was not installed according to this design.

The following day the majordomo had ominous news (doc. 7). In a meeting with Monsignor Ferratini, it was suggested that there was a view, supported by members of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's and indeed by the pope himself, that the tomb should be pulled back into "that niche". The implication is that even at this stage no firm decision had been made between a free-standing sepulchre and a wall-monument. Della Porta, in a discussion with Gregory XIII, had tried to resist but, as Rufino put it, "the spirits are working against us". He raised the possibility of removing the tomb to another church (by this date the Gesù would have been a realistic possibility), but noted that it would be highly inconvenient and expensive, as well as a significant loss of face for the Farnese. The difficulties were apparently resolved, since on 23 July Rufino wrote to inform his patron that the statue of Paul III would be moved into position (doc. 8).

Three days later Rufino reported that there had been a delay for lack of an engineer but that the statue would be

placed in its niche that evening. He added that he had asked Guglielmo della Porta to make a drawing, which the sculptor had volunteered to take to Alessandro at Caprarola (doc. 9). This letter raises a number of problematic issues. It implies that a decision had been made to install the tomb as a wall-monument, with the statue of Paul in a niche, but that Cardinal Alessandro did not yet know what the final version would look like. It also suggests that the "spirits" had won, ultimately supporting Michelangelo's views of the project. It has generally been assumed that a free-standing tomb was set up in, or near the entrance to, the Cappella Gregoriana at this stage in the sepulchre's history, though the precise location has been a matter for debate.<sup>54</sup> Rufino's correspondence does not, unfortunately, clarify the issue of site, since he generally takes for granted the patron's knowledge, or refers to plans and drawings which have subsequently become separated from the letters and lost. The chief evidence for the free-standing monument has been the description of Grimaldi, writing in 1619–20. Grimaldi wrote: "This most noble tomb was placed before the Gregorian chapel in the middle of the nave, isolated on all sides, on a great plinth, and two marble statues were placed below, in front, and two behind the colossus of Paul. But since they blocked the church, opinion changed and it was adapted to the place where it now is [i.e. the south-east pier of the crossing]".<sup>55</sup>

Rufino's evidence appears to contradict this. One therefore wonders whether Grimaldi was recalling, or working from a design for a project which was never actually executed. Some further evidence appears to confirm that the tomb was set up as a wall-monument. In 1575 it was reported in one of the *avvisi* that Gregory XIII had ordered his tomb to be set up opposite that of Paul, "all'incontro di quella di Paolo III riuscita bellissima".<sup>56</sup> This statement can of course be variously interpreted, and Gregory's own monument seems to have mutated over the years, since it was not actually completed until the early eighteenth century. It is perhaps worth considering the idea that Paul's tomb might have been installed in 1575 in the site directly opposite that where Gregory's monument was in fact built just by the entrance to the Cappella Gregoriana, in the spot where the tomb of Gregory XIV, designed by Giacomo della Porta and Prospero Bresciano, is now located. Gregory's plans for his own monument were, like those of so many of his predecessors, ambitious. If the drawing at Windsor, published by Noach, does indeed refer to Gregory's tomb, then at one

<sup>52</sup> GRAMBERG 1964, vol. 1, pp. 104–06. For Guglielmo and Palazzo Farnese, see LOTZ 1981, pp. 232–34.

<sup>53</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, p. 276, figs. 15 a and b (as whereabouts unknown) and p. 358, Z. 6. For these drawings, see also, WARD-JACKSON 1980, pp. 126–27, no. 252.

<sup>54</sup> For a summary of the various arguments on this, see Ostrow in PINELLI 2000, vol. 4, p. 613f.

<sup>55</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 355–56.

<sup>56</sup> ZAPPERI 1998, p. 132, n. 16.

point he evidently considered a free-standing monument in the centre of the chapel. Architectural objections to this are likely to have been similar to those for Paul's tomb. With the installation of the relics of St. Gregory of Nazianus in 1580, Gregory appears to have decided on a double tomb for himself and his *nipoti*. This might explain why the tomb of Paul III was so rapidly expelled from the Cappella Gregoriana, and moved to the south-east pier during the 1580s.<sup>57</sup>

Whatever was eventually resolved in 1574, Guglielmo della Porta seems to have been satisfied with the chosen location, since he wrote to Alessandro on 8 August, stating that "in Paradise one might have a better place, but on earth there could not be a better one".<sup>58</sup> Two days later the drawing was actually sent to Caprarola (doc. 10). On 12 August Rufino reported that the tomb was being constructed according to this design (doc. 11). He gave some details of what it would look like. There would be a "cameretta" inside, which would be smaller than the chamber envisaged in the earliest project. It would be large enough only to hold the pope's body and perhaps the "vaso di paragone" which was destined to contain it. This had been part of the original scheme,<sup>59</sup> but Rufino reported that, with regard to the revised version, there were differences of opinion as to whether the "vaso" should be buried, thus becoming invisible, or left on display. The majordomo also reminded his patron that on the occasion of sealing the tomb it would be appropriate to hold some kind of ceremony with masses and processions. In the event, according to Grimaldi, Cardinal Farnese arranged a private nocturnal funeral.<sup>60</sup> This took place on 1 September 1574.<sup>61</sup> Alessandro's response to the issue of the "vaso" is clear from Rufino's next letter: he wished it to be buried inside the chamber (doc. 12). Rufino at this point was in a hurry to get the tomb completed, so that "i maligni" could not interfere further.

Rufino continued to send the Cardinal brief progress reports, indicating on 30 August that there was a slight delay caused by the change of design, which necessitated additional materials (docs. 13–15).

One further matter at this stage of the tomb's history deserves comment. Alessandro Farnese requested that the nude *Giustizia* should be clothed in 1574.<sup>62</sup> This would

appear to reflect a general shift of attitude in the light of the Council of Trent, and in particular a greater concern with religious decorum on the part of the Cardinal during the 1560s and 1570s.<sup>63</sup> It is possible that the persistent rumour that this figure was a portrait of Paul III's sister, the beautiful Giulia Farnese, made this all the more imperative.<sup>64</sup> The sculpture was not in fact dressed until 1593, when Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, ironically with the greatest reluctance, had Guglielmo's son Teodoro della Porta make a metal vest for her, on the orders of the prudish Clement VIII. The task can scarcely have been welcome to Teodoro either, since he was still pressing the Farnese for payment for the tomb owed to his father's estate.<sup>65</sup>

The complex history of the installation of Paul's tomb illustrates vividly the difficulties encountered by successive pontiffs who wished to be buried in the basilica, and the continuing tensions between architectural form, as it gradually evolved, and individual decorative monuments. It cannot have been easy for sculptors, as Michelangelo was ironically the first to discover, to sculpt individual elements of a tomb, which might have to be assembled in a very different form and location from that originally envisaged. The saga of the monument to Paul III may have caused future popes and their *nipoti* to hesitate before undertaking such an enterprise. If Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, powerfully connected, archpriest of the basilica, and considered by many as *papabile*, could not achieve a monument to his grandfather in the form that he desired, there was surely little hope for less securely established families. This may indeed explain why Sixtus V and Paul V decided to build magnificent funereal chapels elsewhere. It would take the combined power of Urban VIII and Bernini's inspired command of the interior of St. Peter's before really successful papal tombs could be built there. Yet, despite the many difficulties and compromises that Guglielmo della Porta had to endure during the execution of his masterpiece, he was at least happy with its appearance during his lifetime. Two years before his death he wrote to a friend about his satisfaction at this achievement, and stated that it was "the most marvellous of the modern" tombs.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>57</sup> For the tombs of Gregory XIII and XIV, see SIEBENHÜNER 1962, pp. 279–83. Ostrow in PINELLI 2000, vol. 4, pp. 679–81.

<sup>58</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, p. 348, doc. XVII.

<sup>59</sup> CARO 1957–61, vol. 2, no. 372 §6 (GRAMBERG 1984, p. 343, doc. IV).

<sup>60</sup> GRAMBERG 1984, p. 355, doc. XXXII.

<sup>61</sup> SIEBENHÜNER 1962, p. 255.

<sup>62</sup> GRAMBERG 1964, vol. 1, p. 106. Gramberg's suggestion that the addressee was Rufino seems implausible, since the Bishop would surely not have needed to be told the subjects of the statues.

<sup>63</sup> ROBERTSON 1992, pp. 158–62.

<sup>64</sup> The first documented observation that the allegorical figures on the tomb were related to the women in Paul's life was that of Arnold von Buchell in 1588: ZAPPERI 1998, p. 17.

<sup>65</sup> ZAPPERI 1998, ch. 1. GRAMBERG 1984, pp. 349–55, docs. XI–XXX.

<sup>66</sup> GRAMBERG 1964, p. 108; idem, 1984, p. 275.

## APPENDIX

## Doc. 1

Guglielmo della Porta to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 6 February 1555

Archivio di Stato, Parma (hereafter, ASP), Epistolario scelto, b. 23 (scultori) (Autograph)

*Illustrissimo Signore,*

*Li fondamenti de la sepoltura de la felice memoria di Papa Paolo sono getti non con poca spesa in però che s'è andato a trovare legna, e perché l'opera non si lenta, e di necessità che Vostra Signoria Reverendissima cometa ad uno suo che faria li mandati in loco de Messer Curtio, acio maestro Io. Angelo Galante posa eseguire l'opera del quadro secondo l'obbligato fato, come apare per le scritte date al Reverendissimo Mafeo et a me, e perché l'opera quale e obligato il ditto maestro non sia impedita de darli dinari sichuramente, quali sono bene dati, e dico che in circha ale statue e storie et arma stiano intertenuti et io non mancharò di lavorare, e Vostra Signoria Illustrissima a da sapere per essere il loco così onorato che io fo intaliare la cornice, et li agonge storie otto di metallo, quale farano grande adornamento, e se più si potrà adornare per quanto se aspetta a le mie fatiche, io non mancharò, e a nesuna altra cosa penso più che a condurre questa opera al fine con satisfatione de la Illustrissima casa di Farnese e con speranza che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima se ricorda di me.*

*Di Roma a dì 6 febraro 1555.*

*Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima umile servitore, frate Gulielmo de la Porta.*

## Doc. 2a

The Bishop of Castro to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 13 December 1558

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 341

*Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Mio Osservandissimo,*

*Mi fu dato carico dall'Illustrissimi e Reverendissimi Sant'Angelo e Santa Fiora di sollicitar et haver cura del opera de la sepultura de la fe. me. di Papa Paolo iii, in che sin qui non so mancato con quella fede e affettion ch'io son tenuto. E perchè è dovere ch'io ne dia a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima particular raguaglio, ho voluto con la presente notificarli in che termine le cose stanno.*

*Le quattro statue di marmo che fa Fra Guglielmo son già finite, e sodisfanno a chi n'ha giuditio.*

*Le otto istorie che vanno in tavole di bronzo, el frate aspetta se li dia el schizzo delle historie che vi han da andar. Questi Signori han ragionato di far' istorie del testamento vecchio, le quale son cose tanto trite in tutte le scritture che desiderarei piu presto farci istorie del tempo suo, sendocene tante e degne di memoria che empirebbono maggior loco che quello. In questo Vostra Signoria Illustrissima si sodisfarà sicundo el suo prudentissimo giuditio.*

*A quanto era fatto in San Pietro sino avanti la partita de Vostra Signoria Illustrissima non sia aggiunto altro, perché bisognava metter' in opera le quattro statue, e questo non s'è possuto far', sendo questi Signori resoluti, sicome dicono essere anche opinione di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, che la sepultura non stia bene dove sta. S'è fatto instantia con Messer Michelangelo per la deputatione d'un altro loco. Tandem s'è contentato che si metta in uno de li quattro tempietti tondi che vanno for del tondo de la cappola, sicome Vostra Signoria potrà*

*vedere nel modello de la pianta di San Pietro che con la presente li mando, accio meglio ne sia capace. El Reverendissimo Cardinale di Carpi con li dui sudetti Reverendissimi furno in San Pietro e si son sodisfatti di quel loco, el quale si bene per star forse molt'anni imperfetto, non dimeno quando sarà finito, si giudica che non ci sia loco più al proposito. E in questo mezo si pensa farli una coverta con un tetto rustico in quattro pilastri per conservatione de l'opera.*

*Hora per trovar el modo del denaro per compimento di quanto resta a fare, son stato appresso a questi che han maneggiato per veder li conti, e trovo che el collegio assignò x milia scudi d'oro, e in mano de li Sauli non si trovano simon x milia scudi di moneta, che già questi li tolgon mille scudi.*

*Li Sauli dan conto d'haver sborsato al Reverendissimo Maffeo, bo. me., Figliucci et altri quasi tutto el compimento loro o poco meno, si come Vostra Signoria Illustrissima vedrà per la copia del bilancio che ho fatto cavar dal Guardino, che con la presente li mando. Sonno appresso per far unificar tutte le partite e saper che dinari ci restano. E trovo difficoltà in ognun d'essi, perché le scritture loro dicono esser fuor di Roma. Pur non si mancherà di sollicitar e cavarne l'intero per finir l'opera, che in tramutarla solo vorrà cinque o sei cento scudi. Ho voluto darli raguaglio di tutto questo accio Vostra Signoria Illustrissima sia informata di quanto si po fare, e si li occorrerà sopra di ciò cosa che non fusse sicondo el suo volere, la supplico si degni farmene dar' avviso . . .*

*A Roma, li 13 di x. br., 1558.*

*Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humile e obligatissimo servitore, el Vescovo di Castro.*

## Doc. 2b

Domenico Guardini's accounts for the tomb of Paul III, 1550–1551  
ASP, Epistolario scelto, b. 23

*Conti deli denari de la sep[oltu]ra di Papa Paulo Terzo*

*Trovo che fra Gul. mo de la Porta cominciò del mese di maggio 1550 a spender in far la sepultura di Papa Paulo terzo s. ta mem. a et che fino del mese di agosto 1551 ha speso  $\nabla$ ti 8619.*

<i>Per il quadro della statua a come si vede al suo lib. o</i>	$\nabla$ 2200
<i>A lui medesimo a bon conto dele 4 statue di marmo</i>	$\nabla$ 1191 .33
<i>Per metalli et stagni per la statua</i>	$\nabla$ 1885 .49
<i>Per li marmi et condotta d'essi et misti</i>	$\nabla$ 735 .80
<i>Per nettar la statua et statue</i>	$\nabla$ 403
<i>Per cere per formare</i>	$\nabla$ 123
<i>Per far modelli</i>	$\nabla$ 252 .60
<i>Per terra, gesso, legne, carbone, ferro, et altro</i>	$\nabla$ 596 .25
<i>Per diverse opere et altre spese minute come tutte si vede al suo lib. o particolarmente</i>	$\nabla$ 1332 .53
<i>E Sauli hebbero per la sepultura <math>\nabla</math>ti m/x di m(one)ta</i>	$\nabla$ 10000
<i>Danno conto haverli pagati in questo modo:</i>	
<i>Al R. mo Maffeo B. M. in otto volte</i>	$\nabla$ 4950
<i>A Ms. Figliucio in tre partite</i>	$\nabla$ 4840
<i>A Fra Gugl. mo a conto del modello</i>	$\nabla$ 25

A Ms Agnolo Ricamatore	∇	156 .20
	∇	9971 .20
Resta in mano a Sauli	∇	28 .80
E'l Maffeo et il Figliucci hanno havuti	∇	9790
Fra Gugl. mo mostra haver havuti	∇	8594
Qui vingono a mancare ∇ 1196 de moneta	∇	1196
E necessario che li detti diano conto de detti ∇ 9790 per vedere dove sono andati q. ti denari che mancano per posserli avanzare.		
Domenico Guardini		

## Doc. 3

P. G. Aliotti, Bishop of Forlì to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 9 August 1566

ASP, Epistolario scelto, b. 30 (scultori)

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Mio Colendissimo, Arrivato ch'io fui in Roma, basciai le piedi a Nostro Signore in nome di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima et poi altre volte con occasione ho ragionato di lei con Sua Santità, quale in vero mostra di esserle molto affettionata. Per dar ragguaglio in parte a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima delle commissione che mi dette, le dirò come maestro Manno orefice attende et continua in lavorar l'opera. Fra Guglielmo del piombo dice che il desiderio suo sarria di finir la sepoltura, ma che Monsignor Ferratino lo trattiene con parole. Ho visto le medaglie di messer Pirro, quale sono assai più ch'io non pensavo.<sup>67</sup> Poiché Vostra Signoria Illustrissima le ha viste minutamente non dirò altro, se non che esso messer Pirro le tiene molto care. Non son per ancora venuto a resolution alcuna con lui, ma si farà un'inventario di tutte et poi sarò con lui, et intenderò la sua resolutione. Qui in Roma sono grandissime caldi et l'andiamo temprando con melloni et con la sobrietà del vivere...*

Da Roma il dì ix di agosto 1566.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima, humilissimo servitore, P. Gio. Vescovo di Forlì.

## Doc. 4

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 2 July 1573

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 370

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Osservandissimo, Ricevei la sua di 5 di Viterbo, e visto per essa quanto commandava, andai subito dal Cardinal Morone, al quale dissi la resolution di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, e lui con animo prontissimo di servirla si pose in memoriale il negotio per ragionarne a Nostro Signore, dal quale haveva havuto l'audientia per la matina seguente. Andò e fece l'ufficio gagliardamente. Sua Santità li rispose che haveva presentito che quella sepoltura si voleva rimuovere da quela luogo e che li piaceva. Il Cardinale li disse l'intention di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, e che, essendoli concesso quel luogo da Giulio III e ridotta la sepoltura quasi a perfectione, l'haveria voluta complir' per l'anno santo. Li dimandò se ci era licentia scritta. Rispose il Cardinale che non sapeva. Disse il Papa,*

<sup>67</sup> Cf. ROBERTSON 1992, p. 50, for Pirro's antiquarian duties for the Cardinal.

*“Chi è qui che habbi cura di questo negotio?” Li rispose che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima ci haveva deputato me. Replicò ch'io li fussi andato a parlare, e che intanto lui ci voleva pensare. Io non ci ho voluto andar' prima che non n'havesse avisato lei, acciò determini quel che haverò da far, e se vuol, che ci vada senz'altro in nome suo, o accompagnato co' una di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima. Occorendole altro, oltre di quello che sono informato, me lo commandi, che tanto farò con quello ardore che porta il debito che ho a quelle sante ossa e la servitù che ho appresso i vivi. Non le dirò altro, però le bacio le mane e pregole da Dio ogni felicità e contento.*

Da Roma alli ii di luglio 1573.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, Alessandro

Rufino, Vescovo di Melfi.

## Doc. 5

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 29 July 1573

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 370

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Osservandissimo, Ho ricevuto la sua di xxvi apunto quando stavo per intrare in cocchio per voler andare a questi signori della Fabrica, e vedere che humore tenessero, e me restai havendo visto la deliberatione di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, qual molto mi è piaciuta, sicome ancho mi piaceriano alcune altre cose, le quali le dirò a bocca. Però non le dirò altro, ma con questo fine, pregandole da Dio ogni felicità e contento, le bacio le mani.*

Di Roma alli xxix di luglio MDLXXIII.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, Ales.ro Rufino, Vescovo di Melfi

## Doc. 6

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, Rome, 10 July 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor padrone Colendissimo, Per essequir quanto Vostra Signoria Illustrissima ha rissolto per la sepoltura, son stato questa matina co' Fra Guglielmo, con Messer Giacomo dalla Porta, e col mastro che l'ha messa insieme, quali hanno rissolto di far il massizzo, che non sarà molto grande, e di non molto spesa, a fine della perpetuità, e manco spesa che si può...*

Di Roma ali x di luglio MDLXXIII.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.

## Doc. 7

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, Rome, 11 July 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Mio Colendissimo, Si darà ordine che Alvarado habbia la parte come commetter per la sua di x. Essendo questa matino in San Pietro con Monsignor Ferratino, mi dimandò se Vostra Signoria havea mai parlato col Papa per conto della sepoltura. Li risposi che mi pareva che sì. Mi disse che quando non si fosse fatto, che saria bene se li parlasse, per cause di certi ch' hanno*

comenzato a dir che la sepoltura si douria tirare dentro a quel nicchio, che così impediria manco la chiesa. A me pareria si facesse questo officio co' esporli quanto hanno deliberato li Signori Fabricieri, accioché alle volte per officii de qualche mali spiriti, non fossimo impediti, co' zettar la spesa. Imperò dica quello che li par che si faccia, e dipoi seguireremo senza ombra o sospetto alcuno. In tanto mi risolvo non metter mano al lavoro, che non vorei perder il fatto e l'affare. Resto baccian-dole le mani, pregandoli ogni felicità.

Di Roma alli xi di luglio MDLXXIII.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.

[Postscript] È venuto questa sera a tardi puoi haver scritto il frate del piombo et detomi come essendo andato per benedir le bolle, Sua Beatitudine intrò in ragionamento della sipoltura che s'havea da muovere et accomodarsi in nel luogo diputato. Li dissi che volea che quella statua si ponessi dentro al nicchio. Il padre li disse che si faria, ma per esser l'opera fatta, non si posseua si non accostarla, et questo quanto più si posseua per non perder tanto lavoro fatto con tanto dispendio, et che le statue fatte et altre pietre lavorate et metalli non si posseuano puor in opera altrimenti, et saria tutto perso. Li replicò gagliardo et bene informato che quel che avanzava si ponessi al palazzo di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima o dove a lei paresse. Il negotio è a questa termine che lei intende. Si vede che li spiriti operano a opporseli, et tendeno ad impedir questa memoria. Lei si risolva al meglio per conservarla, si non si può tanto sia quanto si può perchè ella resti et non aspettiamo tempo che al sicuro ce la togliesso. Il trasportarla altrove sarà dispendio et di grande ingombro in ogni luogo che sarà meno di San Pietro et meno apparirà alli occhi dei populi. Quel che sopra avanzassi servirà per altro non si perderà perciò avanzarassi anco molti lavori che si hanno da fare di medalli et di quelli son fatti et lei vederà questa memoria a fermata a mal piacer di chi dispiace. Ho voluto dir queste quattro parole tirato dal desiderio. Horo a lei sta dar l'ordine che meglio li pare et noi servitori ad eseguire.

Servitore, il Vescovo.

**Doc. 8**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, Rome, 23 July 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Colendissimo, Veggo per le sue di xxi il desiderio che tiene che si dia fine alla sepoltura, a che s'attende con ogni diligenza, e dimatina a hora di pranso la statua sarà già tirata e posta alloco dove ha a star . . .*

Di Roma alli xxiii di luglio MDLXXIII

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.

**Doc. 9**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 26 July 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Colendissimo, . . . S'è dato principio questa matina a levar via le pietre ch'erano sotto la statua, e questa sera la statua si porrà nel nicchio, e già si saria posta, se uno ingigniero non ci fosse mancato per certe altr' sue particolari*

*facende. Ho detto al Frate che ne faccia un disegno acciò Vostra Signoria la possa veder. M'ha promesso non solo di farlo, ma di venir' ancho a Caprarola col disegno istesso. Et humilmente li baccio le mani.*

Di Roma alli xxvi di luglio MDLXXIII.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.

**Doc. 10**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, Rome, 10 August 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Colendissimo, Per Messer Aurelio Coperchio che indefessamente seguiva il Marchesano, mando a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima il disegno della sepoltura, che ha fatto fra Guglielmo, che riussirà ancho assai meglio in opera, e dimane o l'altro si comenzarà a metter' insieme l'opera . . .*

Di Roma x agosto lxxxiii.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.

**Doc. 11**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, Rome, 12 August 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Colendissimo, In nome di Dio s'è comenzata a metter in opera la sepoltura secondo il disegno mandato a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima. M'occorre dirli che vi vien dentro una cameretta, non grande come la prima, che se l'intrava di fuori, a questa no, ma solo è tanta quanto capisse il corpo, quale si serrarà e coprirà insieme col'opra, capace però ch' v'entra ancho il vaso di paragone, ma lo istesso vaso viene ancho egli sepolto che non si vede, del quale secondo qualchuno saria bene a valersene, ad altro che si vedesse. A questo si risolverà se vuol che si mette in opera o si servi. Ha ancho a saper che quando l'opera sarà al termine di coprir la tombetta, che bisognerà portarvi il corpo, che non si potria di poi, et all' hora verrà benissimo, e a questo effetto si sogliono far' alcune solennità di messe, processioni et altr' cerimonie. Sarà contenta dar' avviso che tutto si farà conveniente al sugetto. E il Signor Iddio la conservi sana.*

Di Roma alli xii d'agosto MDLXXIII.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.

**Doc. 12**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 17 August 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Colendissimo, Ho visto per le lettere di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima di xiii quanto vol che si faccia nella fabrica della sepoltura. Havevo deliberato di ridurla fin al termine che vi si potesse metter' il vaso col corpo dentro, corpo veramente degno di quel vaso, per stabilir di modo la sepoltura fin' a questo termine, che non si dia più occasione a maligni de poterla molestar. Il resto poi che sarà d'accomodar' statue et altri ornamenti sarà la*



*parta sua. Finqui co' levar la statua e condurla nel nicchio, levar' tutti li marmi, romper' muri, comprar' calce e puzzolana per murar' si sono spesi circa settanta scudi. Spero far' il resto co' manco di quello che si pensa...*

*Di Roma alle xvii di agosto MDLXXVIII.*

*Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.*

**Doc. 13**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, Rome, 23 August 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Padrone,*

*... La sepoltura si tira avanti et spero anzi son certo puorvi il corpo questa settimana. Si sollicita per ogni rispetto creda Vostra Signoria Illustrissima che visse sempre l'iniquità. Non li dirò altro sino pregarli da Idio ogni contento.*

*Di Roma, il di xxiii agosto 74.*

*Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.*

**Doc. 14**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Rome, 24 August 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Colendissimo, Veggo per la lettera di Vostra Signoria delli 18 fina che termine vuol che condurà la sepoltura, et tutto si farà con ogni cura...*

*Di Roma alli 24 d'agosto 1574.*

*Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.*

**Doc. 15**

Bishop Alessandro Rufino to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, Rome, 30 August 1574

ASP, Carteggio farnesiano estero, Roma, b. 372

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Padrone Colendissimo,*

*... Alla sepoltura s'attende co' ogni diligenza. S'è rittardato un pocheto per certe pietre che mancavano per la mutation del disegno, le quale hoggi se finiranno diseggar et se solliciterà di mettervi il corpo di quella santa memoria per ovviare all'iniquità altrui...*

*Di Roma alli xxx d'agosto MDLXXVIII.*

*Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima humil servitore, il Vescovo Rufino.*

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