

Devotion to the Passion in Milanese Confraternities, 1500-1630: Image, Ritual,
Performance

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in the University of Michigan
2015

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To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the many years it has taken me to complete this project I have accumulated a long list of debts from institutions, mentors, friends, and family. I am happy to have the opportunity to acknowledge them here. My research in Italy was made possible by generous fellowships from the University of Michigan's Horace H. Rackham Graduate School, the International Institute, and the Department of the History of Art, and from the Renaissance Society of America. Upon my return to the United States, a Rackham Predoctoral Fellowship enabled a sustained period of writing to bring the dissertation close to completion.

While conducting my research in Milan, I was fortunate to receive assistance and hospitality from several institutions and individuals. I thank the staff and archivists at the Archivio di Stato, the Archivio Storico Civico, and the Archivio Storico Diocesano, where I extend special thanks to Monsignor Bruno Bosatra and Fabrizio Pagani. I am grateful also to the librarians and staff at the Biblioteca Trivulziana, the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, the Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, and especially the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, whose sympathetic staff kept me well-supplied with manuscripts as well as with throat lozenges during flu season. Professor Danilo Zardin at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore offered early support of this project and remains a source of inspiration. I am particularly grateful to Starleen Meyer who welcomed me to

Milan when I began my fieldwork and generously shared her research and vast knowledge of Milanese archival collections with me.

In the United States, I would like to express my gratitude first and foremost to the librarians at the University of Michigan Fine Arts Library, especially Deirdre Spencer and Myrtle Hudson, and to the Interlibrary Loan Department. My thanks go also to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, which provided me with digital copies of sources that would have otherwise been inaccessible. In the History of Art Department, I am grateful to Jeannie Worrall and Debbie Fitch for helping me to navigate the university bureaucracy and especially to Jeff Craft, who magically summoned teaching appointments to enable my completion of the degree.

I am enormously fortunate to have a dissertation committee comprised of such generous and gifted scholars. This project would not have been possible without the superb guidance, infinite patience, and unwavering support of my advisor, Megan Holmes, who has provided a model of scholarship, teaching, and collegiality to which I can only hope one day to aspire. Megan worked tirelessly with me to develop this topic and her questions, feedback, and meticulous editing have helped immeasurably to bring it to final fruition. Whatever faults remain are emphatically and purely my own. My interest in the body of Christ was initially sparked by a seminar led by Achim Timmermann, who, together with Tom Willette and Diane Owen Hughes, has offered key advice and perspectives at critical junctures. The content and the writing of this dissertation has benefitted immensely from their careful reading and their comments have inspired new directions for its, and my, future development.

Although not a formal member of my committee, Betsy Sears has repeatedly offered inspiration, encouragement, and guidance and played a central role in my scholarly growth. In seminars and informal discussions, Susan Siegfried, Thelma Thomas, Kevin Carr, Marty Powers, Karla Taylor, and Celeste Brusati offered new perspectives and incisive feedback that continue to inform my work. In the wider university, I have been spoiled by Michigan's vibrant interdisciplinary community. The Medieval and Early Modern Studies program has been a stimulating second home, and I am especially grateful to the members of the MEMS Dissertation Colloquium who have read, commented, and improved upon several chapters of this dissertation. Particular thanks in this regard must go to Christian de Pee for his sharp insights and syntheses (and his eagle-eye for typos) and to Tiggy McLaughlin for her Latin expertise.

Outside of the University of Michigan, Stephen Campbell, Michael Cole, and Ann Moyer introduced me to the Italian Renaissance and encouraged me when I was an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania. Ann Kuttner and Susan Sidlauskas allowed me to participate in graduate-level seminars where I experienced the dynamism of the discipline that inspired my continued study. Andrew Casper was an attentive and enthusiastic T.A. and has morphed into an even more valued colleague and friend. Jennifer DeSilva and Barbara Wisch offered helpful critiques of conference papers and article drafts that clarified and improved many aspects of the dissertation. At Hunter College High School in New York City, I thank Julie Reifer, Dan SanGermano, and the faculty of Art and Music for welcoming me into their department while I was on leave from Michigan and for helping me to become a better teacher, and to Eve Eisenstadt for first inspiring my love of art history.

I would like to thank those friends and relatives who made my time abroad pleasant as well as productive. Antje Gamble was my constant companion in Italy and it was a joy to explore the peninsula with her from Milan to Naples. Conversations over Negronis and *panzerotti* sustained me after long days in the archives and her camaraderie and keen insight, abroad and at home, has been a boon. It seems only fitting that she and I gave our Tappan Talks together and that she, very kindly, served as my note-taker at my defense. Wendy Sepponen has likewise provided hours of stimulating conversation, fellowship, and hugs over the years and was an intrepid co-pilgrim to the *sacri monti* of Varallo and Varese. I thank Susan Ashley for welcoming a stranger to Verona and providing not only gracious hospitality, food, and wine, but kittens. My cousins Lynn McDonald and Mike Edwards hosted me in London for my first Thanksgiving away from my immediate family and went out of their way to make me feel at home.

This project, and my development as a scholar, has benefited from the criticism, questions, and counsel of a "confraternity" of accomplished peers. My *Doktorschwester*, Ximena Gómez, has provided perceptive comments at every turn, assisted with Spanish translations, exchanged motivating texts in the wee hours, and been a true friend. I am similarly indebted to Melanie Sympson, Jenny Gear, Lehti Keelmann, Alice Sullivan, Kate Campbell, Emily Price, Anna Wieck, Kristin Schroeder, Kristine Ronan, Monique Johnson, Bea Zengotitabengoa, Wojciech Beltkiewicz, Heather Burns, and to my graduate cohort: Katie Brion, Kathy Zarur, Katie Raff, Rebecca Bieberly, and Lauren Graber. My first years of graduate school were unquestionably enriched by the friendship and guidance of Diana Bullen Presciutti, Sean Roberts, Tim McCall, Christina Chang, Katie Hornstein, Heather Vinson, Chris DeFay, Heidi Gearhart, and Heather

Badamo. Through the magic of the internet, they remain endless and generous fonts of wisdom. Lastly, I am grateful for the memory of Phil Guilbeau, who provided support and encouragement through our first years of graduate school and prelim exams and has remained a patron saint of sorts throughout this journey.

When I arrived in 2004, I never imagined the richness of the life that I would build in Ann Arbor. The residents of 515 North Division Street helped me to make my first home, with family-style dinners, West Wing and Gilmore Girls marathons, and late night study sessions. I am especially grateful to Peter DiCola and Kate Brucher (and Arlo T. Kitty), who have been rocks of support, advice, and friendship since my very first day of classes, and who will always be part of my family. I am also grateful to Jessica Fripp, Lily Davidson, Casey Taylor, and Alison DeSimone for their continued presence in my life, both academic and personal. Molly Thornbladt, Aislinn Williams, and Pat Purdy have added much-needed balance to my life, introducing me to an Ann Arbor beyond the university and an existence away from my desk. Jay and Lisa Steichmann have been not only friends but surrogate parents, furnishing emergency dog walks, home-cooked meals, and trips to the lake. My dear friend Chris McCloskey has made me laugh from afar and reminded me of the benefits of change. My roommate Chris Scholl, who, through no fault of his own, has lived with this dissertation for the past several years and all the piles of books and papers and neglected chores that it has entailed, has my sincere gratitude (and apologies). Lancelot the corgi has stoically accepted abbreviated walks and excessive quiet time, and has been a formidable, if furry, research assistant.

My partner, Andrew Kraemer, has been by my side through every academic milestone over the past seven years. At the most frenzied moments he has made sure

there was food on the table, the dog and house were tended, and rides to the library were available. At times of challenge he has provided reassurance; at times of celebration he has enthusiastically shared my joy. Sufficient words do not exist to describe the love and support he has given me throughout this project, without which I could not have completed it.

Finally, I must thank my family: my brother, Patrick, and my parents, Tom and Amanda, for a lifetime of encouragement and inspiration. Long afternoons at the Metropolitan Museum and stories about kings and queens while clomping about foreign castles instilled a love of the arts, history, travel, and learning. They have supported all of my interests and career choices, however impractical, and have believed in me even when I did not. Both accomplished writers, my parents have moreover taught me to love language and helped me to develop my authorial voice. I dedicate this dissertation to them.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEM	Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis
ASM	Archivio di Stato di Milano
ASCM	Archivio Storico Civico di Milano
ASDM	Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano
BAM	Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano
Trivulziana	Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the visual culture of lay confraternities dedicated to the Passion of Christ in Milan from circa 1500-1630. In three in-depth case studies, presented chronologically, I explore how confraternal imagery structured devotees' experiences of the sacred and immersed participants in an intimate and highly sensorial encounter with Christ's suffering body. These case studies provide a lens through which to interpret the “long sixteenth century,” a period often characterized as politically and culturally disjunctive following Milan's fall to occupying powers in 1499. More than alternative channels of artistic patronage, confraternities provided continuity with the religious culture under the Visconti and Sforza regimes, as well as with the celebrated Ambrosian era of the early church in Milan. With their consecrated chapels and decorated meeting places, their processional routes and festive ephemera, and their celebrated relics and articulated links with Milanese history, confraternities contributed to the fashioning of a dynamic sacred topography in the city. Through their focus on the body of Christ, these case studies further elucidate Milan's critical role as a testing ground for the agenda of Catholic Reform.

Following an introduction, chapter two investigates a Corpus Christi confraternity and its chapel in the church of San Giorgio al Palazzo, decorated with a Passion cycle by Bernardino Luini in 1516. In the absence of surviving documentation, I reconstruct the sodality's ritual practices and relate Luini's cycle to the *Planctus Mariae* and affective

devotion. I argue that Luini's perspectival illusions function as a metaphor for the "spiritual eye" needed to perceive Christ's sacramental presence and contextualize these innovations, and the cycle's iconography, within emergent anxieties about Eucharistic theology on the eve of the Reformation. Chapter three addresses the confraternity of Santa Corona at Santa Maria delle Grazie, dedicated to a relic from the Crown of Thorns. This chapter interprets the chapel decorations, frescoes by Gaudenzio Ferrari and an altarpiece by Titian (ca. 1540-1542), in relation to the sodality's highly somatic piety and probes the significance of "sculptural visualizations" to engage the viewer's sense of touch. Chapter four investigates the confraternities of Santa Croce, with their monumental stationary crosses that transformed urban space in Carlo Borromeo's "ritual city." This chapter works to recover these monuments, few of which survive and none in their original forms, and the images and ephemera that once surrounded them, mapping the Passion onto the topography of the city and transforming Milan into a New Jerusalem.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Art and Devotion in Sixteenth-Century Milan

I. Introduction

In an early history of the confraternity of Santa Croce of San Mauricillo, Alessio Astefani described the transformative effects of the nightly orations and weekly processions staged by the brethren alongside the thirty-five other sodalities of S. Croce in the streets of Milan:

[It was] as if all of the City were...converted into one single and vast temple. Every night one heard a multitude of infinite voices praising God throughout the city and every Friday one saw devout men processing through the streets singing psalms and hymns that moved the soul of every good Catholic to devotion.¹

Other writers describing these and similar rituals invoked the image of the heavenly Jerusalem. Preaching in the Milanese church of San Nazaro in Brolio in 1582, for example, Gabriele Paleotti, the Archbishop of Bologna, is said to have declared: "O Milan, I do not know what I should preach to you, because when I regard you, and consider your holy actions and great religion, I seem to see another Jerusalem."² This dissertation

¹ "...che tutta la Città in certe ore era come convertita in un solo e vastissimo tempio, mentre ogni sera si sentiva simultaneamente lodar Dio pubblicamente in tutte le parti della Città da una moltitudine innumerabile di voci, ed il Venerdì si vedavano camminare per le contrade moltissime processione d'uomini divotissimi, i quali col vario e patetico canto de Salmi e di Imni muovevano alla divozione il cuore d'ogni buon cattolico spettatore." Storia della Compagnia della santa Croce (basilica di San Satiro in Milano) dal 1576 al 1786. BAM, Fondo Cusani, Q38, p. 4. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

² This event and the quotation are recorded by Giovanni Pietro Giussano in his biography of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo: "...che [Milano] era nominata con titolo di Celeste Gierusalemme, come la chiamò il Cardinale Gabriello Paleotto in una sua predica, che fece in S. Nazaro in Brolio l'anno 1582 con occasione, che ministrò in essa Chiesa il Sacramento della confirmatione, dicendo simili parole; *O Milano non so che predicarti, perche quando ti miro, e considero le tue attioni Sante, e la gran religione, mi par di vedere*

examines the ritual use of images in devotion to Christ's Passion by Milanese lay confraternities from circa 1500 to 1630. Confraternities brought the visual arts into a multivalent relationship with ritualized behaviors and the urban environment. As I will demonstrate, confraternities and the artists they patronized deployed a variety of strategies to frame the sacred and render it present in the spaces of devotion, not the least of which was the creation of dynamic image ensembles that, utilized in devotion, activated the senses in order to propel the soul towards grace. I consider a wide range of visual evidence, from altarpieces and chapel ensembles to devotional practices, processions, ephemeral displays, public monuments, and the sacred topography of the city.

Following the survival of visual and archival material, I have focused my inquiry on three confraternities—or, in the case of the third, a class of confraternities—that took as their primary focus of devotion the suffering of Christ in the Passion. The first, the confraternity of Corpus Christi at the church of San Giorgio al Palazzo, was devoted to the Eucharist and the sacrifice on Calvary that the sacrament embodied. The second, the "Compagnia della Santa Corona," venerated a precious relic of the Crown of Thorns in the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. The third, the many confraternities of Santa Croce established after the plague of 1576, addressed their devotions not only to the Holy Cross but to Milan's most ancient and precious relic of the *Santo Chiodo*, a nail from the crucifixion, and gathered nightly to worship at monumental *croci stazionali* ("stational crosses") erected in the public thoroughfares. These case studies roughly span the "long sixteenth century," in Milan from the fall of the Sforza dukes in 1499 to the death of Archbishop Federico Borromeo in 1631, and are presented in chronological order,

un'altra Giursalemme." Giovanni Pietro Giussano, Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, prete cardinale del titolo di Santa Prassede Arcivescovo di Milano (Rome: Stamperia della Camera apostolica, 1610), p. 581.

allowing me to note important changes in representational strategies and devotional practices as the confessional crisis of the Reformation unfolded over the course of the Cinquecento. They moreover elucidate the important role in post-Sforza Milan played by confraternal piety, centered around the Passion of Christ, in establishing potent consecrated sites within the city and shaping urban experiences during a period of political instability and religious reform.

II. Milan in the Sixteenth Century: Art, History, and Historiography

The focused geographical scope of this study allows me to shed light on dynamic sector of visual culture and lay religious experience within a city that was at the forefront of some of the major cultural and religious developments of the early modern period. The strategic importance of Milan was noted by contemporary observers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and should not be understated. Located at the nexus of transalpine trade and travel routes linking the Italian peninsula with continental Europe, Milan was referred to by Spanish officials as the "key to Italy" (*llave de Italia*).³ Milan's critical geographic importance became even more pronounced with the onset of the Reformation when, along with other northern Italian metropolises, Milan found itself on the front lines of the Roman Church's defense against the Protestant reformers across the mountains, a circumstance that we shall revisit below. As such, the Milanese case is vital to understanding pictorial and devotional developments in Italy during this period.

In 1991 a special session on the Milanese Renaissance was held at the annual meeting of the College Art Association in Washington, D.C., with a follow-up

³ Robert L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 11 and Stefano d'Amico, *Spanish Milan: A City within the Empire, 1535-1760* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 125.

symposium in Philadelphia, the proceedings of which were published in a special issue of *Arte Lombarda*.⁴ As Charles Morscheck laments in his introduction to the issue, the "native art" of Renaissance Milan, as opposed to work produced in Milan and Lombardy by artists from other regions, such as Filarete, Leonardo da Vinci, and Bramante, had never received scholarly attention in proportion to its significance, so that that Milanese Renaissance art history, he writes, mangled in a "relatively primitive state."⁵ The intervening years have seen a significant shift in the scholarly terrain with the publication of important monographs, among them Evelyn Welch's now classic study of Visconti and Sforza patronage in the Quattrocento (1995), and the launching of the exhibitions *Il Cinquecento lombardo* (2000-2001) at the Palazzo Reale in Milan and *Painters of Reality* (2004) at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, each with accompanying scholarly catalogues, which have begun to reintegrate Milan and the larger region of Lombardy into art historical accounts of the early modern period.⁶ The scholarship of Rossana

⁴ *Arte lombarda* 100 (1992). The volume includes essays by Evelyn Karet, Evelyn Welch, Richard Schofield, JoAnne Bernstein, Janice Shell, Ellen Longworth, Pietro Marani, Pamela M. Jones, and Alessandro Rovetta, several of whom remain at the forefront of Lombard art historical scholarship. The short introduction by Charles R. Morscheck, which calls attention to Janson's declaration, provides a good historiographic summary and account of the state of the field at that time.

⁵ Charles R. Morscheck, "Preface," *Arte lombarda* 100 (1992), pp. 5-6. This was the first time that a full session at CAA had been devoted exclusively to the Milanese Renaissance and only "very rarely," Morscheck states, was Milanese art of any period the focus of an individual paper at past meetings. While CAA's program should not be taken as representative of the state of the entire discipline, these statistics are noteworthy and useful in assessing scholarly interest, particularly among Anglo-American academics, in the art history of Renaissance Milan at the end of the twentieth century. Milan has fared substantially better, as we shall see, in Italian historiography, although the attention of Italian scholars, too, has begun to achieve critical mass only recently.

⁶ Evelyn S. Welch, *Art And Authority In Renaissance Milan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Flavio Caroli, *Il Cinquecento Lombardo. Da Leonardo a Caravaggio* (Milan: Skira, 2000); Andrea Bayer, ed., *Painters of Reality: the Legacy of Leonardo And Caravaggio In Lombardy* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). See also Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) and the summary but valuable and rigorous survey article by Welch, "Patrons, Artists, and Audiences in Renaissance Milan, 1300-1600," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 21-70. Foundational, though rightly criticized for a teleological thrust that, in seeking to establish the Lombard roots of Caravaggio's "revolutionary" style, sometimes overreaches, was the 1953 exhibition *I pittori della realtà in Lombardia*,

Sacchi has shed light on the visual culture of the Sforza restoration in the early Cinquecento and on key artistic practitioners and patrons.⁷ Other recent studies have focused on the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Pamela Jones's examination of the artistic patronage of Archbishop Federico Borromeo and his endowment of the Ambrosiana, a tripartite institution comprising an art museum, art academy, and library (1993) and Alessandro Morandotti's account of secular art in Borromean Milan (2005).⁸ English translations of treatises by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo and the Bolognese reformer Gabriele Paleotti have, within only the last three years, made major primary works of Lombard Renaissance art theory accessible to non-Italian speakers.⁹ These contributions are buttressed by research in other disciplines, such as Wietse de Boer's account of religious reform and social order under Carlo Borromeo (2001) and studies of musical patronage and performance by Robert Kendrick (1996 and

curated by Roberto Longhi, Gian Alberto dell'Acqua, and Costantino Baroni. Roberto Longhi, Renata Cipriani, and Giovanni Testori, eds., I pittori della realtà in Lombardia (Milan: Arti grafiche Amilcare Pizzi, 1953).

⁷ Rossana Sacchi, Il disegno incompiuto: la politica artistica di Francesco II Sforza e di Massimiliano Stampa (Milan: LED, 2005). She has also published multiple articles on some of the most prominent artists and patrons of the period, including Gaudenzio Ferrari, Amadeo, and Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. Other dominant figures in the field include Giulio Bora, Pietro Marani, Silvio Leydi, Maria Teresa Fiorio, Maria Gatti Perer, Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, and Mina Gregori. See below for many of their contributions.

⁸ Pamela M. Jones, Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform In Seventeenth-Century Milan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Alessandro Morandotti, Milano profana nell'età dei Borromeo (Milan: Electa, 2005).

⁹ Gabriele Paleotti, Discourse On Sacred And Profane Images trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012) and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, Idea of the Temple of Painting trans. Jean Julia Chai (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013). A substantially abridged translation of Lomazzo's Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura, e architettura was published by Richard Haydock in 1598, republished in 1970) but this edition contains only five of the text's seven books and those books are themselves also abridged. See Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge And Buildinge trans. Richard Haydock (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1970). Also important are the recent translations of Federico Borromeo's Latin tract on sacred painting and his guide to the Ambrosian collections and Gregorio Comanini's dialogue Il Figino overo del fine della pittura. See Federico Borromeo, Sacred Painting: Museum, trans. Kenneth Sprague Rothwell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press/I Tatti Renaissance Library, 2010); and Gregorio Comanini, The Figino, or, On the Purpose of Painting: Art Theory in the Late Renaissance, trans. Ann Doyle-Anderson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). These treatises and other important primary texts have long been available in modern published editions in their original languages. See, for example, Paola Barocchi, ed. Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento, 3 vols. (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1971-1977).

2002) and Christine Getz (2005 and 2013).¹⁰ Finally, a critical and timely contribution to the field is made by the wide-ranging anthology *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan*, published just prior to this dissertation's defense, with essays by leading specialists on Milanese political, social, economic, ecclesiastic, and cultural history, two of which address the visual arts.¹¹

And yet, in spite of these advancements, and Milan's profound importance as a political, economic and cultural center in early modern Italy—third in population among Italian cities—the Lombard capital remains under-studied by art historians, particularly in Anglo-American scholarship.¹² This trend holds true for historians as well. In the introduction to his recent account of Spanish Milan, Stefano D'Amico declares it "the least studied of the major early modern European cities."¹³ In some ways, for art

¹⁰ Wietse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill 2001); Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns And Their Music In Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) and *The Sounds of Milan* (cited above, note 3); Christine Suzanne Getz, *Music In the Collective Experience In Sixteenth-century Milan* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005) and *Mary, Music, And Meditation: Sacred Conversations In Post-Tridentine Milan* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

¹¹ Andrea Gamberini, ed., *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan: The Distinctive Features of an Italian State* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), particularly the essays by Serena Romano, "Milan (and Lombardy: Art and Architecture, 1277-1535," pp. 214-247 and Alessandro Morandotti, "The Arts under the Spanish Rulers (1535-1706)," pp. 248-284.

¹² Kendrick places Milan third among the five Italian "super cities," which he does not list but which were, presumably, Rome, Venice, Naples, Florence, and Milan, and, in 1600, seventh among all European centers. See Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, p. 12 and also Karl Julius Beloch, *Storia della popolazione d'Italia*, trans. Marco Nardi (Florence: Le Lettere, 1994). This marks a decrease from the 1500, when Milan was the fourth largest Western European city after Naples, Venice, and Paris. D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, p. 33.

¹³ D'Amico *Spanish Milan*, p. 1. For a comparable historiographical survey, with similar findings for Milan during the period of the French occupation in the early sixteenth century, see the introduction to John Edmond Gagne's doctoral dissertation, *French Milan: Citizens, Occupiers, and the Italian Wars, 1499-1529* (Ph.D. diss, Harvard University, 2008). An invaluable source is the encyclopedic, multi-volume history of Milan compiled by the Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri: *Storia di Milano*, 16 vols. (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1953-1962), especially vols. 7-10. See also Franco della Peruta et al., *Storia illustrata di Milano*, 10 vols. (Milan: E. Sellino, 1992-1997), especially vols. 3-5 and Livia Antonelli, Giorgio Chittolini, et al., *Storia della Lombardia*, 2 vols. (Rome: Laterza, 2001-2003). On Spanish Milan specifically, two other significant publications in history, with an emphasis on structures of government, church, and finance, are the anthologies Paolo Pissavino and Gianvittorio Signorotto eds., *Lombardia Borromaica, Lombarda spagnola: 1554-1659* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1995) and Elena Brambilla and Giovanni Muto, eds, *La Lombardia spagnola. Nuovi indirizzi di ricerca* (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 1997);

historians in particular, Cinquecento Milan represents a perfect storm of longstanding cultural prejudices and political and social upheaval. Scholars today are well aware of the biases that underpinned Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, criticized in its own time by Lomazzo, among many, who accused Vasari of being "only interested in praising his own Tuscany to the skies."¹⁴ Nevertheless, Vasari's assertion of the primacy of Florence continues to exert considerable force on configurations of the Renaissance canon. Scholarship that focuses on Milanese art remains predominantly weighted towards the Quattrocento and its flourishing court culture under the Visconti and Sforza dukes, leaving the critical decades in the Cinquecento between the departure of Leonardo da Vinci and the rise of a young Caravaggio relatively unexplored, although the field is now expanding. The result has been an archipelago of monographs devoted to particular artists and patrons, such as Silvio Leydi's important study of Imperial Hapsburg iconography and the many volumes on the *Leonardeschi*, but, to date, no comprehensive scholarly synthesis exists of artistic production and reception in late Renaissance Milan.¹⁵

see also Domenico Sella and Carlo Capra, Il ducato di Milano dal 1535 al 1796: Storia d'Italia II (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1984). See also Thomas James Dandeleet and John A. Marino, eds., Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion, 1500-1700 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), especially the essay by Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariano, "The State of Milan and the Spanish Monarchy," pp. 99-132; the introduction provides a still current and concise historiography (pp. 1-19). Cynthia M. Pyle, ed. Milan and Lombardy in the Renaissance: Essays in Cultural History (Rome: La Fenice, 1997) addresses literary culture and does not discuss the visual arts; it also focuses on the fifteenth century.

¹⁴ "...argomento, per non apporgli più brutta nota ch'egli hà inteso solamente ad inalzare la sua Toscana sino al Cielo." This barb comes after Lomazzo rebukes Vasari for not including the painter and sculptor Gaudenzio Ferrari in the Vite. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura (Milan: Per Paolo Gottardo Pontio, stampatore Regio, a instantia di Pietro Tini, 1584), p. 112. Lomazzo was not alone in his critique: notable responses to Vasari's text were written by Carlo Ridolfi (1648), Alessandro Lamo (1584), and Federico Zuccari (1605), among others. See Ferdinando Bologna, La coscienza storica dell'arte d'Italia (Turin: UTET, 1982); Stefano Pierguidi, "Federico Zuccari, tra reazione antivasariana e ossequio al culto di Michelangelo," Schede umanistiche 2006, no. 1, pp. 165-177; and Katja Burzer, ed., Le vite del Vasari: Genesi, topoi ricenzone (Venice: Marsilio, 2010).

¹⁵ Silvio Leydi, Sub umbra imperialis aquilae: immagini del potere e consenso politico nella Milano di Carlo V (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1999). On the followers of Leonardo see, among many: Maria Teresa Fiorio and Pietro C. Marani, eds., I Leonardeschi a Milano: fortuna e collezionismo (Milan: Electa, 1991); David Alan Brown, Giulio Bora, Marco Carminati, et al, The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy, 1490-1530, (Milan: Skira Editore, 1998); and Alessandro Ballarin, Marialucia Menegatti, and Barbara Maria Savy,

The relative scholarly neglect of Milan and Lombardy, particularly in the sixteenth century, stems largely from the city's varied and declining fortunes during this period. In 1499 the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza (1452-1508), abandoned his city in the face of invading French forces, ostensibly marking the end of Milanese sovereignty. With the exception of two brief Sforza restorations under Ludovico's sons Massimiliano (r. 1513-1515) and Francesco II (r. 1521-1535), Milan would spend the remainder of the early modern period under foreign occupation, first by the French and then, after 1535, as part of the Holy Roman and Spanish Hapsburg Empires.¹⁶ The political turbulence accompanying these frequent regime changes, while not quite as catastrophic as some early accounts suggest, disrupted traditional patronage networks, such as those at the Sforza court that had previously fostered notable practitioners, like Leonardo, and triggered temporary exoduses of artists from the city, as in 1513 when a number of

Leonardo a Milano: problemi di Leonardismo milanese tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento, 4 vols., (Verona: Edizioni dell'Aurora, 2010). A few summary catalogues of "pittura a Milano nel Cinquecento" have been published in Italy, often by banks, with extremely high quality images and informative entries by leading scholars, although these essays are often brief and without an extensive footnote apparatus. See, for example, Mina Gregori, Giulio Bora, Sandrina Bandera, et al, Pittura a Milano: Rinascimento e Manierismo (Milan: Cassa di risparmio delle provincie lombarde, 1998) and Maria Teresa Fiorio and Valerio Terraroli, eds., Lombardia manierista: arti e architettura, 1535-1600 (Brescia: UBI, Banco di Brescia, 2009). On artists' workshops and practices in the first third of the sixteenth century, with transcriptions of archival documents filling several volumes, see the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Janice Shell, Painters in Milan, 1490-1530: A Resource of Newly Discovered Documents (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986), as well as Pittori in bottega: Milano nel Rinascimento (Turin: U. Allemandi, 1995). Lastly, see the entries specifically on the visual arts and architecture in Storia di Milano, especially Franco Mazzini, "La pittura del primo Cinquecento," in Storia di Milano, vol. 8, pp. 569-655 and Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua, "La pittura a Milano dalla metà del XVI secolo al 1630," in Storia di Milano, vol. 10, pp. 673-780.

¹⁶ After Francesco II's death in 1535, the duchy of Milan devolved to Imperial control. From 1535 to 1556 the city was subject to the rule of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V; when Charles abdicated in 1556 and his kingdom was split between Spain and Austria, Milan and his other Italian holdings became part of the Spanish Empire ruled by his son, King Philip II. Philip had already been named Duke of Milan by his father in 1540. After the War of Spanish Succession, Milan passed in 1706 to the possession of the Austrian Hapsburgs until Napoleon invaded in 1796, establishing the Cisalpine Republic and then the Kingdom of Italy, with Milan as the capital. When the Napoleonic occupation ended in 1815, Milan returned to Austrian control until the Cinque Giornate in 1848 and, a few decades later, the Risorgimento and Unification of Italy.

artists, including Leonardo, left the city following the final defeat of the French.¹⁷ The governors appointed by the occupying regimes, with a few notable exceptions, such as Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, Alfonso d'Avalos, and Ferrante Gonzaga, often did not establish their own courts, leaving Milan without a court center for much of the sixteenth century. The historiographic lacuna in some ways thus reflects the biases of conventional portrayals of Milan, largely deriving from Jacob Burckhardt, as an autocratic state in which all culture was dependent upon and dominated by the duke.¹⁸ To this point it appears significant that the major monographs to consider Milanese art in the Cinquecento, excepting those dedicated to individual artists and schools, have focused primarily on Sforza and Imperial Hapsburg circles.¹⁹ In Italian scholarship particularly, an emphasis on ducal patronage has combined with nationalist histories to produce the narrative of "*il povero Milano*" (poor Milan), that traces to Il Moro's ouster the loss of Italian liberty and to the city's occupation by foreign powers a period of cultural decline that ended only after the Risorgimento.²⁰ "O poor Milan! O great city! O famous Milan!" lamented the oft-cited chronicler Gerolamo Priuli at the turn of the sixteenth century. "The barbarians have violated, shamed, and robbed you."²¹ Nationalist currents

¹⁷ Among the practitioners who left Milan at this time were Bambaia, Andrea and Cristoforo Solari, and, probably, Bernardino Luini. See chapter two, p. 123. Leonardo followed the French to Amboise, where he retired under the patronage of King Francis I.

¹⁸ Burckhardt, speaking specifically of the Visconti regime in the fourteenth century, calls Milan the "most complete and instructive type of tyranny." Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (London: Phaidon, 1995), p. 8.

¹⁹ See, primarily, Leydi, *Sub umbra imperialis aquilae* and Sacchi, *Il disegno incompiuto*; also Philippa Woodcock, *The Forgotten Patrons: The French Governors of Milan, 1499-1522*, (Ph.D. diss, Queen Mary, University of London, 2006).

²⁰ Massimo Carlo Giannini, "Note sulla dialettica politica nel ducato di Milano prima del suo ingresso nell'impero di Carlo V (1499-1535)," *Archivio storico lombardo* 127 (2000), pp. 29-60, especially pp. 30-40. See also D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, pp. 1-2.

²¹ "...le genti barbare de la quale sei stata violata, vergognata e rubata." *I diari di Gerolamo Priuli*, quoted in Giorgio Chittolini, "Milan in the Face of the Italian Wars (1494-1535): Between the Crisis of the State and the Affirmation of Urban Autonomy," in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95*:

have largely cooled in the wake of the Second World War and the end of Italian fascism, in which such narratives played a critical role, but they still remain a factor in some post-war scholarship.²²

The absence of a stable court center, combined with the political instability produced by these regime changes, the damage caused by military occupation, and the larger conflicts and power struggles of the Italian Wars, certainly had a dampening effect on Milanese cultural production in this period. However, in arenas beyond the court it was, more or less, business as usual. Alongside a thriving aristocracy, corporate institutions like trade associations, colleges, hospitals, charitable organizations, and confraternities attained arguably greater visibility than they had under Sforza rule.²³ Accordingly, my research addresses this scholarly lacuna by focusing not on the ducal or gubernatorial courts but on confraternities and lay associations, which remained constant and important sites of the production and use of images throughout this turbulent period. More than simply alternative channels of patronage, Milanese religious institutions and sodalities, evidence suggests, provided critical loci for the reestablishment of a coherent urban and regional identity under the French and Hapsburg occupations. Indeed, in the sixteenth century, lay piety, with a strong investment in Lombard sacred history and consecrated sites, assumed a vital new role in affirming traditions, validating local practices, and facilitating religious reform for urban and rural inhabitants. This is the thesis argued by Federico Chabod in his classic study, *Lo stato e la vita religiosa a*

Antecedents and Effects, ed. David Abulafia (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), p. 393. Chittolini's short article provides a good counter-argument to such narratives of decline.

²² Gagné, *French Milan*, p. 5. Similarly, Thomas Dandeleit and John Marino have observed that strong anti-Fascist sentiments in post-WWII Italy resulted in limited contact with Spain and limited scholarly interest in Spanish Italy until after the death of Franco in 1975. Dandeleit and Marino, "Introduction," in *Spain in Italy*, p. 3.

²³ Chittolini, "Milan in the Face of the Italian Wars," pp. 396-397.

Milano nell'epoca di Carlo V (1971), where he posits religious culture and, in particular, Milan's ancient and unique Ambrosian liturgical tradition as one of the few remaining sources of "indigenous" identity and local pride following the collapse of the duchy.²⁴ In chapter two, for example, we see the Leonardesque mode of Bernardino Luini function as a visual signifier of Sforza power and a connection to the bygone regime under which the confraternity was founded. Chapter three similarly touches on some of the ways in which the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, which had been a crucial locus of Sforza religious patronage and dynastic commemoration, was refashioned as a devotional center during the Hapsburg occupation of Milan, attracting privileges and patronage from members of the new Imperial regime. I argue that the confraternity of S. Corona, several of whose members held government posts, played a role in reorienting devotion around a charismatic sacred object and dynamic performances by two artists linked alternately with the emperor Charles V and local Lombard traditions. Likewise, in chapter four I demonstrate the resonances of Milanese antiquity, both Christian and Roman, evoked by Carlo Borromeo's stational crosses.

A recurring theme throughout this dissertation is the importance of the city of Milan as a site for religious performance. In chapter three, for example, we see how the confraternity of S. Corona developed a coherent confraternal iconography across neighborhoods. The sacred topography of the city plays a dominant role in chapter 4, in which city streets were transformed by public monuments and through confraternal procession and spectacle into a "New Jerusalem." By examining the interpenetration of confraternal devotion and the physical fabric of the city, and exploring the dynamic local

²⁴ Federico Chabod, *Lo stato e la vita religiosa a Milano nell'epoca di Carlo V* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1971), pp. 271-273 especially.

contexts that informed these performances and image ensembles, a study of Milan offers a productive complement to rich accounts of cultic activities and images in other urban centers like Rome.²⁵ While Milan could not claim the vast quantities of relics and sacred images that attracted pilgrims to the Holy City, it did maintain its own ancient liturgical tradition named for Saint Ambrose, patron protector of the city, and, in the later sixteenth century, the city aggressively promoted itself as a "Second Rome" under the pastoral guidance of Carlo Borromeo.²⁶

From prints, maps, and written descriptions we can recover a sense of Cinquecento Milan and its spaces of devotion (fig. 1).²⁷ The city consisted of six neighborhoods extending out in wedges from the cathedral to the walls, and each named for one of the six main gates, or *porte*, into the city. Clockwise from the north, these gates (and districts) were Porta Comasina, Porta Nuova, Porta Orientale, Porta Romana, Porta Ticinese, and Porta Vercellina. Near the center was the Duomo, then still unfinished; half a mile to the north/northwest was the Castello Sforzesco, no longer the seat of the Milanese court but still a functioning citadel. Through these neighborhoods wound several processional paths, among them the great Via Sacra from Porta Ticinese

²⁵ Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco and Silvia Carandini, L'effimero Barocco: strutture della festa nella Roma del '600 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977); Richard Joseph Ingersoll, The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome (Ph.D. diss., The University of California, Berkeley, 1978); and Rose Marie San Juan, Rome: A City Out of Print (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

²⁶ On the Ambrosian liturgy and tradition see Enrico Cattaneo, La Chiesa di Ambrogio: studi di storia e di liturgia (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1984) and Angelo Majo, Storia della Chiesa ambrosiana: dalle origini ai nostri giorni (Milan: NED, 2005).

²⁷ Some of the key early texts are Paolo Morigia, Historia dell'antichità di Milano, divisa in quattro libri (Venice: Guerra, 1592); Carlo Torre, Il ritratto di Milano, diviso in tre libri (Milan: Federico Agnelli, 1674); Serviliano Latuada, Descrizione di Milano ornata con molti disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue, che si trovano in questa metropoli, 5 vols. (Milano, Nella Regio-Ducal Corte, a spese de Giuseppe Cairoli, 1737); Descrizione sacra di Milano antico, e moderno regolata sul corso devoto delle quarant'ore (Milan: Giuseppe Mazzucchelli, 1760). A manuscript description of the city and its various sacred sites and *luoghi pii*, dating to ca. 1592-1594 and conserved in the Ambrosiana (BAM A 202 suss.), and which also exists in a more legible copy made in 1728 (Archivio Storico Civico di Milano (ASCM, codice archivio B3), was very recently published with commentary by Marzia Giuliani as Le antichità di Milano: una descrizione della città alla fine del Cinquecento (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2011).

and the church of San Lorenzo up along what is now Via Torino to the Duomo and the circuitous route of the annual Corpus Christi procession from the Duomo to the church of Sant'Ambrogio and back.²⁸

The process of contextualizing these confraternities and their visual culture involves an understanding not only of the sacred topography of the city and its relics but also of the Milanese traditions in which the confraternities were rooted, not only historical and devotional, but also artistic. Indeed, while confraternal visual culture in Milan was responsive to widespread developments within the visual arts during the period, like the introduction of linear perspective, the rise of Mannerism, and the new Tridentine dictates for religious images, it also reflected local conditions and particularities, such as the *sacri monti* of Lombardy and Piedmont. One of the secondary aims of this project is to contribute to a growing art historical reevaluation of the *sacri monti* or "holy mountains," a network of shrines in the Alpine foothills, the first of which was established at Varallo in 1486 by Bernardino Caimi, confessor to the Duchess of Milan, Beatrice d'Este.²⁹ As a topographical replica of Jerusalem, which had been made less accessible to European pilgrims by the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the expansion of the Ottomans in the eastern Mediterranean, Varallo was a major pilgrimage destination, rivaling the Holy Land for Italian Christians. The chapels of the *sacri monti* (figs. 54, 73, 105, and 106), presented immersive "hyper-real" installations of life-sized polychrome sculptures, often fitted with horsehair wigs and glass eyes and given

²⁸ These routes are discussed in chapters two and four, along with relevant bibliography.

²⁹ A basic summary of the history of Varallo and of the *sacri monti* can be found in William Hood, "The *Sacro Monte* of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Dally (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984), pp. 291-311 and Luciano Vaccaro, ed., *Sacri monti: devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma*, (Milan: Jaca Book, 1992). For a more comprehensive bibliography see chapters three and four.

multimedia props, and illusionistic backdrops that obfuscated not only the boundaries of space but of medium. In the past, these shrines were often relegated by scholars to the "low" culture of popular piety. Even Alessandro Nova, whose essay on Varallo in *Reframing the Renaissance* (1995) aimed to problematize such conceptions by elucidating the socio-economic diversity of the shrine's visitors, nevertheless ultimately dismisses the "formal merits" of its images, concluding that "a sophisticated visitor would have found these works unsatisfactory from a purely artistic point of view."³⁰ More recently, however, art historians such as Stephen Campbell, Allie Terry-Fritsch, and Christine Göttler have begun to reassess the place of Varallo in the Renaissance canon, pointing to the reciprocity of influence. The veristic tormentors of Christ, for example, have been associated with the grotesques of Leonardo and allusions to Varallo's architecture and imagery have been identified in paintings by Lorenzo Lotto.³¹ Similar resonances, I shall show, are evident in the confraternal imagery here under investigation. As I demonstrate, in chapters three and four especially, Milanese chapel ensembles and ephemeral displays in some cases deliberately referenced or mimicked elements of Varallo's appearance. I will propose that these overt allusions to Varallo functioned to

³⁰ Alessandro Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture In Europe And Latin America, 1450-1650* ed. Claire J. Fargo (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 125-126.

³¹ Christine Göttler, "The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 393-451; Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Touch Me. Touch Me Not Re-evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity*, ed. Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli, special issue of *Open Arts Journal* vol. 4 (winter 2014-2015), pp. 111-132. Stephen Campbell will address Varallo in his current research project on "periphery" in northern Italy. Varallo also receives its own sub-section in the Italian Renaissance survey textbook co-authored by Campbell and Michael Cole. See Stephen J. Campbell and Michael W. Cole, *Italian Renaissance Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2012), pp. 596-597. The reverberations of Varallo in Lorenzo Lotto's work were noted as early as 1963 by Anna Maria Brizio, "Il Sacro Monte di Varallo: Gaudenzio e Lotto," in *Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti, Torino* vol. 19 (1963), pp. 35-42. See also the recent doctoral dissertation by Carla Benzan, *Doubling Matters: the Place of the Image at the Sacro Monte of Varallo (1590-1630)* (Ph.D. diss, The University of London, 2014).

activate an established visual rhetoric of embodiment and sacred presence associated with the Lombard *sacri monti*.³² I will also explore more generally the ways in which similar "sculptural visualizations" and lapidary metaphors—in Titian's citation of *Laocöon* in the *Crowning with Thorns* (fig. 47), for example, or Bernardino Luini's more subtle allusions to polychrome Lamentation groups in his Passion cycle at S. Giorgio al Palazzo—stimulated the beholder's sense of touch, providing a greater sense of immediacy to the divine encounter facilitated by affective contemplation.

III. The Confraternal Context

This dissertation examines the reception of sacred images in Cinquecento Milan through the lens of confraternal devotion. In the first book of his urban panegyric, *La Nobiltà di Milano* (1595), the Jesuit Milanese historian Paolo Morigia proudly describes his city's many pious institutions and lay brotherhoods:

In Milan there are thirty-two schools of flagellants (*Disciplini*), and other than these there are many secret companies (*scole secrete*) of honorable gentlemen and merchants that recite their Hours every feast day, frequent the most holy sacraments, attend to spiritual matters and to the augmentation of the cult of God, and they also perform many secret acts of charity, both spiritual and earthly.³³

Morigia could have stated the proliferation of Milanese lay sodalities in even stronger terms: by the end of the sixteenth century nearly every (male) citizen of Milan belonged to a confraternity of some sort. Thirty-five percent, of both sexes, belonged to one of the

³² An example of the interpretive model I am proposing is the study of Spanish painting and polychrome sculpture, Xavier Bray, ed., *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting And Sculpture 1600-1700* (London: National Gallery, 2009).

³³ "Diro ancora come in Milano ci sono trentadue Scole de Disciplini, e oltre di questi ci sono molte Scole secrete d'honorati Gentilhuomini e Mercanti, che dicono le sue Hore ogni giorno di festa, frequentano i santissimi Sacramenti, attendono alle cose spirituali, e all'aumento del colto di Dio, e anco [sic] fanno molte elemosine secrete, cosi corporali, come spirituali." Paolo Morigia, *La Nobiltà di Milano* (Milan: Pacifico Pontio, 1595), p. 52.

myriad confraternities of the Holy Sacrament, while still other inhabitants were members of the neighborhood-based companies of S. Croce, the Schools of Christian Doctrine, or one of the city's more unique lay brotherhoods.³⁴ As Christopher Black has argued, confraternities and religious associations are ideal pathways into understanding the spiritual life of the early modern laity.³⁵ Throughout these case studies, I explore the ways that confraternities structured and framed devotees' experience of the sacred through corporate and individual devotions, processions and other ritual performances, and, not least, through the spaces and images that gave visual form to their prayers. Indeed, it was precisely this formative role of confraternities in the shaping of lay religious belief and behavior that prompted the Milanese Archbishop Carlo Borromeo to give them such emphasis in his reforms during the Tridentine period, as we shall see.

The reintegration of confraternal images into an art historical account of sixteenth century Milan, and of well-known artworks like Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* into their Milanese confraternal context, contributes towards the ongoing challenge to the long-held view of the Italian Renaissance as a period of secularization. Over the past several decades, historians have revealed the central importance of confraternities to the culture

³⁴ In the latter part of the century, as part of his sweeping reforms of civic and religious life, the Archbishop Carlo Borromeo worked to establish a confraternity of the sacrament in every parish in the Milanese archdiocese in which the inhabitants could be instructed in the proper veneration of the sacrament to "guard against all sins and evil behavior." Carlo Borromeo's letter to Giovanni Francesco Bonomi, dated April 1566, is quoted and translated in Danilo Zardin, "Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era: Shaping Consciences and Christianizing Society in Milan and Lombardy," in The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 192; the membership statistics are given on p. 195. See chapter two of this dissertation for a full discussion of sacrament confraternities. On the Schools of Christian Doctrine see Angelo Bianchi, "Le scuole della dottrina cristiana: linguaggio e strumenti per una azione educativa 'di massa,'" in Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della "grande riforma": cultura, religione, e arti del governo nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento, ed. Franco Buzzi and Danilo Zardin (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1997), pp. 145-158 and Paul F. Grendler, "Borromeo and the Schools of Christian Doctrine," in San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century, ed. John M. Headley and John Tomaro (London: Associated University Presses, 1988), pp. 158-171.

³⁵ Christopher Black, "Introduction: The Confraternity Context," in Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas, ed. Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), p. 2.

of medieval and early modern Italy. Foundational studies by Christopher Black, Konrad Eisenbichler, Danilo Zardin, Nicholas Terpstra, Ronald Weissman, Brian Pullan, and others have elucidated their diverse activities and structures of "ritual brotherhood," and have provided methodological frameworks through which to interpret their spiritual and charitable initiatives.³⁶ Particularly relevant to my interests is the emphasis of scholars such as Richard Trexler on the roles of confraternities in public ritual and spectacle in the Renaissance city.³⁷ Much of the research on confraternities in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, however, particularly by Anglophone scholars, has tended to focus on the cities of Florence, Rome, and Venice and neglected Milan, echoing the larger historiographic lacuna discussed above. The field of Milanese confraternal studies, in contrast, has remained almost the exclusive purview of Italian historians.³⁸ Among the

³⁶ The literature on early modern confraternities is vast and growing. Some of the most important and representative studies are: Brian Pullan, Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State to 1620 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Ronald F. E. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence (New York: Academic Press, 1982); Christopher Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991); Nicholas Terpstra, Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and idem, ed., The Politics of Ritual Kinship. On Danilo Zardin's vast scholarly output, see below, note 40. Another critical text is Gilles Meersseman's study of confraternities associated with the Dominican order: Gilles Gérard Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis: confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo, 3 vols. (Rome: Herder editrice e libreria, 1977). A useful survey of the development and state of the field, although now fourteen years out of date, is Christopher Black's "The Development of Confraternity Studies over the Past Thirty Years" (published in 2000) in The Politics of Ritual Kinship, pp. 9-29. See also, more recently, Marina Gazzini, ed., Studi confraternali orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2009) and Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prosperi, and Nicholas Terpstra, eds., Brotherhood and boundaries - Fraternalità e barriere: convegno nazionale di studi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011).

³⁷ Richard C. Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence (New York: Academic Press, 1980); also Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985) and "Ritual Behavior in Renaissance Florence: The Setting," in Major Problems in the History of the Italian Renaissance, ed. B. Kohl and A. Andrews Smith, (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1995), pp. 393-402. On early modern ritual generally, a seminal, synthetic account remains Edward Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See also Samuel Cohn, Jr., Marcello Fantoni, Franco Franceschi, and Fabrizio Ricciardelli, eds., Late Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Studies in Italian Urban Culture (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

³⁸ The first acknowledged scholarly source on Milanese confraternities is Lodovico Antonio Muratori, "Delle pie confraternità de' Laici, e dell'origine d'esse, de' Flagellanti e delle sacre missioni," in

current generation of Italian scholars, Marina Gazzini has done particularly important work surveying Milanese archival material in addition to her historical studies.³⁹ Any study of lay piety and confraternities in Lombardy is necessarily indebted to the magisterial scholarship of Danilo Zardin. In addition to regional surveys and focused monographic studies, such as his article on the confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, of vital importance to the next chapter, Zardin has demonstrated across several works the crucial role played by confraternities in the pastoral strategies of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo during the Tridentine period.⁴⁰ The effects of the

Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane, trans. Gian-Francesco Soli Muratori, vol. 3 (Milan: A spese di G. Pasquali, 1751), pp. 592-607. See also Antonio Noto, Amici dei poveri di Milano (1305-1964), (Milan: Giuffrè, 1966); Il buon fedele: le confraternite tra medioevo e prima età moderna (Verona: Cierre, 1998), especially the essays by Laura Gaffuri and Danilo Zardin; Lucia Aiello, Marco Bascapè, Sergio Rebora, eds., Milano: radici e luoghi della carità (Turin: U. Allemandi, 2008); Marco Bascapè, "I luoghi pii milanesi ai tempi delle Guerre d'Italia. Finalità caritative, istanze religiose e funzioni civiche," in Prima di Carlo Borromeo. Istituzioni, religione e società agli inizi del Cinquecento, ed. Alberto Rocca and Paola Vismara (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2012), pp. 321-366. A helpful survey of some of the major contributions by Italian scholars to the field of confraternity studies at large, though once again a generation removed from the current state of the field, is Konrad Eisenbichler, "Italian Scholarship on Pre-Modern Confraternities in Italy," Renaissance Quarterly vol. 50 (1997), pp. 319-333.

³⁹ Marina Gazzini, "Confraternite a Milano nel periodo Visconteo-Sforzesco. Tipologia e stato delle fonti," Civiltà ambrosiana vol. 13, no. 5 (1995), pp. 347-359; Dare et habere: il mondo di un mercante milanese del Quattrocento (Milan: Camera di commercio, industria, artigianato e agricoltura, 1997); "Patriziati urbani e spazi confraternali in età rinascimentale: l'esempio di Milano," Archivio storico italiano vol. 158, no. 3 (2000), pp. 491-514; Confraternite e società cittadina nel medioevo italiano (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006); "L'associazionismo religioso laicale a Milano dalla tradizione medievale all'età di Carlo Borromeo," in Prima di Carlo Borromeo: istituzioni, religione, e società agli inizi del Cinquecento, ed. Alberto Rocca and Paola Vismara (Rome: Bulzoni, 2012), pp. 269-290. For Gazzini's work on the confraternity of S. Corona, see chapter three. Gazzini has also compiled a bibliography of current scholarship that provides a useful complement to published historiographic essays and the bibliographies made available through the Society for Confraternity Studies at the University of Toronto. See Marina Gazzini, "Bibliografia medievistica di storia confraternale," Reti medievali rivista vol. 5, no. 1 (2004). http://www.dssg.unifi.it/_RM/rivista/biblio/Gazzini.htm Accessed 11/1/2014.

⁴⁰ See, chiefly, Danilo Zardin, Confraternite e vita di pietà nelle campagne lombarde tra 500 e 600: la pieve di Parabiago-Legnano, (Milan: NED, 1981); "Le confraternite in Italia settentrionale fra XV e XVIII secolo," Società e storia vol. 35 (1987), pp. 81-137; "Il rilancio delle confraternite nell'Europa cattolica cinque-seicentesca," in I tempi del Concilio. Religione, cultura e società nell'Europa tridentina, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli and Danilo Zardin (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1997), pp. 107-144; "Relaunching Confraternities" in The Politics of Ritual Kinship, pp. 190-209; "Tra chiesa e società 'laica': le confraternite in epoca moderna," in Storia della chiesa in Europa tra ordinamento politico-amministrativo e strutture ecclesiastiche, ed. Luciano Vaccaro (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005), pp. 381-399. See also the edited volumes: Danilo Zardin, ed., La città e i poveri: Milano e le terre lombarde dal Rinascimento all'età spagnola (Milan: Jaca Book, 1995); Corpi, "fraternità", mestieri nella storia della società europea (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998); Confraternite: fede e opere in Lombardia dal medioevo al Settecento (Milan: Scalpendi,

Borromeo reforms on confraternities, and, likewise, the ways in which confraternal piety and ritual contributed to Borromeo's efforts to sanctify, regulate, and discipline the daily lives of the Milanese shall be taken up in chapter four of this dissertation.

In contrast to the substantial research on confraternal piety by social historians, the study of the visual culture of these institutions, in Milan specifically but also more broadly in Italy, remains underdeveloped. Critical inroads have been made by art historians like Barbara Wisch, whose co-edited volume with Diane Cole Ahl, *Confraternities and the Visual Arts: Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (2000) laid the foundation for inquiries into the significance of confraternities as sites for the production and consumption of visual images.⁴¹ However, as Wisch herself wrote six years later, the field of confraternal art history is still forming⁴² and, once again, Milan represents a conspicuous gap within this still emerging field. The Lombard capital is absent or mentioned only in passing in most of the major works of confraternal art history; likewise, while some historical studies of Milanese confraternities touch on visual culture, they do so only peripherally.⁴³ The case studies presented here work to remedy this oversight, offering an initial foray into a potentially rich domain.

2011); and Lucia Aiello, Marco Bascapè, and Danilo Zardin, eds., Milano e le sue associazioni: cinque secoli di storia cittadina (XVI-XX secolo) (Milan: Scalpendi, 2014).

⁴¹ Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl, eds., Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁴² Barbara Wisch, "Incorporating Images: Some Themes and Tasks for Confraternity Studies and Early Modern Visual Culture," in Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas, pp. 243-263. In this essay Wisch outlines the state of the field of confraternal art history, identifies some key publications, and poses questions and avenues for future inquiry.

⁴³ This observation has also been made by Starleen K. Meyer, "Conceptual and Material Culture in the Service of Confraternities in Milan," Confraternitas vol. 18, no. 2, (2007), p. 20. One art historian who has published on Milanese confraternal art is Stefania Buganza, "Le confraternite lombarde e l'arte: tracce per una storia della committenza in età tardomedievale e rinascimentale," in Confraternite. Fede e opere in Lombardia, pp. 43-75. See also, on the benefactors and artistic patronage of charitable organizations, Marco Bascapè, Paolo Galimberti, and Sergio Reborà, eds., Il tesoro dei poveri. Il patrimonio artistico delle Istituzioni pubbliche di assistenza e beneficenza (ex Eca) di Milano (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2001).

IV. The Body of Christ and the Sacred Image in the Age of Reform

A new interpretation of Milanese confraternal art along the lines I propose here is important for several reasons beyond simply filling a geographic gap in the history of Italian Renaissance art. While the rich visual culture of the three confraternities here under investigation is notable in its own right, their shared dedication to Christ's Passion and chronological distribution allow me to speak more broadly to Milan's acknowledged importance as a testing ground for the agenda of Catholic Reform, raising important questions about changes in Eucharistic devotion, the cult of relics, image veneration, and lay piety over the course of the Cinquecento. Linking the confraternities and visual objects studied in this dissertation is their focus on the suffering body of Christ, accessed through the sacrament of the Eucharist and relics related to his Passion, visualized in images, and engaged with through affective devotion. As Lee Palmer Wandel has observed, the words spoken by Christ at the Last Supper and echoed by the priest during the Mass, "this is my body," were at the epicenter of the confessional crisis of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ What did it mean for Christ to have a body? What kind of body did—*could*—Christ have? Could that body be present in the material world? How could that body be represented and how should devotees engage with it? These debates about the body of Christ were framed and complicated by broader inquiries into the human body taking place within Renaissance cultures of scientific learning and by the artistic study and representation of the natural world.⁴⁵ Catholics, feeling pressure from

⁴⁴ Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 6.

⁴⁵ See, among many, Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), especially chapter five on "Sacred Anatomy and the Order of Representation."; Katharine Park, "The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy,"

Protestant critics, spoke out forcefully in defense of the cult of Corpus Christi, asserting the efficacy of visual engagement with the Eucharistic host and Christological relics, and with images that conformed to reformed views about decorum in sacred art.⁴⁶ In my examination of the use of sacred images by Milanese lay brethren, I call attention to the ways in which each of these sodalities grappled with making Christ's body present in their devotional spaces and how these pictorial negotiations responded both to critical transformations in the visual arts and to the widening controversies over the nature of the Eucharist and the nature of the sacred image.

These anxieties hinged on the notion of "presence." The Eucharist, the cult of relics, sacred images, and, indeed, the Incarnation itself all confronted the same paradox, which was whether—and how—the sacred could be made present in the material world and be perceived by the human senses. It is important, however, to distinguish between the different categories of "presence" that I am dealing with here. In the Eucharist, following the dictates of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Christ's Real Presence was a corporeal and theological truth: although concealed behind the "accidents" of bread and wine, Christ was understood to be incarnate in the sacrament after consecration. In visual images, sacred presence was not a physical reality per se—to be so would be idolatrous—but a visible manifestation, a conduit to a transcendent "special reality," as Hans Belting writes in his classic account of sacred images, *Bild und Kult*.⁴⁷ It was this relationship between pictorial reality and "special reality" that came under pressure with the advent of

Renaissance Quarterly vol. 47 (1994), pp. 1-33 and "Holy Autopsies: Sainly Bodies and Medical Expertise, 1300-1600" in The Body in Early Modern Italy, ed. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 61-73.

⁴⁶ The Council took up the questions of relics and of sacred images at the twenty-fifth session, held December 3-4, 1563. Norman P. Tanner, ed./trans., Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, vol. 2 (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), pp. 774-776.

⁴⁷ See the English edition: Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 471.

reform in the sixteenth century. Also relevant here is the more general notion of "presence" in an image as it relates to naturalism, articulated in the fifteenth century by Alberti when he declared in *Della pittura* that painting "possesses a truly divine power in that not only does it make the absent present...but it also represents the dead to the living."⁴⁸

The Council of Trent reaffirmed the legitimacy of a material cult, confirming the doctrine of transubstantiation and the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist in 1551 and, in 1563, endorsing the benefits of sacred images, by which "the faithful should be aroused to adore and love God and to practice devotion."⁴⁹ But this notion of presence was fraught with anxiety about decorum of representation and clarifying and maintaining the distance between the image and its prototype. In the *Summa Theologicae* (1265-1274), Thomas Aquinas had proclaimed the essential imperceptibility of Christ's Real Presence in the sacrament:

"The body of Christ, according to the mode of existence it has in the sacrament, can be reached neither by sense nor imagination; it is open only to the intellect which may be called a spiritual eye."⁵⁰

The goal of the religious image was thus to facilitate a shift from corporeal to incorporeal vision and convey some notion of spiritual sight through visual means.⁵¹ According to

⁴⁸ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Cecil Grayson (New York: Penguin, 1991), p. 60. The original Latin reads " Nam habet ea quidem in se vim admodum divinam non modo ut quod de amicitia dicunt, absentes pictura praesentes esse faciat, verum etiam defunctos longa post saecula viventibus exhibeat." Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture: The Latin Texts of De Pictura and De Statua*, ed. Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon, 1972), p. 61

⁴⁹ Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, p. 775.

⁵⁰ "Et ideo, proprie loquendo, corpus Christi, secundum modum essendi quem habet in hoc sacramento, neque sensu neque imaginatione perceptibile est: sed solo intellectu, qui dicitur oculus spiritualis." Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation*, ed. Thomas Gilby, vol. 52 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963-1976), pp. 116-117. The citation within Aquinas's organization of the *Summa* is 3a, 76, 7.

⁵¹ Christian Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary In Raphael* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), p. 4. Gabriele Paleotti stated that sacred images should elevate the eyes ("levando gli occhi in alto") beyond mortal and temporal things so that the eyes might reach eternal things. See Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, p. 108. For an examination of these ideas with regard to a particular image type, the Mass of St. Gregory, in the later Middle Ages, see Caroline Walker Bynum,

Achim Timmermann, in spite of Aquinas's insistence upon a divide between sense and intellect, the belief persisted in late medieval and early modern Europe that the spiritual eye "could see in a vaguely ocular way or at least be stimulated and exercised through an all-out appeal to the viewer's bodily sense of sight."⁵² Although Timmermann's analysis is confined largely to northern and central European art and to the period before the Reformation, this notion of cultivating spiritual vision through sensory appeal extends equally well to many sixteenth-century Italian religious images, including those here under investigation, and dovetails with current scholarly reassessments of the role of sensory perception, vision, and visuality in the Catholic Reformation.⁵³

As I demonstrate throughout this dissertation, the images and rituals of these confraternities were deeply invested in facilitating a direct, empathetic, and embodied encounter with the suffering Christ. The goal of affective contemplation, practiced by all of the confraternities discussed in this study, was the complete sensory and emotional immersion of devotees into the Passion story.⁵⁴ Through the creation of vivid mental pictures, often supported by image ensembles and evocative meditational texts, the *confratelli* were prompted to "imagine themselves present" at the sacred events and, conversely, imagine the holy figures present in their own reality, that they might see,

"Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 208-240.

⁵² Achim Timmermann, "A View of the Eucharist on the Eve of the Protestant Reformation," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 365.

⁵³ De Boer and Göttler, *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, cited above, note 31; Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper, eds., *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary*, and John Hendrix and Charles H. Carman, eds., *Renaissance Theories of Vision* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), especially the essays by John Hendrix, pp. 89-102, and Kleinbub pp. 117-134.

⁵⁴ Chapter two makes the argument, based on visual evidence in the chapel space and on parallel cases with secure documentation, that the confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo engaged in this type of meditation. The sodality's statutes and other documents, which would have detailed their devotional practices, do not survive.

hear, and even touch them through the faculties of the imagination. The desire for physical contact with Christ's body and the stimulation of the viewer's sense of touch is of particular concern in chapter three, in which I explore the tactile valences of Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* and Gaudenzio Ferrari's Passion cycle triggered by painted evocations of sculpture. Later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such a desire to touch Christ's body became increasingly problematic, if not illicit, as the Tridentine church sought to keep the sacred at a more decorous remove from the profane, strictly regulating lay access to sacred spaces and objects like the consecrated host and holy relics. Gaspare Loarte, whose texts were promoted by Carlo Borromeo and read by a number of Milanese confraternities, addresses the desire to touch the body of Christ in the *Istruzioni per meditare i misterii del rosario della SS. Vergine Madre* (first edition 1573). In a section on receiving the sacrament, he advises the reader against physical contact in language somewhat reminiscent of the *noli mi tangere*:

Consideration: ...If one were able to see Our Lord in human form, as he was first seen, one might by great favor have been able to touch him and to kiss his hand, or rather the top of his clothing. What would one say, seeing himself touch his fragile, mortal flesh to the flesh and body of Christ the Lord, immortal, impenetrable, and glorious?

Opinion: Being that [Christ's] flesh is touched by God, it must be conserved for God, adored for God; and it must not be permitted to be wrongly touched by others, but kept like a relic, a thing consecrated to God.⁵⁵

In this way, these case studies offer useful complements and counterpoints to a larger move in recent scholarship to reevaluate the category of the Renaissance "sacred

⁵⁵ "Consideratione. Se potesse vedere il Nostro Sign. in forma humana, come prima si vedeva, haverebbe per gran favore poterli toccare e baciare la mano, anzi l'insima parte della sua veste; Che dirà vedendosi toccare la carne sua fragile, e caduca [sic.] dalla carne, e dal corpo di Christo Signo. suo immortale, impassibile, e glorioso? Aviso: Essendo, che la carne sua é toccata da Dio, la deve conservare per Dio, amarla per Dio; ne permettere, che da altri mai sia malamente toccata tenendola come una reliquia e come una cosa consecrata a Dio." Gaspare Loarte, *Istruzioni per meditare i misterii del rosario della SS. Vergine Madre* (Rome: B. Zannetti, 1610), p. 209.

image" and the effects of the sixteenth-century reforms on the visual arts in Italy. Following critical interventions by historians like John O'Malley, art historical study of religious art from 1500-1650 has shifted focus from accounts of a reactive and repressive Counter-Reformation to more positive examinations of the multivalent culture of the Catholic Reformation.⁵⁶ Art historians, among them Alexander Nagel and Stephen Campbell, have called attention to the experimentation of the first decades of the Cinquecento, before the Council of Trent, while Marcia Hall and Stuart Lingo especially have challenged views of the Catholic Reformation as a "universally deadening force" and shown how artists negotiated apparently competing demands of "allure" and "devotion" to fashion a new type of sacred image.⁵⁷ This dissertation joins these contributions in seeking to revise Belting's identification of the Renaissance as a moment of rupture, separating the medieval "era of the image" from a modern "era of art." It also

⁵⁶ A discussion of the various arguments over the labels "Counter-Reformation" and "Catholic Reformation," and O'Malley's own term "early modern Catholicism," with a more complete bibliography is found in John W. O'Malley, Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000). See also R. Po-Chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Robert Bireley, The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Re-Assessment of the Counter-Reformation (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999). For an account of the rich culture of Catholic reform with an emphasis on Milan see Buzzi and Zardin, eds., Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della "grande riforma, cited above note 34. These new interpretive models offer both an affirmation of and a corrective to the thesis of the eminent Italian historian of heresy, Delio Cantimori, first published in 1939, that an experimental phase of reform existed in Italy around the mid-sixteenth century before losing momentum and being overtaken by a more repressive post-Tridentine phase, and that these "Italian heretics," neither Catholic nor Protestant, were the continuators of Quattrocento humanism. See Delio Cantimori, Eretici italiani del Cinquecento: e. Prospettive di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento (Turin: Einaudi, 2002).

⁵⁷ Alexander Nagel, Michelangelo and the Reform of Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and The Controversy of Renaissance Art (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011); Stephen J. Campbell, "Counter Reformation Polemic and Mannerist Counter-Aesthetics," RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics vol. 46 (2004), pp. 98-119 and "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520-1540," in Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 291-327; Stuart Lingo, Federico Barocci: Allure And Devotion In Late Renaissance Painting (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); and Marcia B. Hall, The Sacred Image In the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). See in addition Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne, eds., Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), especially p. 8 of the introduction for the phrase "universally deadening force." Megan Holmes also applies pressure on conventional accounts of the sacred image in the Renaissance in The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

strives to make new claims. For example, while not fully rejecting Nagel's characterization of the "soft iconoclasm" of Catholic reform, I question arguments that propose an evacuation of the image or that continue to place religious function and belief in binary opposition to progressive modes of representation, and I ultimately argue that visual experimentation occurred in these cases not necessarily in spite of religion but, in fact, because of it.⁵⁸

Milanese art offers a vital lens through which to interpret these broader shifts in the form and function of religious images in Catholic Europe. And yet a sufficiently-detailed dedicated study of Milan is lacking, nor is the city treated in adequate depth in the above-mentioned scholarship, an omission that is particularly problematic given the demonstrated importance of Milan to the culture of Catholic reform.⁵⁹ Strategically located on the alpine border to the Protestant north, Milan was greatly affected by the challenge to the Roman Church and played an important role in the reforms of the sixteenth century. Termed the "foremost laboratory of the Counter-Reformation" by Wietse de Boer, the Lombard capital was the site of the schismatic Council of Pisa-Milan in 1512; a Milanese citizen, Isidoro Isolani, was Luther's first unofficial Italian respondent in 1519; and, in the second half of the century, Milan was home to Archbishops Carlo and Federico Borromeo, whose sweeping religious and civic initiatives set the tone for the rest of Italy and had a lasting influence on the Catholic world.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ A provocative argument about the roles of naturalism and "tangible presence" in Lombard religious art and Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* is offered in Anne H. Muraoka, *Il Fine della Pittura: Canon Reformulation in the Age of the Counter-Reformation. The Lombard-Roman Confluence* (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 2009), currently in preparation as a book-length study.

⁵⁹ Hall, for example, while treating several artists who were from Lombardy or spent time there, does not mention Milan but focuses her attention primarily on Venice.

⁶⁰ De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*, p. ix.

V. Sources, Objects, and Methodologies

One of the major difficulties of this project has been to come to grips with a deeply fragmented material and documentary heritage. The paucity of scholarship on sixteenth-century Milanese art and history stems, in addition to the reasons cited above, also from significant holes in the archives and the visual record, which are particularly conspicuous and challenging for historians of religious culture. All archives suffer the inevitable damages of time, but the situation in Milan is particularly acute. The sweeping reforms of Emperor Joseph II, suppressing and aggregating confraternities and monasteries throughout the Italian territories of the Hapsburg Empire, effectively shuttered many of the city's religious institutions when they were enacted in Milan in 1786.⁶¹ Of the thirty-nine confraternities that then remained in the city, only five survived these initial reforms, with further suppressions, aggregations, and condensations continuing throughout the Napoleonic period. Starleen K. Meyer offers a valuable summary of the damage done by these reforms to the visual and documentary patrimony of Milan's lay sodalities, demonstrating the challenges facing historians of Milanese confraternities and highlighting some of the major contributions by scholars to date.⁶² Meyer has also begun the Herculean effort of compiling a catalogue of the confraternal material in Milan's Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

As Meyer notes, the suppression of Milan's religious institutions and lay associations meant not only a cessation of their activities but the confiscation and

⁶¹ See Vincenzo Forcella, *Chiese e luoghi pii soppressi in Milano dal 1764 al 1808* (Milan: Bortolotti di G. Prato, 1889). The reforms in Milan were planned in 1784.

⁶² Starleen K. Meyer, "Conceptual and Material Culture in the Service of Confraternities in Milan," *Confraternitas* vol. 18, no. 2 (2007), pp. 17-31 and "Towards a Catalogue of Confraternal Material in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana," *Confraternitas* vol. 20, no. 1 (2009), pp. 11-20. She is also working to gather a bibliography of published scholarship on Milanese confraternities and lay religious culture. I thank Dr. Meyer for discussing the state of her projects with me and generously sharing some of her preliminary findings.

dispersal of their material assets by the government and the further misplacement of some of their records when the city's archives were centralized. Oratories, and other public structures were demolished and artworks were sold to museums and private collectors, usually leaving no records of their provenance. The scope of the losses to the visual record is seen most acutely in chapter four, where the primary objects under investigation, the *croci stazionali* erected under Carlo Borromeo, no longer survive in their original forms, if they survive at all, and practically all of the other artworks owned and displayed by the confraternities of S. Croce have been lost.⁶³ In a very few cases, such as that of a portrait of St. Ambrose originally owned by the confraternity of S. Croce at S. Ambrogio that eventually resurfaced in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, these objects have been traced. But the vast majority, such as a bronze statue of St. Satiro, that was owned by another S. Croce confraternity and was part of their stational cross before being sold to the newly-established Pinacoteca di Brera in 1791, have since disappeared. Even institutions that retained the bulk of their artistic and documentary patrimony have lost major works and had others displaced, fragmenting once cohesive ensembles. An example of such a fissure is the chapel of the Confraternity of S. Corona, where the altarpiece, Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* (1542), was removed by Napoleonic troops and taken to Paris in 1797. A placard outside of the chapel today, where Gaudenzio Ferrari's frescoes remain, still laments the "theft" by the French of the panel, which hangs hundreds of miles away in the Musée du Louvre. The absorption of the confraternity's oratory into the Ambrosiana complex allowed the preservation of Bernardino Luini's fresco of the *Crowning with Thorns* (1521) but replaced the devotional space around the

⁶³ Of course in some instances, such as the *apparati* installed around the stational crosses on feast days, these objects were never meant to be permanent in the first place.

image with a museum gallery, leaving it to the historian to reconstruct, to the best of his or her ability, the phenomenological experience of the original structure.

This massive loss of visual artifacts is accompanied by significant lacunae in the archives. Following the Hapsburg reforms and suppressions in the eighteenth century, the city's documents, including the archives of individual churches, confraternities, and lay associations, were gathered in new central repositories, among them the Archivio di Stato and the Luoghi Pii Elemosinieri (LL.PP. EE.), only to have a series of fires destroy many of the newly-consolidated records.⁶⁴ A further and cataclysmic blow to confraternal research in Milan was dealt in 1943 by the Allied bombing of the city, during which the Palazzo Archinto, headquarters of the LL.PP.EE., sustained a direct hit that wiped out the entire holdings of some institutions and large portions of others, while additional repositories and cultural sites incurred significant damages and losses.⁶⁵ A case in point is the confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, the subject of chapter two, whose archive has been more or less obliterated over the centuries, leaving scant information about the organization, material culture, and devotional practices of the sodality.

⁶⁴ Meyer, "Conceptual and Material Culture," p. 27. On the history of the Archivio di Stato di Milano see Maria Barbara Bertini and Marina Valori, Archivio di Stato di Milano (Viterbo: BetaGamma, 2001); on the Archivio Storico Civico and the Biblioteca Trivulziana see Giulia Bologna, Milano nei libri e nei documenti del suo Archivio Storico (Milan: Comune di Milano, 1980).

⁶⁵ Meyer, "Conceptual and Material Culture," p. 27. A panoramic account of the devastation wrought by the war on Milan is offered in Rosa Auletta Marrucci et al, Bombe sulla città: Milano in guerra 1942-1944 (Milan: Skira, 2004). In addition to synthetic and thematic essays, the volume also includes a detailed catalogue of all of the sites damaged in the shelling with archival photographs. See also Marco Gioannini and Giulio Massobrio, Bombardate l'Italia: storia della guerra di distruzione aerea 1940-1945 (Milan: Rizzoli, 2007), Andrea Capaccioni, Andrea Paoli, and Ruggero Ranieri, eds., Le biblioteche e gli archivi durante la Seconda guerra mondiale: il caso italiano (Bologna: Pendragon, 2007), especially the essays by Paolo Traniello and Anna Maria Rossato on Milan, pp. 279-324; and Ministero dell'Interno, Ufficio Centrale degli Archivi di Stato, I danni di guerra subiti dagli Archivi Italiani: Notizie degli Archivi di Stato, Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato Libreria, 1950), pp. 13-20, on the Archivio di Stato di Milano, especially. Among the buildings and institutions relevant to this dissertation that were damaged by the shelling are the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, the Palazzo Senato (home of the Archivio di Stato), the Castello Sforzesco, the churches of Sant'Ambrogio, San Babila, Santa Maria delle Grazie, and San Lorenzo Maggiore.

Despite heroic efforts to safeguard the city's cultural heritage, the Allied bombing also, unsurprisingly, had deleterious effects on Milan's art and architecture. Historians of Renaissance art are universally familiar with the iconic image of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, enshrined within its protective casing of sandbags, standing safe and alone amidst the rubble of the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie (fig. 2), which was shelled on February 14, 1943, but fewer have seen the photographs of the nave and transepts of the church (fig. 3), struck on the nights of August 13 and 15 where gaping holes were left just feet away from the chapel of S. Corona. Although precautions were taken to cover Gaudenzio Ferrari's frescoes, which had already been damaged by earlier alterations to the space, they, too, did not escape entirely unscathed.⁶⁶ Further losses occurred during the removal of portable artworks from museums, churches, and other sites to secure locations, when a number of objects appear to have been misplaced or lost.⁶⁷

Accordingly, this dissertation is deeply invested in processes of recovery and contextualization, and much of its scope and methodology have been dictated by the survival of monuments, objects, and records. When documentary sources have been unavailable, as is the case in chapter two, my strategy has been to draw on parallel cases to recover ritual practice, looking to extant statutes of contemporaneous sacrament confraternities, for example, in tandem with a rigorous visual analysis of the surviving image cycle and confraternal chapel. This particular case, in fact, reveals the significant contributions that art historians can make to the reconstruction of institutional histories and practices whose only traces are visual objects rather than written documents.

⁶⁶ On the shelling of S. Maria delle Grazie see Auletta et al, *Bombe sulla città*, pp. 242-247.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Cecilia Ghibaudi and Sandrina Bandera Bistoletti, *Brera e la guerra: la pinacoteca di Milano e le istituzioni museali milanesi durante il primo e il secondo conflitto mondiale* (Milan: Electa, 2009).

Conversely, in chapter four the void left by the stational crosses themselves and the large corpus of artworks produced in association with them is filled somewhat by a considerable body of documentation: confraternal *memorie*, institutional histories, records of pastoral visits, inventories, and other reports drawn up on the occasion of their suppression that enable, if not a recovery of the objects themselves, at least an approximation of their appearance.

This project began as a study of sacred painting but has since evolved and expanded to interrogate an array of media including architecture, prints, and ephemeral displays. In doing so, it engages with current debates about visual and material culture by exploring non-traditional objects and media and by placing greater emphasis on reception and culturally-conditioned viewership.⁶⁸ This is not to say that the prestige of a celebrated artist, like Titian, does not factor into my analysis of these image ensembles or to deny that many of the works that I discuss do, in fact, fall within the bounds of the Renaissance canon. Nor, as I stated above, do I mean to divorce the function of these works from their form or deny their self-conscious "artfulness." I do not share Alexander Nagel's worry that such an integration of religious function and "artful" ambitions will necessarily result in an art history where "the art fall[s] back into a long Middle Ages of ongoing religious devotion, civic ritual, and institutionally driven art."⁶⁹ To the contrary, my analysis challenges perceptions that religious devotion, civic ritual, or institutional contexts were fundamentally in conflict with Belting's "era of art." Rather, I mean to suggest that the conceptual framework of visual culture enables a more inclusive and

⁶⁸ Deborah Cherry, "Art History Visual Culture," *Art History* vol. 27, no. 4 (2004), pp. 479-493; Margarita Dikovitskaya, *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual After the Cultural Turn* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005); Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁶⁹ Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, p. 7.

non-hierarchical approach to these ensembles and to the visibility of confraternal devotion. In chapter four in particular, when examining the stational crosses and their altars, I draw upon the deconstruction of categories of "art," "image," and "monument," and of the rigid classification of various artistic media to consider the sum effect of these installations and the ways in which their visual potency was activated in ritual performance.⁷⁰ By reconstructing the temporary *apparati* staged at these crosses, featuring polychrome sculpture, paintings, and other media by some of the city's more celebrated artists, I emphasize the importance of recovering ephemera for our understanding of early modern visual culture. The rubric of visual culture also enables me to push back against art historical treatments of chapels that have tended to privilege the altarpiece over other decorations and furnishings as the principal locus, or to discuss the whole in terms of its iconographic program rather than its ritual use.⁷¹ Instead, I consider chapels as ensemble pieces, activated by varied visual imagery—altarpiece, frescoes, liturgical trappings—liturgical, processional, and meditational protocols, and other dimensions of confraternal piety.

Accordingly, although grounded in art historical methodologies, this dissertation incorporates a wide variety of interdisciplinary scholarship from religious, social, and cultural history, historical musicology, anthropology, and literary and theatrical studies. Such an inclusive methodology is essential to understand the production and reception of sacred images, which were inflected by devotional and ritual protocols and by the use of written texts. Through an analysis of overlooked visual material in dialogue with these

⁷⁰ The phrase is adapted from Barbara Wisch, "Incorporating Images," p. 249.

⁷¹ Paul Hills, "The Renaissance Altarpiece: A Valid Category?" in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 34-48.

diverse fields, this study aims to open up new channels for interdisciplinary research into early modern art and spirituality.

VI. Chapter Outlines

The dissertation is composed of three substantial case studies, presented in chronological order. Following this introduction, chapter two addresses the confraternity of Corpus Christi and its chapel in the church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo, which was decorated with five scenes from the Passion by Bernardino Luini in 1516. These paintings have been discussed stylistically in monographic studies by art historians and, briefly, in historical studies of the confraternity but remain to be considered in light of their ritual functions within the chapel. As a frame for the reservation of the host, a backdrop for the performance of the Mass, and a theater for the ritual contemplation of the Passion, the chapel was the site of rich and varied interactions with the body of Christ. Luini's ambitious perspectival program creates a *tableau vivant*, uniting the pictorial space of the lateral walls so that it seems to extend behind the altar, where the host is displayed, into a stage-like annex where the Passion is enacted. The ensemble's affective and illusionistic mode supports empathetic meditation; inscriptions derived from a class of extraliturgical literature devoted to the *Planctus Mariae* (Lament of the Virgin), provide further evidence of their devotional use. In the early sixteenth century, perspective was repeatedly implicated in Eucharistic imagery and apparatus as an effective framing device for the host, particularly in tabernacles used to house the sacrament. By enshrining the host within this illusory framework, I argue, Luini activates a pictorial rhetoric that associated the marvelous qualities of the visual arts with holy

miracles, specifically the Eucharistic miracle of transubstantiation. In addition to situating these images within the confraternity's devotional activities, and within the wider discourse on Eucharistic piety in northern Italy, this chapter proposes that the chapel ensemble registers growing anxieties about Jewish populations in Italy and the stability of Eucharistic theology on the eve of the Reformation.

Chapter three examines a chapel featuring a celebrated Passion relic in a church that had been intimately associated with the previous Sforza regime. In 1541, the Compagnia della Santa Corona at the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie contracted Gaudenzio Ferrari and Titian to decorate their chapel, which housed a relic of the Crown of Thorns. Gaudenzio frescoed the walls with scenes from the Passion and Titian provided an altarpiece depicting the *Crowning with Thorns*. I connect these commissions to the prominent positions of several *confratelli* within Milan's new Hapsburg government and elucidate archival evidence that links the confraternity's successful solicitation of Titian's services to the governor Alfonso d'Avalos. Due to the removal of Titian's painting to France in 1797, *The Crowning with Thorns* has not been fully studied in its original confraternal context nor has the full chapel ensemble been addressed. By resituating Titian's and Gaudenzio's compositions within the chapel, my analysis reveals the ways in which they were activated by the presence of the relic and its attendant devotions and, in turn, the ways in which these images inflected viewers' devotional experiences. I examine devotions tailored specifically to the Milanese relic in texts and statutes generated by the confraternity, as well as tracts like Pietro Aretino's *Dell' Umanità di Cristo* (1535) and other Passion literature popular in Lombardy. Titian's quotation of the ancient Roman sculpture *Laocoön* and Gaudenzio's prior work on the

simulacra at the *sacro monte* of Varallo shed light on a so-called “rhetoric of horror” that emerged in art and literature in Catholic Europe towards the middle of the sixteenth century and on the religious applications of the artistic *paragone*. I also call attention to archival documents that debunk traditional accounts of the provenance of the relic of the *Santa Spina* and elucidate its original display context. The chapter additionally addresses an earlier altarpiece by Bernardo Zenale and a fresco by Bernardino Luini in the confraternity's oratory, a separate building near the church of San Sepolcro, now part of the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.

In chapter four, my third and final case study, I explore confraternal procession and the ritual reconfiguration of urban space in Carlo Borromeo's *città rituale* (ritual city) by Milan's stational crosses. During Borromeo's archiepiscopate, devotion to the Passion reached a fever pitch, further increasing when the city was struck by plague in 1576. In response to the epidemic, Borromeo erected large crosses in the city's main streets and squares, to which were attached small altars overseen by confraternities of the Santa Croce. These sodalities were founded, concomitantly with the crosses, around images of the Passion, the cult of the Holy Cross, and Milan's prize relic of a nail from the crucifixion. Though most of the crosses and their altars were dismantled during the suppression of religious institutions in the eighteenth century, and the confraternities' material holdings dispersed, they can be reconstructed via the prints, drawings, and written descriptions that remain in the city's archival collections. The physical appearance, supplemental decoration, and noted ephemeral *apparati* of each cross are catalogued in an appendix along with a translation of the ritual observed every evening by the *confratelli*. Each cross was dedicated to a particular episode or "mystery" of the

Passion, a painting of which was carried in every Friday in a midnight procession in which all the confraternities marched from their stational cross to the Duomo, joining together to form a massive, moving Passion cycle winding through Milan's streets. Evoking similarities to the Via Crucis and the *sacri monti*, the stational crosses effectively transformed Milan into a "New Jerusalem," mapping the Passion onto the topography of the city and onto the bodies of the *confratelli* themselves, who bore cross-shaped badges beneath their clothes in honor of Christ's sacrifice. This last chapter concludes with the suppression of the confraternities of S. Croce along with most of the city's other religious institutions, which effectively brought an end to confraternal piety and performance and to the "New Jerusalem" that they created in the city of Milan.

CHAPTER TWO

Real Presence: Bernardino Luini and The Confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo

I. Introduction

This chapter provides the first comprehensive art historical account of the Company of "the Most Holy Body of Our Lord" at the Milanese collegiate church of San Giorgio al Palazzo, purportedly the first confraternity dedicated to the holy sacrament to be established in the Lombard capital. The confraternity's small jewel-box chapel, richly decorated with a Passion cycle by the Leonardesque painter Bernardino Luini, is the sole surviving visual artifact that can be securely connected to the sodality, though their patrimony would once have included other objects such as processional standards and ephemera, tabernacles—for one of which a short description remains—monstrances, tapestries and other altar hangings, and printed material. Using the chapel ensemble as a framework, this chapter locates the discussion of Milanese Eucharistic piety within the wider discourse on confraternal devotion to the Passion of Christ.

Previous scholarship on Luini's paintings in S. Giorgio al Palazzo has primarily approached them from within the development of the artist's oeuvre rather than addressing their function within the chapel or their reception by their confraternal audience. Some historical studies of the confraternity and guides to the church have

touched on them, if briefly.¹ My aim here will be to bring form to bear on function and to reconstruct the ways in which Luini's cycle was experienced by its sixteenth-century public. Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, I will discuss the ways in which Luini's composition, iconography, and inscriptions adapt the imaginative and participatory strategies of popular meditational texts to activate devotion in the chapel, cuing affective responses in viewers and encouraging them to take part in the suffering of Christ.

In addition to examining the place of these images within confraternal devotion, this chapter will argue that the decorations of the Cappella del Corpo di Cristo reflect growing anxieties about heterodox beliefs and the stability of Eucharistic theology in a region on the brink of confessional division. Through an analysis of the subject of the

¹ The major studies are Luca Beltrami, Luini, 1512-1532: materiale di studio (Milan: Tipografia U. Allegretti, 1911) pp. 34-51; Angela Ottino della Chiesa, Bernardino Luini (Novara: Istituto geografico de Agostini, 1956) pp. 108-9; Piero Chiara et al, Sacro e profano nella pittura di Bernardino Luini (Milan: Silvana, 1975), pp. 25; Maria Teresa Fiorio and Sandrina Bandera, Bernardino Luini and Renaissance Painting in Milan: The Frescoes of San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore (Milan: Banca Popolare di Milano, 2000), p. 56; Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, Bernardino Luini (Milan: 5 Continents, 2007), pp. 22-24; and, most recently, Marco Flamini's catalogue entry in Bernardino Luini e i suoi figli, ed. Giovanni Agosti, Giovanni, Jacopo Stoppa, and Rossana Sacchi, vol. 2 (Milan: Officina libraria, 2014), pp. 112-121. See also: F. Mazzini, "La Pittura del primo Cinquecento," Storia di Milano vol. 8 (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1957), pp. 626-628; Giulio Bora and Mina Gregori, Pittura a Milano. Rinascimento e manierismo (Milan: Cariplo, Cassa di risparmio delle provincie lombarde, 1998) p. 35; Giulio Bora, "Bernardino Luini," The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy 1490-1530 (Milan: Skira, 1998), pp. 325-370; Wilhelm Suida, Leonardo e i leonardeschi trans. Marta Ricci (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 2001), p. 274. Maurice Cope briefly addresses the chapel as part of his larger study of the iconography of Sacrament chapels in Venice. Maurice Cope, The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century (New York: Garland, 1979), pp. 148-155. On the church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo see Agostino Santagostino, L'immortalità e gloria del pennello: catalogo delle pitture insigni che stanno esposte al pubblico nella città di Milano, ed Maco Bona Castellotti (Milan: Quaderni di Brera IV, Edizioni il Polifilio, 1671, reprinted 1980), p. 39; Serviliano Latuada, Descrizione di Milano ornata con molti disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue, che si trovano in questa metropoli (Milan, Nella Regio-Ducal Corte, a spese de Giuseppe Cairoli, 1737), vol. 3, p. 135; Alessandro Tamborini, San Giorgio al Palazzo (Milano: Tip. S. Lega Eucaristica, 1928); Carlo Marcora, San Giorgio al Palazzo (Milan: Scuole grafiche Opera Don Calabria, 1968); Giulio Colombo, San Giorgio al Palazzo: guida descrittiva con note storiche (Milan: Parrocchia di S. Giorgio, 1974); Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, ed., Milano ritrovata: l'asse Via Torino (Milan: Casa editrice il vaglio cultura arte, 1986), pp. 465-471; Maria Teresa Fiorio, ed., Le Chiese di Milano (Milan: Electa, 1985), pp. 321-323. On the confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo the seminal and most complete account remains Danilo Zardin, "Solidarietà di vicini: la Confraternita del Corpo di Cristo e le compagnie devote di S. Giorgio al Palazzo tra Cinque e Settecento," Archivio Storico Lombardo serie undicesima, vol. 9, alt. no. 118 (1992), pp. 361-404. See also, more recently, sections of Stefania Burganza, Paolo Vanoli, and Danilo Zardin, eds., Confraternite: fede e opere in Lombardia dal medioevo al settecento (Città di Busto Arsizio: Scalpendi, 2011), pp. 32-33.

ensemble—the adoration and sacrifice of the body of Christ—and Luini’s iconographic treatment of it, I will suggest that the cycle registers a widening controversy about the nature of the Mass and the sacrament of the altar in the early Cinquecento. I will further position Luini's daring perspectival machinations within a pictorial rhetoric current in the early decades of the sixteenth century, prior to the Council of Trent, that associated the marvelous qualities of the visual arts with holy miracles, specifically the Eucharistic miracle of transubstantiation.

The chapter is divided into seven sections, including this introduction. I will begin, in section two, by introducing the confraternity of Corpus Christi and situating it within the context of Eucharistic devotion in the city of Milan. Drawing on surviving archival documentation and primary historical accounts, I will examine the motives behind its foundation, its membership, and its devotional and charitable activities, focusing particular attention on the endowment of the chapel at S. Giorgio al Palazzo and the commissioning of the Passion cycle from Bernardino Luini. The third section considers Luini as a painter of sacred themes in the early sixteenth century and locates the S. Giorgio ensemble within his artistic production. Section four analyzes the images themselves, treating questions of subject matter and program as they relate to other chapels of the sacrament in Italy and to the liturgical and paraliturgical functions of these sacred spaces. Specifically I will explore the role of the chapel and its images in corporate devotion, locating the cycle's Latin inscriptions within the genre of the *Planctus Mariae* (Lament of the Virgin) and connecting its imagery to affective meditation and devotion to the Five Wounds of Christ. The altarpiece is the focus of section five, which considers its notable surplus of figures and the significance of some of these peripheral

characters to the larger program. Building on these observations, the sixth section opens with an examination of two figures whose distinctive hats and facial features mark them as Jews. While common in Eucharistic and Passion imagery in general, Jewish figures were rarely represented in Milan and I argue that their presence reveals not only growing tensions about the regulation of Italian Jewish populations but also takes up an established visual rhetoric to signal anxieties about Eucharistic doctrine and heretical beliefs. This section also considers late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century theological debates about the sacrifice of the Mass and the schismatic Council of Pisa-Milan. Section seven discusses Luini's visual style and the ways in which he utilized linear perspective and sfumato to cultivate a "visionary" aesthetic that facilitated for the beholder an intimate, sensorial engagement with Christ's body and provided a visual signifier for the spiritual sight that revealed the divine substance of the Eucharistic Host.

II. The Origins of the Confraternity of Corpus Christi and its Chapel

"That the Company, or rather Society of the Most Holy Body of Our Lord, erected in San Giorgio al Palazzo in Milan, is among the oldest in this City—if not the first—I believe that there can be no doubt."² These words open the oldest surviving primary account of the confraternity of Corpus Christi at the collegiate church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo in Milan, penned by the notary and *confratello* Giulio Cesare Sacchi

² "Che la Compagnia, o sia Società del Santissimo Corpo di Nostro Signore in Santo Giorgio in Palazzo di Milano eretta, sia delle più antiche si ritrovino in questa Città, anzi la prima, credo non vi fii alcun dubbio." Giulio Cesare Sacchi, Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento. Eretta nella Collegiata Chiesa di S. Giorgio in Palazzo di Milano (Milan: Lodouico Monza, 1652), p. 3. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.

in the first half of the seventeenth century.³ Though most of the text is devoted to the financial operations of the confraternity, Sacchi's institutional memoir provides valuable information on the foundation, organization, and early activities of the sodality no longer preserved in documentary sources. As discussed in chapter one, the archival remains of the confraternity, like those of many Milanese lay associations, were decimated first by the suppression of the city's religious institutions in the eighteenth century and then by the Allied bombing during the Second World War and practically no documentation of its early life survives.

With the sole exception of the mention in a document from 1393 of a "society of the most holy body of Our Lord Jesus Christ" attached to an altar of the Sacrament in the Duomo, Sacchi's claims of his confraternity's primacy among Milanese Corpus Christi sodalities appear otherwise to be substantiated.⁴ Archival records place its founding between 1486 and 1506, with no other such organization, outside of the cathedral, appearing before it.⁵ The earlier date derives from a patent of 1513, quoted by Sacchi, in

³ Although the book was printed in 1652, Sacchi most likely wrote it between 1624 (the last date mentioned in the text) and 1631 (the last dated records of Sacchi conserved in the Archivio di Stato di Milano and the year in which Sacchi is presumed to have died of the plague). See Danilo Zardin, "Solidarietà di vicini," p. 362, note 2.

⁴ The document relates the payment of rent by the hospital in Porta Ticinese for the "Societate Sanctissimi Corporis D.N. Jesu Christi erecta in Ecclesia maiori." See Alessandro Tamborini, Il Corpus Domini a Milano (Milan: Casa Editrice Mediterranea, 1935), p. 42 and Giuseppe Barbiero, Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento prima del 1539 (Treviso: Vedelago, 1941), p. 167.

⁵ On the chronology of sacrament confraternities in Milan see Ambrogio Palestra, "Ricerche sulle confraternite del SS. Sacramento sorte nella diocesi di Milano prima di s. Carlo Borromeo," Ambrosius vol. 38 (1962), pp. 15-46 and Pope Pius XI, "The 'Schools' or Guilds of the Blessed Sacrament in Milan," Essays in History Written Between the Years 1896-1912 ed. Edward Bullough (London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1934), p. 223. Before becoming pope, Pius XI was Achille Ratti, director of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. The essay is one part of the larger "Contribuzione alla storia Eucaristica di Milano," La scuola Cattolica e la scienza Italiana series 2, year 5, volume 10 (1895), pp. 177-210, 279-313. Reports of a sacrament confraternity allegedly founded in 1439 at the church of San Carpofo by Antonio Noto in Gli amici dei poveri di Milano, 1305-1964 (Milan: Giuffrè, 1966), p. 43 and taken up by Enrico Cattaneo, "Istituzioni ecclesiastiche milanesi," Storia di Milano, vol. 9 (Milan: Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, 1961), p. 695, have since proven to be premature. The document Noto referred to, the will of one Orsina Stefano, did not in fact mention a confraternity at all but simply the church at large. See Palestra, "Ricerche sulle confraternite del SS. Sacramento," p. 27.

which Duke Massimiliano Sforza conferred upon the confraternity of Corpus Christi certain privileges granted to the city's pious institutions in 1486, in response to a petition in which the brotherhood had declared:

It is true, most Illustrious Prince, that thereafter [1486] a School in honor of the Most Holy Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was erected at the church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo in Milan...that draws Christians with utmost veneration ... such that it behooves you to extend to us these privileges and favors.⁶

Accordingly, Sacchi determines that the confraternity was founded after 1486 but prior to 1510, citing old record books belonging to the brotherhood (no longer extant) including a "large book bound in red leather and begun in the year 1510 [that stated] that it had been founded earlier."⁷ In support of this claim, the "large red book" named several documents including a legacy endowing the confraternity's chapel, left in 1508 by Simone Barzo. Barzo's bequest is also noted in a document from the later sixteenth century, conserved in Milan's state archives, that describes the various chapels in S. Giorgio.⁸ Further and more recent archival work by Danilo Zardin has enabled us to move the date of the confraternity's foundation even earlier. Seven years prior to Duke Massimiliano's patent, on October 28, 1506, a notarial record registered the appointment of a syndic

⁶ "Verum est Illustriss. Princeps, quod abindē citrā erecta est Schola in honorem Sacratissimi Corporis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia S. Georgii in Palatio ipsius Urbis vetrae Mediolani, quae in dies attento bono regimine Prioris, et aliorum Officialium, et Scholarium pullulat ā Christifidelibus in maxima veneratione, ut decet, habetur, et cum nihil aliud magis cordi D. V. sit, quam omnia ea, quae cultum divinum concernunt favoribus, et privilegiis amplecti." Sacchi, Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento, p. 6. These privileges included the right to own property, to receive gifts by bequest, legacy, or donation, etc.

⁷ "...per li libri vecchi di questa Compagnia trovo massime in un libro lungo coperto di corio rosso cominciato l'anno 1510, che ella per l'adietro, e avanti detto tempo era di già fondata facendosi in detto libro sopracitato mentione di partite riportate del 1508, e 1509, posto in un' altro libro vecchio di cartone bianco, che non hò potuto ritrovare, e da un legato alla detta Capella del Corpus Domini di detta Chiesa fatto l'anno 1508 dal Signor Simone Barzi." Ibid, p. 3. Both Achille Ratti/Pope Pius XI and Danilo Zardin searched the Milanese archives and libraries for the "old books" mentioned by Sacchi to no avail and these texts are presumed to be lost. See Pope Pius XI, "The 'Schools' or Guilds of the Blessed Sacrament in Milan," pp. 221-223 and Zardin, "Solidarietà di vicini," pp. 371-379.

⁸ "Nota e descrizione di tutte le cappelle, erette nell' insigne chiesa collegiata di S. Giorgio al Palazzo," ASM Fondo di Religione 243, fol. 12r.

("sindicatus" or "sindaco") by the confraternity, indicating to Zardin that by this point the "School of the Most Holy Body of Our Lord" was already fully structured and active.⁹

Confraternities devoted to the sacrament first emerged as part of a widespread increase in Eucharistic piety in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which declared the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament through transubstantiation.¹⁰ The impetus for the foundation of a sacrament confraternity in Milan in circa 1506, after a long period in which they were absent and soon followed by the establishment of several others, may have been the presence of Bernardino da Feltre (1439-1494), who arrived in the city in 1491.¹¹ Chiefly known for his advocacy of the Monti di Pietà, the Observant Franciscan friar preached forcefully in favor of Eucharistic confraternities and the proper veneration of the sacrament. Although he did not establish any confraternities dedicated to the sacrament in Milan, unlike in Brescia, Parma, and Orvieto where he founded several, it is reasonable to theorize that Fra Bernardino may have contributed to their launch there by rousing public and corporate devotion to the Eucharist.¹² The first half of the sixteenth century was a period of exponential growth in

⁹ ASM Notarile 4501, filza 6698, first noted by Zardin, "Solidarietà di vicini," p. 379. The document states that Barzo's legacy was executed by the notary Evangelista Ciocca on December 11, 1508, though neither Zardin nor I have located any corresponding file in the *archivio notarile*.

¹⁰ Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation ed. Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroad, 1987), pp. 75-108. The earliest known sacrament confraternity in Europe was that at Liège, which likely emerged there simultaneously with the feast of Corpus Christi in 1246 though the records are scant. The first Italian confraternity of Corpus Christi was founded in 1300 and attached to the cathedral in Belluno, north of Venice. See Barbiero, Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento, pp. 90-97.

¹¹ Pope Pius XI, "The 'Schools' or Guilds of the Blessed Sacrament in Milan," pp. 215-217. Sacchi, it should be noted, concedes that how, why, and by whom the confraternity was founded were not known at the time he was writing his history and could not be gleaned from his sources: "Come poi fosse fondata, ne dà chi, e à che modo, non hò potuto dalle scritture d'esse venire in cognitione," Sacchi, Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento, p. 3.

¹² To this point, it is notable that multiple sacrament confraternities sprung up after his arrival in Milan but only the one, at the cathedral, before it. For Fra Bernardino in Milan see Pietro Ghinzoni, Documenti riferentisi al soggiorno in Milano di Fra Bernardino Tomitano da Feltre: estratto dall'Archivio di Stato di Milano (Feltre: Premiata Tipografia Panfilo Castaldi, 2001) and Giuliana Albini, "Sulle origini dei Monti di Pietà nel ducato di Milano," Archivio storico lombardo ser. 11, no. 2 (1986), pp. 67-112. For his support

sacrament confraternities, particularly in northern Italy, most likely in response to the confessional crisis leading to the Council of Trent.¹³ Sacrament confraternities continued to increase at an even greater rate during the Tridentine period. In addition, more generally, Christopher Black has noted a major shift to Eucharistic devotion as central to the life of many Italian confraternities in this period from 1490s into the sixteenth century, which gained further momentum with the advent of the Tridentine reforms.¹⁴

The members of the confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo were mostly from the upper and middle ranks of Milanese society, as Sacchi writes: "lay religious, scholars, procurators, gentlemen, wool and gold merchants, and other artisans."¹⁵ This more patrician character would shift later in the century during the Borromean reforms, which enjoined all citizens to belong to a sacrament confraternity, resulting in a more diverse demographic.¹⁶ The confraternity's activities encompassed a broad range of devotional and charitable initiatives and aligned with others of its type.¹⁷ Chief among its responsibilities were the maintenance of an altar in the church where the sacrament could be reserved year-round and the carrying of the *viaticum* to the sick and

and foundation of Eucharistic confraternities in other cities see Pope Pius XI, "The 'Schools' or Guilds of the Blessed Sacrament in Milan," pp. 215-216; Stefania Buganza, "Le confraternite lombarde e l'arte: tracce per una storia della committenza in età tardomedievale e rinascimentale," in Confraternite: fede e opere in Lombardia dal medioevo al settecento ed Stefania Buganza, Paolo Vanoli, and Danilo Zardin (Milan: Scalpendi, 2011), p. 67; and Valerio Guazzoni, Moretto: il tema sacro (Brescia: Grafo, 1981), pp. 21-22.

¹³ Barbara Maria Savy, Manducatio per visum: Temi Eucaristici nella pittura di Romanino e Moretto (Cittadella, Bertonecello Artigrafiche, 2006), pp. 38-9

¹⁴ Christopher Black, "The Public Face of Post-Tridentine Italian Confraternities," The Journal of Religious History 28, no. 1 (February 2004), p. 88 and Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. pp. 5-7.

¹⁵ "...Religiosi, Dottori, Procuratori, Gentil' huomini, Mercanti di lana, e d'oro, quanto di altre persone Artegiani." Sacchi, Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento, p. 9.

¹⁶ Danilo Zardin, "Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era: Shaping Conscience and Christianizing Society in Milan and Lombardy," in The Politics of Ritual Kinship, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 195.

¹⁷ For the origins, roles, and responsibilities of sacrament confraternities see, generally: Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 232-243; Barbiero, Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento, especially pp. 54-71; and Black, Italian Confraternities, pp. 29-30, 95.

dying (fig. 4).¹⁸ Though the confraternity's early statutes and regulations are now lost, Sacchi, again citing the "libri vecchi di questa Compagnia," attests that the brotherhood observed daily Mass, celebrated "with great pomp" the octave of Corpus Christi, gave bread and wine to the poor of the parish, succored the indigent sick, carried the sacrament to the sick and dying accompanied by candles and "eight large torches weighing four pounds each," and performed "other similar charitable things."¹⁹

To celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi "with great pomp," the brotherhood would have marked the occasion first with a procession around the interior and exterior of the church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo either on the day itself or within the week, in keeping with the practices of most Italian sacrament confraternities. They would also have joined with the city's other guilds and lay associations, members of the clergy, and the local government in an elaborate procession through the streets of Milan headed by the consecrated host, contained in a monstrance or pyx, escorted by the archbishop; they would have been dressed in full confraternal regalia, chanting prayers and hymns, and carrying the standard or *gonfalone* of their sodality (fig. 5).²⁰ The feast of Corpus Christi

¹⁸ These duties remained the norm when Carlo Borromeo standardized the rules for all sacrament confraternities in the city of Milan in 1570, as discussed later in this chapter. "Regola borromaica per le compagnie del Corpus Domini," ASDM Section XIII, vol. 49; Le regole della Compagnia Generale del Santissimi Sacramento, fundata [sic] nella Chiesa Metropolitana di Milano, dall' illustrissimo et reverendiss. Monsignor, il Cardinale d. S. Praesede Arcivescovo. Con le Indulgenze et gratie alla medesima concesse (Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1583).

¹⁹ Sacchi, Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento, p. 9. "...facendo fino à quei primi tempi celebrar Messa quotidiana, festeggiare pomposamente l'ottava del Corpus Domini, dispensando à Poveri della Parochia pane, e vino, soccorrendo li poveri Infermi, e facendo anche, che il Santissimo Sacramento quando si portava alli Infermi fosse accompagnato fra li altri lumi con otto torchie grosse de libre quattro l'una, e finalmente facendo altre simili opere di carità, come si può vedre da' libri vecchi di quei tempi primi, dove si trovano descritti distintamente si le oblationi e offerte de Scuolari, come le elemosine si facevano."

²⁰ The literature on the feast is vast; the most recent comprehensive and synthetic account remains Rubin, Corpus Christi. Though her study aims to address Europe as a whole, Rubin's prevailing focus on England has justifiably garnered criticism: Nicholas Orme, English Historical Review 107 (1992), pp. 386–388. See also Tullio Bertamini, "La bolla 'Transiturus' di papa Urbano IV e l'ufficio del 'Corpus-domini' secondo il codice di S. Lorenzo di Bognanco," Aevum 42 (1968), pp. 29-58 and Édouard Dumoutet, Le Désir de voir d'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au saint-sacrement (Paris: Beauchesne, 1926). For the Corpus Christi

(also called Corpus Domini), which originated in the Belgian city of Liège in the first half of the thirteenth century and had been formally established by the papal bull *Transiturus* in 1264, was first celebrated in Milan in 1318 at the Cistercian abbey of Chiaravalle.²¹ Its first public observance did not come until 1335, however, due to the city's having been under interdict and its duke, Galeazzo Visconti, excommunicated.²² Corpus Christi was one of the most important events of the liturgical year²³ and, as one of the city's collegiate churches, S. Giorgio al Palazzo and its confraternity played a significant role in this celebration and throughout the octave. In the days leading up to Corpus Christi each of the six *porte* (here, districts) of the city brought offerings of wax, wine, and money in a solemn procession from their collegiate church to the Duomo.²⁴ The procession on the day itself began at the Duomo and proceeded to the church of Sant'Ambrogio and back, according to contemporary chronicle accounts.²⁵ S. Giorgio is named in descriptions of the

procession in particular see Rubin pp. 243-271 and, in Italy with reference to Milan, Claudio Bernardi, "Il teatro politico del Corpus Domini, 1300-1500," in Dramma medioevale europeo. Atti della I conferenza internazionale su "aspetti del dramma medioevale europeo." Camerino, 28-30 giugno 1996, vol. 2 (Camerino: Università degli Studi di Camerino, 1996), pp. 83-108.

²¹ Tamborini, Il Corpus Domini a Milano, pp. 19-22. Ambrosian liturgical texts from the thirteenth century make no reference to the feast. However, Alessandro Tamborini notes a breviary in the Roman rite that appears to have been made in, or for use in, Lombardy due to the inclusion of offices for several Milanese saints. The book's provenance is unknown but it dates to before Thomas Aquinas's canonization in 1313 and contains his office of Corpus Christi, suggesting that the feast may have been observed in some church or religious community near Milan prior to that year. It is believed that an office was also composed by Orrico Scaricabarozzi, the *arciprete* (dean) of the Duomo, for private devotion ca. 1280 and it became part of the official liturgy after 1335. The feast of Corpus Christi was universally confirmed by Pope Clement V in 1314 and, in 1317, Pope John XXII gave it further impetus by mandating Corpus Christi processions in cities and towns. On the general origins and early forms of the feast in Europe, see Rubin, chapter three, pp. 164-212.

²² Tamborini, Il Corpus Domini a Milano, pp. 54-57 and Achille Ratti, ed., Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis vol. 3 (Milan: Pontificia Sancti Ioseph, 1890), col. 397. See also Enrico Cattaneo, "La tradizione ambrosiana," in Storia di Milano vol. 9, p. 550.

²³ Enrico Cattaneo, "Ordinamenti Religiosi Cittadini," in Storia di Milano vol. 9, p. 666.

²⁴ Arnalda Dallaj, "Le processioni a Milano nella controriforma," Studi Storici vol. 23, no. 1 (January-March 1982), p. 169.

²⁵ The first public procession of Corpus Christi, according to the chronicle of Galvano Fiamma, went from the Duomo to Sant'Ambrogio, led by the bishop and accompanied by singing and countless candles: "et unus episcopus in pontificalibus Corpus Christi de ecclesia maiore portavit cum cantibus et solempnitatibus mirabilibus; per viam erat tanta cereorum numerositas, quod nullus nisi vidisset credere posset. Cum Corpus Christi apropinquaret monasterio Sancti Ambroxii, tunc episcopus novariensis in pontificalibus

Corpus Christi celebration of 1587 as a stop along this processional route, one of the few landmarks mentioned.²⁶ The fact that the basic itinerary of the procession remained fairly constant from its inauguration in 1335, with a few exceptions, suggests that the church may have been a stop in earlier years as well, though perhaps not always mentioned by name.²⁷

The chapel in S. Giorgio al Palazzo maintained by the confraternity to perpetually reserve and display the sacrament, in accordance with their mission, is the third chapel on the right side of the nave, just before the transept (fig. 15). As noted above, this chapel was established with an endowment from Simone Barzo in 1508. The display and veneration of the sacrament outside of the Mass, like the establishment of Corpus Christi confraternities, grew out of the rise in Eucharistic piety that followed Lateran IV as the faithful clamored for visual access to Christ's sacred presence in the consecrated host.²⁸

Chapels dedicated exclusively to the sacrament were primarily a phenomenon of the sixteenth century in Italy, becoming ubiquitous with the Catholic Reformation, though

cum mitra episcopali Corpus Christi de manu alterius episcopi substulit, et usque ad altre Sancti Ambroxii portavit." Cited in Tamborini, Il Corpus Domini a Milano, p. 56. The chronicler Gianmarco Burigozzo describes another Eucharistic procession from April of 1529 (too early to be Corpus Christi, which he mentions later without a description of the route): "se portasse el Corpus Domini dal Domo a Sant'Ambroxio, et poi ancora retornare in Domo in sema con tutta la processione." Gianmarco Burigozzo, Cronica Milanese di Gianmarco Burigozzo merzaro dal 1500 al 1544, con note (Milan: presso la Libreria Ferrario, 1851), pp. 112-113. For that year's Corpus Christi procession see pp. 120-121.

²⁶ Diarii Ceremoniali 47-49 Archivio Capitolare del Duomo, Fondo Liturgico 2-3 (Visconti, Gaspare: Disposizioni...C.C., no. 852). Cited in Christine Suzanne Getz, Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth Century Milan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 128-130.

²⁷ The order for the 1545 procession states that the procession departed from the Duomo at 8:30 in the morning, bearing the host to Sant'Ambrogio and back; it also notes that the procedure described conforms to recent years past. Registro di Lettere Ducali, 1537-1545, Trivulziana/ASCM, fol. 200r, cited in Getz, pp. 128-129, 150 note 26. See also Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, Milano ritrovata: l'asse Via Torino vol. 1 (Milan: Casa editrice il vaglio cultura arte, 1986), p. 89. In 1460 the procession went to the collegiate church of San Nazaro instead of to S. Ambrogio, as the date for the procession of offerings from San Nazaro (Porta Romana) to the Duomo coincided with Corpus Christi that year. See Dallaj, "Le processioni a Milano nella controriforma," pp. 168-169.

²⁸ Archdale A. King, Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), especially pp. 57-159. For Carlo Borromeo's requirement that the host be permanently displayed on the high altar of Milanese churches in the later sixteenth century, see Evelyn C. Voelker, Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae, 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis (Ph.D., Diss, Syracuse University, 1977), pp. 160-168. For general examples of vessels and tabernacles used to display the host see C. Alessi, ed. Panis Vivus: Arrendi e testimonianze figurative del culto eucharistico dal VI al XIX secolo (Siena: Protagon editori toscani, 1994).

records indicate that a special altar dedicated to the sacrament existed in Milan's cathedral as early as 1342.²⁹ Prior to the foundation of the "Cappella del Corpus Domini" in S. Giorgio al Palazzo, the host was reserved in a "convenient niche," as stated in the report of Archbishop Gabriele Sforza's pastoral visit in 1455, and contained in a "decent monstrance" that was covered in a veil, with a lamp signifying its constant presence.³⁰ But from its establishment in 1508 until 1569, when Carlo Borromeo mandated that the sacrament be reserved exclusively in a tabernacle on the high altar, the Chapel of Corpus Christi appears to have functioned as the central locus of Eucharistic devotion in the church as a whole as well as the principal site of worship for the *confratelli*.³¹

In 1516, again according to Sacchi, this chapel was decorated with "furnishings and fine paintings by the excellent and famous painter Bernardino Luini."³² The ensemble consists of five components, still *in situ*, depicting the mysteries of the Passion (fig. 6): the altarpiece represents the Lamentation over the dead Christ, with a lunette of the Crowning with Thorns; on either side are panel paintings of the Flagellation and the Ecce

²⁹ A document dated 10 June 1342 records Roberto Visconti's bequest for the construction of a chapel and altar in the cathedral for the "veneration and commemoration of the Holy Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ," with annual masses on the anniversary of his death, Corpus Christi, All Saints day, and the feast of Saint Catherine. The altar and chaplaincy is also mentioned in a cathedral inventory dated 10 June 1346. See Tamborini, *Il Corpus Domini a Milano*, pp. 32, 42 and Enrico Cattaneo, "Perche due tabernacoli in Duomo," *Ambrosius* (1953), pp. 26-28. A comprehensive account of the development, morphology, and iconography of sacrament chapels in the neighboring Veneto region can be found in Cope *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament*.

³⁰ "Prima domanda. Il Sacratissimo corpo del Salvator nostro Gesù Cristo viene conservato in un ostensorio decente, coperto di un velo, collocato in una nicchia conveniente? Vi è come segno esterno che indica la presenza del Sacramento, la lampada sempre accesa? E' protetto dalla serratura a chiave? Viene rinnovato ogni quindici giorni? Come viene portato agli infermi? C'è l'apposito recipiente per la purificazione dell'infermo? Tutti risposero che il Sacramento viene conservato come è indicato nella domanda." ASDM section X (visite pastorali), misc. pievi diverse, vol. 1, fol. 250. Archbishop Sforza's report is also transcribed and published in Colombo, *San Giorgio al Palazzo*, pp. 69-73.

³¹ "Si levi poi ogni segno del Santissimo Sacramento dal fenestrola dove al presente si tiene il Santissimo Sacramento... Li scolari del Corpus Domini facciano una croce di ottono al loro altare... Li detti scolari non tenghino il Santissimo Sacramento né tabernaculo al suo altare, ma solo si tenghi al altar maggior." Decreed in the report of Carlo Borromeo's first pastoral visit to S. Giorgio on July 12, 1569. ASDM section X, S. Giorgio al Palazzo, vol. 2, q. 1. This report is also published in its entirety in Marcora, *San Giorgio al Palazzo*, pp. 53-54.

³² Sacchi, *Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento* p. 8.

Homo; the shallow vault is frescoed with the Crucifixion (figs. 7-11). For his work, Luini was paid three hundred and seventy-one lire, a sum contributed to by several members of the confraternity. The principal patron for this commission, however, was Luca Terzago, who had served as the confraternity's *cancelliere* (chancellor) in 1510 and remained one of its leading members and officers.³³ Terzago is traditionally credited with devising the program as well as financing the bulk of the project, though his precise role is not specified by Sacchi and the original contracts and related documents do not survive.³⁴

Few documentary traces remain of Luca Terzago beyond his involvement in his confraternity, in which he continued to play a role after his death by virtue of a legacy, executed on August 14, 1528 by the notary Bartolomeo Sormano, of sixteen lire to annually purchase bread and wine for needy parishioners.³⁵ Historians number him among Milan's moneyed and educated elite and often link his name with other known patrons of the arts, including Girolamo Rabia, whose Villa Pelucca contained some of Bernardino Luini's most celebrated frescoes.³⁶ Terzago belonged, according to Paolo Morigia's *Historia dell'antichità di Milano* (1592), to an old, noble Milanese family, one of the leading families of the parish whose members repeatedly held high positions in S. Giorgio's administration.³⁷ Two of his ancestors, Alcherio and Giacomo, served as provost at different points in the thirteenth century and a third, Bosco, was one of the church's *capitolari*.³⁸ Another kinsman, a contemporary and possibly a brother, Giovanni

³³ Ibid, pp. 3, 8. Alternate spellings of his surname in the primary sources are Terzaga and Terzaghi.

³⁴ Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini*, p. 109.

³⁵ Sacchi, *Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento*, p. 14. Sormano (also spelled Sormani) often handled the affairs of the confraternity and its members.

³⁶ Pietro C. Marani, "Bernardino Luini's Frescoes in San Maurizio: Literary Circles, the Lombard Tradition, and Central-Italian Classicism," in *Bernardino Luini and Renaissance Painting in Milan*, p. 56.

³⁷ Paolo Morigia, *Historia dell'antichità di Milano*, facsimile reprint of 1592 edition, (Bologna: Forni, 1967), pp. 669-670. See also Marcora, *San Giorgio al Palazzo*, p. 28.

³⁸ Marcora, *San Giorgio al Palazzo*, pp. 28-32. See also Colombo, *San Giorgio al Palazzo*, p. 76.

Pietro Terzago, was elected syndic of the confraternity of Corpus Christi in 1511.³⁹ The Terzago family retained this high standing for the rest of the century, with members serving as *dottore collegiato* and *procuratore collegiato* of S. Giorgio and leaving generous legacies to the brotherhood.⁴⁰ Such a position within the confraternity and the church and parish of S. Giorgio al Palazzo, as well as his membership in the cultured Milanese upper class, would have made Luca Terzago a logical figure to oversee this important commission.

As for the timing of the commission, an impetus for the adornment of the chapel in 1516, when it had already been in use for at least eight years and the confraternity active for at least ten, may have been the ducal privilege granted to the confraternity by Massimiliano Sforza in 1513, during the first brief Sforza restoration (1513-1515). According to Danilo Zardin, being "recognized" by the civil authority constituted a mark of great distinction for religious associations and was a sufficient source of pride for Sacchi to quote the privilege in its entirety over a century later.⁴¹ The Sforza name did not lose its cachet when Milan was once more under French occupation after Massimiliano's defeat at the battle of Marignano in September, 1515; rather, it remained a strong and sought-after marker of legitimacy, stability, and antiquity.⁴² Nor does the Confraternity of Corpus Christi appear to have aligned with a particular regime, although Bernardino Luini and his aristocratic patrons moved primarily within Francophile

³⁹ Sacchi, *Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁴¹ Zardin "Solidarietà di vicini," p. 372.

⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 372-378.

circles.⁴³ The two powers, at least in this instance, were thus not the opposing poles they might initially appear to have been.

More productive is to posit the decade from 1510 to 1520 as one in which the confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo significantly raised its public profile after several points of recognition by secular and sacred authorities. The church was the site of a commemorative Mass attended by King Francis I two days after his triumphal entry into the city in October of 1515, a procession that followed the ancient "Via Sacra" that began at the Porta Ticinese, passed the church along what is now Via Torino, and ended at the Duomo.⁴⁴ In 1518, two years after the chapel decoration was completed, the confraternity was granted a perpetual indulgence from Pope Leo X.⁴⁵ Accordingly, we might understand the commission of the Passion cycle as a result of the confraternity's increased visibility at this moment, which would, in turn, have amplified both its member rolls and its treasury.

III. Bernardino Luini: Sacred Painting in the *Primo Cinquecento*

The motivations behind the confraternity's selection of Bernardino Luini to carry out the project are not indicated by the surviving documents and have been the subject of

⁴³ Gatti Perer, Milano ritrovata: l'asse Via Torino, pp. 164-167, Marani, "Bernardino Luini's Frescoes in San Maurizio," p. 56, Binaghi Olivari, Bernardino Luini, pp. 12-30 and Sacro e profano nella pittura di Bernardino Luini, pp. 49-70.

⁴⁴ Marcora, San Giorgio al Palazzo, p. 45. The mass is noted and described in the church's calendar for that year, BAM Antifonario A 2 inf. The Via Sacra was a route traditionally followed for triumphal processions. For François I's triumphal entry, and those of Massimiliano Sforza (1512) and Louis XII of France (1499 and 1507) see Bonner Mitchell, Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance (Florence: L. Olschki, 1979), pp. 79-86. For the Via Sacra more generally see Gatti Perer, Milano ritrovata: l'asse Via Torino, pp. 80-89 and Milano ritrovata: la via sacra da San Lorenzo al Duomo, p. 15; and Marco Rossi, "Architettura e immagine urbana nella Milano spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento," in La scena della gloria: drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola, ed. Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995), p. 40.

⁴⁵ Sacchi, Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento, p. 8. Sacchi identifies the pope who granted the indulgence as Adrian VI, but he did not become Pope until 1522.

speculation in art historical accounts. The commission might have been facilitated by Andrea Lovino—an alternate spelling of Luini—who is named by Sacchi as the Consul of the confraternity in 1510 and who some historians have suggested may have been a relation to the painter.⁴⁶ Due to the scarcity of documentation regarding Luini's life and career, the Passion cycle in S. Giorgio al Palazzo, only Luini's second securely documented commission, was once characterized as a precocious work by a relatively inexperienced artist, despite the fact that Luini was of age and had completed—or nearly completed—his training by 1501.⁴⁷ Scholars have since proposed other works, sometimes tenuously dated or attributed, to fill this fifteen-year gap.⁴⁸ Most recently, Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari has presented a revised chronology of Luini's early production that reassigns several accepted autograph works to this period based on

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 3. For Andrea's possible relationship to Bernardino, see Pius XI, "The 'Schools' or Guilds of the Blessed Sacrament in Milan," p. 224 and Beltrami, *Luini, 1512-1532*, p. 598. It should be noted that Bernardino Luini's true surname was Scapi; the moniker "Luini" derives from the town Luino, which was near his birthplace in the village of Dumenza.

⁴⁷ In 1501 he appears as a witness for a loan with the painters Giacomo de Beaquis and Giovanni Antonio de Fedeli. Giulio Bora notes that he did not sign this document *filius quondam*, indicating that he had reached majority (and indeed is supposed to have been about twenty years old at the time), and scholars believe that at this point he was nearing the end of his apprenticeship with Giovan Stefano Scotti. Giulio Bora, "Bernardino Luini," *The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy 1490-1530* (Milan: Skira, 1998), p. 325 and Binaghi Olivari, *Bernardino Luini*, p. 8.

⁴⁸ Luini's first work that can be securely documented is the *Madonna and Child with Angel Musicians* for the Abbey of Chiaravalle in 1512. Other works proposed for this period between 1501 and 1516 include: *Christ Among the Doctors* in the National Gallery in London, re-dated to ca. 1504-1506 by Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari; *Young Christ in Benediction* in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, re-dated to ca. 1504-1507; *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, re-dated to 1506-1507; *Salome Receiving the Head of John the Baptist* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, also placed between 1506-1507; the *Madonna and Child with St. Augustine, St. Margaret, and Two Angel Musicians*, ca. 1507, currently in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris, though Binaghi Olivari challenges the attribution; a *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1507-1512, in the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest, which is catalogued as the work of the Venetian Marco Marziale but was reassigned—not without dispute—by Maria Luisa Ferrari to Luini based on its compositional similarities to the altarpiece in S. Giorgio al Palazzo; the Exodus cycle from the Villa Pelucca, which has been assigned dates ranging from ca. 1510 to 1524; the *altar of Sant'Abbondio* ca. 1513-1514 and the *Adoration of the Magi* ca. 1513-1516 in the Duomo in Como; the *Mockery of Ham*, ca. 1515; the *Annunciation* once in S. Maria della Pace, painted with Bernardo Zenale, which has been dated from ca. 1515 to 1520; and a *Pietà* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, ca. 1515. See Bora, "Bernardino Luini," pp. 325-342; Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, *Bernardino Luini* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2007), pp. 10-24; and Maria Luisa Ferrari, "Zenale, Cesariano e Luini: un arco di classicismo lombardo," *Paragone* n.s. 31, anno XVIII, no. 211/31 (September 1967), pp. 18-38.

stylistic evidence and relationships with works by other artists with documented dates.⁴⁹ She positions Luini as a sophisticated artist, with an expertise in sacred themes, who was in considerable demand among noble Milanese and French patrons and ecclesiastical institutions during the first French occupation. Among his clientele in this period were members of the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (later Malta); Cardinal Bernardo Carvajal, patron of Luini's Chiaravalle *Madonna* and who later became the antipope Martin VI; members of the Amadeiti, an influential heterodox group drawn by the teachings of Amedeo Mendez da Silva (ca. 1420-1482), author of the prophetic text *Apocalypsis nova*, based at the convent of S. Maria della Pace; and a related circle at the Augustinian convent of Santa Marta.⁵⁰ What emerges from this new account is a painter who, far from untried and unknown, had by 1516 built a solid reputation for excellence in religious subject matter, worked for devout Milanese patricians, and could have been awarded the Corpus Christi commission either with the assistance of a kinsman or entirely on his own merit.

Bernardino Luini's position as one of the inheritors of Leonardism may have been a further draw for his patrons, especially if the confraternity's newly-granted letters-patent were indeed a driving force behind the commission. While, unlike some other members of the "*Leonardeschi*," such as Francesco Melzi, Gian Giacomo Caprotti (Salai), Giampetrino, and Cesare da Sesto, Luini did not work or study with Leonardo da

⁴⁹ Binaghi Olivari, *Bernardino Luini*.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 12-22 and Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, "L'immagine sacra in Luini e il Circolo di Santa Marta," in *Sacro e profano nella pittura di Bernardino Luini*, pp. 61-69. For a synthetic and current account of prophetic circles in Milan during the French occupation, with relevant bibliography, see chapter three of John Edmond Gagné's unpublished dissertation, *French Milan: Citizens, Occupiers, and the Italian Wars, 1499-1529* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2008).

Vinci, he is traditionally numbered among his followers.⁵¹ Vasari includes him in a passage listing the many Milanese painters who "sought to imitate" Leonardo, and Lomazzo reveals that Luini's son Aurelio possessed both a book of "grotesque" drawings by Leonardo and his celebrated cartoon of the *Madonna, Child, and Saint Anne*, of which the elder Luini executed a painted copy circa 1520.⁵² The *Leonardeschi* enjoyed considerable vogue among both Sforza and French Milanese circles in the first decades of the Cinquecento and became linked with a kind of court idiom. As Luke Syson has argued, Ludovico il Moro established the Leonardesque as a "new Sforza house style, one that could be identified with his rule and that could be adopted for works commissioned by his courtiers and supporters."⁵³ Like the Sforza name, the Sforza style did not lose its currency during the French occupation; to the contrary, the French Milanese court actively embraced Leonardism, bringing the master himself back to the city, where he lived from 1508 until 1513, and employing artists who worked in his visual milieu. To

⁵¹ The legacy of Leonardo in Lombardy has been much remarked on by scholars. For a sampling, see: Andrea Bayer, ed., *Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004); David Allen Brown, Giulio Bora, Marco Carminati, et al., *The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy, 1490-1530* (Milan: Skira Editore, 1998); Flavio Caroli, *Il Cinquecento Lombardo. Da Leonardo a Caravaggio* (Milan: Skira Editore, 2000); Maria Teresa Fiorio, *I Leonardeschi a Milano: fortuna e collezionismo* (Milan: Electa, 1991); Wilhelm Suida, *Leonardo e i Leonardeschi*, trans. Maria Teresa Fiorio (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 2001); and Alessandro Ballarin, Marialucina Menegatti, and Barbara Savy, *Leonardo a Milano: problemi di leonardismo milanese fra Quattro e Cinquecento: Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio prima della Pala Casio*, 4 vols. (Verona: Edizioni dell'Aurora, 2010).

⁵² Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* ed. Gaetano Milanesi, vol. 4 (Florence: G. Sansoni editore, 1878-85), p. 585, and vol. 6, pp. 519-520 and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (Milan: per Paolo Gottardo Pontio, stampatore Regio, a instantia di Pietro Tini, 1584), pp. 171, 360. Binaghi Olivari has made the persuasive argument that, as archival documents reveal Aurelio to have been an individual of limited financial means who would not have been able to purchase such valuable objects (which he later had to sell to Leone Leoni), he almost certainly inherited them from his more pecunious parent, who was moreover a contemporary of Leonardo's and had documented professional and personal relationships with several of his associates. Binaghi Olivari, *Bernardino Luini*, p. 9. Recent studies have confirmed that Bernardino Luini mechanically transferred the image from the Burlington House Cartoon to create his *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, probably by tracing it, and thus must have had access to Leonardo's drawing. See Luke Syson, Larry Keith, and Johanna Stephenson, *Leonardo Da Vinci: Painter at the Court of Milan* (London: National Gallery, 2011) p. 289.

⁵³ Luke Syson, "Leonardo and Leonardism in Sforza Milan," *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), p. 110.

the brotherhood of Corpus Christi, then, Bernardino Luini would have represented a courtly aesthetic that linked them to both the ducal family that had sanctioned them and the current French elite and also paid homage to their (professed) venerable origins during the reign of Ludovico Il Moro.

Finally, additional clues might be sought in a *Pietà* (fig. 12) by Luini, now in the Samuel H. Kress collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, dating to ca. 1515, which appears to be the immediate precedent for the altarpiece in S. Giorgio in style, color palette, and iconographical treatment of the subject.⁵⁴ Particularly compelling is the strong resemblance of both figures of John the Beloved Disciple in pose and physiognomy and the similar features of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene. The woman on the right in the Kress picture with her hands clasped, in addition, recalls the woman holding the crown of thorns in the S. Giorgio altarpiece.

On the one hand, Bernardino Luini often reused "successful" compositions in multiple works, and thus it is possible that any affinity between the S. Giorgio altarpiece and the Kress *Lamentation* is purely coincidental. On the other hand, Carolyn C. Wilson, comparing the composition of the seated Christ with the instruments of the Passion to similar examples in the *marieregole* of Venetian Corpus Christi confraternities and to the San Giorgio *Lamentation*, has suggested that the Kress picture "not only reflects the increasing importance of the cult of the *Corpus Domini* but...might originally have been intended for a chapel or altar devoted to the Sacrament or perhaps supported by a

⁵⁴ Carolyn C. Wilson, "Focus on Luini's Houston *Pietà*," *Arte lombarda* 112, no. 1 (1995) pp. 39-42. See also Bora, "Bernardino Luini," p. 344; Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini*, pp. 21-22 (who was the first to place it in direct relation to the chapel of S. Giorgio al Palazzo); and brief entries in Carolyn C. Wilson, *Italian Paintings XIV-XVI Centuries in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), p. 302; *A Supplement to the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts of Houston* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1953), pl. 12; and William C. Agee, *The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston: A Guide to the Collection* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), p. 41.

confraternity pledged to the same theme."⁵⁵ In 1515 there were only four confirmed sacrament confraternities in Milan: the company attached to the altar of the sacrament in the cathedral, one at the church of San Lorenzo, founded in 1512, one at the church of Santa Maria dei Servi whose date of foundation has been given as between 1491 and 1512, and our confraternity at S. Giorgio al Palazzo.⁵⁶ There were, as well, a few *luoghi pii* dedicated to the Eucharist, including a church in the parish of San Simpliciano "under the name of Corpus Domini" founded before 1505.⁵⁷ If Wilson's intriguing hypothesis that the Kress picture was intended for a sacrament confraternity or chapel is correct, the possibilities for its original location and owner are fairly limited. Records of the painting's provenance reveal only that it had belonged "*ab antiquo*" to a noble Milanese family.⁵⁸ Accordingly it is perhaps feasible, I suggest, given the multiple points of similarity between the Kress picture and the altarpiece in S. Giorgio in iconography, composition, the physiognomy of the figures, and visual style, that the former may have been commissioned within the orbit of the S. Giorgio confraternity, perhaps as a devotional image for the home of a wealthy *confratello* like Luca Terzago, and thus may have facilitated the commission of the chapel ensemble.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Wilson, *Italian Paintings XIV-XVI Centuries*, p. 302.

⁵⁶ Palestra, "Ricerche sulle confraternite del SS. Sacramento," pp. 15-25 and Achille Ratti, "Oratorii e Chiesa, Monastero e Luogo Pio del Corpus Domini," *La scuola Cattolica e la scienza Italiana* series 2, year 5, vol. 10 (1895), pp. 279-294. See also Barbiero, *Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento*, pp. 181, 200.

⁵⁷ Ratti, "Oratorii e Chiesa, Monastero e Luogo Pio del Corpus Domini," pp. 279-294.

⁵⁸ Wilson, "Focus on Luini's Houston *Pietà*," pp. 40, 42 note 22; and Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini*, p. 77. The family Ottino della Chiesa refers to might also have been the Borromeo family. An earlier catalogue of the Kress collection cited a document, no longer preserved and unverifiable, placing it in the collection of the Borromeo Monti family in 1830. Federico Borromeo, founder of the Ambrosiana, is known to have held Luini's devotional paintings in high esteem and actively collected his work in the seventeenth century. If the Borromeo are the "noble Milanese family" indicated, it is likely that the painting entered the family's holdings after 1600, leaving its commission and the first century of its provenance unaccounted for.

⁵⁹ The painting's relatively small size, 80 x 60.3 cm (about 3'x2') would seem to indicate that it was intended for a private home or chapel.

Although the Passion cycle in the chapel of Corpus Christi is no longer considered an early work by Luini, the ensemble continues, with reason, to be regarded as a watershed moment in his career and technical development.⁶⁰ Luini's innovative use of perspective to dissolve not only the chapel walls but the vault as well—presenting the viewer with a panoramic vision of the praetorium and the hill at Golgotha, set within an illusionistic architectural framework—was unprecedented in his work to date. An attempt to situate the chapel program within Luini's oeuvre and to account for these striking features, however, is complicated by the minimal archival record and by the lack of agreement among scholars regarding which works are autograph, and the dating of these paintings. The result is a career in which there are large gaps of knowledge and widely divergent art historical accounts of Luini's career. For example, two *Lamentations* proposed as antecedents and compositional bases for the S. Giorgio altarpiece, one in the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest and another in the Milanese church of Santa Maria della Passione, are not consistently accepted as autograph works.⁶¹

Disagreements also persist as to the sources for Luini's perspectival and architectural inventions. Giulio Bora identifies Bernardo Zenale, praised by Vasari and Lomazzo for his architectural talents, as a prevailing influence.⁶² Binaghi Olivari, however, dismisses Zenale as having had "little to offer [Luini] for his artistic

⁶⁰ Bora, "Bernardino Luini," p. 334.

⁶¹ The Budapest painting was attributed, not without dispute, to Luini by Maria Luisa Ferrari in 1967 but remains catalogued as the work of the Venetian artist Marco Marziale. See Ferrari, "Zenale, Cesariano e Luini: un arco di classicismo lombardo," pp. 31-33. The S. Maria della Passione painting, once commonly accepted as Luini's work, has been attributed alternately to Luini and to the lesser-known Bernardino Ferrari, with more recent assessments favoring the latter. See Mina Gregori, ed., *Pittura a Milano: Rinascimento e Manierismo* (Milano: Cariplo, 1998), pp. 237-8; Franco Mazzini, "La Pittura del primo Cinquecento," *Storia di Milano* vol. 8 (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1957), pp. 618-622; Beltrami, *Luini: 1512-1532*, pp. 29-35; Bora, "Bernardino Luini," pp. 326-237, 333; and Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini*, p. 110.

⁶² Bora, "Bernardino Luini," pp. 334-338; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 4, p. 151; and Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*, p. 100. See also Olga Pujmanová, "A 'Flagellation' by Bernardo Zenale in Prague" *The Burlington Magazine* vol. 132, no. 1048 (July 1990) p. 494.

development" and argues instead that Luini's spatial constructions were largely informed by his prior work on architectonic altarpieces in Como and by Florentine models.⁶³ Additional factors to consider here are Luini's interactions in the early sixteenth century with Cesare Cesariano, the Milanese architect, theorist, and painter who prepared the first Italian translation and commentary of Vitruvius, printed in 1521, and the strong possibility that Luini spent time in Rome between 1512 and 1515.⁶⁴

These ambiguities are compounded by the general lack of knowledge about Luini's training, professional relationships, and movements prior to 1516, as discussed above. Without a firm chronology it is difficult to definitively trace stylistic trajectories and to establish Luini's points of reference. According to Lomazzo, Luini studied in Milan under Gian Stefano Scotto, an obscure artist attached to the Duomo, none of whose works have been identified.⁶⁵ Scotto was reputedly famed for his expertise in arabesque and grotesque ornament and we might see his influence, as well as that of Leonardo, in the physiognomies of Christ's tormentors in the S. Giorgio cycle.⁶⁶ In what follows I will briefly list some of the more remarkable elements of the chapel ensemble and lay out some of their possible sources before embarking, in the next sections, on a full analysis of the chapel imagery.

⁶³ "...Zenale, che era familiare a Luini...ma poco aveva da offrirgli per il suo mestiere di pittore." Binaghi Olivari Bernardino Luini, pp. 8 and 22.

⁶⁴ Ferrari, "Zenale, Cesariano e Luini: un arco di classicismo lombardo," pp. 18-34. On Cesariano generally see Sergio Gatti, "L'attività milanese del Cesariano dal 1512-13 al 1519," Arte lombarda vol. 16 (1970), pp. 219-230; C. H. Krinsky, "Cesariano and the Renaissance without Rome" Arte lombarda XVI (1971), pp. 211-218; Maria Luisa Gatti Perer and Alessandro Rovetta, eds., Cesare Cesariano e il classicismo di primo Cinquecento (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1996); Alessandro Rovetta, "Cesariano, Bramante, e gli studi vitruviani nell'età di Ludovico il Moro," in Bramante milanese e l'architettura del Rinascimento lombardo ed. Christoph L. Frommel, Luisa Giordano, and Richard Schofield, (Venice: Marisilio, 2002), pp. 83-98; and his commentary itself: Cesare Cesariano and Vitruvius Pollio, Vitruvio De Architectura (Milan: V & P Università, 2002). Luini's Roman sojourn will be discussed below.

⁶⁵ Lomazzo, Trattato dell'arte della pittura, p. 421. That Lomazzo was a student of Gaudenzio Ferrari, Luini's contemporary and close associate who also trained under Scotto, gives further credence to his assertion.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 421. See also Binaghi Olivari, Bernardino Luini, p. 8.

Luini generates a sharp contrast between the lateral walls, lunette, and vault, which present a convincing illusion of a unified, three-dimensional space, and the altarpiece, whose figures are pressed between the picture plane and the stark black background with no sense of depth at all. The embedding of the altarpiece in the wall as part of a complex perspectival system and the manipulation of physical space in the chapel recalls Donato Bramante's grand illusion in the choir at Santa Maria presso San Satiro (fig. 13), which Luini would certainly have known, where a miraculous image of the Madonna and Child is set within an architectonic framework. The bold use of *da sotto in su* in the vault to make it appear to open onto the Mount of Calvary was a device often employed by Lombard and northern Italian artists in this period, especially Andrea Mantegna, who is largely credited with its development.⁶⁷ Lastly, Luini's creation of space that appears to extend behind the chapel walls into a stage-like annex where the figures are positioned in narrative tableaux suggest both a response to Leonardo's experiments in the *Last Supper* and an awareness of polychrome sculptural groups, such as those by Agostino Fondulis in S. Maria presso S. Satiro and San Sepolcro (fig. 14), the simulacra just begun at the *sacro monte* of Varallo by Gaudenzio Ferrari—who was Luini's contemporary in Scotto's workshop and with whom he maintained a close professional association—and the reliefs on the polyptych of Sant'Abbondio in Como, which Binaghi Olivari theorizes were painted by Luini in collaboration with Gaudenzio circa 1514.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Andrea Bayer, "North of the Apennines: Sixteenth-Century Italian Painting in Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* vol. 60, no. 4 (spring, 2003), pp. 10-11, 29. Lomazzo declared Lombard artists to be the greatest modern painters of perspective. See Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*, pp. 316-317.

⁶⁸ Binaghi Olivari, *Bernardino Luini*, pp. 19-20. For the connections between the paintings in the Chapel of Corpus Christi and the work of Fondulis and Gaudenzio, with the relevant bibliography, see below.

IV. "Going to See the Body of Christ": The Chapel of the Sacrament in Confraternal Practice

In contrast to the other chapels in the nave of San Giorgio al Palazzo, the chapel of Corpus Christi is small and shallow, measuring only 3.3 meters wide at the entrance, 2.2 meters wide at the back, and 1.5 meters deep, with the lateral walls and vault inclined inward at an angle (fig. 15). In the early twentieth century the rear wall was moved back to enlarge the space and allow for the insertion of two small windows on either side between the lateral paintings and the altarpiece (fig. 16).⁶⁹ Those alterations have since been reversed and the chapel's original structure restored, though the paintings' original frames do not remain. With this size and shape, the chapel of Corpus Christi resembles an enlarged niche framed by a painted arch, perhaps similar to the small enclave in the wall where the sacrament had formerly been conserved (fig. 17). This correspondence is significant: by adapting the micro-architecture of the tabernacle to a larger scale, the chapel's form announces its function as the repository for the body of Christ. The panel paintings themselves, however, are arranged to resemble a triptych; with the trapezoidal lateral panels appearing to be hinged to either side of the *Lamentation*, opening out beneath the frescoed vault, the ensemble plays with the notion of the altarpiece, as well as the tabernacle, as a container for holy objects.⁷⁰

The adoration of the Corpus Christi is further promoted by the chapel's decorative program, which represents episodes from Christ's Passion. Devotees meditating on the Eucharist in the sixteenth century were not asked to imagine the wafer or an abstract

⁶⁹ Beltrami, *Luini, 1512-1532*, p. 41.

⁷⁰ Cyril E. Pocknee, *The Christian Altar: Its History and Today* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1963), p. 39. From the eighth century the top of the altar typically had a *sepulchrum* where relics were housed, thus consecrating the altar. Interred with the relic(s) would be three fragments of a consecrated host. See also G.J.C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: Brill 1995). Just as the host was to be perpetually reserved, the "triptych" would appear to be perpetually open to reveal the holy object "within" it.

concept but to envision the holy body it contained. And this body abounds in the five paintings that comprise the program, where it is shown flagellated, mocked, displayed, crucified, and mourned. Although rare elsewhere in Italy until the later sixteenth century, independent Passion cycles—excerpted from the entire life of Christ—are found in Lombardy and Piedmont during these early decades.⁷¹ The Passion and death of Christ may at first seem a less obvious choice for a sacrament chapel than scenes in which the Eucharist actually appears, such as the Last Supper, but Passion cycles were in fact typical material for chapels and oratories devoted to the Eucharist.⁷² The iconography of Corpus Christi, articulated in the visual arts and in the play cycles performed during the feast's octave, encompassed all of salvation history from Creation to the Apocalypse, emphasizing the sacrament's redemptive power and ontological status as the body of Christ and the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy.⁷³ Images associated with the feast, sacrament chapels, and Eucharistic devotion generally fall under six categories: allegorical images of the sacramental Christ (e.g. the Man of Sorrows, the Eucharistic Pietà, the Blood of the Redeemer, the Risen Christ); Eucharistic miracles, such as the Mass of Saint Gregory; more abstracted representations of the host and chalice or the adoration of the sacrament; Old Testament and New Testament typologies (the gathering

⁷¹ Independent Passion cycles did, however, commonly appear as part of the temporary decoration of the Easter sepulcher. Barbara Wisch, "The Passion of Christ in the Art, Theater, and Penitential Rituals of the Roman Confraternity of the Gonfalone," Crossing the Boundaries. Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1991), p. 238; also Charles E. Cohen, "Pordenone's Cremona Passion Scenes and German Art," Arte lombarda vol. 42-43 (1975), p. 83.

⁷² Mary Weitzel Gibbons, Giambologna: Narrator of the Catholic Reformation (Berkeley: University of California Press 1995), p. 174. Also Cope, The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament, pp. 144-175. Carlo Borromeo later mandated the depiction of Passion cycles on tabernacles: Voelker, Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae, p. 160.

⁷³ Monica Poisa, "La processione del Corpus Domini a Brescia nei secoli XV e XVI," in Il "teatro" del Corpo di Cristo (secc. XV-XVI), special issue of Civiltà Bresciana vol. 8, no. 2 (June, 1999), p. 95. See also V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), esp. pp. 33-56 and Rubin, Corpus Christi, esp. pp. 272-287.

of manna, Abraham and Melchizedek, the sacrifice of Isaac, etc.); images of the Lord's Supper (the Last Supper, the Communion of the Apostles, the Supper at Emmaus); and scenes from the Passion of Christ.⁷⁴

This latter category, and in particular the Pietà or Lamentation, was the preferred subject of sacrament confraternities in the first decades of the sixteenth century and frequently adorned their altars before the Tridentine reforms demanded more symbolic, typological, and didactic images.⁷⁵ In Brescia, a city particularly rich in confraternities and chapels devoted to the Eucharist, altars of the sacrament were decorated exclusively with *Lamentations* at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, including works by Vincenzo Foppa (at the Duomo), Civerchio (Sant'Alessandro), and Bernardo Zenale's *Lamentation* for the confraternal chapel of Corpus Christi in the church of San Giovanni Evangelista (ca. 1504-1509, fig. 18), which is believed to be one of the immediate sources for Luini's altarpiece.⁷⁶ In Zenale's altarpiece the Eucharistic and liturgical currents are emphasized by the placement of Christ's body on a table, meant to signify the Stone of Unction.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ For an elucidation of these themes in the sixteenth century and their roots in scripture and exegesis, see Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament*, and, addressing earlier examples, Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1270-1600* (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2009), chapters six and seven.

⁷⁵ Poisa, "La processione del Corpus Domini a Brescia," pp. 99-102. See also Timothy Verdon, "Il Mistero dell'Eucaristia nell'arte della Controriforma al Settecento," *Mistero e immagine. L'Eucaristia nell'arte dal XVI al XVIII secolo* ed. Salvatore Baviera and Jadranka Bentini (Milan: Electa, 1997), pp. 44-45.

⁷⁶ Buganza, "Le confraternite lombarde e l'arte," pp. 67-68. Also Poisa, "La processione del Corpus Domini a Brescia," pp. 51-55, 91-102; Guazzoni, *Moretto: il tema sacro*, pp. 19-29; Giovanni Testori, *Romanino e Moretto alla cappella del Sacramento* (Brescia: Grafo Edizioni, 1975); Barbara Maria Savy, "Moretto e Romanino per la confraternità del Corpo di Cristo nel Duomo di Brescia: i cicli decorativi e un gonfalone perduto," *Prospettiva* vol. 110-111 (Aprile-Luglio 2003), pp. 97-121 and *Manducatio per visum*, pp. 3-11; P. De Vecchi, "Bernardo Zenale: le opere," in *Butinone e Zenale* ed. P. De Vecchi, Francesco Rossi, and Janice Shell (Bergamo: Edizioni Bolis, 1994), pp. 350, 387-390, 394-395; and Daniele Montanari, *Disciplinamento in terra veneta: la diocesi di Brescia nella seconda metà del XVI secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987), pp. 209-216; For Zenale's influence on Luini see Bora, "Bernardino Luini," p. 342.

⁷⁷ For the associations between the Stone of Unction and the altar, see Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament*, pp. 30-35 and Mary Anne Graeve, "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova," *Art Bulletin* vol. 10, no. 3 (September, 1958), pp. 223-238.

The scenes selected by the confraternity for the sacrament chapel in S. Giorgio (the Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, Ecce Homo, Crucifixion, and Lamentation over the Dead Christ) emphasize the historical Passion: the physical sacrifice of Christ and his human suffering, culminating not in his resurrection but in his mortal death upon the cross. Within the sacrament chapel, where they served as both a backdrop for the Eucharist and a frame for the display of the host, these images function as a visual offering of Christ's body and blood to the viewer that parallels the physical offering of Christ in the Mass and attests to the truth of Christ's somatic presence. How the visual apparatus would have worked to facilitate the identification of consecrated host with crucified Christ is exemplified in Romanino's *Mass of Sant'Apollinare* (fig. 19), painted in 1525 for the altar of the sacrament at Santa Maria in Calchera in Brescia. The saint elevates the host for waiting communicants in front of an altarpiece depicting the Pietà, underscoring the ontological status of the Eucharist as the body of Christ: the opalescent wafer and the pale corpse directly behind it both ask to be recognized as the same body.⁷⁸ In the chapel at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, Christ's chalky form stretched out above the altar would have encouraged the same association.

In addition, the choice to represent the Passion, instead of the Last Supper, further clarifies for viewers the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Current doctrine not only held that Christ was bodily present in the sacrament but equated the sacrifice of the Mass with the sacrifice on Calvary, interpreting the Eucharist as a reenactment of the Passion rather

⁷⁸ Martin Kemp, "The Altarpiece in the Renaissance: A Taxonomic Approach," in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-2; Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520-1540," in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 300; and Stefania Buganza, catalogue entry in *Romanino: un pittore in rivolta nel Rinascimento italiano* ed. Lia Camerlengo (Milan: Silvana, 2006), pp. 146-148.

than a commemorative meal.⁷⁹ The host was thus not only "my body" but my body (and blood) "which is given for the remission of sins."⁸⁰ Ludolph of Saxony articulates this connection explicitly in his *Vita Christi* of 1374:

The faithful who receive the Body of our Lord from the altar in Holy Communion are like those who took him down from the Cross. For it is the same, nay, it is a greater thing, to receive the Body of Christ from the altar of the Church than from the altar of the Cross."⁸¹

The axial arrangement of the *Crucifixion* in the vault above, the altarpiece, and the altar would align the cross with the host at the moment of the elevation. Invoking the traditional conceit of the altar as a sepulcher, as Timothy Verdon writes, such images have the effect of depositing the body of Christ directly from the cross or the lap of the Virgin onto the altar where it reposed.⁸²

In keeping with the chapel's function as the site of Eucharistic reservation, the display of Christ's body is a consistent subject in all five episodes of the S. Giorgio cycle, mirroring the display of the consecrated host below. The invitation to visually consume

⁷⁹ Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament*, pp. 144-147: "[Medieval] theologians interpreted the Mass as a detailed allegory of the Passion of Christ. The elevation of the Host is the raising of Christ on the cross, as the breaking of the Host on the right side is the piercing of the right side of Christ. The priest with outstretched arms also signifies Christ on the cross. Indeed, in the Sacrifice of the Mass, Christ is present both in the Host and as the priest that offers up the Sacrifice, just as in the original Sacrifice, Christ was both priest and victim." For sixteenth-century circulation of these ideas see John Bechofen's *Quadruplex missalis expositio* (1500) and Frenz Titelmann, *Mysteriorum missae expositio* (published 1558). Nicolo Laghi's *Miracoli del Santissimo Sacramento* (1598) argued that Passion was reenacted not only in the liturgy but in the act of communion itself: the sufferings of Christ were renewed by chewing the Host and his burial by its entry into the stomach of the communicant. These texts are noted in Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 96-97. For the notion of the sacrifice of the mass, see Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1960).

⁸⁰ The Last Supper Gospel passages are Matthew 26:26-28, Mark 14:22-24, Luke 22:19-20. In Matthew: "Hoc est corpus meum...hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum."

⁸¹ Ludolph of Saxony and Henry J. Coleridge, *The Hours of the Passion: Taken from the Life of Christ* (London: Burns and Oates, 1887), p. 391. Though lesser-known today, Ludolph's text was widely read in the late medieval and early modern periods, where it had particular influence on the *devotio moderna* and, later, on the spiritual movements associated with the Carmelites, Francis de Sales, and Ignatius Loyola. See P. Shore, "The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony and its Influence on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* vol. 30 (January 1998), p. 2.

⁸² Verdon, "Il mistero dell'Eucaristia nell'arte," p. 44.

the body of Christ is most explicitly made in the *Ecce Homo* (fig. 8), where Pilate, locking eyes with the viewer, gestures to Christ, as a soldier draws the cloak away to expose his bare flesh. In 1516 the belief in "ocular communion"—that seeing the consecrated host was equivalent to consuming it orally—was still current, though it would later be annulled by the Council of Trent.⁸³ The salvific effects of beholding Christ's body are articulated even more overtly by the extensive decorations of the confraternal chapel in S. Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia, where frescoes (ca. 1521-1524) and canvases (ca. 1540) by Moretto and Romanino were added to Zenale's *Lamentation*. In her comprehensive analysis of this program, Barbara Savy argues that the cycle contrasts the physical consumption in Old Testament scenes of miraculous feeding with its typological fulfillment in Romanino's *Adoration of the Eucharist* (fig. 20). Romanino depicts the veneration of the host, manifested as a shimmering Christ Child atop a paten, by an assembled congregation of laity and clergy: the spiritual feeding or "manducatio per visum" (feeding through the eyes) extolled by Augustine.⁸⁴ While Luini's *Lamentation* takes a subtler approach, we can see in the sorrowful yet rapt faces of the large crowd gathered around the dead Christ—who like the laypersons in Romanino's lunette can be seen as surrogates for the confraternity itself—an allusion to this "higher form of reception" as they gaze devoutly at his proffered body and invite the viewer to do the same.⁸⁵

⁸³ In Florence people spoke of "going to see the Body of Christ" to indicate going to hear Mass. Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), p. 55. For the belief in ocular communion generally see Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*; Caroline Walker Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anne-Marie Bouché and Jeffrey Hamburger (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 208-240.

⁸⁴ Savy, *Manducatio per visum*, pp. 39-51.

⁸⁵ For the phrase and the characterization of the crowd in Romanino's painting see Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible," p. 306.

But how, and in what contexts, would the confraternal devotee have viewed this program of Passion imagery? The chapel's small size suggests that it was not used for large functions but, rather, for smaller Masses and devotions attended by a select number of worshippers. Luini's perspective scheme, to be discussed in this chapter's penultimate section, suggests a place for the congregation in the nave, with a focus on the altar. While some confraternities used their chapels as meeting spaces, the brethren of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio typically used the sacristy, another chamber in the church complex, or the residence of one of their members for their administrative needs, likely due to their chapel's low capacity and lack of separation from the church proper.⁸⁶ Surviving notarial records from the early sixteenth century alternate between "in the church of San Giorgio al Palazzo" and "the home of the reverend lord prior" when naming the location of the confraternity's business meetings.⁸⁷ As discussed above, we know from records of apostolic visits that at the time of its decoration the chapel of Corpus Christi functioned as the primary site for the reservation, and veneration, of the consecrated host within the church.⁸⁸ It also, Sacchi's memoir asserts, accommodated the celebration of a daily Mass for the *confratelli*.⁸⁹ The S. Giorgio confraternity's statutes, which would have detailed the sodality's devotional practices, have been lost, but a close parallel example exists in the regulations of a Corpus Christi confraternity established in 1520 at the collegiate

⁸⁶ A report of Archbishop Federico Borromeo's pastoral visit to the church on January 16, 1623, indicates that the officers should meet "in the sacristy, or elsewhere within the church--in sacristia, vel alio loco ecclesiastico." "Decreti per l'Ins[igne] Ch[ies]a Colleg[iata] e Parochiale di S. Giorgio al Palazzo: Fatti dall' Ill[ustrissimo] e Rev[erendissimo] Sig[nore] Cardinale Arcivesc[ovo] Federico Borromeo, nella Visita personale da esso fatta della pref[atta] Ch[ies]a Colleg[iata]," ASM Fondo di Religione 243. For the various types and functions of confraternity buildings see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, pp. 234-242.

⁸⁷ "...in ecclesia Sancti Georgii in Pallatio" and "...domus habitationis reverendi domini prepositi." Zardin, *Solidarietà di vicini*, p. 361, note 1.

⁸⁸ See notes 30 and 31 above.

⁸⁹ See note 19 above.

church of San Babila, located in Milan's Porta Orientale neighborhood.⁹⁰ From this document, and others like it, we can fill in Sacchi's short account and reasonably reconstruct other activities beyond the celebration of the liturgy that would likely have taken place within the confraternity's chapel.⁹¹

In addition to maintaining their chapel and altar and accompanying the sacrament in procession to the sick, the members of the "scolla [sic] del Corpo del nostro Signore Jesu Christo" at S. Babila were required to pray five *Pater Nosters* and five *Ave Marias* each week in honor of the five wounds of the stigmata, though their regulations do not specify whether those needed to be said within the chapel.⁹² This prescription, in fact, appears in most extant Corpus Christi statutes, and was preserved in the general rules drawn up by Carlo Borromeo in 1570 to govern all sacrament confraternities in the diocese of Milan, making it highly likely that the confraternity at S. Giorgio followed the same practice.⁹³ The *scuola* at San Babila and other sodalities also encouraged frequent visitation of their churches and chapels. Confratelli at San Babila were directed to visit their chapel as much as possible and to participate in the daily office during the octave of Corpus Christi; a sacrament confraternity established in Brescia roughly concomitantly

⁹⁰ In a reversal of fortunes, the confraternity of San Babila retains most of its documentary records but none of its pictorial patrimony. ASDM section X, *S. Babila*, vol. 9. The statutes were published by Enrico Cattaneo in *La basilica di S. Babila*, ed Grazioso Ceriani, (Milan: Cocilium sanctorum, San Romano, 1952), pp. 129-131. See also Zardin, "Solidarietà di vicini," pp. 389-397.

⁹¹ On confraternal devotion in general, with a focus on Italy in the sixteenth century, see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, pp. 89-98.

⁹² Cattaneo, "Regola della scuola del SS. Sacramento," in *La basilica di S. Babila*, p. 130.

⁹³ "Regola della Compagnia del Corpus Domini" (Regola borromaica per le compagnie del Corpus Domini. Milano, Pacifico da Ponte e fratelli, ca. 1570). ASDM Section XIII, vol. 49. It is the only devotional requirement included beyond frequent communion and carrying the sacrament to the sick, which indicates its importance. The confraternity of Corpus Christi in the Lombard town of Dossena, a *comune* approximately forty miles from Milan, near Bergamo, whose statutes (ca. 1518) decreed that members should recite five *Pater Nosters*, five *Ave Marias*, and also five *Glorias* daily in honor of the wounds. "...[che i confratelli] recitino cinque Pater, Ave e Gloria ogni giorno ad onore delle cinque piaghe." G.P. Galizzi, "Le Scuole del Corpo di Cristo in uno statuto del Quattrocento," *Bergomum*, XXXVII, n. 3 (1963), p. 25.

with that at S. Giorgio, required members to visit their chapel "devoutly" at least once a day throughout the year.⁹⁴ In Pisa, *scolari* of the Confraternità del Santissimo Corpo di Christo (founded in 1465) gathered every morning, every Friday evening, and at dawn on feast days to kneel before the altar and pray ("*dire devotamente*").⁹⁵

Confraternities also enacted more formalized rituals within their chapels outside of the Mass. Once a month, following a sung Mass, the archconfraternity of the sacrament at S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome staged a procession in which they carried the sacrament with torches around the interior and exterior of their church, passing their altar, which was to be specially decorated with tapestries and hangings for the occasion.⁹⁶ Giuseppe Barbiero asserts that this monthly procession was put on by most—if not all—Eucharistic confraternities on the peninsula.⁹⁷ Additional examples can be found outside of sacrament confraternities. Members of the Compagnia della Madonna in Impruneta (outside of Florence), according to their statutes, were accustomed during their annual feast day celebration to file past their cult image and "behold the uncovered painting, before which each will present him/herself with a prayer and thanks and a plea for grace from God."⁹⁸ Paul Davies has hypothesized a similar procession by the lay sodality charged with overseeing the miraculous painting of the Madonna at S. Maria

⁹⁴ Cattaneo, "Regola della scuola del SS. Sacramento," p. 130 and Ambrogio Palestra, "Tre regole dei sec. XV-XVI per i Crocesignati e le Scuole del SS. Sacramento e dell'Immacolata," *Ambrosius*, vol. 37 (1961), pp. 97-98.

⁹⁵ Barbiero, *Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento*, 130. These prayers included formalized *laude* and chants such as the *nunc dimittis*.

⁹⁶ "Et così in tutte esse terze Domeniche, come il primo Venerdì che seguita la Festa del corpo di Christo, fare ogn'anno la solenne Processione fuori e interno la Chiesa della Minerva, portando il prefato sacramento honoratamente con le lampade accese. Et perche in dette terze Domeniche deputate alle Processioni è conveniente che l'Altare del detto sacramento più di solito sia ornato di tappezzerie." The regulations of the confraternity at S. Maria sopra Minerva are published in Barbiero, *Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento*, p. 283.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147. Barbiero asserts that "all confraternities prescribed them in their statutes," though certainly examples exist that omit mention of monthly processions.

⁹⁸ Megan L. Holmes, *Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 127.

presso S. Satiro in Milan.⁹⁹ He imagines the devotional encounter enhanced by Bramante's illusionistic choir, which effectively frames the miraculous image. The similarities between Luini's use of space and perspective and Bramante's choir at S. Maria presso S. Satiro, where the illusion only comes to its full effect when the devotee moves directly in front of the altar, is further suggestive of comparable activities. As will be discussed in more detail below, by inviting—or even choreographing—the devotee's movement across the chapel in procession, Bramante and Luini staged architectural miracles that reinforced the miraculous properties of the objects the chapels housed and thus intensified the viewer's sacred encounter.

The Eucharistic Quarant'Ore (Forty Hour Devotion), in which the host was displayed unveiled on the altar for a continuous forty hours with accompanying lights, temporary sets called *apparati*, special prayers, and often music, would not develop until 1527, a decade after the painting of the Passion cycle, and accordingly will not be discussed in this chapter.¹⁰⁰ However, it is likely that other vigils, such as the burial of the Easter sepulcher (which is considered to have been the origin of the *Quarant'Ore*), took place in the Chapel of Corpus Christi in the early sixteenth century. As part of the

⁹⁹ Paul Davies, "Framing the Miraculous: the Devotional Functions of Perspective in Italian Renaissance Tabernacle Design," *Art History* vol. 36 (2013), pp. 911-17. I wish to thank Professor Davies for generously providing me with an advance copy of his manuscript.

¹⁰⁰ The devotion of the *Quarant'ore*, invented in Milan, was first observed as a penitential rite at the neighboring church of San Sepolcro in 1527, following the devastating campaigns of Emperor Charles V; by 1529 the ritual was performed at all Milanese churches and by 1537 it had evolved into a perpetual and sequential prayer, ending in one church and immediately beginning in another. The practice was further refined in the late Cinquecento, when it began to be deployed as an alternative and antidote to the decadence of Carnival. See Angelo De Santi, *L'orazione delle Quarant'ore e i tempi di calamita e di guerra* (Rome: Civiltà Cattolica, 1919), pp. 1-12; Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* vol. 37 (1974), pp. 218-248; and Nils Holger Petersen, "The *Quarant'Ore*: Early Modern Ritual and Performativity," in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, ed. Peter Gillgren and Mårten Snickare (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 115-136. I have omitted the *Quarant'ore* from this discussion primarily because it was a phenomenon of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that, while it may eventually have made use of Luini's chapel decorations, had no bearing on the cycle's inception or initial function in confraternal practices, nor has my research yet yielded any specific information about its observance at S. Giorgio al Palazzo.

observance of Holy Week, the host, or a crucifix or sculpted image of Christ, or both were customarily entombed in the church on either Maundy Thursday or Good Friday and remain interred until Easter morning, just as Christ's body was buried and then resurrected.¹⁰¹ The ritual had been practiced in Milanese churches since the eleventh century and we know from later records of apostolic visits that it was performed at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, with its operational costs paid for by the sacrament confraternity.¹⁰² Although the related report does not specify where in the church the sepulcher was located, it seems probable that in 1516, given that the Chapel of Corpus Christi was the site of the reservation of the host, and that the confraternity sponsored the ritual, it was inside or near it. In the performance of this rite, the downward axial thrust from the *Crucifixion* to the *Lamentation* above the altar and then to the altar itself would have acquired a new resonance as Christ's body was interred below.

Accordingly, from these examples, we can infer that the brethren of Corpus Christi likely visited their chapel at other times than when celebrating the liturgy and activated its image cycle during the course of processions and corporate and individual

¹⁰¹ Neil C. Brooks, The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy, with Special Reference to the Liturgical Drama (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 7, 1921), pp. 30-70; Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 112-148; S. Corbin, La déposition liturgique du Christ au vendredi saint. Sa place dans l'histoire des rites e du théâtre religieux (analyse de documents portugais) (Paris-Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1960); Claudio Bernardi, La drammaturgia della Settimana Santa in Italia (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1991), pp. 66-69, 76, 98-117. In the seventeenth century, when Milan was under Spanish dominion, another ritual deposition emerged: the more elaborate and city-wide *Entierro*. On this ritual see Claudio Bernardi, "Il tempo sacro: 'Entierro.' Riti drammatici del venerdì santo," in La scena della gloria, pp. 609-620.

¹⁰² For the general practice in Milan see King, p. 145. For the ritual at S. Giorgio al Palazzo see Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Pozzobonelli e gli atti della visita pastorale nella collegiata di San Giorgio al Palazzo in Milano (1779), trans. Gabrielle Marelli (Milan: Parrocchia di S. Giorgio, 1970), pp. 188-189. According to Pozzobonelli's report: "In generale l'onere della manutenzione della Chiesa e ella Sacristia grava sul Venerando Capitolo...eccetto 100 lire imper[iali] versate dalla Confraternità del Santissimo Corpo di Cristo per la funzione della terza domenica [most likely the solemn mass sung on the third Sunday of the month observed by many sacrament confraternities] e per la preparazione del Sepolcro di Gesù Cristo nella Settimana Santa." See also Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani, La Scena della Gloria: Drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995), pp. 601-609, esp. 606.

devotions. Such a paraliturgical engagement with Luini's paintings is further indicated by the Latin inscriptions on the altarpiece and lateral panels. The texts most readily visible are the descriptive captions that label the scenes, on fictive hanging placards in the *Flagellation* and *Ecce Homo* and in a band of text around the circumference of the *Crowning with Thorns*.¹⁰³ Examining the paintings more closely, however, we can discern another band of text running along the top of the two lateral panels and the altarpiece (fig. 21). Paired with the ensemble's emphasis on Christ's physical suffering and the moving visual presentation, these inscriptions suggest that the paintings functioned as tools for corporate devotion, in which the *confratelli* engaged in affective meditation intended to elicit their compassion and forge a personal and direct relationship with the crucified Christ. These inscriptions are written on trompe l'oeil frames simulating a gilded lintel of a door or window that opens onto the scene in each panel. Together they form a single line of Latin text in which the Virgin Mary, a frequent intermediary in Christian meditation, directly addresses the viewer and calls upon him or her to join Christ's followers in witnessing his Passion and mourning his death.¹⁰⁴ From left to right, from the *Flagellation*, the inscription reads: "Oh grief, alas, race of men! Alas, pity! Beholder, my sweet son, procuring life for you by his cruel death, dies torn to pieces. If you do not weep with us for this, I rejoice to weep [illegible] sorrow."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ The *Flagellation* reads "and they whipped him" [et flagellavit eum], the *Crowning* "they placed a crown of plaited thorns upon him" [imponunt plectentes coronam spineam], and "*Ecce Homo*" ("behold the man").

¹⁰⁴ The importance of the compassion of the Virgin in medieval and early modern prayer has been broadly documented. See, generally, Elizabeth A. Johnson, "Marian Devotion in the Western Church," in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroad, 1987), pp. 392-414. Barbiero also makes the observation that devotion to the Eucharist and devotion to the Virgin Mary were closely related: Barbiero, *Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento*, p. 152.

¹⁰⁵ "Prho dolor heheu mortale genus. Heu pietas. Videnque natus dulcis meus fera morte sua vitam tibi co[n]cilians lacer occu[b]uit. Quo si nobiscum non lacrimas, ovo lacrimare [illegible] dolore." The breaks between panels occur after "beholder (videnque)" and "whereby." These texts, with slightly different

The pairing of text and image in sacred painting occurred frequently in the medieval and early modern periods. On monumental works, smaller images, and in more private illustrated books, inscriptions of prayers, verses from scripture or other religious texts, or general exhortations to "behold and contemplate this with devotion and pity" facilitated viewers' spiritual practice.¹⁰⁶ In Luini's Passion cycle the Virgin's appeal to the beholder—literally “you who are looking”—to have pity evokes one of the most frequent of these glosses that was inscribed on images of the Passion from the Crucifixion to the Man of Sorrows to the Lamentation, where it was attributed alternately to Christ or to the Virgin Mary.¹⁰⁷ This is verse 1:12 of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, which reads "Oh, all you who pass by, behold and see if there any sorrow like my sorrow (*O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*)." When spoken by the Virgin, this verse had a wide-ranging and permanent place in the lauds, songs, devotions, and *sacre rappresentazioni* that accompanied the liturgy of Good Friday, where it was typically invoked in the entombment phase of the drama, often during the burial of the

transcriptions and translations, appear also in Cope, pp. 153-154. Cope, for example, interprets "videnque" as a variant on "videsque" and translates it as "for look." The imperative for *videō*, however, is *vidē*; *vides* is in the present indicative; moreover, *viden* could just as likely be *videns* (the present participle). I would suggest that here "videns" serves as a substantive noun—"viewer" or "beholder"—which is more consistent with the texts—the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* and more generally the *Planctus Mariae*—from which the inscription is derived. Another variant has been recently provided by Marco Flamini, who transcribes it as "Prho dolor he heu mortale genus heu pietas viden qu[i] natus dulcis meus fera morte sua vitam tibi concilians lacer occubu[er]it quo si nobiscum non lacrim[a]s quo lacrimare co[n]suesti dolore." His suggestion of "quō si nobiscum" rather than "ovo si nobiscum" is convincing when compared to the cleaned panel. However, the second "quō" he identifies ("quō lacrimare") is less clear and the paint on the word he identifies as "consuesti" is damaged to the point where a positive identification is hard to confirm. These words are moreover at problematic junctures on the panels, in a poor state of conservation, and in an obscuring frame. See Flamini, entry in *Bernardino Luini e i suoi figli*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁰⁶ These words are "spoken" by an angel holding the instruments of the Passion on a tapestry in Angers. See Hans Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion* trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1981), p. 192. Another example, a votive fresco in Parma, depicts the Man of Sorrows held upright by the Virgin with a scroll beneath instructing the beholder to contemplate the stigmata: "As you pass by here, always recollect with reverence the wounds of your King--hic semper dum transis, recolle Tui vulnera regis" (pp. 195-196).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 197-198. The original speaker in Jeremiah is the city of Jerusalem.

Easter sepulcher.¹⁰⁸ Recalling that the Corpus Christi confraternity sponsored this ritual at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, we should understand their chapel's imagery and inscriptions to have operated within its ambit as well as within more quotidian liturgical and devotional activities.

The verse from Jeremiah is invoked in several texts that provide close analogues to the inscription in the chapel of Corpus Christi. An exact match has yet to be identified and it appears more likely that it is an amalgam of several sources adapted by the confraternity. These texts (and Luini's inscriptions) are part of a much broader class of extraliturgical literature devoted to the *Planctus Mariae* or Lament of the Virgin. The *Planctus Mariae* first developed in the Byzantine East in the fifth century but did not spread to the West until the twelfth century, where it intersected with forms of affective Marian and Christocentric piety promoted by the Franciscans.¹⁰⁹ These lengthy lyric compositions, in Latin and in the vernacular, were typically performed with musical or chant settings on Good Friday, either as part of the liturgy or as a supplemental event, often with confraternal participation; they were also published and read external to Holy Week as devotional texts. Narrated in both the first and third person, from Mary's perspective, the *Planctus Mariae* emotionally recounts the events of the Passion, sometimes focusing on the lament at the foot of the cross but more frequently covering the entirety of the story from Christ's arrest to his burial. The language of the *Planctus*, like Luini's inscriptions, includes frequent address of the "*gens humanae/mortale genus*" and the "*universi populi*," exclamations of "*heu!* (alas)," which in performance would be accompanied by a beating of the breast, and appeals to the spectators' pity and compassion.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 199-200.

¹⁰⁹ The most comprehensive source on the *Planctus* is Sandro Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, trans. Joseph R. Berrigan (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

The most famous of the Italian *Laments* is probably the deeply dramatic Cividale *Planctus* from the fourteenth century, but the majority of texts in the tradition adhere to a general type, sharing similar structures and repeating similar motifs.¹¹⁰

Two *Planctūs* from Lombardy, also dating to the fourteenth century and conserved in the Biblioteca Civica in Bergamo, contain elements that are strikingly close to the Corpus Christi inscriptions.¹¹¹ In one of them, Mary both laments and extols Christ's redemptive sacrifice, as she does in Luini's inscriptions, and invites the viewer/reader to mourn with her:

And to his body [Mary] said: Pure of flesh, caring for the world, why do you languish on the altar of the cross, an offering for sins? Oh holy flesh, you know nothing of sin yet you remit the sins of all! ...Then she kissed the wounded hands and feet of her son and said: So miserable am I, I never thought to see such things, but believed more to rejoice in Jesus! And all you who pass by, sit here with me [and] mourn my sweet son together with me ... alas, alas, alas!¹¹²

In the other, after reciting the "O vos omnes"¹¹³ at the foot of the cross, Mary receives Christ's body in her lap while John, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, Mary Magdalene, and the other women gather around them:

Oh my son, I hold you dead in my lap, the same lap where you once were nourished and clasped with great joy... You never offended anyone and lived without pain; yet now my son, innocent lamb, you have been slain so

¹¹⁰ On the Cividale *Planctus* see Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae*, esp. pp. 3-5 and Audrey Ekdahl Davidson, "The Cividale Planctus Mariae from manuscript to modern performing edition with commentary on the liturgical context," *Le théâtre et la cite dans l'Europe médiévale. Actes du V^{ème} colloque internationale de la Société internationale pour l'étude du théâtre* (Stuttgart: Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1999), pp. 581-595.

¹¹¹ These are published with commentary in Giovanni Cremaschi, "*Planctus Mariae*: nuovi testi inediti," *Aevum* vol. 29 (no. 5/6, September-December 1955), pp. 393-468.

¹¹² "Conversa quoque ad corpus dicebat: Munda caro, mundo cara, cur in crucis ares ara, pro peccatis hostia? O caro sanctissima, tu peccati nescia, omnium solvisti delicta! ...Tunc osculabatur vulnera manuum, et pedum filii sui, et dicebat: Non credebam, misera, talia videre; set credebam potius de Yhesu gaudere! Et vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, hic mecum sedete, meum dulcem filium pariter lugete...heu, heu heu!" Cremaschi, "*Planctus Mariae*: nuovi testi inediti," pp. 439-440.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

that others might have life; you have suffered and died that others might be freed from death.¹¹⁴

The sentiment of the "O vos omnes" is then repeated as Mary and the holy women resolve to go throughout the city in order that "all good people who see me might have compassion on me and lament this cruel injustice...[and] come join me with tears."¹¹⁵

Both laments echo the major themes of Luini's inscriptions: the exhortation to the beholder to have pity and mourn with the Virgin and her conflicting grief over his death and joy at the salvation his sacrifice procured. Thus, while it would be problematic to assert a direct link between these texts and the inscriptions in Luini's Passion cycle, it is highly probable that the latter were informed by the genre of the *Planctus* and would have made associations for their confraternal viewers with the liturgy of Holy Week and the meditation on the Passion and attendant sorrows of the Virgin.

The *Planctus Mariae* had applications in personal and corporate devotion as well as in liturgical performance. They circulated in written form, in both Latin and the vernacular, and cross-pollinated with the vast body of spiritual literature that represented and amplified the last days of Christ's life for the reader's edification.¹¹⁶ Texts such as

¹¹⁴ "O fili mi, ego te mortuum teneo in gremio meo cum dolore, que te in ipso gremio maximo gaudio tenui et nutriui;...Nullum unquam offendisti, et sine dolo semper vixisti; nunc autem, fili mi, agnus innocens, et immaculatus occisus es, ut alii vitam habeant; passus es et mortuus es, ut alios liberares a morte." Ibid, p. 461.

¹¹⁵ "Et transeuntibus nobis per civitatem, omnes bone persone qui videbant me, compaciebantur michi et plangendo dicebant inter se: O quanta crudelitas et iniusticia...[omnes bones] cuncurrebant ad me cum lacrimis." Ibid, pp. 464-465.

¹¹⁶ Multiple parallels can be seen, for example, in Niccolo di Mino Cicerchia of Siena's vernacular rhymed *Passione* of ca. 1364, which was printed in several editions in the early sixteenth century. Giorgio Varanini, ed., *Cantari religiosi senesi del trecento: Neri Pagliaresi, Fra Felice Tancredi di Massa, Niccolò Cicerchia* (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1965), pp. 307-380. In the sixteenth century the *Passione* was printed in Pesaro by Hieronymo Soncino in 1513 and in Florence in 1515 (in the fifteenth century six additional editions went to press in Florence). An edition was also printed in Bologna in 1489 and in Gaeta in 1488. Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books 1465-1550: A Finding List* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1983), pp. 135-136. See also, generally, Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature And Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), especially chapters two and four.

Domenico Cavalca's *Specchio della Croce* and Pseudo-Bonaventura's widely-known *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (both ca. 1300) took up the themes and language of the *Planctus* and deployed them in more elaborate and edifying narratives in which the reader engaged with Christ's human body and the tortures it endured.¹¹⁷ As he or she read, the devotee was encouraged to connect on a human, emotional level with the persons and events described and to empathize with Christ and his followers. Prayer and corporate devotion were central to the religious life of Italian confraternities and historians have moreover noted a doctrinal current, after the ninth century, that associated the sacrament with devotion to the suffering humanity of Christ.¹¹⁸ The proem to the statutes of the Confraternità del Santissimo Corpo di Christo in Pisa asserts that "the first degree [of membership] is a contemplative life, consisting in making laments to God with prayers and holy meditations."¹¹⁹ Devotional tracts and guides to prayer and meditation were known and used by Milanese confraternities as texts for collective reading during meetings and individual use by members. Zardin reports multiple entries in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century archives of the city's confraternities that refer to books bought for devotional purposes; the confraternity of the *Passione* at Sant'Ambrogio even had a small circulating library where *confratelli* could obtain books for their meditations.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Domenico Cavalca, *Lo specchio della Croce. Testo original e versione in italiano corrente*, ed./trans. P. Tito Sante Centi, O.P. (Bologna: Edizioni studio Domenicano, 1992); *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). For the dissemination of these texts see Anne J. Schutte, "Printing, Piety, and the People: the First Thirty Years," *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte* vol. 71 (1980), pp. 5-19. For their relation to the *Planctus*, and a discussion of other texts, see Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae*, especially pp. 102-117.

¹¹⁸ Black, *Italian Confraternities*, pp. 89-98 and Poisa, "La processione del Corpus Domini," p. 73. See also Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of the Interpretation*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999), pp. 216, 224-26

¹¹⁹ Lo primo grado sie vita contemplativa laquale consiste in levare lamente addio condevote orationi et sancte meditationi." Barbiero, *Le confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento*, p. 129

¹²⁰ Zardin, "Relaunching Confraternities..." p. 201.

Cope observed that the inscription on Luini's altarpiece, in which Mary simultaneously "weeps" and "rejoices" at Christ's sacrifice, resembles a passage in the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*:

You, my sweetest son, have been killed as though a criminal ... you abandoned yourself for love of mankind, whom you wished to redeem. Hard and exceedingly painful is this redemption in which I rejoice for the sake of the salvation of man.¹²¹

This passage, with only slight differences, is reproduced in one of the *Planctus* texts from Bergamo, illustrating the broad dissemination and valence of Pseudo-Bonaventura's text, as well as its complex roots.¹²² Though written circa 1300, the *Meditations* remained one of the most popular vernacular devotional books in Italy through to the sixteenth century, enjoying multiple printings in Milan and Venice.¹²³ Anne J. Schutte has estimated that it was the third most widely-read printed religious text in Italy between 1465 and 1494, with twenty-six editions in the vernacular, thus making it almost certain that the brethren of Corpus Christi could have known and used it.¹²⁴ This is not to suggest that either Luini's paintings or their inscriptions were based on Pseudo-Bonaventura or were

¹²¹ Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament*, p. 154. For the full quotation, see *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, p. 344.

¹²² Cremaschi, "*Planctus Mariae*: nuovi testi inediti," p. 461. See also Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, p. 51. These Latin treatises on the Passion, he writes, should be conceived "as the products of a productive and complex textual community built upon mutual relationship and interdependence in which many works reveal the textual traces of many other works, and in which the texts themselves are not static, but, attributed to various authors, subject to revision, recension, and modification."

¹²³ At least four different printers in Milan printed the *Meditations* in the vernacular between 1480 and 1516, in approximately nine different editions. Schutte, "Printing, Piety, and the People: the First Thirty Years," pp. 5-19 and, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books, 1465-1550* pp. 100-104. Two editions of the *Meditations* were also printed in Latin in Milan at around the time of the S. Giorgio commission: one, in 1503, by Alexandrum Pellizonum and another, in 1517, by Ioanne Angelo Scinzenzeler. A vernacular edition was printed in Brescia in 1494.

¹²⁴ It follows behind Tomasso Gozzandi's *Fior di virtù* and St. Anthony of Florence's *Confessionale "Omnis mortalium cura" (Specchio di coscienza)*. Schutte, "Printing, Piety, and the People," p. 18. For the likelihood that the confratelli of Corpus Christi knew the text, see also Zardin "Solidarietà di vicini," p. 384. Further support is found in an inventory (dated 1522) of books owned by the confraternity of Santa Corona of Milan, which also employed Bernardino Luini and whose members were in the same circle as the brethren of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio. The inventory lists at least two editions of the *Meditations*. ASM Santa Corona, Registri 1, fols. 258v-259r. See the discussion of this inventory in chapter three of this dissertation for additional bibliography.

intended to be viewed specifically while reading the *Meditations*. Rather, I mean to invoke the *Meditations*, like the *Planctus Mariae*, as an archetypal example of the type of literature with which the confratelli would have engaged as part of their devotional practices and thus to use it as a framework through which to interpret the affective valence of the chapel decorations. By taking up a common trope used in liturgical and devotional texts, Luini reinforces the paintings' pictorial rhetoric of suffering and compassion with a verbal rhetoric to guide the viewer's contemplation.

Viewed, or recalled, while reciting the obligatory prayers in memory of the stigmata or in the course of other group or individual devotions, the Passion cycle at S. Giorgio al Palazzo would have assisted the *confratelli* with the high level of visualization demanded by these spiritual exercises.¹²⁵ The *Meditations* and similar texts instructed the devotee to create vivid mental images of the sacred events and to integrate themselves fully into the sensory experience of the Passion: "with your whole mind you must imagine yourself present and consider diligently everything done against your Lord."¹²⁶ The paintings' visual presentation of Christ's suffering humanity resonates with the evocative descriptions furnished in the *Meditations*, the *Planctus* poems, and other texts and meditational protocols to assist in the generation of such internal representations. In each of the five scenes, Christ's body is centrally displayed along the axes of nearly-

¹²⁵ "The painter's were exterior visualizations, the public's interior visualizations." Michael Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 45. See also Ilaria Tamenì, "Il teatro della Pietà: il Cristo morto nell'arte bresciana (1450-1550)," in Il "teatro" del Corpo di Cristo, p. 54

¹²⁶ Meditations on the Life of Christ, p. 333. We might also recall the Venetian *Zardino de oration* of 1454: "The better to impress the story of the Passion on your mind...it is helpful and necessary to fix the people and places in your mind... And then too you must shape in your mind some people...then go into your chamber. Alone and solitary, excluding ever external thought from your mind, start thinking of the beginning of the Passion...moving slowly from episode to episode, meditate on each one, dwelling on each single stage and step of the story." Quoted in David Freedberg, The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 192-193.

symmetrical compositions, neatly framed by two figures in the *Flagellation*, *Crowning with Thorns*, and *Ecce Homo* and by two clusters of figures in the *Crucifixion*, to draw the viewer's pious gaze. One figure in each lateral panel and in the altarpiece—Christ himself, John the Beloved Disciple, and Pilate—look out through the picture plane and engage directly with the spectator to pull him or her into the scene. The beholder's "presence" in the narrative is further facilitated by Luini's theatrical staging of the scenes in illusionistic alcoves—or, in the case of the *Crucifixion*, a panorama—seen as if through doorways and a skylight. No longer a flat, painted surface, the chapel walls have become windows onto a tableau and Luini's naturalistically rendered figures living actors in the drama unfolding before the eyes of the devotee. The expressions and attitudes of the figures, in concert with Luini's moving presentation of the action, provoke "diligent" contemplation and compassion. Many of the figures clasp their hands in prayer, like the young man on the left in the *Lamentation*, and are moved to tears (Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus) by the piteous display, modeling the desired response—"weep with us!"—for the viewer to imitate.

"To make yourself more deeply compassionate," Pseudo-Bonaventura advises at the moment of the *Ecce Homo*, "turn your eyes away from His divinity for a little while and consider Him purely as a man...You will see a fine youth, most noble and most innocent and most lovable, cruelly beaten and covered with blood and wounds."¹²⁷ In Luini's painting of this episode, Christ stands bound in an elegant *contrapposto*. His semi-nude body is softly modeled and his delicate features, marred only by a few drops of blood, contrast sharply with the grotesque physiognomy of the soldier beside him. Christ's physical beauty is even more pronounced in the *Flagellation* (fig. 7) where

¹²⁷ Meditations on the Life of Christ, pp. 330-331.

Christ's boyish yet muscular form recalls Luini's depiction of Saint Sebastian of circa four years earlier (fig. 22). Rather than averting his gaze in shame, he looks out imploringly at the viewer with wide eyes to beg "grief" and "pity" from the "race of men" as he is flogged.¹²⁸ Yet this beautiful body is not unspoiled but is "cruelly beaten and covered with blood and wounds." Though lacking the bloody streaks of Luini's later *Flagellation* at S. Maurizio (fig. 23), Christ's body in the S. Giorgio *Flagellation*, *Crowning with Thorns*, and *Ecce Homo* is a patchwork of overlapping lacerations (fig. 24), evoking Pseudo-Bonaventura's description of "the grievous scourges on His innocent, tender, pure, and lovely flesh...bruise upon bruise, and cut upon cut."¹²⁹ The number of welts increases in the sequence from the *Flagellation* to the *Ecce Homo* to suggest the accumulation of wounds over time.

This visual emphasis on Christ's myriad injuries suggests parallels with devotions that specifically addressed the wounds of Christ, made popular in the late Middle Ages and remaining current through the sixteenth century.¹³⁰ As we will recall, the cult of the Five Wounds often intersected with Eucharistic and confraternal piety, with meditation on the stigmata comprising part of the devotional practices of most Corpus Christi confraternities, whose members would recite five *Paters* and five *Aves* weekly in their honor. Other devotions popular in this period addressed and sought to quantify not only these five but the thousands of other wounds suffered by Christ over the course of the Passion, including the lacerations from the flagellation and the cuts from the crown of

¹²⁸ Recall the inscription above the *Flagellation*: "Oh grief, alas, race of men! Oh, pity!"

¹²⁹ *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, p. 328.

¹³⁰ The major study on the subject is Ignazio Bonnetti, *Le stimate della passione: dottrina e storia della devozione alle cinque piaghe* (Rovigo: Istituto padano di arti grafiche, 1952). For the intersection between the cult of the Five Wounds and Eucharistic piety generally see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 302-306.

thorns.¹³¹ As with the stigmata, devotees meditating on the wounds would recite a *Pater Noster* or *Ave Maria* for each one, typically over the course of a year, reaching an average total of 5,475; similar practices focused on quantifying the drops of Christ's blood that were shed.¹³²

A devotional focus on the wounds of Christ is also suggested by the altarpiece. Mary's use of the word "lacer" (mutilated) to describe Christ in the inscription across the top is resonant. In contrast to the countless lash marks in the lateral paintings and lunette, Christ's body in the *Lamentation* is pristine, displaying only the wounds of the Crucifixion and a few gashes on his brow. These wounds, however, are highly visible. They are rendered with thick scarlet paint, and have been given clear compositional emphasis. In the extant preparatory study (fig. 25), Christ's right hand hangs in profile, obscuring the wound made by the nail. In the finished composition, however, his hand is angled so that its punctured back is flush with the picture plane and pressed up against it.¹³³ This revised presentation evokes Mantegna's *Dead Christ* (fig. 26)—a work that Colin Eisler has related to the devotion to the five wounds—in which Christ's hands and feet are carefully placed to display his wounds, made all the more accessible by the extreme foreshortening.¹³⁴ Christ's other hand is held by one of the holy women, who

¹³¹ David Areford, "The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ," in The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture, ed. A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), p. 217. See also, more recently, David Areford, The Viewer And the Printed Image In Late Medieval Europe (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 77-93, 229-258.

¹³² Areford, "The Passion Measured," p. 217. On the broader practice of counting in late medieval lay piety see Thomas Lentes, "Counting Piety in the late Middle Ages," in Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations, ed. Bernhard Jussen, trans. Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 55-91.

¹³³ The most recent publication on the preparatory study is the catalog entry in Léonard de Vinci: dessins et manuscrits (Paris: Edition de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), pp. 378-379.

¹³⁴ Colin Eisler, "Mantegna's Meditation on the Sacrifice of Christ: His Synoptic Savior," Artibus et Historiae, vol. 27, no. 53 (2006), pp. 15-16.

reverently presses her lips to the puncture as if in adoration, just as devotees were accustomed to kiss printed images of Christ's wounds (fig. 27).¹³⁵

Cope considers these mystical traditions as an influence on Luini's aesthetic choices but does not take into account their significance for the chapel's confraternal viewers, who would have used these images to support their spiritual practice.¹³⁶ The inscriptions alone cue a meditational response through their exhortation to contemplate the spectacle and have pity—a resounding refrain in Pseudo-Bonaventura and other devotional tracts—suggesting that these images were likely engaged with on a repeated basis by the *confratelli* in personal or group devotions outside of the liturgy, as well as during the celebration of the Eucharist. Accordingly, Luini's enumeration of wounds and piteous display of Christ's broken yet "loveable" body should be understood to operate within this structure of ritualized, empathetic viewing, activating the viewer's senses and sympathy to facilitate a vivid experience of Christ's trial and death on a level that, Jonathan Bober writes, "approaches the monastic."¹³⁷

That the S. Giorgio Passion cycle was meant to function as a meditational tool is further suggested by several changes made to the composition of the altarpiece (fig. 11) from the preparatory study that significantly recalibrate its tenor. Luini has deemphasized narrative and replaced the overt and dramatic gestures of the drawing with

¹³⁵ Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, p. 243

¹³⁶ Cope, p. 152. His interests are in the iconographic traditions of Sacrament chapels as general sites for the display of the host, not in confraternal chapels, and he is not concerned with the diverse needs of the audiences who accessed them nor in the relationship between images and ritualized behaviors.

¹³⁷ Jonathan Bober, "A 'Flagellation of Christ' by Giulio Cesare Procaccini: Program and Pictorial Style in Borromean Milan," *Arte lombarda* vol. 73-75 (1985), p. 56. To this point it is interesting that Luini employs the same motif of the slashing of Christ's body at S. Maurizio in the *Man of Sorrows* over the tabernacle niche on the convent side of the double church but not in its mirror image in the lay hall. The tabernacle on the other side of the partition wall depicts the *Risen Christ*, whose body is whole and unblemished but for the side wound, suggesting that the articulation of Christ's "thousands of wounds" targeted a viewer engaged in ritual contemplation. The paintings on the nuns' side of the church also are accompanied by descriptive captions, like the S. Giorgio paintings.

a more contemplative sentiment. The increased number of figures, several of whom are external to the gospel story, excerpt the scene from temporal and narrative specificity and emphasize its transcendental nature, an effect compounded by the absence of spatial illusion. While the *Flagellation*, *Ecce Homo*, *Crucifixion* and, to a degree, *The Crowning with Thorns* are situated in deep architectural and natural environments, the *Lamentation* is set against a flat black background, its overlapping figures pressed close to the picture plane. This construction foregrounds the altarpiece, thrusting it into our space, and creates for the viewer two separate spatial and devotional systems: one (the vault and lateral panels) that exists in an historical narrative—the world of action—and another (the altar) that exists in prayer—the world of contemplation—removed from the physical limitations of time and space. It also allows Luini to invoke the authority of older images, designating the altar as a privileged zone enshrined within the narrative, without resorting to archaism. Of particular interest are the alterations to the female figure in the top left of the drawing with her arms flung out and mouth open in grief, a topos that appears in myriad images of the *Lamentation* and *Entombment* including Zenale's Brescian altarpiece and Mantegna's influential print of the *Entombment* (fig. 28).¹³⁸ In the finished painting she has become a model of meditational behavior rather than an actor in a narrative. Her hands are now in front of her breast and hold the Crown of Thorns, still speckled in Christ's blood, and her eyes are cast rapturously upward. The object of her gaze is the lunette of the *Crowning with Thorns*, which Luini has composed to appear as if seen from below, as if the image above her is a vision induced by her pious

¹³⁸ David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 68-70; Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 18-21, 39.

meditation on the crown.¹³⁹ Thus she exemplifies for the confraternal viewer the very process of ritual imagination in which he (or perhaps she) was engaged.

In a like manner, rather than contemplating Christ's wounded feet, as she does in the study, Mary Magdalene now trains her eyes upon the objects that pierced his body: the nails from the Crucifixion, which Luini has arrayed below Christ's limp and bloodied hand. The instruments of the Passion, or the *Arma Christi*, offered especially rich ground for meditation as mnemonic devices and appeared frequently in private devotional books and prints in the medieval and early modern periods, as well as in large-scale artworks.¹⁴⁰ The presence in Milan of a spine from the Crown of Thorns and one of the nails from the Crucifixion would have made the selection of these two *Arma* especially significant to the confraternity of Corpus Christi.¹⁴¹

To this point we have considered the general iconographic scheme of the sacrament chapel in relation to its function as a site for the veneration of the Host and its role in the spiritual practices of the confraternity of Corpus Christi. I have argued that these images were activated in the course of paraliturgical devotions, including the burial of the Easter sepulcher and daily prayer, and that Luini's affecting imagery, emphasis on Christ's wounds, and the accompanying Latin inscriptions served as meditative prompts to guide the

¹³⁹ The "vision altarpiece," a similar construction in which certain "iconic" images like the Madonna della Misericordia appear to a devout viewer (or viewers) in altarpieces as an apparition is discussed by Stuart Lingo, Federico Barrocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 34-61.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Parshall, "The Art of Memory and the Passion," Art Bulletin vol. 81 (1999), pp. 456-472. See also Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny Brown, eds., The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014) and Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, vol. 2 (London: Lund Humphries, 1971), pp. 187-191.

¹⁴¹ A spine from the Crown of Thorns had resided in a chapel in Santa Maria delle Grazie, overseen by the confraternity of Santa Corona, since the late fifteenth century. The relic of the Holy Nail (Santo Chiodo), reputedly given to Saint Ambrose by Emperor Theodosius in the fourth century, was one of the most prized treasures of the Duomo. Giulio Bora, "La decorazione pittorica: sino al settecento," in Santa Maria delle Grazie, ed. Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua (Milan: Banco Popolare di Milano, 1983) p. 153; Edith W. Kirsch, "An Early Reliquary of the Holy Nail in Milan," Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz vol. 30, no. 3 (1986), pp. 569-576.

confratelli in the ritual contemplation of Christ's suffering humanity. I would now like to turn to a more focused analysis of the centerpiece of the the chapel cycle, the *Lamentation* above the altar, and its iconography, examining the roots of its composition and exploring the significance of some of its more idiosyncratic elements for the interpretation of the altarpiece and the program as a whole.

V. The Composition and Iconography of the *Lamentation*

The five paintings that comprise the S. Giorgio Passion cycle are composed in what would have been a familiar visual idiom to their Cinquecento audience and, on the surface, the *Lamentation* (fig. 11) adheres closely to standard forms.¹⁴² Since the fourteenth century this particular variation of the *Pietà*, with Christ lain in the Virgin's lap rather than on the ground, was the predominant type in Italy.¹⁴³ The positioning of the figures, with Virgin holding Christ's body on her lap while Mary Magdalene clasps his feet, conforms to descriptions in most extra-scriptural descriptions from the *Planctus* poems to the *Meditations*.¹⁴⁴ Around them are John the Beloved Disciple, who kneels at Christ's elbow, the two other Marys—Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome—Joseph of Arimathea, richly dressed and holding the burial shroud, and Nicodemus who, weeping, carries a jar of ointment to anoint the corpse.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² See, generally, Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2, pp. 14-16, 66-72, 74-75, 151-157, and 164-183. Also L. Sebreghondi, "La Deposizione di Cristo dalla croce, prima scena della 'tetralogia funebre,'" in *Filippino Lippi e Pietro Perugino: La Deposizione della Santissima Annunziata e il suo restauro*, ed. F. Falletti and J. Katz Nelson (Livorno: Sillabe, 2004), pp. 50-65.

¹⁴³ Erwin Panofsky, *Imago Pietatis*, cited in Cope, p. 41.

¹⁴⁴"The Lady supports the head and shoulders in her lap, the Magdalen the feet at which she had formerly found so much grace. The others stand about, all making a great bewailing over Him: all most bitterly bewail Him, as for a first-born son." *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, p. 342. In these narratives, after the unction and before the burial, Mary laments over Jesus's body, joined by Mary Magdalene, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, Mary Salome, John, and other women. See Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁵ John 19:38-40.

The particular composition derives from Zenale's altarpiece for S. Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia and two *Lamentations* by Andrea Solario (ca. 1505), also from Lombardy and an admirer of Leonardo (fig. 29).¹⁴⁶ Echoes of Perugino's *Lamentation* of ca. 1495 for the monastery of Santa Chiara in Florence can also be seen, filtered through a study by Luini's associate Gaudenzio Ferrari (figs. 30 and 31).¹⁴⁷ An antecedent within Luini's own oeuvre, as discussed earlier, has been tentatively identified in the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest, where it is currently attributed to Marco Marziale (fig. 32).¹⁴⁸ Several of the more idiosyncratic figures in the S. Giorgio *Lamentation* have precedents in this painting, dated to ca. 1507: the woman holding a child on the far right (left in the Budapest panel); the long-haired woman in the center, who prays with hands clasped and eyes cast upwards; and the two figures in contemporary dress, also toward the center. Similarities are also seen in a *Pietà* (fig. 33) painted by the Veronese artist Giovanni Francesco Caroto, supposedly while in direct contact with Luini in 1515.¹⁴⁹ Although Caroto depicts Christ seated on the ground rather than in the Virgin's lap, his painting also makes use of a dark, monochromatic background and its similarly crowded composition contains familiar figure types, in particular the pose of the robustly-modeled Christ and the figure of John who supports him from the left while looking out at the viewer.

¹⁴⁶ Bora, "Bernardino Luini," p. 342.

¹⁴⁷ Binaghi Olivari, *Bernardino Luini*, p. 22. On Gaudenzio's oil study, based on a print of Perugino's painting, see the entry in *Mostra di Gaudenzio Ferrari: Aprile-Giugno 1956, Vercelli, Museo Borgogna* (Milan: Silvana, 1956), p. 93.

¹⁴⁸ See above, note 61. The arrangement, and number, of the figures in each picture is quite similar, though the orientation is reversed, which raises the possibility that the Budapest picture, if not the work of Luini, might have been known to him through a printed reproduction.

¹⁴⁹ Maria Teresa Fiorio *Giovan Francesco Caroto* (Verona: Editrice vita veronese, 1971), pp. 38-40, 90. See also Bora, "Bernardino Luini," p. 342. Compare also the figure in the center of Caroto's painting with her arms flung out to Luini's study.

Beneath the veneer of conventionality, however, Luini makes some interesting innovations. Luini's preparatory study depicts only Christ, the Virgin, John, and the three Marys (Magdalene, Cleophas, and Salome), framed by the two bishop saints. Among the revisions made to the composition from the drawing to the finished painting is the addition of Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and many more figures, several of whom are ancillary to the narrative and to the subject's usual iconography, and whose function in the scene is ambiguous.¹⁵⁰ One effect of the crowding of the composition with these extra figures is a suggestion of a corporate audience. While no members of the confraternity are represented here, unlike Luini's *Crowning with Thorns* for the oratory of Santa Corona, for example, which depicts the *confratelli* in their robes kneeling before Christ, the mass of people engaged in the pious contemplation of Christ's body stand as surrogates in their place. Furthermore several of these supplemental figures, namely the woman and child in the upper right, the two bishop saints on either side of the foreground, and the two figures wearing hats and modern dress in the center of the top register, carry symbolic weight.

Luca Beltrami proposed that the woman and child in the upper right corner were portraits of the artist's wife and son, though no visual or textual evidence supports his claim, nor does he explain their significance within the scene.¹⁵¹ The pair may be figures of confraternal charity and refer generally to the sodality's care of impoverished widows,

¹⁵⁰ The addition of "la gente" might have been partially stimulated by extraliturgical accounts of the Passion, such as Niccolò di Cicerchia's *Passione*, which describes "certi amici e sergenti devoti di Jesù...[e] intorno a le' [the Virgin] di gente avie gran pressa, con dolenti sospir ciascun piangia." Varanini, *Cantari religiosi senesi del trecento*, pp. 363-367.

¹⁵¹ Beltrami, *Luini 1512-1532*, p. 38.

children, and other residents of the parish.¹⁵² In pictorial representations of the Passion children sometimes appear along the road to Calvary throwing stones at Christ or gathered around the foot of the cross, but there is no clear precedent for the inclusion of a mother and child in a *Lamentation* group.¹⁵³ A woman and child do appear in the Budapest *Lamentation* with slight variations, most significantly the addition to the S. Giorgio altarpiece of the bird clasped in the child's hand, which gives the pair an additional valence.¹⁵⁴ The bird is a goldfinch, identifiable by the flash of red at its head (fig. 34), which was a widely-known symbol of the Passion: according legend, a goldfinch plucked a thorn from Christ's brow on the way to Calvary, splashing its breast and head with his blood.¹⁵⁵ A goldfinch often appears in images of the Madonna and Child—Leonardo's *Madonna Litta* (fig. 35), for example, painted in Milan in the 1490s—to foreshadow Jesus's death and resurrection.¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, the goldfinch suggests that the woman and child in the S. Giorgio *Lamentation* can operate as surrogates for the Madonna and Child.

This allusion can be interpreted on two levels. In recalling Christ's infancy these figures evoke the miracle of the Incarnation, and the subsequent miracle of

¹⁵² See above, note 19. In Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, painted ca. 1534-1538 for the Venetian Scuola della Carità, the artist alludes to the Scuola's charitable work by depicting several of the *confratelli* distributing alms to a mother and child at the far left of the composition.

¹⁵³ Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2 pp. 81, 87. See also James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk, Belgium: Van Ghemert Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 145-148.

¹⁵⁴ A dark-skinned woman and child also appear, in an identical position on the far right, in Agostino Fondulis's sculpted *Lamentation* group (fig. 11) at S. Maria presso S. Satiro in Milan, located less than a quarter mile away from S. Giorgio al Palazzo on the same street (Via Torino).

¹⁵⁵ Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch, its History and Significance in European and Devotional Art* (Washington, D.C.: Pantheon, 1946), especially pp. 7-10 and 107-115. For the goldfinch in Milanese art, though the author does not mention Luini's *Lamentation*, see pp. 91-2.

¹⁵⁶ Syson, *Leonardo da Vinci*, pp. 222-5. See also Raphael's *Madonna of the Goldfinch*: Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of his Paintings*, vol. 1, trans. Stefan B. Polter (Landshut: Arcos, 2001) pp. 112-114, 219-222.

transubstantiation enacted upon the altar below, thus supporting the chapel ensemble's affirmation of Real Presence through the juxtaposition of the consecrated host with representations of Christ's body.¹⁵⁷ A similar motif appears in another altarpiece for an Italian Corpus Christi confraternity and has been interpreted in a similar vein, though the painting's subject is different. The *Altar of Corpus Domini* in Urbino (fig. 36), which depicts the communion of the apostles, includes a detail on the far right of a woman with child in her arms (fig. 37). Marilyn Lavin identified the pair as portraits of the infant son and recently-deceased wife of Duke Federico da Montefeltro, who was a *confratello* and the work's patron, and argued that they had an additional resonance as the Madonna and Child, "an image of Divine Incarnation" that mirrored the transubstantiation of the bread and wine reserved in a niche on the opposite side of the composition and the sacrament distributed by Christ in the foreground.¹⁵⁸ On another level, the comparison between the living infant in his mother's arms and the dead Christ on Mary's lap, a parallel implicit in the *pietà* as an image type, heightens the affective valence of the chapel program. In concert with the inscriptions, this juxtaposition calls attention to Mary's role as grieving mother, invoking both the *Planctus Mariae* and Marian themes in meditational texts. In the *Revelations of Saint Bridget of Sweden*, which had a wide circulation in Italy, the Virgin describes looking at the Christ Child and having a premonition of his death: "I contemplated the places where, as I had learned through the prophets, his hands and feet

¹⁵⁷ A vision of a living child upon the altar was one of the most common Eucharistic miracles recorded in the medieval and early modern periods that reaffirmed the Real Presence of Christ in the host. Mass books intended to aid the laity in their devotion encouraged readers to visualize the Christ Child in the sacrament; such miracles and variations on the theme of the sacrificed child also featured in several Corpus Christi plays. See Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 108-129, 135-139 and Leah Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays," *Speculum*, vol. 48, no. 3 (July, 1973), pp. 491-509.

¹⁵⁸ Marilyn Lavin, "The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino: Paolo Uccello, Joos Van Ghent, Piero della Francesca," *Art Bulletin* vol. 49, no. 1 (March 1967), pp. 18-19. The object in the child's hands is an orb.

would be nailed at the crucifixion, my eyes filled with tears and my heart was torn by sadness."¹⁵⁹ Devotees meditating on the moment of the lament would similarly reflect on Christ's infancy as Mary cradled him "dead in my lap, the same lap where you once were nourished and clasped with great joy."¹⁶⁰ Interpreted in this light, the mother and child emerge as significant, though "marginal," components of the altarpiece that reinforce the sacramental and devotional messages of the chapel ensemble.¹⁶¹

The two saints kneeling on either side with bishop's miters at their feet, who are present in the preparatory drawing, have long eluded identification. Lacking documentary evidence and recognizable attributes, it is impossible to definitively name them, though several hypotheses can be made. Bora identifies the figure on the left, who holds a book with a flame shooting from its top, as Saint Augustine but does not qualify his claim with further evidence.¹⁶² Augustine advocated for the physical presence of Christ in the Eucharistic species in his sermons, making him appropriate for inclusion in a chapel of the sacrament, but this figure's appearance, contrary to Bora's assertion, is not consistent with Augustine's iconography.¹⁶³ While he is often represented with a book, a *burning* book is not among Augustine's known attributes nor does it appear in any other images of the saint known to me; furthermore this device is not found in the standard

¹⁵⁹ St. Bridget of Sweden, Bridget Morris, ed., and Denis Searby, trans., The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 67. See pp. 19-22 for the text's dissemination in Italy in the late medieval and early modern periods. For the "proleptic Passion" see also Alfred Acres, "Porous Subject Matter and Christ's Haunted Infancy," in The Mind's Eye, pp. 241-260.

¹⁶⁰ Cremaschi, "*Planctus Mariae*: nuovi testi inediti," p. 461.

¹⁶¹ Michael Camille, Image On the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

¹⁶² Bora, "Bernardino Luini," p. 342.

¹⁶³ See, for example, sermons number 227 and 272. Augustine and Edmund Hill, The Works of Saint Augustine vol. III (Charlottesville, Va.: IntelLex Corporation, 2001), no. 6, pp. 254-257 and no. 7, pp. 300-302.

iconography of any other major bishop saint.¹⁶⁴ It is possible that Luini has conflated two of his emblems: the book and a burning heart. Indeed, a basis for this identification might be found in Sacchi, who writes that some *confratelli* had particular devotion to certain saints, among them St. Sebastian, St. Roch, and St. Augustine, and wished them to be represented in their chapel.¹⁶⁵

The other saint, however, is manifestly not Sebastian or Roch, neither of whom were bishops. One possibility is Saint Ambrose, who was frequently represented alongside Augustine, for example in the *Lamentation* in Santa Maria della Passione, and, as Milan's patron saint, was a ubiquitous figure in Milanese religious images. Ambrose also invokes Eucharistic associations, having been the first of the Latin church fathers to attempt to explain the transformation of bread and wine into Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist in his treatise *De sacramentis*, which has been seen as an early proximation of the doctrine of transubstantiation.¹⁶⁶ Typically, however, Ambrose is depicted holding a whip or kneeling on a soldier, symbolizing his defense of the church against heresy and paganism, emblems that are lacking here, though the maniple on the figure's left arm also comprises part of his iconography (fig. 38).¹⁶⁷ More recently, Cristina Quattrini has proposed the Milanese Saint Natale and Pope Leo I the Great, both of whom were

¹⁶⁴ See Meredith Gill, *Augustine in the Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); George Kaftal, *The Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North-West Italy* (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1985), pp. 102-110 and *The Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North-East Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), pp. 95-102; also *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, 1961), pp. 596-600. While St. Thomas Aquinas is sometimes shown holding a book that exudes rays of light, he was never a bishop.

¹⁶⁵ Sacchi, *Stato della Ven. ed Insigne Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁶ Tom Thompson, ed., *Saint Ambrose: On the Mysteries and the Treatise on the Sacrament* (New York: Macmillan, 1919); also Daniel Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflict* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 109-110; and Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, p. 154.

¹⁶⁷ Kaftal, *The Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North-West Italy*, p. 34 and *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 1, pp. 989-990. The cross pattée on the figure's lapels may possibly, with further research, prove also to be a clue. Similar crosses generally appear on the vestments of bishops and popes. This cross specifically resembles both the Iron Cross of the Teutonic Order and the emblem of the Knights Hospitaller.

connected to the church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo, for these two figures.¹⁶⁸ Natale (Natalis in English), Archbishop of Milan from 740 to 741, built the church and his relics were conserved there; Leo the Great (ca. 391-461) was quoted in an inscription over the original exterior entrance to the church that referred to Christ as the door of life.¹⁶⁹ Though Quattrini provides no further explanation, nor any visual or documentary evidence to support her hypothesis, the attribution would link the chapel's decorative program to the church of San Giorgio al Palazzo, its parishioners, and to the confraternity of Corpus Christi.¹⁷⁰

Without additional evidence the identities of the saints remain open to interpretation, but their meaning within the altarpiece and the chapel program is less so. Alongside any resonance their individual identities might have had, as representatives of the institution of the church, clearly vested and marked as such, they give the assembly of mourners around Christ's body an ecclesiastical and liturgical valence. More specifically, they contribute to the program's emphasis on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the sacrifice of the Mass. The maniple may not definitively identify the figure on the right but it is nevertheless a significant detail. Both bishops in the *Lamentation*, in fact, wear a maniple: the figure on the right wears a red one and the figure on the left, whose

¹⁶⁸ Cristina Quattrini, *Lo Scherno di Cam: un dipinto riscoperto di Bernardino Luini* (Milan: Electa, 2006), p. 24. For a discussion of the connections of these saints to S. Giorgio al Palazzo see Victor Rafael Veronese, *Bernardino Luini in S. Giorgio in Palazzo* (Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2006), pp. 52-57. The issue is further complicated by an article prepared by Quattrini concomitantly with her book in which she identifies the saints, again without citations or further explanation, as "presumably Augustine and San Natale." Cristina Quattrini, "Bernardino Luini nel secondo decennio del Cinquecento," *Rivista dell' Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte* 59, III serie, XXVII (2004), p. 170. Given that Sacchi named Augustine and that Natale has the most connection to S. Giorgio al Palazzo, this pairing seems the most likely.

¹⁶⁹ Veronese, *Bernardino Luini in S. Giorgio in Palazzo*, p. 56: "Sono la porta della vita, nato da vergine e da nessun padre generato."

¹⁷⁰ The standard iconography of neither saint provides further clues. For Leo the Great (Leone Magno) see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 7 (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, 1966), pp. 1278-1280; for Natale see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 9 (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, 1967), p. 762.

left arm is partially obscured due to his position, wears a black one. A maniple, which derived from the Roman *mappa*, is an ornamental liturgical vestment consisting of a band of silk two to four inches wide and approximately a yard long worn around the left arm.¹⁷¹ According to Durandus, the maniple was worn by the priest, bishop, deacon, and subdeacon during the celebration of the Eucharist and used for the handling of sacred things; symbolically, it referred to the ropes that bound Christ to the column and with which he was tied at the Mount of Olives.¹⁷² As a standard element of pontifical vestments, the maniple reinforces these figures' identities as bishops. That the maniple was worn solely during the Mass suggests an additional valence and underscores the sacramental—rather than historical—tenor of the altarpiece, casting the bishops as celebrants and the gathered mourners as communicants in the Eucharistic sacrifice.¹⁷³

The ability to summon Christ to the altar by transforming the Eucharistic species into his body and blood was exclusive to the priest, as Lateran IV had declared in 1215 and the Council of Trent later confirmed.¹⁷⁴ This act of consecration is named, in Gasparo Contarini's treatise *On the Office of a Bishop* (or *On the Duties of a Good Man*, published in Venice in 1517), a priest's central and most important responsibility.¹⁷⁵

Flanking the group assembled around Christ's sacrificed body, with their mitres removed

¹⁷¹ Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, *Raiment for the Lord's Service: A Thousand Years of Western Vestments* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1975), pp. 32-33.

¹⁷² Gulielmus Durantis and Thomas Henry Passmore, *Durandus On the Sacred Vestments: an English Rendering of the Third Book of the 'Rationale Divinorum Officiorum' of Durandus* (London: T. Baker, 1899), pp. 47-53. Maniples are no longer common in Catholic liturgy but they were almost universal in the Western church, including Milan, from the ninth century.

¹⁷³ For parallel examples of sacramental symbolism in Netherlandish art see Maurice B. McNamee, "The Origin of the Vested Angel as Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting," *Art Bulletin* vol. 54 (1972), pp. 263-278. McNamee repeatedly emphasizes that the maniple was worn only during the Mass. In the artworks he examines it is worn, along with other vestments, by angels supporting and presenting the body of Christ.

¹⁷⁴ Norman P. Tanner, ed./trans., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1 (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), p. 217.

¹⁷⁵ Gasparo Contarini, *The Office of a Bishop (De Officio viri boni et probi episcopi)*, trans. John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2002), p. 77.

and their hands joined before their breasts in the customary attitude assumed by the celebrant before the Mass, the two bishops create a slippage between the lament over the dead Christ and the adoration and consumption of the Eucharist as depicted in Romanino's two Brescian paintings (and as enacted daily in the chapel itself).¹⁷⁶ This slippage makes clear the unity of the body depicted in the chapel decorations and the body broken and displayed on the altar. Through the act of consecration, recalling Ludolph of Saxony, "the faithful who receive the Body of our Lord from the altar in Holy Communion [become] like those who took him down from the Cross."¹⁷⁷ Within the sacrament chapel's decorative program, then, one of the bishops' functions is to effect the Eucharistic miracle that the chapel celebrates and symbolically bring the body of Christ to reside in the wafer reserved there for consumption—ocular and oral—by the faithful. But exactly who received that body, and who rejected and was denied it, is articulated by two other figures in the altarpiece.

VI. Gentile Tales, Heterodox Fears: Jews, Heresy, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice on the Eve of Reform

In the upper register of the *Lamentation*, set behind and between Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, is a figure in profile, dressed in contemporary clothing rather than the biblical or Orientalizing garb worn by Christ's followers. Like the woman holding the child in the upper right, this figure is not included in the extant preparatory study but was added later to the painted version, presumably at the request of the confraternity; his conspicuous yellow hat and slightly exaggerated facial features identify him as a Jew (fig.

¹⁷⁶ For the prescribed gestures of the priest in the Mass, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist In the Reformation: Incarnation And Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 235.

¹⁷⁷ See page 64 above.

39).¹⁷⁸ Two figures to the left, on the other side of Joseph of Arimathea, is another man in modern dress who looks out at the scene and the viewer. Although this figure was previously proposed by Jonathan Bober as a donor portrait of Luca Terzago, his head, too, is covered by an oddly shaped cap that closely resembles the *pileum* that marked Jews in European imagery (fig. 40).¹⁷⁹ Luini's removal of the bishops' mitres, which were on their heads in the preparatory drawing but now sit on the ground beside them, causes these figures and Joseph of Arimathea, the "wealthy Jew," to be the only ones wearing hats, calling their headgear to greater attention and suggesting a link between them.¹⁸⁰

In fact, Jews figure prominently throughout the chapel's decorative program. Though not as bestial or devilish as their counterparts in Northern European art, Christ's tormentors are nearly all represented with the exaggerated, grotesque physiognomies—bulbous, hooked noses, lidded eyes, protruding lips, and, in some instances, wild, frizzy hair—and garish red and yellow costumes that stereotyped Jews in medieval and early

¹⁷⁸ In our reproduction the hat looks more orange than yellow. A certain ambiguity and latitude seems to have existed regarding the color of the Jews' distinctive hats, both in the visual arts and in real life. In 1560, for example, a Piemontese Jew named Leone Segele was arrested in Lodi, near Milan, by a podestà who claimed that his hat was black and not the yellow required by the law. Another traveler, Sara Verona, asserted the hat was orange. Segele himself protested that he had been assured by the hat's maker in the Lombard town of Alessandria that it followed the law. See: Flora Cassen, *The Jewish Badge in Early Modern Italy: A Social and Political Study of Anti-Jewish Discrimination* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2008), pp. 108-109 and 245-246. For the "marking" of Jews see Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 14-29 and Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness In Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993) especially pp. 57-94 and 111-160. Also, generally, Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History* (New York: Continuum, 1996) and Eric M. Zafran, *The Iconography of Antisemitism: A Study of the Representation of the Jews in the Visual Arts of Europe, 1400-1600* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1973). I am especially grateful to Professors Shelley Perlove, Sean Roberts, and Diana Bullen-Presciutti for their helpful feedback on these ideas.

¹⁷⁹ Bober, "A 'Flagellation of Christ' by Giulio Cesare Procaccini," p. 77, note 14. The hat's color cannot be definitively determined due to the deterioration of the pigment and the shadows that obscure it, but it appears to have been a reddish shade of ochre.

¹⁸⁰ Joseph wears a hat and costume in the oriental style often seen on Jews in biblical narratives.

modern visual culture.¹⁸¹ The malefactors in the *Crucifixion* are mainly Roman soldiers, but there is one figure on horseback on the right whose lack of armor and pointed red and yellow hat cast him as a Jewish civilian. A Jewish presence at Golgotha is further suggested by the yellow banner with the scorpion, which was traditionally used in Europe as an emblem for the Jews and frequently appeared on shields and standards held by soldiers and members of the Jewish mob in images of the Crucifixion; the scorpion's venomous sting signified the Jews' treachery.¹⁸²

As the antagonist of both Christ's historical and sacramental bodies, the Jew had an established place in Eucharistic mythology and visual culture not only as a villain but as a vital witness to the truth of Christian doctrine.¹⁸³ Out of the legend of Jewish deicide

¹⁸¹ Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, pp. 111-160 and Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, pp. 14-29. According to Stephen Campbell, Jews were never shown possessing bestial or devilish characteristics in art south of the Alps. Stephen J. Campbell, "The Conflicted Representation of Judaism in Italian Renaissance Images of Christ's Life and Passion," *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama* ed. Marcia Kupfer (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), p. 77. For the "monstrous" features seen in Northern Europe and their basis in scripture, see James Marrow, "Circumdedderunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin* vol. 59, no. 2 (June 1977), pp. 167-181.

¹⁸² Dana Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 21 and Marcel Bulard, *Le scorpion: symbole du peuple juif dans l'art religieux des XIV^e, XV^e, XVI^e siècles* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1935). The implication that the Jews were equally—if not more—to blame for Christ's death is consistent with the prevailing interpretation of the Passion narrative by European Christians. Anne Derbes, for example, has noted the greater prominence accorded to Christ's trial by Caiaphas and the Jewish priests over his judgment before Pilate in ducento Italian and Byzantine Passion cycles. See Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 79-96. Also, generally, Stefan Rohrbacher, "The Charge of Deicide: An Anti-Jewish Motif in Medieval Christian Art," *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 17 (1991), pp. 297-321. Of the two banners on either side of Christ, the red one emblazoned with the Roman emblem SPQR is, perhaps significantly, on Christ's right side with Mary, John, and his mourning followers while the yellow banner is on the "sinister" left with the soldiers and Jews who jeer at him and cast lots for his clothing. Roberto Venturelli has noted a similar division of the "elect" apostles and Gentiles and the "damned" Jews in Pordenone's *Crucifixion* in the cathedral of Cremona, where they are represented on opposite sides of a chasm opened by the earthquake that followed Christ's death. Roberto Venturelli, "Duorum populorum divisio; la *Crocifissione* del Pordenone e il conflitto ebraico-cremonese del 1519-21," in *La cattedrale di Cremona: affreschi e sculture* (Milan: Silvano, 2001), pp. 163-174.

¹⁸³ Miri Rubin has remarked on the essential role played by the Jews as interrogators and guarantors of religious truth, onto whom Christian ambivalence and skepticism could be projected: by abusing and testing of the host they provoked miracles that guaranteed its power. See Miri Rubin, "Imagining the Jew: the Late Medieval Eucharistic Discourse," in *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late*

on Calvary was born a class of contemporary narratives that accused Jews of abusing Christian sacred objects and people, the most popular of which was the charge of host desecration. Such "Gentile tales" climaxed with the miraculous and affirming revelation of Christ's presence in the host and the subsequent conversion or destruction of the impious Jews.¹⁸⁴ As the Eucharist gained power as a symbol in the later middle ages, coming to stand for the entire system of Christian belief and, through the metaphor of the *corpus mysticum*, for the Christian community as well, Jewish encounters with the Eucharist gained significance and their rejection of Christian belief began to be realized in increasingly violent terms.¹⁸⁵ Altars of the sacrament in particular emerged as loci of cultic anti-Judaism and Eucharistic confraternities were linked to antisemitic initiatives such as the Monte di Pietà, the Christian charitable institutions of credit developed by Fra Bernardino da Feltre to replace Jewish moneylenders.¹⁸⁶

But while Jews had an established presence in the visual culture of other Italian cities, such as Urbino, Ferrara, and Mantua, where they were often depicted committing various assaults against the Christian community—usually the desecration of the host and of sacred images or, in extreme examples, the ritual murder of Christian children—in

Medieval and Early Modern Germany, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 207.

¹⁸⁴ The bibliography on this topic is vast and growing. Some of the major sources are Miri Rubin, Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); R. Po-chia Hsia The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) and Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial (New Haven: Published in cooperation with Yeshiva University Library, Yale University, 1992); Gavin I. Langmuir, "The Tortures of the Body of Christ," in Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500, ed. Scott L. Waugh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 287-309; and Mitchell Merback, "Fount of Mercy, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece," Art Bulletin vol. 87 (2005), pp. 589-642.

¹⁸⁵ Jeremy Cohen, The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval anti-Judaism (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982). See also John Bossey, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," Past & Present no. 100 (August, 1983), pp. 29-61.

¹⁸⁶ Lavin, "The Altar of Corpus Domini," pp. 9-10. See also Katz, The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance, pp. 9-10, 20 and Cohen, The Friars and the Jews.

Milan the representation of Jews generally was rare and analogous images of contemporary Jewish impiety nonexistent.¹⁸⁷ In her incisive study of the imaging of Jews in the Italian Renaissance, Dana Katz omits Milan completely, characterizing it as an "intriguing counterpoint" because, there, deprecating images of Jews were uncommon and unnecessary.¹⁸⁸ The major aberration to this trend, the historicized anti-Jewish vitriol of Pordenone's Passion cycle for the cathedral of Cremona (1519-24), is noted by scholars for its exceptional rather than typical imagery and tenor and has been interpreted as a response to a specific conflict with the town's Jewish inhabitants, who comprised the largest settlement in Lombardy.¹⁸⁹ The situation in Milan, however, was quite different. The Jews' minimal visual presence in Milan was mirrored by an equally small physical presence. In contrast to the sizeable Jewish populations in Ferrara, Urbino, and other cities where they were more often depicted, Jews were never permitted to live in the Lombard capital, though some conducted business there, settling instead in the smaller centers of Cremona, Novara, and Pavia. Even outside the city walls Jews were scant: a

¹⁸⁷ Katz, The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance, pp. 5-6. This is not to say that they were *never* represented, but that such pejorative imagery, especially outside of biblical narratives, was extremely rare. See Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga, "Ebrei nell'iconografia lombarda del '400," in Il confine del nord. Microstoria in Vallecamonica per una storia d'Europa (Vallecamonica: BIM, 1989), pp. 305-334.

¹⁸⁸ Katz, The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance, p. 6. Her reasons for declaring visual anti-Jewish polemic unnecessary in Milan are not entirely convincing. In Katz's interpretation, the Milanese dukes and Ludovico Sforza in particular advanced policies of intolerance against Jews, citing as evidence Ludovico Sforza's (aborted) attempt to expel the duchy's Jews in 1490. Such clearly demarcated civic and confessional boundaries, she writes, rendered defamatory paintings obsolete. But this characterization does not fully accord with other accounts, especially Flora Cassen's forthcoming book on the Jewish badge in early modern Italy, which presents Milan as quite tolerant towards its small Jewish population. Indeed, not only did Ludovico il Moro swiftly reverse his expulsion order but the Milanese dukes appear generally to have protected the interests of their Jewish subjects and never imposed the badge or the ghetto. See also Shlomo Simonsohn The Jews in the Duchy of Milan, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), pp. xxiv-xxvi.

¹⁸⁹ Cremona's Jewish population was the largest settlement in Lombardy, numbering 456 in 1589, and the city was also the location of the only Jewish *yeshiva* in the duchy. See Venturelli, "Duorum populorum divisio." For a more detailed account of the conflict and its relationship to the cathedral's Passion cycle, see his book-length study based on his doctoral thesis, published as a complete volume of the journal Venezia Cinquecento. Roberto Venturelli, Pordenone a Cremona: iconografie, contesti, significati. Special issue of Venezia Cinquecento, vol. 23 (2002). For the anomaly of the cycle's anti-Jewish violence see Campbell, "The Conflicted Representation of Judaism," p. 77.

census taken later in the century numbered the Jews in the Duchy of Milan at only 889, less than one percent of the total population, which exceeded 100,000.¹⁹⁰

It is therefore puzzling that, in a city where there was neither a tradition of anti-Semitic imagery nor a significant Jewish population, a chapel program should represent Jews in what I perceive to be such number and in such a negative light. Moreover, it is curious that Luini included not only the historical Jews of the Passion story but at least one, if not two, contemporary figures in the *Lamentation* who are clearly marked as Jews but who play no identifiable role in the narrative. Not only are these figures absent from the preparatory study, but no analogous figures appear in any of the earlier images on which Luini's composition appears to have been based nor is there any scriptural basis for their inclusion.¹⁹¹ While Jews are included in the backgrounds of scenes of the *Descent from the Cross* (more frequently in Northern Europe) they appear to have been rarely depicted in isolated images of the *Pietà* or *Lamentation*.¹⁹² Nor do they appear with any frequency in Luini's work elsewhere. This largely unprecedented move on the part of Luini and the confraternity of Corpus Christi demands our attention. What is the

¹⁹⁰ Dean Phillip Bell, *Jews in the Early Modern World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), p. 45 and Orly Meron, "Demographic and Spatial Aspects of Jewish Life in the Duchy of Milan during the Spanish Period, 1535-1597," in *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1989: Selected Proceedings of the Demographic Sessions Held at the 10th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, August 1989* (Jerusalem: Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 37. Though no official edict prohibiting them from settling in the city has surfaced from the Sforza or Visconti periods, there is not a single surviving *condotta* (charter) granted to a Jew in the city suggests that they were not welcome in the capital; in 1541 Charles V officially forbade Jews to live within the city walls. See also Cassen, *The Jewish Badge in Early Modern Italy*, p. 17 and, for the *condotte* and other documents, Simonsohn *The Jews in the Duchy of Milan*. For the 1589 census see Meron, "Demographic and Spatial Aspects of Jewish Life in the Duchy of Milan," pp. 41-42. For the document itself see ASM Culto, p.a. 2159.

¹⁹¹ While there are two figures in contemporary clothing in the Budapest *Lamentation*, occupying the same general area of the composition, those figures are not visually identified as Jews but as Christians and may be donor portraits.

¹⁹² The exception is, of course, figures who are marked as Jews but play a central role in the scene like Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. In Dürer's *Large Passion* print series, figures who may be Jews appear in the image of the *Entombment*. Pordenone's *Lamentation* in Cremona appears also to include an additional Jewish figure. See below.

significance of these figures within the *Lamentation*? Is there any relationship between this unusual feature in the painting and events that occurred in Milan in the years surrounding 1516 to prompt this innovation? In what follows I will pursue three lines of inquiry that combined, I believe, explain the multivalent function of the Jewish figures in the altar of the sacrament at S. Giorgio al Palazzo: the shifting policies towards Milanese Jewry during the French occupation, the role of the Jews in the *Planctus Mariae* and other iterations of the Passion drama, and, most importantly, the escalating anxieties about Eucharistic theology and the authority of the Church on the eve of the Reformation.

The turn of the sixteenth century brought a wave of Jewish immigration to the Italian peninsula, following expulsions in Savoy (1461) and Spain (1492), and with it a rise in tensions and anxieties about their presence in Christian lands.¹⁹³ While the Visconti and Sforza dukes had always been notably tolerant of their handful of Jewish subjects (with the fleeting exception of Ludovico Sforza's aborted expulsion order) the French were less inclusive.¹⁹⁴ Part of the more permissive policies of the Sforza had been never to require Jews to wear the round yellow badge or any other distinctive "clothing or costume or sign" as mandated by Lateran IV and to oppose local efforts to impose it in cities under their jurisdiction.¹⁹⁵ All of this changed during the second French occupation when, on the heels of a series of escalating conflicts regarding the badge in the duchy,

¹⁹³ Moses A. Shulvass, *The Jews in the World of the Renaissance*, trans. Elvin Kose (Leiden: Brill, 1973), pp. 1-27.

¹⁹⁴ The French had expelled the Jews in their own country in 1394.

¹⁹⁵ Cassen, *The Jewish Badge in Early Modern Italy*, pp. 19-29, 49, and 54-56. Although Galeazzo Maria Sforza issued a general edict in 1473 compelling all Jews to wear the badge he revoked it almost instantly after negotiating a payment from the Jews of the duchy. There were also several instances of smaller Lombard cities and towns (such as Cremona and Piacenza) pursuing local mandates, but these appear to have been generally quashed. For the Jewish badge in Italy generally see Cassen (passim); Diane Owen Hughes, "Distinguishing Signs: Ear-Rings, Jews, and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian City," *Past and Present* vol. 112 (August 1986), pp. 3-59; Ariel Toaff, "The Jewish Badge in Italy during the 15th century," in *Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt*, ed. Alfred Ebenhauer and Klaus Zatloukal (Vienna: Böhlau, 1991), pp. 275-281; and Barbara Wisch, "Vested Interest: Redressing Jews on Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling," *Artibus et Historiae* vol. 24, no. 48 (2003), pp. 143-172.

King Francis I ordered all Milanese Jews to wear a yellow badge or a hat.¹⁹⁶ The Milanese government's developing interest in Jewish affairs was first signaled in 1510, when the French introduced a new official position, the *comissarii degli ebrei*, whose responsibilities were to oversee the administration of charters and privileges to Jews, regulate their interactions with non-Jewish citizens, and settle all law suits between Jews and between Jews and Christians.¹⁹⁷ Francis's edict of 1520, part of a general spike in the number of laws forcing Jews to wear a distinctive sign in northern Italy, is significant not only for its call for the marking of Milanese Jews but for its introduction of the yellow hat as an alternative to the badge.¹⁹⁸ While post-dating Luini's Passion cycle by four years, this order followed a general trend that had begun at the end of the fifteenth century, when authorities in northern Italy began to rule that Jews wear a hat, which was less easily concealed than the badge; the badge subsequently disappeared from the documents.¹⁹⁹

The hats worn by Luini's Jews would thus have been recognizable not only as a traditional means of denoting Jews in the visual arts but as the new means of identifying them in the early modern city. By clearly marking the two Jews with a distinctive sign and relegating them to the rear, excluding them compositionally from the group of mourners so that they are unable (and unwilling) to access Christ's body, the S. Giorgio altarpiece carefully inscribes the parameters of Christian society. Accordingly, we might interpret the insertion and careful delineation of Jews in Luini's *Lamentation* as a reflection of the burgeoning tensions surrounding the presence of Jews within the

¹⁹⁶ Cassen, *The Jewish Badge in Early Modern Italy*, pp. 51-4.

¹⁹⁷ Simonsohn, *The Jews in the Duchy of Milan*, vol. 1, pp. xxvii-xxviii. These officers were sometimes also titled *conservatori* or *donatorii*.

¹⁹⁸ Cassen, *The Jewish Badge in Early Modern Italy*, pp. 227, 242.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp 227-243. On the hat and the problems of concealment see also Benjamin Ravid, "From Yellow to Red: On the Distinguishing Head-Covering of the Jews of Venice," *Jewish History* vol. 6, no. 1-2 (1992), pp. 179-210. In 1555 the papal bull "cum nimis absurdum" promulgated by Pope Paul IV mandated the hat for all Jews in Catholic lands, decisively replacing the badge.

Christian communities of Lombardy—communities constructed through Christ’s mystical body—and their legibility through distinctive dress.

But contemporary concerns about the place and visibility of Jews in Milanese society do not by themselves satisfactorily explain their role within the altarpiece and the chapel program, given the rarity of Jews in Milanese painting and within Luini's own production at this time. Here we must consider the subject of the *Lamentation* of the Virgin. Although there is scant visual precedent for the inclusion of Jews external to the narrative in a *Lamentation* group, a basis for their presence might be found within the various textual traditions of the *Planctus Mariae*, to which the S. Giorgio altarpiece is connected by its Latin inscription (discussed above), and the broader, related corpus of meditations, *laude*, and dramatic performances of the Passion. As Miri Rubin has argued, the Lamentation of the Virgin was a nexus of the Passion with which Jews were intimately involved.²⁰⁰ In the Trecento Lombard *Planctus* discussed earlier, Mary addresses a long list of people and things with words of sorrow and reproach—the world that has lost its savior, the cross that will not restore Jesus to her, the son who is dying, and the Jews whom she blames for his loss and calumny:

All you people, attend my sorrow! Behold my sweetest son, as he dies a most shameful death... I say to the Jews: blind people! Wretched people! Repent! ...Look what you have done, blind race of Jews!²⁰¹

This motif, linking Mary's sorrow with accusations of Jewish guilt and willful error, is repeated in virtually all texts belonging to the *Planctus* tradition as well as in the various vernacular *laude* and Passion plays performed by Italian confraternities during Holy

²⁰⁰ Miri Rubin, "The Passion of Mary: The Virgin and the Jews in Medieval Culture," in *The Passion Story*, pp. 62-3.

²⁰¹ "Attendite, universi populi, dolorem meum, et videte dulcissimum filium meum morte turpissima morientem;... Conversa ad Judeos dicebam: Gens ceca, gens misera, age penitenciam...Vide quid fecisti, gens ceca Judeorum!" Cremaschi, "*Planctus Mariae*: nuovi testi inediti," p. 436

Week, and, more generally, in the devotional literature read by their members.²⁰² In these texts the impiety of the Jews—the “gente crudele”—is often contrasted with the “genti pietose” who faithfully heed the Virgin’s call for compassion. Perhaps, then, the Jewish figures in the *Lamentation* are those whom Mary reproaches in the paintings' inscription for their failure to “weep with us” and, we can infer, for their role in his “cruel death.” Placed at the rear, on the fringes of the group of mourners, the Jews' impassive expressions contrast with the tearful and worshipful faces of Christ's followers; the Jew in profile pointedly turns away from the spectacle. As nonbelievers, they represent the reverse of the faithful contemplation that is modeled by the other figures and that the viewer is exhorted to imitate.

However, if the Jews' role in the painting were purely dramatic and narrative, we would expect their antagonism of the Virgin and Christ to be more clearly articulated through gesture or eye contact. As it is, only one figure in the *Lamentation* engages with

²⁰² Sticca, *Planctus Mariae*, passim. A *disciplinati* confraternity in fourteenth-century Modena recited verses in which Mary confronts the Jewish mob, asking why they have “tortured me and my sweet son?” See Rubin, “The Passion of Mary...” p. 63. Niccolò Cicerchia's *Passione* also employs this leitmotif, with Mary frequently bewailing the “crudel gente...[chi] mi robbate.” See Varanini, *Cantari religiosi senesi del trecento*, p. 340 and passim. A Lombard Passion play from 1545 opens with the conspiracy of the Jews against Christ; likewise, in the well-known Passion play performed by the Roman archconfraternity of the Gonfalone from 1501, which has been noted for its extreme anti-Judaism, Mary implicates the Jews in Christ's suffering: “Son, hated by these Jewish people that have scourged and crucified you, you never did them any wrong: a wretched reward you now reap for having lived well...these wicked people are ever more ferocious against you and against me your sorrowful mother.” See Stefano Quinzani, *Passione di Cristo: sacra rappresentazione composta nel 1545* (Milan: Centro studi cappuccini lombardi, 1976), pp. 3-8; Nerida Newbigen, “The Decorum of the Passion: The Plays of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone in the Roman Colosseum” in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts* ed. Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2000), pp. 182-183; and Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigen, *Acting On Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia: Saint Josephs University Press, 2013), especially chapters ten through twelve. The widely-read *Speculum humanae salvationis* regularly indicts the spiteful “Fili Jacob,” even charging them with overstepping Roman law and custom, which called for convicts (like the two thieves) to be bound to the cross, and introducing nails to increase Christ's suffering. See Rohrbacher, “The Charge of Deicide,” p. 310. More generally Pseudo-Bonaventura recurrently implicates the Jews in Christ's torture and death and Domenico Cavalca, in the *Specchio della Croce*, specifies that Christ is slaughtered with the lance and nails of the “crudelissimi Judei.” Cavalca, *Lo specchio della Croce*, p. 291. On Jews in Passion narratives generally see chapter three of Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 69-110.

the Jews and acknowledges their presence: the young woman on the left wearing a white cap who turns to look back at them, simultaneously drawing the viewer's attention to them as well. None of the other figures, particularly the Virgin, who has eyes only for her son, seem to be aware that they are there. Nor does a solely dramatic reading accord with the transformation of the altarpiece from the more dynamic and narrative-driven composition of the preparatory study into the more contemplative and sacramental tableau of the finished painting. The Jews, along with the inscription, certainly *evoke* Mary's reproach at the foot of the cross but that is not what the altarpiece actually depicts, which is an emblematic representation of the adoration of the sacrificed Corpus Christi by the Corpus Mysticum. Set above the altar where the sacrament was reserved and displayed, the altarpiece not only exhorts pious meditation on Christ's Passion and death but asserts that central tenet of Catholic Eucharistic theology: that the host contained in the tabernacle was the same body of Christ that was sacrificed upon the cross and adored by his followers, an equation that, in the "Gentile tales" of host abuse, the Jews were shown to unequivocally reject. And indeed, like images of the *Last Supper* that depict Judas—often designated as a Jew—pointedly turning away from the Eucharist, the Jew in profile refuses to engage with Christ's body.²⁰³

This rejection of Christ, as sacrament and as Messiah, ties together the anxieties about a Jewish presence in the Christian community articulated by the yellow badge/hat and the original *culpa Iudeorum* decried in the Lament of the Virgin and lends these figures a broader purchase as enemies of Christian orthodox belief. We should recall, here, the general function of the figure of the Jew in Eucharistic imagery and lore as the archtypical doubter and, thus, guarantor of the sacrament's authentic presence.

²⁰³ Wandel, *The Eucharist In the Reformation*, p. 137.

Designated as foes of Christ's mystical, historical, and sacramental bodies, Luini's Jews subsume in themselves at once the Jewish community and all those who denied the Eucharistic miracle. The gathered mourners, conversely, led by two bishops, become not only the *corpus mysticum* but also Ecclesia, the Church that will overthrow Synagoga and triumph over all nonbelievers. Support for such a reading can be found in Pordenone's *Lamentation* for the cathedral of Cremona (1522), the only other known *Lamentation* painted in Lombardy that features ancillary Jewish figures (fig. 41). Pordenone's *Lamentation* concludes a Passion cycle filled with incendiary images of Jewish brutality and depicts several figures among the mourners who are clearly marked as Jews. Two of these, on the left, are identifiable as Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus but the figure on the right, wearing a *pileum* and bearing stereotyped features, plays no clear role. In his extensive analysis of the cycle's anti-Jewish polemic, Roberto Venturelli has interpreted the painting as an allegory of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*, wherein Christ's body is the "New Temple" from which the Jews who deny him are to be excluded.²⁰⁴

This brings us to a fourth category of "Gentile tale." In addition to committing abuses against Christianity by desecrating the host, destroying images, and murdering Christian children, Jews were also regularly accused of collusion with heretics and other enemies of the faith, an accusation that gained renewed exigency in the early sixteenth century.²⁰⁵ As Stephen Campbell has observed:

Jews and Judaism...in the stereotypes of Christian art, offered a means of thinking about norms and boundaries, especially when these needed to be

²⁰⁴ Venturelli, "Il Compianto e il Nuovo Tempio," in *Pordenone a Cremona: Iconografie, contesti, significati*, pp. 144-147.

²⁰⁵ Sara Lipton, "Jews, Heretics, and the Sign of the Cat in the *Bible moralisée*," *Word and Image* vol. 8 (1992), pp. 362-377 and chapter four, "Jews and Heretics," of *Images of Intolerance*, pp. 82-111. See also J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), pp. 170-187

clarified with some urgency. The figurative status of Judaism, a defeated theology, would prove particularly productive in the confessional crisis of the decades before the Council of Trent.²⁰⁶

During these years the reformers' rejection of images and espousal of a symbolic rather than literal interpretation of Eucharistic presence were continually visualized under the umbrella of Synagoga in works like Garofolo's violent *Allegory of the Old and New Testaments* (Ferrara, 1523).²⁰⁷ Though it is problematic to draw a direct line between Luini's *Lamentation* of 1516 and the still-forming northern heterodoxies, the belief in Christ's real and sacrificial presence in the sacrament was already threatened by schism and heresy before Luther and Zwingli broke from Rome.²⁰⁸ Visual and verbal polemics against these heresies, in particular the Hussite and Waldensian heresies of the fifteenth century, utilized a similar strategy of Hebrew-heterodox elision.²⁰⁹ In his study of the iconography of the Living Cross, a variant of the *Crucifixion* in which arms extend from the cross to crown an allegory of Ecclesia and thrust a sword through the head of defeated Synagoga, Achim Timmermann argued that Judaism stood for other, more pressing threats to the universal church at a particular moment of crisis, "extending its judicial polemics beyond the Jews to include all heretics who would seek to destroy Christ's

²⁰⁶ Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible," p. 294

²⁰⁷ Ibid, pp. 291-295 and Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 69-98. For another angle, see Annette Weber, "New Attitudes Towards the Jews in the Era of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation: The Patronage of Bishop Echter von Mespelbrunn," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture* ed. Mitchell Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 347-370. In the art of the Catholic Reformation in Italy, however, after the Council of Trent, the Jews would be largely eclipsed by figures wearing German costume--a new and more pressing religious "Other." See Campbell, "The Conflicted Representation of Judaism," p. 90.

²⁰⁸ See, generally, Heiko Augustinus Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), especially pp. 241-278. Also Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: the First Reformation In Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 1998); Carol Lansing, *Power & Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), especially pp. 79-103 and 158-165; and Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: the Waldenses of the Alps, 1480-1580* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), especially pp. 92-94.

²⁰⁹ An indictment prepared in 1419 by theologians at the University of Vienna accused Jews, Hussites, and Waldensians of conspiring to overthrow the Roman Church. Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, pp. 116-119. The alpine region on the Italian-Swiss border was one of the Waldensian strongholds.

sacramental body."²¹⁰ Accordingly, Judaism may not have been the only or principal target of the S. Giorgio Passion cycle but, rather, symbolic of more current threats to Christianity posed by heresy and heterodox reform movements. While Luini's insertion of extraneous Jewish figures into a *Lamentation* scene may have been largely unprecedented he was thus, in fact, making use of an established trope.

By visualizing Judaism and setting it in opposition to a community of believers framed by the clergy, and through an arrangement and iconographic program that identified the sacrament with Christ's body and sacrifice on Calvary, the chapel ensemble appears to register a widening controversy about the nature of the mass and the sacrament of the altar in the early Cinquecento. Among the central points of doctrine called into question by the confessional crisis of the sixteenth century were those defined by the opening paragraph of the Constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215):

There is indeed one universal church of the faithful, outside of which nobody at all is saved, in which Jesus Christ is both priest and sacrifice. His body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread and wine having been changed in substance, by God's power, into his body and blood... Nobody can effect this sacrament except a priest who has been properly ordained according to the church's keys, which Jesus Christ gave to the apostles and their successors.²¹¹

Reformers, to greater or lesser extents, rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation and Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament, the necessity and agency of the clergy to bring about the Eucharistic miracle, the sacrificial and salvific nature of the Mass, the reservation of the sacrament, and the adoration of Christ in the Eucharist, both reserved on the altar and

²¹⁰ Achim Timmermann, "The Avenging Crucifix: Some Observations on the Iconography of the Living Cross," *Gesta* vol. 40, no. 2 (2001), p. 152. The examples that Timmermann examines date from the last quarter of the fourteenth century to the first quarter of the sixteenth.

²¹¹ Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, p. 230

carried in processions: all things that the confraternity of Corpus Christi, their chapel, and its iconographic program expressly promoted.²¹²

Though the Protestant storm would not burst until circa 1520, there were already gathering and pronounced tensions in the first decades of the century centered around papal and conciliar authority and Eucharistic doctrine.²¹³ Historians have long identified continuities between the heresies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the heterodox movements that propelled the Protestant Reformation.²¹⁴ Not just on the fringes, but within the mainstream, at the turn of the sixteenth century, a lively and extensive debate arose regarding the nature of the Eucharist as a sacrifice.²¹⁵ Theologians asked: did the offering of Christ's body on the altar repeat, reenact, or recall the Crucifixion? Gabriel Biel's influential tract *Exposition on the Canon of the Mass* (ca. 1488) posited the sacrifice of the Mass as symbolic rather than reiterative of the sacrifice

²¹² The "articles of the heretics" on the Eucharist were listed in full at the Council of Trent in 1547. See Wandel, [The Eucharist in the Reformation](#), pp. 217 and 70 for earlier disputes on the sacrifice of the Mass. They are also enumerated in Thomas de Vio Cajetan's pamphlet on *Errors on the Lord's Supper* (1525), written in his capacity as papal mouthpiece: Jared Wicks, trans., ed., [Cajetan Responds: A Reader in Reformation Controversy](#) (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1978), pp. 153-174.

²¹³ Heiko Oberman rightly stresses that the idea of the "Forerunner" does not imply a foreshadowing of Luther et al's theological ideas so much as an ongoing history of the "confrontation of a series of central ideas... Forerunners of the Reformation are therefore not primarily to be regarded as individual thinkers who express particular ideas which 'point beyond' themselves to a century to come, but participants in an ongoing dialogue--not necessarily friendly--that is continued in the sixteenth century. It is then not the identity of answers but the similarity of the questions which makes the categorizing of Forerunners valid and necessary." See Oberman, [Forerunners of the Reformation](#), pp. 42-43.

²¹⁴ Claus-Peter Clasen, "Medieval Heresies in the Reformation," [Church History](#), vol. 32, no. 4 (December, 1963), pp. 392-414; George Huntston Williams, [The Radical Reformation](#) (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), especially pp. 59-108. For the impact of more mainstream intellectual currents, see Alister McGrath, [The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation](#) (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987) and Bart Jan Spruyt, [Cornelius Henrici Hoen \(Honus\) and His Epistle on the Eucharist \(1525\): Medieval Heresy, Erasmian Humanism, And Reform In the Early Sixteenth-century Low Countries](#) (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Spruyt traces the origins of the reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper to fifteenth century heresies and calls attention to Hoen's letter on the sacrament, posthumously published in 1525 but written before 1520, which largely informed Zwingli's theology.

²¹⁵ Oberman, [Forerunners of the Reformation](#), pp. 243-244 and Bruce D. Marshall, "The Whole Mystery of Our Salvation: Saint Thomas Aquinas on the Eucharist as Sacrifice," in [Rediscovering Aquinas and the Sacraments: Studies in Sacramental Theology](#) ed. Matthew Levering and Michael Dauphinas (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2009), pp. 42-43

on Calvary.²¹⁶ A response came from the Italian Thomas de Vio Cajetan, who had become a professor of theology at the university in Pavia in 1497 at the invitation of Ludovico Sforza and served at the Milanese court until 1501, and who would later gain fame as the Church's official examiner of Martin Luther and respondent to the northern "heretics."²¹⁷ Arguing from a Thomist perspective in a short treatise, *The Sacrifice of the Mass* (1510), Cajetan insisted that the Mass was the "immolation of Jesus Christ so that that which is offered up is Jesus Christ," repeating and reenacting the Crucifixion, and that the redemptive effects of this sacrifice were as infinite as those of Christ's death on the cross.²¹⁸ Cajetan would reiterate these sentiments even more forcefully and fully in his pamphlet *Errors on the Lord's Supper* (1525):

[It] is the same sacrifice, just as it is the same body of Christ and the same blood of Christ—on the altar, on the cross, and now in heaven...Note well that we are not saying that a spiritual body of Christ is offered in the sacrifice of the altar, but that the natural body of Christ is offered up in a spiritual oblation in the sacrifice of the altar.²¹⁹

Challenges to the doctrine of transubstantiation also took shape and circulated in these formative years. The Dutch humanist Cornelisz Hoen's *A Most Christian Epistle*—published posthumously in 1525 but written sometime between 1509 and 1520 and

²¹⁶ Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, pp. 243-245 and Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, pp. 81-83. See also John L. Farthing, *Thomas Aquinas and Gabriel Biel: Interpretations of St. Thomas Aquinas in German Nominalism on the Eve of the Reformation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988). For Biel's text itself: Gabriel Biel, *Gabrielis Biel Sacre Theosophie Lice[n]tiati Nostre Tempestatis Profundissimi Sacri Canonis Misse Tam Mystica Q[uam] Litteralis Expositio:: Iamia[m] Summa Cu[m] Diligentia Iteru[m] Atq[ue] Iteru[m] Reuisa [et] Correcta: Nihil De Prioribus Omissis: Aliquibus T[ame]n Tum In Colu[m]nis: Tu[m] In Marginibus Additis: Quo]bus Facilius Ea Q[ue] Nititur Lector Inuenire Pot[est]* (Basel: Iacobo Pforzense, 1510).

²¹⁷ Jared Wicks, "Thomas de Vio Cajetan (1469-1534)," in *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period* ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 272. Cajetan is also known for authoring the first complete commentary on the *Summa Theologicae* of Thomas Aquinas, published in four volumes between 1508 and 1523.

²¹⁸ Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, pp. 247, 257. Cajetan's treatise is translated and reproduced in full from pp. 256-263.

²¹⁹ *Cajetan Responds* pp. 168-168. He addressed the topic yet again in *The Sacrifice of the Mass and its Rite--Against the Lutherans* in 1531 (ibid, pp. 189-200).

known then to a limited European audience—is credited with inspiring, or at least fueling, Huldrych Zwingli's commemorative interpretation of the Eucharist.²²⁰ Drawing on ideas espoused by the Cathars as well as the theses of Hus and Wycliffe, Hoen argued against the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and in favor of a reading of the Eucharist as a symbolic act and pledge of God's promised grace, condemning the veneration of the host as idolatrous.²²¹ After its completion Hoen's letter was carried through Germany and Switzerland by his friend Hinne Rode, who presented it to Luther and, ultimately, to Zwingli.²²² The extent of the circulation and diffusion of Hoen's ideas prior to his letter's receipt by Zwingli is ambiguous; certainly we cannot, without further evidence, claim that the brethren of Corpus Christi in Milan were aware of them. Nevertheless his epistle was a significant moment in an expanding dialogue about Eucharistic presence and helps to paint a clearer picture of the tense theological climate on the eve of the Reformation.

At the same time that these doctrinal questions arose, a crisis of authority within the Church itself was brewing and the city of Milan was the theater for one of its major episodes. The French incursion into Lombardy sparked and took up questions about the unity of the Church.²²³ Mounting tensions ultimately led to the schismatic Council of Pisa-Milan (1511-1512), begun in Pisa but moved to Milan in late 1511, which saw the election of Luini's former patron Cardinal Bernardo Carvajal as Antipope Martin VI to oppose Julius II. Instigated by the French king Louis XII, the council called into question

²²⁰ Zwingli in fact was the one to publish the letter. Oberman, Forerunners of the Reformation, pp. 252-253; for a translation of the epistle see pp. 268-276. See also Spruyt, Cornelius Henrici Hoen (Honus) and His Epistle on the Eucharist (1525), especially pp. 85-165. For the letter's posthumous circulation and impact see Spruyt, pp. 168-218.

²²¹ Spruyt, Cornelius Henrici Hoen (Honus) and His Epistle on the Eucharist (1525), pp. 85-98.

²²² *Ibid.*, pp. 187-218.

²²³ Gagne, French Milan, p. 114.

the power of the Pope to appoint bishops in France, and proclaimed conciliar authority to exceed papal authority.²²⁴ The council was not hugely popular with Milanese citizens and, after the overthrow of the French in 1512, it was moved to Asti and then Lyons and ultimately dissolved without obtaining any significant results.²²⁵ It was, however, a chief impetus for the convocation of the Fifth Lateran Council from 1512-1517, called by Julius II and led largely by Cajetan. Lateran V denounced the "conciliabulum Pisanum" and called for the reform of the Church and clergy in the face of mounting criticism, though it was unable to prevent the rupture that followed the publication of Luther's theses seven months after its conclusion.²²⁶ The Pisan Council also brought numerous ecclesiastics from all around Europe to Milan, either as participants in its sessions or as members of delegates' retinues, facilitating the discussion and spread of new lines of religious thought.²²⁷

The religious climate in Milan during the first quarter of the sixteenth century has not yet received adequate scholarly attention and existing accounts generally focus on the strong apocalyptic and prophetic fervor stirred up by the Amadeiti and itinerant preachers in response to the political turbulence that consumed the city.²²⁸ Nevertheless, a picture

²²⁴ Nelson H. Minnich, "Rite Convocare ac Congregare Procedereque: The Struggle Between the Councils of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyons and Lateran V," in Councils of the Catholic Reformation (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2008), no. IX, pp. 1-54; J.H. Burns, "Angelo da Vallombrosa and the Pisan Schism," in Church, the Councils, and Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century ed. Gerald Christianson (Baltimore, MD: Catholic University of America Press) pp. 194-211.

²²⁵ For the council's Milanese phase, see Enrico Cattaneo, "La condotta dei milanesi durante il concilio di Pisa-Milano, 1511-1512," Ricerche storiche sulla chiesa ambrosiana 2 (1971), pp. 245-279.

²²⁶ Guy Bedouelle, The Reform of Catholicism: 1480-1620, trans. James K. Farge (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 2008), pp. 14-26. For the decrees see Tanner, Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, vol. 1, pp. 593-606. For Cajetan's involvement see Cajetan Responds, pp. 8-11.

²²⁷ Gagne, French Milan, p. 144.

²²⁸ For an overview, see Storia di Milano vol. 8, pp. 423-453; also the third chapter of Gagne, French Milan, pp. 113-174. From August to December of 1516 a Tuscan hermit, Girolamo da Siena, preached in the Duomo and elsewhere in the city to immense crowds while dressed in an animal skin like John the Baptist, despite being refused a license from the archbishop, and railed against the perceived hypocrisy and

emerges in the second decade of the sixteenth century of a city divided, by virtue of the Council of Pisa-Milan and the French occupation, into opposing factions, one aligned with the papacy against the French and another more reform-minded Francophile circle with antipapal leanings.²²⁹ To these simmering tensions were added a variety of religious influences from Rome, Florence, Venice, Germany, and Switzerland.²³⁰ The region of Lombardy was particularly vulnerable to heterodox currents from the north and was among the first responders to the confessional crisis they wrought. Milan had had a long association with France and Burgundy before the occupation, as well as strong economic and cultural ties to the Netherlands.²³¹ As the "key to Italy" in the Italian Wars of the Cinquecento, at the nexus of transalpine trade and communication routes, and as a territory under foreign occupation whose frequent regime changes regularly brought French agents and soldiers and German and Swiss mercenaries within its borders and its capital city, the duchy of Milan experienced increased and prolonged contact with its northern neighbors.²³² Zwingli himself was in Novara in 1513 and Marignano in 1515 as the chaplain to a company of Swiss recruits in service to the Pope and Luther's first

abuses of the religious orders. His activities are documented in Burigozzo's chronicle: Burigozzo, Cronica Milanese di Gianmarco Burigozzo, pp. 21-22.

²²⁹ While many of Luini's patrons hailed from the latter, no evidence has surfaced to indicate that Luca Terzago or the confraternity of Corpus Christi had any heterodox or schismatic sympathies.

²³⁰ Gagne, French Milan, p. 114.

²³¹ A. Tervoort, "The Italian Connection: The *Iter Italicum* and the Northern Netherlands (1425-1575)," in Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469-1625: From the "Adwert Academy" to Ubbo Emmius, ed. F. Akkerman, A.J. Vanderjagt, and A.H. Van Der Laan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 222-241; Mark Evans, "German prints and Milanese miniatures. Influences in--and from--Giovan Pietro Birago," Apollo vol. 153 (2001), pp. 3-12.

²³² The Sforza family took refuge in Germany and Switzerland following Ludovico il Moro's ouster in 1499 and employed Swiss mercenaries in their campaigns to retake the city. The French also drew from the ranks of the Swiss to fill their own barracks. Burigozzo's chronicle paints a vivid picture of the international presence in the city from 1500-1520: Burigozzo, Cronica Milanese di Gianmarco Burigozzo, pp. 5-20. See also Giorgio Chittolini, "Milan in the Face of the Italian Wars (1494-1535): Between the Crisis of the State and the Affirmation of Urban Autonomy," in The French Descent into Renaissance Italy 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects, ed. David Abulafia (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995), pp. 391-404; Cecilia Ady, A History of Milan Under the Sforza (London: Methuen, 1907), pp. 170-222; Mark Taplin, The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c. 1540-1620 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 11-12.

unofficial Italian respondent was the Milanese Dominican Isidoro Isolani, whose *Revocatio M. Lutherii ad sanctam Sedem* (1519) admonished Luther to recant and bow to papal authority.²³³ The bookseller Francesco Calvo, conversely, is credited with importing heterodox texts across the Alps to Milan and disseminating them in Italy, including, later, the works of Luther.²³⁴

To situate the Corpus Christi Passion cycle within these theological discussions is to necessarily paint with a wide brush. What I am suggesting here is not a direct, self-conscious, or one-to-one response by the confraternal chapel to the nascent reform movements but simply that the chapel imagery, with its precise delineation of orthodox beliefs and careful demarcation of the faithful and impious, appears to register these developing anxieties about the stability of Eucharistic theology. Like Raphael's *Disputà* (1509, fig. 42), which allegorizes the discipline of theology as a debate on transubstantiation, and which scholars have loosely connected to preaching and disputes about the nature of the sacrament in Julian Rome, Luini's program of Passion imagery works to clarify doctrine and to dispel doubts about Real Presence and the sacrifice of the Mass.²³⁵ The cycle's emphasis on Christ's bodily sacrifice, the sacramental undertones of

²³³ Nansen Defendi, "La 'Revocatio M. Lutherii ad Sanctam Sedem' nella polemica antiluterana in Italia," *Archivio storico lombardo* ser. 8, vol. 4 (1953), pp. 67-132. Isolani's response targets only the *Ninety-Five Theses*, which were concerned with the sale of indulgences and the limits of papal power.

²³⁴ Gian Luigi Barni, "La vita culturale a Milano dal 1500 al scomparsa dell'ultimo duca Sforza," in *Storia di Milano* vol. 8 (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1957), pp. 447-448. For Milan and the Reformation in the next decade, see Enrico Cattaneo "La riforma protestante a Milano," in *Storia di Milano* vol. 9, pp. 707-720.

²³⁵ Giovanni Reale, *Raffaello: la "Disputà"* (Milan: Rusconi, 1998); Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza Della Segnatura: Meaning And Invention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 65-80; Ingrid Rowland, "The Vatican Stanze," in *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, ed. Marcia B. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 99-100; and Christian K. Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary in Raphael* (University Park: PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), p. 34. The major source of this association with Eucharistic controversy appears to be Vasari, however, who, writing at the height of the Council of Trent, would have been predisposed to make a doctrinal and polemic interpretation. See also Inge Habig, "Die Kirchenlehrer und die Eucharistie. Ein Beitrag zur Disputà Raffaels und zu einem

the *Lamentation*, and the alignment of the host with the *Crucifixion*—the largest painting in the chapel and traditionally the image most immediately implicated in the performance of the Mass as a propitiary sacrifice²³⁶—visually affirms the same axiom declared by Cajetan in refutation of Biel: that the sacrifice of the altar and the sacrifice on Calvary were the same immolation. Earlier I discussed how Luini's ambitious spatial illusions supported meditation by making the viewer feel physically present in the narrative, but his "stage managing" also had implications for the performance of the Mass. By connecting the chapel space to Golgotha, so that the altar appears to be at the foot of the cross and the Crucifixion becomes an event unfolding in real time and space instead of a static image, Luini enables the communicant to easily comprehend the unity of the two offerings. Likewise, the emphatic juxtaposition of the consecrated host with Christ's physical body and the activation of "ocular communion" in the altarpiece blurs the boundary between "substance" and accident" to represent Real Presence as a credible visual fact that cannot be disputed.²³⁷ To this exposition of doctrine are added two Jews, who were increasingly identified with heterodox and heretical dissenters and whose inclusion indicates a fear of a religious Other and the threats they posed to the integrity of the sacrament.

The imagery of the Chapel of Corpus Christi can thus be seen to offer an affirmation of orthodox doctrine and a rebuttal of dissent from within Catholic religious culture, before the stakes were so dramatically raised after the nailing of Luther's theses in Wittenberg. In the century of reform that followed, sacrament confraternities and their

Bildthema in ihrer Nachfolge," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 68 (1973), pp. 35-49.

²³⁶ Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, p. 129.

²³⁷ For similar concerns and constructions in Brescian sacramental imagery see Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible," pp. 300, 306.

chapels, with ever more sophisticated programs of imagery and grandiose tabernacles, were regularly enlisted in the defense of Catholic belief. Accordingly, existing scholarship on Italian sacrament chapels has often interpreted them as primarily a Counter- (or Catholic-) Reform phenomenon.²³⁸ The Cappella del Corpo di Cristo at S. Giorgio al Palazzo is therefore revealing of what we might term a "pre-Reform" moment, in which tensions surrounding Eucharistic theology and its visual representation began to take shape in the written and pictorial discourse.

VII. Framing The Eucharistic Miracle: Perspective and The Spiritual Eye

The ritual efficacy of the chapel of Corpus Christi's cycle of Passion images ultimately hinges upon Bernardino Luini's ambitious and sophisticated perspectival program. In the early sixteenth century, perspective was increasingly implicated in Eucharistic imagery and apparatus as an effective framing device for the host, particularly in the tabernacles used to house the sacrament. Luini's facility with linear perspective was noted in his own era by Lomazzo in the *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*, where he is lauded as a "perspective painter" and compared to the teacher of Apelles: "Pamphilus said that without [the aid of arithmetic and geometry] no one could be a painter, just as Bernardino Luini, in the time of our fathers, used to say that a painter without perspective was like a scholar without grammar."²³⁹ Within the chapel of the sacrament, Luini's spatial system has the effect of expanding the physical space of the chapel, creating a three-dimensional theater for the Passion, while focusing devotional attention on the altar

²³⁸ Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament*, for example.

²³⁹ Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*, p. 22: "E finalmente Apelle, gli pose gl' ultima mano e la ridusse a la perfettione con l'aiuto de la Geometria e dell' Aritmetica, senza le quali diceva Panfilo suo Maestro, che niuno poteva essere pittore, si come a tempi de nostri padri Bernardino Lovini usava di dire anch'egli, che tanto era un pittore senza prospettiva, quanto uno dottore senza Grammatica."

and the consecrated Host it contained. By enshrining the Eucharist within this complex, illusory framework, Luini activates a modality of the sacred current in the early Cinquecento that articulates divine grace through pictorial "miracles," underscoring the Host's cultic significance as a locus of sacred presence. Specifically, I argue, the placement of the Host and altarpiece at the vanishing point locates Christ's sacramental body in the liminal realm between the celestial and terrestrial, where the spiritual eye can perceive the divine substance that the bodily eye cannot.

In order to cope with the chapel's restrictive size, Luini first stretches the chapel space through the inward angling of the lateral walls and steep downward incline of the tops of the panels and the pilaster strips in the vault above, creating a false perspective, similar to the choir at S. Maria presso San Satiro (fig. 13), so that the chapel itself looks much deeper than it actually is. Then he transcends the physical confines of the chapel by painting additional, fictive spaces in the lateral panels and vault—the interior of Pilate's praetorium and the hill of Golgotha—that seem to extend beyond the walls like Masaccio's by-then iconic *Trinity* in Santa Maria Novella in Florence (fig. 43). The spectator's position is key: from across the nave, the ensemble appears as if applied on one flat wall. The trapezoidal shape of the lateral panels is more pronounced and they seem to be flush against the altar wall rather than inclined away from it. Even the vault appears collapsed, as if it were a flat band around the lunette rather than the ceiling of a three-dimensional structure. Only when the viewer draws nearer, and positions himself at the center of the entrance, do the chapel's three dimensions become apparent and the full illusion of its extension come wholly into focus.

The angled tops of the lateral panels seem to straighten and extend back into space; the walls become windows on either side of the altarpiece, opening into single, deep, columned hall that recedes back to a single vanishing point behind the altar. This fiction is enhanced by the horizontal thrust of the entablature in each painting and the "hanging" placards identifying their subjects, which are foreshortened to appear to protrude out of the picture plane parallel with the viewer and altar. The figures in each are similarly positioned in relation to the rear wall of the chapel rather than in line with the lateral walls. The effect of this unified spatial construction is to make the viewer see not three separate paintings on the lower register but one painting—the altarpiece—set before an elevated interior space that extends far beyond the confines of the chapel itself. The illusion continues in the upper register, where the *Crowning with Thorns* appears staged on a balcony or alcove above us, with the toes of Christ's left foot appearing to curl over its edge. Our gaze ascending further still, we see the expansive vista of Calvary open up above as if we are at the foot of Christ's cross, which looms precariously overhead with the foreshortened heads of soldiers and horses and unfurling banners just visible behind it. The striated cliffs on either side of the lunette make it appear as if the chapel itself was built at the base of the hill or even beneath the soil; at once we are bodily transported out of Milan and into biblical Jerusalem.

Like many major cultural centers of this period in Italy, Milan was a hub of intense interest in perspectival and spatial illusion and mathematical learning. Bernardino Luini was of course aware of Leonardo and Bramante's celebrated experiments of the previous century at S. Maria delle Grazie and S. Maria presso S.

Satiro.²⁴⁰ His own work reveals a keen interest in the manipulation of space and depth in addition to a facility with architectural constructions, doubtless informed by his presumed acquaintance with Leonardo himself as well as his association with artists of his own generation, including Bramantino, the architect and Vitruvian translator Cesare Cesariano, and Bernardo Zenale, who replaced Giovanni Antonio Amadeo as the chief architect at the Duomo in 1522. Jill Pederson has recently shed light on the activities of the Academia Leonardi Vinci, the group of artists, humanists, musicians, and cultivated elites centered around Leonardo at the court of Ludovico Sforza in the late Quattrocento, which helped to shape a new Milanese visual idiom.²⁴¹ One of their foremost members was the Franciscan Fra Luca Pacioli, a mathematician, whose *Divina proportione* (published in 1509 but composed while at the Milanese court in the 1490s) included the earliest printed linear perspective illustrations of the five rectangular or "Platonic" solids, which were supplied by Leonardo.²⁴²

Pacioli's text, like others in the same genre, draws a connection between geometry and the divine: "The proper title for our treatise has to be 'Divine Proportion,' and this is due to the numerous correspondences in likeness that I find in proportionality...these

²⁴⁰ Luini's frescoes at San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore contain multiple Bramantesque elements in the painted architecture, including responses to S. Maria presso S. Satiro: Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro, "Elementi bramanteschi in S. Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore," *Arte lombarda* vol. 86-87 (1988), pp. 127-131.

²⁴¹ Jill Pederson, *The Academia Leonardi Vinci: Visualizing Dialectic in Renaissance Milan, 1480-1499* (Ph.D. diss, Johns Hopkins University, 2008). Forthcoming in book form as *Circles of Friendship: Leonardo da Vinci and the Academy in Renaissance Milan* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller/Brepols, 2016).

²⁴² Samuel Edgerton, Jr. *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry: Art and Science on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp.166-168. For Leonardo's contributions see Pederson, p. 177 and Marisa Dalai Emiliani, "Figure rinascimentali dei poliedri platonici. Qualche problema di storia e di autografia," in *Fra rinascimento manierismo e realtà: Scritti di storia dell'arte in memoria di Anna Maria Brizio* ed. Pietro C. Marani (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1984), pp. 7-16. See also J.V. Field, *The Invention of Infinity: Mathematics and Art in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

correspond to God himself."²⁴³ This tendency to see reflections of the divine order in geometric relationships had been widespread since the medieval period, when God was often represented as the "Supreme Architect or Geometer."²⁴⁴ Roger Bacon's *Opus maius* (ca. 1260) interpreted geometry as a means to render visible and tangible God's otherwise unknowable grace.²⁴⁵ Geometry thus became associated with a kind of sacred verisimilitude.²⁴⁶ The "discovery" of linear perspective in the Italian Renaissance added yet another dimension, radically reconceptualizing the pictorial codes through which the divine and miraculous could be revealed to the human senses.

Due in large part to a lingering false binary in Renaissance historiography that has placed the scientific in opposition to the spiritual, art historians have only lately begun to focus their attention on the devotional applications of perspective.²⁴⁷ John F. Moffitt has considered the liturgical significance of the vanishing point in altarpieces and chapel decorations as a means to privilege certain meaningful objects—the head of Christ, the womb of the Virgin, the Eucharistic wafer, relics, etc.—by locating them at the center of the devotional system constructed by the image and its architectural environment.²⁴⁸ He argues, for example, that the notably low vanishing point of Masaccio's *Trinity*, at the foot of the cross upon which Christ's body hangs, coincides

²⁴³ Quoted and translated in John F. Moffitt, *Painterly Perspective and Piety: Religious Uses of the Vanishing Point, from the 15th to the 18th Century* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarlane, 2008), p. 63.

²⁴⁴ In the *Summa Theologiae*, Thomas Aquinas describes God as "the first principle of all things, [who] may be compared to things created as the architect is to things designed (Deus autem qui est primum principium rerum, comparatur ad res creatas ut artifex ad artificiatas)." Ia 27, 1 reply to objection 3. Aquinas, *Summa theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation*, pp. 6-7. The citation within the organization of the *Summa* is Ia, 27, 1. On geometry and spiritual mathematics in the Renaissance see also Rebecca Zorach, *The Passionate Triangle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

²⁴⁵ Samuel Edgerton, Jr., *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective* (New York: Icon, 1976), p. 17.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

²⁴⁷ For a succinct and recent survey of some of the major scholarship, see Charles H. Carman, "Meanings of Perspective in the Renaissance: Tensions and Resolution," in *Renaissance Theories of Vision* ed. John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 31-44.

²⁴⁸ Moffitt, *Painterly Perspective and Piety*, especially chapters five, six, seven, and nine.

with the point where the transubstantiated host would be held up at the moment of the Elevation for communicants attending Mass in the chapel.²⁴⁹ More recently, Paul Davies has proposed that linear perspective had a widespread and specific application in tabernacles designed to house the Eucharist, relics, and miracle-working images, where it came to signify sacred presence.²⁵⁰

By the year 1500 in Italy, the perspectival, architectonic backdrop was an almost universal component of Eucharistic tabernacles (fig. 17). The most obvious advantage of such compositions was their ability to lead the eye along the orthogonal lines directly to the tiny host (or to the door behind which it was concealed), as other scholars have already understood, and thus to help draw devotion to it. But, Davies suggests, the vanishing points in these perspectival systems were often located *behind* the door or veil that typically concealed the holy object, so that beyond leading the eye to the host, perspective also "revealed the hidden," taking the viewer inside the tabernacle, "beyond the veil or bronze door, from this earthly world into the realm of the heavenly."²⁵¹

This is precisely the system at work in Luini's Passion cycle. Earlier in this chapter I suggested that the Cappella del Corpo di Christo adapted the micro-architecture of the Eucharistic tabernacle on a larger scale, with its niche-like shape and unified perspectival scheme. The illusion of deep recession in the lateral panels, which thrusts the altarpiece forward and suggests that there is a real space beyond the wall, means that the

²⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 71-87. See also Jack Freiberg, The Tabernaculum Dei: Masaccio and the 'Perspective' Sacrament Tabernacle, unpublished M.A. Thesis, New York University, 1974. Masaccio's fresco and the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence have been connected to the cult of Corpus Domini: Nerida Newbigen, "Imposing Presence: The Celebration of Corpus Domini in Fifteenth-Century Florence," in Performance, Drama, and Spectacle in the Medieval City: Essays in Honor of Alan Hindley ed. Catherine Emerson, Adrian P. Tudor, and Mario Longtin (Louvain: Peeters, 2010), pp. 87-109.

²⁵⁰ Davies, "Framing the Miraculous," pp. 898-921. An important study of these issues within the context of northern and central Europe is Timmermann, Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, cited above, note 74.

²⁵¹ Davies, "Framing the Miraculous," p. 910.

altarpiece, with its relative absence of depth, becomes like the door or veil with the point where the orthogonal lines of the ensemble converge located seemingly behind it. This point, in the center towards the bottom, near the Virgin's shin (fig. 44), likely coincides with the spot where the host would have been held up at the Elevation and preserved in a tabernacle, as with Masaccio's *Trinity*. When activated in the course of corporate devotion, however, this perspectival construction does something more: it projects devotees physically inside the images, making them present in the holy realm of the narrative just as their meditations directed them to be.

By implying the presence of the host or cult object hidden within the tabernacle (and chapel), linear perspective becomes a metaphor for seeing, a higher form of vision not hindered by earthly or physical limitations.²⁵² The vanishing point becomes the site of the infinite, the miraculous, and the unknowable. This notion of a higher form of vision evokes Thomas Aquinas's distinction of the bodily eye, which could only see the outward appearance of things—the “accidents”—from the intellectual or spiritual eye, which was able to perceive their true, divine substance. In the *Summa theologica*, Aquinas writes that Christ's Real Presence in the sacrament is perceptible only by the latter:

The eye is of two kinds, the bodily eye properly so-called, and the intellectual eye, so-called by similitude. But Christ's body as it is in this sacrament cannot be seen by any bodily eye...Christ's body is substantially present in this sacrament, but substance, as such, is not visible to the bodily eye, nor does it come under any one of the senses, nor under the imagination, but solely under the intellect, whose object is *what a thing is* [his emphasis]. And therefore, properly speaking, Christ's body, according to the mode of being which it has in this sacrament, is perceptible neither by the senses nor by the imagination, but only by the intellect, which is called the spiritual eye.²⁵³

²⁵² Ibid, p. 910.

²⁵³ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation*, pp. 116-117. The citation within Aquinas's organization of the *Summa* is 3a, 76, 7. See also the English translation in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*. Complete English ed., vol. 5 (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1981), p. 2454.

Perspective did not simply imitate nature but perfected it, allowing the artist to depict a more regular, correct, and logical world. In this way, just as geometry revealed the divine order, the optical system created by linear perspective can be understood to operate as a type of spiritual or intellectual sight, an enhanced and perfected mode of vision that can reveal the divine substance of the Eucharistic wafer that is normally obscured from human view by enabling the devotee to see through the veil of the accidents to the substance inside. Luca Pacioli suggests just such an understanding in his Milanese treatise when he writes that perspective serves "to make patent to our vision the exquisite simulacrum of our burning desire for salvation."²⁵⁴ In the Italian Renaissance, according to Campbell, the most perfect and ardently desired simulacrum of salvation was the Eucharist, in which Christ's body was manifest as both sign and referent: "operating in [a] hierarchy of naturalisms...is the ideal of the Eucharist as a supreme mode of representation with a unique purchase on the real—it is the sign that is consubstantial with what it represents."²⁵⁵ As a metaphor for spiritual seeing, perspective is ideally suited for viewing the Eucharist as it "makes patent to our vision" its true substance: the body of Christ.

The setting of Christ's sacramental body within a precise perspectival system, articulating "the Eucharistic theme by means of its accessibility to sight," occurs in another important Eucharistic image of the Cinquecento that Luini likely knew: Raphael's *Disputà* for the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican (fig. 42).²⁵⁶ In the *Disputà* the Host, displayed in a golden monstrance, is the vanishing point where the lines that

²⁵⁴ Quoted in Moffit, *Painterly Perspective and Piety*, p. 63. See also John Hendrix, "Perception as a Function of Desire in the Renaissance," in *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, pp. 89-102.

²⁵⁵ Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible," pp. 306-309.

²⁵⁶ Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary in Raphael*, pp. 32-40.

connect Heaven and earth converge, just as it is the place where Christ's heavenly body takes earthly form.²⁵⁷ Raphael was particularly mindful of the theological implications behind the act of seeing and produced many works that dealt with visionary themes.²⁵⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that Luini, especially given his broad interests and many ecclesiastical connections, would have acquired a similar awareness. Art historians have long posited a familiarity with Raphael's work, particularly his Roman paintings, in Luini's compositions post-dating 1512. In his commentary on Vitruvius, Cesare Cesariano indicates that Luini visited Rome.²⁵⁹ While he does not specify the date, it must have been before the text's publication in 1521. Luini was absent from Milan between 1513 and 1515 and it is possible that he was among the number of artists that left the city following the defeat of the French and Leonardo's final departure with them in 1513.²⁶⁰ That Luini had first- or second-hand knowledge of Raphael's paintings in the Vatican *stanze* is suggested by the group of soldiers casting lots for Christ's clothing in Luini's *Crucifixion*, which appears to be a quotation of the Euclid group in the *School of Athens* (figs. 45 and 46), perhaps an allusion to the geometric knowledge he deployed to construct the chapel program.

Davies has made the persuasive suggestion that these uses of perspective, focusing devotion, revealing the hidden, magnifying the holy, distancing the heavenly, radiating holiness, and—I add—facilitating and signifying the spiritual vision needed to

²⁵⁷ Ibid. See also Moffitt, *Painterly Perspective and Piety*, pp. 125-130.

²⁵⁸ Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary in Raphael*, passim.

²⁵⁹ Cesariano, *Vitruvio De Architectura*, pp. 148, 147 note 48.

²⁶⁰ Bora, "Bernardino Luini," p. 344. Luini's contemporaries Andrea and Cristoforo Solari and Bambaia were in Rome during this period. Binaghi Olivari's revised chronology (in *Bernardino Luini*) of Luini's early career also places him absent from Milan during the first Sforza restoration from 1512-1515. During those years she notes commissions in Como and other parts of Lombardy but does not discount, either, the possibility of a trip to Rome. Carolyn Wilson's observations that the heavily draped ankle and sandaled foot of Mary Magdalene in the Kress *Pietà* could reflect knowledge of the Vatican Ariadne provide additional support for a date before 1516. Wilson, "Focus on Luini's Houston *Pietà*," p. 42, note 8.

properly view holy objects, also influenced the designs of larger-scale architectural works, especially ones associated with miracles.²⁶¹ The parallels between Luini's fictive perspective and Bramante's choir at S. Maria presso S. Satiro (one of the two examples discussed by Davies) and between the chapel of Corpus Christi and Eucharistic tabernacles certainly appear to support his hypothesis. The choir of S. Maria presso S. Satiro enshrined a miracle-working image of the Madonna and Child, whose miraculous properties were signaled and enhanced by Bramante's perspectival sleight of hand.²⁶² Approached during processions across the transept, the perspective would appear distorted until the moment when the devotee stood immediately before the miracle-working image, where the illusion would suddenly snap into focus, enabling the spectator to experience a heavenly revelation. The architectural miracle would have thus "enhanced the miracle-working character of the image itself at precisely the right moment. For the devotee it would have seemed almost as if the image had caused this to happen at that instant that the devotee prayed before it."²⁶³ The same would have been true for devotees in the chapel of Corpus Christi, who would only have fully grasped Luini's spatial extensions when positioned at the center of the altar. The Host was not a miracle-working object per se, though it occasionally performed miracles and was believed by some to have thaumaturgical or talismanic powers, but it was associated with the miraculous through transubstantiation, the "Eucharistic miracle" whereby Christ's body was made manifest on earth through grace. Like the "revelation" of Bramante's choir, the sudden vision of the Praetorium and Calvary and of Christ's Passion could have

²⁶¹ Davies, "Framing the Miraculous," p. 911.

²⁶² On Bramante's design see Rosa Auletta Marrucci, *La "prospettiva" Bramantesca di Santa Maria presso San Satiro* (Milan: Banca Agricola Milanese, 1987) and Richard Schofield and Grazioso Sironi, "New Information on San Satiro," in *Bramante milanese e l'architettura del Rinascimento lombardo*, pp. 281-299.

²⁶³ Davies, "Framing the Miraculous," pp. 916-917.

seemed to devotees to have been triggered by their visual engagement with the Host, the object that brought the faithful into direct contact with the Christ's divine nature.

This association of perspective with the miraculous occurred elsewhere, not just within the contexts of shrines for miracle-working images and Eucharistic tabernacles. Erwin Panofsky, in his classic study on perspective as "symbolic form," posited linear perspective as a vehicle for visionary experience:

It opens [religious art] to something entirely new: the realm of the visionary, where the miraculous becomes a direct experience of the beholder, in that the supernatural events in a sense erupt into his own, apparently natural, visual space, and so permit him really to 'internalize' their supernaturalness.²⁶⁴

In Cinquecento devotional texts and religious images physical sight, signified in artworks by perspective, was often used as a metaphor for spiritual seeing and enlightenment.²⁶⁵ Later in the century, for example, during his Italian period, El Greco painted three canvases of *Christ Healing the Blind* in which sudden and deep spatial recession empowered the spectator to partake of Christ's healing power and experience the miraculous effects of being spiritually illuminated.²⁶⁶ Accordingly, linear perspective, which transformed flat surfaces into three-dimensional worlds and enabled viewers to see the invisible, can be understood to participate in a broader pictorial rhetoric that Megan Holmes has termed a "modality of the sacred" that developed in the early modern period in which the discourse on the miraculous in religious devotion

²⁶⁴ Erwin Panofsky, Perspective As Symbolic Form trans. Christopher Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1997), p. 72.

²⁶⁵ On the changes in late medieval understandings of vision and its relationship to devotion see Cynthia Kahn, "Visio dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality," in Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 169-195.

²⁶⁶ Andrew R. Casper, "Experiential Vision in El Greco's *Christ Healing the Blind*," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte vol. 74 (2011), pp. 349-372.

dovetailed with the emerging discourse on the marvelous qualities of the visual arts.²⁶⁷

This highly performative pictorial mode used mimetic images and perspectival constructions to stage intimate encounters between viewers and sacred subjects so that they experienced the divine as if it were present within the spatial environment of the church. Luini's *Passion* cycle, by engaging the viewer's physical space and vividly rendering the sacred actors, does just this; the multiple framing devices through which the devotee perceives Christ's incarnate body—the trompe l'oeil lintels and the painted beams that cut across the vault—mark off the domain of the sacred from the chapel space without dismantling their continuity.

The principles of "spiritual seeing" and the "realm of the visionary" were not restricted to perceiving the divine substance of the Host but were also implicated in meditation, through the process of ritual imagination by which devotees constructed mental images that they contemplated internally. There is an ecstatic quality to Luini's Corpus Christi paintings with their dramatic openings of vistas and shadowy, slightly insubstantial figures that seem not wholly part of the material world. The Leonardesque sfumato out of which these figures emerge enhances their "visionary" properties by masking the hand of the artist and the material application of pigment in a "phantasmic veil," an effect that would have been enhanced by candlelight.²⁶⁸ Though it does so by different means, sfumato, like perspective, confounds the boundary between sacred and real—"between the seen and unseen," Vasari put it—and was therefore particularly

²⁶⁷ Megan L. Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," *Art History* vol. 34, no. 3 (June, 2011), p. 458.

²⁶⁸ Federika H. Jacobs, *The Living Image in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 130.

appropriate for the representation of visions.²⁶⁹ As a visible form of atmosphere, sfumato was equated in the sixteenth century with air or breath, which animated painted bodies and imbued them with spirit.²⁷⁰ It evoked what representation could not depict, what was beyond the power of the bodily eye alone to comprehend; as Daniele Barbaro wrote at mid-century, it allowed the spectator "to understand what one does not see."²⁷¹ In this way sfumato, paradoxically, enacted a type of unveiling, similar to the way in which perspectival recession "reveals the hidden," by guiding the viewer on a gradual path from the known to the unknown.²⁷²

The devotee processing past the altar of Corpus Christi would see the sudden recession into space as if a revelation; kneeling in front of the altar in prayer, he or she would see Luini's hazy figures as if a vision gradually unfolding before them. With their imperceptible brushstrokes and smooth, shadowy surfaces, the paintings in the chapel of Corpus Christi cease to be material objects and become projections of the viewers' prayers to be seen through, rather than just seen. According to Alexander Nagel, by "eliminating all evidence of the work and process of painting, sfumato likened painting to divine creation, which brought things forth from nothing."²⁷³ A similar "brushless" technique was employed in Netherlandish images of the Holy Face to suggest the *acheiropoieta*—the miraculous portraits of Christ and the Virgin not made with human

²⁶⁹ "...fra l'vedi e non vedi." Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de' più eccellenti pitturi, scultori, et architettori, vol. 4, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), p. 9. See also Lingo, Allure and Devotion, pp. 83-84.

²⁷⁰ Michael W. Cole, "The Demonic Arts and the Origin of the Medium," Art Bulletin vol. 84, no. 4 (December 2002), p. 630.

²⁷¹ Marcia B. Hall, The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 68.

²⁷² Alexander Nagel, The Controversy of Renaissance Art (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 33. At the same time, however, sfumato, like perspective with its movement away from the viewer and picture plane, distanced the beholder from the image by denying its plasticity. The image's immateriality creates the desire and potential for access but prevents direct contact between the worshipper and the sacred, thus minimizing the potential for idolatry.

²⁷³ Alexander Nagel, "Leonardo's *Sfumato*," RES vol. 24 (1993), p. 18.

hands.²⁷⁴ I do not mean to imply that Luini was staking claim to a virtuosic ability to represent divinely-wrought icons, or the images themselves to a supernatural or miraculous immanence, but that by denying the agency of the material the paintings become the visions of the devotee, appearing not painted but simply *appearing*.²⁷⁵ They are like another kind of *acheiropoieton* in that they are not made by human hands but seem produced by the human imagination through divine inspiration, the physical manifestations of the mental images conjured by prayer.

As we will see in subsequent chapters, as the sixteenth century progressed the category of the "sacred image" came under pressure from reforming initiatives both within and without the Catholic Church. Anxious to avoid the appearance of abuse or inpropriety, artists had to clarify the status of images as simulacrum for what could only be truly seen spiritually rather than conduits for divine contact without stripping them of their devotional efficacy.²⁷⁶ Linear perspective, for example, gave way to experiments with nonperspectival space that reconsidered and reemphasized the threshold between viewer and image.²⁷⁷

VIII. Conclusion

As we have seen, the confraternal chapel of Corpus Christi in San Giorgio al Palazzo was the site of rich and varied interactions with the body of Christ. It was a frame for the reservation of the Host, a backdrop for the performance of the Mass, a tomb for the burial of the Easter Sepulcher, and a theater for the ritual contemplation of Christ's

²⁷⁴ Lingo, *Allure and Devotion*, p. 84

²⁷⁵ The phrase is adapted from Stuart Lingo, *Allure and Devotion*, p. 84.

²⁷⁶ Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art*, pp. 1-4.

²⁷⁷ Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, pp. 80-86.

Passion. This chapter has sought to situate the chapel and Luini's Passion cycle within these dynamic and multifaceted contexts, revealing the different ways in which Christ's body was visually consumed by the confratelli and the means by which his Real Presence in the Eucharist was pictorially enforced. I have also endeavored to elucidate the ways in which Luini's images registered emergent sensitivities and attitudes towards sacramental theology in the first decades of the sixteenth century. The next chapter revisits some of these themes of affective and sensorial engagement with Christ's body in the context of another one of Milan's prestigious lay sodalities, the Compagnia della Santa Corona, whose rich cultural patrimony included frescoes by Bernardino Luini and Gaudenzio Ferrari and altarpieces by Bernardo Zenale and Titian. There, the focus of devotion was not the holy sacrament but a contact relic of Christ's Passion: a single spine from the Crown of Thorns.

In conclusion, I would like to briefly consider the fate of the chapel of Corpus Christi and of Eucharistic devotion generally in Milan as the Reformation truly got underway. In the years after the installation of Luini's Passion cycle in 1516, new forms of Eucharistic devotion emerged, most significantly the Quarant'Ore or Forty Hour Devotion, that would provide new and enhanced contexts for engagement with the chapel's images.²⁷⁸ Sacrament confraternities in Milan continued to multiply, gaining further momentum during the Archepiscopate of Carlo Borromeo, who aimed to establish a sacrament confraternity in every parish to guard "against all sins and evil behavior."²⁷⁹ This flowering of sacramental piety, however, put the "Company of the Most Holy Body

²⁷⁸ De Santi, *L'orazione delle Quarant'ore*.

²⁷⁹ Carlo Borromeo's letter to Giovanni Francesco Bonomi, dated April 156, is quoted and translated in Zardin "The Relaunching of Confraternities," p. 192. By the seventeenth century there were a total of 556 confraternities dedicated to the SS. Sacramento for 772 parish churches (p. 195).

of Our Lord" at odds with the centralizing initiatives of the Milanese archdiocese during the Tridentine period, which sought to bring all aspects of lay piety, including confraternities, under clerical supervision and control. At the end of the Cinquecento, the *scolari* of S. Giorgio al Palazzo appealed in vain to the Vicar General to ask that he defend their rights "in the confusion which has arisen" between them and the chapter of canons.²⁸⁰ Carlo Borromeo's directive that the sacrament be reserved exclusively in a tabernacle on the high altar in churches under his jurisdiction removed it from the custody of the confraternity, whose chapel was stripped of much of its ritual significance even as the sodality remained active and one of the most eminent in the city.²⁸¹ In the report of his pastoral visit of 1569, Borromeo decreed that "they remove every sign of the Holy Sacrament...the brethren of Corpus Domini will not keep the Holy Sacrament nor the tabernacle on their altar but they will only be kept on the high altar."²⁸²

The chapel, however, would not be dismantled. Though it was no longer the repository of Christ's body, the Cappella del Corpo di Cristo remained a devotional locus for the confraternity and under their patronage. They continued to celebrate the Mass daily, as Sacchi recounted, to oversee the ritual of the Easter Sepulcher, to accompany the Sacrament to the sick, and to participate in the processions for Corpus Christi. On Monday, the sixteenth of January 16, 1623, Archbishop Federico Borromeo paid a pastoral visit to S. Giorgio al Palazzo. Upon the conclusion of his inspection he issued an

²⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 204. As the conflict unfolded, the confraternity took recourse to the patent granted to them by Massimiliano Sforza, invoking it as evidence that they were exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction because they had been previously recognized officially by Milan's secular authorities.

²⁸¹ For Borromeo's general mandates on Eucharistic reservation see Voelker, Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae*, pp. 160-168.

²⁸² See above, note 31.

advisory memo to the canons of the church, mandating that the chapel's integrity be preserved at all cost:

Affixed to the walls of the chapel called that of the Most Holy Body of Christ are three images in which are expressed the mysteries of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ by the hand of the skilled painter Bernardino Luini that we decree should never be sold or even, under any pretext, removed [from] thence to any place, under our penalties and those of our successors.²⁸³

And so they remained.

²⁸³ Decreti per l'Ins[ign]e Ch[ies]a Colleg[iat]a e Parochiale di S. Giorgio al Palazzo: Fatti dall' Ill[ustriss]imo e Rev[erendiss]imo Sig[no]r Cardinal Arcivesc[ov]o Federico Borromeo, nella Visita personale da esso fatta della pref[att]a Ch[ies]a Colleg[iat]a," ASM Fondo di Religione 243. "Iconae tres hunc inde parietibus Cappellae nuncupat Sanctissimi Corporis Christi eiusdem Ecclesiae Collegiata affixae, in quibus periti quondam Luini pictoris manu mysteriae quaedam Passionis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi expressae cernuntur, ne ullo unquam tempore vendantur, vel quovis praetextu inde amoveantur subpoena nobis successoribusque nostris arbitrariis districte' praecipimus." The cycle, as we know, consists of five images, not three; Borromeo appears only to be considering those components that could be easily removed: the altarpiece (treated as one with its lunette) and the two lateral paintings, all of which are on panel and, unlike the frescoed vault, detachable from the walls.

CHAPTER THREE

Contact Relics and Pious Touch: Titian, Gaudenzio Ferrari, and the Confraternity of Santa Corona in Hapsburg Milan

I. Introduction

A manuscript history of the church and convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, penned by the Dominican friar Girolamo Gattico between 1639 and 1646, tells a remarkable tale of a wise man from the east bearing a gift.¹ In the *Descrizione succinta e vera delle cose spettanti alla chiesa e convento di Santa Maria delle Grazie*, Gattico describes the arrival in Milan of Fra Ambrogio, a lay brother of the convent of San Giacomo in Soncino, near Cremona, who was carrying back to his convent a fragment of the Crown of Thorns.² Upon learning of Fra Ambrogio's precious cargo, Duke Ludovico Sforza (r. 1481-1499) prevailed upon him to relinquish the relic and leave it—"or at least a piece"—at S. Maria delle Grazie. Finding themselves at an impasse, the two men agreed to the following challenge: after celebrating the mass and offering "fervent prayers," two priests, one representing Duke Ludovico and the Grazie and the other

¹ ASM Archivio Generale di Fondo di Religione, p.a. 1397. The manuscript has since been published by Elisabetta Erminia Bellagente and all citations and transcriptions are taken from this edition: Fra Girolamo Gattico, *Descrizione succinta e vera delle cose spettanti alla chiesa e convento di Santa Maria delle Grazie e di Santa Maria della Rosa e suo luogo, et altre loro aderenze in Milano*, ed. Elisabetta Erminia Bellagente (Milan: Ente raccolta vinciana, 2005). A note on the first page of the manuscript provides a date of 1638, but scholars agree that it was likely finished some years later. On the text see also Elisabetta Erminia Bellagente, "La Biblioteca del convento di Santa Maria delle Grazie di Milano nella *Descrizione* di Girolamo Gattico," in *Aevum*, vol. 79, no. 3 (September-December 2005), pp. 727-736. Archival documents, unsurprisingly, reveal this story to be fictional, as discussed in more detail below.

² Gattico stipulates that Fra Ambrogio also brought a patent affirming the relic's authenticity ("con sue autentiche"). This account is related in the manuscript's thirty-ninth chapter. See Gattico, *Descrizione succinta e vera*, pp. 98-100.

standing for S. Giacomo in Soncino, would together take hold of the relic and pray to God to "show us what You would have be done here." If the *santa spina* broke, the piece that remained with the priest representing S. Maria delle Grazie would stay in Milan while the part held by the other priest could return with Fra Ambrogio to Soncino. If it remained whole, it would be carried, intact, to Soncino. No sooner had the two priests brushed the thorn with the tips of their fingers ("*legiermente tocca con l'estremità delle dita*"), Gattico writes, than it miraculously rent itself in two, and was duly apportioned.³ To care for and venerate the newly-acquired relic, Fra Stefano da Seregno, who was one of the friars of the Grazie as well as Ludovico Sforza's confessor, oversaw the creation of a new confraternity, appropriately named the Compagnia della Santa Corona, in 1497.

The spiritual and cultural history of the confraternity of Santa Corona spans almost three hundred years, from its foundation to its ultimate suppression by Emperor Joseph II in 1791, and its charitable initiatives survived into the twentieth century. This chapter focuses primarily on the period fifty years after the confraternity's foundation, when Milan was newly under Hapsburg rule and the chapel in Santa Maria delle Grazie

³ "...dubitandosi [Fra Ambrogio] di non aver egli a fare per necessità quello non voleva per elezione, raccomandando a Dio la sua causa propose, certo da Dio così ispirato, al duca un partito et è l'infrascritto: che dui sacerdoti ben disposti nella divina grazia, per quanto potevano doppo aver celebrato la santa messa e fatte calde preghiere all'altissimo Signor Iddio acciò nell'infrascritta fonzione ne facesse succedere quello era di suo volere, gloria et onore, uno a nome del duca e convento di Milano per una parte e l'altro a nome del convento di Soncino per l'altra parte, prendessero detta santa spina e senza far violenza alcuna, alzati gl'occhi e la mente a Dio, dicessero: 'Signore, vi preghiamo di mostrare che cosa di vostro volere s'ha da fare in questa azione'; e che, se per voler di Dio detta santa spina si fosse divisa, ne restasse al convento di Milano la parte che fosse rimasa nelle mani del sacerdote deputato a nome del conento delle Grazie di Milano e l'altra parte rimassa nelle mani del sacerdote deputato a nome del convento di San Giacomo di Soncino si riportasse libera al suddetto convento di Soncino e, caso non si fosse divisa, si permettesse che si riportasse al medemo convento di Soncino ove era destinata tutta intera. Accettò il duca il partito così inclinando quelli nostri buoni padri antichi fundatori del convento, quali come ben rassegnati in Dio altro appunto non bramavano eccetto che fosse adempito in ciò come ben rassegnati in Dio altro appunto non bramavano eccetto che fosse adempito in ciò come in ogn'altra cosa il suo santo volere. Et osservate dalli dui sacerdoti a ciò deputati con ogni devozione le suddette circostanze, subito che appena fu da loro legiermente tocca con l'estremità delle dita sacre si divise in due parti e quella che rimase nelle mani di ciascuno, quella tenero a nome di chi facevano quella funzione." Gattico, Descrizione succinta e vera, pp. 98-99.

was decorated with a vivid program of Passion imagery. The program consisted of frescoes by Gaudenzio Ferrari, still in situ, and an altarpiece by Titian of the *Crowning with Thorns*, which was removed by agents of Napoleon in 1797 and installed in the Louvre in Paris (figs. 47-50).⁴ Art historians have yet to fully examine the chapel program as an ensemble, the unity of which was disrupted even before the altarpiece's removal to France when, in 1665, with the chapel no longer in regular use by the sodality, the panel was transferred from the Chapel of Santa Corona to a more visible location near the high altar under the cupola.⁵ Titian's celebrity in the Renaissance canon has not only overshadowed Gaudenzio's contributions but has further prompted scholars to consider his altarpiece in relation to his body of works rather than as a confraternal commission. There has been an emphasis on questions of style and biography over those of function

⁴ Although Titian predominantly worked on canvas, the *Crowning with Thorns* was painted in oil on poplar panel in accordance with standard Lombard practice. The painting was transferred to canvas in 1967, after over a century of attempts to restore the original panel. For published conservation reports, see Madeleine Hours, "Contribution à l'étude de quelques oeuvres du Titien," Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France, Annales (1976), pp. 7-30; and Nathalie Volle et al., "La restauration de huit tableaux de Titien du Louvre," Revue du Louvre et des musées de France 43, no. 1 (1993), pp. 58-80. Gaudenzio Ferrari's frescoes have also sustained significant damage, particularly visible in the Flagellation, from the humidity and from the bombing of the church during WWII.

⁵ The ensemble is treated briefly in several monographs on the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. Gian Alberto dell'Acqua, ed., Santa Maria Delle Grazie In Milano (Milan: Banca popolare di Milano, 1983), esp. pp. 32, 152-157; P. Mario Frassinetti, et al., Santa Maria Delle Grazie (Milan: Centrobanca, 1998), pp. 230-234. See also Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, ed., Milano ritrovata: l'asse Via Torino (Milan: Casa editrice il vaglio cultura arte, 1986), pp. 416-418. In 1655 the deputies of Santa Corona, who by then rarely convened in the church, authorized the *Padri* of the Grazie to move Titian's altarpiece from their chapel in the nave to the church's tribune, where it was placed over the altar of the chapel formed by the exedra on the left side. The confraternity appears to have received permission to bury their dead in this new space. P. Angelo M. Caccin, "Dati archivistici relativi alla 'Incoronazione di spine' di Tiziano," in Omaggio a Tiziano: la cultura artistica milanese nell'età di Carlo V (Milan: Electa, 1977), p. 192. Indeed, according to Agostino Santagostino's description of artworks on public view in Milan, published in 1671, Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* occupied the "capella vicino l'altar maggiore dalla parte dell'Evangelio." This chapel is different from the chapel of S. Corona: "un'altra capella con un Christo in croce e la sua flagellazione col rimanente a fresco, d Gaudenzio Ferrario." Santagostino, L'immortalità e gloria del pennello, pp. 45-46. Interestingly, there was an attempt as early as 1652, supported by the confraternity, to take Titian's painting from the church altogether and send it to the Escorial in Spain. P. Angelo Caccin records a document of January 19, 1652, from the Prior of the Grazie to Giovanni Cusano, a deputy of Santa Corona, forbidding the sodality from removing the altarpiece. The dispute continued for several months, passing to the *Maestro Generale* of the Dominican order in Rome, before being finally resolved in favor of S. Maria delle Grazie and prohibiting the export of the painting. See Caccin, "Dati archivistici relativi alla 'Incoronazione di spine' di Tiziano," pp. 191-192.

and audience, leaving largely unexplored the altarpiece's connections to Gaudenzio's frescoes and the relic, its role as a devotional image, and its reception by its sixteenth-century Milanese viewers.⁶ Accordingly, this study aims to recover the original confraternal context of Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* and to resituate it within the spatial environment of the chapel and the ritual life of the Compagnia della Santa Corona. In so doing, it becomes clear that many of the elements of Titian's altarpiece that have provoked comment from historians—the violence and physicality of the imagery, and the painter's alleged "Mannerist crisis"—have a common ground with, if not roots in, the broader religious and artistic culture of northern Italy and the specific devotional culture of the confraternity.

In contrast to the confraternity of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, S. Corona retains a rich documentary archive, now conserved in the Archivio di Stato di Milano. Although records from the first fifteen years of the confraternity's operations are scant, this repository includes a manuscript copy of their statutes, undated but assigned by historians to the early Cinquecento, several volumes of bound *memorie* and member rolls, the sodality's *libri mastri* (account books), copies of ducal, imperial, royal, and ecclesiastical privileges, and records of bequests, donations, and legacies from members

⁶ The major studies specifically or substantially on Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* are: Herbert Siebenhüner, "Tizians Dornenkrönung Christi für S. Maria delle Grazie in Mailand," *Arte veneta* vol. 32 (1978), pp. 123-126; Günter Passavant, "Tizians Darstellungen der Dornenkrönung Christi," in *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976* (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1980), pp. 343-349 and "Bemerkungen zum 'Römischen' Stil Tizians um 1540," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, vol. 35, no. 1 (1991), pp. 85-114; Tomaso Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi nell'Incoronazione di spine di Tiziano," *Venezia Cinquecento* vol. 3, no. 5 (1993), pp. 97-118; Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, "Partita doppia milanese per Tiziano," *Venezia arti*, vol. 8 (1994), pp. 37-46; The altarpiece is also given entries in the major *catalogue raisonnés*, including Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 1 (London: Phaidon, 1969), p. 82 and Peter Humfrey, *Titian* (London: Phaidon, 2007), pp. 112-113. See also the Louvre exhibition catalogue *Le siècle de Titien: l'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), p. 580.

and patrons.⁷ Complementing the archival sources are entries in early print histories and descriptions of Milan, including Paolo Morigia's *Historia dell'antichità di Milano* (1592) and Servilliano Latuada's multivolume *Descrizione di Milano* (1737) and several detailed institutional histories from the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.⁸ The confraternity is also discussed in modern scholarship on Milanese charity and lay devotion, though these studies generally accord little attention to the sodality's visual culture.⁹ This abundant textual record is joined by an equally impressive pictorial patrimony: in addition to the chapel decorations by Titian and Gaudenzio, the confraternity also possessed a large fresco of the *Crowning with Thorns* by Bernardino Luini (1521, fig. 53), once in their oratory in Piazza San Sepolcro and now absorbed into

⁷ The archive of Santa Corona entered the collection of the Archivio di Stato in 1978. A brief but useful summary of the archival holdings of Santa Corona can be found in Maria Valori, "L'archivio del pio istituto Santa Corona" in *L'Archivio di Stato di Milano* ed. G. Cagliari Poli (Florence: Nardini, 1992), pp. 135-136.

⁸ Paolo Morigia, *Historia dell'antichità di Milano*, facsimile reprint of 1592 edition (Bologna: Forni, 1967), pp. 401-405; Carlo Torre, *Il ritratto di Milano, diviso in tre libri, nel quale vengono descritte tutte le antichità, e modernità, che vedeuansi, e che si vedono nella città di Milano, sì di sontuose fabbriche, quanto di pittura, e di scultura* (Milan: F. Angelli, 1674), pp. 138-139; and Serviliano Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano ornata con molti disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue, che si trovano in questa metropoli*, vol. 4 (Milan: Nella Regio-Ducal Corte, a spese de Giuseppe Cairoli, 1737), pp. 80-93. A manuscript description of Milan's sacred sites from circa 1600, preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana with an eighteenth century manuscript copy in Milan's Archivio Storico Civico di Milano, also includes a substantial entry on the confraternity, see BAM A202 suss. and ASCM codice archivio B3. This manuscript has been published as *Le "antichità di Milano." Una descrizione della città alla fine del Cinquecento*, ed. Marzia Giuliani (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 2011), see pp. 235-243 on Santa Corona. The institutional histories are: Pietro Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano: a spese ed a profitto del Pio Istituto di S. Corona per deliberazione 5 Febbrajo 1883 del Consiglio Ospitaliero* (Milan: Tipografia L.F. Cogliati, 1883); *Quattro secoli e mezzo di vita del Pio Istituto di Santa Corona* (Milan: A. Saita, 1941); and G.C. Bascapè, *Il Pio Istituto Santa Corona: origini ed evoluzione, realizzazioni attuali* (Milan: Arti Grafiche Amilcare Pizzi, 1960). Canetta, who was Santa Corona's archivist, draws heavily from primary documents, often reproducing whole sections, though he rarely provides citations.

⁹ The confraternity has not yet been the subject of a monographic study outside of those produced by the organization itself (in its post-Hapsburg and modern iterations) but is treated in broader surveys. See, for example, Danilo Zardin, "Le confraternite in Italia settentrionale fra XV e XVII secolo," in *Società e Storia*, vol.10 (1982), especially pp. 104-105; Marina Gazzini, "Scuola, libri, e cultura nelle confraternite milanesi fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna," *La bibliofilia*, vol. 103 (2001), pp. 215-261 and *Confraternite e società cittadina nel medioevo italiano* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006), pp. 298-317. The confraternity's visual culture is noted in some detail in Stefania Buganza's recent essay on Milanese confraternal patronage, Stefania Buganza, "Le confraternite lombarde e l'arte: tracce per una storia della committenza in età tardomedievale e rinascimentale," in *Confraternite: fede e opere in Lombardia dal medioevo al Settecento*, ed. Stefania Buganza, Paolo Vanoli, and Danilo Zardin (Milan: Scalpendi, 2011), pp. 64-66;

the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, and altarpieces by Bernardo Zenale (1502-1505, fig. 51) and Cesare da Sesto (early sixteenth century, fig. 52), now in private collections.¹⁰

Additional works from the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Pietro and Aurelio Luini, Paolo Camillo Landriano (il Duchino), and Cornelio Drago are now lost, following the demolition of the confraternity's headquarters and adjacent structures.¹¹ Beyond the general casualties inflicted by the modernization of the city, the neighborhood surrounding the Piazza San Sepolcro was heavily damaged by the Allied bombardment of Milan in 1943, during which a large part of what remained of the confraternity's headquarters was destroyed.¹²

Also unlike the confraternity of Corpus Christi, which was one of several sacrament confraternities in Milan and one of hundreds on the Italian peninsula, Santa Corona was not part of a broader network of sodalities nor does it appear to have participated in any meaningful way in a larger devotional cult. Although fragments of the Crown of Thorns were profuse throughout Italy and Europe at large, and were significant objects of veneration, there does not appear to have been any custom in Italy of establishing confraternities around these relics, as opposed to Spain where several examples from the sixteenth century exist.¹³ Accordingly, while taking into account the

¹⁰ Disagreements persist as to where Zenale's painting was originally located. See section three, below. The Ambrosiana acquired the oratory along with all of the buildings surrounding the church of S. Sepolcro, in 1811.

¹¹ These lost images include portraits of the confraternity's deputies and frescoes of *istorie sacre* and tales from Ovid ("favole ovidiane") by Pietro and Aurelio Luini, who were Bernardino's sons. These frescoes were in the second headquarters of the confraternity, the Casa Rho, purchased in 1575 and later demolished. The work by il Duchino was an altarpiece from ca. 1600-1601 of an unspecified subject and the only description of Drago's contributions indicates that he painted "alcuni lavori" for the sala del Capitolo. Those works that were not destroyed were dismantled and sold and are now untraceable. See Bascapè, *Il Pio Istituto Santa Corona*, pp. 33-34.

¹² Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini* p. 103.

¹³ José Sánchez Herrero, "Le reliquie delle Sacre Spine della Corona di Gesù Cristo in Spagna," in *La Sacra Spina di Andria e le reliquie della Corona di Spine*, ed. Luigi Renna, Liana Bertoldi Lenoci, Giannicola Agresti, and Silvana Campanile (Fasano: Schena editore, 2005), pp. 86-88.

intersections between the imagery and ritual practices generally associated with devotion to the Passion in this period with those of the confraternity of Santa Corona, this chapter treats the sodality largely as an autonomous organization, rather than attempting to tightly align it with a larger cult of the Crown of Thorns.

The next section of this chapter will provide an overview of the early history of the confraternity, its organization, and its spiritual and charitable practices and discuss the provenance, unrecognized until recently, and display of the relic in its charge. In part three, I will briefly examine the material culture of the confraternity in the decades prior to Titian's and Gaudenzio's interventions at S. Maria delle Grazie in order to shed light on the precedents for their Passion cycle and on the development of a confraternal iconography. This section also introduces Bernardino Ghilio (c. 1457-1539), the *confratello* who financed the Grazie Passion cycle as well as Luini's fresco in the sodality's oratory. The fourth section situates the commission of the chapel decorations within the cultural and political climate of Hapsburg Milan and argues that the selection of artists advertised the status and ambitions of Santa Corona and its members by aligning them with the new Imperial regime. Specifically, I argue that the services of Titian, long hypothesized to have been secured through Imperial intervention, were likely brokered through the professional and personal connections between Gian Giacomo Rainaldi, the confraternity's treasurer, and Alfonso d'Avalos, governor of Milan from 1538-1546.

Scholarship on the Grazie Passion cycle is not clear on the ritual significance of the program, a question complicated by the existence of two separate ritual sites, the chapel and oratory, whose roles in the confraternity's activities are not always defined in the documents. I address this ambiguity in part five, in which I examine the program

itself, treating questions of subject matter and visual presentation as they relate to the devotional practices of the confraternity, which advocated a rigorous piety centered around the affective contemplation of Christ's suffering. Unlike the Luini's Passion cycle for the confraternity of Corpus Christi, discussed in chapter two, which promoted the visual veneration of Christ's sacramental body, I posit that the Grazie images, in conjunction with the spiritual exercises practiced by the brotherhood, promote a more direct, physical, and participatory encounter with Christ's humanity. After a brief analysis of the iconography and sources for Titian's and Gaudenzio's compositions, the final section takes Titian's citation of the ancient Roman sculpture of *Laocoön* as the point of departure for an exploration of the intersections of the chapel ensemble with an emergent "rhetoric of horror" in early modern visual, literary, and religious culture and with the debates on the *paragone* that reached their height in the 1540s. Sculptural motifs were often employed in early modern devotional and neoplatonic literature as a metaphor for the exalted and divine body, thus signalling Christ's inner grace. Drawing additionally on the parallels in Gaudenzio's frescoes to his multimedia simulacra at the *sacro monte* of Varallo, I will further suggest that the cycle as a whole engages with late medieval and early modern conceptions of *rilievo*, and with longstanding associations of sculpture with the sense of touch, to facilitate the expressly somatic piety practiced by the confraternity.

II. "Una Regola et Modo de Vivere": The Foundation of the Compagnia della Santa Corona

The truth concerning the provenance of the relic of the Holy Thorn would appear to be more mundane, despite Gattico's stout affirmation of his narrative's authenticity and its subsequent acceptance (excluding the miraculous fissure of the thorn) by most later

writers and historians until only recently.¹⁴ Fra Ambrogio did indeed exist, but his role was not that of a mysterious bearer of holy objects but of a monastic artist who received a gift from his patrons, and the Holy Thorn did not arrive in Milan with him but had been in the city already for several decades. According to a document from the archives of Santa Maria delle Grazie, now part of the Archivio di Stato di Milano, dated 22 July 1492, the relic was originally a gift from the French king Charles VII to a Milanese nobleman named Francesco de' Rusconi (or Rusca), who had served as the ambassador to France under Duke Filippo Maria Visconti (r. 1412-1447).¹⁵ The Crown of Thorns had been housed in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris since 1239, when King Louis IX purchased it from Baldwin II, the Emperor of Constantinople, and pieces of it were frequently given

¹⁴ Servilliano Latuada writes in his eighteenth-century description of the city: "Viene in questa Sacristia conservata parte di una Spina della Corona di Cristo, lasciata ad istanza di mentovato Duca dal P.F. Ambrosio de' Predicatori, figliuolo del Convento di Soncino." See Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 4, pp. 385-386. The legend persists in most modern histories: Arnaldo Bruschi repeats it in his essay on the early history of S. Maria delle Grazie, though conceding that the story is "veremente un po' strana." Arnaldo Bruschi, "Come nasce un convento," in Dell'Acqua, *Santa Maria delle Grazie*, p. 32. See further below, note 15.

¹⁵ "Post multos vero annos praesidente in Ducatu Mediolanensium Illustrissimo Duce Philippo Maria Vicecomite, Anno Domini Millo quadringentissimo trigessimio quinto vel circa, missus est ab eodem Principe Orator ad Serenissimum Regem Francorum Magnif. Dominus Franceschinus de Rusconibus cum Nobili, ac decenti Comitatu, ut tantum Principem tantumque Legatum decebat. Qui orator ob sua praeclara merita Regi acceptus inter alia quibus a Regia Majestate donatus est munera, etiam ipso cum maxima instantia deprecante quadam Sacratissima Spina ex preciosissima Domini Nostri Corona potitus est. Hanc rediens ad propria, veluti preciosissimum thesaurum diligentissima et reverentissima custodia servandum curavit." ASM Fondo di Archivio Generale di Religione, 1401. According to the document, the thorn was gifted to Rusconi in circa 1435. The Rusconi family is included in Paolo Morigia's list of noble Milanese families in the *Historia dell' antichità di Milano*, but he provides no further information about them. No record of Francesco or his diplomatic service appears in Caterina Santoro's compendium of Milanese governmental officials under the Visconti and Sforza, but she notes an Alberto de' Rusconi who served as podestà in Milan in 1351 and a Giovanni de' Rusconi who was *commissario di sanità* in 1514, as well as several other men who held political positions in Cremona, Piacenza, Brescia, and other municipalities in the region. Caterina Santoro, *Gli uffici del comune di Milano e del dominio Visconteo-Sforzesco (1216-1515)* (Milan: A. Guiffrè, 1968), pp. 112, 288, 299, 321, 324, 333, 345, and 415. The ASM document was previously published, though apparently unknown to most scholars, in a nineteenth-century history of Soncino: Francesco Galantino, *Storia di Soncino, con documenti*, 3 vols. (Milan: Giuseppe Bernardoni, 1869). A summary appears in volume 1, p. 321 and the Milanese document is transcribed in volume 3, pp. 324-326. These findings have recently been confirmed, and the relic's true provenance recognized, in Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, "Bàgole su una reliquia della Santa Spina," in *Scritti per Chiara Tellini Perina*, ed. Daniela Ferrari (Mantua: Gianluigi Arcari editore, 2011), pp. 41-56.

by the French crown as diplomatic gifts.¹⁶ Upon Rusconi's death the relic passed to one of his sons, Elutherio, who later entered the Dominican order as Fra Germanicus and subsequently ceded the thorn to Santa Maria delle Grazie, which was "the beating heart," as Sara Fasoli describes it, of Dominican worship in the duchy of Milan.¹⁷

The manuscript does not provide a date for the transfer of the relic to the Grazie, nor is the event recorded in any of the Milanese chronicles, but it must have been some time between 1435, when Francesco de' Rusconi acquired it from the king of France, and 1492 when the document was written. We can further narrow the date of the donation by recalling that the construction of the convent and church of Santa Maria delle Grazie did not begin until 1463, with Guiniforte Solari's nave uncovered until 1482 and incomplete until 1490.¹⁸ No earlier documentation of the relic appears to have survived; the only mentions of it in the archives of S. Maria delle Grazie occur in later documents.¹⁹ The

¹⁶ Chiara Mercuri, Corona di Cristo corona di re: la monarchia francese e la Corona di Spine nel medioevo (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2004). See also Jannic Durand, "La Sacra Corona di Parigi," in La Sacra Spina di Andria, pp. 49-78.

¹⁷ "Fuere huic Magnif. Comiti Franchino tres filii quorum unus dictus est Eleutherius, Comes, doctor, et sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Protonotarius. Urgente tandem fato moritur praefatus Magnif. Comes Franceschinus suis filiis relicto preciosissimo Thesauro Sacratissimi Spine dominice. Post non multos annos Eleutherius praedictus ordinem nostrum ac Religionem ingreditur ac Fr. Germanus mutato nomine vocatur. Hic arbitratu praedictam Santissimam Spinam, quae adhuc penes fratrem suum secularem asservabatur, religiosius ac devotius posse apud Dei servos Viros Religiosos custodiri: tandem a praedicto fratre suo petit et accedit, moriensque tandem in hoc nostro Coventu Sanctae Mariae de Gratiarum reliquit. Quam nos veluti equum est omni reverentia custodinus." ASM Fondo di Archivio Generale di Religione 1401. Fasoli writes that the Grazie was "il cuore pulsante dell'Osservanza domenicana nel ducato." Sara Fasoli, "Tra riforme e nuove fondazioni: l'Osservanza domenicana nel ducato di Milano," in Nuova rivista storica vol. 76 (May-August 1992), p. 440. The Dominican order was immensely powerful in Lombardy and the Duchy of Milan, largely due to the patronage and support of the Sforza dukes, and the Observants of Lombardy were, in turn, the most influential Dominican congregation in late medieval Italy. For the history of the order in Lombardy, see the remainder of Fasoli's article, pp. 417-494; and Giancarlo Andenna, "Aspetti politici della presenza degli Osservanti in Lombardia in età sforzesca," in Ordini religiosi e società politica in Italia e Germania nei secoli XIV e XV, ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Kaspar Elm (Bologna: Il mulino, 2001), pp. 331-372.

¹⁸ Frassinetti, Santa Maria Delle Grazie, pp. 13-14. The tribune, attributed to Bramante, was constructed in the early 1490s.

¹⁹ S. Maria delle Grazie seems to have been exempt from apostolic visits, a privilege often granted to convents and monasteries, the reports of which might have specified not only the date of the relic's entry into the church's treasury but also its original display context. The almost complete absence of reports of pastoral visits to S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan's diocesan archive, in contrast to the extensive holdings for

thorn is included in the list of relics in Milan in Paolo Morigia's *Nobiltà di Milano* (1595), and in several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories of the sacristy, but seems to have disappeared some time after 1780, most likely during the comprehensive suppression of Milan's religious institutions under Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II, a fate that befell many of the city's holy treasures.²⁰

The mysterious Fra Ambrogio of Gattico's story was a Dominican lay brother and artist named Ambrogio (or Ambrosino) da Tormoli (1437-1517), who was attached to the convent of S. Giacomo in Soncino.²¹ He enters the scene in 1492 when, according to the same document recording the thorn's provenance, he painted several stained glass windows at S. Maria delle Grazie and its affiliate church Santa Maria della Rosa. There was no challenge, no miraculous fracturing of the thorn: he begged for and was granted a portion of it by the friars of the Grazie—not in payment for his services but for his “sincere devotion”—and returned with it to Soncino, where it remains today in the crypt of S. Giacomo.²²

other churches in the city, suggests that the convent was likely indeed exempt from inspection. For the frequent exemption of monastic institutions from episcopal oversight in this period, see Adele Buratti Mazzotta, *I disegni dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano Di Milano*, Milan: Biblioteca di via Senato, 2002), p. 118.

²⁰ Morigia, *Nobiltà di Milano*, p. 73. 1780 is the date of the most recent inventory of the sacristy that mentions the thorn. It is absent from an inventory of the sacristy dated 1886 (ASM Fondo di Archivio Generale di Religione, 1401). Nor is it included in the extensive list of extant fragments of the Crown of Thorns in Italy published in the proceedings of *Convengo internazionale di studio "Memoria Christi"* in 2004. See Vincenzo Pinto, "Le reliquie delle Sacre Spine in Italia," in *La Sacra Spina di Andria*, pp. 204-207. It is also not mentioned in Giovanni Battista Alfonso, *Sulle Sante Spine della Corona di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo venerate in Italia* (Naples: Tipografia unione 1932). The only remaining Milanese relic of the Crown of Thorns resides in the Duomo and was originally a gift from Pope Pius IV to his nephew Carlo Borromeo in the late sixteenth century. (Pinto, "Le reliquie delle Sacre Spine in Italia," p. 211).

²¹ "Ambrosino de Tormoli," in *Treccani Enciclopedia Italiana*, accessed November 1, 2013, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ambrosino-de-tormoli/>

²² "Qum autem vergente anno Domini Millo quadringentesimo nonagesimo secundo supradictus vir Religiosus Fr. Ambrosius de Soncino conversus in hoc nostro Conventu et in Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae de Rosa quam plura vitrearum fenestrarum ornamenta perfecisset anhelaretque totis praecordiis portiunculam quamdam praedictae Sacratissimae Spinae, non pro sui operis pretio scilicet ex sincera devotione accipere, fuissetque a nobis super hac petitione sepe repulsus ut pote qui indignum arbitrabamus Conventum

Little documentation concerning the relic's presence and display at S. Maria delle Grazie survives. The *santa spina* appears to have been primarily stored in the church's sacristy, rather than displayed in the chapel, although the reliquary would have been brought out for adorations, special rituals, and important feast days, such as the Dominican Feast of the Crown of Thorns, held annually at the Grazie on May 7.²³ The two extant inventories from the Cinquecento that mention the relic, one from 1545 and the other from 1557, do not describe the "tabernaculum" that housed the thorn in any detail, except to say that it was of pure silver (*tutto d'argento*).²⁴ A more complete picture can be assembled, only for the later period, from a series of inventories from the seventeenth century, which describe, piecemeal, a Baroque monstrance made of silver with rays of gold, with the thorn enclosed in crystal.²⁵ I have found no indication of any earlier container.

The delay of several decades between the arrival of the Holy Thorn in Milan and the foundation of the confraternity in 1497, even taking into account the construction of

Nostrum tanto spoliare thesauro; tandem eius pia ac instante devotione ex supplicatione devicti votis eius obsistere nequivimus. De consilio igitur omnium Patrum nostri Conventus praedictam Sacratissimam Spinam super Patenam reveranter collocantes, audacter quidem, sed religioso affectu adhibito, gladio scindimus portiunculam requisitam, praedicto fratri Ambrosino tradidimus." ASM Fondo di Archivio Generale di Religione 1401. For the relic's presence at S. Giacomo in the twentieth century, see Pietro de Micheli, *Soncino: memorie e notizie* (Cremona: Tipografia Uggeri, 1956), pp. 2-3.

²³ On the Feast of the Crown of Thorns, see note 49 below. Latuada notes that the "Festa della Santa Corona, [fu] assegnata al giorno 7 di Maggio." Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 4, p. 88.

²⁴ ASM Fondo di Archivio Generale di Religione 1401. An inventory dated December 8, 1545, notes just "tabernaculum unum cum spina coronae domini." The other, labeled only by the year, 1557, but written in a similar hand and signed by Hieronimo da Mera, who was the confessor of S. Corona at that time, stipulates: "tabernaculo uno tutto d'argento co[n] la sacratissima spina di Yesu Christo."

²⁵ Ibid. The relevant inventories are April 1602: "Un tabernacolo piccolo con una spina del Nostro Signore attorniate da un cristallo"; 6 July 1680: "Un reliquario argento con la reliquia della Santa Spina"; and 30 June 1689: "reliquario d'argento con raggi nel quale si conserva la Sacra Spina." A document dated July 15, 1780, drawn up on the occasion of the reliquary's restoration, includes the following, more thorough description: "Recondita intus Conditorium argenteum caelato opere elaboratum ad formam Tabernaculi gestatons extractum, altitudinis octo, cum dimidia latitudinis vero quatuor circiter unicarum duobus, tabulis cristallinis ab utraque parte formae ovalis caute compactas, fillo levico [sic] rubri coloris colligatum, ac minori sigillo Archiepiscali Ambrosii in cera rubra hispanica impresso posteriori in parte obsignatam, in hac curia rite recognitas ed approbatas fuisse, ad hoc ut in dicta ecclesia S. Mariae Gratiarum hius Civitatis mediolani Publicae Christi fidelibus venerationi collocari ac exponi valebant. Datum hac die 15 July 1780 causa restaurationis supradictae sacrae reliquiae D.N.i.c."

the Grazie, is not explained in any of the surviving documents or secondary sources, a question complicated by the ambiguity surrounding the date of the relic's donation to the church. Tradition has long maintained that the relic was a gift from Duke Ludovico Sforza, and it is likely—especially in light of the chronology of the construction of the Grazie complex—that the thorn was donated during his reign, even if not by Il Moro himself.²⁶ Indeed, from the outset, Santa Corona was closely aligned with the Sforza court and Ludovico is believed to have contributed funds towards its early operations.²⁷ Fra Stefano da Seregno was not only Ludovico's confessor but, as Gattico describes him, the Duke's "most singular friend...very near and dear to [him]."²⁸ Several of the early members of the confraternity were likewise affiliated with Ludovico and his administration: Giovanni Agostino Olgiati, for example, had been *sescalco generale* (steward) of the duchy before becoming the *podestà* of Soncino and Gualtiero Bascapè served as Ludovico's chancellor and treasurer and held other positions in government finance, including the important post of *giudice dei dazi* (overseeing customs and duties) under the ducal regime.²⁹ Accordingly, we might understand the foundation of the

²⁶ See, for example, *Il Pio Istituto Santa Corona: origini ed evoluzione*, p. 12 and Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 4, pp. 385-386. Many modern scholars, too, continue to state that the relic was a ducal gift. See, for example, Cristina Quattrini, *Lo Scherno di Cam: un dipinto riscoperto di Bernardino Luini* (Milan: Electa, 2006), p. 15. See also above, notes 14 and 15. Ludovico controlled Milan as regent from 1481-1494 and as Duke from 1494-1499.

²⁷ Stefania Buganza describes the confraternity as being "sin da subito connotata come un consorzio d'élite, strettamente legato agli ambienti della corte." See Buganza, "Le confraternite lombarde e l'arte," p. 64. Regarding Ludovico's financial support of Santa Corona, Giacomo Bascapè writes: "per consolidare l'opera in modo che non avessero mai a mancare i fondi necessari, si ottenne pure un aiuto da Luovico il Moro, il quale nutriva particolare amicizia verso frate Stefano." See Bascapè, *Il Pio Istituto Santa Corona*, p. 14. I have not found any corresponding record of this purported gift in the confraternity's archives, nor is Ludovico's name included in the list of benefactors of the confraternity in Registro 1. *Libri mastri* for the first twenty or so years of the confraternity either do not exist or have not survived and the earliest volume of accounts in the Archivio di Stato dates to ca. 1520.

²⁸ "Il padre fra Steffano da Milano, singolarissimo amico del duca Ludovico e suo confessore e più di quello si può spiegar con parole da lui amato e beneficato...tanto caro e accetto al duca Ludovico." Gattico, *Descrizione succinta e vera*, pp. 89-92.

²⁹ Olgiati's career is documented in Caterina Santoro, *Gli Uffici del Dominio Sforzesco (1450-1500)* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1948), pp. 112, 219, 391, 426. For his

confraternity of Santa Corona at this time as part of the larger development and expansion of Santa Maria delle Grazie that was taking place in the 1490s under Ludovico's patronage and that of his court.³⁰

"Inflamed by heavenly desires," the proem to the statutes of the confraternity of Santa Corona proclaims, and yearning for a contemplative life, "noble men whose hearts were touched by God to attend faithfully to the crown of thorns of Christ the King" came together to form a rule for godly living.³¹ Led by Fra Stefano da Seregno, three Milanese patricians, Francesco Mantegazza, Roberto Bonaccorsi de' Quartiero, and Cristoforo Remenufo, established the Pio Istituto di Santa Corona in 1497, taking its name and devotional focus "in honor" of the relic conserved in the Grazie.³² The confraternity was approved by Ludovico Sforza on February 6 of that same year and, in 1499, was granted

membership in S. Corona see ASM S. Corona Registri 1, fols. 215v-216r and Canetta, Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano, pp. 32-33. Ambrogio da Paullo lists Bascapè among the duke's favorites in his chronicle: Ambrogio da Paullo, "Cronaca milanese dall'anno 1476 al 1515," Miscellanea di storia italiana vol. 13 (1874), p. 105. See also, more recently, Bascapè, Il Pio Istituto Santa Corona, p. 37; Santoro, Gli uffici del dominio sforzesco p. 67; Evelyn Welch, Art And Authority In Renaissance Milan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 232-235 and 255-256; and A.P. Arisi Rota, S. Buganza, and E. Rosetti, "Novità su Gualtiero Bascapè committente d'arte e il cantiere di Santa Maria di Brera alla fine del Quattrocento," Archivio storico lombardo vol. 134 (2008), pp. 47-92. His membership in S. Corona is recorded in ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fols. 218v-219r and published in Canetta, Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano, pp. 35-36.

³⁰ On Ludovico Sforza's patronage of S. Maria delle Grazie and the Dominican friars headquartered there see, among others, Fasoli, "Tra riforme e nuove fondazioni," pp. 419, 443-453.

³¹ The full passage reads: "Celestibus accensi desideriiis quo propensius cogitatus optimos in divinium opus resolvatis consulti: poposcistis fratres in christo iesu dilectissimi lectulum salomonis hoc est spetialis vite quietem media caritate sterni vobis; ne aut dura nimis frangerent; aut moderata minus conceptum extinguerent spiritus sancti fervorem in vobis Adoptionem filiorum Dei singulari contentamur argumento et congratulamur; qui maturae qui consultae ad meliora vivendi studia incendi provehi agique cernimus; viros nobiliores quorum corda tetigit Deus ut Christum Regem spinis coronatum comitentur fideliter, et sanctae matri eius ex spinis rosarum colligant celestes coronas; Dupplici nimirum iure inter filios Dei sortem contempler vestram." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 1r.

³² ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 7r. See also Canetta, Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano, pp. 8-9 and Il Pio Istituto di Santa Corona, origini e evoluzione, pp. 12-13. Evidence suggests that Francesco Mantegazza was already affiliated in some way with the Dominicans at S. Maria delle Grazie before the establishment of the confraternity: a document of 1495 states that the Priore Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori granted him the right to wear the "habito nero," presumably that of the Dominican Third Order, with the attendant privileges and participation. ASM Fondo di Archivio Generale di Religione, 1399, filza 15. No connection with the Dominican order, however, is mentioned in the biographical summaries in Santa Corona's *memorie* or other documents.

the right, as a *luogo pio*, to acquire and own property and thus derive income from its lease.³³ This patent further extended to the confraternity all of the rights and privileges previously accorded by the duke to Milan's pious institutions in 1486, as discussed in the previous chapter.³⁴ Recognition by the city's ecclesiastical authorities followed in 1505 with the confraternity's confirmation by Cardinal Archbishop Ippolito d'Este.³⁵ By this time Santa Corona's member rolls had expanded from its initial four members to twelve "deputies," and would continue to grow over the course of the Cinquecento. These deputies were governed by a rotating executive board of seven officers: a Conservator (the chief officer or president), one Chancellor, two *Seniori*, a Treasurer, a Visitor to the Sick (discussed below), and a Sacristan.³⁶ To these positions were added a Master of the Novitiates in 1512, responsible for supervising new inductees, and a *Commentario* or bookkeeper, who maintained the confraternity's records, in 1516. A confessor, drawn from the Dominican friars of S. Maria delle Grazie, attended to the sodality's spiritual needs.³⁷

As indicated above, the members of the confraternity of Santa Corona came almost exclusively from the upper echelons of Milanese society, patricians being the only citizens with the means, time, and ability to fully adhere to Fra Stefano's "rule." This decidedly aristocratic character contrasts slightly with the confraternity of Corpus Christi

³³ ASM Santa Corona Prerogative 601. See ASM Santa Corona Origine e Dotazione 247 for a (modern) copy of Ludovico's decree of August 21, 1499, as well as the confraternity's original petition. See also Il Pio Istituto di Santa Corona: origini ed evoluzione, pp. 12-13. These rights were amplified in 1515 by Duke Masimiliano Sforza, who granted the confraternity a perpetual privilege that allowed them to be exempt from taxes on the medicine they provided to the poor.

³⁴ See chapter two, p. 42. A copy of the 1486 decree is preserved in ASM Santa Corona Prerogative 600.

³⁵ The patent, written on the archbishop's behalf by the vicar general, is dated March 1, 1505. ASM Santa Corona Origine e Dotazione 247.

³⁶ Canetta, Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano, pp. 20-21. The results of each year's elections are recorded in ASM Santa Corona Registri 1.

³⁷ Fra Stefano da Seregno filled this role until he died in 1502.

at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, whose members were drawn more from the Milanese merchant classes, with some exceptions. The member and donor rolls include Milan's most prominent families: Borromeo, Cusani, Varesini, Visconti, Rabia, Vimercati, Spanzotta, Olgiati, Landriani, and Trivulzio, to name a few.³⁸ Beyond a generally elite demographic, the confraternity of Santa Corona and its members—all men—also had multiple connections to the court of Ludovico Sforza and this courtly character persisted under the French occupation, Sforza restoration, and Imperial and Spanish Hapsburg regimes.³⁹ The continued ties of the confraternity to the Milanese government throughout—and even in spite of—the dramatic political shifts of the sixteenth century is telling of both Santa Corona's prestige in the city and of the importance of lay sodalities as constant sites for not only for devotional and charitable activities but for civic participation and artistic patronage during this turbulent period of Milan's history.

Santa Corona's reputation as an *opera pia* in early modern Milan—and its significance to modern historians—stems largely from its charitable initiatives. In 1499 the confraternity became involved with medical assistance for the poor, providing physicians and barber surgeons to care for the indigent sick in their homes and opening a pharmacy in Piazza San Sepolcro to dispense free medicine to those who could not afford it, services not offered by any other pious institution in the city.⁴⁰ The *confratelli* also

³⁸ ASM Santa Corona Registri 1 and 2, *passim*. A list of members, some with their biographies transcribed from the S. Corona *registri*, is published in Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 25-59. A list of the names of the confraternity's benefactors is published in Bascapè, *Il Pio Istituto di Santa Corona*, pp. 125-129. Paolo Morigia discusses Milan's most noble families in books four and five of *Historia dell'Antichità di Milano* and lists them on pp. 705-710.

³⁹ See, generally, Gazzini, "Scuola, libri, e cultura," pp. 234-237. Specific links between S. Corona and the Hapsburg government will be discussed in greater detail in section four.

⁴⁰ The confraternity opened the pharmacy (also called a "spiziaria") in 1512. Bascapè, *Il Pio Istituto di Santa Corona*, pp. 13-29 and Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 9-11, 141. Morigia describes the confraternity in the heading of the chapter dedicated to in the *Historia dell'Antichità* as the

visited and succored the sick, with one brother elected to the office of *visitatore de li infermi* each year, distributed alms of bread and wine weekly to seventy two of the city's poor (twelve for each of Milan's six *porte*), helped to bury the destitute, and also, according to their statutes, consoled the condemned.⁴¹ To this end, Santa Corona maintained some relationship with other Milanese medical institutions, most notably the Ospedale Maggiore to which it was ultimately aggregated in 1786.⁴² Although Santa Corona operated wholly independently of the hospital prior to its absorption during the reforms of Emperor Joseph II, the two organizations occasionally shared personnel: confraternal brother Luigi Varesini (1465-1516) was a deputy of the hospital from 1508 to 1513 and Bernardino Ghilio and Lancillotto Fagnano (1494-1565) each served as *luogotenente imperiale* (an overseer) for a number of years, Ghilio from 1528 to 1538 and Fagnano from 1547 to 1564.⁴³

But the confraternity was originally established as a purely spiritual organization, akin to the Dominican tertiary order, and it sustained a rigorously devout character throughout the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Indeed, the religious practices of Santa Corona were

"venerabile luoco pio, detto Santa Corona, dove si dispensano tutte le medicine a' poveri per amore di Dio." Morigia, *Historia dell'Antichità di Milano*, pp. 401-403.

⁴¹ ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 16v-17r. For the "visitatore de li infermi" see Registri 1, fol. 179r, where the election of 1510, the first recorded in the confraternity's *memorie*, is documented. Elsewhere, among copies of some of the privileges and patents accorded to the confraternity, is a list of elected officers dated December 6, 1506, which does not include that position. ASM, Santa Corona, Origine e Dotazione 247.

⁴² Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 11, 22-23. On the Ospedale Maggiore see Giorgio Cosmacini, *La Ca' Granda dei Milanesi: storia dell'Ospedale Maggiore* (Rome: Laterza, 1999) and Vincenzo Bevacqua, *Milano, La Ca' Granda: vita e personaggi dell'Ospedale Maggiore* (Milan: Terre di mezzo, 2010), as well as chapters five and six of Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, pp. 117-168.

⁴³ Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 33-34, 37-38, and 45-46.

⁴⁴ The Third Order of St. Dominic emerged from the lay penitential movement that emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was originally called the Order of Penance. Their rule was promulgated by the Master of the Dominican Order, Munio of Zamora, in 1285, though the rule did not receive explicit papal approval until 1405, when the Rule of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance of St. Dominic was formally sanctioned by Pope Innocent VII. Members of the Third Order Secular, according to Simon Tugwell, "had a social rather than a doctrinal apostolate [and] they typically ran hospitals and hospices and organized assistance to the poor." A number of confraternities were associated with the Order. See Simon Tugwell,

deeply steeped in Dominican spirituality. Nothing in its archives or in historical studies of the sodality specifically connects it to the Third Order, although Santa Corona was given "cura temporale" over the female tertiaries of the monastery of S. Lazzaro. The striking similarities, however, between the spiritual and charitable customs of Santa Corona and those of Dominican lay orders—from the black habits of their deputies to the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity stipulated in their statutes, their emphasis on penitence, and their association with medical welfare—suggests that Santa Corona modeled itself closely on these orders, even if it did not formally identify itself with them.⁴⁵

The primary aim of Fra Stefano's rule was to set forth for laymen "a way of living Catholically to avoid the offense of God and to grow in grace."⁴⁶ This "*modo di vivere*," along with the confraternity's administrative procedures, special ceremonies, prayers, and orations, and other protocols, is expounded in their lengthy and detailed statutes, preserved in a bound manuscript volume that historians have dated to the early sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The spiritual regimen prescribed by Fra Stefano was extremely rigorous and varied—far more so than that presumably followed by the Confraternity of Corpus

Early Dominicans: Selected Writings (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), pp. 27-31; William A. Hinnebusch, The History of the Dominican Order vol. 1 (Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 1966), pp. 400-404; and Martina Wehrli-Johns, "L'osservanza dei Domenicani e il movimento penitenziale laico. Studi sulla 'regola di Munio' e sul Terz'ordine domenicano in Italia e Germania," in Ordini religiosi e società politica in Italia, pp. 287-330. On Dominican confraternities see Gilles Gérard Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis: confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo, 3 vols. (Rome: Herder editrice e libreria, 1977) and Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 69. On the reception of Dominican theology by the laity in premodern Italy, see Eliana Corbari, Vernacular Theology: Dominican Sermons and Audience in Late Medieval Italy (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013). On penitential piety in Milan, with a greater emphasis on the Franciscans, see Roberto Rusconi, "Manuali milanesi di confessione editi tra il 1474 ed il 1523," Archivium Franciscanum Historicum vol. 65 (1972), pp. 107-156.

⁴⁵ The relevant portions of Santa Corona's statutes, detailing the brotherhood's commitment to obedience, poverty, chastity, humility and silence, are in ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 4r-7v. The tertiaries of S. Lazzaro passed under the Second Dominican order in 1508. See ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 7v, Registri 2, fol. 46, and the discussion in Gazzini, "Scuola, libri, e cultura nelle confraternite milanesi," pp. 238-249.

⁴⁶ "[Fra Stefano] fece una regola et modo de vivere a seculari catholicamente per evitare le ofese [sic.] di dio et augmentare gratia." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 7r.

⁴⁷ ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A.

Christi, discussed in the last chapter. In addition to soliciting the brotherhood's commitment to values of charity, humility, poverty, chastity, obedience, and silence, the *Regula confraternitatis sanctae coronae* advocates the study of devotional and sacred texts, frequent confession and communion (at least once a month, and on the feast days of Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Assumption, Purification, Christmas, Easter, All Saints, Mary Magdalene, but ideally every Sunday).⁴⁸ Above all, the *confratelli* were enjoined to cultivate a fervent and constant devotion to Christ's Passion, the Crown of Thorns, and the "crown" of the rosary. Daily they were to "make a memorial to his incarnation and cross" and adore the Crown of Thorns; every Friday they were to observe the seven hours of the Passion, "meditating with pain and compassion," with orations that are included in the statutes.⁴⁹ On Sundays members participated together in a formal adoration of the Crown of Thorns; and three days a week they recited the rosary. How these devotional practices employed and engaged with the images in the confraternity's chapel and oratory will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Strangely, the statutes make no mention of the Feast of the Crown of Thorns, assigned to May 4 by the Dominican Order in the thirteenth century but celebrated at S. Maria delle Grazie by the brethren of Santa Corona on May 7 of each year.⁵⁰ Nor is the

⁴⁸ "Erit semper confessio vestra devota, erit ordinata erit crebra. Teneatur autem quisque vestrum saltem quolibet mense occurrente sacerdoti semel confiteri, et his solemnitatibus, videlicet: pentecostes, corporis christi, sancte marie magdalene, Assumptionis, omnium sanctorum, Nativitatis Domini, Purificationis, et in sancto pasce, eucharistiae sacramentum suscipere. Aliis vero temporibus qui melioris vite desiderio communicare volerint gratiam a deo et benedictionem nostra consequentur. Bonum enim est homini ad eam caritatem pervenire, ut omni die dominico et confiteatur et sacram communionem cum letitia et gaudio spirituali suscipiat. Bonum est etiam semel frequentiusque in mense, sed utrovis in modo quis agatur, patrem confessorem consullet et pro suam illius in omnibus moderetur." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 11r-11v.

⁴⁹ Ibid, fols. 2r-3r, 23v-30v, 43r-44r. Scholars have not yet determined what, if any, relationship existed between Santa Corona and the confraternity of the rosary based at S. Maria delle Grazie (see Fasoli, "Tra riforme e nuove fondazioni," p. 483).

⁵⁰ Nella detta chiesa di Santa Maria delle Grazie il Capitolo faceva solennizzare il 7 maggio di ogni anno la festa cosiddetta di Santa Corona con indulgenza plenaria e colla spesa annua di L. 24." Canetta, *Storia del*

feast, to my knowledge, addressed in any detail in other confraternal records from the Cinquecento, an omission that is particularly curious given the feast's general importance in the late middle ages and early modern period, not to mention its assumed significance to the confraternity.⁵¹ The reasons for its absence are unclear. It is possible that the protocols for the feast's celebration by the confraternity were detailed in a separate volume now lost or separated from their archive, or perhaps that they attended but did not participate in celebrations of the feast at S. Maria delle Grazie, although the latter seems unlikely. It is also possible that the *confratelli* followed the office of the feast given in the several missals recorded among the books in their possession.⁵² However, while the celebration of feast may be missing from Santa Corona's statutes, the text of its liturgy is not, as fragments of it appear in many of the rites prescribed in the manuscript for other occasions. The collect for the office of the feast—"Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that in memory of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ we may venerate his Crown of Thorns on earth and be worthy to be crowned in glory by him in Heaven"—appears in Santa Corona's statutes as the oration to be spoken during the "special veneration of the

Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano, p. 63. It is possible that the confraternity and/or the friars of the Grazie moved the date to May 7 to coincide with and commemorate the date of the relic's donation to the Grazie: according to Judith Blezzard, Stephen Ryle, and Jonathan Alexander, the feast of the Crown of Thorns spread throughout Europe with the diffusion of fragments of the Crown and feast days were often established to coincide with the reception of the relic(s). Blezzard et al also stipulate that the Dominicans were intimately associated with the Crown of Thorns, two Dominican friars having been dispatched by Louis IX to accompany it during its translation from Constantinople. Judith Blezzard, Stephen Ryle, and Jonathan Alexander, "New Perspectives on the Feast of the Crown of Thorns," in Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society vol. 10 (1987), p. 33, 41 note 25. To further complicate matters, the feast is assigned by the Roman liturgical calendar to the Friday after Ash Wednesday.

⁵¹ The Feast of the Crown of Thorns was instituted in Paris in 1240, the year after the crown's arrival in the French capital. The most detailed study on the feast is an article from 1987 by Judith Blezzard, Stephen Ryle, and Jonathan Alexander (cited above), which focuses primarily on the music performed for the feast through an examination of several surviving liturgical manuscripts. Blezzard, Ryle, and Alexander, pp. 23-47. See also William Raymond Bonniwell, A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945 2nd ed., (New York: J.F. Wagner, 1945), pp. 104, 113-114, 216, 262; Mercuri, Corona di Cristo, corona di re, pp. 116-117; and "Stat inter spinus liliium: le lys de France et le couronne d'épines," in Moyen Âge: Revue d'histoire et de philologie vol. 110 (2004), p. 501.

⁵² Gazzini, "Scuola, libri, e cultura," pp. 254-261. These books are discussed in greater detail below, p. 176.

Crown of Thorns" that *confratelli* were to perform on every Monday and Wednesday.⁵³ Likewise several antiphons—"We adore your crown O Lord and recall your glorious triumph" and "The thorns grow red, dripping with the blood of Christ; they purge the world of sin and unlock the gates of heaven"—responsories, and other prayers from the liturgy are used in the Sunday adoration, the solemn litany performed on Fridays ("sexta feria"), and in the other devotions throughout the week. This is not to suggest that these more quotidian observances replaced the primary feast, which secondary sources stipulate was indeed celebrated by the confraternity, but to point to the influence of the liturgy of the Feast of the Crown of Thorns on Santa Corona's daily office and other rituals.

III. Confraternal Spaces and Images Before 1540: Bernardo Zenale and Bernardino Luini

Let me begin by reviewing briefly the confraternal spaces and visual heritage to which Titian and Gaudenzio would contribute and respond. To carry out this demanding devotional program, the confraternity of Santa Corona maintained two spaces: a chapel in Santa Maria delle Grazie and an oratory in their headquarters, which was a separate building about a kilometer away in Piazza San Sepolcro, near the now-defunct church of Santa Maria della Rosa, a subsidiary of S. Maria delle Grazie.⁵⁴ In addition to serving as a ritual space, the oratory was also the primary place in which the confraternity conducted

⁵³ "Presta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui in memoriam passionis domini nostri Iesu Christi coronam eius spineam veneramur in terris ab ipso gloria et honore coronari mereamur in celis." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 29r. For the Office of the Feast of the Crown of Thorns, see [Breviarium Praedicatorum Ordinis](#), (Venice: Johann, of Köln, Nicolaus Ienson, et socii, 1481). The leaves, unfortunately, are unnumbered. "Adesto domine famulis tuis et perpetuam benignitatem largire poscentibus, ut qui coronam spineam unigeniti tui veneramur in terris ipsum quoque venientem Iudicem securi videamus de celis Dominum."

⁵⁴ The building was purchased in 1499 for 640 lire, of which 300 lire were loaned to the confraternity by Santa Maria delle Grazie at Fra Stefano da Seregno's behest. Canetta, [Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano](#), pp. 11-12 and ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 7r. S. Maria della Rosa, built in the fifteenth century, was demolished in 1828 during the expansion of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

its administrative business. The sodality purchased their *sede* in 1499 but records do not specify precisely when Santa Corona acquired the fourth chapel on the south (right) side of the nave of Santa Maria delle Grazie. In 1502 they obtained the right to bury their dead in the church in a sepulcher located "near the chancel, between one of the piers of the sanctuary and a column of the nave," above which they maintained an altar.⁵⁵ Canetta and other historians assert with assurance that this sepulcher and altar do not correspond to the chapel frescoed by Gaudenzio Ferrari in 1542, which also once contained Titian's *Crowning with Thorns*, but when the sodality acquired the latter is not recorded in any of the surviving documents.⁵⁶

The painting of the "crown of thorns of the Lord" on the "preda" above the sepulcher, described in the confraternity's *Memorie*, has been identified by scholars as a *Crowning with Thorns* by Bernardo Zenale (ca. 1503-1505, fig. 51), currently in the Collezione Borromeo on Isola Bella.⁵⁷ Maria Theresa Binaghi Olivari disputes this hypothesis, arguing instead that Zenale's altarpiece was originally located in the confraternity's oratory.⁵⁸ However, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century guides to the city assert that the altarpiece in the oratory was a Madonna and Child painted by Cesare

⁵⁵ "Memoria como in ano 1502 la Confraternità fece fare una sepultura la quale a dui vassi ne la giesa di Santa Maria da le Gratie apreso ala Capela granda da man drita in mezo de uno pilono de la capela granda et una colona di la nave di la giesa in la quale se ha a sepelire tuti li compagni sarano professi de dita Confraternita et cossi anno promiso et se ha metere susa una preda et penzere una certa devotione e con la corona de le spine del Signore et questo fu facto con consentimento del patre prior frate da Parma 1505, die 14 septembris." The "frate da Parma" is Onofria da Parma, who was the 17th prior of S. Maria delle Grazie from 1501-1503. ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, vol. 11v.

⁵⁶ Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, p. 61. Other scholars, however, assert that the sepulcher and chapel were the same (for example, Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," p. 97).

⁵⁷ Stefania Buganza, catalogue entry in *Capolavori da scoprire: la collezione Borromeo*, ed. Mauro Natale (Milan: Skira, 2006), pp. 124-129; Quattrini, *Brera mai vista. Lo Scherno di Cam*, p. 17. See also Alessandro Ballarin, *Leonardo a Milano: problemi di leonardismo milanese fra Quattro e Cinquecento: Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio prima della Pala Casio* vol. 1 (Verona: Edizioni dell'Aurora, 2010), p. 57. For the "preda" see ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, vol. 11v and note 55 above.

⁵⁸ Binaghi Olivari, "Partita doppia milanese per Tiziano," pp. 41-42. Her reasons for this suggestion, which are intriguing but problematic, are noted below.

da Sesto (fig. 52).⁵⁹ Similarities between the architecture in the background of Zenale's painting and Bramante's tribune in S. Maria delle Grazie lend further weight to the placement of the *Crowning with Thorns* in the church, where Zenale completed a number of other projects during this same period.⁶⁰ The commissioning of Zenale's painting may have been connected to a legacy of 11,000 lire left in 1502 by Bernardino Giussano.⁶¹ Stefania Buganza and Binaghi Olivari also point to Zenale's ties to Gualtiero Bascapè, discussed above in his role as one of Ludovico Sforza's ministers, who was a member of Santa Corona from 1503 until his death in 1508, upon which he left the confraternity all of his assets.⁶² In 1505 Bascapè commissioned frescoes from Zenale for his suburban villa, now called the Villa Simonetta, one of which, in a small courtyard, depicted the crowning with thorns.⁶³

The crowning with thorns, while unusual as the subject of an altarpiece, was eminently suited to a confraternity devoted to a relic of the Crown of Thorns and the

⁵⁹ Further complicating matters is the fact that the oratory discussed in these guides is that located in the confraternity's new headquarters, acquired in 1540, and not the one the confraternity occupied in the first part of the century, although it is certainly possible, if not probable, that the furnishings of the old building and its oratory were transported to Santa Corona's new *sede*. See Santagostino, *L'immortalità e gloria del pennello*, p. 42; Torre, *Il ritratto di Milano*, p. 138; and Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 4, pp. 92-93. On Cesare da Sesto's painting, a Madonna and Child with Saints Ambrose and Jerome, see Giovanni Agosti and Vincenzo Farinella, "Qualche difficoltà nella carriera di Cesare da Sesto," in *Prospettiva* nos. 53-56 (1988-1989), pp. 325-333 and Marco Carminati, *Cesare Da Sesto, 1477-1523* (Milan: Jandi Sapi, 1994), pp. 12-13.

⁶⁰ Buganza, in *Capolavori da scoprire*, p. 124. On Zenale, see Janice Shell, "Bernardo Zenale: la vita," in *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo*, vol. 2 (Bergamo: Edizioni Bolis, 1994), pp. 347-382. On his frescoes in the nave of S. Maria delle Grazie, many of which are lost, see Giulio Bora, "Due disegni di Berlino: da Foppa a Zenale," in *Quaderno di studi sull'arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza*, ed. Maria Teresa Balboni Brizza (Milan: Museo Poldi Pezzoli, 1990), pp. 23-31.

⁶¹ Buganza, in *Capolavori da scoprire*, p. 128. For the legacy see ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 11r and Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 35-36.

⁶² ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fols. 218v-219r and Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 35-36.

⁶³ At the time the house was called the Villa Gualtera and it was the first suburban villa in Milan. See Bascapè, *Il Pio Istituto di Santa Corona* p. 37. Quattrini suggests that another member of the confraternity, Luigi Varesini, may have been the same person as the "Aloisio de Varixio" who was a witness along with Bernardino Luini to the monastic profession of Zenale's daughter, Maria Lucrezia, who entered the convent of S. Lazzaro, whose female tertiaries were under the supervision of S. Corona, in 1516. See Quattrini, *Brera mai vista: lo Scherno di Cam*, p. 18. The Villa Simonetta was almost entirely destroyed by shells in WWII. See chapter one.

confraternity's statutes reproduce in full the account of the Passion from the Gospel of Matthew, which provides the most extensive narration of the episode of the four biblical books.⁶⁴ Zenale's painting established for the Compagnia della Santa Corona what would become almost an emblematic image, echoed in both Luini's and Titian's later treatments of the subject and thus creating for the sodality a coherent confraternal iconography that linked their disparate sites of worship.⁶⁵ Zenale's altarpiece, the fresco by Bernardino Luini in the confraternity's oratory, and Titian's altarpiece all follow the same basic composition, with Christ positioned at the center, seated on a dais, and surrounded by soldiers and other figures who beat him, press the crown down upon his head, and jeer at him. Interestingly, each artist also makes use of the step of the dais upon which Christ sits as a field for written text: Zenale and Titian inscribe the step with their signatures, Luini writes a verse from scripture upon it. The iconography of Zenale's *Crowning with Thorns* has recently been examined by Stefania Buganza, who, as noted above, has pointed to the resemblance of the Bramantesque interior in which the scene is set to the tribune of S. Maria delle Grazie.⁶⁶ The mirroring of the church interior, where the altarpiece was displayed, has the effect of transporting the biblical event to the devotional space of the *confratelli*, tying the relic venerated nearby to the moment of its creation. In the chapel environment, such a "domestication" of sacred presence would have facilitated for confraternal viewers a particularly intimate engagement with the figures and events depicted, an effect accomplished also by Titian's and Gaudenzio's paintings, and by

⁶⁴ ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 44-51. The specific portion of Matthew's Gospel relating the crowning with thorns is Matthew 27:27-31. Other accounts are found in Mark 15:17 and John 19:2.

⁶⁵ Tomaso Casini, for example, notes the peculiar "ripetitività delle immagini devozionali commissionate dalla confraternita." Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," p. 99.

⁶⁶ Buganza, in *Capolavori da scoprire*, p. 124. Casini also discusses the imagery of Zenale's panel. See Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," pp. 99-102.

Luini's fresco, and discussed in more detail below. Buganza has further suggested that the man kneeling in the right foreground, wearing a turban and gazing up at Christ, may be a portrait.⁶⁷

The next major commission carried out for the confraternity was the large fresco (fig. 53) in their oratory completed in 1522 by Bernardino Luini, also depicting the crowning with thorns. When the confraternity engaged Luini's services in September of 1521, five years following his work for the confraternity of Corpus Christi at San Giorgio al Palazzo, the painter was at the height of his career.⁶⁸ According to the confraternity's *memorie*, Luini began work on the fresco on October 12, 1521, and, aided by an assistant and an apprentice, completed it on March 22, 1522, for which he was paid a sum of 115 *lire* and nine *soldi*.⁶⁹ The broker and financial backer for this commission was Bernardino Ghilio, a wealthy and "noble" silk merchant who had been a member and *deputato* of Santa Corona since March 23, 1507.⁷⁰ Like his confraternal brethren, Ghilio numbered among Milan's moneyed elite with close ties to the city's government, a connection that assumes critical importance for the confraternity's successful solicitation of Titian, discussed shortly. He was *luogotenente imperiale* of the Ospedale Maggiore from 1528 to 1538, as noted above, and, under Hapsburg rule, a member of the city

⁶⁷ Buganza, in *Capolavori da scoprire*, p. 124.

⁶⁸ Binaghi Olivari, *Bernardino Luini*, pp. 30-40.

⁶⁹ "1521 adi 25 Septe M[agistr]o Bernar^o da lovino pictore se acordato a pingere il Xpo Coy li 12 Compagni i[n] lo oratorio et comenzo a lavorare adi 12 oct et lo peza fu finita adi 22 Mzo 1522 vero che no[n] lavoro se no opera 38 et uno suo gioveno opera 11 et altra la dicta opera 11 li teneva missa[le] la molto ali bixogno et anche semper haveva uno garzono che li serviva li fu dato per sua mercede computato tuti lo colori L[ire] 115 S[oldi] 9 et la dicta spexa la pagho mx[messer] Bernardino Ghilio de sua spontania volonta." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 36r. This account is summarized again in ASM Santa Corona Registri 2, fol. 69l (this volume numbers its pages left and right rather than recto and verso). See also Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 12-13; *Quattro secoli e mezzo di vita del Pio Istituto Di Santa Corona*, pp. 95-96; Bascapè, *Il Pio Istituto Santa Corona*, pp. 30-33; and the art historical sources listed in note 73 below.

⁷⁰ ASM Santa Corona Registri 2, fol 73r. The *memorie* describe him as "nobile [sic] de sangue," a turn of phrase addressed below.

council (the *Consiglio dei Sessanta Decurioni*) in which he represented his neighborhood of Porta Vercellina.⁷¹ Ghilio was active in his membership, making frequent financial gifts to Santa Corona, and was regularly elected to serve as one of the confraternity's officers from 1516 until his death in 1539, holding the prestigious posts of chancellor and then conservator.⁷² In addition to these official duties, Ghilio appears also to have served as a *de facto* director of the Santa Corona's cultural affairs and oversaw and financed not only the commission from Luini but the confraternity's dealings with Titian almost twenty years later, which were assumed upon Ghilio's death by his son in law, Gian Giacomo Rainaldi.

The fresco itself, now absorbed into the galleries of the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, takes up a full wall and measures approximately 13' 9" high and 23' 5" wide (420 x 714 cm), with figures close to life-sized.⁷³ Historians have commented not only on the similarities between Luini's composition and that of Zenale (and, later, that of Titian) but to his treatment of the subject elsewhere, including the lunette in S. Giorgio al Palazzo (fig. 9).⁷⁴ As he did in the chapel of Corpus Christi, Luini combines architectural frames with a sophisticated fictive perspective to create the illusion of spatial recession beyond

⁷¹ Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 37-38. See also ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 225r. On Ghilio's role in the Milanese government, with relevant bibliography, see below pp. 166-167.

⁷² ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fols. 180r-182r. This volume of the *memorie* records the results of all confraternal elections from 1510-1572, with a few omissions. For Ghilio's donations and bequests, in 1522, 1538, and 1539, see ASM Santa Corona Origine e Dotazione 82.

⁷³ On Luini's fresco see, chiefly, Luca Beltrami, *Luini, 1512-1532: materiale di studio* (Milan: Tipografia U. Allegretti, 1911), pp. 147-159; Angela Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini* (Novara: Istituto geografico de Agostini, 1956), p. 103; Giulio Bora, "Bernardino Luini," in *The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy, 1490-1530*, ed. David Allen Brown, Giulio Bora, Marco Carminati (Milan: Skira Editore, 1998), p. 353. Marco Rossi, "Bernardino Luini: Christo incoronato di spine," in *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana* ed. Carlo Pirovano, vol. 1 (Milan: Electa, 2005), pp. 158-162; Maria Teresa Binagli Olivari, *Bernardino Luini* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2007), p. 31; and Agostino Allegri, "Milano, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. Oratorio di Santa Corona," in *Bernardino Luini e i suoi figli*, ed. Giovanni Agosti, Jacopo Stoppa, and Rossana Sacchi, vol. 2 (Milan: Officina libraria, 2014), pp. 98-102. The height of the full wall, including the portion below the scene, is 530 cm, about 17'5".

⁷⁴ Allegri, entry in *Bernardino Luini e i suoi figli*, p. 99, notes that the fresco calls to mind "le soluzioni che Luini aveva messo in atto qualche anno prima nella lunetta di San Giorgio al Palazzo."

the plane of the oratory wall and into an open loggia. The figures are posed on a ledge about four feet above the floor of the oratory, so that, standing, the beholder is approximately at eye-level with Christ's feet and is thus absorbed into the crowd of spectators surrounding him. Rather than the shadowy interiors of the S. Giorgio ensemble, the S. Corona fresco opens and extends back into an airy landscape in which, on either side of the seated Christ, additional scenes from the Passion play out in the background, each neatly contained by the columns of the loggia. On the left St. John, clothed in white, arrives in Bethany to inform Martha, Mary (Magdalene) and Lazarus of Christ's resurrection and on the right St. Peter, kneeling in a grotto, repents his denial of Christ. These scenes, according to art historian Agostino Allegri, derive from the visions of Arcangela Panigarola, an Augustinian nun and mystic active in Milan in the sixteenth century and in contact with Luini and several of his patrons.⁷⁵ In S. Giorgio al Palazzo, Luini used a lack of depth and background to differentiate and elevate the altarpiece from the lateral scenes. Here he achieves a similar effect by placing the central group of Christ and his tormentors in front of a hanging cloth, which serves visually to isolate and foreground them and also recalls the hangings often used to cover and enshrine or frame altarpieces and tabernacles in Lombardy in the sixteenth century.⁷⁶

In front of this purple hanging, the sumptuousness of which echoes the scarlet cloak mockingly placed upon him, is Christ, holding a reed for a scepter and swarmed by tormentors who, following the gospel account, deride him, spit on him, and take reeds and strike him on the head. Their savagery and grotesque physiognomies recall the

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp. 99-100.

⁷⁶ Nova, Alessandro, "Hangings, Curtains, and Shutters of Sixteenth-Century Lombard Altarpieces," in Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550. Function and Design, ed. Eve Borsook and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1994), pp. 177-189.

bestial imagery of Psalm 22—"many bulls encompass me, strong bulls of Bashan surround me, they open wide their mouths at me like a ravening and roaring lion"—which James Marrow has discussed in relation to late medieval and early modern images of the tormentors of Christ.⁷⁷ Already battered, with blood stippling the flesh of his arms and torso and seeping decorously from three gashes on his forehead, Christ accepts this abuse passively. Three inscriptions painted on a fictive hanging pendant, on the middle step of Christ's dais, and below the scene, similar to those in S. Giorgio al Palazzo, inform viewers what it is that they are beholding and invite them to witness the events. Above the scene, held aloft by two winged *putti*, the first placard reads "*caput regis gloriae spinis coronatur* (the head of the king of glory is crowned with thorns)"; on the step is a line from Psalm 22 "*o[mn]es vide[n]tes me deriserunt* (all who see me mock me)"; and below the fresco is a passage adapted from the liturgy for the Feast of the Crown of Thorns, also employed in the confraternity's regular devotions: "*Heus qui diligitis Rege[m] XPM mundi redemptore[m]. Venite et videte eum a iudaeis spinea corona Hierosolymis crudeliter delusum quo redimitus diademate universum iudicabit seculum* (you who love Christ the King, Redeemer of the World, come and behold him cruelly shamed by the Jews in Jerusalem with a crown of thorns. With this diadem he shall judge all generations)."⁷⁸ The suggestion of spectacle—"come and see"—is reinforced by Luini's composition, in which Christ is carefully framed by nearly symmetrical groups of figures to his left and right, who gesture to him with outstretched arms and extended staffs, drawing the viewer's eye to his exposed and vulnerable form.

⁷⁷ Psalm 22:12-13. See James Marrow, "Circumdedederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin* vol. 59, no. 2 (June 1977), pp. 167-181 and Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," pp. 99-100.

⁷⁸ On the latter two inscriptions see the discussion below, pp. 179, 184.

The performative and participatory dimension is further heightened by Luini's staging of the scene in a loggia on an elevated platform, divided in sections by columns and surmounted by a written *cartello*, an arrangement which, Tomaso Casini has observed, suggests parallels with the *apparati* and *sacre rappresentazioni* of the mysteries of the Passion typically staged during Holy Week.⁷⁹

This pictorial rhetoric is a familiar one that naturalizes the sacred in the physical environment of the devotee, working in concert with meditational protocols to stimulate the beholder's immersive and multisensory mental visualizations of Christ's Passion. The members of Santa Corona viewed and interacted with this image on a regular basis during their devotions, in particular the weekly mass and adoration of the Crown of Thorns, held in the oratory. During this ritual they contemplated Christ's suffering, indexed by the relic of the *santa spina*, and imagined themselves present at his Passion.⁸⁰ The limen between heaven and earth (or between biblical Jerusalem and Cinquecento Milan) is visualized here literally as a threshold, an architectural boundary whose limits are demarcated but left open to the penetrating gaze of the *confratelli*, and are indeed transcended by them by virtue of the portraits of the twelve *deputati*, whom Luini has painted in their black robes, kneeling on either side of Christ.⁸¹ Their placement in the composition echoes the protocols for the weekly adoration, which instructed the *confratelli* to arrange themselves "equally distributed on the left and right side...on

⁷⁹ Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," p. 102. See also Vito Pandolfi, *Storia universale del teatro drammatico* vol. 1 (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice, 1964), pp. 437, 445.

⁸⁰ "Primo igitur omni die domenicum summo mane quo credimus omnes homines et angelos ad tremendum dei Juditium convocandos in unum, convientes in oratorium." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 23v.

⁸¹ While the confraternity's *memorie* stipulate the inclusion of "li dodce [dodice] diputari," the names of the twelve men are not given. Luca Beltrami has argued that the group must have included Bernardino Ghilio, Roberto Bonaccorsi (also called De Quarterio, Giovanni Antonio De Balduini, Giovanni Ambrogio Visconti, Paolo Cittadini, and Bernardo Carpano and perhaps also Matteo Cusano, Giovanni Pietro Meleghe, Luigi Da Prato, and Gerolamo Confalonieri. Beltrami, *Bernardino Luini*, pp. 149-152.

bended knee."⁸² The inscription below and the hanging pendant likewise allude to two of the antiphons and responsories for this office: "a crown woven of thorns / they placed upon the head of Jesus" and "come and see Christ the King with the crown of thorns; with it the Jews crowned him, with it he shall judge all generations."⁸³ In this way the portraits not only model for the *confratelli* the intimate and embodied encounter with Christ aimed for in their devotions but they act for them as permanent pictorial surrogates, kneeling before Christ to adore him and his crown in a perpetual vigil.

In a like manner, the two crowns of thorns hanging above the heads of the *confratelli* on the left and right and the gilded thorny vines wrapping around the columns of the loggia provide a visual proxy for the relic conserved across the city in the church of S. Maria delle Grazie, linking the two ritual spaces of the Santa Corona. In addition to mirroring the confraternity's *imprese*, a circlet of thorns surrounding the letters "S.C.," the crowns suspended above the heads of the *confratelli* also recall the initiation ritual for new members of Santa Corona, in which a crown of thorns was placed upon the head of the initiate in imitation of Christ.⁸⁴ Both Bernardo Zenale's and Bernardino Luini's paintings of the *Crowning with Thorns* had a considerable impact on Titian's treatment of the subject, as well as on Gaudenzio Ferrari's Passion cycle in S. Maria delle Grazie. Let us now turn to Gaudenzio Ferrari and Titian and the decoration of the chapel of Santa Corona in the 1540s.

⁸² "Primo igitur omni die domenicò summo mane quo credimus omnes homines et angelos ad tremendum dei Iudicium convocandos in unum, convientes in oratorium stabilitis a dextris et a sinistris equaliter; et, facto signo ab eo qui preest vel ab eo qui nichoaturus est adorationem sanctae coronae spinee domini. In qua tanquam Rex Regum indicatus est mundum et adorans a cunctis gentibus bonus et malis, statim omnes genua flectentes silentio dicant Pater Noster..." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A fol. 23v.

⁸³ The antiphon in the adoration is "unus cui in iunctum fuerit omnes qui diligitis dominum venite et videte regem Christum cum corona spinea; qua coronavit eum gens iudea cum ea iudicabit cuncta secula." The responsory includes the exchange "Plectentes coronam de spinis / Posuerunt super caput Iesu." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 24r.

⁸⁴ ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 32-34. See page 178 and note 139 below.

IV. Titian, Gaudenzio Ferrari, and Hapsburg Milan

Bernardino Ghilio died on October 14, 1539, and was buried in the confraternity's sepulcher in Santa Maria delle Grazie.⁸⁵ Even in death, he remained involved in Santa Corona's cultural affairs. In his will, drawn up four days earlier by the notary Francesco Pusterla, Ghilio stipulated that Santa Corona use the revenue from several properties that he had donated to the sodality in the previous year to refurbish their chapel.⁸⁶

I ask my noble brethren of the Society of Santa Corona that, from the donation made to them by me, they have a most beautiful altarpiece made for the aforementioned Society's chapel [in Santa Maria delle Grazie] and also have painted in that chapel the life and Passion—or at least the Passion—of our Lord Jesus Christ by good artists.⁸⁷

The selection of the two "good artists" to whom the chapel decorations were entrusted is telling of the confraternity's prestige and ambitions in the newly Imperial city of Milan. For the scenes of the Passion they turned to the Valsesian painter and sculptor Gaudenzio Ferrari, chiefly known for his work on the multimedia simulacra at the *sacro monte* of Varallo. Though often excluded from Vasarian configurations of the Renaissance canon, Gaudenzio was one of the most prolific artists working in Lombardy in the mid-Cinquecento and, since his relocation to the Lombard capital in 1537, had acquired a

⁸⁵ Ghilio's obituary was recorded in the confraternity's *Memorie*. ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fol. 225r. See also Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 37-38.

⁸⁶ It is unclear what, if any, decorations existed in the chapel prior to Ghilio's bequest, nor do we know how much time elapsed between the confraternity's acquisition of the chapel and its decoration in the early 1540s. It is possible that the chapel did not stand empty for long or even at all. See above pp. 153-154.

⁸⁷ "Rogo Dominos Socios meos Societatis Sanctae Coronae ut ex Donatione per me sibi facta vellint fieri facere unam anchonam pulcherimam in capella praefatae Societatis constructa ut supra et et[iam] depingi facere in dicta Capellam vitam et passionem D[omi]ni N[ost]ri Jesu Xpi vel saltem passionem a bonis pictoribus." ASM Santa Corona Origine e Dotazione 82. Ghilio specifies the chapel's location "in ecclesia domenicane Sanctae Mariae Gratiarum extra portam Verceilinam Mediolani" earlier in the document. His donation of several properties to the confraternity in 1538, executed by the notary Hieronimo da Soli, is recorded in another document in the same file, dated July 9, 1538. This stipulation in Ghilio's will has been cited and quoted in the secondary literature but the document has never been published in full. See, for example, Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto della Santa Corona*, p. 61.

virtual monopoly on commissions from Milanese religious institutions.⁸⁸ Lomazzo includes him among the "seven governors of art" in the *Idea del tempio della pittura* and, in the *Trattato*, pointedly criticizes Vasari for omitting him from his *Vite*, "proof, not to put a darker mark on it, that he intended only to exalt his own Tuscany to the skies."⁸⁹ The "whole of Lombardy," Lomazzo writes, "is adorned with the works of this excellent man." In addition to his reputation among ecclesiastical patrons, Gaudenzio was also favored by members of the ruling elite, including Duke Francesco II Sforza and, according to Lomazzo, Antonio de Leyva, the first Hapsburg governor of Milan.⁹⁰ Gaudenzio's connection to the confraternity's late maestro Bernardino Luini might have provided a further draw; we will recall that Gaudenzio had trained alongside Luini in the workshop of Gian Stefano Scoto and the two remained colleagues, collaborating or working simultaneously on several projects before Luini's death in 1532.⁹¹ With Luini no longer available, Gaudenzio would have been a suitable replacement. The cachet of Gaudenzio Ferrari's contribution, though often overshadowed by Titian's celebrity in art

⁸⁸ Rossana Sacchi, "Gaudenzio Ferrari a Milano: i committenti, la bottega, le opere," *Storia dell'arte* 67 (1989), p. 205.

⁸⁹ "Questo gran pittore...è stato tralasciato da Giorgio Vasari nelle Vite ch'egli hà scritto dei Pittori, Scultori, et Architetti; argomento, per non apporgli più brutta nota ch'egli hà inteso solamente ad inalzare la sua Toscana sino al Cielo." Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (Milan: per Paolo Gottardo Pontio, stampatore Regio, a instantia di Pietro Tini, 1584), p. 112. For the seven governors of art see Lomazzo, *Idea del tempio della pittura*. Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1590), p. 40, and the English translation, Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, trans. Jean Julia Chai (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), p. 76. It should be noted that Gaudenzio is in fact mentioned in Vasari's *Vite*, but only in passing. Given Lomazzo's praise and Gaudenzio's substantial body of work, his continued exclusion from histories of Italian art, even those that specifically address the visual culture of Lombardy and present themselves as correctives to Vasari, is puzzling. No works by Gaudenzio were included in the 2004 exhibition "Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy" at the Metropolitan Museum in 2004 and the catalogue, like Vasari's *Vite*, mentions him only in passing.

⁹⁰ Sacchi, "Gaudenzio Ferrari a Milano," p. 202-208 and Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*, p. 533. The work that Gaudenzio allegedly painted for Antonio de Leyva, a *Saint Francis in Ecstasy* (ca. 1536), has never been identified. Gaudenzio may also have worked on the *apparati* erected for Francesco II Sforza's visit to Vigevano in 1533. Rosanna Sacchi, "Piste Gaudenziane" *Paragone* vol. XLIX, no. 579 (May 1998), p. 48.

⁹¹ See chapter two.

historical accounts, was thus, in fact, not insignificant, befitting the confraternity's high standing among Milan's *loci pii* and the prominent position of its members in the Milanese patriciate.

Indeed the centerpiece of the chapel ensemble, Titian's "most beautiful altarpiece" of the *Crowning with Thorns*, represented a tremendous coup for Santa Corona and for Ghilio's heirs. How the confraternity was able to secure the services of the court painter to Emperor Charles V has long invited speculation. Though Titian carried out commissions for a large number of sacred institutions and confraternities, including the Scuola Grande della Carità in Venice (1534-1538) and the Confraternity of Corpus Domini in Urbino (1544), this was his only such commission in Milan, where his primary connection was to the gubernatorial court of Alfonso d'Avalos, the Marchese de Vasto and commander of Imperial troops in Italy, who succeeded Antonio de Leyva and Marino Caracciolo as the third Imperial governor of Milan in 1538.⁹² Titian completed multiple paintings for d'Avalos, including a portrait in 1533 and the *Allocution of Alfonso d'Avalos* (1541).⁹³ An annual pension of 100 scudi bestowed on him by d'Avalos in 1541 and doubled in 1548, to be paid out of the Milanese treasury, cemented the artist's relationship with the Milanese Hapsburg regime.⁹⁴ In January of 1540 Titian traveled to Milan to meet with the governor, carrying with him a preliminary study of the *Allocution*; it was during the course of this sojourn that the Santa Corona commission was brokered,

⁹² On Alfonso d'Avalos generally see Gaspare de Caro, "Alfonso d'Avalos, marchese del Vasto," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* vol. 4 (1962), accessed November 1, 2013,

http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/avalos-alfonso-d-marchese-del-vasto_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

⁹³ Other works commissioned by or through d'Avalos include a painting of Mary Magdalene for his aunt, Vittoria Colonna. See Peter Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings* (New York: Abrams, 2007), pp. 140, 146, 162, and 180. Titian also painted a portrait, now lost, of Duke Francesco II Sforza in the 1530s. See Marco Albertario, *Ducato di Milano: Francesco II Sforza (1522-25, 1529-35). Iconografia ed iconologia tra i modelli della tradizione milanese ed il ritratto di Tiziano* (Milan: Centro Culturale Numismatico Milanese, 2001), p. 28.

⁹⁴ Giulio Bora, "La cultura figurativa a Milano (1535-1565), in *Omaggio a Tiziano*, p. 46

with the first payment made by the confraternity on February 9.⁹⁵ The possibility that these two episodes were connected and that Alfonso d'Avalos in some way facilitated the commission or, at the very least, provided an introduction has been raised by several art historians, though no direct documentary evidence has surfaced linking the governor with the confraternity.⁹⁶ Neither d'Avalos nor members of his immediate retinue appear on the sodality's member rolls or lists of benefactors and, while Santa Corona received amplified privileges under the French in 1519, they received no individual privileges from the Hapsburg government until 1617, when Philip II of Spain raised their tax exemption.⁹⁷

A bridge connecting the two emerges from Titian's twin purpose in visiting Milan, which was to secure an ecclesiastical benefice for his son, Pomponio at the ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala, a favor bestowed by the Emperor through d'Avalos.⁹⁸ Among the witnesses to Pomponio's investiture were a Niccolo di Castello, who was Alfonso d'Avalos's procurator, and Bernardino Ghilio's son-in-law and fellow *confratello* Gian

⁹⁵ Don Lope de Soria, the Imperial ambassador to Venice and one of Alfonso d'Avalos's advisors, wrote to Titian on October 28, 1539, summoning him to Milan. A letter from Don Lope to Pietro Aretino indicates that Titian arrived in Milan on New Year's Day. See Siebenhuner, "Tizians 'Dornerkrönung Christi,'" p. 123; Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," pp. 104 and 117 note 38. For Santa Corona's payment to Titian see ASM Santa Corona Registri 55, fol. 120v

⁹⁶ See chiefly Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," p. 104; Humfrey, *Titian*, p. 113; Pier Luigi de Vecchi, "Nota su alcuni dipinti di artisti veneti per committenti milanesi" in *Omaggio a Tiziano*, p. 55. Sheila Hale takes the same position in her recent biography of Titian. See Sheila Hale, *Titian, His Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 2012), p. 419.

⁹⁷ For the 1519 and 1517 privileges see ASM Santa Corona Prerogative 601.

⁹⁸ A letter from d'Avalos to Charles V, dated January 7, 1540, states that "the possession of the canonicate at Santa Maria della Scala that recently fell vacant has been given to the son of Titian in compliance with the order that was given by Your Majesty. " (Hasse dado a un hijo del Ticiano la possession del canonicado que los dias passados vacó en Santa Maria de la Scala conforme la orden que se me ha pintado de Vr.a Ma.d.) *Tiziano e la corte di Spagna nei documenti dell'Archivio Generale di Simancas* (Madrid: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 1975), p. 16. I thank Ximena and Henry Gómez for their assistance with the Spanish translation. See also Antonio Niero, "Tiziano Vecellio e il figlio Pomponio parroci di Favaro Veneto," in *Studi Veneziani*, vol. 6 (1982), p. 278-279; Federico Chabod, *Lo Stato e la vita religiosa a Milano nell'epoca di Carlo V* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1971), p. 261; and Peter Humfrey, *Titian* (London, Phaidon, 2007), p. 113. On the early institutional history of S. Maria della Scala and its connections to the ducal court, including the assignment of benefices, see: Paola Meroni, "Santa Maria della Scala: un aspetto della politica ecclesiastica dei duchi di Milano" *Archivio Storico Lombardo* vol. 115/116 (1989), pp. 37-89. For the revival of the ducal chapel under Francesco II Sforza and the Hapsburgs see Christine Getz, "The Sforza Restoration and the Founding of the Ducal Chapels at Santa Maria della Scala and Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano" in *Early Music History* vol. 17 (1998), pp. 109-159.

Giacomo Rainaldi.⁹⁹ Rainaldi, who had been a member of the confraternity of Santa Corona since 1527, was at this time one of its leading members, serving as treasurer from 1535-1540, conservator, and chancellor.¹⁰⁰ It was Rainaldi who, in the deceased Ghilio's place, oversaw many of the confraternity's dealings with Titian and he appears to have played a significant part in bringing the commission about.¹⁰¹ Whether Titian and Rainaldi had any contact prior to Pomponio's confirmation on January 14 remains unknown, but Rainaldi's presence at this event, in conjunction with his political and professional connections to Alfonso d'Avalos and the Milanese government, is highly suggestive both of Rainaldi's own role in the commission and of the likelihood of d'Avalos's involvement.¹⁰²

While I am not the first to link Rainaldi to the confraternity's dealings with Titian, I am able, here, to offer additional details that help to clarify his role in the commission and his ties to d'Avalos and Charles V. Like Ghilio, Rainaldi was a silk merchant; he was

⁹⁹ ASM Notarile, *Atti dei notai di Milano* 8436. Rosanna Sacchi first called attention to this document in the context of the Santa Corona commission in her article on Gaudenzio Ferrari's Milanese period, but, while she indicates that Rainaldi was a member of the confraternity she does not note his family connection to Bernardino Ghilio or his own governmental connections. Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari notes the family connection between the two men, but does not mention the document or the occasion of Pomponio's investiture. See Sacchi, "Gaudenzio Ferrari a Milano..." p. 209 note 29; see also Silvio Leydi, *Sub umbra imperialis aquilae: immagini del potere e consenso politico nella Milano di Carlo V* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1999), p. 116. According to Ghilio's will, Rainaldi was married to Ghilio's eldest daughter, Elena. See note 87 above.

¹⁰⁰ ASM Santa Corona Registri 1, fols. 182r-182v and Registri 2, fol. 74l (this volume is also numbered left to right instead of recto and verso). See also Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, p. 41.

¹⁰¹ According to the confraternity's *libri mastri*, as treasurer Rainaldi authorized the first two payments to Titian on February 9, 1540 and January 2, 1541. See ASM Santa Corona *Registri* 55, fol. 120v and ASM Santa Corona *Registri* 56, fols. 39l and 53l. (The *libro mastro* from 1541-1544 numbers its folios left and right, facing one another, rather than recto and verso.) When the altarpiece was delivered to Milan in February 1542 Rainaldi stored it in his home prior to its installation in S. Maria delle Grazie. ASM Santa Corona *Registri* 56, fol. 218l.

¹⁰² Rainaldi did travel to Venice several times from 1530-1535 to acquire "numerosi gioielli" for the confraternity, and may have become acquainted with Titan and/or his work during the course of these travels. ASM Santa Corona *Registri* 53, passim, and Leydi p. 116, note 112. Rainaldi, a resident of the Porta Orientale neighborhood, was not a member of the parish of S. Maria della Scala, which was in the quarter of Porta Nuova, further suggesting that his presence at Pomponio's confirmation was not coincidental but likely connected to his relationship with d'Avalos and/or to the Santa Corona.

also, like Ghilio, a member of the *Consiglio dei Sessanta Decurioni*, Milan's general council.¹⁰³ A seat among the sixty *Decurioni* was a privilege reserved for members of the Milanese patriciate.¹⁰⁴ In 1593, the ranks of the nobility were closed to those tainted by participation in trade, but the earlier sixteenth century was marked by a high degree of social mobility that enabled Milan's leading bankers and merchants to form a new urban elite comparable to the old families of the blood aristocracy.¹⁰⁵ Thus Ghilio, like most of his peers, is referred to in the confraternity's *memorie* as "nobile de sangue [sic]."¹⁰⁶ Rainaldi's entrance into the *Decurioni* in 1535 coincided with the official transfer of Milan's sovereignty to Charles V and a subsequent overhaul of the council by the governor to replace those loyal to Francesco II Sforza with members who would be more sympathetic to the new regime.¹⁰⁷

Rainaldi's career in the Milanese government was a successful one. He was one of four *Decurioni* elected to greet Charles V in 1536 when the emperor passed through Milan on his way to Piedmont, appointed one of the ministers of revenue (*Magistrati delle Entrate*) in 1541 and *the Magistrato d'Annona*, which oversaw the pricing and distribution of grain, in 1548. In 1563, he received the important post of *questore di*

¹⁰³ Members of the *Consiglio dei Sessanta Decurioni* held their appointments for life. Both Ghilio and Rainoldi are included in the list of the sixty members of the council from 1535, the year that Milan passed officially into the possession of Charles V, Ghilio representing his district of Porta Vercellina and Rainoldi Porta Orientale. See Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *La herencia imperial de Carlos V en Italia: el Milanesado* (Madrid: Hidalguía, 1978), pp. 379-383.

¹⁰⁴ On this body and Milanese political and social structures under Hapsburg rule see Stefano D'Amico, *Spanish Milan: A City within the Empire, 1535-1706* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), especially chapters two and five, and Chabod, *Lo Stato e la vita religiosa a Milano*, pp. 143-184.

¹⁰⁵ D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, pp. 39-40. This flexibility in the social hierarchy and the growth of institutions controlled by the patriciate, d'Amico argues, was caused in part by the frequent regime changes in the first half of the century, which created a need for bodies that "could represent and replace the ruler in the periods of transition and assured the continuity of the state" (p. 129).

¹⁰⁶ ASM Santa Corona Registri 2, fol. 73r.

¹⁰⁷ It should be noted that Rainaldi's family also had ties to the Sforza dukes and their government: his grandfather, Aimo, was one of the *Rationatores sub rationatore generali* in 1450, under Francesco I Sforza. Santoro, *Gli Uffici del Dominio Sforzesco*, p. 72.

cappa corta of the *Magistrato Ordinario*.¹⁰⁸ Rainaldi also cultivated a direct personal and professional relationship with Alfonso d'Avalos, procuring specialty fabrics for him, providing him with funds for the pension of Giovan Battista Ariosto, and lodging the artist Francesco Salviati—whom d'Avalos had summoned from Venice to Milan to complete a series of portraits for the Emperor's triumphal entry in 1541—in his home.¹⁰⁹

In this light, Rainaldi's successful solicitation of Titian takes on a political undertone, advertising both his privileged position in Milanese society and civic administration and specific connections to Alfonso d'Avalos and also aligning him with Milan's new Hapsburg ruler. In Spanish Italy, a work by Titian carried immense political as well as cultural capital. Just as, during the reign of Ludovico II Moro, Leonardism had formed a "Sforza house style" that was closely linked to the ducal regime and its supporters, Titian's artistic style—and Venetian art in general—was central to the iconography of the Imperial court.¹¹⁰ Charles V often lent the services of "huius saeculi Apelles" to his favorites, subordinates, and vassals, such as Federico Gonzaga, Alfonso d'Este, Ippolito de' Medici, Antonio de Leyva, and Alfonso d'Avalos. Within the emperor's orbit, Titian's paintings were used as a sort of currency of exchange to obtain

¹⁰⁸ Chabod, *Lo Stato e la vita religiosa a Milano*, p. 41, note 3 (the note begins on page 40) and p. 152 note 2. See also Silvio Leydi, "Tra norma e forma. Simbologie per l'inefeudazione di Milano a Filippo d'Asburgo" in *Le forze del principe: recursos, instrumentos, y límites en la práctica del poder soberano en los territorios de la monarquía hispánica*, vol. 2, ed. Mario Rizzo, José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, and Gaetano Sabatini (Muirca: Universidad de Muirca, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2004), p. 616. Rainaldi's son, Giovan Battista, inherited his seat among the *Decurioni* upon his death and eventually became president of the Milanese senate in 1569. The *Magistrato Ordinario*, which was in charge of the state budget and oversaw markets, currencies, and taxes, was made up of a president and six *questori*, all members of the nobility; *questori di cappe corte* were those members who did not hold law degrees (those with law degrees were called *questori togati*). D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ Leydi, *Sub umbra aquilae imperialis*, pp. 115-116.

¹¹⁰ On the vogue for Venetian art in Imperial circles in Milan and elsewhere, see Bora, "La cultura figurativa a Milano..." pp. 45-46 and Pier Luigi De Vecchi, "Nota su alcun dipinti di artisti veneti per committenti Milanesi," also in *Omaggio a Tiziano*, p. 55. On Leonardism and the Sforza see chapter two, p. 54.

and denote imperial favor.¹¹¹ Therefore, while there is no compelling evidence to suggest that Charles V or Alfonso d'Avalos actively patronized, engaged with, or endorsed Santa Corona on an institutional level, the imperial regime was connected with, and did bestow special favors on, its individual members, the "loan" of Titian being one example.

For Alfonso d'Avalos's part, the site of Santa Maria delle Grazie may have held some significance as a former locus of Sforza patronage and dynastic commemoration. The Dominican convent was the favored church of Ludovico Sforza, whose tomb, with marble effigies of Il Moro and his wife Beatrice d'Este by Cristoforo Solari, lay beneath the tribune until 1564 and whose court artist, Leonardo da Vinci, had frescoed the refectory with his celebrated *Last Supper* (ca. 1493-1497).¹¹² Although S. Maria delle Grazie does not appear to have attracted Imperial patronage or attention on a large scale, the convent received an Imperial privilege from Charles V in 1542, the year in which Titian's altarpiece was completed.¹¹³ Under the Sforza regime many of the chapels in the church were supported by prominent courtiers, including the chapel of S. Corona, and this trend appears to have continued under Hapsburg rule.¹¹⁴ In 1541 Domenico Sauli, a banker and government functionary who held the prestigious post of president of the *Magistrato Ordinario*, secured patronage rights to the chapel adjacent to the chapel of S. Corona on the right side of the nave and had it frescoed by the Venetian painter Giovanni

¹¹¹ Albertario, *Ducato di Milano: Francesco II Sforza*, pp. 29-30.

¹¹² On Ludovico Sforza's patronage of S. Maria delle Grazie, see generally Dell'Acqua et al, *Santa Maria delle Grazie*, pp. 58-81, 188-195; Frassinetti et al, *Santa Maria delle Grazie*, pp. 180-229. See also Richard Schofield, "Bramante and Amadeo at Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan," in *Arte lombarda* vol. 78 (1986), pp. 41-58; Luisa Giordano and Simone Albonico, *Ludovicus Dux* (Vigevano: Diakronia, 1995); and Evelyn Welch, "Patrons, Artists, and Audiences in Renaissance Milan, 1300-1600," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 46. In 1564 the Sforza tombs were moved to the Certosa in Pavia.

¹¹³ ASM Archivio Generale di Fondo di Religione 1400. The privilege, dated March 15, 1542, concerns the release and repayment of debts.

¹¹⁴ Welch, "Patrons, Artists, and Audiences," p. 46.

Demio.¹¹⁵ Also in 1541, Alfonso d'Avalos himself placed a plaque in memory of Luigi de la Cueva, a deceased captain of the Imperial guard, on a painting of a Dominican saint by Gaudenzio Ferrari and an unknown collaborator in church's the old sacristy.¹¹⁶

Accordingly, I suggest, the "loan" of Titian to the confraternity of S. Corona may have represented for d'Avalos and the emperor an opportunity to appropriate a potent site of Sforza power (and an organization with Sforza roots), promoting the imperial regime as the legitimate successor to the Sforza dukes, whose restoration Charles V had brokered.

That the decoration of the chapel in S. Maria delle Grazie was directly instigated by Bernardino Ghilio's bequest is clear. The commission, however, also appears to have coincided with a period of general prosperity and expansion for the confraternity of S. Corona, during which they acquired a new and larger headquarters in the Casa Rabia, also in Piazza San Sepolcro, in 1540.¹¹⁷ It is further possible that the decoration of the chapel occurred shortly after its acquisition by the confraternity, the date of which, as discussed above, is uncertain. Accordingly, we should understand the decade between the transfer of Milanese sovereignty to Charles V and the installation of the chapel decorations as one of significant growth for Santa Corona and for its members, who rose in the ranks of the government and entered the circle of the Imperial and gubernatorial

¹¹⁵ Frassinetti et al, Santa Maria delle Grazie, p. 234 and Dell'Aqua et al, Santa Maria delle Grazie, pp. 103, 161-164. On Sauli see Chabod, Lo stato e la vita religiosa, pp. 40 note 1, 109 note 1, 151 note 3, and 152; and Arturo Pacini, "Genoa and Charles V," in The World of Emperor Charles V, ed. Willem P. Blockmans and Nicolette Mout (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004), p. 187. Additional sources on Sauli are listed in Dell'Acqua, p. 109, note 38. Sauli regularly paid a donation of 100 lire each year until 1545, when his patronage of the chapel appears to have lapsed. Interestingly, as noted above, Gian Giacomo Rainaldi later held a (lower) position in the *Magistrato Ordinario*.

¹¹⁶ Dell'Aqua et al, Santa Maria delle Grazie, p. 158 and Frassinetti et al, Santa Maria delle Grazie, p. 234. See also D. Sant'Ambrogio, "L'iscrizione Davalos nella Sagrestia leonardesca di S.M. delle Grazie e due putti ascrivibili a Gaudenzio," in L'Osservatore Cattolico (August 8, 1908).

¹¹⁷ See above note 59. The Casa Rabia, which had belonged to the wealthy Gerolamo Rabia, had been frescoed with mythological and biblical scenes by Bernardino Luini in the 1520s.

court. The commission of the chapel decorations should therefore be seen also as a result of the sodality's increased economic, political, and cultural cachet.

V. "Visit the Places of the Passion Where They Will Be Constructed": Confraternal Devotion and the Performative Image at Midcentury

Nearly two and a half years elapsed between the inception of the chapel program in Ghilio's will and its final installation. The *libri mastri* of the confraternity record the first payment of 275 lire to Titian on February 9, 1540.¹¹⁸ Another installment of 275 lire was dispatched to Venice on April 23, 1541 and the balance of 550 lire, for a commanding total of 1100 lire, was paid out on January 10, 1543 upon the altarpiece's completion.¹¹⁹ While Titian painted the *Crowning with Thorns* at his workshop in Venice, Gaudenzio Ferrari began his work at S. Maria delle Grazie around January 1541 and was paid a more modest sum of 462 lire in irregular installments over the course of almost two years, with the final payment for his "labors in having painted the chapel of Santa Corona (*per la sua faticha [sic] in avere depinta la capella di la corona*)" recorded on December 23, 1542.¹²⁰

With Titian primarily in Venice and Gaudenzio in Milan, it might seem unlikely that either artist saw the other's contributions during the compositional process.

¹¹⁸ ASM Registri 55, fol. 120v "Signor Ticiano Vecellio, pitor veneziano, deve dare a 9 Febbrajo L. 275 per contati a luy per parte del pagamento de hanchona deve fare in la capella dela Compagnia a Santa Maria delle Gratie, della quale à fatto mercato, ducatonì 150 et da li insù in discretione del magnifico signor Gioanne Jacobo Raynoldo."

¹¹⁹ ASM Santa Corona Registri 56, fols. 39, 53, 127, 211. Unlike the previous *libro mastro*, which numbered its folios recto and verso, this volume numbers its pages left and right (i.e., folio 39 consists of two facing pages). The records of payment are also discussed and published in an abbreviated form in Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, pp. 61-62; Binaghi Olivari reproduces in full all entries concerning Titian's altarpiece, but omits those that address Gaudenzio Ferrari. See Binaghi Olivari, "Partita doppia milanese per Tiziano," pp. 41-45.

¹²⁰ Ibid, fols. 38, 81, 86, 126. See also Sacchi, "Gaudenzio Ferrari a Milano," p. 209. The total payment to Gaudenzio is also noted in Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto della Santa Corona*, p. 62 and Caccin, "Dati archivistici relativi alla 'Incoronazione di spine' di Tiziano," p. 191.

However, Titian returned to Milan in August of 1541 to attend the triumphal entry into the city of Charles V and would very likely—if not certainly—have (re)examined the intended site of the altarpiece in the chapel and seen the partially finished frescoes, or had other contact with Gaudenzio and the confraternity during this trip.¹²¹ Nor should we imagine that Titian's geographic distance from Milan precluded the possibility of input from his patrons or that Titian was unaware of the visual heritage to which he was contributing, and which he would certainly have had occasion to view personally during his several Milanese sojourns. To this point, previous scholars have commented on the close affinity between Titian's composition and those of Luini and Zenale insofar as it suggests the cultivation of an image type particular to the confraternity, or a kind of corporate iconography, that emphasized the connections between their chapel and oratory.¹²² The full ensemble came together in early 1543 when the altarpiece arrived at S. Maria delle Grazie, having been shipped by barge down the River Po to Cremona and thence to Pavia and then carried overland to Milan in February.¹²³

These records of payment are unfortunately the only extant documents, beyond Ghilio's will, regarding the commission in Santa Corona's archives. The original contracts between the confraternity and Titian and Gaudenzio, which would likely have clarified the parameters of each artist's contributions, have not surfaced among the

¹²¹ On this visit see Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," p. 104. Titian also delivered the finished painting of the *Allocution of Alfonso d'Avalos* on this occasion.

¹²² Casini "Cristo e i manigoldi," pp. 99-104; Binaghi Olivari, "Partita doppia," pp. 39-45; and Siebenhüner, "Tizians 'Dornenkröng Christi,'" pp. 123-125. See also Peter Humfrey, who writes "Titian must have seen Luini's fresco, and—perhaps in response to a specific request by his patrons—borrowed certain features of its composition, such as the steps at the foot of the picture, and the compression of the scene into a narrow foreground space." Humfrey, *Titian*, p. 113.

¹²³ ASM Santa Corona Registri 56, fols. 217, 242, 294, and 310. It does seem unlikely, however, that Gaudenzio would have had knowledge of Titian's design while working on his frescoes, barring the possibility that Titian brought preliminary studies with him as he had previously with the *Allocution*. Frassinetti posits that Titian had considerable influence over Gaudenzio, causing him to significantly repress his trademark realism and drama, but this hypothesis is difficult to support. See Frassinetti, *Santa Maria Delle Grazie*, p. 235.

confraternity's records.¹²⁴ Scholars generally accept, however, that the altarpiece and frescoes were conceived together by the confraternity at one time and as a cohesive unit.¹²⁵ As noted above, the Crowning with Thorns, while rare on the whole as the subject for an altarpiece, is here an entirely logical and expected choice, celebrating the relic of the *santa spina* conserved in the sacristy nearby.¹²⁶ In the chapel it occupied the center of the Passion narrative both spatially and, more or less, chronologically. Gaudenzio's cycle begins on the west (right) wall with the Flagellation on the lower register and the Ecce Homo above it. On the east (left) wall is the Crucifixion. Each quadrant of the groin vault on the ceiling is frescoed with one or more of the Arma Christi held between two angels: the column at which Christ was whipped (appropriately placed above the Flagellation and Ecce Homo), the purple robe and reed that he was given when mocked (placed above the altar and, thus, the Crowning with Thorns), Christ's burial shroud (above the Crucifixion as if waiting to receive his body), and the empty cross with the lance and sponge of vinegar (above the entrance).¹²⁷ The theme of the Arma Christi, beyond engaging with a tradition of meditation that employed the instruments of the Passion as mnemonic devices, also commemorates and legitimates the cult of relics in which the confraternity of Santa Corona participated through its veneration of the *santa spina*.¹²⁸ Each object represented in the vault corresponds to an extant relic

¹²⁴ This does not exclude the possibility that they exist elsewhere in collections associated with Titian and Gaudenzio or in the papers of notaries.

¹²⁵ Bober, "A 'Flagellation of Christ' by Giulio Cesare Procaccini: Program and Pictorial Style in Borromeo Milan," *Arte lombarda* vol. 73-75 (1985), p. 78 note 46.

¹²⁶ The Crowning with Thorns certainly appeared as one episode set within larger Passion cycles but it was uncommon as the "featured" or primary subject of an altarpiece. See Humfrey, *Titian*, p. 113.

¹²⁷ It is possible that the portion depicting the purple robe, which is damaged, may have once depicted the crown of thorns as well, but that instrument would have already been well-represented by the altarpiece, the frescoes of the Ecce Homo and Crucifixion, in which it is worn, and, occasionally, by the relic itself.

¹²⁸ On the Arma Christi in meditation see chapter two, pp. 83-84.

of the Passion: the column of the Flagellation, the sponge of vinegar, the purple robe, the holy lance, the Shroud of Turin, the True Cross.¹²⁹

Bernardino Luini's paintings in the chapel of Corpus Christi in S. Giorgio al Palazzo used the Passion to construct a pictorial argument for the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist and promote the adoration of his sacramental body. The cycle in the chapel of Santa Corona is concerned with communicating a different kind of presence: that of a contact relic. Accordingly the scenes selected by the confraternity are geared less towards the ostentation of Christ's body, although it is certainly important, and are more concerned with presenting the role of the relic in salvation history as an instrument of the Passion and in making that relic, typically conserved in the sacristy rather than displayed in the chapel, visually available through pictorial surrogates for the adoration of the *confratelli*. The crown of thorns is carefully rendered in the three images—the *Crowning with Thorns*, *Ecce Homo*, and *Crucifixion*—in which it appears. The intersecting diagonal lines created by the two canes above Christ's head in the *Crowning with Thorns* further draw our eye to the crown and Titian's use of highlights, which almost make it appear gilded in places, invoke its preciousness as a sacred object. Christ's pronounced physical reaction to the crown, whose sharp thorns cause him to writhe away and cry out in pain, reinforces its material presence.

¹²⁹ C. Rohault de Fleury, *Mémoires sur les Instruments de la Passion de N.-S. J.-C.* (Paris: J. Claye, 1870). According to Paolo Morigia, the relics of Christ housed in the Duomo included fragments of the column of the Flagellation, the purple robe, the sponge, the lance, and the True Cross as well as parts of the cloth Christ used to wash the disciples' feet at the Last Supper. Morigia's text was written in 1603, however, some sixty years after Gaudenzio's frescoes, and he does not indicate when these relics were acquired. According to Paolo Morigia (1603), fragments of several of these, moreover, were present in Milan's Duomo. Paolo Morigia, *Santuario della Città e Diocesi di Milano* (Milan: Antonio degli Antonii, 1603), fol. 11r. The numbering in this edition of Morigia is uneven. I have approximated page numbers, following the recto-verso system used when numbers are indicated, beginning with the dedication and moving continuously throughout the text. This particular passage appears on a page numbered A2.

By surrounding the Crowning with Thorns with other major episodes from the Passion, the chapel program not only "completes" the altarpiece by reintegrating it into its larger gospel narrative but provides a pictorial complement to the confraternity's strong emphasis on the empathetic contemplation of Jesus's torture and execution. Each scene in the ensemble pointedly addresses Christ's suffering body through the representation of his wounds or in the articulation of his pain. As discussed in this chapter's second section, Santa Corona's statutes outline a strenuous regimen of daily prayer and meditation centered around the Passion of Christ. The *confratelli* were to adore daily the crown of thorns and weekly observe the seven hours of the Passion, the orations for which proceed through the most salient episodes of the Passion beginning with the flagellation at sunrise and concluding with the deposition and lamentation at compline.¹³⁰ Those unable to observe the hours were advised (if literate) to read the Passion according to Matthew, of which a transcription is provided in the statutes.¹³¹ Kneeling, they should "adore the Crown of Thorns, kiss the wounds made by the nails, beating their breasts, and say the psalm 'miserere mei Deus' or three Pater Nosters, and visit the places of the Passion, where they will be constructed."¹³²

The admonition to construct and "visit the places of the Passion" suggests a form of mental oration like that which I argued was practiced by the confraternity of Corpus

¹³⁰ ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 43r-44r, 50r-52v. The orations for the hours of the Passion, along with the "devotissima letania nominis Domini Nostri Jehsu Christi," are also published in Carlo Marcora, "Un documento di spiritualità milanese della fine del '400. Le preghiere proprie della confraternità di S. Corona" in *Ambrosius* vol. 34 (1958), pp. 167-172. The moments addressed are: the flagellation (matins), Christ before Pilate (lauds), the crowning with thorns (terce), the crucifixion (sext), the pardoning of the good thief (nones), the death of Christ (vespers), and the deposition/lamentation (compline).

¹³¹ The transcription, in Latin like the rest of the statutes, corresponds to the text of Matthew's gospel in the Vulgate (Matthew 26:1-27:59). ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 44r-50r. Of the four gospels, Matthew's describes the crowning with thorns in the fullest detail.

¹³² "Coronam eius spineam adorantes clavorum osculantes vulnera pectora sua percutientes dicant psalmum: Miserere mei Deus, vel ter. Pater noster, et loca passionis ubi constructa erunt visitabunt." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 2v-3r.

Christi, and which was a standard component of late medieval and early modern lay piety. The Cinquecento marked a critical juncture for this type of affective spirituality, which was refined as a systematic process and aggressively promoted by Catholic reformers such as Ignatius Loyola (1524) and, closer to Milan, the Capuchin friar Mattia Bellintani di Salò, whose *Prattica dell'Orazione Mentale* (1573) was written at the behest of Carlo Borromeo.¹³³ A partial inventory of books owned by the confraternity of Santa Corona, dated July 4, 1522, includes several meditational tracts, among them at least one copy Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, as well as multiple annotated bibles, Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, and major works of Dominican spirituality by Thomas Aquinas, Catherine of Siena, and Vincent Ferrer.¹³⁴

The goal of affective meditation, discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, was the complete sensory and emotional immersion of the devotee into the events of the Passion. The prescription to "construct" the places of the Passion in Santa Corona's statutes accords with first step in such contemplation, which, as Ignatius instructs the readers of his *Spiritual Exercises*, consisted of "composing the place" (*componendi loci*), similar to the process earlier described in the Venetian *Zardino de oration* (1454):

To better impress the story of the Passion on your mind...it is helpful and necessary to fix the people and places in your mind: a city, for example ... and in this city find the principal places in which all the episodes of the

¹³³ The *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola were written between 1522-1524 but not published in Rome until 1548. Mattia Bellintani's text, and a series of sermons on Christ's Passion that he preached in the Milanese Duomo in 1597, will be discussed in the following chapter.

¹³⁴ In addition to the "Meditationes totius vite domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum sanctum Bonaventuram," the inventory lists one "Meditationes vite Iesu Christi" and one "De passione domini Iesu Christi." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1 fols. 258v-259r. Maria Gazzini published this inventory, with bibliographic commentary, in the second appendix to "Scuola, libri, e cultura," pp. 254-261. See also Alberto Vaccari, "Le 'Meditazioni della vita di Cristo' in volgare" in *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* vol. 1 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1952), pp. 341-378.

Passion would have taken place—for instance a palace with the supper room where Christ had the Last Supper"¹³⁵

In order to fully "construct" and "visit the places of the Passion" in their minds, the *confratelli* of Santa Corona would have been aided by the prayers and cues occasionally provided in their statutes, by the evocative descriptions found in supplementary texts, and by the vivid illustrations of Christ's torture and crucifixion on the walls of their chapel. The precise role of the chapel in S. Maria delle Grazie in the spiritual practices of the confraternity is unclear. The statutes do not specify where these daily meditations were to take place, whether in the chapel, in the oratory, or elsewhere. We do know that formal mass and adoration of the Crown of Thorns performed every Sunday was held in the oratory and that the annual feast of the Crown of Thorns was celebrated at the Grazie,¹³⁶ but the statutes are silent when it comes to the remainder of the confraternity's devotions.¹³⁷ However, the directive to visit "the places of the Passion" suggests that the chapel, which was the only site controlled by the confraternity that contained a Passion cycle, would have at least served as a frame of reference, if not the actual setting, for the complex visualizations demanded by the brotherhood's spiritual exercises, providing the

¹³⁵ "La quale historia acio che tu meglio la possi imprimere nella mente, e piu facilmente ogni acto de essa ti si reducha alla memoria ti sera utile e bisogno che ti fermi ne la mente lochi e persone. Come una citade, laquale sia la citade de Hierusalem, pigliando una citade laquale ti sia bene pratica. Nella quale citade tu trovi li lochi principali nelquali forono exercitati tutti li acti dela passione: come e uno palacio nelquale sia el cenaculo dove Christo fece la cena con li discipuli." *Zardino de Oration* (Venice: Bernardino Benali(?), 1494), pp. xii v - xiii r. This passage appears in chapter sixteen of the book, entitled "Chomo meditare la vita di christo" and is translated in Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 46, with the original text quoted on pp. 163-164. See also David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 170, 192-193. On the Jesuit composition of place see Philip Eanden, "The Ignatian Prayer of the Senses" in *The Heythrop Journal* vol. 31 (1990), pp. 319-418.

¹³⁶ "Primo igitur omni die domenico summo mane quo credimus omnes homines et angelos ad tremendum dei Juditium convocandos in unum, conuientes in oratorium." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 23v. For the Feast of the Crown of Thorns, see above, note 51.

¹³⁷ The author of the *Descrizione storiche delle chiese, de' monasteri, delle confraternite, e de' luoghi pii di Milano* (BAM A202 suss.) does assert that, at the time of the manuscript's composition circa 1600, the *confratelli*, having built "un oratorio, convenivano ogni mattina a dir l'officio insieme et, doppo un poco di tempo, anco a sentervi messa." Giuliani, *Le "Antichità di Milano"*, p. 235

devotee with a pictorial template from which to construct those places and actors in his own imagination.

Certain elements of the chapel paintings, in addition to their general theme, resonate with the refrains and orations of rituals outlined in the confraternity's statutes. Titian's careful attention to the blood seeping from Christ's brow and dripping down his neck to stain his mantle recalls the antiphon assigned for Monday and Wednesday evenings: "the thorns grow red, dripping with the blood of Christ; they purge the world of sin and open the gates of heaven." The multiple and varied gestures of mocking and cruelty by Christ's tormentors find their corrolaries in the litany of abuses recited on Fridays: "Jesus who was struck with spit and mud; who was cuffed and slapped; who was bound nude to the column; who was beaten until bloody; who was mockingly clothed in purple; who was crowned with thorns."¹³⁸ Christ's mock coronation might have conjured for the *confratelli* not only the narrative of Christ's suffering and the relic stored in the sacristy, but the memory of their own initiation into the sodality, during which a "crown of thorns" was placed upon their heads in imitation of Christ.¹³⁹ Gaudenzio's crowded and complex composition for *Crucifixion* allows it to signal multiple moments in the Friday Passion observance even beyond the episodes represented: the gall and vinegar to be remembered at sext, the pardoning of the good thief at nones, the opening of the side

¹³⁸ "Spin[a]e rubent sanguine Christum cruentantes mundum purgant crimine caelum reserantes." "Iesu qui sputo et luto lacessitus fuisti (Miserere nobis); Iesu qui pugnibus et colaphis percussus fuisti (Miserere nobis); Iesu qui ad columnam nudo corpore ligatus fuisti (Miserere nobis); Iesu qui usque ad sanguinem verberatus fuisti (Miserere nobis); Iesu qui veste purpura irridetur indutus fuisti (Miserere nobis); Iesu qui spinis coronatus fuisti (Miserere nobis); Iesu qui morte turpissima condemnatus fuisti (Miserere nobis)." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol.s 29v, 51v.

¹³⁹ "Et postea ponat sanctam coronam spineam super caput eius dicens: Et coronam pulchritudinis super caput." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 32-34. The statutes do not specify what is meant by the "sanctam coronam spineam," whether it was a replica, a container holding the relic itself, or something else entirely. A later entry in the *regole* provides prayers for the blessing of the "corona oratoria" that, without directly describing what this object might have been, suggests that these were replicas of the crown, possibly of silver, given to members of the confraternity as a sort of badge.

wound and its issue of blood and water at vespers, and the Virgin's agony at compline when the confratelli, recalling the Lamentation, compare the Passion to a sword thrust through her heart, suggested here by her collapse at the foot of the cross.¹⁴⁰

The ensemble's illusionistic rendering of the scenes further assists the devotee to "imagine himself present" in the "places of the Passion." Each painting in the cycle features monumental figures positioned close to the picture plane, many at foreshortened angles, so that they immediately surround and absorb the beholder, transporting him out of the chapel and into the world of the Passion narrative. Art historians frequently use the adjective "theatrical" to describe both Titian's and Gaudenzio's compositions, often comparing them to the tableaux of *sacre rappresentazioni*.¹⁴¹ Closer to the Cinquecento, Carlo Ridolfi, in his life of Titian (1648), described the pictorial space of *The Crowning with Thorns* as "a large theater (*in ampio Teatro*)".¹⁴² The notion of spectacle is evoked by an antiphon from the Adoration of the Crown of Thorns, paraphrased also on the base of Luini's fresco in Santa Corona's oratory, which summoned the *confratelli* to "come and see Christ the King with the Crown of Thorns: with it the Jews crowned him, with it he

¹⁴⁰ "Domine iesu Christe fili dei vivi qui hora dies ultima de cruce depositus in brachiis tuae matris ut pie creditur depositus reclimatus fuisti, cuius animam Passionis tuae gladius per transivit quique post maternos amplexus amorosos singultus lacrimosa oscula in sepulchro reclusus triduo quievisti..." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 44r.

¹⁴¹ Of Gaudenzio's frescoes, Rosanna Sacchi writes: "nella decorazione torna infatti l' impostazione teatrale delle scene (concepite però, come a Varallo ed a Vercelli, come sacre rappresentazioni)" and Luigi Mallé compares them to a "sacro diorama" with "sentori da 'Sacro Monte.'" Sacchi, "Gaudenzio Ferrari a Milano," pp. 209-210 and Luigi Mallé, *Incontri con Gaudenzio: raccolta di studi e note su problemi gaudenziani* (Turin: Tipografia impronta, 1969), p. 213. Bruce Cole describes Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* as "dramatic and stagelike." Bruce Cole, *Titian and Venetian Painting, 1450-1590* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), p. 123. Thomas Puttfarcken compares its background to a stage set and writes that he [Puttfarcken] "chose the word 'dramatic' very consciously: Titian's paintings are not narrative in the traditional sense but dramatic." Thomas Puttfarcken, *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 115. David Rosand states that "Titian has staged the event with a calculated mimetic impact." Rosand, *Titian*, p. 118.

¹⁴² Carlo Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian* trans Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), p. 91. For the original Italian, see Carlo Ridolfi, *Le meraviglie dell'arte, ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello stato* (Rome: Società Multigrafica Editrice SOMU, 1965), p. 177.

will judge all generations."¹⁴³ Indeed, with its thrusting diagonals, dramatic spotlighting, vivid colors, massive, sculptural forms, and violent presentation, Titian's altarpiece is more of a performance than a picture. Towards the center of the crowded and shallow composition, in front of an imposing and heavily rusticated wall, Christ sits atop three steps.¹⁴⁴ He is swarmed by five men who jeer at him, beat him about the head with sticks, and press the crown into his brow until it draws blood. Rather than accepting this torture passively, he twists away from his captors, muscles tensed, his toes digging into the pavement, and his mouth open as if to cry out, a departure from the silence and patience typically extolled in meditational texts such as the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, and exhibited in Luini's earlier fresco in the confraternity's oratory.¹⁴⁵

Gaudenzio's frescoes are similarly replete with dramatic action performed by life-sized, foreshortened figures who spill beyond the edges of the frames and even, occasionally, out through the picture plane itself. Like Luini, whom he trained alongside and with whom he collaborated, Gaudenzio was highly skilled in the manipulation of space and perspectival illusion, shown to greatest effect in his almost seamless

¹⁴³ "Venite et videte regem Christum cum corona spinea; qua coronavit eum gens iudea cum ea iudicabit cuncta secula." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fols. 23v-24r. The inscription on Luini's fresco reads: "Heus qui diligitis Rege[m] XPM mundi redemptore[m]. Venite et videte eum a iudaeis spinea corona Hierosolymis crudeliter delusum quo redimitus diademate universum iudicabit seculum."

¹⁴⁴ Deborah Howard has observed that "the potential for architecture to evoke power, cruelty, and solemnity began to preoccupy the artist as he devised tragic settings for scenes from the Passion [in the 1540s]. Deborah Howard, "Titian's Painted Architecture," in *The Cambridge Companion to Titian*, ed. P. Meilman (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 157.

¹⁴⁵ "And taking a sort of robe of dirty red silk, they clothed Him; and they crowned Him with thorns. Look at Him in each of his actions and afflictions, for He does and endures all that they wish. He bears the purple; He wears the crown of thorns on His head; He carries the reed in His hand, and He holds His peace and most patiently remains silent before those who bow and salute Him as king. Look at Him now in bitterness of heart, especially at His head, full of thorns, ofne struck by the reed. And see how, with bent neck, He painfully receives the sharp and heavy blows. For those sharpest of thorns pierced His most sacred head until they made it run with blood." *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, pp. 329-330. Likewise, in the *Humanità di Cristo* (1535), discussed below, Pietro Aretino contrasts Christ's silence with the roars of his animal-like torturers: "And seeing that his patience exceeded their cruelty they became even more enraged, like the tigress separated from her cubs. (E vedendo, che la sua pazienza superava la crudeltà loro, diventavano più rabbiosi, che non è la tigre che non ritrova i suoi figli)." *Pietro Aretino*, ed. Giulio Ferroni (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 2002), p. 472.

integration of sculptural tableaux with frescoed backdrops at Varallo (fig. 54). At Santa Maria delle Grazie he depicts the scenes *da sotto in sù* so that they appear to be extensions of the chapel space, the *Ecce Homo* taking place on a balcony above, the *Crucifixion* seen as if through an archway. Only the *Flagellation* is at eye-level. By placing figures perpendicular to and facing away from the picture plane rather than rendering them all frontally, seen especially in the *Crucifixion*, he heightens the illusion of three dimensions to present the scene fully "in the round." Gaudenzio's inclusion of fictive architectural frames both marks a threshold between the real space of the chapel and the represented space of the image and then contravenes that barrier by the addition of figures like the soldier at the left of the *Crucifixion* who reaches out to grasp the capital of the painted pilaster (fig. 55). A similar attempt at the subversion of spatial boundaries is enacted by the figure at the top left of the *Ecce Homo* who leans over the balustrade to gaze down, perhaps at the *Flagellation*, perhaps at the viewers in the chapel. Gaudenzio's occasional use of gesso to build up the surface of the wall, here in the trappings of the horses in the *Crucifixion*, further tests the permeability of the picture plane.

The Grazie paintings have far less of the decorous distance provided by Luini's deep perspectival illusions at S. Giorgio al Palazzo; instead their shallow, compressed pictorial spaces and foreshortened and foregrounded figures project outward into the chapel space and provide the viewer with almost unmediated access to Christ's body. In the *Ecce Homo*, Christ is not behind a barrier like the rest of the figures in the gallery but centered in a gap in the marble balustrade so that nothing obscures our view or separates his bloodied body from the beholder except for the invisible wall of the picture plane. Nor has Gaudenzio depicted the crowd gathered to behold and judge Christ, although he hints

at its presence through the figure who looks down over the balcony, and in doing so locates the crowd in the chapel itself with the viewer. Gaudenzio and Titian both employ a related strategy in the *Crucifixion* and *Crowning with Thorns* respectively by placing figures in the foreground whose backs are to the viewer, positioning the beholder behind them and thus "leading" and absorbing him or her into the composition.

It is not my intent here to revert to an overused and reductive rhetoric that indiscriminately labels narrative devotional art as "dramatic," but to point to the ways in which the pronounced performativity of these images facilitated the confraternal viewer's own embodied devotional performance and imagined participation in the scenes. The techniques of stagecraft deployed by Titian and Gaudenzio are important not just for the "construction of place" in mental oration, which frequently invoked the rhetorical device of the theater of memory, but for the way in which they involve the viewer directly in the action of the image.¹⁴⁶ Advances in pictorial illusion in the Quattrocento had given rise to a tension not only in defining the image versus reality but in circumscribing the role of the viewer. Marcia Hall has argued that in the fifteenth century the thinning of the veil between simulacrum and referent forced the viewer to become a spectator rather than a participant, as he or she had been in the Trecento.¹⁴⁷ But this does not appear to be what is happening in the sixteenth century, or at least not in relation to these images, which do not present the viewer with a static picture to consume passively but with a scene with which to actively engage within the liminal, and thus more licit, space of mental oration.

¹⁴⁶ Frances Amelia Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), especially chapters four and six.

¹⁴⁷ "The painted image had an authority as a re-presentation, and the renaissance viewers expected to be kept at a distance and to be observers. It is often argued that linear perspective acknowledged and privileged the position of the viewer. The fictive scenario of the perspective picture, however, is that the scene takes place on the other side of a window and is in no sense staged for the viewer, whose presence is dispensable: he or she is merely an accidental spectator, not a participant." Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art*, pp. 50-51.

John Shearman has termed the spatial and temporal elision enacted by such participatory images a "collapse of historical distance" that allows the viewer to share an "as-if-present experience, in the spirit of the devotional exercises" with Christ.¹⁴⁸ Images produced in this "transitive mode" rely on the viewer's space and on the viewer himself to complete their subject.¹⁴⁹

This is precisely the type of engagement called for in the confraternity's spiritual exercises, which direct devotees to project themselves into "the places of the Passion" not to observe the action passively but to interact with the figures, to adore the crown, and to kiss Christ's face and wounds. In their recent volume on "Beholding Violence," Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie explore the implications of this more participatory mode of viewing for images of torture and martyrdom, of which the Passion is a prime example, and call attention to the increased involvement and even complicity of the beholders of violence, both real and depicted, in early modern period:

To behold violence is quite different from a passive form of viewing it in a flat or linear manner. Beholding implies a certain level of 'attentiveness' of the viewer, as vividly theorized in the writings of Alois Riegl, and points to the ways in which beholders confront and interact with artworks in space and time through an active and participatory gaze.¹⁵⁰

This distinction between spectator and more active beholder is exemplified by the changing role of the viewer from Luini's *Crowning with Thorns* in Santa Corona's oratory to Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* in S. Maria delle Grazie. In Luini's fresco (fig. 53), Christ is flanked on both sides by portraits of the *deputati* of S. Corona who, kneeling,

¹⁴⁸ John Shearman, *Only Connect... Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 40-41. On fluid temporalities in early modern art see also Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

¹⁴⁹ Shearman, *Only Connect*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁰ Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie, "Introduction: Beholding Violence," in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), p. 6.

reverently contemplate the spectacle of his mock-coronation. An inscription on the second step of the dais quotes the twenty-second psalm: "*Omnes videntes me deriserunt*—All who see me laugh me to scorn." In Titian's altarpiece, the inscription has been replaced with an object: a single reed or cane extending diagonally beyond the edge of the step and into the viewer's space, inviting him or her to join in. In the oratory we are implicated as passive witnesses; in the chapel we are condemned as participants in the action. It is no longer only our gaze that wounds Christ but our bodies as well. Within the chapel space, in closer proximity to the relic, Titian enriches the devotional possibilities available to the *confratelli* and provides them with a more interactive viewing experience than that furnished in the oratory.

We have so far discussed the iconography and visual presentation of the Grazie Passion cycle as they relate to the devotional activities of the confraternity of Santa Corona and to the relic in its custody. Gaudenzio's and Titian's paintings served as pictorial templates from which the *confratelli* could imagine and access the "places of the Passion," as directed by their statutes. Viewed, or recalled, in the course of intensive meditation on Christ's Passion, the chapel ensemble served to make the crown of thorns and Christ's suffering body vividly available to the *confratelli's* spiritual sight and touch. To this point, I have also begun to address the performativity of the ensemble insofar as it engendered a more participatory mode of viewing. This examination continues in the next section, where I consider the violence and somaesthetics of the Passion cycle in relation to early modern horror and the debates surrounding the *paragone*.

VI. *Laocoön* and the *Sacri Monti*: Rhetorics of Horror and Relief in the Mid-Cinquecento

Iconographically, the four episodes from the Passion of Christ, the *Flagellation*, *Ecce Homo*, *Crowning with Thorns*, and *Crucifixion*, are presented in familiar and recognizable terms. Scholars correctly call attention to the influence of Zenale and Luini's earlier works produced for the confraternity on Titian's altarpiece, as well as to Titian's use of motifs from Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, Raphael, and prints by Dürer (fig. 56), and Gaudenzio's self-citation of several of his works from Varallo.¹⁵¹ Ridolfi, in his description of Titian's altarpiece, significantly calls attention to Titian's portrayal of Christ's suffering, writing that in the painting we behold "Jesus draped in purple by the Jews at the very moment He was pierced by the thorns, and in Whose face the painter strove to give expression to the effects of pain and shame."¹⁵² Titian's model for these "effects of pain and shame" was the ancient Roman sculpture of *Laocoön* (fig. 57), which, since its sensational unearthing on the Esquiline Hill in 1506, had become one of the most influential models of torment in early modern Italy.¹⁵³ The quotation of *Laocoön* in Christ's pose invites interpretation on multiple levels. As an *exemplum doloris*, *Laocoön* provides a paragon of heroic suffering and horrific spectacle; as an artifact of Roman antiquity, the sculpture engages with the Classical past; and, as a painted iteration of a marble statue, *Laocoön's* inhabiting of Christ's body invokes the

¹⁵¹ For the (possible) influence of Dürer's *Small Passion* on Titian, see Siebenhuner. The impact of central painting and sculpture and Gaudenzio Ferrari's re-use of elements of earlier compositions are presented below. Gaudenzio and Titian were also both familiar with the enormous and bloody Passion cycle in the cathedral of Cremona by Romanino and Pordenone and may have been inspired by their renditions of the *Crowning with Thorns*, *Ecce Homo*, and *Crucifixion*.

¹⁵² "...vedesi Giesù all'hor, che cinto di porpora dagli Hebrei fu trafitto dalle spine, nel cui volto s'affaticò il Pittore d'esprimere gli effetti del dolore, e della vergogna." Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, p. 177. For the English translation see Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, p. 91.

¹⁵³ The reference to *Laocoön* has been noted by numerous art historians. For a sampling, see Una d'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings* (Cambridge: UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 27-55; Humfrey, *Titian*, p. 113; and Wethey, *Titian*, vol. 1, p. 82.

paragone between painting and sculpture. In the discussion that follows, I will focus on the first and last of these in order to elucidate the ways in which both Titian and Gaudenzio respond to an emerging rhetoric of horror in devotional art and literature and how their references to sculpture activate a mode of viewing that is haptical rather than merely optical, facilitating for confraternal devotees a phenomenological and somatic engagement with Christ's body.

The citation of classical sculptures by Italian Renaissance painters was, of course, ubiquitous.¹⁵⁴ The figure of *Laocoön* appears to have had particular resonance for Titian, who referenced the statue frequently in his work, from the torsion of St. Sebastian's body in the *Averoldi Polyptych* (fig. 58) to the satyr entwined with serpents in *Bacchus and Ariadne* (fig. 59).¹⁵⁵ Although Titian did not see the original until he traveled to Rome in 1545, he purchased a cast of the statue in 1522 and would certainly have also been familiar with the bronze copy in Venice made by Jacopo Sansovino, as well as with the multiple drawings, prints, and literary descriptions that circulated widely in the wake of the sculpture's excavation (fig. 60).¹⁵⁶ *Laocoön's* celebrity spread also to the circle of Titian's Milanese

¹⁵⁴ Bronzino, for example, famously restored the *Belvedere Torso* in his portrait of Duke Cosimo I of Florence and Titian invoked the *Venus Pudica* in the so-called *Mellon Venus* and in his multiple portrayals of the penitent Magdalene. For a general overview, see Laurie Fusco, "The Use of Sculptural Models by Painters in Fifteenth Century Italy," *Art Bulletin* vol. 64, no. 2 (June 1982), pp. 175-194; Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981). See also Jodi Cranston, *The Muddied Mirror: Materiality and Figuration in Titian's Later Paintings* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), p. 26.

¹⁵⁵ Luba Freedman, "Titian and the Classical Heritage" in *The Cambridge Companion to Titian*, p. 189 and d'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings*, pp. 27-55. The precise authorship of the satirical woodcut of *Monkey-Laocoön*, attributed by Ridolfi to Titian, is ambiguous but scholars place it at least within his circle, if not within his *oeuvre*, based on stylistic evidence. See H.W. Janson, "Titian's *Laocoön Caricature* and the Vesalian-Galenist Controversy," *Art Bulletin* 28, no. 1 (1946), pp. 49-53 and, more recently, d'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings*, p. 50.

¹⁵⁶ On Titian's acquisition of a cast of the *Laocoön* see Janson, "Titian's *Laocoön Caricature*," p. 50, note 12 and Margarete Bieber, *Laocoon: the Influence of the Group Since Its Rediscovery* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1967), p. 7. There is a substantial body of scholarship on the reception of the *Laocoön* in Cinquecento Italy. See, in addition to Una d'Elia's chapter on "A Christian *Laocoön*," cited above, Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 243-247; Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 2-17;

patrons: in 1539 the poet Eurialo d'Ascoli dedicated a volume of verses on the *Laocoön* and the other antiquities displayed in the Belvedere court to Alfonso d'Avalos.¹⁵⁷

That Titian should have selected *Laocoön* as his model for Christ's agony is not surprising. Since antiquity the sculpture had been held up as a paragon of artistic achievement and, particularly in the Renaissance, as a perfect visual expression of pain and suffering. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, lauded it as "a work to be preferred to all that the arts of painting and sculpture have produced" and the Renaissance humanist (and, later, cardinal) Jacopo Sadoletto marveled at the "real agonies of stone that really dies."¹⁵⁸ Una d'Elia, following the lead of Leopold Ettliger, has noted that during the period of Catholic reform in the later sixteenth century, the heroic pathos embodied by the *Laocoön* group acquired particular currency as a model for the representation of Christian martyrdom.¹⁵⁹ In his *Dialogue on the Errors of Painters* (1564), written some twenty years after Titian's painting was made, Giovanni Andrea Gilio condemned idealized and bloodless images of the Passion as indecorous and urged artists to follow the specific example of the *Laocoön* by depicting "agony, pain, and torment. Surely it would be a

Salvatore Settis, *Laocoonte: fama e stile* (Rome: Donzelli editore, 1999); Richard Brilliant, *My Laocoön: Alternative Claims in the Interpretation of Artworks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), esp. pp. 29-39; and Maria Loh, "Outscreaming Laocoön: Sensation, Special Effects, and the Moving Image," *Oxford Art Journal* vol. 34 (2011), pp. 393-414.

¹⁵⁷ Eurialo Morani d'Ascoli, *Stanze sopra le Statue di Laocoonte, di Venere, et d'Apollo al Gran Marchese del Vasto* (Rome: Valerio e Luigi Dorico, 1539). See also Settis, *Laocoonte*, pp. 138-140. On Eurialo d'Ascoli, born Aurelio Morani de' Guiderocchi, see Giuseppe Crimi, "Morani, Aurelio (Eurialo da Ascoli)," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, accessed 15 October 2013, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/aurelio-morani_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

¹⁵⁸ Pliny, *Natural History* vol. 10, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1977), p. 29. Sadoletto's *De Laocoontis statua*, composed in 1506 following the sculpture's (re)discovery, is published in the original Latin and in Italian translation in Settis, *Laocoonte*, pp. 118-121 and in English translation in Michael Baxandall, *Words for Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 98-101.

¹⁵⁹ Leopold Ettliger describes it as "not only a physical but a moral *exemplum doloris*." L.D. Ettliger, "Exemplum Doloris. Reflections on the Laocoön Group" in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* vol. 1, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), pp. 121-126. See also d'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings*, pp. 40-55.

new and beautiful thing to see a Christ on the Cross transformed by wounds, spit, derision, and blood."¹⁶⁰ Such a graphic sensibility would likely have appealed earlier to Titian's Milanese patrons, who, as I have argued, used the altarpiece and chapel decorations to support a rigorous piety that emphasized penitence and the affective contemplation of Christ's physical suffering. Although Italian artists do not appear to have used the *Laocoön* as a model for Christian martyrdom with great frequency until the end of the Cinquecento, Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* was not without precedent. Gaudenzio Ferrari, in an earlier Passion cycle on the tramezzo of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Varallo (ca. 1513, fig. 61), implicitly compared Christ's suffering with that of Laocoön by depicting a relief of the statue in *Christ Before Pilate* and Moderno explicitly aligns the two in his relief of the *Flagellation* for the Venetian cardinal Domenico Grimani (ca. 1506-1509, fig. 62), placing Christ's body in a similar pose to the antique sculpture.¹⁶¹

The heightened violence and display of suffering signaled by Laocoön in Titian's *Crowning with Thorns*, so different, as noted earlier, from Christ's resigned acceptance of his abuse in Luini's fresco in Santa Corona's oratory, and Gilio's call for a more frank and even sensational depiction of the brutality of the Passion, are both indicators of a broader "rhetoric of horror" that emerged at mid-century in Italian art and literature. Earlier in the Cinquecento Antonio de Beatis, secretary and chaplain to Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona,

¹⁶⁰ "Se si trovassero l'antiche pitture molti secreti di più si vederebbono [sic] ne l'arte che non si veggono hora, ma da le statue chiaro argomento cavar potiamo de la peritia degli antichi pittori e scultori, il che ciascuno di voi può haver veduto in Roma in molte statue e spetialmente nel Laocoonte di Belvedere, il quale par che con suoi figliuoli dimostri, così annodato dai se[r]penti, l'angustia, il dolore, et il tormento in quel atto. Certo sarebbe cosa nova e bella vedre un Cristo in Croce per le piaghe, per i sputi, per i scherni e per il sangue trasformato." Quoted in Settis, *Laocoonte*, pp. 192-193. See also d'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings*, pp. 54-55. These sentiments are echoed by Lomazzo in the *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*, quoted in Settis, *Laocoonte*, pp. 194-195.

¹⁶¹ For Gaudenzio's fresco, part of a large cycle of the life of Christ on the *tramezzo* of the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Varallo, see Mallé, *Incontri con Gaudenzio*, pp. 37-41; Laocoön is discussed on p. 40. On Moderno's relief see Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, p. 15.

registered some discomfort with the violent Passion imagery that he encountered when traveling with his master north of the Alps, writing that the gruesome crucifixes placed on the sides of roads "really induced as much terror as devotion."¹⁶² In spite of the often gore-streaked accounts of Christ's injuries in devotional texts, Italian images of the Passion prior to the Reformation, even those keyed towards devotion to Christ's wounds, deemphasized physical violence in favor of a more pristine and transcendent pathos.¹⁶³ Christ's flesh in Luini's S. Giorgio Passion cycle, for example, is striped with welts, but they do not disfigure his body nor do they elicit any reaction from him beyond sorrow. Titian's Christ is largely unblemished, too, excepting the blood that drips from his brow to his chest, but he feels pain; he struggles; he screams.¹⁶⁴ In Gaudenzio's frescoes, Christ's response is more muted, his body more immune to torture, but the violence inflicted upon him is ratcheted up, with monstrous tormentors, several of which are drawn from the cast of characters that Gaudenzio created at Varallo and from Leonardo's grotesques, who assault him with enthusiasm.

¹⁶² "Da Trento inante in tucte [sic] le strate vicine alle ville, terre et cita usano nel scoperto ponere crucifixi relevatissimi et grandissimi et li più con li latroni al lato, el che veramente induce non meno terrore che devotione." André Chastel, *Luigi d'Aragona: un cardinale del Rinascimento in viaggio per l'Europa* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1987), p. 207. An alternate English translation is found in *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis: Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France, and Italy, 1517-1518*, trans. J.R. Hale and J.M.A. Lindon (London: Hakluyt Society, 1979), p. 81.

¹⁶³ The *Meditations* describes Christ's wounded body as a patchwork of wounds: "The Flower of all flesh and of all human nature is covered with bruises and cuts. The royal blood flows all about, from all parts of His body. Again and again, repeatedly, closer and closer, it is done, bruise upon bruise, and cut upon cut, until not only the torturers but the spectators are tired... Again He is stripped...His wounds reopened by the adhesion of His garments to His flesh." *Meditations on the the Life of Christ*, pp. 328-333. For the generally "bloodless" character of Italian Passion imagery prior to the Cinquecento, see Stephen J. Campbell, "'The Conflicted Representation of Judaism in Italian Renaissance Images of Christ's Life and Passion,'" in *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama* ed. Marcia Kupfer (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), p. 76.

¹⁶⁴ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in 1881, perceived Christ's expression of pain as disfiguring and accused Titian of being "realistic almost to the verge of a disagreeable coarseness," writing that "in his desire to realise emotion altogether human, Titian has apparently forgotten the divine." J.A. Crowe and G. B Cavalcaselle, *The Life and Times of Titian with some Account of his Family* (London: J. Murray, 1881), p. 265.

When scholars have addressed the "sinister turn" in Titian's art around 1540, seen also in *Cain Killing Abel* (1542-1544), *Tityus* (1548-1549), and in later works like *The Flaying of Marsyas* (1575) and *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (1558), they have often done so from the perspective of Titian's own intellectual interests and his exposure in Rome to Michelangelo or, conversely, from a model in which the artist's vision has been imposed upon by the "outdated" piety of his patrons.¹⁶⁵ Thomas Puttfarcken has posited convincingly that the savagery exhibited in some of Titian's late work was inspired by Aristotle's theories of tragedy in the *Poetics*, which, following its rediscovery, exerted an enormous influence in Italian intellectual circles in the 1540s.¹⁶⁶ At the same time, according to Harald Hendrix, elements of horror began to pervade Italian religious art and literature as a means to incite empathy and piety through sensory appeal.¹⁶⁷ This reading challenges traditional medieval/early modern binaries that confine violent spectacle to the "barbaric" Middle Ages and extol the new "civility" of the Renaissance.¹⁶⁸ Hendrix argues

¹⁶⁵ Cranston, *The Muddied Mirror*, pp. 75-103; Charles Hope, *Titian* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p. 198; Puttfarcken, *Titian and Tragic Painting*, especially chapter five. Puttfarcken rejects arguments, made principally by Charles Hope, that a "dramatic, dark, and violent side to his art...is alien to his nature and forced upon him by the wishes of his patrons," and argues instead that these "more sinister aspects" of Titian's art emerged from an engagement with Aristotelian rhetorics of pathos and tragedy (pp. 97-99).

¹⁶⁶ Puttfarcken, pp. 12, 97-128. The text was translated by Giorgio Valla in 1498 and published in an *editio princeps* by Aldus Manutius in 1508, but, according to Puttfarcken, it "started to make its enormous impact only in the 1540s" (12).

¹⁶⁷ Harald Hendrix, "Pietro Aretino's *Humanità di Christo* and the Rhetoric of Horror," in *Il Rinascimento Italiano di fronte alla riforma: letteratura e arte*, ed. Chrysa Damianski, Paolo Procaccioli, and Angelo Romano (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2005), pp. 89-114. See also Maria Loh, "Introduction: Early Modern Horror," in *Oxford Art Journal* vol. 34 (2011), pp. 321-333. On the suffering body see Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

¹⁶⁸ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, trans. F. Hopman, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co, 1954), with a more recent and faithful translation of the original text published as Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). This model is convincingly challenged by Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie in their introduction to *Beholding Violence*, p. 3. Violence, they argue, "in practice, in performance, and in aesthetic portrayals increases from the late medieval period to become a point of central focus during the early modern period when communities paradoxically relied on violence to create uniformity and cohesion. Instead of mitigating violence as knowledge becomes more widely disseminated, artistic representations become increasingly brutal in their literal depiction of savagery."

that Catholic reformers removed the carnevalesque function of "popular realism" and redeployed violence as a rhetorical instrument to attract and edify the laity, eliding terror with sensual appeal to produce a "sublime horror" that would move the soul of the devotee.¹⁶⁹ "Terror" and "devotion" were no longer opposing poles, as they seemed to have been for Antonio de Beatis in 1517, but were now close complements.

What is particularly compelling about the use of the *Laocoön* in the Santa Corona altarpiece, however, is that Titian has imitated not only the pose of the Roman sculpture but, seemingly, its materiality. The muscular, aggressively modeled, and highly finished figures in *The Crowning with Thorns* diverge significantly from the lush and languid expanses of flesh, loose brushstrokes, and finessed painterly performances most often associated with Titian's oeuvre (fig. 63).¹⁷⁰ Christ's exaggerated pallor stands out against the ruddy complexions of his tormentors and the contours of his body suggest hard stone rather than soft skin. Scholars have attributed this break in style to Titian's encounter with central Italian and Roman art in the years around the 1540s, especially that of Michelangelo and Giulio Romano.¹⁷¹ Though Titian did not reach Rome until 1545,¹⁷² he followed developments in central Italy closely, often via prints and drawings, and we

¹⁶⁹ See additionally Harald Hendrix, "The Representation of Suffering and Religious Change," in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Culture and Religion*, ed. Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne (London: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 149-170.

¹⁷⁰ For many years the Santa Corona altarpiece was associated with a mid-career "crisis" in Titian's style: Crowe and Cavalcaselle, writing in 1881, accused Titian of being "realistic almost to the verge of a disagreeable coarseness" while, a century later, Charles Hope criticized its "gross, exaggerated" musculature and dismissed it as "one of Titian's least appealing works." See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *The Life And Times of Titian*, pp. 264-265 and Hope, *Titian*, p. 198.

¹⁷¹ Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (New York: New York University Press, 1969); Paul Joannides, "Titian and Michelangelo/Michelangelo and Titian," in *The Cambridge Companion to Titian* ed. Patricia Meilman (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 121-145; Passavant, "Bemerkungen zum 'Römischen' stil Tizians um 1540"; Eugenio Battisti, "Di alcuni aspetti non veneti di Tiziano," in *Tiziano e Venezia*, pp. 213-225.

¹⁷² In fact, probably because of this stylistic anomaly, for many years the date of the *Crowning with Thorns* was disputed in scholarship, despite the publication of decisive documents by Pietro Canetta in 1883, and until their citation in Siebenhüner's article of 1978, most historians dated the painting to the late 1550s, after Titian's Roman sojourn.

might see in Christ's exposed, modeled flesh and elongated pose echoes of the Sistine *ignudi* (fig. 64) and, in the torsion and articulated muscles of his tormentors, quotations from Michelangelo's celebrated cartoon for the Battle of Cascina (fig. 65).¹⁷³ Titian enjoyed a more direct (and chronologically apposite) connection with Giulio Romano, court artist to the Gonzaga rulers of Mantua, who also employed Titian for a time in the 1530s. Giulio's rusticated façade for the Palazzo del Tè may have been a precedent for Titian's architectural backdrop and his forceful frescoes in the Sala dei Giganti, Günter Passavant argues, may have inspired Titian's large, muscular and expressive figures, with their contorted and compressed movements.¹⁷⁴

But a competitive interest in Michelangelo—or in the *paragone* generally—does not fully account for what Titian is doing here.¹⁷⁵ Titian's encounter with *disegno*, as Vasari would later describe it, sees him experimenting with new compositional types and representational strategies, specifically that of *rilievo*—the modeling of forms and simulation of depth through tone—to resolve the challenges posed by his subject: how to represent extreme suffering, how to enliven the human form, how to depict Real Presence by animating paint on a flat surface. By depicting Christ in the material guise of sculpture, Titian engages with two related tropes common in Neoplatonic and devotional

¹⁷³ Titian's interest and expertise in expressive anatomy may have also been due, in part, to his participation (if to an undetermined extent) in the production of woodcut illustrations for Andrea Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* in the late 1530s and early 40s. See Joannides, "Titian and Michelangelo/Michelangelo and Titian," p. 135. Patricia Simons and Monique Kornell have challenged Titian's link to Vesalius. See Patricia Simons and Monique Kornell, "Annibal Caro's After-Dinner Speech (1536) and the Question of Titian as Vesalius's Illustrator," *Renaissance Quarterly* vol. 61 (2008), pp. 1069-1097.

¹⁷⁴ Passavant, "Bemerkungen zum 'Römischen' stil Tizians um 1540," pp. 106-107. Passavant also identifies similarities between figures in Titian's composition and works by Marcantonio Raimondi and Raphael.

¹⁷⁵ On the *paragone* and the imitation of sculpture in Renaissance paintings, with reference to Titian, see Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 141-161 and Beverly Louise Brown, "Seeing the Past: Titian's Imperial Adaptation of a Classical Relief," in *Depth of Field: Relief Sculpture in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Donal Cooper and Marika Leino (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 275-303.

literature: the comparison of ideal or divine beauty to a work of art and the motif of the living statue.¹⁷⁶ One text in which these tropes are found is *De l'umanità di Cristo* (On the Humanity of Christ), written by Titian's intimate friend, Pietro Aretino, and first published in Venice in 1535, with at least seven subsequent editions issued before 1551.¹⁷⁷ A departure from Aretino's largely satirical output, the *Humanity of Christ* follows in the long tradition of embellished re-imaginings of Christ's life and death. On the two occasions in the text when the adult Christ's nude body is revealed, at his baptism and when he is stripped before Pilate, Aretino describes this nudity in Ovidian terms. When Christ is baptized, the water streaming down his naked torso is "more beautiful than gilding on ivory"¹⁷⁸ and the dazzling brilliance of Christ's body temporarily blinds the crowd at the flagellation:

He was more than flesh and bone... The purity of his body surpassed the snowy whiteness of the lilies cultivated in Paradise... his whole body appeared to be a work of ivory that breathed, on which nature had sprinkled the rosinness of Aurora's cheeks.¹⁷⁹

Several other elements of Titian's highly sensuous portrayal of Christ resonate with Aretino's description, in addition to Christ's ivory complexion, from his "muscular arms and large shoulders" to his "rounded thighs and sleek legs" and the russet curls that

¹⁷⁶ One such example is the body of medieval hymns and *laude* that compared the neck of the Virgin Mary to an ivory tower or column, which likely inspired Parmigianino's *Madonna with the Long Neck* (1534).

¹⁷⁷ The version of Aretino's text used here is contained in [Pietro Aretino](#) ed. Giulio Ferroni (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 2002), pp. 381-501. The edition of 1535 was in three books; subsequent editions, beginning in 1539, were in four. On Aretino and the production and reception of *De l'umanità di Cristo* see Élise Boillet, [L'Arétin et la bible](#) (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007), especially pp. 377-530 and Raymond B. Waddington, "Pietro Aretino, Religious Writer," [Renaissance Studies](#) vol. 20 (2006), pp. 277-92.

¹⁷⁸ "E scendendo [l'acqua] giù per le carni intatte era più grazioso che non è l'oro composto su l'avorio." [Pietro Aretino](#), p. 419.

¹⁷⁹ "Ma subito che se gli scoperse lo ignudo, i lumi indegni di vederlo si rivolsero dove si rivolgono quando son molestati dal vento. E tutti gli occhi, che temerariamente lo guardarono, abagliarsi quasi mirassero una falda di ghiaccio ferito dal soli. Egli era più che di carne e d'ossa. E con la purità del suo corpo vinceva il candido de i gigli colti ne gli orti superni... E tutto il suo corpo insieme pareva una composizione d'avorio che respirasse, sul quale la natura avesse spruzzato il rosato de le gote de l'aurora." *Ibid*, p. 469. For other descriptions of Christ's physical beauty in Aretino's text, see the summary in Boillet, pp. 468-470.

tumble past his ears.¹⁸⁰ Titian's close relationship with Aretino is well documented and previous studies have further traced a direct link between the *Humanità di Cristo* and several works of Titian's religious production, including the Milanese *Crowning with Thorns*.¹⁸¹ In the latter, Titian's incongruous use of Nero's portrait rather than that of Tiberius, as the inscription stipulates, for the imperial bust above Christ's head (figs. 66-68) has been interpreted by Tommaso Casini as a reference to the Jewish high priest Caiaphas, whom Aretino likens "in nature and appearance" to Nero.¹⁸²

It is possible that the *confratelli* were familiar with Aretino's widely disseminated text. Their regulations stipulate that members would gather following the midday meal to listen to a reading from scripture or other devotional texts concerning "manners, virtue, and the way of the Lord."¹⁸³ The only surviving inventory of books owned by the confraternity of Santa Corona dates to 1522, almost a quarter century before the publication of the first edition of the *Humanità*, but its inclusion of several vernacular

¹⁸⁰ The color of Christ's hair is darker in Titian's portrayal than in Aretino's description. "Aveva le braccia spedite; le spalle larghe. Il petto si univa con il corpo dolcissimamente. Aveva le coscie tonde; le gambe svelte... I capegli, che risplendevano di quel color biondo, che hanno le nocciuole mature, se gli distendevano fin sotto le orecchie; e da le orecchie in giù erano crespi e più rosseggianti." Pietro Aretino, p. 469. Aretino's ekphrasis of each part of Christ's body recalls Pseudo-Bonaventura's admonition to the reader of the *Meditations* to "pay dilligent attention to this and consider His stature in every part." Meditations on the Life of Christ, p. 330.

¹⁸¹ For Aretino's relationship with Titian see the summary in D'Elia, The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings, pp. 159-160; Mina Gregori, "Tiziano e l'Aretino," in Tiziano e il manierismo europeo, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini, (Florence: Olschki, 1978), pp. 271-306; Giorgio Padoan, "Titian's Letters," in Titian, Prince of Painters, ed. Susanna Biadene (Venice: Marsilio, 1990), pp. 43-53; Luba Freedman, Titian's Portraits Through Aretino's Lens (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); and Patricia Meilman, "A Lifelong Passion: Titian's Religious Art," in The Cambridge Companion to Titian, pp. 58-74. For the influence of *L'umanità di Cristo* on Titian, see Raymond B. Waddington, "Aretino, Titian, and "La Humanità di Cristo," in Forms of Faith in Sixteenth Century Italy, pp. 171-198.

¹⁸² Casini, "Cristo e i manigoldi," p. 113. Aretino describes Caiaphas: "il quale era di aspetto differente da quel Anna, perché egli haveva molto sembianza a la testa, che di Galba si vede nelle medaglie, ma di peggior mente de lo imperatore che regnava in Roma. Caiphà, di nature e di effige simile al conio di Nerone, con quel guardo torvo, con quale soleva minacciar Caligula, dimandò a Gesù chi egli era." Pietro Aretino, p. 466.

¹⁸³ "...post sumpta prandia convenientibus nobis ad oratorium Pater vester confessor, vel alius de eius consilio et assensu lectionem aliquam de moribus, de virtute, de via domini, aut utile magis de libris sacrae scripturae declarabit nec ab instructione hac absque evidenti necessitate et, scitu D[omini] conservatoris, aut consilarii remaneat quisque aut primetur." ASM Santa Corona 1A, folio 8v.

retellings of the life and Passion of Christ suggests that Aretino's text may have appealed to their needs and tastes.¹⁸⁴ In the two decades that separated its publication from its addition to the Pauline Index, the *Humanità* was well-received by educated and reform-minded laypersons, particularly in northern Italy, before the religious climate on the peninsula chilled towards evangelism.¹⁸⁵ The proximity of the confraternity's ranking officers to the court of Alfonso d'Avalos and, through him, to the intellectual circle of Titian and Aretino, provide further support to the possibility that the brethren of Santa Corona could have known the *Humanità di Cristo*.¹⁸⁶

Aretino's classification of Christ's body as "more than flesh and bone" resonates with another text produced within his and Titian's intellectual orbit in the late 1530s. Giulio Camillo (Delminio, ca. 1480-1544) was a neoplatonist, rhetorician, and kabbalist best known for his theater of memory.¹⁸⁷ He cultivated close ties to Aretino and Titian and was patronized by Alfonso d'Avalos, in whose employ he traveled to Milan in late 1543 and to whom he dedicated the *Teatro della memoria* (published posthumously as

¹⁸⁴ See above, note 134.

¹⁸⁵ Christopher Cairns, *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice. Researches on Aretino and his circle in Venice, 1527-1556* (Florence: Olschki, 1985), especially pp. 72-74 and 109. See also Anne Jacobson Schutte, "The Lettere Volgare and the Crisis of Evangelism in Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975), pp. 639-688. The opening of the Council of Trent in 1545 marked the end of the "experimental" phase of the Catholic responses to Luther.

¹⁸⁶ Recall that their treasurer Gian Giacomo Rainaldi, who oversaw most of the confraternity's transactions with Titian, could boast of a close political relationship to d'Avalos; he also traveled frequently to Venice and is mentioned in Aretino's correspondence. See above, pp. 165-168. In the late 1530s and early 1540s, coinciding with both the publication of the *Humanità di Cristo* and Titian's completion of the *Crowning with Thorns*, according to Raymond Waddington, "Aretino's entire circle were making a dead set at Alfonso d'Avalos." Waddington, "Aretino, Titian, and 'La Humanità di Cristo,'" p. 191.

¹⁸⁷ A follower of Francesco Zorzi, Camillo's name appears in the group of princes and literati gathered at the end of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Giorgio Stabile, "Camillo, Giulio, detto Delminio," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, accessed 15 October 2013, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/camillo-giulio-detto-delminio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ See also Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 160-172; Lina Bolzoni, "Giulio Camillo's Memory Theater and the Kabbalah," in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters* ed. Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed, and Zur Shalev (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 14-26.

L'idea del teatro in 1550).¹⁸⁸ Camillo, in an unfinished treatise written roughly between 1537 and 1540, entitled *De l'humana deificazione*, compares the different states of bodies to different artistic media. The text largely concerns the ascent of humankind towards God and "the divine image that is within us."¹⁸⁹ Near the end of the manuscript, Camillo describes the states of bodies in hierarchical sequence, from base flesh to pure, "subtle" spirit. He begins with the physical body and proceeds to a marble statue, an oil painting (citing a portrait by Titian), a reflection in a mirror or on water, and then to intangible ether.¹⁹⁰ Under Camillo's rubric, a sculpture appears almost identical to the body—"non porti in opinione che quella [statua] avesse ad essere da ogni lato sì sensibile, come questa ch'è nel corpo mio medesimo?"—but is essentially more subtle, more pure, "more near to God," a distinction that would apply equally well to Christ, who was God in human form.¹⁹¹ Christ's superhuman beauty—a visible sign of his inner grace—is repeatedly remarked upon in devotional literature: in Marco Gerolamo Vida's neo-Latin *Christiad* (1535), for example, Pilate pronounces him "like a god in all ways—his features, his voice, his eyes."¹⁹² In this light, the "sculptural mode"—channeled through

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. For Camillo's relationship with d'Avalos and for a detailed study of the memory theater see also Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). *The Gallery of Memory* is a translation of *La stanza della memoria* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995). None of Camillo's works were published in his lifetime but his ideas circulated throughout his extensive intellectual and professional networks.

¹⁸⁹ The treatise is published in Cesare Vasoli, "Uno scritto inedito di Giulio Camillo 'De l'humana deificazione,'" *Rinascimento* 24 (1984), pp. 191-227. For the quotation see p. 203.

¹⁹⁰ Vasoli, "Uno scritto inedito di Giulio Camillo," pp. 225-226. Alexander Nagel briefly discusses this passage in relation to Christ's "transfigured body" in Rosso Fiorentino's *Dead Christ* (1526-1527). See Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 100.

¹⁹¹ Vasoli, "Uno scritto inedito di Giulio Camillo," p. 226.

¹⁹² "Cuncta Deo similis vultum, vocemque, oculosque! Aut certe Deus ille, Dei aut certissima proles." Marco Girolamo Vida, *The Christiad*, trans. Gertrude C. Drake and Clarence Forbes (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), pp. 198-199. The author of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* likewise describes him as "beautiful in form above the sons of men." (*Meditations on the Life of Christ*, p. 328.) Similar to Aretino in the *Humanità*, one of Vida's principal aims is to exculpate Pilate, who is as enraptured by Christ's beauty as he is convinced of his innocence: "Pilate then fixed his gaze intently on the Youth's tall form, and intently looked at him... he marveled at his unusual bearing, the unusual nobility of

the statue that Pliny had declared the finest artwork in existence—becomes a particularly effective device to signify Christ's perfection, rendering him recognizably human but locating his bodily and spiritual essence in a different representational register, on a more exalted and immaculate plane above ordinary "flesh and bone."

But what would be the devotional—as opposed to the poetic or metaphysical—implications of Titian's portrayal of Christ as "a work of ivory that breathed?" As Viktor Stoichita, John Shearman, and, more recently, Fredrika Jacobs have ably demonstrated, the potential of mimesis to blur the boundary between art and life, immortalized in Ovid's tale of Pygmalion, occupied a significant place in the early modern imagination.¹⁹³ The "Pygmalion Effect" is certainly invoked by two paintings formerly at the church of the Santissima Annunziata in Florence, Andrea del Sarto's *Madonna of the Harpies* (1517, fig. 69) and Fra Bartolommeo's *Salvator Mundi* (1516, fig. 70), both of which portray the holy figures as animated statues in a niche.¹⁹⁴ Alexander Nagel has interpreted the "sculptural visualizations" in these and other paintings as deliberate archaisms signaling a "kind of internal castigation of painting in the direction of statuary" during a humanist *repristinatio* of Italian Catholic culture.¹⁹⁵ In his model, sculpture functioned as a figure for the antique that, having shed "medieval" suspicions of idolatry, offered to sixteenth-century viewers a more durable and more honest portrayal, contrasted with the mimetic

his features, and he could not get his fill of looking. He believed him sprung of the gods, or at least the blood of great kings, and privately he pitied the prisoner's unjust lot" (pp. 90-91).

¹⁹³ Victor I. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock* trans. Alison Anderson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2008); John Shearman, *Only Connect...*; Fredrika Herman Jacobs, *The Living Image In Renaissance Art* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See also Kenneth Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006), especially part two. "Renaissance texts," Jacobs writes, "are replete with descriptions of statues that speak and breathe (*statue parlanti* and *signa spirantia*), painted and modeled faces that seem or are said to be alive (*vultus viventes*), and confounding performative pieces (*tableaux vivants*) in which living figures coexist with those lacking only a voice (*vox sola deest*)." Jacobs, *The Living Image*, p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Stoichita, pp. 71-72.

¹⁹⁵ Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, p. 105.

fiction of painting.¹⁹⁶ Nagel points to a concomitant vogue, most marked in the 1510s and 1520s, for putting freestanding *all'antica*-style statuary on Christian altars (fig. 71) and argues that the development of a new "'styleless' and universal mode modeled on statuary" provided an antidote to "the now no longer reliable *vaghezza* of oil painting."¹⁹⁷

While accepting that Titian's "Christian Laocoön" may certainly connect to an internal critique of Catholic painting, I would like to explore an additional valence rooted less in the altarpiece's production within Titian's cultural milieu and more in its reception by its confraternal viewers and its function as a facilitator for affective devotion, a valence that also incorporates Gaudenzio's frescoes. Specifically, I want to call attention to the ways in which the sculptural resonances of Titian's altarpiece—and of Gaudenzio Ferrari's frescoes, to be discussed shortly—intersect with the values of corporeality and tactility emphasized in meditational handbooks and in the confraternity's statutes.

We will recall that the members of Santa Corona were exhorted to daily contemplate Christ's suffering and death "with pain and compassion" and to "visit the places of the Passion," as if they themselves were present, visualizing the scenes so thoroughly that the holy figures were accessible not only to their sight but to their touch, that they might kiss Christ's face and the wounds made by the nails. The association of painting and sculpture with the respective senses of sight and touch was repeatedly made in the *paragone* debates that reached their height in the 1540s (fig. 72).¹⁹⁸ By invoking

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, pp. 104-105.

¹⁹⁷ For the quotation, see Alexander Nagel, "Experiments in Art and Reform in Italy in the Early Sixteenth Century" in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 397-398. See also his expanded discussion in Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, pp. 103-134.

¹⁹⁸ Benedetto Varchi, "Della Maggioranza delle Arti," in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma*, vol. 1, ed. Paola Barocchi (Bari: G. Laterza, 1960), especially pp. 42-43. Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's Due Lezioni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982), pp. 121-122. See also Jodi Cranston, "The Touch of the Blind Man: The

the medium of sculpture, Titian's Laocoön-Christ heightens the painting's haptic valence. The violent forward pitch of the picture plane, the rigorously modeled figures, and effects of relief establish a spatial and somatic relationship with the viewer. The chiseled contours of Christ's muscles and the extension of his limbs entice the beholder to grasp them and Titian's play on surfaces—rough stone, cool marble, slippery cloth, sticky blood, and his dazzling, though anachronistic, performance in chainmail with the soldier on the right—further activates his sense of touch. Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari has raised the tantalizing, if problematic, possibility that the prescription in the statutes to "kneel and adore the crown of thorns every morning and, after a brief prayer, give a kiss to the face of Christ" was literal and called for actual contact with an image. In her analysis of Bernardo Zenale's *Crowning with Thorns* she proposes that the severe corrosion around Christ's face (fig. 51b) was caused by being repeatedly kissed.¹⁹⁹ While the potential for a physical encounter with Titian's altarpiece, placed as it was above the altar in the chapel, is slim at best, the incitement of contact by the confraternity's devotions and by the painting itself is equally powerful and significant. The invitation to enter and interact with the image is most explicitly made by the unclaimed reed on the bottom step, discussed above. Angled towards the picture plane at eye-level, the reed dares the viewer to take it up, resonating with the oration spoken by the confraternity on Fridays at the hour of Prime, which pits the "perfidious crowd" that assaults Christ against his followers who pray to be "armed in his defense," asking the devotee to examine his conscience and

Phenomenology of Vividness in Italian Renaissance Art," in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 224-302.

¹⁹⁹ Binaghi Olivari, "Partita doppia Milanese per Tiziano," p. 42. See also the catalogue entry in *Capolavori da scoprire*, p. 126. The fact that the damage was not restricted or even significantly concentrated around Christ's face, as well as general questions of the accessibility of the painting, which hung above an altar, casts doubt on her theory.

choose his role in the Passion drama.²⁰⁰ This choice between compassion and complicity is also suggested by the statutes' admonition that, when kissing the face of Christ each morning, he must take care that he does so in good faith, and not like "another Judas."²⁰¹

There is a sculptural valence to Gaudenzio's frescoes as well, although in their case the point of reference is not an artifact from Roman Antiquity but the more recent tableaux at the celebrated *sacro monte* of Varallo, located approximately 110 kilometers from Milan (then a one- to two-day journey) in the Alpine foothills. The "hyper-real" installations of the *sacri monti* have often been relegated to the margins of art historical scholarship, dismissed as unsophisticated and "artless" products of popular piety.

Recently, however, historians have begun to reassess the place of the *sacri monti* in early modern visual culture, to probe the connections between their stagecraft and the perspectival illusions of Bramante and Leonardo, and to examine Varallo's associations with, and significance to, the Milanese elite.²⁰² The relationships between the tableaux of

²⁰⁰ "Domine Iesu Christe fili dei vivi qui hora diei prima Pilato presentatus et ab iniquis innocens accusatus blasphematus, spoliatus, facie velatus, arundine verberatus, illusionem adoratus, consputus, colaphizatus pro nobis fuisti tribue quaesumus ut defensione tua ubique armati et hostes vincere et ad tuam valeamus gloriam pervenire qui vivis etc. Amen." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 43r.

²⁰¹ "Memoriam videlicet passionis et mortis suae. Ideo incarnationis et crucis eius quotidie memoriam fatietis. Mane coronam eius spineam adorantes proni post brevem orationem infranotatam in signu charitatis osculum quilibet dabit in faciem Christi sui. Sic enim habemus a senioribus, quod apostoli venientes ad iesum quotidie statim osculabantur eum a Deo, mitis et benignus fuit Dominus. Caveat autem quisque ne ni peccato presumat osculari ne ut alter Judas traditor iuste damnetur: Talia caritatis exteriora signa quotiens in secreto suggeret vobis spiritus sanctus in pretermissa erunt vobis." ASM Santa Corona Registri 1A, fol. 2v.

²⁰² Some of the major studies to address Varallo and the phenomenon of the *sacri monti* of the past few decades are: Rudolf Wittkower, "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps," in Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 174-183; William Hood, "The *Sacro Monte* of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion," in Monasticism and the Arts, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Dally (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984), pp. 291-311; sections of the chapter on "Verisimilitude and Resemblance" in Freedberg, The Power of Images, pp. 192-205; Santino Langé, Alberto Pensa, and Giuseppe Paciarotti, Il sacro monte: esperienza del reale e spazio virtuale nell'iconografia della Passione a Varallo, (Milan: Jaca Book, 1991); Luciano Vaccaro, ed., Sacri monti: devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma, (Milan: Jaca Book, 1992); Alessandro Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo," in Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 113-126; Pier Giorgio Longo, "Pietà e cultura dell'osservanza francescana a Varallo Sesia," Novarien vol.

the *sacri monti* and urban spectacle in Borromean Milan will be discussed in the following chapter. Concomitant with the repositioning of the *sacri monti* within the history of Italian art has been a broader reevaluation of the significance of polychrome sculpture, both as its own medium and in relation to two dimensional painting.²⁰³ These studies have revealed the *sacri monti* and their imagery to have been far more accessible to Milanese and Italian travelers, to have had much more renown, and to have had far greater reverberations in Italian artistic culture than previously thought. Lorenzo Lotto, for example, who made the pilgrimage to Varallo in circa 1520, incorporated motifs from the shrine into the *Life of Saint Barbara* in the Oratorio Suardi in Trescorre (1523-1524), *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (1521) and his *Lamentation* for Niccolo Buonofede at S. Maria della Pietà in Monte San Giusto (1529).²⁰⁴

The similarities in composition between the Santa Corona frescoes and the chapels of the Varallo, as well as other paintings by Gaudenzio of the same subjects, have

26 (1996), pp. 169-207; Roberta Panzanelli, *Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the "New Jerusalem" at Varallo (1486-1530)*, Ph.D. Diss., The University of California, Los Angeles, 1999; Dorino Tuniz, ed., *I Sacri Monti nella cultura religiosa e artistica del nord Italia* (Milan: San Paolo, 2005); Elena de Filippis, *Gaudenzio Ferrari, La Crocifissione Del Sacro Monte Di Varallo* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2006); and Christine Göttler, "The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 393-451. Stephen J. Campbell will address resonances of the *sacri monti* in the visual culture of northern Italy in a project currently in progress and Allie Terry-Fritsch discusses the kinesthetics of Varallo in Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Touch Me, Touch Me Not*, in *Touch Me, Touch Me Not Re-evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity*, ed. Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli, special issue of *Open Arts Journal* vol. 4 (winter 2014-2015), pp. 111-132 and in her forthcoming book *Somaesthetic Experience and the Renaissance Viewer in Florence*.

²⁰³ Timothy Verdon, *The Art of Guido Mazzoni* (New York: Garland, 1978); Adalgisa Lugli, *Guido Mazzoni e la rinascita della terracotta nel Quattrocento* (Turin: U. Allemandi, 1990); Sandrina Bandera Bistoletti, *Agostino De' Fondulis: e la riscoperta della terracotta nel Rinascimento lombardo* (Bergamo: Edizioni Bolis, 1997); Xavier Bray, *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting And Sculpture 1600-1700* (London: National Gallery, 2009).

²⁰⁴ These correspondences were first noted as early as 1963 and are finally getting wider attention. Anna Maria Brizio, "Il Sacro Monte di Varallo: Gaudenzio e Lotto," *Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti, Torino* vol. 19 (1963), pp. 35-42 and Francesca Cortesi Bosco, *Lorenzo Lotto: the Frescoes in the Oratorio Suardi at Trescore*, trans. Rodney De Souza (Milan: Skira, 1997).

already been noted by multiple scholars (figs. 73-76).²⁰⁵ Like Bernardino Luini, Gaudenzio Ferrari was an artist who often reused successful compositions and, lacking the contracts between him and the confraternity of S. Corona, it is impossible to ascertain whether the correspondance between the frescoes in the Grazie and his inventions at Varallo was at the behest of his patrons or was merely a practical move on Gaudenzio's part. The associations that have so far surfaced between the confraternity of Santa Corona and the mountain shrine of Varallo are provocative but, beyond their shared employment of Gaudenzio, largely indirect.²⁰⁶ Santa Corona was established by Ludovico Sforza's Dominican confessor, Fra Stefano da Seregno; the Franciscan Bernardino Caimi, who founded the Sacro Monte of Varallo in 1486, was the confessor of Ludovico's wife, Beatrice d'Este.²⁰⁷ Later in the sixteenth century, Varallo underwent substantial renovation and revitalization under the patronage of a new administrator, a wealthy Milanese patrician named Giacomo d'Adda (d. 1580) whose family was one of the most active and powerful in the state of Milan with numerous ties to the government.²⁰⁸ Two of Giacomo d'Adda's kinsmen were affiliated with Santa Corona: his first cousin, Erasmo (d. 1580) appears in the confraternity's *libri mastri* assisting with the payment and logistics for the transporting of Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* from

²⁰⁵ See, for example, Luigi Mallé, *Incontri con Gaudenzio*, pp. 210-213; Sacchi, "Gaudenzio Ferrari a Milano," p. 210; and Buganza, "Le Confraternite lombarde e l'arte," p. 65.

²⁰⁶ It is not possible to determine from surviving documentation whether Gaudenzio's association with Varallo had any bearing on the confraternity's decision to entrust him with the decoration of their chapel.

²⁰⁷ On Caimi see Pier Giorgio Longo, "Bernardino Caimi francescano osservante: tra 'eremitorio' e città," *Novarien* vol. 29 (2000) pp. 9-26. The Milanese nobleman Francesco Trivulzio, a Franciscan Observant in Caimi's circle, was one of the early donors to Santa Corona. Bascapé, *Il Pio Istituto di Santa Corona*, p. 125.

²⁰⁸ Silvio Leydi and Matteo Mattarozzi, *La famiglia d'Adda di Sale: storia e arte tra XVI e XVIII secolo* (Milan: Causa pia d'Adda, 2008).

Venice to Cremona in 1543.²⁰⁹ Erasmo's son, Giovanni Paolo (1540-1585) was a member of the confraternity from 1573 until his death in 1585.²¹⁰

However, a loose approximation of Varallo's tableaux was available to the urban Milanese through the various polychrome sculptural groups in churches such as S. Maria presso S. Satiro and S. Sepolcro, the latter of which did have direct ties to Santa Corona. In the crypt of S. Sepolcro, dedicated in honor of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 1093, a life-sized painted terracotta Lamentation group served as the cultic focus of a female confraternity devoted to Mary Magdalene.²¹¹ In the chancel, a large-scale "monte della Passione" recreating the hill of Golgotha existed until shortly after 1578. According to a pastoral visit from 1577, "il monte Calvario" rose up behind the altar with the cross at its center, flanked by the crosses of the two thieves and with "images" (sculptures) of the Virgin and the three Maries at its base.²¹² And, most suggestively, near the stairs

²⁰⁹ "Et adì gienaro L. 123, s. 13, d. 9 contati a Mr. Erasmo d'Ada [sic] per virtute de una litera de Mr. Jo. Jacobo da Dugnano in Venecia per altri tanti che esso Dugnano ha pagato in spese diverse, zovè in legnamo, trelise, storie, et corde, ligadure, et per il dacio de la magnifica città di Venecia, barcha et condotta di Venecia a Cremona, como per uno conto de dicto Dugnano et de dicto numerato ne apare fede di mane di Mr. Erasmo d'Ada al Magnifico Mr. Filippo Candiano in credito." ASM Santa Corona Registri 56, fol. 217.

²¹⁰ ASM Santa Corona Registri 2, fol. 75. Canetta cites his date of entry as 1577; further complicating matters is the fact that the entry in Santa Corona's *memorie* recording d'Adda's initiation into the confraternity lists his age at the time of admission as 39, which, if he were born in 1540, would move his initiation to 1579. Canetta, *Storia del Pio Istituto di S. Corona in Milano*, p. 48.

²¹¹ Ellen L. Longworth, "Stylistic and Iconographic Considerations: The Lamentation in the Church of Santo Sepolcro, Milan," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 30 (2009), pp. 91-114 and Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga, "I disegni di Leonardo per la chiesa del Santo Sepolcro di Milano," in *Il disegno di architettura, atti del convegno, Milano, 15018 febbraio 1988*, ed. Paolo Carpeggiani and Luciano Patetta (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 1989), p. 128. The confraternity was founded in 1514. The crypt also contained a marble sarcophagus made in the fourteenth century in imitation of the sepulcher of Jerusalem, soil from Palestine, and other relics. A fragment of the "sacra lintea corporis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi" was contained in/on the altar in the upper church. The Lamentation group still exists in the church today but is now kept in the nave of the upper church and is in a severe state of disrepair. Drawings by Leonardo da Vinci, discussed by Piccaluga, reveal that at the turn of the sixteenth century there were plans to redesign the church as a centrally planned structure, similar to the many "copies" of the Holy Sepulcher that had existed since the medieval period.

²¹² The visit was dated 22 October, 1577. ASDM Section X, S. Sepulchri et Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, vol. 9, q. 3. Cited in Piccaluga, "I disegni di Leonardo," p. 134, note 46. Piccaluga suggests that a *Pietà* by Bramante, now in the Ambrosiana but originally on the lunette above the entrance to the church might correspond to the original appearance of the "monte della Passione." The fresco depicts the Virgin and Dead Christ, closely cropped, with saints on either side set in what looks like the nave of a church, with the

connecting the crypt and the chancel was a location described in pastoral visits only as the "luoghi dei misteri" of the life and Passion of Christ.²¹³ What was meant by the "luoghi dei misteri" is not entirely certain, but a contemporaneous document uncovered by Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga in the Archivio di Stato seems to indicate a series of twenty four small chapels containing statuary groups representing the "mysteries" of the life and Passion of Christ.²¹⁴ Piccaluga describes this program of polychrome tableaux, including the Lamentation and Mount of Calvary, as an early approximation of the Via Crucis and posits it in relation to the *sacri monti*.²¹⁵

The church of S. Sepolcro not only adjoined the *sede* of S. Corona but served as a secondary site of worship for the brotherhood. From 1503 onward they would occasionally celebrate the mass there and, at an undetermined point in the Cinquecento, they reached an agreement with the canons of S. Sepolcro to allow the *confratelli* to observe "the mysteries of the Passion" in the church.²¹⁶ Members of the sodality would therefore not only have been exposed to the type of sculptural installations seen at the Varallo Sacro Monte but may well have been accustomed to interact with them during the

mount of Calvary ascending behind them. Bramante's fresco dates to ca. 1505, indicating that, if it did indeed correspond to or represent the "monte della Passione," the latter must have been installed by that time.

²¹³ Piccaluga, "I disegni di Leonardo," p. 128.

²¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 130-131 and 135 note 60. When these chapels would have been constructed is unclear. They appear to relate to a project initiated earlier in the century to renovate and expand the church, to which several drawings by Leonardo seem to be connected, but whether they would have been completed and in use during the 1540s cannot be stated with any certainty and other documentary sources suggest that that these chapels may have been a Borromean initiative. See also Piccaluga, "L'iconografia della Passione e il dibattito sulle sacre scritture. Il progetto di un Sacro Monte nella chiesa milanese di Santo Sepolcro nell'età della Controriforma," in Vaccaro, *Sacri monti: devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma*, pp. 173-193.

²¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 130-131.

²¹⁶ ASM Santa Corona Registri 2, fol. 42, notes a legacy from Gabriele Fontana (Venzago) endowing a mass to be said for him daily in S. Sepolcro. A papal privilege from Pius IV in 1563 gave the brotherhood official leave to celebrate mass at S. Sepolcro with their own chaplain. See ASM Santa Corona Origine e Dotazione 247 and Prerogative 601. For the ability to "fare li misterii della Passione di Nostro Signore" see an undated document, the script of which most closely matches records from the mid-16th century in the confraternity's *memorie*. ASM Santa Corona Origine e Dotazione 247. On the relationship between S. Corona and S. Sepolcro see also Piccaluga, pp. 125-136.

course of their meditations. Accordingly, even barring concrete ties between Santa Corona and Varallo, it is possible and productive to consider the Sacro Monte and the polychrome ensembles at S. Sepolcro in terms of how the *confratelli* of Santa Corona been conditioned to view and engage with sculpture and how, subsequently, those experiences would have shaped or transferred to their interactions with Gaudenzio's deployment of similar, albeit painted, images in their chapel.²¹⁷

In the chapels at Varallo's Sacro Monte, scenes from the life and Passion of Christ were enacted by vivid polychrome sculptures, with horsehair wigs and glass eyes and, sometimes, fabric garments, set against illusionistic painted backdrops. Their aim was the creation of an immersive religious art that challenged the boundaries of the frame and the limits of media, melding painting with sculpture and illusion with reality. These simulacra provided pilgrims with a fully somatic and phenomenological encounter with Christ, facilitated by guidebooks that encouraged direct physical identification—and sometimes contact—with the holy figures.²¹⁸ Before the installation of grilles and barriers under Carlo Borromeo, visitors to Varallo would have kissed the feet of the statue of the Christ Child and perhaps cradled it in their arms; crawling on hands and knees into the intimate, cave-like chapel of the sepulcher, they would have knelt and kept a vigil by Christ's corpse (fig. 102).²¹⁹ Polychrome sculpture, in these contexts, triggered a haptical

²¹⁷ It is not my intention to suggest here that the chapel of Santa Corona was staking a claim to a kind of sacred presence or facsimile like that promoted at Varallo, although the iconography of the Sacro Monte, believed at the time to have exactly replicated elements of biblical Jerusalem, may have provided a kind of idiom of authenticity or visual accuracy.

²¹⁸ A guidebook from 1514 survives in a unique copy, now in Seville. Stefania Stefani Perrone, ed., *Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle (in una "Guida" poetica del 1514)*, (Novara: Società per la conservazione delle opere d'arte e dei monumenti in Valsesia, 1987).

²¹⁹ Allie Terry-Fristch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Touch Me, Touch Me Not*, in *Touch Me, Touch Me Not Re-evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity*, ed. Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli, special issue of *Open Arts Journal* vol. 4 (winter 2014-2015), pp. 111-132. See also Nova,

rather than a purely optical response and it is my contention that this mode of beholding was also activated by the allusions to sculpture in the Grazie Passion cycle.

In this way, we should understand the "sculptural visualizations" in the Santa Corona Passion cycle to go beyond the simple evocation of surface textures to tap into a specific rhetoric attached to *rilievo* (relief) that associated three-dimensional projection—or the simulation of it—with tangible presence. The Italian term *rilievo* did not insist on a literal projection from the picture plane but originated in artists' workshops as a term to describe the illusion of three dimensions in painting generated by shading.²²⁰ In the *paragone* debates of the 1540s, and in earlier writings by Leonardo da Vinci, champions of painting identified *rilievo* as a painter's tool to compete with—and surpass—the three-dimensional presence of sculpture.²²¹ Deployed in sacred literature and in secular romances, as well as in theoretical writings about the arts, François Quiviger argues, *rilievo* took on an overtly tangible connotation:

It acted as a visual sign which prompts the viewer to switch from an optical perception to an imaginative, tactile anticipation. This mode of imagining...echoed the most important mental discipline of the late medieval and Renaissance imagination: the art of religious meditation.²²²

"Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy," p. 117 and D. Medina Lasansky, "Bodily Elision: Acting Out the Passion at the Italian Sacri Monti," in *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 249-273.

²²⁰ Luba Freedman, "Rilievo as an Artistic Term in Renaissance Art Theory," *Rinascimento* vol. 39 (1989), pp. 217-247.

²²¹ In *Della Pittura*, Alberti writes "in painting I would praise...those faces which seem to stand out from the pictures as if they were sculpted--loderò quelli visi quali come scolpiti parranno uscire fuori della tavola." Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Cecil Grayson (New York: Penguin, 1991), p. 82. Leonardo writes that the "first task of the painter is to make a flat surface appear as a body in relief, standing out from that surface, "major cause of wonder that arises in painting is the appearance of something detached from the wall or other flat surface, deceiving subtle judgments with this effect, as it is not separated from the surface of the wall." Martin Kemp, ed., *Leonardo on Painting: an Anthology of Writings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 44.

²²² François Quiviger, "Relief is in the Mind: Observations on Renaissance Low Relief Sculpture," in *Depth of Field*, pp. 176-177. In romances, for example Boccaccio's *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*, the term "rilievo" was sometimes used to describe the "visual appearance of areas of high tactile sensitivity on the human body, in particular lips and nipples." This interpretation is at odds with John Shearman's characterization of relief as the least transitive--that is, requiring the least participation of the viewer--of all

The notion of *rilievo* is explicitly taken up in the context of meditation in the writings of the mystic Ugo Panziera da Prato (d. 1330), whose work experienced a renewed popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, particularly in the circles surrounding Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, and Alfonso d'Avalos.²²³ In his *Treatise on Perfection* (ca. 1320), Panziera articulates the sequence in which the divine is made corporeally and tangibly manifest in meditation²²⁴ through the metaphor of artistic facture:

In the first stage when the mind begins to contemplate Christ in these circumstances, he seems to be written into the mind and imagination; in the second he appears to be outlined; in the third outlined and shaded; in the fourth colored and lifelike; and in the fifth he seems to be incarnate and in relief.²²⁵

Sculpture, or, rather, the appearance of relief thus signifies the ultimate and most complete stage of meditation, wherein Christ is made fully present before the devotee.²²⁶

Words, drawings, and paintings are abstractions; sculpture is an experience, a direct

modes of narrative. It is self-contained, self-sufficient, he writes, and the spectator's presence is in no way acknowledged. See also Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art*, p. 112).

²²³ On Panziera and the reception of his work see P. Dionisio Pacetti, "Studi e ricerche intorno a Frate Ugo Panziera (c. 1260-1330)," *Studi francescani* vol. 57, fasc. 3-4 (1960), pp. 215-253 and "I trattati spirituali di Ugo Panziera," *Studi francescani* vol. 63/64, fasc. 4 (1966), pp. 3-41. The *Trattati* were published in five editions: one in Venice before 1491, two in Florence in 1492, one in Venice ca. 1500, and one in Genoa in 1535. See Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books*, p. 289 and Pacetti, "I trattati spirituali," pp. 9-10. Pacetti does not appear to have been aware of the first Venetian edition (before 1491) and counts only four. Una d'Elia has argued that the passage discussed below may have inspired Vittoria Colonna's poetic experience of Christ's suffering body in terms of *disegno* and *colore* in her sonnets. See Una d'Elia, "Drawing Christ's Blood: Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, and the Aesthetics of Reform," *Renaissance Quarterly* vol. 59, no. 1 (Spring 2006) pp. 96-97 and Cranston, *The Muddied Mirror*, pp. 85-86.

²²⁴ In perfect "mental action," which is itself the fullest and most perfect state of contemplation and meditation, the object of meditation will reverberate in the devotee's physical senses ("continuamente reverbera il suo oggetto nei corporali sentimenti"). Ugo Panziera, "Trattato della Perfezione," in *Mistici del duecento e del trecento*, ed. Arrigo Levasti (Milan: Rizzoli, 1960), p. 273.

²²⁵ "Nel primo tempo nel quale la mente comincia colle infrascritte circostanze di Cristo al pensare, Cristo pare nella mente e nella imaginativa scritto. Nel secondo pare disegnato. Nel terzo pare disegnato e ombrato. Nel quarto pare colorato e incarnato. Nel quinto pare incarnato e rilevato." Ibid, p. 273. David Summers translates the last phrase as "sculpted in the flesh." See David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 116.

²²⁶ L.R. Jones, "Visio Divina? Donor Figures and Representations of Imagistic Devotion: The Copy of the *Virgin of Bagnolo* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V.M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art* LXI (2002), p. 44. See also. Sarah Blake McHam, "Now and Then: Recovering a Sense of Different Values," in *Depth of Field*, pp. 341-342.

vision. Lars Jones has further pointed to the play of *rilevato* on the word *revelato*, meaning "revelation" or "divine showing."²²⁷ For the *confratello* viewing, or recalling, the Grazie Passion cycle in the course of meditations that emphasized a physical connection with the sacred, the monumental solidity and plasticity of Christ in these images could have signaled the fulfillment of his devotions by rendering Christ more vivid, more present, and more completely accessible to his pious "touch."

The four images of the Santa Corona Passion cycle thus draw on the formal qualities of sculpture as an aesthetic strategy and as a spiritual one. Representing Christ in the guise of *Laocoön*—as a "work of ivory that breathed"—Titian engages with religious and humanist texts that use sculptural motifs as a metaphor for the divine body. Gaudenzio Ferrari redeploys motifs from his polychromed sculptural groups at the Varallo Sacro Monte to invoke an "authentic" sacred site and to imbue the figures with a tangible presence. In the case of the *Crowning with Thorns*, the "sculptural mode," enhanced by *Laocoön*'s associations with the antique, may also have aligned with the purifying aims of Catholic humanists. But most significantly, and for each artist's contributions, the associations of sculpture with touch, asserted anew in the *paragone* debates of the Cinquecento, intersect with the expressly somatic piety practiced by the confraternity of Santa Corona. Through the invocation of relief and of polychromy, the Passion cycle activates a mode of imagination that is both haptical and optical, prompting the devotee to interact physically with Christ and, to that end, rendering him fully and tangibly present, "incarnate and in relief."

Titian returned to *The Crowning with Thorns* in the 1570s in a canvas that was left, presumably unfinished, in his studio upon his death (fig. 77). This later version

²²⁷ Jones, "*Visio Divina?*," p. 44.

retains the basic composition of the Santa Corona altarpiece, including the nod to *Laocoön*, but has replaced the former's frenetic violence with a tone of quiet resignation and its sculptural aesthetic with a purely painterly one.²²⁸ As David Rosand writes, "the initial physicality of the conception has been muted; the clearly defined forms of the figures and architecture now participate in the larger order of individual marks, a surface network of brush strokes, of broken touches of color."²²⁹ These formal changes accord both with Titian's late style and with the religious and artistic culture after the Council of Trent, a culture that privileged many of the ambiguities of painting that had previously caused such anxiety and shunned the "marblelike surfaces and incised contours" of *maniera*.²³⁰ The Tridentine decrees further clarified the status of images as simulacra that could only convey a mediated "likeness" rather than presence. Accordingly, the "deceptive" artificiality of painting came to be valued, when appropriately tempered, as a self-conscious declaration of distance from the prototype. At the same time, and perhaps more significantly, a current emerged in theoretical writings on art that appeared to claim for painting a greater purchase on the sacred.²³¹ Lomazzo, Vasari, and, later, Marco Boschini accorded to painting the unique ability to represent the unseen, the incorporeal, the insubstantial, arguments that recall Giulio Camillo's assertion of the greater subtlety

²²⁸ The quotation itself is also less emphatic, perhaps in response to the Council's criticism of excessive artifice and quotation

²²⁹ David Rosand, "Titian and Pictorial Space," in *Titian, Prince of Painters*, ed. S. Biadene and M. Yakush (Munich: Prestel, 1990), p. 90

²³⁰ Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art*, p. 162

²³¹ If God's original act of creation, as Benedetto Varchi (1549) stated, was sculpture, the original sacred image was a painting, according to Lomazzo (1584), who argued that Christ himself became a painter by giving his likeness to Veronica. See Grazyna Jurkowlaniec, "Faith, *Paragone*, and Commemoration in Dürer's 'Christomorphic' Self-Portrait of 1500," in *Faith and Fantasy in the Renaissance: Texts, Images, and Religious Practices*, ed. Olga Zorzi Pugliese and Ethan Matt Kavaler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), p. 219. According to Michael Cole, some sixteenth-century writers argued that visions were paintings made in the air by angels. See Michael W. Cole, "The Demonic Arts and the Origin of the Medium," *Art Bulletin* vol. 84, no. 4 (December 2002), pp. 621-640.

and spirituality of paint.²³² Effects of sfumato and loose, painterly brushstrokes articulated the ultimate ineffability and incomprehensibility of the divine in ways that sculpture's implacable materiality could not.²³³ We cannot, Boschini proclaimed, touch God with our hands.²³⁴ Titian's post-Tridentine Christ is not a physical being, no "work of ivory that breathed," but a flickering image, always out of reach.

VII. Conclusion

In 1543 Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* was installed alongside Gaudenzio Ferrari's frescoes in the chapel of Santa Corona, completing the Passion cycle envisioned by Bernardino Ghilio in his last will and testament. This chapter has sought to position the chapel ensemble within the spiritual life of the confraternity of Santa Corona, to shed light on the ways in which it provided a visual proxy for the relic of the *santa spina*, and to demonstrate how it aided devotees in constructing and visiting "the places of the Passion," wherein they were afforded an intimate and vivid encounter with Christ's suffering body. I have also endeavored to show how Titian and Gaudenzio Ferrari experimented with sculptural motifs and the boundaries of the frame to trigger a haptical response, moving from a model of passive contemplation to one of active participation by the paintings' confraternal viewers. Two years after Titian's altarpiece arrived in Milan,

²³² Vasari, for example, emphasized the ability of the painter's technique of sfumato to capture what lies between the seen and the unseen ("fra l'vedi e non vedi"). Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori, vol. 4, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), p. 9. Lomazzo, in turn, focused attention on the "harmony and composition of the soul," which only painting was able to represent. Lomazzo, Idea of the Temple of Painting, pp. 145-148. See further the discussion of sfumato in chapter two of this dissertation, and also Michael W. Cole, "Discernment and Animation, Leonardo to Lomazzo," in Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. Walter S. Melion, Todd M. Richardson, and Reindert Falkenburg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 133-161.

²³³ On the reception and theorization of painterly brushwork after the Council of Trent see Philip Sohm, Pittoresco: Marco Boschini, his Critics, and their Critiques of Painterly Brushwork in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. pp. 25-62.

²³⁴ Cranston, The Muddied Mirror, p. 4. Boschini, in *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (1660), is discussing Jacopo da Bassano's Adoration of the Shepherds of 1591.

the Council of Trent convened for its first session on December 13, 1545. In the aftermath of the Tridentine reforms, these types of performative images that obfuscated the boundaries between the beholder and the beheld would become less possible as the very category of the sacred image came under scrutiny. In the final chapter of this dissertation, our focus will turn to confraternal and devotional performance in post-Tridentine Milan on a grander, city-wide scale through an examination of the now defunct stational crosses, erected by Carlo Borromeo in the aftermath of the catastrophic plague of 1576.

CHAPTER FOUR

Staging the Passion: The *Croci Stazionali* and the Confraternities of Santa Croce in Carlo Borromeo's Ritual City

I. Introduction

Plague arrived in Milan towards the end of the summer of 1576. Earlier that year the Cardinal-Archbishop Carlo Borromeo (r. 1564-1584) had celebrated his great Jubilee in honor of the Holy Year observed in Rome in 1575, but now the city that had teemed with pilgrims, whose hymns had made it "seem full of choirs of angels," lay silent and empty and the splendid decorations that festooned the processional routes were replaced by streaks of white lime to mark the homes of the infected.¹ The plague of 1576-1577 would prove to be one of the most virulent epidemics in Milan's recorded history, leaving 17,239 of its citizens dead when the disease finally abated the following spring.² The

¹ Describing the Jubilee, Carlo Borromeo's biographer, Giovanni Pietro Giussano, wrote: "Haveva [Carlo Borromeo] essortato tutti a visitar le Chiese processionalmente per mostrar più eligione, abbreviando a questo fine i quindici giorni della visita; perciò si vedevano continuamente, e quasi in ogni parte della Città, numerose processioni, con varii concerti di musica, che pareva Milano tutto ripieno di Chori Angelici; e benche fosse concorso di gente tanto straordinario per le Chiese, si vedeva nondimeno modestia, e riverenza tale, per li buoni ordini da lui stabiliti, che rendeva stupore." Giovanni Pietro Giussano, Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, prete cardinale del titolo di Santa Prassede Arcivescovo di Milano (Rome: Stamperia della Camera apostolica, 1610), p. 242. Paolo Bisciola wrote in his eyewitness account of the plague that "la città si vedeva abandonata." Paolo Bisciola, Relatione verissima del progresso della peste di Milano (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1577), p. 2. On the plague see also Giacomo Filippo Besta, Vera narrazione del successo della peste che afflisse l'inclita città di Milano, l'anno 1576, et di tutte le provisioni fatte à salute di essa città (Milan: Gottardo e Pacifico Ponti fratelli, 1578); Filippo Maria Ferro, ed., La peste nella cultura lombarda (Milan: Electa, 1973); and Storia di Milano vol. 10, pp. 235-247. The marking of the homes of the infected (or those suspected of being ill) with white crosses or slashes is noted by the eyewitness Urbano Monti, Compendio delle cose più notabili della città di Milano e della famiglia de' Monti vol 1, fol. 108r. BAM P 248 sup.

² In September, according to Bisciola, the death toll reached 300 a day. Bisciola, p. 2. For the complete count of casualties, taken from the meticulous records of the Milanese Tribunale della Sanità, see Samuel

sick were confined within Milan's *lazaretto*, a plague hospital that had been built approximately a century before just outside of the city walls near the *Porta Orientale*; when space in the *lazaretto* ran out, multiple shanty towns sprung up in the surrounding countryside to house the surplus of victims.³ Most Milanese patricians fled the city before the government prohibited travel and the citizens who remained, largely those of lesser means, were subjected to the sweeping quarantine imposed by the Tribunale della Sanità and the Spanish governor, the Marquis d'Ayamonte.⁴

The *male contagioso* of 1576 and Carlo Borromeo's spiritual and administrative response to it formed a critical part of the archbishop's cult and hagiography, to the point where it is still colloquially known as the "Plague of San Carlo."⁵ Declaring the epidemic to be a divine punishment for the manifold sins of the Milanese, Carlo organized public prayers and penitential processions to cleanse the city of its spiritual and physical impurities, himself walking barefoot with a rope around his neck and carrying Milan's most important relic—the *Santo Chiodo* (Holy Nail) from the Crucifixion—mounted on a

K. Cohn, Jr., Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the End of the Renaissance (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 20.

³ Pamela M. Jones, "San Carlo Borromeo and Plague Imagery in Milan and Rome," in Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague, ed. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Pamela M. Jones, Franco Mormando, and Thomas W. Worcester (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 66-67.

⁴ The "Editto per la Quarantena degli Ecclesiastici," dated October 18, 1576, is published in the Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis: ab eius initiis usque ad nostram aetatem, hereafter AEM, ed. Achille Ratti, vol. 3 (Milan: Pontificia Sancti Ioseph, 1890-1892), columns 605-607. The Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis is a compendium of the decrees, pastoral letters, and other legal acts produced by the Milanese church under Carlo Borromeo, first published in 1582. The most recent edition, edited by Achille Ratti (later Pope Pius XI) as prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, is currently in the process of being digitized by the Ambrosiana. See also Storia di Milano vol. 10, pp. 235-240.

⁵ The plague features heavily in both the written and visual records of Carlo's life and works produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as part of the movement to promote his beatification and, later, canonization. Episodes of Carlo's ministry to the plague stricken are the subject of several of the *Quadroni* in the Duomo, for example, and the events of the plague are given their own book in Giussano's biography. On the *Quadroni* generally see Ernesto Brivio, Vita e miracoli di S. Carlo Borromeo: itinerario pittorico nel Duomo di Milano (Milan: NED, 1995).

large cross (figs. 78 and 79).⁶ In premodern Italy, the physical suffering of the Passion frequently provided an analogue for pestilence and Borromeo himself became a Christ-like figure, as his biographer Giovanni Pietro Giussano wrote in 1610: "he considered himself to carry upon his shoulders the sins of his people, and offered himself in sacrifice to God for them, content to bear the punishment for their sins."⁷ A print issued in 1578, after the plague's abatement, celebrates his success, depicting a re-Christened Milan, purified in body and soul, spreading out beneath the celestial court of Christ (fig. 80).

Throughout the quarantine, Borromeo advised citizens to follow a strict course of devotion to Christ's Passion and ordered the erection of temporary altars in Milan's main intersections where they could hear Mass and other prayers from the windows of their homes (fig. 81).⁸ When the contagion passed many of these altars were converted into

⁶ Jones, "San Carlo Borromeo and Plague Imagery in Milan and Rome," pp. 65-96. See also Wietse de Boer, The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 79-83. The three processions organized by Borromeo and his ministry to plague victims are also recorded at length in book IV of Giussano's biography: Giussano, Vita di San Carlo Borromeo, pp. 248-316. Borromeo published his own recollections and ruminations on the epidemic in 1579: Carlo Borromeo, Memoriale ai Milanesi, ed. Giovanni Testori (Milan: Giordano, 1965). Throughout the text he exhorts the Milanese to remember and repudiate their sins: "ricordati, Milano, le mascare, le comedie, i giuoci paganeschi... Vedi tu ora, Milano, i semi degli adulterii, elle fornicazioni, delli stupri, delle morti..." (pp. 149-150).

⁷ "E s'intese poi come imaginandosi d'havere sopra di sè tutti i peccati del suo Popolo, s'offeriva a Dio in sacrificio, contentandosi di ricevere egli il castigo d'essi peccati, pur che l'ira Divina restasse placata verso di che ne meritava la pena, e la povera Città fosse liberata dal flagello." Giussano, Vita di San Carlo Borromeo, p. 267. On devotion to the Holy Nail, discussed in more detail below, see Alessandro Tamborini, Un'insigne reliquia della Passione nel Duomo di Milano (Milan: Ordine Equestre del Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme, 1933), especially chapter five, and Edith W Kirsch, "An Early Reliquary of the Holy Nail in Milan," Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz, vol. 30 (1986), pp. 569-576. Another of the alleged nails from the Crucifixion was, and still is, conserved in the Duomo of the nearby suburb of Monza, where it formed part of the famous Iron Crown of Lombardy that was used since Late Antiquity to crown the Lombard Kings and Holy Roman Emperors.

⁸ In his pastoral letter of October 20, 1576, Borromeo advised the Milanese to spend the quarantine in pious contemplation, reading, and penitence and proposed seven daily prayers, in reference to the seven occasions on which the blood of Christ was spilled; the church bells in the city would ring seven times a day to assist in this practice and incite citizens to prayer. As meditational texts he particularly recommended the meditations of the Jesuit Gaspare Loarte on the Passion and *La guida dei peccatori* by Luigi (Luis) di Granada. AEM, vol. 3, cols. 600-605 See also Carlo Marcora, "La devozione di S. Carlo per la passione di Cristo," Diocesi di Milano vol. 5 (1964), pp. 272-276. Besta, in his narration of the events of the plague, wrote: "Il Cardinale institui, che per tutto il tempo della quarantena...et tutti in detto tempo havessero a stare affacciati alle finestre, facendo l'oratione comunemente ad alta voce, ciascuno

permanent monuments, which took the form of columns topped with the "most magnificent trophy (*trophaeum*)...[and] standard (*vexillum*) of the cross."⁹ Spread across Milan, these structures resembled a massive *Via Crucis* where devotees could contemplate the suffering body of Christ and, later, specific episodes of the Passion. To better care for and venerate the crosses, Carlo Borromeo established confraternities of the Santa Croce in 1578.¹⁰ One of these sodalities was attached to each cross and its members, men and women who lived in the surrounding neighborhood, would gather nightly at its foot to recite the *oratione della sera* (nightly oration) and other prayers and litanies.¹¹

These *croci stazionali* (stational crosses) and their confraternities were a cornerstone of the *città rituale*—the “ritual city”—created in Milan under Carlo Borromeo, who was one of the chief architects of Catholic reform. The "Borromeo experiment" as Wietse de Boer has described it, aimed to sanctify the daily lives of citizens through ritual and discipline, prescribing a rigorous program of daily prayer, the observance of liturgical feasts with elaborate processions, and the reinvigoration of the cult of relics and saints.¹² The chief object of devotion in this ritual city was, in Carlo's words, "the ornament of Christian piety...that most holy tree of the Cross."¹³ At the time

della sua contrada cantando a vicenda le lettanie, et altre preci, et orationi; et dalle finestre istesse, udivano la messa che ogni giorno si celebrava sopra gli altari, che il cardinale fece erigere in luoghi comodi, a fronte delle contrade." Besta, *Vera narrazione del successo della peste*, p. 29. For a list of the altars erected during the plague see ASDM, section X (visite pastorali), Metropolitana, vol. 23, q. 1. The virulence of the plague is attested to by the fact that in at least one case, at the altar near the Seminario Arcivescovile, devotions (but not, of course, the Mass) were supervised by a woman, Madonna Giulia Rancata (Ibid, fol. 5r). These altars and Carlo Borromeo's decrees for their construction will be discussed in detail in the next section of this chapter.

⁹ *AEM*, vol. 2, col. 242.

¹⁰ Marina Olivieri Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri." La confraternità della Santa Croce e della Pietà dei carcerati a Milano nei secoli XVI-XVIII* (Milan: NED, 1985), pp. 16-17.

¹¹ The confraternities of Santa Croce were formally established by Carlo Borromeo in 1578.

¹² de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul* p. ix.

¹³ "Christianae pietatis ornamentum, in quo populum fidelem gloriari oportet, altare est coelestis holocausti, sacrosancta illa arbor Crucis, in qua auctor humanae redemptionis pependit Christus Dominus." The decrees of the Third Provincial Council (1573), *AEM*, vol. 2, col. 242.

of Carlo's death in 1584, nineteen stational crosses existed in Milan; this number increased to thirty-six under his cousin and successor Federico Borromeo (r. 1595-1631) and would continue to grow until their suppression by the Austrian Hapsburg government in the eighteenth century.¹⁴

In 1786, after a process spanning more than a decade, the confraternities of S. Croce in Milan were disbanded and most of the stational crosses were ordered razed to the ground by the Hapsburg imperial regime, an initiative that formed part of the wholesale suppression of the city's religious institutions. On the one hand, the suppression of the crosses and confraternities generated a large body of documentation, from institutional histories and pamphlets, to inventories of the confraternities' assets, to architects' evaluations of the crosses' artistic merits. On the other hand, the shuttering of the stational crosses poses significant challenges for the historian. Beyond the demolition of the majority of the crosses themselves, there was the confiscation and dispersal of the sodalities' other material holdings: artworks and furnishings that had adorned their altars and were carried in processions were sold to museums or private collectors, with few records of their provenance to assist efforts to trace them.¹⁵ The recovery of Borromeo's *croci stazionali* is further complicated by the fact that from the outset, the crosses

¹⁴ There was, however, a period between the death of Carlo Borromeo in 1584, under his successor Gaspare Visconti, when conflicts between Milan's religious and civil authorities led to a temporary moratorium on the construction of new stational crosses and the establishment of new confraternities. The base of the column at Verziere, in fact, was destroyed personally by the city's *Gran Cancelliere*. In around 1600, during the episcopate of Federico Borromeo, the crosses and confraternities once again entered a period of expansion. See Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri,"* p. 33.

¹⁵ The centralization of the city's documents at this time and a succession of fires have resulted in some significant gaps in the confraternities' archives as well. This is a fate unfortunately shared by Milan's other pious institutions, as discussed previously in chapters one and two. Inventories produced of the confraternities' assets provide a general picture of the range of objects they owned and used but do not provide any information beyond the type of object, its general condition, and an estimate of its value.

underwent a continual process of renovation so that no extant examples bear any resemblance to their sixteenth-century forms.

Accordingly, there does not yet exist a comprehensive art historical study of the *croci stazionali* and the confraternities of S. Croce. In addition to the summary though extremely valuable catalogue *Le "crocette" nella Milano di San Carlo*, the major modern study to consider the crosses within a broader account of public religious art and monuments in Milan is *Una Milano sconosciuta: la geografia dei segni sacri da Carlo Borromeo a Maria Teresa d'Austria* by Maria Antonietta Crippa and Ferdinando Zanzottera (2000).¹⁶ Marina Olivieri Baldissarri's historical monograph on the confraternity of S. Croce at S. Babila, *I "poveri prigionieri"* (1985) details its charitable and spiritual activities and its aggregation to the Roman archconfraternity of the Pietà dei Carcerati and touches on its cross and altar.¹⁷ The crosses are also often discussed briefly as components of Carlo Borromeo's reforms, such as in *La città rituale: la città e lo Stato di Milano nell'età dei Borromeo* (1982) and an incisive 2004 article by Richard Schofield, but rarely are they the primary focus.¹⁸ Contributing also to the lack of

¹⁶ Fermo Roggiani, Marina Olivieri, and Virginio Sironi, *Le "Crocette" nella Milano di San Carlo* (Milan: Ripartizione Cultura Museo di Milano, 1984) and Maria Antonietta Crippa and Ferdinando Zanzottera, *Una Milano sconosciuta: la geografia dei segni sacri da Carlo Borromeo a Maria Teresa d'Austria* (Milan: Strenna dell'Istituto "Gaetano Pini," 2000), especially pp. 31-85.

¹⁷ Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri."*

¹⁸ Adele Buratti, Gauro Coppola, Giulio Crespi, Patrizia Falzone, Gianni Mezzanotte, Gilberto Oneto, Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro, and Maria Chiara Verga, *La città rituale: la città e lo Stato di Milano nell'età dei Borromeo* (Milan: F. Angeli, 1982), especially pp. 93-96 and Richard Schofield, "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics in Milan's Public Spaces," *Annali di architettura: rivista del Centro internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio di Vicenza* vol. 16 (2004), pp. 79-120. Schofield's article remains the only work to significantly address the stationary crosses written in English. Other studies on or addressing the stationary crosses and confraternities of S. Croce include: Adele Buratti Mazzotta, "Crocì stazionali," in *Dizionario della Chiesa ambrosiana* vol. 2, ed. Angelo Majo and Giuliano Vigni (Milan: NED, 1988), pp. 967-971; Marilisa di Giovanni, "Colonne votive nella devozione popolare a Milano da San Carlo a Federico Borromeo," in *Milano e il suo territorio* vol. 2, ed. Franco Della Peruta, Roberto Leydi, Angelo Stella (Milan: Silvana Editore, 1985), pp. 631-640; Vincenzo Bevacqua, "C'era una volta Milano a croci e colori," *Rivista la ca' granda* vol. 42, no. 3 (2001), pp. 39-42 and "Due Crocette," *Rivista la ca' granda* vol. 46, no 3 (2005), pp. 23-27; Angelo Giorgio Ghezzi, "Worship and Devotion in the Age of San Carlo Borromeo," in *The Iron Crown And Imperial Europe*, ed. Graziella Buccellati (Milan: G. Mondadori,

scholarly attention to the *croci stazionali* has been the tendency until recently of art historians to dismiss these types of monuments as relics of popular piety placed outside more exalted spheres of image production, a notion contradicted by the fact that some of the most celebrated artists in late Renaissance Milan—Giambattista Crespi (Il Cerano), Camillo Procaccini, Morazzone, and the architect Pellegrino Tibaldi—contributed to their design and decoration. Related to this notion is the crosses' apparent "non-representation" quality, a characterization which this chapter refutes.

This chapter, the final case study of this dissertation, examines the mobilization of Passion imagery in the city of Milan by the stational crosses and their confraternities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While considering the crosses generally

1995), pp. 84-110; Gianni Mezzanotte, "L'attività dell' Alessi nell'urbanistica milanese del Cinquecento," in Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del cinquecento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi genova, 16-20 Aprile 1974 (Genoa: Sagep Editrice Genova, 1974), pp. 449-459, 518-522; and Smiderle Placido, "L'Oratorio dei SS. Carlo e Vitale alle Cascine Abbadesse," Memorie storiche della Diocesi di Milano, vol. 7 (1960), pp. 132-182, especially 144-151. Historical studies of Milanese confraternities, ritual, and religion and popular piety in Borromean Milan also touch on them briefly. See, for example, Danilo Zardin, "The Relaunching of Confraternities," op cit. and Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani, La scena della gloria: drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1995), especially pp. 37-42. A manuscript conserved in the Ambrosiana (BAM A 202 suss.) dating to ca. 1592-1594, which also exists in a more legible copy made in 1728 (Archivio Storico Civico di Milano, hereafter ASCM, codice archivio B3), describes the various sacred sites and luoghi pii of Milan and includes several entries on the stational crosses. The Ambrosiana manuscript was very recently published with commentary by Marzia Giuliani as Le antichità di Milano: una descrizione della città alla fine del Cinquecento (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 2011), pp. 23-24, 91-92, 118, 120-121, 144-145, 148, 165, 231. On the original and ASCM copy see also Caterina Santoro, "Chiese, Luoghi Pii, e Popolazione a Milano sulla fine del '500," in Studi in onore di Mons. Carlo Castiglioni (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore, 1957), pp. 783-787. Several early printed histories and descriptions of Milan discuss the stational crosses: Paolo Morigia, Historia dell' antichità di Milano, facsimile reprint of 1592 edition (Bologna: Forni, 1967), p. 347; Carlo Torre, Il ritratto di Milano, diviso in tre libri, nel quale vengono descritte tutte le antichità, e modernità, che vedeuansi, e che si vedono nella città di Milano, si di sontuose fabbriche, quanto di pittura, e di scultura, (Milan: F. Angelli, 1674), pp. 12, 56-57, 62; and Servilio Latuada, Descrizione di Milano ornata con molti disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue, che si trovano in questa metropoli, 5 vols (Milan: Nella Regio-Ducal Corte, a spese de Giuseppe Cairoli, 1737), vol. 1 pp. 141-142, 170-172, 210, 224, 238-239, 334-335, vol. 2 pp. 23-25, 48-54, 236-252, 259-264, 334, vol. 3 pp. 88-90, 126, 171-173, 184-188, 240-243, 277-285, 291-296, 327-329, vol. 4 pp. 1-6, 32-34, 147-149, 405-406, 421-422, vol. 5 pp. 16-22, 39-40, 42-44, 58-59, 84-85, 103-104, 228-230, 291-292, 375-377. An institutional history of the cross and confraternity at S. Babila was published in 1618: Memoriale della Croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale di Milano, dove si tratta dell'origine sua, del progresso, dell'aggregatione con le quale si unì all'arciconfraternita del Pietà dei carcerati di Roma e dei suoi privilegi (Milan: Per Gratiadio Ferrioli, 1618). A slightly more recent study of the confraternity of S. Croce and stational cross at Verziere, dating to the nineteenth century, is Pietro Ghinzoni, La colonna di Porta Vittoria in Milano: notizie raccolte su Documenti d'Archivio (Milan: Fratelli Dumolard, Editori, 1887).

as a corpus of monuments, my analysis focuses particular attention on the stational crosses and confraternities at Cordusio and San Babila, each of which retains a rich documentary record.¹⁹ In the following section I will discuss the construction of the crosses and the establishment of their confraternities by Carlo Borromeo in the wake of the plague of 1576. Drawing on archival documents and early printed sources, as well as on surviving prints and drawings, I will build on existing scholarship to reconstruct the original appearance of the crosses and their altars. I also consider the ambivalent status of the stational crosses as images in the religious culture following the Council of Trent. Section three situates the Milanese stational crosses within the cult of the Holy Cross and explores their origins as a subcategory within the larger tradition of wayside crosses and the *Via Crucis* in Europe, particularly the *sacro monte* at Varallo and its urban analogues in Milan.

Building on these points, the fourth section locates the crosses within Borromeo's *città rituale* and investigates their role in confraternal devotion. As I will demonstrate, the stational crosses transformed the city streets into a New Jerusalem and a living theater for the perpetual enactment of Christ's Passion. The complex *apparati* staged at the

¹⁹ The substantial archival records for the confraternities of S. Croce are spread across several collections in Milan, including the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, the Archivio di Stato di Milano, the Biblioteca Trivulziana, and the Archivio Storico Civico di Milano. Some of the key documents are: a *trattato* conserved in the ASDM, written in the seventeenth century by Matroniano Binago, one of the Oblates assigned by the Archbishop to supervise the activities of the S. Croce confraternities: *Trattato delle croci erette in Milano*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11. Section X of the ASDM contains reports of pastoral visits, several of which touch on the activities of the confraternities. The Archivio di Stato houses records of the suppression of the stational crosses, including several short histories of the crosses and governmental correspondence in ASM, *Atti di governo, Culto, parte antica*, 2097; inventories and records of individual crosses during this period are contained in multiple files under the Amministrazione del fondo de religione. The Archivio Storico Civico di Milano has a copy of the Ambrosiana manuscript published as *Le Antichità di Milano* (ASCM codice archivio B3) as well as an eighteenth century report by the architect Leopold Pollack on the condition and his aesthetic judgment on several of the crosses (ASCM, Località Milanese 136). The Biblioteca Trivulziana has a valuable memoir of the stational crosses written in 1760 by Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona, chancellor of the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio (Trivulziana codice 1765). Among the more valuable manuscript sources in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana are the *memorie* of the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio (BAM, Fondo Trotti, 72), a history of the cross and confraternity of S. Croce at S. Maria presso S. Satiro (BAM, Fondo Cusani, Q38), and Urbano Monti's memoir, cited above, note 1. The major secondary sources are treated in note 18 above.

crosses on feast days shed light on the significant and enduring role of ephemera in Borromeo Milan, even after Carlo banned the performance of mystery plays, and on the ways in which the stational crosses worked to convert urban space into allegorical space. These performances animated not only the geography of the city but also the bodies of the *confratelli* who moved through it in the course of meditations, vigils, and processions, and who themselves bore the cross of Christ in the form of confraternal badges. The visual and devotional focus of the stational crosses began to shift in the later years of Federico Borromeo's archiepiscopate, when each was assigned a patron saint from among the former bishops of Milan, and this transformation is the subject of the chapter's penultimate section. By way of an epilogue, in section six I address the demolition of the crosses and the suppression of the confraternities of S. Croce under the Hapsburgs in the late eighteenth century.

II. "Christ who deserved a statue instead received a cross." The Building of the Stational Crosses and a Reconstruction of Their Altars

On Wednesday, June 5, 1577, the eve of Corpus Christi, Carlo Borromeo arrived in Piazza Cordusio, midway between the Duomo and the Castello Sforzesco, at almost the exact center of the city (fig. 82).²⁰ Before a gathering of the clergy and all the inhabitants of the neighborhood, and accompanied by hymns and the salutes of trumpets, he blessed a metal crucifix in thanksgiving for the liberation of Milan from the plague.

Hand in hand, the clergy and the people adored it and several priests placed it on top of a

²⁰ Erettione della Croce del S. Crocifisso al Cordusio fatta da S. Carlo; regola dell' oratione, processioni, et altre fonzioni date dal sudetto; indulgenze perpetue et altre concesse alla compagnia; privilegi ricevuti per essere la prima fondata; processione nel trasporto del corpo di S. Carlo; memorie di cose appartenenti alla S. Croce, BAM Fondo Trotti 72, fol. 1r. This anonymous manuscript, dating to the early seventeenth century (more specifically ca. 1620-1630), records the early history, rules, privileges and indulgences, and general *memorie* of the confraternity at Cordusio. Later entries, written in different hands, extend well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

large column erected recently for that purpose in the piazza, where that night they held a grand and solemn procession.²¹ This cross at Cordusio was the first stationary cross in Milan to be erected and blessed by the Cardinal-Archbishop. Today the cross exists in a dramatically altered form in Piazza Borromeo outside the church of Santa Maria Podone, where it was relocated during the Hapsburg reforms. However, two images commemorating its benediction, an engraving from a series of episodes from the life of Carlo Borromeo (fig. 83), issued upon his canonization in 1610, and a painting by Cerano from ca. 1603 (fig. 84), record its appearance and also give us some idea of the appearance of the other stationary crosses in the late Cinquecento.²² The simple composition is confirmed by contemporary descriptions: a metal cross or crucifix on top of a high marble or stone column, typically of the Doric or Tuscan order, with a plain pedestal.²³ The one notable exception to this basic iconographic scheme is the stationary

²¹ "L'anno 1577 dopo che il benignissimo Iddio osso dalle assidue oratione et mortificatione fatte da esso Santo Carlo per placare l'ira di Iddio contra il popola di Milano liberò da questa città da si severo castigo et flagello, venne esso S. Carlo a cavallo un giorno...fece chiamare la Vicinanza di detta piazza del Cordusio, qual radunata insieme, gli disse queste somigliant parole. Qua voglio facciate piantare una colona, et sopra di essa vi poniate un crocifisso, qual piantata che sarà, verrò a benedirla. Il che inteso detta Vicinanza subito la fece piantare. Fatto questo l'anno 1577 il dì 5 giugno giorno di mercoledì, qual fu la vigilia del Corpus domini, il detto S. Carlo...se ne venne alla volta del Cordusio, dove il clero tutto l'aspettava, qual smontato che ebbe et vestito delle veste pontificali con le cerimonie soliete a ciò farsi con canti et soni di trobe benedisce il Crocifisso qual benedetto che fu, esso S. Carlo fece l'adoratione della S. Croce donandogli un scudo d'oro, et così seguito tutto il clero et il popolo ancora di mano in mano facendo l'istesso atto di adoratione... Ordinò poi di più esso S. Carlo che la sera dell'istesso giorno detto Crucefisso fosse esposto da duoi o tre sacerdoti in cima a detta colona il che in detta sera si fece una solenne et grande processione." BAM Fondo Trotti 72 fols 1-3. An inscription affixed to the base of the cross confirmed the date and emphasized the cross's connection to the plague: CRUCIS SIGNUM A CAROLO CARDINALI ARCHIEPISCOPO BENEDICTUM V. KALEN. JUNII 1577. VICINIA PESTE AFFLICTA EREXIT.

²² Cerano's painting is one of the *Quadroni*, a large series of canvasses celebrating the life and miracles of Carlo Borromeo originally installed in the Duomo. See above note 5. On the prints by Cesare Bonino see Danilo Zardin, *La vita e i miracoli di San Carlo Borromeo: tra arte e devozione: il racconto per immagini di Cesare Bonino* (Milan: Jaca book, 2010).

²³ The question of cross v. crucifix will be discussed later in this chapter. According to Paolo Morigia: "ciasche duna di esse confratrie [della santissima Croce] ha eretta una gran colona di marmo, sopra la quale vi è posta l'immagine di nostro Signore Giesu Christo inchiodato sul legno della Santa Croce, scolpita di gitto di bronzo." See Morigia, *Historia dell'Antichità di Milano*, p. 347. The Cinquecento chronicler Giambattista Casale, who had first hand knowledge of the crosses, describes five of them, of which three--at S. Giovanni Itolano (1577), at S. Satiro (1577) and at S. Babila (1584)--had crosses and one--Cordusio

cross at Bottonuto (fig. 85), built in 1607 and still extant in a new location near the Giardini Pubblici, which is not a column but an obelisk supported by four spheres and, originally, topped with a cross.²⁴ Many of the columns were quite tall: the cross near the church of San Babila, for example, is reported to have been twenty braccie high—almost forty feet—and its cross weighed ninety pounds.²⁵ The designs of several of the crosses, despite their apparent simplicity, have been connected to some of the most important architects in Borromean Milan, such as the base of the cross of S. Martiniano at Verziere, the model for which, according to Servilio Latuada, derived from Carlo Borromeo's

(1577)--had a crucifix or "Christo," while the cross at S. Jacopo in Porta Vercellina he describes only as "la croceta." The cross at S. Giovanni Itolano (also called Laterano) was then replaced by a crucifix in 1583. See Carlo Marcora, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale (1554-1598)," Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano, vol. 12 (1965), pp. 304-305, 314, 316, 335, 343, 359, and 361 and BAM Trotti 72. The column at S. Babila is described in its *memoriale* as "nuda...E riuscì così bella, che superò l'aspettazione da tutti. Ella è così riguardevole che al presente da gl'intelligenti dell'arte viene stimata singolare. Sotto vi è una base di semplice lavoro, proportionata alla colonna, di sopra poi un' capitello di lavoro non ordinario, ma divisato a sottilissimi intagli." Memoriale della Croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale di Milano, p. 27. The late-sixteenth century author of the Antichità di Milano notes the crosses at Cordusio, S. Babila, the Carrobio near Porta Ticinese, S. Anastasia, S. Marco, S. Simpliciano, and the "Foppa" cemetery in Porta Comassina but does not provide any details about their appearance. See Antichità di Milano, pp. 90-91, 118-120, 145, 231. Records of the confraternity and cross of S. Marolo in Porta Romana, originally near S. Giovanni in Conca and moved in the eighteenth century to S. Nazaro, indicate a cross. See ASM Amministrazione del Fondo di Religione, 1476. Latuada stipulates that the column at S. Anastasia (1577-1579) held a crucifix blessed by Carlo Borromeo. See Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 5, pp. 375-377. See also, generally, Schofield, "Architecture and the Cult of Relics," p. 90.

²⁴ Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 2, pp. 236-239 and Roggiani et al, Le "Crocette" nella Milano di San Carlo, p. 39. The column of S. Protasio near the Castello Sforzesco, built in the fourteenth century on the spot where S. Protasio was beheaded, was not technically a stational cross but it, too, was shaped like an obelisk--Latuada's description is of a column with a capital in the form of a pinnacle--about eight feet (four braccie) high, with an orb at the top. Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 5, pp. 42-44

²⁵ Memoriale della Croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale di Milano, pp. 26-28. Monti indicates the weight of the cross and the miraculous feat of strength displayed by the man who installed it: "circa alle 23 hore fecero porre la croce sopra la colonna, portata da uno maestro fabricero della chiesa di Santo Fidele, quale agiuntato dal Divino favore atteso al gran peso di detta croce de circa novanta lire grosse et per esser detto maestro di piccolo statura, nonostante l'altezza della colonna sopra la quale volendo andare vi bisogno una longa scala da mano, toltala in spalla molto destramente, la portò et colloco nella sumità del piccolo monticello posto sopra la colonna." Monti, Compendio delle cose più notabili della città di Milano, vol. 3, fol. 91r. The Milanese *braccio* in the medieval and early modern period was equivalent to approximately .6 meters or almost 2 feet. See Jacques Heyman, The Stone Skeleton: Structural Engineering of Masonry Architecture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 148.

favorite architect Pellegrino Pellegrini (Pellegrino Tibaldi).²⁶ A full table listing each cross, its form, alterations, decorations, and other details is included in Appendix A.

The basic form of a cross or sculpture set atop a column recalls both the cruciform monuments of the Early Christian and medieval periods, to be discussed in the following section, and the commemorative columns of Roman antiquity (fig. 86).²⁷ This association with Roman victory monuments was deliberate, appropriating and Christianizing an antique symbol of conquest to memorialize the spiritual victory of the Milanese over the "flagello" of the plague and the heresies and sins that had provoked God's wrath.²⁸ The comparison between the cross and Roman triumphal columns was an established trope dating back to Constantine and still current in the sixteenth century, as evidenced by a sermon delivered in 1510 on Good Friday in the Sistine Chapel by Battista Casali, in which he lamented that, unlike several ancient heroes who were honored with statues in the forum, "Christ, who deserved a statue, instead received a cross."²⁹ Atop Borromeo's columns, the cross and the victory statue became one and the same, the sign of Christ's own and original victory over death and the "supreme trophy of the Christian People,"

²⁶ Latuada stipulates that "data le norme per gettarne la fondamente il celebre Pellegrino Pellegrini," while the column itself was designed by the architect Giandomenico Richini. Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 2, p. 23. A descriptive inventory of the art and architecture of churches, and other places, in Porta Orientale, contained among the records of pastoral visits to the Duomo likewise alleges: "Sopra il corso di P. Tosa la colonna, sopra cui posa un Salvator collo Croce Trionfante di ceppo scolptio di Gio. Batta. Vismara fu disegno di Pellegrino Pellegrini." ASDM, section X, Metropolitana, vol. LXXVIII, fol. 38v. See also *Una Milano sconosciuta*, p. 32. Pietro Ghinzoni has challenged the attribution to Pellegrini, citing a lack of conclusive documentary evidence and suggesting instead the engineer Giovanni Battista Lonati, who documents confirm provided his services to the confraternity in the early 1580s. See Ghinzoni pp. 10-11.

²⁷ Crippa and Zanzottera, *Milano Sconosciuta*, p. 36 and Buratti Mazzotta, "Croci stazionali," pp. 967-968.
²⁸ On Roman Imperial columns, see Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²⁹ Cited in Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 147-148. On Constantine's institution of a new monument type consisting of a column topped by a cross in response to the pagan practice of placing statues on triumphal columns, see p. 125. See also, generally, Carlo Cecchelli, *Il trionfo della croce: la croce e i santi segni prima e dopo Costantino* (Rome: Edizione Paoline, 1954).

triumphal language that is repeated throughout the statutes, *memorie*, and other documents associated with the stational crosses and their confraternities.³⁰

The stational crosses not only served commemorative and ritual functions but were understood by the Milanese to be endowed with apotropaic powers, keeping both the plague and the spiritual ills of heresy and Protestantism at bay.³¹ The chronicler Urbano Monti, in fact, relates an incident during the elaborate ceremony for the blessing and installation of the cross at S. Babila in which a possessed woman ("*indemoniata*")

³⁰ "praeclarum Populi Christiani Trophaeum." *AEM*, vol. 2, col. 242. The proem to the *Memoriale* of the cross at S. Babila proclaims: "si alzasse questo Trofeo nelle contrade...perche ancora questo è l'unico tesoro, nel quale si deve gloriare il Christiano, il più nobile memoriale, che Christo ne lasciasse della nostra Redentione, il più glorioso trofeo di tutte le vittorie." *Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale*, pp. 10-13. See also, among others, BAM, Trotti 72, fol. 4 and the pamphlet "Memorie appartenenti alle Croci e compagnie erette nella Città e Diocesi di Milano," ASM Culto, p.a., 2097. The members of the confraternities of S. Croce likewise saw themselves as defenders of the faith, rallying under the "standard" of the cross. Initiates into the sodlaity near S. Eustorgio, under the patronage of St. Peter Martyr, vowed: "Ego facio votum Deo et Beatae Mariae et Beato Petro Martiri accipiendi, et portandi Crucem, ad Honorem Iesu Christi Domini Nostri: Fidei Catholice exaltionem: et ad haereticorum, eorumque fautorum exterminatum in tota diocesi Mediol., et promitto exponere substantiam meam temporalem, et vitam propriam pro fidei defensione cum opus tuerit: et fuero requistus." The protocols for initiation are included in *Trattato breve et molto utile in materia della compagnia della Croce di S. Pietro Martire* (Milan: per Iacobo Maria Meda, 1576), pp. 29-30. Christopher Black has noted the presence in other cities of confraternities devoted to the S. Croce and to Peter Martyr (or founded by him) that were closely affiliated with the Inquisition and its anti-heretical initiatives. Christopher Black, "The Public Face of Post-Tridentine Italian Confraternities," *The Journal of Religious History* vol. 28, no. 1 (February 2004), pp. 76-77.

³¹ In the proem to the general rules he created for the confraternities of S. Croce Carlo Borromeo stipulated: "Quindi è che in occasione della peste, cioè in segno del gran beneficio del Signor Nostro liberando questa Città da tanto flagello habbiamo piantata la Croce in molti luoghi della Città, à ciascuna Croce habbiamo eretto una devota Compagnia di Huomini e di Donne per eccitarvi alla continua memoria della Santissima Passione di Giesu Christo Crocifisso, rimedio efficacissimo per tener lontana la peste dell' anima e del corpo." The crosses worn as badges by the *confratelli* were likewise proclaimed "buon rimedio" against "ogni altra cattiva tentazione." See "Regole delle Compagnie della Santa Croce della città e diocesi di Milano," in *AEM* vol. 3, cols. 1321, 1325. These rules were originally promulgated on March 28, 1578. The idea of spiritual infirmity is more explicitly taken up by the *memoriale* of the cross and confraternity at S. Babila: "Si alzasse questo Trofeo nelle contrade... quel segnale in somma, col quale si fa chiaro, che i fedeli non hanno alcuna cosa di commune con gl' inimici della Croce di Christo, che sono i Giudei, gli Etnici, e gli Heretici; mà che liberamente professano di adorare Christo, e questo Crocifisso." *Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale*, p. 10-11. The text of the indulgence granted to devotees of the cross at Cordusio by Pope Gregory likewise linked devotion to "l'immagine del santissimo Crocifisso del detto loco del Cordusio" not only to the liberation of the city from the plague but to the rooting out of heresy and conversion of nonbelievers. BAM, Trotti 72, fol. 40v. See also Schofield, "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics," p. 91.

cringed away at the sight of it.³² This idea of a divinely-sanctioned image possessing curative properties brings to mind the Brazen Serpent, an association made in the statutes for the confraternities of S. Croce as well as by several early modern Milanese writers, and a bronze copy of which existed and still remains mounted on a column in the nave of the church of S. Ambrogio (figs. 87 and 88).³³ Describing the Milanese serpent in 1592, Paolo Morigia wrote that it was placed in the church "opposite the image of the Crucifix, so that one saw the type and the antitype. Hence it is the most noble and exalted earthly simulacrum of the highest mystery of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."³⁴ Although the

³² "...mostrò nostro signore segno mirabile per detta croce contra nostri nemici Infernali et fu che ivi trovandosi una donna indemoniata fece molti strani movimenti et stridi dimostrando haver gran cratio et dolore in veder questa Benedetta croce, la qual cosa diede gran maraviglia et consolatione insieme a fedeli che questo videro." Monti, Compendio delle cose più notabili della città di Milano, vol. 2, fol. 91r.

³³ "Perche tutto lo studio del Christiano ha da esser nel Signor Giesu Christo Crocifisso...per ricevere la salute, come ciò fu figurato nel Serpente di metallo da Mose eretto nel deserto: e per esser la Croce la nostra salute, virtù, et gloria." "Regole delle Compagnie della Santa Croce," AEM vol. 3, col. 1320. See also the proem to the *Memoriale* of the S. Babila, which continues: "E veramente si trovava in quei tempi la Città di Milano infettata dalla morsicatura de' Serpenti dell'Inferno non meno, che altre volte il popolo Hebrei da morsi di quei velenosi serpi, che gli davano indubitata morte. Perciò, siccome a questi quel gran Profeta Mosè non hebbe altro rimedio che il rizzare in alto un Serpente di bronzo, nel quale si fissava l'occhio, ne riportava la bramata sanità; Così a questo male delle nime non giudicò trovarsi medicina più proportionata quell'affettuosissimo medico, che inalzare sopra alte colonne quel Sacrosanto Segno, nel qual trovò già rimedio efficacissimo la infermità di tutto il genere humano." Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale, pp. 12-13 Furthermore, Carlo Borromeo's most esteemed patristic scholar, Pietro Galesini, compared the Brazen Serpent to the Vatican obelisk erected in 1586, declaring Sixtus V to be a second Moses, who placed the sign of the Cross on the obelisk as a cure for the ill and afflicted. See Schofield, "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics," p. 92 and also Milano sconosciuta, p. 38. This link was also attested visually by several of the paintings displayed on the altars of the stational crosses on feast days and other special occasions, see below pp. 242-243. According to Paolo Morigia, the serpent in S. Ambrogio, which he presents as the original and not a copy, was brought to Milan in 973 by Bishop Arnolfo I (r. 970-974), who acquired it from the Emperor in Constantinople. (Modern historians, however, assert that the serpent was given not to Arnolfo I but to Arnolfo II as a gift from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II in 1007.) It is significant that his entry on the Brazen Serpent appears in the portion of the Historia dell'Antichità dedicated to the various relics in the city. Morigia, Historia dell' antichità di Milano, pp. 341-342. The chronicler Urbano Monti likewise presents it as the genuine object, but says instead that it was brought to the city by St. Ambrose, who acquired it together with the Holy Nail from Emperor Theodosius, thus linking the Brazen Serpent to both the cult of the Nail and Holy Cross and to the plague, which the Nail was instrumental in repelling. (This account is in fact inserted into a larger part of his narrative on the plague of 1576.) Monti, Compendio delle cose più notabili della città di Milano, vol 1, fols. 103r-104v.

³⁴ "...e dirimpetto vi è l'immagine del Crocefisso, acciò si veda la figura, e il figurato. La onde questo è il più nobile et eccelso simulacro dell'altissimo misterio della Croce di nostro Signore Giesu Christo, che sia in terra." Morigia, Historia dell'antichità di Milano, p. 342. The typological relationship between the Brazen Serpent and the cross of Christ is traditional.

serpent in S. Ambrogio was popularly regarded in the sixteenth century as the original object made by Moses, and was venerated by mothers in the hope of curing their sick children, it appears not to have been the subject of official devotion during the plague and Carlo Borromeo publically denounced any belief in its efficacy as superstition.³⁵ Nevertheless the presence of a copy of the Brazen Serpent in the city and its visual resemblance to the stational crosses are important as a means of linking the stational crosses to a tradition of even greater antiquity than the wayside crosses and the imperial Roman columns and to a local, if officially discredited, relic and cult.

Whether the objects on top of Borromeo's columns were crucifixes, representing the body of Christ, or empty crosses—and whether they were considered images or symbols—has been the subject of some debate. In his life of Carlo Borromeo, Giussano stipulates that each column was ordered to have "a large Cross with a figure of Christ nailed to it," a generalization echoed by Morigia, but such a requirement, if it indeed existed, does not appear to have been universally applied or enforced.³⁶ Contemporary sources describe a range of objects and are not always consistent in their accounts of the same monument. The cross at S. Babila, for example, is labeled both a "croce" and a "crocifisso" in Cinquecento chronicles while a later manuscript describes a cross with a

³⁵ Schofield, "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics," p. 92. On the cult surrounding the Brazen Serpent at S. Ambrogio Morigia writes: "Gia s'osservavano e ancora s'osserva a menare i fanciulli (per divotione) che patiscono il loro male di lombrici, il giorno dopo la Pasqua di Resurrettione, orando avanti il Crocefisso, et mirando al serpente, e si sanano dal detto male, conferme a quello che si trova scritto nel Libro de' numeri cap. 21 'Lesi curantur, serpentum dum speculantur.'" Morigia, Historia dell'antichità di Milano, p. 342.

³⁶ "Diede ordine che si piantassero in ciascu luogo, ove erano quelli Altari, nobili et alte colonne di pietre vive, fondate sopra le basi e piedestalli; nella sommità delle quali si ponesse una Croce grande, con un Christo inchiodato." Giussano, Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, p. 327. This specification is not, however, mentioned in any of the decrees published by Carlo Borromeo. Morigia further indicates that on each column was the image of Christ nailed to the wood of the cross, made in cast bronze. See above, note 23. The historian Marilisa Di Giovanni states that only the cross at Cordusio included the figure of Christ, but her argument is disputed by contemporary sources that suggest that at least two other columns at one point contained crucifixes rather than crosses, as discussed below. See Di Giovanni, "Colonne votive nella devozione popolare a Milano da San Carlo a Federico Borromeo," p. 634.

skull at its base and the crown of thorns draped over the top with three nails indicating where Christ's hands and feet would have been, leaving the devotee to imagine the holy body hanging there.³⁷ An unpublished drawing included with reports of pastoral visits to S. Babila (fig. 89) appears to show a hypothetical combination of the stational cross with the famous column of the "Leone" (figs. 90 and 91) a separate monument still standing nearby, though this sketch, too, indicates a crucifix.³⁸ The only large-scale sculpted representation of Christ, the colossal "Redeemer" on the column at Verziere attributed to Giovanni Battista Vismara, was a later addition installed in 1672 (figs. 92 and 93).³⁹

³⁷ Casale describes it as a cross; see Marcora, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale (1554-1598)," p. 363. An anonymous account of the translation of the relics of S. Simpliciano, which included a procession around the areas of Porta Orientale and Porta Nuova, refers to a "colonna di marmo piantata nelli compiti o vogliamo dire tricci, o quadircii, sopra la quale è posto un crocifisso di metallo col suo ornamento di sopra che lo difende da nive e pioggia." This account is published in the appendix to Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro, "Per san Carlo a Milano: note sulle processioni con particolare riferimento al Duomo," in San Carlo Borromeo in Italia: Studi offerti a Carlo Mancora dottore dell' Ambrosiana (Brindisi: Edizione Amici della "A. de Leo," 1986), p. 328. These inconsistencies are also noted in Schofield, "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics," p. 90. A simple explanation for this discrepancy may be that, at the time of the S. Simpliciano procession in 1582 the cross to which Casale refers was not yet built. Both Casale and Monti record the installation of the S. Babila cross in 1584, an event also described in the Memoriale della croce (pp. 26-46). Monti, moreover, in his own description of the S. Simpliciano procession, notes that the column at S. Babila was still under construction. Accordingly, I suggest that the author of the S. Simpliciano description was likely referring to an earlier or temporary monument and not to the final structure. See: Monti, Compendio delle cose più notabili della città di Milano, vol. 3, fol. 32r. The cross with nails and the crown is described in a manuscript written in 1760 by Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona, chancellor of the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio and conserved in the Biblioteca Trivulziana: "...in cima della Colonna vi è una croce di ferro che guarda con la facciata verso la chiesa di S. Maria de Servi. A questa croce vi sono fissi 3 chiodi a suo luogo al disopra dopo il titolo ve una corona che appoggia sopra de due lati della detta croce ed a piedi della medema vi è una testa da morto." This description is written on a smaller sheet of paper inserted into the manuscript at the entry for the cross of S. Mona at S. Babila. The manuscript does not have page or folio numbers, but rather numbers each section devoted to a particular cross, of which the cross at S. Babila is number 4. Memorie intorno alla Compagnia delle Sante Croci in Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, codice 1765, fasc. 4. While the author has long been declared by historians to be anonymous, he identifies himself in fasc. 17 as "Gio. Ant. d'Aragona Cancel. della Comp^a della S. Croce del Corduce." On this document see Giulio Porro, Trivulziana. Catalogo dei codici manoscritti (Turin: Stamperia di G.B. Paravia, 1884), p. 240.

³⁸ The drawing appears near the end of a several reports of pastoral visits to the church with subsequent decrees written between 1569 and 1615. On the back of the sketch is written: "Pro crucifixo collocando in compito P. Orientalis." ASDM section X (visiti pastorali), San Babila, vol. 16, q. 15. Prints and written descriptions clearly indicate two separate columns in the street in front of the church: one bearing the cross and the other the lion. On the "Leone" see Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 1, pp. 176-178.

³⁹ Ghinzoni, La colonna di Porta Vittoria in Milano, pp. 48-51. See also Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 2, pp. 23-25.

A few of the crosses were not three-dimensional structures at all but paintings, such as the "crocetta" of S. Venerio, established circa 1603 at the ancient Roman columns outside of the church of S. Lorenzo, which consisted of a painting of the crucified Christ with "other saints" by an unknown artist (figs. 94 and 95).⁴⁰ This altar still exists today on the south side of the columns, but the painting now displayed in the vitrine (fig. 96) is a modern replacement installed some time in the mid-twentieth century.⁴¹ The "cross" of S. Onorato near the church of S. Maria della Scalla, established in 1605, was likewise not an actual cross but an altar with a painting of the Pietà with Saints Carlo Borromeo and Francis of Assisi; the "cross" of S. Eusebio at S. Marco consisted of a small open-air

⁴⁰ According to the eighteenth century survey of the crosses in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, the confraternity at the columns of S. Lorenzo facing Porta Ticinese, which had been the site of one of Carlo Borromeo's original plague altars in 1576, was established by Federico Borromeo some time before 1610. When, that year, each cross and confraternity was placed under the protection of a Milanese bishop saint it was given S. Venerio. Earlier in the manuscript the author reproduces the processional order and assigned "mysteries of the Passion" given by the Prior General of the confraternities of S. Croce in 1607, which includes the cross at the *colonne* with its "mystery" of the moment when Simon of Cyrene took up Christ's cross. See Memorie intorno alla Compagnia delle Sante Croci, fasc. 1 and 11. An earlier date of circa 1603 is derived from the ASDM *trattato*, which states that "al ultimo pilastro delle collone de Santo Laurentio Maggiore per contra a S. Arquellino [sic] detto il crocefisso, fu pricipiata di oratione adi 16 Agosto 1603," and includes it in an older list of the "mysteries" assigned to the crosses, dated 1605, but the document contains no further information about the confraternity or its altar. Trattato delle croci erette in Milano, fols. 3v and 8r. Records of a pastoral visit by Federico Borromeo to S. Lorenzo in 1608 confirm that the altar was then already present and grant the confraternity permission to construct a gate to protect it: "De altari s.mi Crucefixi in Capite Columnarum s.ti Laurentii: si impone di mettervi un cancello di protezione." ASDM section X, S. Lorenzo, vol. 5, p. 884. Neither of these documents nor any other records yet identified provide any more specific information about the image affixed to the altar; the secondary literature remains equally, and puzzlingly, silent. Latuada briefly mentions it as one of two altars on the exterior walls of the colonnade. (The other altar on the north side, facing in towards the center of the city, was linked to the cross of S. Materno at Carrobio.) "Ne' lati esteriori di queste Colonne si vedono fabbricati due Altari, li quali servono a due Compagnie della Santa Croce, il primo, che riguarda all'Arco del Ponte, è sotto il patrocino di S. Venerio nostro Arcivescovo, avendo per Misterio della Passione di Gesù Cristo, quando diede la Croce a Simone Cireneo, e gli fu aggregata la Compagnia dal Cardinale Federigo Borromeo Arcivescovo per avere servito d'Altare a celebrarvi la Santa Messa in tempo della Peste, che serpeggiò in questa Metropoli nell'anno 1576." Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 3, pp. 295-296. See also Aristide Calderini, La zona monumentale di S. Lorenzo in Milano (Milan: Casa editrice Ceschina, 1934), pp. 42-43.

⁴¹ Further research in twentieth-century records needs to be done to determine the fate of the original painting and the origins of the image currently displayed in its place. A photograph published in 1934 (fig. 95) indicates that a painting of the Crucifixion with several other figures, consistent with both the description in the Trivulziana manuscript and with prints of the columns (fig. 94), was then still extant. The area surrounding S. Lorenzo was affected by the Allied bombardment of Milan during World War II (it sustained direct hits on February 14-15, 1943) and it is most likely that the original image was removed, damaged, and/or destroyed at that time. Another photograph from 1938 shows the older painting still in place. See Crippa and Zanzottera, Una Milano sconosciuta, p. 61.

chapel with an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with Saints Ambrose, Augustine, and Carlo Borromeo.⁴² These non-traditional "crosses," it should be noted, did not emerge under Carlo Borromeo, although they occupied sites of plague altars from 1576, but under the leadership of Federico at the turn of the seventeenth century, at which time the *oratione della sera* began to be regularly observed not only at the *crochette* but before other sacred images as well, particularly of the Virgin Mary, painted on the exteriors of churches and private homes throughout the city.⁴³ Unlike the majority of these images, however, the altars at S. Lorenzo, S. Marco, and S. Maria della Scalla are clearly listed as *croci stazionali* in treatises and other documents concerning the crosses and were each assigned their own mystery of the Passion and patron saint along with the other crosses, as will be discussed below, and were affiliated with confraternities of S. Croce.⁴⁴

The introduction of figural images into the mix including ones that depicted other episodes from the gospels beyond the crucifixion, along with the ambiguity of cross-or-crucifix, further complicates the classification of the stational crosses. The distinction

⁴² Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano* vol. 5, pp. 228-230 and 291-292. The painting of the Virgin, S. Carlo, and Saint Ambrose belonging to the altar at S. Marco is listed in an inventory/appraisal of the confraternity's possessions from 1786 in which it is valued at 30 lire. ASM Amministrazione del Fondo di Religione 1474. Below the stone altar was an image of the Deposition with the Virgin Mary weeping at Christ's feet. Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 23. A chapel and confraternity of SS. Crocifisso in the church of S. Marco proper appears to be unrelated to the stational crosses and their confraternities. On this chapel, see Andrea Spiriti, "La capella del Crocifisso, o il trionfo della seconda Accademia," in *La chiesa di San Marco in Milano*, ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer (Milan: Banca Popolare di Milano, 1998), pp. 189-206; on the confraternity see Maria Cristina Brunati, "Crocifisso in San Marco," in *Milano: radici e luoghi della carità*, ed. Luca Aiello, Marco Bascapè, and Sergio Rebora (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2008), pp. 165-167. Latuada also notes a small open chapel near the Quattro Marie in Porta Orientale which had been a plague altar in 1576 and that, in 1616, had a confraternity established there. On their altar was an image of the dead Christ with the Virgin and the other Marys. Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 2, pp. 48-49. *Confratelli* at S. Michele alla Chiusa worshipped at a fresco of the Crucifixion until 1713, when a permanent stational cross was finally built. See the *Trattato delle Croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fol. 5r and Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 3, 171-173.

⁴³ This practice was specifically encouraged by Federico Borromeo in 1603. A list of the approximately 50 sites where the *oratione* was recited, along with the names of the individuals who guided the prayers, appears in the *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 3v-6r. See also Baldissarri, I "poveri prigionieri", p. 36.

⁴⁴ See, for example, *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11 fols. 6v-8r.

between "croce" and "crocifisso" might initially seem slight and unimportant, particularly given that both types occurred simultaneously and apparently interchangeably on the crosses in the late sixteenth century. Indeed, Schofield presents them as more or less equivalent terms and does not explore the potential for meaningful distinctions between them. But to the beholders of the stational crosses in the Cinquecento there was a difference between a cross and a crucifix, one that highlights the tensions between "cross" and "statue," or "image," articulated in Casali's Sistine sermon. The chronicler Casale, for example, is careful to specify that the object placed on the column outside the church of S. Giovanni Laterano in 1577 was not the crucifix he had been discussing—here he uses the suggestive term "Christo"—but a cross; this cross was then replaced by a "Christo" in 1583.⁴⁵ This distinction gains significance when set within the context of a general and gradual shift, observed by Marina Oliveri Baldissarri, in the devotional *compito* of the confraternities of S. Croce away from the contemplation of Christ's crucified body and towards the veneration of the cross as a symbolic object in the years following their establishment. Initially, she notes, the confraternities were called "Santissimo Crocifisso," drawing members' attention to the suffering of Christ, and only in the succeeding years did they become known as companies of Santa Croce, a change, she argues, that depreciated somewhat their Christological associations.⁴⁶ At the same

⁴⁵ "Ma non se li mise il ditto Christo sul ditto cantiro [an old Milanese word for column] ma in cambio del Christo li fu miso la dita Croce." Casale, p. 305. This cross, however, appears to have been replaced by a crucifix in 1583 on top of a new column made of marble that had been built in 1580. Again, according to Casale, who assisted at the event: "Memoria come nel 1580 adì 8 ottobre in sabato fu miso su la colonna di Santo Giovanni letterano in Milano, Laus Deo, et io Giovanni Battista di Casali aiutati a levar suso il suo capitello. Adì 9 ottobre 1583 fu misso su il Christo su la ditta colona di Santo Giovanni ut supra." Marcora, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale," pp. 335-336.

⁴⁶ Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri"*, p. 22. The confraternities are labeled "del Crocefisso" in the rules of the sodality at Cordusio transcribed in their *memorie* and are also called thus by Francesco Porro (d. 1598), a canon at S. Maria della Scala deputized by Carlo Borromeo to handle much of the administration of the S. Croce/Crocifisso confraternities, in several documents of 1580 and 1581, as well as in the indulgence

time the figure of the crucified Christ began to appear less frequently than the empty cross, which came to be used more as an object for adoration in its own right than an instrument to meditate on the suffering and death of Christ, as we will discuss later.⁴⁷

The taxonomic fluidity of the stational crosses speaks to their ambivalent status as images in a culture that, following the Council of Trent, exerted pressure on the category of religious art and still very occasionally grappled with its legitimacy. Carlo Borromeo not only actively followed the proceedings of the council's final session, which took up the question of sacred images, but worked to organize it in his capacity as Apostolic Protonotary. Throughout his career he was deeply invested in the reform of religious art and architecture, as articulated in his treatise on church decoration *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae* (1577).⁴⁸ The *croci stazionali*, in fact, contributed to a much larger building program, initiated by Carlo, which aimed to restore a paleo-Christian purity and Christological focus to Milan's religious buildings and to accord proper dignity to the sacred.⁴⁹ But unlike the carefully regimented church interiors extolled in the *Instructiones*, the stational crosses defy tidy categorization: Cross or

granted to them by Pope Gregory XIII in 1580. In two sermons in 1584, however, Carlo Borromeo refers to them as S. Croce.

⁴⁷ An apparent reversal of this trend in the case of the cross at S. Giovanni Laterano, from "croce" to "Christo," is therefore surprising. On devotion to the cross and the Passion generally in the years surrounding the Catholic and Protestant reformations see Richard Viladesau, [The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴⁸ The treatise has been published and translated with commentary in Evelyn Carole Voelker, [Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae Et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae, 1577: a Translation With Commentary And Analysis](#) (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1977). Carlo also joined other cardinals in Rome for discussions of these concerns in gatherings called Commissions. See also Voelker, "Borromeo's Influence on Sacred Art and Architecture," in [San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century](#), ed. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1988), pp. 172-187; James S. Ackerman, "Pellegrino Tibaldi, san Carlo Borromeo, e l'architettura ecclesiastica del loro tempo," in [San Carlo e il suo tempo](#), vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1986), pp. 573-586.

⁴⁹ John Alexander, [From Renaissance to Counter-Reformation: The Architectural Patronage of Carlo Borromeo During the Reign of Pius IV](#) (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2007).

crucifix? Image or symbol? Architecture or representation? Some scholars have interpreted the response of Catholic reformers like Borromeo to the Tridentine call for decorum as a kind of "soft-iconoclasm" that often privileged the non-figural medium of architecture over the potentially deceptive or improper forms of representational images.⁵⁰ Far from an evacuation of the image, however, the stational crosses flooded the urban environment with visual signs, not the least of which was the crucifix.

As an image, the crucifix occupied a central but ambivalent—and sometimes contested—place on both sides of the confessional divide.⁵¹ Discussing the placement by Casali's sermon of the cross and the statue on opposing poles, Alexander Nagel posits the crucifix in Cinquecento Italy as a type of alternative or "anti-statue" that internalized, archaized, and disciplined sculpture, flattening the body of Christ into a more abstract—and thus more licit—sign or symbol.⁵² And yet while the objects on top of Carlo Borromeo's columns were not fully statues, unlike the ornate sculptural compositions of the next century, viewers certainly saw them as images. The stational cross at Cordusio, for example, is referred to repeatedly in contemporary documents and descriptions as

⁵⁰ See, most recently, Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, pp. 197-220. The major example he cites, which presents a compelling case, is the substitution of Eucharistic tabernacles for altarpieces on the main altars of churches in Milan and Verona.

⁵¹ In the *Instructiones* Carlo Borromeo requires: "The image of the Cross and of Christ, Our Lord affixed to it is to be set up and appropriately represented in wood or other material. It is to be set up in every church, particularly if it is a parochial church, under the arch of the main chapel." Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones*, p. 145. In the north, Luther defended the proper and judicious use of religious images and of the crucifix, but the more iconophobic Protestant reformers rejected the crucifix altogether: Zwingli categorically condemned the representation of Christ on the cross or otherwise and spoke forcefully against the placement of crucifixes in churches and Calvin referred to the crucifix as the "devilish form of Christ." See: Sergiusz Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 56, 66. See also Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), especially pp. 171-190 and Alister E. McGrath, *Luther's Theology of the Cross* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1985).

⁵² Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, pp. 125-126.

"*l'immagine de Santissimo Crocefisso* [sic]."⁵³ Moreover, the crosses were specifically understood by the Milanese to derive their efficacy from the act of beholding: according to the *Memoriale* of the cross at S. Babila, Carlo Borromeo resolved to erect the "trophy" of the cross in the neighborhoods "because the sense of sight is the most efficacious of all others."⁵⁴

So clear was this figural understanding of the crucifix and of the stational crosses that, at times, the documents refer to them not just as "*immagini*" but by the more animated and provocative term "*Christo*." Schofield dismisses the use of this word by Casale, who employs it several times in his chronicle, as more or less an idiosyncratic poetic license, but Casale is not alone in naming the stational crosses in this manner.⁵⁵ The *memoriale* of the confraternity at Cordusio, one of the crosses named by Casale, likewise refers repeatedly (though not exclusively) to their cross as "*il Christo*."⁵⁶ The question that I would like to pose here is whether this sobriquet is simply a descriptive way of referring to a crucifix or image of Christ or whether it carried with it a deeper meaning. In referring to the stational crosses as "Christs" these authors appear to ascribe to them, or at least to those decorated with crucifixes, a kind of "personhood" similar to the concepts of presence and agency developed by the anthropologist Alfred Gell, which

⁵³ See, for example, *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fol. 18r, and the indulgence granted to it by Pope Sixtus V, ASDM section XIII, vol. 49, quoted also in BAM Trotti 72, fol. 40v.

⁵⁴ "...si risolvè (perche il sentimento degli occhi è il più efficace d'ogn'altro) che si alzasse questo Trofeo nelle contrade." *Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale* p. 10 The privileged position of the sense of sight in the religious culture of Tridentine Italy, and in the preceding centuries, has been much remarked upon. See, Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 32-41 and, recently, Andrew R. Casper, "Display and Devotion: Exhibiting Icons and their Copies in Counter-Reformation Italy," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 43-62.

⁵⁵ Specifically Schofield is arguing that the use of the term "Christo" does not necessarily indicate a sculpture or "figure of Christ" on the columns: "his [Casale's] mention of 'Christo' may just be his way of referring to the cross and no other evidence bears him out." Schofield, "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics," p. 90.

⁵⁶ Trotti 72, fols. 25r, 25v, 35r, 35v, 37v, 39v, 49v, 55r, and 58r. They also refer to the cross at S. Vittore al Teatro in this way on fol. 43r.

Megan Holmes has recently brought to bear productively on Renaissance miraculous images.⁵⁷ Gell speaks of an "abduction of agency," whereby inanimate visual objects can occasionally become enlivened and be ascribed by the people who interact with them human traits and behaviors.⁵⁸ Calling stational crosses by the proper noun of "*Christo*" instead of the common noun "crucifix" or "cross" would appear to fall under this rubric. Holmes applies Gell's construction to perceptions of sacred presence immanent in, and in the vicinity of, miraculous images and the ways in which the material and figurative features of these images contributed to beliefs about their embodiment.⁵⁹ A parallel example to what I am exploring here can be found in the large corpus of miraculous crucifixes and statues of Christ in early modern Spain and the New World, many rendered with high degrees of verisimilitude, which were also referred to as "*Cristos*" and whose personhood and presence were perceived so acutely that a number of them were the subjects of their own biographies.⁶⁰

In taking up these formulations I want to be clear that the stational crosses were not miracle-working images, although they occasionally performed extraordinary interventions such as the repulsion of the possessed woman by the cross at S. Babila and were, as discussed above, endowed with apotropaic and even talismanic powers against plague and sin. It would appear that they were not themselves the addressees of prayers nor did they intercede for devotees; they did not possess animating spirits—or, in Gell's

⁵⁷ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) and Megan Holmes, *Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 181-183.

⁵⁸ Gell, *Art and Agency*, pp. 12-27

⁵⁹ Holmes, *Miraculous Images*, p. 181.

⁶⁰ Derek S. Burdette, *Miraculous Crucifixes and Colonial Mexican Society: The Artistic, Devotional, and Political Lives of Mexico City's Early Colonial Cristos* (Ph.D. diss, Tulane University, 2012); Jennifer Scheper Hughes, *Biography of a Mexican Crucifix: Lived Religion and Local Faith from the Conquest to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Eleanor Wake, *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

terms, "homunculi"—nor were they ever believed to "act" autonomously.⁶¹ Unlike the Mexican *Cristos*, and unlike several of the miraculous crucifixes documented by Holmes, the early figures of Christ on the Milanese crosses do not appear to have been manufactured in naturalistic detail, so their "personhood" did not derive from their appearance: nothing in their form or iconography would have encouraged viewers to see them as, in Gell's words, "quasi persons in artifact-form."⁶² Additionally, we must note, any sense of presence immanent in the stational crosses would necessarily have been understood to have been in relationship to conceptions about images and their sacred prototypes promoted by the Council of Trent. In a few exceptional cases, however, the crosses were not just signs for holy beings that existed beyond the earthly realm but also enjoyed the higher cachet of an index. According to the *Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale*, when Carlo Borromeo blessed the cross at S. Babila he placed within it a piece of the wood of the True Cross, transforming the cross into a reliquary.⁶³ The relic endowed the cross with a heightened sense of sacred charisma and gave it greater legitimacy as a *locus sanctus* of cultic veneration.

⁶¹ It may be productive to note, however, that some elements of their cultic identities intersect in compelling ways with those of miraculous images. Like miraculous images, the stational crosses were mobilized and activated in procession, but they were not independently mobile; they were "dressed up" and decorated on holy occasions but they did not physically transfigure themselves; they were "adored" but they were not the subject of votive address. In fact, they themselves were votive images of a sort.

⁶² Gell, *Art and Agency*, p. 133 and Holmes, *Miraculous Images*, pp. 181 and 190-194. Holmes notes, however, that the naturalism or vividness of these crucifixes was not a necessary condition of their miraculousness, or vice versa.

⁶³ "Attestano alcuni de' vecchi, li quali so trovarono presenti a questa benedizione, che il Santo collocò nel mezzo della Croce, havendovi per questo effetto fatto lasciare il cavo, un pezzetto del legno di quella Santiss. Croce, la quale sostenne Christo, quando co'l suo pretiosissimo sangue pagò il prezzo, per la redentione delle anime nostre... Perciò siano avvertiti quelli ch vi passano per dinanzi di fare qualche particolar riveranza a questa Croce per quel sacratissimo pegno, che dentro, come crediamo, vi si racchiude." *Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale*, pp. 39-41. My research has not yet identified any other crosses that were embedded with relics of the True Cross, although several histories of other crosses note that small metal crosses blessed by the archbishop were enclosed in their bases.

The custom of "naming" the Milanese crosses thus takes up a rhetoric used to describe images that were endowed with sacred or miraculous presence. Following Gell's and Holmes' conceptions of agency, this rhetoric speaks to the ways in which the crosses were understood to operate not just as sacred spaces but as testaments to, and catalysts for, Christ's presence within the urban fabric of Milan, a capacity that assumed critical importance in the devotions and spectacles of the confraternities of S. Croce, to be discussed below. Again, I am not attempting to argue that the Milanese stational crosses exhibited intentioned behavior of the sort attributed to miraculous images or that these "*Christos*" could lay claim to the kind of sacred materiality ascribed to miraculous images and relics. I am simply proposing that the personhood implied by these writers when referring to the crosses as "*Christos*" speaks to the high degree to which they were understood by their viewers to make Christ's body visually and physically present in the city, an effect enhanced by the numerous other images that surrounded them in ritual celebrations.

In addition to the "image" of the cross or crucifix (or "*Christo*"), most of the columns also had attached altars (fig. 97). There were usually one on each side of the cross's base for a total of four. The altars would be adorned with paintings and other objects for devotions and celebrations, especially on high feast days like Corpus Christi, the Invention of the Holy Cross (May 3), and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14).⁶⁴ At the very least, according to Matroniano Binago, one of the visitors

⁶⁴ The confraternity at Cordusio prepared their altar on the first Sunday of each month as well as on the major feasts. The various processions and celebrations in which the confraternities of S. Croce participated and the displays they mounted at their crosses will be discussed in more detail in section IV. These statutes also provided alternate locations nearby in case of bad weather; if it rained, the confraternity at Cordusio would set up their altar at the "bottega" of Giovanni Battista Gallo where it could be covered. ASDM Section XIII, vol. 30, q. 22.

assigned by Federico Borromeo to supervise the crosses and their confraternities, on all feasts "the Crosses must have a painting of some image of the Lord or of the Madonna or of Saints."⁶⁵ Several of the crosses were located along the processional routes followed on major feast days—the procession for Corpus Christi, for instance, passed the crosses at Cordusio, the Carrobbio in Porta Ticinese, and S. Rocco (S. Ausanio) and S. Giacomo (S. Anatalone) in Porta Vercellina. These confraternities were admonished by church authorities to take special care on such occasions to outfit their altars "honorably with great diligence."⁶⁶ Inventories of the assets of several of the confraternities, drawn up during their suppression in 1786, record many and diverse objects in their possession, ranging from processional crosses to torches and candelabras to altar cloths and hangings of fine damask to steps used to access high points on the columns, and to numerous paintings.⁶⁷ While the scope and splendor of these decorations increased greatly under Federico Borromeo's episcopate, in 1581 the confraternity attached to the cross at Verziere petitioned the Archbishop for permission to collect alms in order to "have some

⁶⁵ "Tutte le feste de commandamento si debbe al meno le Croce meterli qualche palio con un quadro de qualche immagine del Sig[no]re o della Madonna o de Santi con un parra de candelari con li suoi cilostri ma non però accesi per far almeno qualche deferentia dalli giorni feriali delle feste e per dare honore alla Santa Croce et per indure à maggior devotione il Popolo di Milano." *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 15v-16r. In 1581 the confraternity attached to the cross at Verziere petitioned the archbishop for permission to collect alms in order to "far fare alcune pinture al loco dell' oratione." ASDM section XIII, vol. 49, q. 11, fol. 9.

⁶⁶ "Il giorno che si fa la solenissima processione del Corpus Domini dico la Processione Generale tutte le Croce che sono in detto viaggio hanno de pararla con molta diligenza et honorevolmente per honora del Sa[nt]issimo Sacramento, Dio Nostro Signore, et le Croce che sono in questa viaggio sono quatro cioè La Croce del Carobio, La Croce de Santo Rochino a P. Vervel[lin]a, La Croce de S. Giacomo P.V. et la Croce del Corduxe." *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 15v-16r. The confraternity that oversaw the cross at Cordusio, located in the city center close to the Duomo, was likewise exhorted to take pains to decorate their cross whenever processions were held in which the Santo Chiodo was to be carried and all crosses along the route traversed during the three days of the Ambrosian Litany ought "pararle e accomadarli ornatamente et con devotione." The *memorie* of the confraternity at Cordusio affirms that "in detta piazza il Priore et scolari fanno solenni apparati conformendo le occasioni, et in particolare il giorno di Santa Croce et il giorno della solennità di Nostro Signore [Corpus Christi] et di S. Carlo." BAM Trotti 72, fol. 24v.

⁶⁷ See, for example, the inventories drawn up in April, 1786, by the accountant Giuseppe Triulzi of the possessions of the confraternities and crosses at S. Maria della Scalla, S. Marco, and S. Francesco di Paola in ASM Amministrazione del Fondo di Religione 1474.

pictures made for the place of oration," indicating that the practice of decorating the crosses and their altars with supplemental images had begun relatively soon after the crosses' inception by Carlo in the sixteenth century.⁶⁸

The basic form of the stational crosses themselves, both the Cinquecento originals and the later renovations, is generally understood and has been documented by historians. Hardly anything, in contrast, has yet been made known about these supplemental decorations and ephemeral displays. Few works survive that can be connected definitively to the stational crosses and existing documents often record only the subjects of these images without specifying the artist or date or providing more detailed descriptions.⁶⁹ The majority, however, appear to have focused on the Passion and included both temporary displays and permanent fixtures.⁷⁰ Casale, for example, describes the column at S. Giovanni Itolano as a "cross with Mysteries of the Passion" and unspecified episodes of the Passion were worked into an iron railing around the stational cross at S. Babila.⁷¹ According to the *memorie* of the sodality of S. Croce at Cordusio, a

⁶⁸ "Benche alli mesi prossimi passati li confratri della scola de Santa Croce sopra il corso di Porta Tosa di dentro di Milano ottenessero da V.S molto Reverando ancora di ordine di sua Rev.ma Signoria licenza a bocca di puotere mandare con la bussola per la parochia di Santo Stephano in Brolio, et specialmente dalli confratri d'essa scola per haver qualche elemosina per mantener detta scola... Et per essere detta scola molto povera et incipiente li bisogna fare molte spese specialmente per comprare la colonna, per piantare la croce, et far alcune pinture al loco dell'oratione." ASDM section XIII, vol. 49, fol. 9.

⁶⁹ A sample entry from an eighteenth century inventory is: "Un quadro rappresentante l'esaltazione della S. Croce con cornice come sopra. Lire 2." This particular painting was owned by the confraternity attached to the altar outside the church of S. Marco. ASM Amministrazione del Fondo di Religione 1474.

⁷⁰ According to Latuada, paintings of the Passion also adorned the cross of S. Marolo on holy days. See Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 2, pp. 259-264. Every sodality also possessed a portrait of their patron saint, each a former bishop of Milan assigned in 1610. These would be displayed on their altars on feast days and carried in processions and were also sent to Rome to decorate a triumphal arch outside of St. Peter's for Carlo Borromeo's canonization. See section VI of this chapter below.

⁷¹ On the cross at S. Giovanni Itolano, Casale writes: "Memoria come nel 1577 adi 29 maggio tutti li huomini de la parochia di Santo Ioan Ittolano andoro a tore [adore/adorare?] Christo et la croce che era alle gabane de Porta Romana l'anno della pesta la qual cominciò a flagelarne il mese di agosto 1576...et poi si piantò la ditta Croce per mezo la ditta chiesa inchiodata sul ditto cantiro [colonna in dialect] in mercoldi che fu tempore alle hore 24. Ma si piantò solo il cantiro che era alla gabane con un Croce con li misteri de la Passione." Marcora, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale," pp. 304-305. The railing or "ferrata, che cinge il luogo del Santo Trofeo" at S. Babila was installed a few years after the cross was built and "fu da

group of paintings of the Passion were displayed annually at their cross on Maundy Thursday; these may have been the same "mysteries of the Passion" carried with the confraternity by the orphans of S. Martino in all major city-wide processions, such as the one held on Corpus Christi.⁷²

The crosses became even more closely linked to the Passion in 1604 when each cross, together with its confraternity, was allocated a specific episode or "mystery" for particular devotion, thirty eight in total.⁷³ These mysteries were accompanied by written Latin mottos taken from scripture and, according to the revised general rules of the companies of S. Croce published by Federico Borromeo in 1607, by images depicting each episode, one braccia in size (about 2' x 2'), that would be affixed to the processional cross carried before each confraternity in processions and occasionally displayed on the

maestrevol mano divisata, con bellissimo misterii della Passione di N. Sig. pure anch'essi di ferro, li quali non tanto lodano il Facitore per la maraviglia dell'arte, quanto suegliano affetti amorosi pensieri verslo la bontà Divina." See Memoriale della Croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale, pp. 47-49.

⁷² "Ogn'anno il giovedì santo al piede della Croce si fa un scurolo guarnito di molti quadri della passione di N.S. con quantità di lumi, e si espone il Crocefisso che benedisse Santo Carlo." BAM Trotti 72, fol. 35r. For the "misteri della passione di N.S." carried by "li poveri di S. Martino," which seems to refer to a group of several paintings, see fols. 42v, 55r. See also Dallaj, "Processioni a Milano nella Controriforma," p. 181; ASDM section VII, classe A, vol. II, fol. 440r and Giovanni Battista Castiglione, Sentimenti di San Carlo Borromeo intorno agli spettacoli (Bergamo: Pietro Lancellotti, 1759), p. 129. I wish to emphasize here that any connection between the paintings of the Passion displayed at Cordusio on Maundy Thursday and those habitually carried by the orphans of S. Martino is purely speculative: the documents do not directly link them nor do they provide any more specific information on either ensemble. On the Ospedale of San Martino, a foundling hospital established in 1533 by Hieronimo Emiliano and located in Porta Nuova, see: Antichità di Milano pp. 99-101. To date I have not uncovered any further information about the "misteri della passione" that they carried in archival documents and the bulk of the records relating to S. Martino appear to have been destroyed in the bombing of the Palazzo Archinto, headquarters of the Istituzioni Pubbliche di Assistenza e Beneficenza, during WWII.

⁷³ Trattato delle croci, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 6v-8r. See also Buratti Mazzotta, "Crocì stazionali," p. 969. It should be noted that there are discrepancies in the documents regarding the particular mystery assigned to the cross at Cordusio. While the author of the Diocesan *trattato* assigns Cordusio Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, all other sources (including an account written by a member of the Cordusio confraternity) stipulate that because it was the first cross to be built under Carlo Borromeo, its mystery was "il Compendio della Passione, come quella che contiene in se tutte le altre." BAM Trotti 72 fol 8r. It is possible that Cordusio was indeed assigned the entry into Jerusalem in 1605 and then reassigned the compendium of the Passion in 1607/1608 when the mysteries appear to have been reapportioned in order to accommodate several newly-established confraternities. See Trotti 72, fol. 28v.

altars at the base of each column.⁷⁴ Other sources corroborate that the cross at S. Satiro, devoted to the Crowning with Thorns, possessed a painting, now lost, of that subject that was displayed on its altar and carried in the procession to the Duomo in which all of the companies of S. Croce marched each Friday.⁷⁵ The Cordusio *memorie* similarly record a painting in the confraternity's possession of the "compendio," likely corresponding to their assigned mystery of the "compendium of the Passion," most likely a meditation on the whole event and a multi-episodic image⁷⁶ When the confraternities processed together they did so following the narrative order of their particular mysteries, creating an immense, moving Passion cycle winding its way through the city.⁷⁷

Later documentary sources, most notably a memoir of all the Milanese crosses written in 1760 by Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona, the chancellor of the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio, reveal a substantial corpus of additional images and visual objects that

⁷⁴ The mottos, reproduced here in Appendix I, are listed in the Trattato delle croci, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 6v-8r. The verse for the cross at S. Satiro, for example, which received the crowning with thorns, was from Matthew 27: "plentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti eius." On the images, the edition of the general rules for the S. Croce confraternities published in 1607 stipulates, in the section dealing with processions: "Alla Croce grande, qual si porta in processione sia affissa un'immagine d'avoglio grande un braccio, et sia un Misterio della Passione del Signore, siano distributi tutti li Misterii per ordine nella Città e Diocesi." Regole già stabilite da Santo Carlo, p. 13. The existence of these images is mentioned by Baldissarri, who asserts they replaced any images the confraternities had previously carried in procession, but she does not cite these statutes; curiously, in fact, none of the documents that she does cite here (the ASDM Trattato, Trotti 72, and Trivulziana 1765) specifically address the requirement of any such images. Baldissarri, I "poveri prigionieri", p. 39. See also her essay in Le "Crocette" nella Milano di San Carlo, p. 14. On the display of these images on the confraternities' altars, a stipulation not included in their statutes, see Buratti Mazzotta, "Croci stazionali," p. 969. She does not indicate here or elsewhere in her scholarship on which "determinate occasioni" the paintings were to be exhibited.

⁷⁵ Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, ed., Milano ritrovata: l'asse Via Torino (Milan: Casa editrice il vaglio cultura arte, 1986), pp. 263-264 and Storia della Compagnia della santa Croce (basilica di San Satiro in Milano) dal 1576 al 1786, BAM Fondo Cusani, Q38, p. 9.

⁷⁶ "Memoria come li duoi quadri della Croce cioè quello del compendio e quello quando santo Carlo fa piantare la Croce si sono fatti fare le cornizze di Peronegro et li quatro rosoni di argento che erano intorno a detti quadri se sono desfatti e si sono rimessi in tanti fogliami et remisi sopra delli cornisi." This entry dates to 1627. BAM Trotti 72, fol. 49v.

⁷⁷ The confraternity at S. Babila, for example, to which was assigned the Entombment, went last according to the Trivulziana manuscript. "Fu dato a questa compagnia il mistero quando N.S. fu sepolto ed allora dalla questa che era andando in Processione divenne l'ultima, perche le compagnie avano dimandate à mistero per mistero." Memorie intorno alla Compagnia delle Sante Croci, fasc. 4. Before the "mysteries of the Passion" were assigned the confraternities processed in by order of seniority. Trotti 72, fols. 14v-15r.

adorned the altars of the *croci stazionali* on feast days and other *giorni solenni*, including the funerals of members.⁷⁸ For the purposes of this chapter I will touch on only a few representative examples.⁷⁹ Most of these *apparati* took the form of paintings displayed on the altars or around the bases of the crosses but some involved elaborate installations of polychrome statuary and architectural sets, particularly those erected for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610, to be covered in the next two sections. These paintings represented a wide range of subjects and themes, chief among them episodes from the Passion and the life of Christ. The cross of S. Caio outside Porta Tosa, for example, possessed among its "belli paramenti" paintings of the calling of St. Peter, the denial of Christ by Peter, the Crowning with Thorns, Christ's encounter with Veronica on the road to Calvary, the Good Thief, the Crucifixion, and the Entombment.⁸⁰

Other ensembles touched on the legend and cult of the Holy Cross. A group of four paintings displayed at the cross of S. Anatalone during a procession of relics in 1632 portrayed saints Helena, Jerome, Francis, and the penitent Magdalene, each in the act of adoring the cross.⁸¹ An *apparato* at the cross of S. Ausanio, perhaps connected to the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, expounded the cross's typology, juxtaposing paintings of personifications of vices—such as Pride and Sloth—and angels gesturing to the cross

⁷⁸ On this manuscript see above, note 37.

⁷⁹ More complete and detailed lists of the *apparati* installed at the crosses are included in the entries in Appendix A.

⁸⁰ Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 39. It is interesting that none of the paintings d'Aragona mentions are of the confraternity's assigned mystery of Christ before Caiaphas, which raises the possibility that the paintings of the mysteries of the Passion were no longer in use in the eighteenth century, although it is equally possible that as possession of these paintings was standard throughout all confraternities of S. Croce he did not feel that they warranted special mention in his account. The inventory of the possessions of the confraternity of S. Croce at S. Anastasia mentions a panel painting in poor repair of the "B.V. con altri cinque" that could correspond to their "mystery" of the Deposition and thus indicate that the paintings were still used in the eighteenth century. See ASM Amministrazione el Fondo di Religione 1474.

⁸¹ "...per base poi della statua vi sono altri piccoli quadri in figura angolata, e sono d'avanti S. Elena che adora la Croce del Redentore, di dietro S. Gerolamo avanti la medema in un deserto, alla dritta la penitente Madalena, ed alla sinistra S. Francesco, se non fallo similmente adoratore della S. Croce." Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 5.

with Old Testament scenes of Moses wielding various "types" of the cross—the Brazen Serpent, the staff that parted the Red Sea, and the branch that sweetened the water in the desert.⁸² A canvas representing "the People" with the cross on their shoulders—assumedly the cruciform badges worn by the *confratelli*—with the inscription "take up [your cross] and follow me," summoned viewers to devotion while a *Last Judgment*, in which the cross rained Christ's blood upon the elect and lightning on the damned, and two compositions depicting the devastation wrought by the Fall of Man and its reversal by the Crucifixion proclaimed the cross's redemptive power.⁸³ Also popular were the plague saints Sebastian and Roch and related imagery commemorating the intercession of the cross in Milan during the epidemic of 1576. Among the latter was a painting, also

⁸² This account comes from Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona. The pages describing this installation appear in the middle of a description of the *apparato* for Carlo Borromeo's canonization in 1610. However, these pages are completely self-contained and seem to interrupt the larger account of the canonization, and they are written in a larger (though mostly identical) script, and so it is possible that they are unrelated to the canonization. The *apparato* extended all the way around the cross and d'Aragona describes each side according to the street or landmark that it faced: "Verso la casa Visconti Litta...[un] Quadro rappresentante la Superbia e Rispetto Umano con l'Amore di divotimento di mondo, con l'Angelo che addita a la Croce e Popolo al piede della medema che l'adora, con il motto sopra: 'Absit gloriari nisi in Cruci Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.' ... Sotto altro Quadro rappresentante Moise, che con la verga misteriosa divide il mare: il mare che diviso in due lati forma monti d'acqua. Gli Israeliti che a piede asciuto passano fra monti d'acqua, e poi gli Egitii che gli inseguono, o finalmente il rovescio di tutte l'aque sopra gli Egitii che restano tutti sumersi, con il motto sopra: 'Fugiamus Israelem Dominus enim pugnat pro eis contra nos.' Verso il Ponte...Quadro rappresentante l'Ozio, l'Accidia, e l'Interesse con l'Angelo che addita la Croce con il motto sopra: 'In hoc signa vinces.' Sotto altro Quadro rappresenante il Serpente Misterioso di Bronzo inalzato da Moyse e il Popolo molestato da serpente infocasi e molti morti del Popolo, e risanati tutti quelli che isano il Serpente di Bronzo con il motto sopra: 'Cum percussi aspicerent sanabantus.' ... Verso il Nirone...Quadro rappresentante Popolo con la Croce in spalla con il motto sopra 'Tollat ut sequatur me.' ... Sotto altro Quadro rappresentante Moise che mette il legno misterioso nel'aque e con quello la rende da amare dolci. Il Popolo che con grande avidità e piacere beve. Per compimento del quadro si puonno formare padiglioni e simili cose d'esercito con il motto sopra: 'Ostendit et lignum quod cum misisset in aquis indulcedinem reverse sunt.'" Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 6.

⁸³ "Paramento verso il corso della S. Croce di S. Ausano...Quadro rappresentante il Giudicio universale con la Gloria Celeste Gesu Xto con la Croce rinalzato, dalla quale alla dritta piove sangue sopra gli eletti, ed alla sinistra scaglione fulmini infuocasi sopra li dannati con il moto sopra: 'Erit in Caelo cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit.'" ... Alla sinistra: sotto altro quadro rappresentante il Paradisio terestre con la pianta del pomo vietato attorniata dal serpente, ed una sola mano, la quale coglie due pomi. In poca distanza dal Paradisio terestre la terra piena di triboli e spine; il genere umano carico di catene, la morte in trionfo, e gli demonii altiere e dominanti. Alla destra: il monte Calvario, la sola croce di Gesu insanguinata, il Genere Umano giulivo, e tutte le cattene spezzato e disperse, la morte abbatuta, e gli demonii cadenti nel inferno con il motto sopra 'Per lignum Adam deceptus est, et per crucem mundum redemptus est.'" Ibid, fasc. 6. Christ tells those who wish to be his disciples to deny themselves and "take up their cross and follow me" in Matthew 16:24 and Luke 9:23.

owned by the confraternity attached to the cross of S. Caio, of Carlo Borromeo in penitential garb processing through the city with the Holy Nail affixed to a cross while an angel sheathed his sword, symbolizing the end of the *flagello*.⁸⁴ Carlo Borromeo was, not surprisingly, a frequent subject following his canonization in 1610, when the stational crosses became tightly aligned with his cult. D'Aragona records historical scenes of the blessing of the stational crosses and several images of S. Carlo adoring the cross, including one, at the cross of S. Anatalone, that was "displayed frequently to exhort the people to devotion to Christ crucified."⁸⁵ Lastly, in 1610 each confraternity of S. Croce commissioned a large portrait of their patron saint that featured prominently in most ceremonial displays and to which I will return later.

Decoration for the funerals of members typically consisted of moralizing and allegorical images. Around the cross of S. Marolo, for example, were placed a series of paintings about the inevitability of death: a bejeweled young woman sitting before a mirror with Death behind her, a fallen queen, a scholar surrounded by books with Death at his side, and other similar compositions.⁸⁶ At the cross of S. Anatalone, in addition to

⁸⁴ "Alla destra di detta S. Croce nel Quadro superiore vedesi il ritratto di S. Carlo in abito penitente con il Santo Chiodo dentro d'una Croce rappresentando quando lo portò quasi per tutto Milano in tempo della pestilenza e vedonsi [sic] perciò molte case d'intorno, ed al di sopra v'è dipinto un Angelo che sta rimettendo nel fodero una spada, e dal altra parte un altro simile che tiene il Capello Rosso insegna cardinalitia del sudetto Santo Arcivescovo." Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 39.

⁸⁵ "Tiene poi un Quadro grande rappresentante S. Carlo Borromeo, che adora il Crocefisso, e si espone frequentemente per conciliare il popolo alla divotione di Gesu Crocefisso." Ibid, fasc. 5. He cites other examples at the cross of S. Ampelio in Piazza del Carmine (fasc. 18) and S. Mona at S. Babila (fasc. 4). For the painting of the "consecrazione della S. Croce e Crocefisso fatta di S. Carlo" at the cross of S. Protasio see fasc. 24.

⁸⁶ "Oltre a detti acennati paramenti ve ne è uno per li Funerali molto bello ed e il seguente: dalla parte d'avanti vedesi una pittura rappresentate una Femina giovane seduta avanti uno specchio ben vestita, e sta adornandosi il capo ed il collo di molte gioie, ed la morte gli sta di dietro con un cartello in mano con sopra la seguente inscrizione: 'Ogni fior di beltà mia falce a terra.' E nel Palio di sotto vedesi una Regina ceduta boccone in terra morta con alcuni soldati, che rimangono pieni d'amirazione con alcune donne in un Angolo piene di dolore e legesi in detto palio il seguente motto: 'Si proverà l'eterno caldo.' Alla parte di dietro al di sopra si rapresenta un vecchio seduto ad una tavola con due libri d'avanti che ivi sta legendo atentamente, e la morte gli si fu avanti con un cartello col motto 'Contro il mio poter scienza non vale.' Al di sotto poi nel Palio sta espresso un vecchio con una giovine che viaggiano insieme ad un figlio che seco conducono e

a *memento mori* in which cadavers warned "as you are now, so once was I...", paintings of angels leading corpses from their tombs and souls out of Purgatory promised the rewards of salvation to devotees of the Holy Cross, who were shown in another canvas adoring the cross with the inscription "Vexilla Redemptio (symbol of redemption)."⁸⁷

Again, as is the case for many of the artworks of which we have records, precisely when these images were made and used cannot be ascertained from extant documents, excepting those linked to known events such as the canonization of Carlo Borromeo. Those described by d'Aragona, who provides dates in only a handful of cases, might have been acquired anywhere in the nearly two centuries that elapsed between the construction of the first crosses and the writing of his *Memorie* in ca. 1760. Certainly the decorations at the cross of S. Mirocleto (also called the cross of Monforte), near the church of S. Maria della Passione, which included several Chinese-inspired paintings—"fatte alla Chinese

avvicinandosi a loro e per di meglio attraversandogli la strada che rasembra un bosco, li ferma e legesi un motto cioè: 'La morte ci spolia d'ogni cosa.' Alla dritta di detta Croce, al di sopra si vede dipinto un uomo molto lacero nelle vesti, con a piedi un piatto avente qualche pocco minestra ed in disparte poco pane, a due ravini, e dalla morte viene improvvisamente assalito e legesi in un cartello che gli si presente dalla medema il seguente motto: 'Anche de stenti tuoi ne prendo scherno.' Al di sotto poi nel palio vedesi la morte, che persone ben vestite e di maestevole aspetto il numero di sette cerca l'Elemosina con la mano destra, e con la sinistra fa cenno ad un picol casetta che gli sta a piedi. Sopra quale casetta legesi il seguente motto: 'Nella cerca non regna la sorte.' Alla sinistra poi per ultimo al di sopra rappresentato tre giocatori di carte, parte delle quali gli cadono dalle mani al comparirli la Morte con un Cartello in si leggono queste parole: 'Io in un ponto solo il tutto vinco.' Al di sotto poi nel ultimo palio si vedono dipinte la seguenti rappresentazioni, cioè un vecchio che seduto ad un tavola sta attentamente contando danari, ed in un altro si vedono due donne che aperta una cassa, vi depongono un picol sacco di danaro, e nel mezzo sta un inferme in un letto con a fianche una donna che gli porge qualche ristoro di cibo, ed in disparte di detto palio si legge il presente motto: 'L'avaro cuor muore, come vissuto.'" Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 31. D'Aragona describes a similar funerary *apparato* at the cross of S. Glicerio al Bottonuto (fasc. 30).

⁸⁷ The complete ensemble at the cross of S. Anatalone was as follows: "nel semicircolato avinti l'immagine di S. Carlo Borromeo genuflesso che prega Nostro Signore per la liberatione della peste della Città di Milano havendovi avanti alcune tende, sotto alle quali si vedono alami alcune cadaveri in un mucchio, ed altri semivivi con il motto seguente 'Fuimus sicut vos, vos eritis sicut nos.' Nel palio sotto alla mensa vi sono pure molti genti li quali vedonsi genuflessi avanti ad un crocefisso con il motto sopra 'monumenta aperta sunt.' Dalla parte di dietro nel quadro semicircolato sta dipinto un sepolcro in cui pare che sorta un cadavra con a fianchi la morte con in cima un Angelo che suona una tromba havendovi di sotto il motto 'mortis et orationis.' Nel palio di sotto sta dipinta il serpente di Bronzo adorato alli Israeliti nel deserto da molte genti con il motto 'in quo salus.' Alla destra di detta croce verso S. Giacomo di sopra vede un Angelo che cavata un anima dal Purgatorio la conduce al Cielo. Nel palio di sotto sta dipinta un Croce con molta gente che l'adora con il motto 'Vexilla Redemptio.' Alla sinistra verso le botteghe di sopra un Angelo che dal Purgatorio conduce l'anima al Paradiso." Ibid, fasc. 5.

[sic] intrecciati molti gruppi di bellissime fiori”—would seem to date closer to the eighteenth century, when the taste for chinoiserie in Italy and Europe reached its height.⁸⁸ On the other hand, certain ensembles discussed by d'Aragona clearly date to the time of Carlo and Federico Borromeo, such as the displays for the canonization of S. Carlo and a painting of St. Roch commissioned by the confraternity of S. Croce at S. Simpliciano in 1578.⁸⁹

The many frescoes on the exteriors of nearby buildings, such as a *Christ Carrying the Cross to Calvary* by Fiammenghino by the cross at Cordusio, further enriched the visual environment of the crosses and the devotions of their sodalities.⁹⁰ In at least one instance, a preexisting votive image around which devotees had congregated to recite the *oratione della sera* during the plague later became absorbed into the orbit of confraternities of S. Croce.⁹¹ Additional spaces were acquired by the companies, such as the oratory of S. Maria ad Elisabetta, which accommodated the general congregation of the S. Croce confraternities from 1624 and addressed in the next section, and the oratory of S. Giovanni in Era, built by the confraternity at S. Babila in 1619 (though not occupied

⁸⁸ Ibid, fasc. 38. On chinoiserie in Italy see Francesco Morena, Chinoiserie: The Evolution of the Oriental Style in Italy from the 14th to the 19th Century (Florence: Centro Di, 2009).

⁸⁹ Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 20.

⁹⁰ Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 5, pp. 16-22. In addition to suppressing Milan's religious institutions, the Hapsburg reforms also targeted the public display of religious images and had hundreds of them, including Fiammenghino's fresco, destroyed. For surveys of the images once extant in the city streets, and police reports and other orders surrounding their removal, see ASM Culto, p.a. 2097 as well as the appendix to Milano sconosciuta. Depictions of the plague saints Sebastian and Roch appeared near the crosses with great frequency as well due to the crosses' connection to the plague of 1576 and subsequent epidemics; the Madonna and Child with various saints was another popular subject. A descriptive inventory of images displayed in the churches and streets of the Porta Orientale neighborhood compiled in the early eighteenth century is included among the documents relating to apostolic visits to the Duomo. Le pitture e sculture et architetture delle chiese et altri luoghi di Milano in Porta Orientale, ASDM section X, Metropolitana, vol. 78.

⁹¹ A miraculous image of the Virgin originally located in Contrada Larga near the cross of S. Martiniano at Verziere, was moved to the church of S. Stefano Maggiore in 1581 and was venerated by the *confratelli*. Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 34 and Latuada, Descrizione di Milano, vol. 2, p. 17.

until 1692) and since destroyed. Chapels in nearby churches, too, linked to the devotion to the crosses, provided new and additional contexts for the use and display of images.⁹²

Despite the loss of the stational crosses and their altars and images, we are thus able to reconstruct to a great extent the visual culture of the confraternities of S. Croce. The effect of these crosses and the large corpus of art surrounding them was to create in Milan a type of immense *Via Crucis* that suffused and sanctified the urban environment with the image of the suffering body of Christ.⁹³ As Giussano wrote: "Milan might at this time have not been unfitly compared to...an image of the heavenly Jerusalem, filled with the praises of the angelic hosts."⁹⁴ In the sections that follow I will explore the ways in which the Milanese stational crosses worked to effect this transformation of Renaissance Milan into the Heavenly Jerusalem. After locating Borromeo's crosses within the resurgent cult of the Holy Cross in Milan, the next section will examine their relationship to the tradition of the *Via Crucis* and to other types of stational worship promoted in Milan and elsewhere in Lombardy, particularly the *sacro monte* at Varallo. Then I will turn to the reciprocal interventions of the *croci stazionali* in the city's urban fabric and their activation in the devotions, processions, and *apparati* of the confraternities of S. Croce.

⁹² The act of foundation of the oratory of S. Maria ad Elisabetta on June 18, 1624 is conserved in ASM Fondo di Religione, p.m., 659. See also Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 2, pp. 51-54; Torre, *Il ritratto di Milano*, p. 340 and Francesco Rivola, *Vita di Federico Borromeo, cardinale del titolo di Santa Marie degli Angeli, ed arcivescovo di Milano* (Milan: Dionisio Gariboldi, 1656), p. 435. The confraternity of S. Croce at S. Babila, after a long dispute with the canons of the church over the control of altars and after multiple attempts to rent separate rooms or move to another church, constructed the oratory of S. Giovanni in Era in 1619 but, as they had not received permission to build from the archbishop, it was immediately declared illegal and the confraternity was unable to use it (and had to demolish part of it) until 1692. Plans for a chapel within the church of S. Babila in the late sixteenth century appear not to have reached fruition. See Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri."* pp. 199-216, 223-231 and Enrico Cattaneo, "Il Santo e la Basilica," in *La basilica di S. Babila*, ed. Grazioso Ceriani (Milan: Cocilium sanctorum, San Romano, 1952), pp. 91, 104-105. See also Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 1, pp. 51-54.

⁹³ The phrase is adapted from Achim Timmermann, "Highways to Heaven (and Hell): Wayside Crosses and the Making of Late Medieval Landscape," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe*, ed. Celeste Brusati, A.E. Enenkel, and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 431.

⁹⁴ Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, p. 286.

III. Origins: The Holy Cross and the *Via Crucis*

Although the inception of Milan's stational crosses is often aligned with the plague of 1576, Carlo Borromeo was in fact reviving an established and much broader Milanese tradition dating back to early Christianity when, according to legend, San Barnaba placed a cross at the edge the city as a sign of his spiritual conquest of the Lombards.⁹⁵ Until 1768 a relic of Barnaba's cross—the stone in which it was said to have been embedded—was conserved in the now defunct church of S. Dionigi built on the site in Porta Orientale. A stational cross, also dedicated to S. Dionigi, was later erected here, cementing the ties between the Borromean cult and its antique origins.⁹⁶ Prior to the plague's outbreak there were at least six "antiche" *crocette* in Milan, several of which were connected to an earlier epidemic in 1524.⁹⁷ While the plague added a new urgency

⁹⁵ S. Barnaba is often identified with Barnabas the apostle of Christ and credited with bringing the Gospel to Milan, and the Milanese, at least in the sixteenth century, considered him to have been the first bishop of the diocese. (The first recorded bishop of Milan was actually S. Anatalone in the late second/early third century.) Paolo Morigia writes: "Andò [S. Barnaba] poscia dall'altra parte fuori parimente della Città, e quivi occultamente piantò il glorioso standardo della santissima Croce, che dopò ch'egli entrò nella Città, havendo convertito gran numero de Pagani, egli in quel luogo dove haveva piantato lo standardo ci fabricò una Chiesa a nome del salvatore." See Paolo Morigia, Santuario della città e diocesi di Milano (Milan: Antonio degli Antonii, 1603), fols. 56v-57r. The numbering of pages is not consistent in this volume; this text appears two pages before that labeled with the letter "H."

⁹⁶ The site of the church and stational cross is now occupied by the Giardini Pubblici near the present-day Porta Venezia. The stone was transferred in 1783 to S. Maria del Paradisio and bore an inscription to the effect that S. Barnaba had erected "il vessillo del Salvatore" in it on March 13 in the year 56 A.D. Alessandro Tamborini, I santi milanesi (Milan: Famiglia meneghina, 1927), p. 141. Every year on March 13 the Milanese commemorated Barnaba's cross and evangelism by raising up an ancient-looking cross ("una Croce mal piallata, quasi verdiccia, e noderosa") in the center of the church of S. Dionisi and placing next to it a statue of S. Barnaba in the act of preaching. Descrizione sacra di Milano antico e moderno, regolata sul corso divoto delle Quarant'ore (Milan: Giuseppe Mazzucchelli, 1760), pp. 136-137. On the cross of S. Dionigi see Latuada, Descrizione di Milano vol. 2, p. 210 and Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 3.

⁹⁷ "Veggonsi in questa città erette diverse croci in varii luoghi d'essa, massime ne' compiti et altri più pubblici et frequentati luoghi, che saranno al numero di circa 25, delle quali circa 6 sono antiche, et per quel che si tiene, fin del 1524, nel qual anno fu in questa città un grandissima peste." Le antichità di Milano, p. 23. These were: a cross near S. Vittore al Teatro from the time of Ferrante Gonzaga, a cross set up by Galeazzo Visconti near Piazza Castello, one near S. Eufemia which was replaced by the column still standing today, one near Via della Maddalena in Porta Romana, one near the church of S. Marco, and one on the Ponte Vetero. The majority of these "antiche" crosses were made of wood. See also Ann G. Carmichael, "The Last Past Plague: The Uses of Memory in Renaissance Epidemics," Journal of the History of Medicine vol. 53 (April 1998), pp. 150-151. An inscription on the cross of S. Dionigi in Porta Orientale asserted that it, too, had existed, in some form, on the site since at least 1361 and may have been

and valence, Carlo had already begun encouraging their renewed construction in 1573, invoking "the piety of the ancients," who were accustomed to place and venerate "the sign of the Cross not only in temples but in their homes, and outside on the walls of buildings, in courtyards, and throughout the streets."⁹⁸ Accordingly, he continues, "from this religious example of our ancestors...of which even now traces remain in this Province, [let us] see to it that this sign of the most holy Cross, whether made of wood or stone, or of marble where supplies permit, be publicly displayed and erected in the city and Diocese wherever the streets are most frequented."⁹⁹ Additional crosses, according to Giussano, were constructed outside the city in preparation for the Jubilee in 1576 to "show the way to pilgrims and remind them of the Passion of Our Lord."¹⁰⁰

tied to an outbreak of plague in 1373. See Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano* vol. 1, p. 210, as well as the entry in Appendix A of this dissertation.

⁹⁸ This declaration appears in the proceedings of the Third Provincial Council, held April 9, 1573: "Quamobrem ad Christianae religionis gloriam insignis admodum fuit ea veterum pietas, ut Crucis signum non in templis solum, sed domi, forisque in parietibus ac vestibulis, passimque in urbe expressum appareret." *AEM* vol. 2, col. 242. In his account of Carlo Borromeo's plague procession on October 9, 1576, Casale says that the route passed six "corcete," several of which likely correspond with the temporary altars established by Borromeo and others with the "antiche" crosses listed above: "...et il primo ponte che visitorno fu il Ponte Vedro, et si afermorno col Santissimo Chiodo alla crocete che li avevano fatto mettere di novo il mese avanti l'anno ut supra, cioè il mese di settembre, et ivi afermati di novo si cridava a Dio misericordia. Et fatta alquanto di oratione si vien verso il ponte dov'era la croceta di Porta Vercelina, et nel andare al ditta corceta si traversò la piazza del Castello, et ivi feceno il medemo cridar misericordia et alquanto di oratione come al Ponte Vedro. Poi se andò de longo alla corceta di Porta Tecinesa al Carobio, et ivi si fece la medema oratione, et il medemo domandare misericordia come di sopra. Poi si vierono verso la corceta di Porta Romana pigliando la stradi di Santo Vito a Santo Michel la Chiusa, et giù per la contrata de la Madalena, et fata la medema oratione il medemo domandate a Dio misericordia si viorno verso la corceta dove è il Leone de Porta Roma. Et così poi se viorno verso la corceta di Porta Nova, la qual è al ponte dove Santa Anastasia, la qual croceta li era stata mesa solum il mese di settembre del anno ut sopra." Marcora, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale," p. 296.

⁹⁹ "Hoc igitur maiorum religioso exemplo, atque instituto, cuius etiam vestigia in hac Provincia aliquot locis perspicere licet, excitatus Episcopus, illud curet, ut hoc sacrosanctae Crucis insigne, vel ligno, vel lapide, vel ubi commode per facultates fieri potest, marmore expressum, in urbe, et Diocesi sua, ubi trivium frequentiora sunt, publice proponatur, atque erigatur: quo crebrius perspecta ea sacrae Crucis arbore, fideles sese erigant, tum ad summi mysterii in ea peracti gratam memoriam, tum ad veram illam gloriam, ad quam Christo duce populus fidelis, *qui populus est acquisitionis*, contendere debet." *AEM* vol. 2, cols. 242-243. Carlo reiterated the necessity of constructing a monument to the cross "in omni trivio...loco decenti, ad quam orantes et precantes spectent" in the decrees of the Provincial Council of 1579. *AEM* vol. 2, col. 603.

¹⁰⁰ "...fossero piantate croci grandi, sì per mostrar la via ai Pellegrini, sì ancora per ridurli alla memoria la Santissima Passione di Giesù Christo," Giussano, p. 238. See also the English translation, Giovanni Pietro

Early institutional histories of the stational crosses similarly emphasize their long history and connect them to a broader "reipristinatio" of the Milanese church under Borromeo that aimed to recover paleo-Christian ideals.¹⁰¹ The "Borromean experiment" was marked by a profound nostalgia for the early church, whose decorous austerity Carlo viewed as more authentic and held up in contrast to the decadence that, he believed, had brought down the arrows of plague upon the city.¹⁰² Indeed, according to the anonymous author of the Seicento manuscript *Memorie appartenenti alle Croci e Compagnie erette nella Città e Diocesi di Milano*, the restoration of the practices and the discipline of the "primitive Church" was the archbishop's "singular study."¹⁰³

In Milan the stational crosses furthered this "renovatio" not only by reviving an early Christian monument type but by their association with a reinvigorated cult of the Holy Cross centered around the city's most ancient and precious relic of the Holy Nail

Giussano, *The Life of St. Charles Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan*, trans., vol. 1 (London: Burns & Oates, 1884), p. 355.

¹⁰¹ Borromeo's *reipristinatio* manifested itself in wide-reaching initiatives to centralize episcopal authority, regulate ritual and devotional practices, and physically reshape the sacred topography of Milan. The full extent of the Borromean reforms has been well documented elsewhere and goes beyond the scope of this chapter, which is concerned with the ways in which the stational crosses and their confraternities incited and inflected devotion to the Passion. For accounts of the Borromean reforms with additional bibliography, see the essays in Franco Buzzi and Danilo Zardin, eds., *Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della "grande riforma": cultura, religione, e arti del governo nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1997), and in addition Enrico Cattaneo, "Il restauro del culto cattolico," in *San Carlo e il suo tempo*, vol. 1 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1986), pp. 427-453. See also the discussion of "*reipristinatio*" in Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo And the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁰² See above, note 6 and *Città rituale*, p. 86.

¹⁰³ "Lo studio singolarissimo del glorioso S. Carlo nella intrapresa Riforma di questa Città e Diocesi, quello fu Ripristinare in quanto gli fu possibile le pratiche tutte della primitiva Chiesa, onde frequentemente si veggono avvalorate le massime di disciplina che andava stabilendo, cogli estempi de primi Cristiani e richiamente ad istruzione del suo Popolo le sante antiche costumanze... Come una parte dell'antica christiana Religiosità, venne pure dal Santo mirata l'erezzione delle Croci ne Luoghi pubblici e più frequentati. Invero non ingorava Egli, quanto presso de primitivi Fedeli fosse sagrosanto il costume non solo di scolpire e dipingere Le Croci nelle Chiese, ma di innalzarle pure alle Porte della Città, sulle mura, e nelle pubbliche strade, godendo esse così tenersi presente il primario de Misteri, che pubblicarono gli Apostoli, cioè il Mistero della Croce, I Cor[inthians] 1." *Memorie appartenenti alle Croci e Compagnie erette nella Città e Diocesi di Milano*, ASM, Culto, p.a. 2097. This manuscript is undated; an archivist's note places it in the 17th century but its script and contents are a close match to other documents in the same *cartello* that date to the late 18th century when the crosses were being dismantled. Schofield repeats the date of "saec. XVII" in "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics," p. 115, note 133.

(fig. 98). Like the erection of crosses in public streets, devotion to the Holy or True Cross (and, by extension, the Holy Nail) was a tradition of great antiquity that underwent a considerable expansion in Milan under Carlo Borromeo, particularly after the plague.¹⁰⁴ According to the story of the True Cross, as told in *The Golden Legend*, the Holy Nail of Milan was one of three nails discovered with the cross by St. Helena; it was then fashioned into a bit for Constantine's horse and, later in the fourth century, reportedly given to St. Ambrose by Theodosius.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, for the Milanese the Nail was not only a potent contact relic in its own right but it provided an associative link to the True Cross that was inextricably tied to the moment of the cross's discovery. Contrary to what we might expect for such an important Passion relic, however, the *Santo Chiodo* appears to have remained in relative obscurity until the epidemic struck, when Carlo Borromeo took it down from its roost in the vaults of the cathedral and processed with it through the city.¹⁰⁶ From that

¹⁰⁴ The literature on the legend, relics, iconography, and cult of the Holy Cross is vast. A recent synthetic study with an emphasis on visual representation is Barbara Baert and Lee Preedy, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). See also, among many, Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); Anatole Frolov, *La relique de la vraie croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961); and Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992). A refocusing of the Ambrosian (and Roman) church, its liturgy, and its devotional practices on the cross was already underway following the recommendations of the Council of Trent. The new Roman catechism produced in 1566, commonly referred to as the *Catechismo del Concilio di Trento*, prepared by four theologians presided over by Carlo Borromeo himself, stated for example that "sarà opera principale dell'insegnante ecclesiastico far sì che i fedeli desiderino ardentemente conoscere Gesù Cristo e Gesù Cristo crocifisso." Buzzi, "Il tema della Croce nella Spiritualità di Carlo Borromeo," p. 47.

¹⁰⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 277-284 and Ambrose, "De obitu Theodosii," in *Tutte le opere di Sant'Ambrogio*, ed. Gabriele Banterle, vol. 18 (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1985), pp. 211-251. See also Kirsch, "An Early Reliquary of the Holy Nail in Milan," pp. 569-571; Tamborini, *Un'insigne reliquia della Passione*; and Fausto Ruggeri, *Il Santo Chiodo venerato nel duomo di Milano* (Milan: NED, 1993). Hagiographical texts such as Voragine's and others inspired by it had a wide circulation in Borromeoan Milan. As noted above, a second nail was incorporated into the Iron Crown of Lombardy, still conserved in the cathedral of S. Giovanni in Monza about twenty kilometers outside of Milan. There are thirty two total relics of the holy nail venerated in twenty nine cities in Europe.

¹⁰⁶ Tamborini, *Un'insigne reliquia della Passione*, p. 47. This is not to say that the Santo Chiodo was not known or venerated in Milan prior to the sixteenth century, but that it appears to have been rarely displayed before that point. When the old cathedral of S. Tecla, where the relic had resided, was suppressed in 1461

point forward, spurred by Carlo's repeated declaration that it was this "Holiest Relic" that had liberated Milan from the disease, the Nail became an object of intense and frequent devotion for both the confraternities of S. Croce and the city at large.¹⁰⁷

Beginning in 1577, Carlo stipulated that the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, observed every year on May 3, be amplified to include several new rituals involving the Holy Nail.¹⁰⁸ The first was the dramatic rite of the *Nivola* ("cloud" in Milanese dialect), in which the Nail was brought down from the vaults by pulleys in an apparatus resembling a cloud flanked by sculpted wooden angels so that it appeared to miraculously descend from the heavens (fig. 99).¹⁰⁹ Then followed a splendid procession in which the archbishop carried the Holy Nail, followed by the governor, senators, and magistrates, the clergy, all religious orders, all confraternities (including those of S. Croce, once founded), and the laity in a circuitous route from the Duomo to the church of S. Sepolcro,

and the Nail and all other relics were transferred to the new cathedral the Fabbrica of the Duomo commissioned a new cruciform reliquary to protect it. On this reliquary and the original fourth century container that predated it, see Kirsch, "An Early Reliquary of the Holy Nail in Milan."

¹⁰⁷ "Non conosci hormai tu Milano, e tu anco provincia di Milano, che tante e tante volte in pericoli si certi ne sei stata da Dio liberata con tanta carità per il mezzo de la Reliquie de' Santi che tu hai? Non conosci ancora tu Milano hormai, che dopo tanti altri favori della Divina Misericordia ultimamente fosti liberata dalla peste, per la Santissima Reliquia che divotamente conservi e adori, del Sacro Chiodi di Giesù Christo? Con questo divino instrumento, non si fermò, non si inchiodò la pestilenza, che cinque anni sono così crudelmente di quà e di là trascorreva sopra di te?" This text appears in a pastoral letter written by Carlo Borromeo on May 8, 1581, regarding the translation of the relics of S. Simpliciano and other saints that he staged in the city. *AEM* vol. 2, col. 311. Borromeo also had facsimilies of the Nail made and distributed to the people to increase their devotion. He gave one of them to King Philip II of Spain, having first "activated" it by touching it to the original. See Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, p. 309. How the Nail factored into the devotional *compito* of the confraternities of S. Croce is addressed in the next section.

¹⁰⁸ There were three main occasions devoted to the Holy Cross. The first is the feast of the Invention of the Cross (May 3), which celebrated the finding of the True Cross by S. Helena. The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14) commemorated the recovery of the cross by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius when he defeated the Persians at Jerusalem in 631, but was also connected to the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 335. These two feasts had been celebrated in the western church from the seventh century. The third is the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday. See the sources listed above, note 104.

¹⁰⁹ Kirsch, "An Early Reliquary of the Holy Nail," p. 573, among others. This ceremony is now performed not on May 3 but on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in September. Carlo Borromeo had the *Nivola* constructed in its original form; additional angels painted on the cloud's surface were added by Giovanni Battista Landriano (il Duchino) in 1612 when the apparatus was refurbished. See also Tamborini, *Un'insigne reliquia della Passione*, pp. 76-79.

where he recited the oration of the Finding of the Cross, and then back to the Duomo.¹¹⁰ After a solemn mass, the Nail would be displayed for public veneration on the high altar for forty hours; this type of devotion (the *Quarant'ore*) had heretofore been performed only with the holy sacrament.¹¹¹ At the conclusion of the forty hours the Nail was paraded once more around the Duomo and then returned to its shrine above the choir.¹¹² For the occasion, a series of paintings depicting the legend and miracles of the Holy Cross hung between the piers of the cathedral's nave.¹¹³ Further promotion of the feast came in the form of a plenary (and perpetual) indulgence issued by Pope Gregory XIII in 1579 to all who followed the procession or visited the Duomo during the celebrations,

¹¹⁰Also present in the cortege were the "poveri" of S. Martino, who carried the "Mysteries of the Passion" noted above on page 239. Giussano, who describes the institution of this procession in detail, further relates that the subject of Borromeo's sermon during the mass in 1577 was the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who, having defeated the Persians at Jerusalem and recovered the Holy Cross, could not lift the cross until he shed his imperial raiment, and that during the forty hour devotion he preached on the Brazen Serpent as a figure for the cross, making specific mention of the Holy Nail. See Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, pp. 307-309. Another extremely valuable source for the scale and order of the procession is the *Exemplum Ceremonialis Ambrosiani* written by Francesco Casati circa 1600, in which he records: "Die 3 festum Inventionis summo mane, saltem hora decima, conveniunt ad Basilicam Maiorem, confratresque omnes, regulares, et clerus universus secularis, quibus omnibus congregatis Archiepiscopus ipse cum Clero Metropolitanæ cappa induto convenit ad Ecclesiam et incohatur processio, quæ est per viam Cordusii et quinque viarum ad S. Sepulcrum in cuius aedis porta adest altare super quod reponitur crux cum SS. Clavo. Tum Archiepiscopus dicit orationem de Inventionem S. Crucis et incensat, postea per viam Penagiorum reveritur ad Metropolitanam præcedente insignia S. Ambrosii Communitatis, pauperes S. Dionisii et Martini, confratris omnes, Clerus Regularis, Ordines omnes, Clerus secularis, tandem Clerus Metropolitanæ, postremo Archiepiscopus deferens crucem cum SS. Clavo inter duos diaconos assistentes. Defertur Baldachinum a Gubernatore, Senatoribus, aliisque Magistratibus tum vicissim a reliquis Nobilioribus. Hinc inde adsunt duodecim saltem accoliti, intorticia deferentes, præcedunt duo alii cum thuribus fumigantibus, Archiepiscopum sequuntur Episcopi, Praelati, tum Vicarius Generalis et alii si adsint, Primicerius minor et lectores, omnes Prelati sine habitu, et reliqui, Gubernator, Senatus, aliique Magistratus, populus denique omnis sub vexillo sue parochie, ita distinte ut primo mares deinde femine incedant. Igitur incohata processione Archiepiscopus in sua sede cappa indutus, incipit officium tertiæ, quæ canitur a cantoribus, postea cantatur hymnum ab organo, et choris vicissim, quo officio incepto accedunt Archiepiscopum paramentis induti Ordinarii, sacerdotesque ad sacrum Clavum deferendum." *Exemplum Ceremonialis Ambrosiani*, Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitana MS 244. This passage is reproduced in Tamborini, *Un'insigne reliquia della Passione*, pp. 59-61. On all the proceedings see also Monti, *Compendio delle cose più notabili della città di Milano*, vol. 1, fols. 114v-115v.

¹¹¹ The Nail had been displayed for forty hours the year before (1576) during the plague. On the Eucharistic devotion of the *Quarant'ore* see chapter two.

¹¹² Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, p. 310.

¹¹³ Tamborini, *Un'insigne reliquia della Passione*, p. 66. Tamborini stipulates that such paintings were displayed from the time (or shortly thereafter) of Carlo Borromeo, however the cycle that he later describes dates to the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century (pp. 73-77).

which were again expanded shortly after 1600 to include a vigil on the night before.¹¹⁴

Alongside these developments, Carlo Borromeo also began to expand and reform the two other major occasions upon which the cross was venerated, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14) and the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, introducing new processions, protocols, and hymns and antiphons.¹¹⁵

It was against this backdrop of increased devotion to the Holy Cross and Holy Nail that Borromeo's *croci stazionali* emerged, a connection not always given sufficient emphasis in scholarship.¹¹⁶ And while the stational crosses and their confraternities were devoted first and foremost to the "continual memory of the most Holy Passion of Jesus Christ crucified" rather than to the adoration of the wood of the Cross, they articulated their ties to this broader cult through participation in the above-mentioned rituals, through the sodalities' devotions, and through the iconography of the crosses and their decorations.¹¹⁷ In section two above I noted several instances in which imagery connected to the legend and veneration of the Holy Cross appeared in the paintings displayed on the altars attached to the stational crosses. In other cases, the True Cross was literally incorporated into the monuments' physical fabric, such as the cross at S. Babila, also

¹¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 54-56 and 62. The vigil is also mentioned and described in BAM, Trotti 72, fol. 42v and by Casati in the Exemplum Ceremonialis Ambrosiani, quoted in Tamborini, Un'insigne reliquia della Passione, pp. 59-60. On the indulgence see also BAM, Trotti 72, fol. 13r.

¹¹⁵ As Enrico Cattaneo has argued, however, exactly how many of the changes to the Good Friday adoration should be attributed directly to Carlo and how many should be given to his immediate successors remains somewhat ambiguous. Enrico Cattaneo, "L'adorazione della Croce e S. Carlo," Ambrosius vol. XIV (1938), pp. 91-98.

¹¹⁶ Most historians acknowledge the relationship between the *croci stazionali* and the Holy Nail within the context of the plague, but many gloss over the concurrent amplification of devotion to the cross. Franco Buzzi notes it in "Il Tema della Croce nella Spiritualità di Carlo Borromeo," pp. 51-52, as does Marilisa Di Giovanni in "Colonne votive nella devozione popolare a Milano," p. 632.

¹¹⁷ From the rules of the confraternities of S. Croce: "habbiamo piantata la Croce in molti luoghi della Città, et a ciascuna Croce habbiamo eretta una devota Compagnia di huomini et di donne per eccitarvi alla continua memoria della Santissima Passione di Gesù Christo crocifisso." AEM vol. 3, col. 1321.

noted above, which was transformed into a reliquary by the fragment of the True Cross embedded in it.¹¹⁸

Of course all of the *croci stazionali*, by definition and by form, simply by displaying the "Vexillum Sanctae Crucis" on their columns, visualized this link to the original cross of Christ and its cult, but none did so more directly than the cross of S. Senatore (fig. 100).¹¹⁹ When the original cross was deemed too simple and rebuilt between 1613-1616 the resulting monument departed radically from the formula standardized under Carlo Borromeo. Instead of a plain cross or crucifix, the object on top of the tall Corinthian column is a marble statue, more than life-sized, of St. Helena holding a large wrought-iron cross in her arms (fig. 101), designed by Cerano and carved by Gianpietro Lasagna (active 1610-1658), a Milanese sculptor of some renown who was attached to the Fabbrica del Duomo.¹²⁰ The statue of St. Helena marked the first instance in which the cross was incorporated into a larger and more elaborate sculptural composition, a design which became the norm in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when many of the stational crosses were rebuilt with statues of their patron saints. The new cross was blessed by Federico Borromeo, fittingly, on May 3, the Feast of the Invention of the Cross.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ See above, note 63.

¹¹⁹ This cross is also referred to often as the cross of S. Eufemia due to the cross's proximity to the old church of S. Eufemia, as well as the cross of S. Elena due to the sculpture decorating the new cross.

¹²⁰ Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 3, pp. 88-90 and Marco Rosci, *Mostra del Cerano: catalogo* (Novara: Banca popolare, 1964), p. 120. In addition to his considerable independent *oeuvre*, Lasagna appears to have cultivated a lasting professional relationship with Cerano, and later collaborated with him on sculptures for the facade of the church of S. Paolo Converso. On Giampietro (or Giovan Pietro) Lasagna, see G. Nicodemi, "La scultura lombarda dal 1630 al 1706," in *Storia di Milano* vol. 11, pp. 521-524 and Francesca Profili, "Lasagna, Giovan Pietro," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 63 (Milan: Treccani, 2004), accessed January 15, 2014, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovan-pietro-lasagna_%28Dizionario_Biografico%29/.

¹²¹ Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 3, p. 89.

The connection of the stational cross to the relic and cult of the Holy Cross was underscored by four Latin verses incised in gilded letters above the altars on each side of the base.¹²² These inscriptions are no longer legible, and to my knowledge have not yet been noted by modern historians, but d'Aragona records them in his *Memorie*.¹²³ Two of them, from the Gospel of Matthew, admonish the beholder to "take up his cross and follow me [Christ]," which would have had special resonance for the *confratelli* who took up the cross figuratively in their devotions and literally with the metal crosses they wore on their shoulders as badges. But it is the other two inscriptions that are of particular interest, for they are taken from the office of the Invention of the Cross. In the Ambrosian rite, the biblical passage "but far be it from me to boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," from Paul's letter to the Galatians, is recited during the offertory and also during matins as a versicle and response; "the sign of the the Cross shall be in Heaven when the Lord comes in Judgment" is a recurrent antiphon throughout the day.¹²⁴

¹²² "...a cui sovrasta una nera pietra con iscolpite a caratteri d'oro alcune sentenze dell'Evangelo, attinenti ad ispiegare i pregi della Croce." Ibid, p. 88.

¹²³ "Le iscrizioni delle quattro parti di sopra accennate sono le seguenti. Alla parte d'avanti verso il Ponte: 'Hoc signum erit in celo cum dominus ad iudicandum venerit.' [The sign of the Cross shall be in Heaven when the Lord comes in Judgment]. Alla parte di dietro verso l'eccelesissima Casa Litta: 'Qui vult venire post me abneget semetipsum, [et tollat crucem suam] et sequatur me.' [If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me (Matthew 16:24)]. Alla parte dritta verso il Monastero di S. Agostino: 'Mihi absit gloriari nissi in cruce Domni nostri Jesu Christi.' [But far be it from me to boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ (Galatians 6:14)]. Alla sinistra verso il monastero della Madalena: 'Qui non accepit Crucem suam et sequitur me non est me dignis.' [And whoever does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me (Matthew 10:38--d'Aragona incorrectly writes Matthew 50)]." Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 12.

¹²⁴ Breviarium Ambrosianum Sancti Caroli Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Iussu Editum, et novissime Ioseph Cardinalis Archinti Archiepiscopi Auctoritate Recognitum. Pars Aestiva (Milan: Benjamin & fratres de Sirtoris Impress. Arch., 1700), pp. 544-550. These refrains also appear in the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in September, see pp. 721-727. See also Missale Ambrosianum (Milan: Io. Ambrosium Sirturum, haer. Pontii & Picalae, impress. archiep., 1640), pp. 413-415. Both also are used in the Roman rite. See Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridenti restitutum, Pii V Pont. Max. iussu editum (Rome: Gulielmus Rovillius, 1573), pp. 197-198 (Invention of the Holy Cross) and 225-227 (Exaltation of the Holy Cross) and Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini (Paris: Societatem Typographicam Librorum Officij Ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilij Tridentini, 1604), pp. 775-781 (Invention) and pp. 946-954 (Exaltation).

By representing the cross with St. Helena and embellishing it with texts from the office of the Invention of the Cross, the cross of S. Senatore clarified for viewers that the cross they venerated, experienced through a visual surrogate, was no abstract symbol but a particular and potent historical artifact whose sanctity and authenticity had been proven, and to which they had an indexical link in the form of the *Santo Chiodo* in the cathedral. Moreover this cross and the Nail, the latter of which the *confratelli* were accustomed to adore *en masse* every Friday, were material witnesses to the Passion, the ultimate object of the sodalities' devotion. In a homily delivered in 1584, Carlo elaborated the ways in which the Cross and Nail made Christ's crucified body available to modern devotees:

But what can I say about this most noble Church [the Duomo], in which is conserved such a precious treasure, such a distinguished instrument of the Cross and of the death of Christ, that is that most happy Nail that had the divine privilege to penetrate the flesh, the veins, and the nerves of the Son of God and to be reddened with the blood of Christ? ...Remember, O Milanese, this great benefit; consider the most bitter Passion of Christ; recall his most atrocious suffering.¹²⁵

Just as we recognize that the stational crosses were not a Borromean or post-Tridentine invention, we must further understand that neither were they exclusive to Milan, although the Milanese crosses had several uniquely Milanese features, among them their connections to the cult of the Holy Nail, to the "Plague of S. Carlo," and to Borromeo's great project of urban renewal and discipline. The umbrella term for a Christian commemorative column or cruciform monument in a public space is a "wayside cross" and the geographic range of such crosses extended well beyond the Italian peninsula. Carlo Borromeo was the first Italian archbishop to reintroduce them in such a

¹²⁵ "Sed quid de nobilissima hac Ecclesia dicam, in qua tam nobilis thesaurus, tam insigne dominicae Crucis et mortis instrumentum existit, Clavus nempe ille felicissimus, qui Filii Dei carnes, venas, et nervos meruit configere? Cui Christi sanguine rubicari, divino privilegio contigit? ...Mementote, o Mediolanenses, tanti beneficii; recogitate acerbissimam Christi Passionem; reducite vobis in memoriam atrocissimos illos cruciatus." Giuseppe Antonio Sassi, ed., *S. Caroli Borromei S.R.E. Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Mediolani Homiliae* vol. 3 (Milan: Ex typographia Bibliothecae Ambrosianae apud Joseph Marellum, 1747), p. 399.

large scale, but by the late Middle Ages, according to Achim Timmermann, wayside crosses constituted "the largest network of public images and monuments" throughout Europe.¹²⁶ And while they appear to have been more concentrated north of the Alps, Italian examples beyond Milan exist and multiplied substantially after the turn of the seventeenth century.¹²⁷

Like many wayside crosses, the *croci stazionali* were deeply rooted in a sense of place. In addition to occupying the sites of temporary plague altars, several of the Milanese crosses were erected on or near significant locations from Milan's past. The stational cross of S. Eustorgio/St. Peter Martyr, for example, was close to the font where some of the first Milanese were said to have been baptized by S. Barnaba and the cross of S. Benigno took its sobriquet, "*alla Foppa*—at the grave," from its surroundings: a plague cemetery from 1524.¹²⁸ Others incorporated fragments of older monuments, such as the cross of S. Marcellino at Ponte Vetro, the base of which was allegedly made from an altar stone from the old church of San Pietro Celestino.¹²⁹ As such, the crosses functioned as repositories of communal memory as well as sites of devotion and acquired

¹²⁶ Timmermann, "Highways to Heaven," pp. 386-387. See also Buratti Mazzotta, "Croci stazionali," pp. 967-969 and Schofield, "Architecture and the Assertion of the Cult of Relics," p. 89.

¹²⁷ Gianvittorio Signorotto, "Gli esordi della *via crucis* nel Milanese," in *Il Francescanesimo in Lombardia: storia e arte* (Milan: Silvana, 1993), pp. 145-158. See also Amilcare Barbaro, ed., *Atlante dei Sacri Monti, Calvari, e complessi devozionali europei: Atlas of Holy Mountains, Calvaries, and Devotional Complexes in Europe* (Novara: Istituto geografico De Agostini, 2001).

¹²⁸ On the font of S. Barnaba, the site of which was then occupied by a small church aptly named S. Barnaba al Fonte, see Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 3, pp. 184-188. The stational cross of S. Eustorgio and S. Barnaba al Fonte are covered jointly in the same short entry. The anonymous author of the sixteenth-century description of Milan's churches, monasteries confraternities, and *luoghi pii* in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana wrote of the cross of S. Benigno: "Scuola della Croce, detta alla Foppa, perché ivi furono sepolte l'anno 1524 molte migliaia persone morte di peste e si rinnovò poi questa compagnia nel 1576 insieme con molte altre." *Le "Antichità di Milano"*, p. 120.

¹²⁹ Roggiani et al, *Le "Crocette" nella Milano di San Carlo*, p. 75. According to Roggiani, this information was originally derived from annotations made in the early seventeenth century by Giovanni Antonio Castiglione to a copy of Morigia's *Santuario della città e diocesi di Milano* conserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

a type of temporal multivalence.¹³⁰ This insistence on local specificity extended also to the Santa Croce confraternities, whose members were strictly drawn from the immediate neighborhood.¹³¹ Nearly all Milanese confraternities experienced a narrowing of jurisdiction under the reforms of Carlo Borromeo, who advocated parish-based organizations with broad participation to bring lay piety under ecclesiastical control and regulation.¹³² In the case of the confraternities of S. Croce their confines were often further limited within the parish, in fact sometimes only to houses from whose windows or doors their crosses were visible.¹³³ And yet, at the same time that the stational crosses were rooted in their Milanese setting, they also invoked another more distant and more meaningful locale: Jerusalem.

The Milanese stational crosses adhere most closely—but not entirely—to a subcategory of wayside crosses called the Via Crucis, or Way/Stations of the Cross,

¹³⁰ Commenting on plague crosses and other sites of memorial, Carmichael connects them to the rhetorical device of the memory palace popularized by Renaissance humanists: "Although creating public memorials was certainly not new transferring the power of place memory from one realm of community experience to another resonates with the contemporary trick of memory for which the Renaissance humanists were best known, the artificial 'memory palace.' Rhetoricians translated the memory of things to the memory of rooms and objects that contained the words they wanted to recall. Orators thus wandered a vast mental mansion recovering words and images deposited there. Mirroring this memory feat, the city itself was becoming the exterior, material template for popular memory." Carmichael, "The Last Past Plague," p. 151.

¹³¹ The statutes of the confraternities of S. Croce specify: "Non si ammettano in queste Compagnie se non gli abitanti di case poste nelle contrade designate per suoi confini, o che almeno vi habbino la bottega loro, o d'altri nelle quali essi lavorino. Et ogni volta che lascino d'haver habitatione di casa, o bottega in esse contrade, et l'habbino in altre contrade della Città o Diocesi di Milano, ove sia altra simile Compagnia della Croce, s'intendano fuori di questa Compagnia, et applicati a quella simile del luogo, ove sono andati ad habitare." See "Regole delle Compagnie della Santa Croce," in *AEM* vol. 3, col. 1325.

¹³² Danilo Zardin has written prolifically and authoritatively on Borromeo's pastoral strategy, based in the parish with confraternities and schools of Christian Doctrine, and his advance of a "domestic devotion." See among many "Confraternite e comunità nelle campagne milanesi fra Cinque e Seicento," *La scuola cattolica* vol. 112 (1984), pp. 698-732 and "Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era," pp. 192-197 especially. See also Buratti, *Città rituale*, pp. 23-38

¹³³ The narrowing of each cross's jurisdiction occurred as the crosses increased in number. In 1711, disputes over territory provoked the archbishop to issue an edict fixing the boundaries of each one. Further arguments ensued over whether it was the location of the door of the house that determined at which cross its inhabitants worshipped or the location of its windows. See David Garrioch, "Lay-Religious Associations, Urban Identities, and Urban Space in Eighteenth-Century Milan," *The Journal of Religious History* vol. 28 (2004), pp. 38-40. Documents on these disputes and delineating the boundaries of each confraternity's jurisdiction can be found in ASDM, Section XIII, vol. 31.

developed by the Franciscans as an aid to substitute for pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹³⁴

While all varieties of wayside crosses activated the landscape, the Stations of the Cross effected a particular type of spatial and temporal collapse intended to transport viewers to biblical Jerusalem.¹³⁵ From the Latin *statio*, meaning a standing or stopping and deployed also in a religious sense to indicate a gathering or vigil, the Stations of the Cross refer to a series of images or tableaux representing particular episodes from the Passion, or to a devotion that follows these moments and is connected to such representations or evokes equivalent mental images.¹³⁶ Stations of the Cross could be constructed outside or marked in the interiors of churches and oratories, in which form they are most prevalent today. The Via Crucis had its roots in the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem, the path allegedly retraced by the Virgin Mary through the city after the death of Jesus, in which she visited the sites of his torture and crucifixion, a path later followed by pilgrims.¹³⁷ Written descriptions of this itinerary and the holy places, often with accompanying meditations, and physical imitations

¹³⁴ Signorotto, "Gli esordi della *via crucis* nel Milanese"; Umberto Mazzone, "Nascita, significato, e sviluppo della Via Crucis," in Viae crucis: espressioni artistiche e devozione popolare nel territorio di Pesaro e Urbino ed. A. Cerboni Baiardi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2006), pp. 11-22; Herbert Thurston, The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose (London: Burns & Oates, 1906); and Kathryn Rudy, Northern European Visual Responses to Holy Land Pilgrimage, 1453-1550 (Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 2000), chapter five especially. The Franciscans had been granted custody of the holy places in Jerusalem in 1342.

¹³⁵ Timmermann, "Highways to Heaven," p. 406. See also Carmichael, "The Last Past Plague," pp. 132-160.

¹³⁶ Pope Clement XII set the number of stations to fourteen and standardized their contents in 1731, but prior to that point this quantity was not universal and could vary between seven and over thirty. The fourteen are: Christ is condemned to death, Christ carries his cross, Christ falls for the first time, Christ meets his mother, Simon of Cyrene takes up the cross for Jesus, Veronica wipes the face of Christ, Christ falls a second time, Christ meets the women of Jerusalem, Christ falls a third time, Christ is stripped of his garments, Christ is nailed to the cross, Christ dies on the cross, the Deposition, and the Entombment. On these modern stations, early ensembles of seven stations, and other permutations see Thurston, The Stations of the Cross, pp. 63-69, Mazzone, "Nascita, significato, e sviluppo della *Via Crucis*," and Schiller, The Iconography of Christian Art, vol 2, p. 82. There has never been a single official ritual for the Stations of the Cross.

¹³⁷ Thurston, pp. 3-21. The Via Crucis specifically, i.e. the path to Calvary, did not fully emerge in Jerusalem until at least the eleventh century. The first person to coin the phrase "stations of the cross" to refer to the stopping places along the Via Sacra to Mount Calvary in Jerusalem, according to Thurston, was the Englishman William Wey in 1472.

or surrogates proliferated in medieval and early modern Europe, especially after access to Palestine was compromised by the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453.¹³⁸

Utilized in devotion to the Passion, these texts and sites facilitated a mental pilgrimage and dovetailed with an ever-growing body of literature, also Franciscan in origin, that engaged the devotee in affective meditation that emphasized and amplified the physical suffering of Christ.¹³⁹ As he or she walked to or contemplated each station the worshipper effectively followed in Jesus's footsteps on the way to Calvary.

The construction of the *croci stazionali* in Milan and the assigning of a mystery of the Passion to each of them in 1604-5 occurred at a critical juncture in the evolution of the Stations of the Cross, which were just then beginning to crystallize. Reproductions of various sites in the Holy Land, particularly the Holy Sepulcher, had existed as early as the sixth century but what we would recognize as a Via Crucis or as Stations of the Cross, representing specific episodes and visited or contemplated sequentially, did not appear

¹³⁸ One of the earliest and most popular texts was the Swiss Dominican Felix Fabri's (Faber) *Fratri Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem* (1480); also critically important were Bernhard von Breydenbach's illustrated *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), the Carmelite Jan Pascha's *Een devote maniere om gheestelyck Pelgrimage te trecken* (1563, written ca. 1530), and Andrichomius's (Christiaan Adriaan Cruys) *Jerusalem sicut Christi tempore floruit*, which appears to have included a map as well as advice on how the reader could follow the pilgrimage, especially the Way of the Cross, in his or her own environment, "in templo seu cubiculo mentis." These texts were translated into most European languages and circulated widely. See Thurston, pp. 22-26 and 62-87; also Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life: Devotions and Pilgrimages in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 36-125. Reproductions of the holy sites first arose relatively early: see Robert G. Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano: a 'Jerusalem' in Bologna," *Gesta* vol. 20 (1981), pp. 311-321; also Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography' of Mediaeval Architecture" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* vol. 5 (1942), pp. 1-33. A more theoretical and sweeping discussion of the replication of the Holy Land in premodern and modern culture and its social, economic, and political implications is the stimulating study by Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), especially chapters two and three. The Holy Sepulcher was the most frequently replicated; among the many imitations and copies in the West was Milan's church of S. Sepolcro, see chapter three of this dissertation, pp. 203-205. The most famous of the early Stations of the Cross is undoubtedly the seven stations or "falls" constructed in Nuremberg by Adam Kraft circa 1490-1505, see Timmermann, "Wayside Crosses and the Late Medieval Landscape," pp. 406-407.

¹³⁹ The text most often invoked by scholars in relation to the Via Crucis is Pseudo Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. Mazzone, "Nascita, significato, e sviluppo, della Via Crucis," p. 11.

until the fifteenth century, mostly in northern Europe and Spain, and did not become commonplace in Italy until the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁴⁰ Beginning in the late Cinquecento a number of important eyewitness descriptions of the Holy Land, mainly produced within the Franciscan orbit, and several with accounts of the Via Dolorosa, were published in Italian, including Giovanni Zuallardo's (Jean Zuallart) *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme* (Rome, 1587), and Bernardino Amico's *Trattato delle piante et immagini de sacri edificii di Terra Santa, disegnate in Jerusalemme* (Rome, 1609).¹⁴¹ Concomitant with this significant upsurge in vernacular literature, an increasingly unstable Eastern Mediterranean combined with Tridentine devotional protocols and Counter-Reform polemics to produce the *sacri monti* of Lombardy and Piedmont, a network of shrines in the Alpine foothills where scenes from the life of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were represented by lifesized sculptural tableaux.¹⁴² Umberto Mazzone posits the development of the *sacri monti* and, hard on their heels, the Stations of the Cross within shifting conceptions of pilgrimage in a modernizing world. The Via

¹⁴⁰ Mazzone, "Nascita, significato, e sviluppo della *Via Crucis*," pp. 12-14; also Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano. One of the earliest examples of a Via Crucis with reconstructions of the sites of the Passion was the series of oratories in Cordoba, Spain, built by the Dominican Alvaro de Cordoba (1360-1430) in 1405. Devotion to the various "falls" of Christ, a critical antecedent to the modern stations, was particularly prevalent in Germany, Austria, and Tyrol. From Spain the Via Crucis was introduced to Sardinia at the Cappuchin convent of Monte Valverde in 1616; the first set of fourteen "Stations of the Cross" appeared on the Italian mainland in Florence in 1628 with the construction of fourteen crosses leading the way to S. Miniato al Monte.

¹⁴¹ Giovanni Zuallardo, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme. Fatto et descritto in sei libri dal signor Giovanni Zuallardo, cavaliere del Santissimo sepolcro di N.S l'anno 1586* (Rome: Francesco Zannetti e Giacomo Ruffinelli, 1587) and Bernardino Amico, *Trattato delle piante et immagini de sacri edificii di Terra Santa, disegnate in Jerusalemme* (Rome: Typographia Lingarum Externarum, 1609). Another edition of Zuallart's text was published, also in Rome, by Domenico Bassa in 1595. Bernardino Amico of Gallipoli was the Guardian Father of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem at the end of the 16th century and the second edition his text, published in Florence by Pietro Ceconcelli in 1620, contained engravings by Jacques Callot. See also Thurston, *Stations of the Cross*, pp. 96-105 and F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

¹⁴² The "New Jerusalem" at Varallo, discussed below, was the first, established in 1486 and then substantially renovated in the late sixteenth century under Carlo Borromeo. Construction of the *sacro monte* of S. Francesco at Orta San Giulia, representing the life of St. Francis of Assisi, began in 1583 and Varese, dedicated to the mysteries of the rosary, followed in 1604-1623. For a list of the *sacri monti* see Barbaro, ed., *Atlante dei Sacri Monti*.

Crucis, he writes, spoke to a growing desire to domesticate the experience of the pilgrim, "to make the faithful ever more identifiable with a local religious reality... A tie to the parish, to its own time, to its own rituals that informed all post-Tridentine practice...with the capillary diffusion of the *Via Crucis*, every parish was able to realize a true pilgrimage to Jerusalem."¹⁴³

The prime example of the *Via Crucis* in early modern Lombardy was the *sacro monte* at Varallo, the first of the *sacri monti*, established in 1486 in order that, according to an inscription at the site, "those who cannot make the pilgrimage see Jerusalem here."¹⁴⁴ There, as discussed in more depth in chapter three, the stations were not columns or crosses but a series of chapels, each dedicated to a particular episode from the life and Passion of Christ, in which these scenes were enacted by polychrome sculptures with horsehair wigs, glass eyes and, sometimes, real garments, set against illusionistic painted backdrops (fig. 54). Unlike the other *sacri monti* that followed in its wake, Varallo claimed to go beyond representation to offer a topographic facsimile of Jerusalem with carefully measured copies of the relics that visitors would have encountered there, such as the stone of unction upon which Jesus's body was said to have been anointed before burial. The experience was not merely mystical but corporeal and fully immersive: guidebooks encouraged pilgrims to meditate on each "mystery," imagining themselves present, and to follow physically in Christ's footsteps, climbing the replica of

¹⁴³ "Essere contemporaneamente a casa e a Gerusalemme: si tratta di un'esperienza unica e che ben si adatta ad una società che tende a far divenire i fedeli sempre più identificabili con una realtà religiosa locale... Un legame alla parrocchia, ai suoi tempi, ai suoi riti che si avverte in tutta la pratica posttridentina... Con la diffusione capillare della *Via Crucis*, ogni parrocchia riesce a realizzare un proprio pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme." Mazzone, "Nascita, significato, e sviluppo della *Via Crucis*," pp. 12-13.

¹⁴⁴ "Frater Bernardinus Caymus de Mediolano ... Sacra huius Montis excogitavit loca ut hic Hierusalem videat qui peragere nequit." Alessandro Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo," p. 113. See the earlier discussions of the *sacri monti* and of Varallo specifically in chapters two and three of this dissertation for a more complete bibliography.

the Scala Santa (installed in 1608) and crawling into the Sepulcher to keep vigil.¹⁴⁵ A painting by Cerano of Carlo Borromeo adoring the sculpted body of the dead Christ at Varallo illustrates the depth of this illusory and ecstatic encounter, dissolving not only the spatial and temporal but, seemingly, the material boundaries between them (fig. 102).¹⁴⁶

Carlo Borromeo fervently encouraged pilgrimage to Varallo's *sacro monte*, of which he became known as a "second founder," and made several highly publicized visits there, the most famous of which took place immediately before his death in 1584.¹⁴⁷

Beyond Carlo's personal devotion to the *sacro monte*, he had a profound interest in the concept of stational worship that Varallo promoted and sought to implement it in Milan. In addition to the *croci stazionali*, Carlo designated seven churches in Milan as stational churches in imitation of the Seven Principal Churches in Rome, to which members of the Santa Croce confraternities were required to process every Friday.¹⁴⁸ Interestingly, in northern Europe devotions to the steps of Christ often consisted of visiting seven (or

¹⁴⁵ Véronique Plesch, "A Pilgrim's Progress: Guidebooks to the New Jerusalem in Varallo," *Art on Paper* vol. 6, no. 2 (2001), pp. 50-57; D. Medina Lasansky, "Body Elision: Acting out the Passion at the Italian Sacri Monti" in *The Body in Early Modern Europe The Body in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 249-273; and Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Touch Me. Touch Me Not Re-evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity*, ed. Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli, special issue of *Open Arts Journal* vol. 4 (winter 2014-2015), pp. 111-132.

¹⁴⁶ On this particular painting see the catalogue entry by Paola Venturelli in *Carlo e Federico. La luce dei Borromeo nella Milano spagnola*, ed. Paolo Biscottini (Milan: Museo Diocesano di Milano, 2005), pp. 259-260. On the fairly substantial corpus of images of Carlo Borromeo at Varallo see Stefania Stefani Perrone, "Sacro Monte di Varallo: Il Calvario montano di San Carlo" in *San Carlo e la Valsesia: iconografia del culto di San Carlo* (Borgosesia: Valsesia editrice, 1984), pp. 29-46.

¹⁴⁷ Angelo L. Stoppa, "I quattro pellegrinaggi di San Carlo al Sacro Monte di Varallo" in *I Sacri Monti di Varallo e Arona dal Borromeo al Bascapè* (Novara: Interlinea, 1995), pp. 15-40 and P.G. Longo, "Il Sacro Monte di Varallo nella seconda metà del XVI secolo" in *Da Carlo Borromeo a Carlo Bascapè: La pastorale di Carlo Borromeo e il Sacro Monte di Arona* (Novara: Associazione di storia della Chiesa Novarese, 1985) pp. 41-140. See also Göttler, "The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," pp. 397-399. Contemporary accounts of this last sojourn, which followed a pilgrimage to Turin to see the Holy Shroud, can be found in Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, pp. 480-487 and Carlo Bascapè, *De Vita Et Rebus Gestis Caroli S.r.e. Cardinalis, Tituli S. Praxedis Archiepiscopi Mediolani: Libri Septem* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1592), pp. 257-261.

¹⁴⁸ Buratti et al, *Città rituale*, pp. 50-53 and AEM vol. 3, col. 527. These churches were: S. Simpliciano, S. Stefano Maggiore, S. Nazaro, S. Lorenzo Maggiore, S. Eustorgio, S. Ambrogio, S. Francesco, and S. Vittore al Corpo

nine) churches on Good Friday, although this pious exercise does not appear to have been associated with the Roman or Milanese stational basilicas.¹⁴⁹ The Milanese church of S. Sepolcro, which was not one of the stations, provided the closest urban approximation to the *sacri monti*.¹⁵⁰ As I discussed in the previous chapter, pastoral visits record certain "luoghi dei misteri," which appear to have been twenty-four small chapels, conceived by Carlo Borromeo, containing statuary groups representing the "mysteries" of the life and Passion of Christ, of which two ensembles remain (fig. 103).¹⁵¹ Concurrent with his promotion of pilgrimage to the *sacro monte* at Varallo, Carlo preached to the Milanese on the benefits of visiting S. Sepolcro and obtained for it an altar privilege from Pope Gregory XIII in 1576.¹⁵² The confratelli of Santa Croce especially would have been highly familiar with S. Sepolcro though their affiliation with the Oblates headquartered there, who were charged by Borromeo with oversight of confraternal activities.¹⁵³ S. Sepolcro was one of the meeting places for the confraternities' general congregation prior to their acquisition of their own oratory at S. Maria ad Elisabetta and often featured in their processional itineraries.¹⁵⁴

Scholars have long hypothesized some relationship between the *sacri monti* and the stational crosses in Milan, perhaps mediated through S. Sepolcro, but these

¹⁴⁹ Mazzone, "Nascita, significato, e sviluppo della *Via Crucis*," p. 12. In 1547 Jacob Feucht, the suffragan bishop of Bamberg, recommended that these visits be carried out every Friday, not only during Holy Week.

¹⁵⁰ Marco Rossi describes it as "una specie di 'Sacro Monte urbano.'" Marco Rossi, "Architettura e immagine urbana nella Milano spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento," in *La scena della gloria*, p. 45.

¹⁵¹ See chapter three, pp. 203-204.

¹⁵² Sassi, *S. Caroli Borromei S.R.E. Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Mediolani*, vol. 3, pp. 398-399. On the privilege, see Rossi, "Architettura e immagine," p. 45.

¹⁵³ *Trattato delle croci erette in Milano*, ASDM XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 8v-9v. See also Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri"*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 21v.

correlations have until now been largely theoretical.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, the two phenomena appear to be connected in concrete and significant ways beyond their general similarities as structures that facilitated episodic, affective, and Christomimetic devotion. The altarpiece at S. Maria ad Elisabetta, the oratory of the general congregation of Santa Croce after 1624, was an *Annunciation* painted by Morazzone (fig. 104).¹⁵⁶ Jacopo Stoppa has argued that Morazzone, who periodically worked on frescoes at Varallo from 1602 to 1616, may have based some elements of the Milanese altarpiece on the chapel of the Annunciation, particularly the figure of the angel (fig. 105).¹⁵⁷ More compelling is the direct comparison asserted by Marco Grattarola in 1614 between the *apparato* staged at one of the stational crosses on November 4, 1610 for Carlo Borromeo's canonization and the simulacra at Varallo. At the foot of the cross of S. Ausanio (referred to by Grattarola by its other name of S. Rocco) were three temporary "chapels" with sculptures arranged in tableaux of the Nativity, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Agony in the Garden. In the garden, as Christ was comforted by the angel, a kneeling figure of Carlo Borromeo looked on "in imitation of the prayer that he made at the Sacro Monte of Varallo," a correspondence confirmed by the inscription on a hanging placard.¹⁵⁸ It is probable that

¹⁵⁵ Sanazzaro, for example, writes of the *città rituale* that, in it, "come nei misteri illustrati nelle prime cappelle del Sacro Monte di Varallo...gli spettatori sono coinvolti sino a diventari attori, in un teatro dove la *pietas* religiosa è trasformata in un arredo urbano di sensitività (e ignaziana), concreta dimensione popolare." See *Città rituale*, p. 94. Maria Antonietta Crippa likewise argues that "tutta la città, a questo scopo, si popola di segni e di figure sacre, stabili punti di riferimento di una devozione corale e personale che, in questi anni di governo di Carlo e Federico Borromeo, ha un suggestivo corrispettivo paesaggistico nella corona dei Sacri Monti prealpini." See *Milano Sconosciuta*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁶ Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 2, pp. 51-54 and Torre, *Il ritratto di Milano*, p. 340.

¹⁵⁷ Jacopo Stoppa, *Il Morazzone* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2003), p. 188.

¹⁵⁸ "Molto meraviglioso fu quest' apparato poiche vi fabricarono un' elevato monte, con alta cupola sopra... Sprai il qual monte si vedevano tre devote capelle, una in mezzo vicino alla colonna della croce, entro la quale era una figura al naturale di Nostro Signore, che faceva oratione all'horto con l'Angelo da una parte, con calice, et la Croce in mano che lo confortava; e dall'altra parte vi era San Carlo inginocchiato in oratione, a imitatione dell'oratione ch'egli fece al Sacro Monte di Varallo... Ergendosi sopra questa Capella un arco...con una cartella che conteneva questa inscrizione: "D. Carolus Cardinalis, vitae sanctitate, et rebus praeclare gestis, clarissimus, mortem adventantem; quasi eventus praesagens in Sacrum Varalli

this temporary display was not merely a conceptual homage to Carlo Borromeo's pilgrimage but a visual replica of the installation in the chapel of the Agony in the Garden at Varallo, where, in 1604, Carl Bascapè, the bishop of Novarra, had requested that a sculpture of S. Carlo kneeling in prayer be installed in a vestibule (figs. 106 and 107).¹⁵⁹ The tableau at the cross of S. Ausanio is unique in being so explicitly aligned with the *sacro monte*; however, as we shall see, many other *apparati* assembled for Borromeo's canonization and for other solemnities involved similar installations of polychrome statuary and effected a similar spatial and temporal hybridity.

In noting these points of contact between Varallo and the stational crosses it is not my intention to imply that the stational crosses functioned as a replacement for pilgrimage or that they compared Milan with the topography of Jerusalem in the same objective way that the *sacro monte* at Varallo did. Rather, I mean to suggest that the way in which the stational crosses mobilized Passion imagery within the city, projecting Christ's torments into the everyday urban environment, facilitated a similar type of fusion of the "real" world of the city with the imagined or transcendent world of salvation conjured in the devotions and rituals of the confraternities that simultaneously ellided and delineated sacred and profane space. It this mobilization of Passion imagery effected by the stational crosses, and the ways in which they were activated and experienced by their confraternal viewers, that I wish to explore in the following section.

Montem secessit, et divinis misteriis contemplandis, se se ad foeliciter migrandum apparavit." Marco Aurelio Grattarola, Successi meravigliosi della veneratione di S. Carlo Cardinale di S. Prassede e Arcivescovo di Milano (Milan: Pacifico Pontio, 1614), p. 303.

¹⁵⁹ Elena De Filippis, "Dal vescovo Carlo Bascapè al cardinale Ferdinando Taverna: come cambia il Sacro Monte," Sacri monti: rivista di arte, conservazione, paesaggio e spiritualità dei sacri monti piemontesi e lombardi vol. 1 (2007), p. 448. If, and when, the desired sculpture was installed is unclear: the sculpture currently in the chapel was completed in 1776 by the Piedmontese sculptor Giovanni Battista Bernero.

Before we turn to these confraternal rituals, however, we must further acknowledge that the relationship between the Milanese *croci stazionali* and the Via Crucis is not precise and whether or not these stational crosses can truly be considered "Stations of the Cross" is ambiguous. Adele Buratti, one of the preeminent historians of Borromeo's ritual city, maintains that "each cross was called stational because it was tied to a station of the Via Crucis. A great processional path thus wound through the city, and each of these points were steps in its prayer."¹⁶⁰ And yet, to date, no confirmation of any such formal processional path dedicated to the Way of the Cross has surfaced, nor has any evidence that the members of the S. Croce confraternities worshipped at crosses other than their own, or that the crosses were visited sequentially like traditional Stations of the Cross or the chapels at Varallo, although a few were waypoints along major processional routes, such as that for Corpus Christi.¹⁶¹ A map drawn up of the crosses' locations in the city (fig. 82), each numbered according to the order of their assigned mystery in the gospel accounts, reveals that the crosses were generally grouped in narrative blocks moving clockwise around the city, with those in Porta Orientale mainly devoted to the events leading up to Christ's arrest, those in Porta Romana centering on his interrogation and torture, those in Porta Ticinese largely covering the road to Calvary, and so on.

¹⁶⁰ "Ogni croce è detta stazionale perché è collegata ad una stazione della Via Crucis. Per la città si snoda allora un grande percorso processionale che ha in questi punti le tappe della sua preghiera." Buratti, *Città rituale*, p. 53. Most scholars follow her lead. See, for example, d'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, p. 105 and Rossi, "Architettura e immagine urbana," p. 42.

¹⁶¹ See above, pp. 237. For the procession on Corpus Domini these included the cross at Cordusio, at the Carobbio in Porta Ticinese, and the crosses of S. Ausanio (Rocco) and S. Anatalone (S. Giacomo) in Porta Vercellina. On one notable occasion in which several crosses were treated as "stations" in a procession, a such as the one during the plague in 1630 in which Carlo Borromeo's remains were carried to several of the crosses as well as to S. Sepolcro, the order of the procession did not follow any coherent narrative in terms of the mysteries assigned to those crosses on the route. The itinerary, in fact, diverged pointedly from the order of episodes in the gospels, beginning with the cross at S. Satiro (the crowning with thorns), proceeding to Bottonuto (Christ before Herod), and then to Verziere (the Last Supper), and then S. Babila (the Entombment), etc., which indicates that the narrative of the Passion was not a factor in this case. See below.

However, within each of these quarters any coherent progression often breaks down. In Porta Orientale, for example, to walk from the cross at Monforte (number 3, the washing of the feet of the disciples) to Verziere (number 4, the Last Supper), one must bypass the cross of S. Caio (9, Christ is abused before Caiaphas); then after reaching the cross of S. Galdino near the Duomo (7, Christ is brought before Annas) one must double back to the Laghetto by the Ospedale Maggiore (8, Christ is brought before Caiaphas) and then turn north to get to the cross of S. Caio before turning completely around again to reach the cross of S. Calimero in Porta Romana (10, Christ is brought before Pilate).¹⁶²

Accordingly, while a Via Crucis can be created around the stational crosses, its structure is not entirely straightforward or direct; this meandering path also sprawls across roughly thirteen miles, a daunting distance for a single "prayer." Nor was there anything on the crosses themselves to identify them with their assigned mystery other than the small painted panels carried in processions and occasionally displayed on their altars, so that any Via Crucis would only have been legible on certain feast days and not on a daily basis, though this alone should not rule out its existence. It further stands to reason that if the "great processional path" inferred by Buratti existed it would have been walked and maintained by the confraternities of S. Croce, but nowhere in their statutes or in other surviving confraternal records is any Via Crucis mentioned.¹⁶³ A final point against the existence of an official Via Crucis in Milan with associated devotions, like the one to which Buratti alludes, is the fact that the stational crosses are incorporated into neither the

¹⁶² In other areas, such as Porta Comassina and Porta Nuova, a fairly direct and sequential path is traceable. Given that all the "mysteries" were assigned together at one time, the disruptions in the path cannot be explained by the anomalous crosses being later additions.

¹⁶³ Tellingly none of the major scholarly accounts of processions in post-Tridentine Milan make note of a fixed route of the Via Crucis either. Cfr. Dallaj, "Le processioni a Milano nella Controriforma" and Bruno Bosatra, "Le processioni in area milanese dopo il Concilio di Trento: appunti su un fenomeno religioso-popolare," *Rivista liturgica* vol. 79 (1992), pp. 457-477. Bosatra cites Buratti's interpretation but provides no further commentary or additional sources.

adoration of the Cross performed at the Duomo on Good Friday, when the Stations of the Cross are most often observed, nor the other major processions held that day, a procession with "mysteries of the Passion" staged by the Barnabites and the Jesuit *Entierro*.¹⁶⁴

Nevertheless, to dismiss outright the notion that that the *croci stazionali* bore any relation to the Via Crucis seems extreme and premature. Rather we might speak of an implicit Via Crucis rather than an explicit one, one that was internalized within the geography of the city and in the communal memory, rather than a set course to be ritually completed. The crosses created, to borrow from Edward Muir, "a different kind of procession, one actively experienced by citizens as they walked about following their daily affairs."¹⁶⁵ Milan was a Via Crucis in fragments, and each confraternity performed a part, coming together every Friday in each quarter: in Porta Orientale the Last Supper and Christ's arrest, in Porta Romana his torture and trial, in Porta Ticinese his journey to Calvary, in Porta Vercellina his crucifixion, and in Porta Comassina and Porta Nuova his death and burial, each episode joining the end of several moving lines until they all met in the center of the city at the Duomo. Their enactment of the Passion and Via Crucis was not sequential, but simultaneous and collective. Accordingly, although stational crosses may not have carved out a single processional route, they punctuated the topography of Milan with the events of the Passion just as the Via Crucis demarcated the landscape and, thus, the Stations of the Cross shed important light on how the *croci stazionali* functioned in the

¹⁶⁴ Claudio Bernardi, "Il tempo sacro: 'Entierro,' Riti drammatici del venerdì santo," in La scena della gloria. Drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola, ed. Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995), pp. 596-613. On the Good Friday adoration in the late sixteenth century see Cattaneo, "L'adorazione della Croce e S. Carlo." Cattaneo does not indicate whether the procession of the cross around the interior of the cathedral included any "stations" or mediations on the different moments of the road to Calvary. As noted above, the placement of stations of the cross within the church did not become common until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

¹⁶⁵ Edward Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner: The Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities," in Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation, ed. Steven Ozment (Kirksville, Mo: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989), p. 28.

city as activated sites where the sacred was made present and accessible to devotees. The confraternities of S. Croce may not have processed in sequence along the whole of the Via Crucis but they moved within it in the course of their devotions, they prayed within it, and they lived within it so that all their activities were glossed by the Passion. Let us turn, then, to these activities and to the staging of the Passion in the ritual city.

IV. The Ritual City: The Stational Crosses and Confraternal Devotion

We have so far considered the stational crosses as physical objects, reconstructing their appearance and the various types of images that adorned them, and we have situated them within historical and local Lombard traditions of devotion to the Holy Cross and the Via Crucis. I would now like to examine how they worked as sites of devotion, analyzing the rituals and ephemeral *apparati* of the confraternities of S. Croce and exploring their role in the transformation of urban space accomplished by Carlo Borromeo's *città rituale*. As monuments, as images, and as "activated sites" in Borromean Milan, the stational crosses performed three main functions. First, as the confraternities' statutes and other early sources stipulate, they protected the city from plague, sin, and heresy; second they reminded viewers of Christ's Passion and "moved" their souls to greater devotion and virtue; and third, they testified to the religious quality of Milan and transformed it into a "New Jerusalem" where the sacred was palpably and profusely present. In this analysis the relationship between the stational crosses and the Via Crucis/*sacri monti*, imperfect as it may be, assumes critical importance as a framework through which to comprehend the way that the crosses localized the sacred in space and, when activated in meditations, processions, and spectacles, allowed devotees

to access to biblical places, temporalities, and even personages. Indeed, I will argue, while the crosses themselves "Christened" the cityscape and marked it as holy, their true significance was as facilitators for devotions and displays that used the city as a stage for the (re)enactment of salvation history.

Let me begin with some historical background on the foundation of the confraternities of Santa Croce and the rituals that formed the core of their spiritual practice. Carlo Borromeo formally established the confraternities of S. Croce in a pastoral edict of 1578, apparently at the behest of the Milanese laity in what Marina Olivieri Baldissarri has described as a synthesis of popular devotion and official directives.¹⁶⁶ Confraternal documents attribute the initial idea to the local inhabitants of Cordusio rather than to church authorities, an expression of piety that evolved organically out of the "great love" of the cross that had been ignited by the raising of the column in their piazza.¹⁶⁷ Giovanni Paolo Orrigone, one of the founding members of the Cordusio sodality, in fact suggests that the genesis of his confraternity occurred even earlier, in 1577 on the same day as the blessing of the stational cross when "the inspiration came to me to create a *scuola* of the Crucifix... and I presented the most Illustrious Cardinal Borromeo with a draft of the statutes."¹⁶⁸ The first four confraternities, at Cordusio, S.

¹⁶⁶ Oliveri Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri."* p. 16.

¹⁶⁷ "Primieramente dunque si ha da sapere che subito che il zelantissimo Pastore nostro S. Carlo hebbe benedetta la Croce del Cordusio, il vicinato si accese tanto d'amore per questa opera si salutevole et lodevole, che fecere istanza a detto Sam Carlo che gli ditasse il modo per poter formare la compagnia, cioè li loro ufficiale, et insieme ancora il modo di orare ogni sera avanti a detta Croce, accio quest'opera andasse crescendo di ben in meglio non mai per l'avanti essercitata pubblicamente da fedeli. Al che il benignissimo Santo Carlo compitamente sudisfece dandogli inscritto la maniera, che in ciò dovevano tenere, della quale se ne fece copia per distribuire all'altre, che alla giornata dopo questa da S. Carlo si ergevano." Trotti 72, fols. 5v-6v. Giussano, not surprisingly, credits Carlo Borromeo with the idea. Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, pp. 327-328.

¹⁶⁸ "Mi venne un Inspirazione di fare una scola del Crocifisso e mi conferii con il Sr. Baldassar Gallo, e Gio Paolo Vilante, e Mr. Gio Andrea della Tore, et altri, et tutti dissero che era ben fato dove che ne conferi con altri assai e tutti di bon animo, e se seguirà come in Dio spero ne farò notte et ne li datto principio in reformar li Capitoli e datto all Ill.mo. Cardinale Borromeo et lui gli ha datti a Monsigr. Moneda che gli

Satiro, S. Giacomo in Porta Vercellina, and at S. Simpliciano were confirmed on Sunday April 20, 1578, in a solemn ceremony in the Duomo in which the archbishop personally blessed the wooden crosses each sodality carried in procession and the small metal badges worn by members and invested each confraternity's officers. These protocols were repeated for the foundation of new confraternities of S. Croce in the years that followed.¹⁶⁹ The companies of S. Croce rapidly gained adherents: by 1581 there were nineteen confraternities and, according to Morigia, their membership numbered in the thousands.¹⁷⁰ A plenary indulgence issued by Pope Gregory XIII in 1580 to all who enrolled, with additional indulgences for their various devotions, further inflated the confraternities' member rolls and raised their public profile.¹⁷¹

In keeping with the centralizing thrust of Borromeo's reforms, all confraternities of S. Croce in Milan were governed by one set of universal statutes, although individual companies occasionally added supplementary rules and protocols to suit their specific

reveda, et di quello seguira ne farò notta la qual comp[it]a hebbe effetto, come per una regola che in mie mani si ritrova datta per l'Ill.mo Cardinale Borromeo." Trotti 72, fol. 9r. A copy of these original rules and statutes, also dated June 5, 1577, proceed immediately after this recollection.

As Oliveri Baldissarri notes, hardly anything at all is known about Giovanni Paolo Orrigone beyond the notes in the Trotti manuscript. See Oliveri Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri,"* p.

¹⁶⁹ When Borromeo was unable to personally perform these offices they were carried out by his trusted deputy Francesco Porro; in the years after his death the installation of new confraternities was often entrusted to the Prior General of the confraternities of S. Croce, although archival documents frequently record instances in which the archbishop himself blessed the processional crosses and the small metal crosses worn by the confratelli. Olivieri Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri,"* pp. 17-18

¹⁷⁰ "Et oltre al numero delle compagnie e confratrie, che sono in questa gran Città, ce ne sono diecenove altre, sotto il titolo della santissima Croce, et ciasche duna di esse confratrie ha eretta una gran colonna di marmo, sopra la quale vi è posta l'immagine di nostro Signore Giesu Christo inchiodato sul legno della Santa Croce, scolpita di gitto di bronzo e sono erette nel piu bello de' corsi maestri della Città. In queste confratrie ci sono scritti parecchie migliaia di persone." Morigia, *Historia dell'Antichità di Milano*, p. 347. The Cordusio *memorie* indicate that on May 12, 1581, there being nineteen confraternities and crosses, a new processional order was given to them by Francesco Porro. Trotti 72, fol. 7r.

¹⁷¹ A printed copy of this indulgence is conserved in ASDM section XIII, vol. 31. The text of the indulgence is also recorded in the ASDM *Trattato delle croci*, fols. 17r-17v. Additional indulgences were later conceded to individual crosses; the cross and confraternity at Cordusio received theirs in 1587 (fols. 18r-18v), and S. Babila in 1586.

needs.¹⁷² While many pious institutions in the Cinquecento emphasized public philanthropy alongside devotion, bolstered by the Tridentine rulings in favor of the efficacy of good works, the *métier* of the confraternities of S. Croce was almost entirely spiritual.¹⁷³ Their primary purpose, according to the proem of their statutes, was to promote the continual memorial of Christ's Passion and death upon the cross and to learn from the "book" of the cross the rules for a virtuous life:

For the study of the Christian must be Jesus Christ crucified, according to the Apostle; and this he must wear always sculpted upon his heart, and upon this he should gaze and look to receive health as was prefigured by the metal serpent erected by Moses in the desert; and being the cross our health, virtue, and glory, we must honor it in all ways and gaze often at it with devotion.¹⁷⁴

To carry out this "study," the *confratelli* of S. Croce did more than "gaze often" and with devotion at the cross, although contemplation of their stational cross and the small

¹⁷² The confraternity at S. Babila, for example, after their aggregation to the Roman archconfraternity of the Pietà dei Carcerati in 1585, drew up a secondary *regola* to take into account their new responsibilities. These statutes have been published in Ceriani et al, *La Basilica di S. Babila*, pp. 142-143. See also the discussion in Olivieri Baldissarri, *I "poveri prigionieri."* pp. 86-88 and also, generally, chapters four and five on the confraternity's spiritual and charitable practices.

¹⁷³ On this trend toward a greater involvement of lay confraternities in social welfare see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, pp. 5-7 and idem, "The Public Face of Post-Tridentine Italian Confraternities," p. 88. This does not mean that the confraternities of S. Croce did not have a charitable dimension: some individual confraternities of S. Croce in Milan, particularly those that aggregated to Roman archconfraternities, were heavily involved with public charity, such as the confraternity at S. Babila that, through its connection to the archconfraternity of the Pietà dei Carcerati, was deeply devoted to the care of prisoners and the condemned. But such initiatives and the degree of involvement were the prerogative of individual chapters and were not mandated by their general regulations, which only encourage members to generally behave charitably towards others, to correct their morals and behavior, and to give alms, and to care for fellow *confratelli* in need. *AEM* vol. 3, col. 1328.

¹⁷⁴ "Perché tutto lo studio del Christiano ha da esser nel Signor Giesu Christo Crocifisso secondo l'Apostolo; e questo si dovrebbe sempre portare scolpito nel cuore, et in esso specchiarsi, e riguardare, per ricevere la salute, come ciò fu figurato nel Serpente di metallo da Mose eretto nel deserto: e per esser la Croce la nostra salute, virtù, e gloria; pero dovemo in tutti i mode possibili honorarla et spesso rimirla con devotione, come mezzo di tutto il nostro bene, e doveressimo di continuo studiare in questo libro nel quale si ritrova tutto ciò, che si puo desiderare, da esso cavando Dottrina et la regola di tutta la via nostra." *AEM* vol. 3, cols. 1320-1321. The Apostle referred to here is Paul, who placed the understanding of Christ crucified above all human knowledge: "For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified" (1 Corinthians 2:2). Alternately, Claudia di Filippo Bareggi suggests, the reference to study of the "book" might indicate that each *confratello* and *consorella* was required to possess and read a printed copy of the statutes. Claudia di Filippo Bareggi, "Libri e letture nella Milano di san Carlo Borromeo," in *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, ed. Nicola Raponi e Angelo Turchini (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992), p. 68.

crucifix that they wore on their persons factored heavily into their spiritual practice. I will return shortly to the physical appearance of these badges and their spiritual significance to the *confratelli*. Every day, placing these crucifixes before them, each member said privately five Pater Nosters and five Ave Marias in honor of the five wounds of the stigmata while contemplating the Passion.¹⁷⁵ The benefits of beholding the "image of the holy crucifix" surmounting the stational crosses were enumerated by papal indulgences granted to particular crosses, such as that at Cordusio, where *confratelli* who visited the cross on certain feast days would receive seven years of indulgence for each visit.¹⁷⁶

The bulk of their devotional activities, however, were performed together publicly, first among them the *oratione della sera* recited every night at the base of all stational crosses. The nightly oration, like so many aspects of the stational crosses, was a practice that had originated prior to the late Cinquecento and then found new and broader applications in Borromeo's ritual city. Historians trace the *oratione della sera* back to circa 1495 when, on the encouragement of a mendicant friar, the populace began to sing the Ave Maria and other *laude* nightly in the Duomo before a miraculous image of the Madonna and child, an image and cult that came to be known as the *Madonna del Pilone*.¹⁷⁷ Significantly, according to early documents, when this society gathered at the

¹⁷⁵ "Ogni mattina diranno inanti a questo Crocifisso, qual portano al collo, cinque *Pater* e cinque *Ave-Marie* ad honore delle cinque Piaghe di N.S. pensando attentamente alla sua santissima passione." *AEM* vol. 3, col. 1325.

¹⁷⁶ The feast days listed are the Invention of the Holy Cross, Christmas, Pentacost, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The text of the indulgence is reproduced in the *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol 166, q. 11, fol. 18r.

¹⁷⁷ On the cult of the Madonna del Pilone, see Christine Getz, *Mary, Music, and Meditation: Sacred Conversations in Post-Tridentine Milan* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 69-81 and *Music in the Collective Experience*, pp. 243-246. In addition to the account among the reports of pastoral visits to the Duomo, cited by Getz, there is a document titled *Origine dell'Oratione della sera, che si fa in*

pilaster where the image was hung they did so "under the name of the Holy Crucifix," though the group does not appear to have been related to the Borromean confraternities.¹⁷⁸ Carlo Borromeo amplified these observances and transferred them to the cathedral's main altar; concurrently he promoted the practice of the *oratione della sera* throughout the diocese, mandating in 1572 that the bells of the Duomo and certain other churches ring each night at midnight to invite all to pray and meditate on the Passion of Christ.¹⁷⁹ During the plague the *oratione* predictably underwent yet another profound augmentation with the construction of the altars in the streets, where its recital protected public health while simultaneously providing spiritual succor.¹⁸⁰ The protocols for this ritual as performed by the confraternities of S. Croce, described by contemporaries as the centerpiece of their spiritual practice, are contained in the companies' statutes.¹⁸¹ Every night, summoned by the bells of their parish church, the members of each sodality—men and, sometimes, women—would kneel at the foot of their stational cross and begin the *oratione*, a scene recorded on a broadsheet commemorating Carlo Borromeo's many

Duomo that repeats this narrative, practically verbatim, bound in the same volume as the Trattato delle croci in ASDM section XIV, vol. 166.

¹⁷⁸ "A quest'esortatione si unirono alcuni gentilhuomini e mercanti sotto il nome del Santissimo Crocefisso, e diedono principio a far cantare l'Ave Maria al terzo pilone entrando nel Duomo a mano sinistra...havendogli per quest'effeto posta un'Imagie dipinta della Gloriosa Vergine, di poi vi fecero fare una statua di marmo dell'estessa Gloriosa Vergine, et in detto luogo Iddio portli meriti di essa Gloriosa Vergine dimostrò molti miracoli, per il che era tanto il concorso del popolo a quella divotione." Origine dell'Oratione della sera, fol. 14r. Gianmarco Burigozzo also refers briefly to a "scola del Crucifixo" at the Duomo in his chronicle. See Burigozzo, Cronica Milanese di Gianmarco Burigozzo, p. 22.

¹⁷⁹ "Literae pastorales de oratione et supplicatione. Istituto dell'oratione commune, che si ha da fare la sera da ciascuna fameglia," written April 5, 1572. AEM vol. 3, col 461-463. The *Oratione* was accorded a papal indulgence in October that same year. On Carlo's interventions and participation in the society of the Madonna del Pilone, see Getz, Mary, Music, and Meditation, pp. 70-72.

¹⁸⁰ See above, pp. 214-215.

¹⁸¹ See, for example, the description of the stational crosses and confraternities in the Antichità di Milano: "...essendosi alla maggior parte i questi Croci instituite compagnie d'huomini et donne della vicinanza, i quali ogni sera dato il segno per le strade con un campanello convengono alla sua Croce a far oratione e cantar le littanie." Antichità di Milano, p. 23.

pious works (fig. 108).¹⁸² The rite, which I have reproduced and translated in Appendix B, consisted of the Ambrosian Litany of Saints followed by a series of versicles and responses, psalms, and collects.¹⁸³ It is predominantly penitential in character, invoking the cross as a talisman against sin and a guarantor of redemption, but it addresses the Passion in its final moments, when devotees intone five Pater Nosters and five Ave Marias in honor of the five wounds and then recall Christ's sacrifice, beating their breasts and kissing the ground.¹⁸⁴

More focused on the suffering of Christ were the processions and group devotions undertaken by the confraternities every Friday at midnight when, "in memory of the most holy Passion of Our Lord," each confraternity would march from its monument carrying torches and the painting of its particular "mystery" mounted on a processional cross to the Duomo, all the while singing a litany. Gathered together in the cathedral, all the *confratelli* adored the Holy Nail and heard a sermon on the Passion, meditating on its contents, before reciting five Paters and five Aves below the Nail and finally returning to their stational crosses to proceed with the nightly oration.¹⁸⁵ The confraternity at

¹⁸² "Ogni sera all'ora, che sonarà la campana, o campanello, tutti li Fratelli e Sorelle della Compagnia, che non haveranno legitimo impedimento, si congregaranno avanti alla sua Croce, e stando inginocchiati faranno l'Oratione, che è ordinata per spatio almeno d'un quarto d'ora." However, female members were not required to participate directly in this nightly oration at the stational crosses but could observe and pray from their doors or windows or follow the ritual at home with their own crosses (worn by all members), most likely in order to avoid impropriety: "Similmente le donne scritte in detta Compagnia ancor stando alla porta, o fenestra, mentre si fa la suddetta oratione, o in casa, tenendo il suo Crocifisso in mano, faranno l'oratione per in quarto d'ora, dicendo particolarmente cinque *Pater* e cinque *Ave Marie*, et un *Credo* con devotione." This same alternative was also offered to those who were sick or otherwise "impedito" and unable to gather with their fellow *confratelli*. *AEM* vol. 3, col. 1326.

¹⁸³ For the ritual, see Appendix B and *Regole già stabilite da Santo Carlo*, pp. 21-29.

¹⁸⁴ See pages 466 and 468 of Appendix B.

¹⁸⁵ "Ogni Venerdì in memoria della Santissima Passione di Nostro Signore nella Città andaranno tutte le Compagnie della Croce la sera in Domo processionalmente all'oratione, che quivi si fa, et adoraranno il santissimo Chiodo, sentiranno il Sermone, che si fa della Passione di Nostro Signore, meditaranno i ponti proposti, et dopo diranno inanti all'istesso santissimo Chiodo cinque *Pater* e cinque *Ave Marie*. Nell'andare in Duomo cantaranno le Letanie, nel ritornare a casa cantaranno il *Miserere* con le Preci, et andaranno a finire la solita oratione alla lor Croce." *AEM* vol. 3, 1327. The litany recited on the way to the Duomo was

Cordusio repeated the procession and the prayers before the Nail, omitting the homily, on the first Sunday of every month and on all principal feasts, including the anniversary of their foundation on the vigil of Corpus Christi.¹⁸⁶ This Friday devotion was greatly expanded on Good Friday, when all confraternities would process to each of the seven stational churches earlier in the day before assembling at the Duomo to hear the sermon on Christ's death and burial, pray before the Nail, and adore the Holy Sacrament concealed in the "*scurolo*"—the altar of repose or sepulcher where it lay from Maundy Thursday until it was "resurrected" at the Easter vigil.¹⁸⁷ Other processions of note included one to the seven stational churches on the first Sunday of each month as well as the grand festivities for the Invention of the Cross discussed above in section three.

The collective visual and auditory effect of these simultaneous processions would have been striking. As the map of the crosses indicates (fig. 82), the *croci stazionali* were distributed across all of Milan leaving practically no quarter untraversed as the confraternities surged towards the Duomo at the city's center. Earlier I noted that when the confraternities processed together, such as on the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Invention of the Cross and when they visited the seven stational churches, they followed the order of their "mysteries" to create a large, moving Passion cycle. On Fridays the

likely the Ambrosian Litany of Saints, so that the *Oratione della sera* would begin on the way to the devotions in the cathedral and continue afterwards.

¹⁸⁶ "Che perpetuamente nella vigilia della festa del corpo del Signore in memoria et rendimento di gratie a Dio del principio di questa confratria facciano solenne processione per le sue contrade, andando al Duomo a dire cinque Pater et cinque Ave Marie, avanti al Sacro Chiodo ad honor delle cinque piaghe di Christo, et ritornino alla crocetta processionalmente. Questa processione ancora si farà ogni prima domenica del mese, et di più le solennità et feste principale dell'anno." Trotti 72 24v-25r. See also the statutes published in Baldissarri, p. 252.

¹⁸⁷ "Nel Venerdì Santo giorno specialmente consecrato alla memoria della Croce del Signor Nostro Giesù Christo, et nel quale sono state promulgate queste Regole, tutte le Compagnie della Città visiteranno processionalmente le sette Chiese, et la sera tutte si ritrovaranno al Duomo al Sermone della Sepoltura del Signore, et all'oratione, che si fa al sacratissimo Chiodo, et adoraranno il Santissimo Sacramento nel Scurolo. See chapter two, pp. 69-70, on the custom of the Easter Sepulcher generally; on the reformation of this practice under Carlo Borromeo and his successors, particularly in the new Ambrosian Missal issued in 1594, see Bernardi, "Il tempo sacro," p. 593.

sodalities from each *porta* appear to have united only in the Piazza del Duomo, but the impression would have been similar. We might imagine the small images of the Passion, illuminated by the flickering light of torches and candles, seeming almost to become animate as they journeyed forward, merging with those of neighboring confraternities to form one continuous narrative, one episode after another unfolding against the backdrop of the darkened city and the echoes of chanting voices. Children dressed as angels accompanying these processions, and the *oratione della sera*, heightend the celestial aspect: Casale describes a similar parade of costumed *fanciulli* affiliated with the Schools of Christian Doctrine as if Paradise had been opened.¹⁸⁸ The total experience was, as the confraternal chronicler Alessio Astefani exclaimed, immersive and transformative:

[It was] as if all of the City was ... converted into one single and vast temple. Every night one heard a multitude of infinite voices praising God throughout the city and every Friday one saw devout men processing through the streets singing psalms and hymns that moved the soul of every good Catholic to devotion.¹⁸⁹

Giambattista Casale echoes these sentiments, describing Milan at this time as "one single church with its altars all around."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ A "choir" of these children were attached to each confraternity of S. Croce and were supervised by an officer with the title Maestro de Fanciulli, who "habbi particular cura che li putti all'oratione, et alle processioni siano uniti con modestia avanti gli huomini, et che non vadino scherzando. E gl'insegni a dire l'oratione, et a pigliare il tuono del canto, et altro, che più abbisognasse." *AEM* vol. 3, col. 1323. The event described by Casale was a gathering of all the Schools of Christian Doctrine in the Piazza del Duomo during Carnival in 1567: "a tal punto che per tutto Milano non si vedeva se non angeli: pareva che fusse aperto il Paradiso; dove tutto Milano fu tanto ben edificato che dimenticato il ribaldo carnevale non si parlava se non de cose sante del Paradiso." Marcora, "Diario di Giambattista Casale," pp. 243-244. See also Gianvittorio Signorotto, "Milano sacra. Organizzazione del culto e consenso tra XVI e XVIII secolo," in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, ed. Franco della Peruta (Milan: Silvana editrice, 1985), p. 597

¹⁸⁹ "...che tutta la Città in certe ore era come convertita in un solo e vastissimo tempio, mentre ogni sera si sentiva simultaneamente lodar Dio pubblicamente in tutte le parti della Città da una moltitudine innumerabile di voci, ed il Venerdì si vedavano camminare per le contrade moltissime processione d'uomini divotissimi, i quali col vario e patetico canto de Salmi e di Imni muovevano alla divozione il cuore d'ogni buon cattolico spettatore." *BAM Cusani* 38, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ "Milano pareva aponto uno sol corpo di chiesa coi suoi altari atorno." Marcora, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale," p. 292.

Astefani's description registers two motifs closely associated with the culture of the Catholic Reformation: the power of religious images and spectacle to "move" the soul towards grace and the "consecration" of secular space and behavior. The historian Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro has commented on the constant comparisons throughout Carlo Borromeo's hagiography of Milan to a church, a monastery, and to the Heavenly Jerusalem, wherein the Church not only dominated the landscape but sanctified and unified public and private life, reordering it around the rhythms of the liturgy.¹⁹¹ This was the ritual city—*la città rituale*—a precise strategy deployed by Borromeo that aimed at the sacralization of urban space (and daily life) through the proliferation of religious images, buildings, and monuments and, more importantly, the perpetual and public performance of piety.¹⁹² The narrative of the ritual city is a familiar one that dominates scholarly accounts of Borromean Milan.¹⁹³ In contrast to the "anti-ritual" movement observed in the first decades of the Cinquecento, largely in reaction to the Lutheran reformation, the Council of Trent advanced a model of "exterior religion" that was particularly prevalent in Milan.¹⁹⁴ Sannazzaro speaks of a "cult on the streets" (*un culto alle strade*), a description that fits the stational crosses to a tee.¹⁹⁵ Cult practices and pious exercises were brought out into the open and made more visible and transparent, a

¹⁹¹ "Nel pur variegato e difficile problema della Milano di San Carlo, le fonti agiografiche non mancano, spesso, di paragonare la città intera di volta in volta a una chiesa, a un monastero, alla Gerusalemme celeste, mentre moltissimi studi vi hanno essenzialmente rimarcato lo sforzo da parte della Chiesa, non solo di prevalere su quasi tutte le strutture dello Stato, ma anche di riordinare e unificare spiritualmente la vita pubblica e privata sui ritmi della liturgia." Sannazzaro, "Note sull'immagine agiografica della Milano," p. 33.

¹⁹² Bosatra, "Le processioni in area milanese dopo il Concilio di Trento," p. 465

¹⁹³ See Buratti, *La città rituale*, among many.

¹⁹⁴ Bernardi, "Il tempo sacro," pp. 585-588.

¹⁹⁵ Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro, "Note sull'immagine agiografica della Milano di San Carlo Borromeo," in *Florence and Milan: Comparisons and Relations: Acts of Two Conferences at Villa I Tatti in 1982-1984*, ed. Craig H. Smyth and Gian C. Garfagnini (Florence: La Nuova Italia editrice, 1989), p. 40. See also Gianni Mezzanotte "L'attività dell'Alessi nell'urbanistica milanese del Cinquecento," in *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Genova, 16-20 aprile 1974* (Genoa: Sagep, 1975), p. 454.

move calculated to both curb abuse and incite emulation. One salient example, thoroughly documented by Wietse de Boer, is the invention of the Borromean confessional, which concealed the priest and the face of the penitent, placing a physical barrier between them, but otherwise enabled the rite to be performed in full view of the public in the church. By opening confession to public scrutiny, the Borromean confessional denied the potential for impropriety while simultaneously presenting onlookers with a carefully curated view of devout behavior that they themselves should imitate.¹⁹⁶ The stational crosses and their confraternities functioned in much the same fashion, facilitating what De Boer calls "occasions of virtue," social settings that showcased pious and exemplary behavior for the spiritual benefit of lay viewers while exposing that behavior to the constant oversight of the clergy.¹⁹⁷

I am, in this study, more interested in the sanctification of space than in the sanctification of behavior and in the ways in which ritual performances choreographed around the stational crosses, supported by visual and ephemeral apparatus, enabled viewers to encounter Christ's body and to bear witness to his Passion in their own city. Underpinning Borromeo's ritual city, his reforms of liturgy and devotion, and the rules for religious art and architecture he laid out in the *Instructiones Fabricae* was a desire to clarify the sacred and render it visible and legible to the eyes of the laity. Whether or not the sacred could be made visible and present in the material world was, after all, one of the central conflicts of the Reformation and stood at the heart of Protestant critiques of

¹⁹⁶ De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*, pp. 84-125.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 75. The strategic importance of the confraternities of S. Croce and lay associations in general to Carlo Borromeo's reforms is extremely well documented and cannot be overstated. See Danilo Zardin, "Il rilancio delle confraternite nell'Europa cattolica cinque-seicentesca," in *I tempi del Concilio. Religione, cultura e società nell'Europa tridentina*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli and Danilo Zardin (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1997), pp. 107-144.

sacred images, Eucharistic devotion, and the cult of relics, as Edward Muir reminds us in his examination of images and "urban religion" in Renaissance Venice.¹⁹⁸ On a basic level the stational crosses, with their altars and often iron gates surrounding them, created little oases of sanctity within the bustle of Milan, clearly demarcated from the space of the street while still embedded within it—a mediated intermingling of the sacred and the "profane."¹⁹⁹ But the stational crosses did more than set aside areas for prayer and contemplation. It is here that the precedents of the Via Crucis and *sacri monti*, in tandem with the suggestive appellation of "Christo" given to the stational crosses by contemporaries, come into play. Building on Gell's and Holmes's constructs of agency, these allow us to move beyond a generalized notion of sacrality as a result of the function of the crosses as places of prayer, or of external indicators of holiness such as altars or grilles, to more charismatic conceptions of embodiment and presence triggered by the activation of the crosses in cult ceremonies and spectacles. How, then, did the stational crosses make the sacred visibly manifest in the Milanese streets? How did the rituals of the confraternities of S. Croce transform Milan not only into a "place of prayer" but into a "New Jerusalem?"

¹⁹⁸ Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner," p. 26.

¹⁹⁹ These iron gates or grilles were the same sort prescribed by Borromeo in the *Instructiones Fabricae* to guard chapels, altars, and other sacred areas within church buildings against unlawful access or contamination. See Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae*, pp. 191-192. The Oblate Matroniano Binago, one of the visitors who oversaw the stational crosses, writes of the need to keep the area around the crosses pure and free from sin and indecorous practices, including commerce, in the *Trattato delle croci*: "Sarà bene avvertisce che appresse alle Croce almeno doi brazza [braccie] che non ci lasci acostarsi nisuno à fare trebie over malle pratiche come sono in alcune Croce dove li habitano fachini assetati al proprio piede della Santa Croce con la schenna voltata alla Croce et con puoca riverenza. Dicendo parole molte nefande e inoneste et anco in particolare che non si comporti che à simil luochi de tanta devocione [devozione] chi faccino nissuno mercato de nesuna sorte che stiano almeno lontane della Santa Croce almeno doi brazza recordandosi quando Christi Sig. Nostro dischatio quelli che facevano il mercato nel tempio." *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 14v-15r.

Scholars investigating the *città rituale* universally highlight its theatrical dimension and emphasis on performance and spectacle, utilizing the language of stagecraft. Stefano d'Amico, in his examination of Spanish Milan, has observed:

Milan represented the perfect model of a ritual city where pervasive visible signs of the sacred reminded residents and visitors of God's presence and led them to the path of grace. It became a large religious stage where the widespread religious symbols created a scenography that stimulated spectators to turn into actors, to become active participants, under the guidance of the church, in the pursuit of the renewed Catholic faith.²⁰⁰

Claudio Bernardi refers to Carlo Borromeo as one of the first "'directors' of theatrical Baroque piety" and Marco Rossi, too, emphasizes the "scenographic concept of the city," in which the *centro storico*, and the area around the Duomo in particular, came to be characterized ever more in a theatrical sense as the setting for frequent festive displays and spectacles.²⁰¹ This "scenographic concept" was particularly manifest in the *croci stazionali* and the activities of their sodalities. In addition to the *oratione della sera* and the processions of the confraternities of S. Croce, which were themselves visually dynamic and performative affairs, the crosses were settings for elaborate *apparati* on feast days. Earlier in the chapter I began to outline the substantial material culture associated with the S. Croce confraternities recorded in inventories, *memorie*, and other

²⁰⁰ D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, pp. 105-106. D'Amico gestures here to Adele Burratti, who likewise describes the ritual city thus: "All'organizzazione della società controriformista inserisce strettamente l'intervento di san Carlo sulla scena che la ospita, sul teatro urbano milanese. In piena coerenza con le sue concezioni sull'arte (fra cui, le *Instructiones*), il santo esperisce una città che aiuti l'uomo alla preghiera, guidandolo alla grazia: unna città rituale in cui--come nei misteri illustrati nelle prime cappelle del Sacro Monte di Varallo, dalla naturalezza animata di Gaudenzio Ferrari...--gli spettatori sono coinvolti sino a diventare attori, in un teatro dove la *pietas* religiosa è trasformata in un arredo urbano di sensitiva (e ignaziana), con creta dimensione popolare." Buratti, *Città rituale*, p. 94. Bruno Bosatra similarly refers to "il vasto palcoscenico della 'città rituale' tardo-cinquecentesca, di cui le frequenti processione sono espressione tipica ed emblematica da leggersi...entro quella curva diacronica che condurrà, con il barocco, all' 'apoteosi della religione visibile.'" Bosatra, "Le processioni dopo il Concilio di Trento," p. 458.

²⁰¹ "Uno dei primi 'autori' e 'registi' della teatrale pietà barocca." See Bernardi, "Il tempo sacro," p. 595 and Rossi, "Architettura e immagine urbana," p. 44. Rossi further emphasizes the visual and stylistic continuity between these spectacles and the architecture of the city's buildings, the sculptures on their façades and in churches and public squares, and the paintings displayed on their exteriors and interiors, many of which were designed and made by the same practitioners.

documents, from paintings, to altar hangings and draperies, to candelabras. Following instructions from church authorities these and other items, including temporary structures like triumphal arches, would be deployed to embellish the crosses "ornately and with devotion" on festive occasions: on liturgical feasts, when processions passed by, for the funerals of deceased *confratelli*, and, more routinely, on the first Sunday of each month when, in addition to processing to the seven stational basilicas, the confraternities would "prepare the altar" at their crosses.²⁰² Documents sometimes refer to "*il solito apparato*—the usual display," suggesting that these ensembles often adhered to fixed and repeated compositions and objects.

Such installations of paintings, candles, and other decorations paled in comparison, however, to the complex, multimedia *apparati* built around certain crosses on days of great solemnity, such as the three "chapels" filled with statuary representing episodes from the life of Christ constructed near the cross of S. Ausanio for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, described in section three, which appeared to reproduce in a Milanese piazza the experience of the *sacro monte* of Varallo. The *apparato* at the cross of S. Ausanio was not an isolated example. Grattarola's account of Carlo's canonization and other early sources and confraternal documents are contain numerous with descriptions of similar displays, most of which were mounted for occasions of

²⁰² Trattato delle croci, ASDM Section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols 15-16. The eighth stipulation of the rules for the Cordusio confraternity of S. Croce was: "Che ogni prima domenica del mese e feste principali si prepari l'altare al piedi della colonna del crocifisso, et essendo il tempo pluvioso se habbi appoggiare l'altare alla Bottega di Gio[vanni] Battista Gallo, perche sarà al coperto." Trotti 72 fol. 10r. The same *memorie* describe the *apparato* built for a procession of the relics of St. Thomas in 1614: "Memoria come à di 13 Luglio 1614 si sono portate le santissime reliquie di Santo Tomaso con cinque Baldachini, e sono passati dal Cordusio, e la compagnia è andata con il Crocifisso et 40 cilostri da cinque libbre l'uno tutti novi ad incontrare dette santissime reliquie alla contrada del Rodello, et accompagnati sino al Cordusio dove vi erano cinque tavole con tapiti velutati per riposarsi con dette santissime reliquie, et si fece una porta trionfante, et apparato l'altare con candeglieri d'argento et in somma un solenne apparato, et dopo si sono accompagnate dette santissime reliquie con cera come sopra sino alla detta Chiesa di Santo Thomaso."

special significance, such as Borromeo's canonization or high feast days like Corpus Christi, and at those particular crosses that stood along the city's established processional paths. These grander *apparati* were huge productions, and their scale and complexity only increased over time. While some appear to have reproduced on a colossal scale the aforementioned arrangements of paintings, heraldic devices, inscriptions, and abstract ornament, many others comprised large architectural sets and ensembles of polychrome sculpture arrayed in narrative tableaux with other props, sometimes even including live animals.²⁰³

The *memorie* of the cross at Cordusio describe an installation of the Last Supper, for Corpus Christi, 1619, as a "large theater—*un gran teatro*" populated with figures of Christ and the apostles carved skillfully in wood.²⁰⁴ The Passover, constructed for Corpus Christi in 1630, took on additional meaning with a new outbreak of plague.

Around the cross, on a large platform measuring approximately 28 by 12 feet, they built an "open city" in which some of the doors were marked with a Tau in "the color of blood." In the midst of this display stood a sumptuously dressed angel with wings made of ostrich plumes, holding a sword and a lightning bolt, with which he prepared to strike the Egyptian firstborns dead (*con atto di volere uccidere*).²⁰⁵ The *apparato* of the

²⁰³ One such "abstract" display was that erected at the cross at Cordusio for Carlo Borromeo's canonization. See Appendix A.

²⁰⁴ BAM Trotti 72, fol. 22v. "Et cosi detto anno 1619 fu fatto in detto giorno l'apparato infrascritto, cioè un gran teatro con colonne tutte di legname, dentro il quale cioè sotto il portico di detto teatro fu fatto il Cenacolo di N.S. con le figure de tutti li Apostoli vestiti tutti all'Apostolica, et con teste, mani, et piedi di legname bene intagliati, qual apparato fu laudata da tutto il Popolo, et fu lasciato cosi sino alla Domenica da sera."

²⁰⁵ "Memoria come il giorno del Corpus Domini si fece una rapresentatione nella quale si dimostrava l'historia quando il Signore comando a Moise che comandasse a tutte le case delle hebrei che ucidessero un agnello e di quel sangue bagnassero le porte acciò non fossero offesi del angelo le quali porte erano dal sudetto sangue signato del Tau. Et cosi alla Croce si fece un Paleco alto di bracie 3 di terra et di longhezza bracie 14, largo braccine 6, nelle quale si rapresentava una città apperto con alcune porte signate con il segno Tau color di sangue, fatta per mane del Sig. Bertolameo Genovesino ornata dalla parte de alcune piante di Verdura, et nel mezzo del palco l'angelo vestito molto pomposo con ali di piuma di struzzo con folgero et spada in mano, con atto di volere uccidere, et si tiro il pano et alto sopra le finestro si mese le candaline, le quale rapresentante fu di somo contente a tutto il Popolo."

stigmatization of St. Francis in 1618, also for Corpus Christi, even involved the neighboring houses by placing the figure of the Cherubim on top of the home of one Cavanago, with a sculpture of St. Francis installed below him on a high mountain and then, at street level, a tableau of Francis preaching to the animals, some of which appear to have been alive (*con diversi animali vivi et morti*).²⁰⁶ In a like manner, the *apparato* for Carlo Borromeo's canonization at the cross of S. Castriziano (at S. Giovanni Itolano) worked the column itself into its design, using it as an "up-above" for a tableau of the Resurrection. A cupola over the cross was fitted with canvas painted to resemble a cloud with angels, on top of which was a wooden sculpture of the risen Christ, painted "in natural colors" and gilding, with four trumpeting angels. On stairs at the base of the cross, lifesized polychrome sculptures of Carlo Borromeo and St. Helena witnessed the glorious apparition, surrounded by other statues and paintings of saints and figures of angels holding "mysteries of the Passion." The apparatus and its environs were covered with drapery, flowers and greenery, and abundant candles.²⁰⁷ Musical and choral

BAM Trotti 72 fol. 59r.

²⁰⁶ "Et l'anno 1618 un alto monte, sopra il quale in cima era l'immagine di S. Francesco quando hebbe le stigmate, essendosi posto il Cherubino al tetto della casa del Cavanago, et à basso Santo Francesco quando predicò alli animali con diversi animali vivi et morti postivi, et altre figure del qual apparato ne restò gustato tutto il popolo." BAM Trotti 72, fol. 22v. The stigmatization of Francis was said to have occurred on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

²⁰⁷ "La Cupola, che è nella sommità della colonna sopra la Croce, era coperta d'un'altra cupola fatta a posta di legname, il cui corpo era fabricato di balaustri indorati, con le cornici sotto, e sopra parimente indorate. La sommità era fatta di tela colorata a guisa d'una gran nuvola in aria, abbellita vagamente di diverse figure d'Angioli molto gratiosi, et vedevasi similmente in aria sopra la nuvola una statua di legno di Christi risuscitato, coperta di colori naturali, e tutta fregiata d'oro, con quattro ornati Angioli, uno per angolo, con le trombe alla bocca, come che dassero col loro suono segno di grande allegrezza. Tra la cupola e il capitello della colonna, erano poste altre figure d'Angioli, con doppie faccie, di grandezza e vaghezza maravigliosa; essendo circondato il capitello, e coperta tutta la colonna d'un drappo di ricco damasco di due colori, fatto fare a posta, con i suoi guarnimenti, e frangie di sete rispondenti all'abbezzza del drappo. Quasi a piede della colonna sopra la ferrata, che la circonda, s'ergerano tre grandi scalini, coperti li primi due di panno rosso, e il terzo di sopra di zendale dell'istesso colore: e in cima di questi scalini nella facciata verso Ponte nudo, stava in piedi la statua di S. Carlo in habito Pontificale da Messa, con una pretiosa mitra in capo, sotto un ricco baldachino di damasco bianco, colle frangie alte di seta et oro; et dall'altra parte verso San Satiro si vedeva una bellissima statua di S. Elena, con una Croce in mano di legno indorata, di convenevole grandezza. Il resto poi dei scalini era ornato di varie statue, e quadri d'altri Santi, con molta

performances, volleys of mortar fire, and other pyrotechnics added a sonic dimension as well, engulfing spectators in a multisensory and transportive experience in which the familiar sights, sounds, and probably smells, too, of the city were replaced with something "other."²⁰⁸

Like so many other aspects of the stationary crosses few, if any, traces of these ephemeral displays survive. We can glean some idea of what they might have looked like, however, and of their overall size and scale, from a drawing and a derivative print of the *apparato* erected in the Piazza del Duomo in 1630 to celebrate the birth of King Philip IV of Spain's firstborn son Baldasar Carlo (figs. 109 and 110).²⁰⁹ The theme was Mount Etna, which, if the scale in the images is accurate, rose from the center of the piazza to reach almost the height of the surrounding buildings. The mountain itself, to which we might compare the "alto monte" for the stigmatization of St. Francis in Piazza Cordusio, was naturalistically covered with greenery and rocky outcrops, with some kind of incendiary device at the top to furnish the fires of the volcano. Niches carved into the mountain around its base and on another register midway to the summit represented the forge of Vulcan with sculptures, apparently life-sized, of the god and his many assistants

copia di candele, con bellissimo ordine disposte, e compartite, posando sopra li angoli quattro vaghissimi Angioli, con alcuni misteri principali della Passione di Christo Nostro Signore in mano; cingendo tutto l'apparato della Croce quattro palii di damasco bianco e rosso colle frangie di seta, e una bella figura fatta di ricamo in ciascuno palio. Havevano poi apparate di panno rosso tutte le parti vicine alla Croce a guisa d'un maestoso teatro, con vaghi abbellimenti di verdure, e di fregi, e vi appesero per degno ornamento trent'otto quadri fatti da perita mano, che rappresentavano al vivo 38 Arcivescovi Santi di Milano, cominciando a S. Barnaba Apostolo, e seguendo per ordine fin al San Carlo; con un motto della sacra Scrittura nel mezo tra un Santo e l'altro, a ciascuno di loro appropriato; et un cornocopia sotto a cadauna figura, che sosteneva un grosso cereo per honorar i Santi, e allumare il teatro, il quale era coperto tutto di sotto di panni bianchi." Grattarola, *Successi meravigliosi*, pp. 301-302.

²⁰⁸ According to their statutes, each confraternity of S. Croce employed two choir masters, which is indicative of the high importance that music had in their rituals. On the role of music in these displays and elsewhere in the *città rituale* see also Robert L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

²⁰⁹ The celebrations and spectacles are described in *Racconto delle pubbliche allegrezze fatte dalla città di Milano alli IV febraro MDCXXX per la felice nascita del sereniss. primogenito di Spagna Baldasar Carlo Dominico* (Milan: Appresso gli heredi di Melchior Malatesta, 1630).

hard at work making armor and weapons, also included. Ornate archways, perhaps similar to those described by Grattarola as part of several *apparati* for Borromeo's canonization, surrounded the entire structure. The comparison of the spectacle of Mount Etna to the lost *apparati* of the stational crosses is particularly fruitful because several of the artists who made it also carried out commissions for the confraternities of S. Croce: one of the sculptors who worked on this ensemble was Giovanni Pietro Lasagna, who carved the statue of St. Helena on the stational cross of S. Senatore, and one of the painters was Bartolomeo Genovesino, who in addition to completing the portrait of S. Barnaba for the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio also painted the "open city" for their *apparato* of the Passover.²¹⁰ Another slightly earlier drawing of an unidentified ephemeral display, dated between 1575 and 1625, shows a large three-tiered architectural structure, with an archway at the center and bays for sculpture, paintings, or placards, bordered by columns, and with several, presumably life-sized, sculptures and caryatids (fig. 111). This latter example might correspond loosely to some of the more abstract and non-narrative *apparati* described in early sources.

These dynamic displays contribute to a revised understanding of the place of theater in the post-Tridentine church, and of the importance of ephemera in early modern visual culture. As Claudio Bernardi has pointedly argued, the spectacular and performative dimension of religious practice in Borromeo Milan challenges traditional studies of the history of theater that claim that the Counter-Reformation signalled the end

²¹⁰ The architect was Francesco Maria Richino, the painting was carried out by Bartolomeo Genovesino and Panfilo Nuvolone, and the sculptors were Girolamo Prevosto and Giovanni Pietro Lasagna. See Gianfranco Damiano, "Il Collegio gesuitico di Brera: festa, teatro e drammaturgia fra XVI e XVII secolo," in *La scena della gloria*, p. 496, note 68 and Laura Bertolini and Roberta Gariboldi, "Allegrezze per il 'Dies Natalis': l'erede regale come Bambino Divino," in *La scena della gloria*, p. 627.

of sacred drama.²¹¹ In 1565, in one of his first acts as archbishop, Carlo Borromeo banned the performance of *sacre rappresentazioni* of the Passion, advocating instead for the exposition of the life of Christ by preachers with the support of the image of the crucifix or other visual aids.²¹² At the same time, however, he raised the curtain on the *città rituale* with its many opportunities for spectacle: its processions, its public rites, its *apparati*. *Sacre rappresentazioni*, I would argue, were thus not so much suppressed as reoriented.²¹³

The spectacular staging of biblical episodes in the streets of Milan was the most profound and outward expression of the stational crosses' capacity to serve, as Timmerman writes of wayside crosses generally, as "'access portals' and 'thresholds' to a series of invisible trajectories" leading to sacred places and temporalities.²¹⁴ Timmerman does not address the Milanese crosses in his essay, focusing instead on northern Europe and mostly on the period before 1525, but his arguments apply equally well, indeed particularly so, to the *croci stazionali*. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concepts of "heterotopia" and "heterochronia," he posits that by projecting "countless images of holy torments into the everyday environment," wayside crosses became places of simultaneity and spatial hybridity that juxtaposed several geographies, several times, and, in doing so,

²¹¹ Bernardi, "Il tempo sacro," in *La scena della gloria*, p. 589. See also Claudio Bernardi, "Il teatro tra scena e ritualità," in *I tempi del Concilio. Religione, cultura e società nell'Europa tridentina*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli and Danilo Zardin (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1997), pp. 439-460.

²¹² *AEM* II, cols. 37-38. "Quoniam pie introducta consuetudo, repraesentandi populo venerandam Christi Domini Passionem, et gloriosa martyrum certamina, aliorumque Sanctorum res gestas, hominum perversitate eo deducta est, ut multis offensionibus, multis etiam risui et despectui sit; ideo statuimus. Ut deinceps Salvatoris Passio, nec in sacro, nec in profano loco agatur; sed docte et graviter eatenus a Concionatoriibus exponatur, ut, qui sunt uberes concionum fructus, pietatem, et lacrymas commoveat auditoribus, quod adiuvabit proposita crucifixi Salvatoris imago, caeterique pii actus externi, quos Ecclesiae probatos esse Episcopus iudicabit."

²¹³ "A conclusione, nello scenario costituitosi in quella che è stata definita anche una città ideale...che rendesse partecipi gli spettatori, coinvolgendoli nell'azione santa, come un libro o un muro coperto d'illustrazioni (quasi in corrispondenza delle immagini dei muri esterni della città)...come se la vita di Gesù scendesse nell'ambiente naturale, e in questo caso, cittadino, il famoso 'gran teatro' lombardo." Sannazzaro, "Immagine agiografica di Milano," p. 41.

²¹⁴ Timmermann, "Highways to Heaven," p. 435.

enacted their momentary collapse. When the crosses were "gazed at and ritually interacted with, they became 'openings' through which the divine plan of Salvation could be glimpsed, momentarily transforming the muddy roads on which they stood into luminous pathways leading from the gates of Eden to those of the Celestial City."²¹⁵ It is this heterotopian "opening," this transformation that was at work in the *croci stazionali* and visualized in their *apparati*; and it is this heterotopian "opening" that provided critical support for the devotions of the confraternities of S. Croce.

Here we return to a familiar theme. The confraternities of S. Croce practiced a form of affective spirituality common to many medieval and early modern sodalities, and known to us already from the meditations of the confraternities of Corpus Christi at S. Giorgio al Palazzo and of S. Corona. The almost hallucinatory contemplation of the suffering of Christ in the Passion first advanced by the Franciscans in the fourteenth century, exemplified in such texts as Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, had never gone out of vogue and received renewed emphasis in the pastoral reforms of Carlo Borromeo. As I posited in chapter three, the Cinquecento was a watershed of sorts for the practice of mental oration, when it was aggressively promoted and its methodology crystallized by Catholic reformers such as Ignatius Loyola, Gaspare Loarte, also a Jesuit, and the Cappuchin friar Mattia Bellintani di Salò, whose *Prattica dell' Orazione Mentale* (1573) was written at Borromeo's behest.²¹⁶ The benefits of

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 435. See also Michel Foucault, "Des espaces autres," *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984), pp. 46-49.

²¹⁶ Mattia Bellintani da Salò, *Prattica dell'orazione mentale di F. Mathia Bellintani da Salò dell'Ordine de' frati di S. Francesco Capuccini* (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio, 1573); Gaspare de Loarte, *Trattato della continua memoria che si debbe haver della Sacra Passione di Christo Redentore nostro* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1575); Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Louis J. Puhl (New York: Vintage Books, 2000). The *Spiritual Exercises* were composed in 1522-1524 and first printed in 1548 in Rome. Another key devotional text by Bellintani, published in the seventeenth century but written earlier and specifically for Carlo Borromeo, was the *Corone spirituali*, which narrated the Passion

frequent meditation on Christ's suffering and death is a recurring theme in Carlo's sermons, pastoral letters, and decrees and he particularly recommended the writings of Loarte and Bellintani, both in pastoral letters issued during the plague and specifically to members of lay confraternities in their rules and statutes.²¹⁷

These devotions and texts share the generic norms and affective language typical of such meditational handbooks. Their aim was the full immersion of the devotee into the sensory and emotional world of the Passion, mirroring in many ways the erasure of temporal and spatial distance produced by the stational crosses. In the *Esercizio della vita christiana* (1573), which, according to Balidssarri, was likely used by the confraternity of S. Croce at S. Babila, Gaspare Loarte exhorts the reader to visualize the events "as though they happened even in that instant before your eyes, in the self same place where you are; or within your soul; or otherwise imagining you were in the very places where such things happened."²¹⁸ This same language pervades the lauds printed with the confraternities' statutes:

in vivid and often gruesome detail. Matthia Bellintani da Salò, Corone Spirituali del M.R.P.F. Matthia Bellintani da Salò, predicatore capucc. Per l'attentione in contemplare la Passione del Salvatore: lequali erano praticate da S. Carlo (Salò: Bernardino Lantoni, 1617).

²¹⁷ AEM vol. 2, cols. 1665, 1893, 1905, 1945; vol. 3 cols. 157, 274, 301, 61s, 1306s. See also Baldissarri, I "poveri prigionii", pp. 139, 153 note 38 and Danilo Zardin, Confraternite e vita di pietà nelle campagne lombarde tra 500 e 600. La pieve di Parabiago-Legnano (Milan: NED, 1981), p. 98 note 121. On these texts in confraternal and lay piety in Milan more generally see Danilo Zardin, "Scolpisci in me divota imago. Libri di pietà figurati e meditazioni della passione nel Cinquecento," Terra ambrosiana vol. 40 (1999), pp. 57-63; Riccardo Bottoni, "Libri e lettura nelle confraternite milanesi del secondo Cinquecento," in Stampa, libri, e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo, ed. Nicola Raponi and Angelo Turchini (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992), pp. 247-280 and, more generally, in the same volume: Claudia di Filippo Bareggi, "Libri e letture nella Milano di San Carlo," pp. 39-96 and Kevin M. Stevens, "Printing and Politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary Press of Milan," pp. 97-143. See further Stevens's doctoral dissertation, Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers in Counter-Reformation Milan: a Documentary Study (Ph.D. diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992) and Massimo Petta, "Books and Devotion in Milan, 1570-1590," in Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology, and Approaches to Religion in History, ed. Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, Pisa University Press, 2008), pp. 107-127.

²¹⁸ "Prima circa i passi della passione, che mediterai, tu dei avvertire, che s'hanno a meditare, come se allhora accadessero innanti a gli occhi tuoi, in quel medeum o luogo dove tu sei, ovvero dentro dell'anima tua, ovvero imaginandoti esser presea te a quelli stessi luoghi dove quelle cose accaderono, se in quell amaggior divotione sentirai." Gaspare Loarte, Essercitio della vita Christiana. Dove si contengono le cose

On the Cross you must remain,
On the Cross keep your heart,
With Jesus bear the pain,
Die with Jesus on the Cross;
Stay with him, nailed to the Cross...
Place all of your love
on the Cross and meditate,
Weeping, contemplate
the pain of Christ."²¹⁹

Summoning tangible visualizations of Christ's suffering, devotees imagined themselves not only as witnesses but as participants in the Passion, declaring, in Loarte's *Trattato della continua memoria...della Sacra Passione*, that "I offer you these cruel lashes that flay your virgin skin...I offer you this crown of thorns."²²⁰

In interrogating how the stational crosses and their *apparati* worked with the devotions of the *confratelli* to inspire them to "imagine themselves present" in the holy mysteries and, in turn, to perceive sacred presence in the ritual city, I want to work with this process of imagination and the "composition of place" promoted by, but not exclusive to, the Jesuits. Carlo Borromeo encouraged the growth of the Society of Jesus in Milan and Baldissarri has remarked on the strong current of Jesuit piety in the confraternities of S. Croce, and particularly in the company at S. Babila following its aggregation to the Pietà dei Carcerati.²²¹ The composition of place (*compositio loci*) asked the devotee to construct

che debbe fare chi vuol vivere Christianamente (Venice: Altobello Salicato, 1573), fols. 30r-v. For an early English translation (originally printed in 1579) see Gaspare Loarte, The Exercise of a Christian Life trans. James Sancer (Menston, UK: The Scolar Press Ltd., 1970), p. 38r. On the probable use of this text by confraternity of S. Croce and the Pietà dei Carcerati at S. Babila, see Baldissarri, I "poveri prigionieri," p. 136.
²¹⁹ "Su la Croce tu de[v]i stare/ Alla Croce il cor tenere/ Con Gesu pena portare/ Con Gesu in Croce morire/ Star con lui accompagnato/ Sulla Croce conficato/... Poni pur ogni tuo affetto/ Nella Croce meditare/ Lagrimando contemplare/ Il dolor del pio Giesu." Regole già stabilite, pp. 35-36. This verse, which covers stanzas in total, is printed at the end of this edition of the confraternities' *regole* and its function--whether it was ever recited publicly, etc.--is unclear.

²²⁰ "...offeriscoti quei crudeli flagelli, con che la tua verginal carne fu scorticata, e battuta...Ti offerisco quella dolorosa corona di spine." Loarte, Trattato della continua memoria, p. 27.

²²¹ Baldissarri, I "poveri prigionieri," pp. 134-135. See also Flavio Rurale, I gesuiti a Milano. Religione e politica nel secondo Cinquecento (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1992). On Jesuit piety and the Roman

a mental image of the place or moment on which they were to meditate, engaging the "five senses of the imagination" to conjure not only the sights but the sounds, smells, and other sensations of the biblical scene.²²² A second, connected phase in this process of mystical contemplation involved the recollection of related events and places from the worshipper's own life and memory.²²³ Accordingly, when following the instructions of Loarte or similar to imagine the events of the Passion "as though they happened even in that instant before your eyes, in the self same place where you are," confraternal devotees would have composed immersive mental images based on their own particular environments and experiences in which to place the holy figures and set the "action" of the history of salvation. An earlier approximation, or even anticipation, of this process is provided in the oft-cited Franciscan handbook the *Zardino di orazione* (1454, printed 1494):

The better to impress the story of the Passion on your mind...it is helpful and necessary to fix the places and people in your mind: a city, for example, which will be the city of Jerusalem—taking for this purpose a city that is well known to you. In this city you will find the principal places in which all the episodes of the Passion would have taken place—for instance, a palace with the supper-room where Christ had the Last Supper with the Disciples, and the house of Ann[as], and that of Caiaphas, with the place where Jesus was taken in the night, and the room where he was mocked and beaten. Also the residence of Pilate where he spoke with the Jews, and in it the room where Jesus was bound to the Column. Also the site of Mount Calvary, where he was put on the cross; and other like places... And then too you must shape in your mind some people, people well-known to you, to represent for you the people involved in the Passion."²²⁴

archconfraternity of the Pietà dei Carcerati see Vincenzo Paglia, *La Pietà dei Carcerati. Confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XV-XVIII* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980), pp. 133-139

²²² The literature on the composition of place is rich. See, for example, Christine Göttler, *Last Things: Art and the Religious Imagination in the Age of Reform* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 278-317. For the composition of place in the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola see Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Louis J. Puhl (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), pp. 83-84. See also Philip Eanden, "The Ignatian Prayer of the Senses" in *the Heythrop Journal* vol. 31 (1990) pp. 391-418.

²²³ On this process see also Anne H. Muraoka, *Il Fine della Pittura: Canon Reformulation in the Age of the Counter-Reformation. The Lombard-Roman Confluence* (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 2009), pp. 97-99.

²²⁴ "La quale historia acio che tu meglio la possi imprimere nella mente, e piu facilmente ogni acto de essa ti si reducha alla memoria ti sera utile e bisogno che ti fermi ne la mente lochi e persone. Come una citade, laquale sia la citade de Hierusalem, pigliando una citade laquale ti sia bene pratica. Nella quale citade tu

The "translation" of biblical events into a local or contemporary vernacular is, of course, a ubiquitous rhetorical and visual device in medieval and early modern piety, employed countless times in religious texts and images to facilitate a deeper connection to the sacred themes. In Bernardino Luini's Passion cycle at S. Giorgio al Palazzo, in his fresco for the oratory of S. Corona, and in Titian's altarpiece and Gaudenzio Ferrari's frescoes in the chapel of S. Corona in S. Maria delle Grazie, tricks of perspective and foreshortening, anachronistic costumes, and the inclusion of contemporary figures and portraits functioned to project the Passion of Christ into the spatial and temporal realities of confraternal viewers. What is striking about the Milanese stational crosses is that they did not rely on perspectival manipulation or on any of the artist's illusionary devices so carefully refined over the past century, and deployed to such spectacular effect at the *sacri monti* and in the confraternal spaces of S. Corona and Corpus Christi, to render the Passion present, but utilized only the scenography of the city. At each cross, the *confratelli* of S. Croce were able to see all around them the "city that was known to them" and use it as a surrogate for Jerusalem; at each cross within Milan, as if within biblical Jerusalem, they imagined the "principal places" in which their "mysteries" of the Passion

trovi li lochi principali nelquali forono exercitati tutti li acti dela passione: come e uno palacio nelquale sia el cenaculo dove Christo fece la cena con li discipuli. Anchora la casa de Anna e la casa de Cayfas dove sia il loco dove fu menato la nocte Miser Iesu. E la stantia dove fu menato dinanti de Cayfas, e lui deriso e beffato. Anche il pretorio de Pilato dove li parlava con li iudei: et in esso la stantia dove fu ligato Misser Iesu alla colonna. Anche el loco del monte de Calvario, dove eso fu posto in croce, e altri simili lochi... Anchora e dibisogno che ti formi nela mente alcune persone, le quale tu habbi pratiche e note, le quale tute representino quelle persone che principalmente intervennero de essa passione..." Zardino de Oration (Venice: Bernardino Benali(?), 1494), pp. xii v - xiii r. This passage appears in chapter sixteen of the book, entitled "Chomo meditare la vita di christo" and is translated in Baxandall, Painting and Experience, p. 46, with the original text reproduced on pp. 163-164. I have corrected Baxandall's mistranslation of the "casa de Anna," which he translates as the "house of Anne," but more likely refers to the house of the priest Annas, where Jesus was brought before he was taken before Caiaphas. I understand that Achim Timmermann will also incorporate this text into his discussion of the Stations of the Cross in Northern Europe in his forthcoming book. Achim Timmermann, Representation and Redemption: Public Monuments and Sacred Landscapes in the Later Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, forthcoming).

took place—at Verziere the "supper-room where Christ had the Last Supper," at the cross of S. Caio the house of Caiaphas, at the cross of S. Ausanio the "mount of Calvary" where the cross was raised. This large-scale mobilization of Passion imagery within the city, both in concrete representations and mental pictures, and both in stationary prayers and moving processions, was unprecedented. In a sermon he gave in the Milanese Duomo in 1597, Mattia Bellintani da Salò, author of the *Prattica dell'Orazione Mentale* and the *Corone Spirituali* urged his listeners: "Let us go to the foot of the cross...often, insistently, and in a thousand ways the sacred scriptures invite us to stand and gaze upon Christ in his sorrows and sufferings."²²⁵ The stational crosses allowed the *confratelli* to do precisely that: to process through the streets of their own city to the foot of the cross—thirty six of them—and there to stand and gaze upon the suffering Christ.

In this way the stational crosses became sites for the imagining of the body of Christ, for the composition of place, and for the staging of spiritual visions. And in this way the stational crosses earned Milan the appellation of "New Jerusalem" given to it by contemporaries, a label also affixed to the *sacro monte* of Varallo.²²⁶ The sacred manifestations facilitated by the crosses—or staged at them in the case of the *apparati*—combined with the phenomenological experience of worshipping at their feet, of looking up to an image of the cross mounted high above the ground, suggest comparisons not only to Timmerman's notion of the "heterotopian access portal" but to the *axis mundi*.

²²⁵ "Gitevene al piede della Croce... Ne invitano le sacre lettere, et cio fanno e spesso, e forte, e con mille maniere; a stare mirando intenti a Christo addolorato e afflito." Mattia Bellintani da Salò, *Delli dolori di Christo Sig. Nostro: prediche otto, con altre quattro d'altre materie, tutte predicate nel Duomo di Milano l'anno MDXCVII* (Bergamo: Comin Ventura 1598), pp. 195-200. This translation is taken from *The Sufferings of Christ by Father Mattia Bellintani da Salò, Capuchin: Eight Sermons Preached in Milan Cathedral in the Year MDXCVII* trans. a Benedictine Nun of Stanbrook (London: Sheed & Ward, 1931), pp. 238-243. This series of sermons, all addressing the suffering of Christ, was delivered during Lent in 1597.

²²⁶ Giussano, for example, wrote that Milan was "quasi un'altra Gerusalemme." Giussano, *Vita di Carlo Borromeo*, p. 286.

The *axis mundi*, or axis or hub of the universe, is a concept deployed in the history of world religions, detailed particularly in the scholarship of Mircea Eliade, to describe points of contact and transition between the earthly and celestial realms, usually set along a vertical trajectory.²²⁷ The *axis mundi* was often figured as a cosmic mountain, said to be the highest place in the universe, a cosmic tree at whose top lived the divinity, or a cosmic pillar that supported the heavens and connected them with the earth.²²⁸ In Christian devotional contexts this "cosmic tree" was represented by the cross.²²⁹ In acts of devotion the *axis mundi* could be traversed, according to Lawrence Sullivan, and "its heights attained in a state of ecstasy brought about by spiritual techniques," such as affective contemplation.²³⁰

It is my contention that the *croci stazionali* operated as another type of "cosmic pillar," an association made all the more forcefully by their physical form, which incorporated pillars or columns of great height at whose top abided the image of Christ (fig. 92). The *apparato* for Borromeo's canonization at the cross of S. Castriziano would seem to articulate this formulation explicitly, mounting the risen Christ on top of the cross surrounded by clouds and angels. In this way, the construction of the *axis mundi* also mitigates the potential problems with declaring the stational crosses to be conduits to the divine, a capacity expressly proscribed by the Tridentine accords on religious images, by setting the sacred at a physical remove from the mundane without fully severing

²²⁷ For a general summary of the *axis mundi* see Lawrence E. Sullivan, "Axis Mundi," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 2, ed. Lindsay Jones (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), pp. 712-713. More detailed accounts and analysis can be found in Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1958), pp. 367-387; *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), pp. 20-67; and *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961), pp. 27-56.

²²⁸ Sullivan, "Axis Mundi," pp. 712-713.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 713.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 713.

contact between them. Stuart Lingo and Christian Kleinbub have written of a type of "visionary image" or "vision altarpiece" that developed in the Cinquecento in which sacred figures appear as a theophany above devout beholders in contemporary settings.²³¹ Such images, like Federico Barocci's *Madonna del Popolo* (fig. 112) reworked late medieval and Quattrocento depictions of apparitions to integrate articulated sacred and earthly spaces into a unified and dynamic composition. And yet the mechanics of sacred presence were clarified and the threshold between heaven and earth reinforced, signified by a porous boundary of billowing clouds and atmosphere, which in the sixteenth century was also equated with animating spirit.²³²

The stational crosses also took up this iconography, cultivating visionary experiences for devotees at their bases. Similar to a "vision altarpiece," the sacred was present in Milan, integrated into the same composition, but elevated above the mundane space of the city as if in another, upper register, separated from it only by clouds and atmosphere. An example of what I am suggesting here is articulated by a large print of the stational cross at Carobbio in Porta Ticinese made in 1658 to commemorate its reconstruction (fig. 97). In the image, a crowd of worshippers kneels at the base of the cross, which towers above them. The artist has precisely rendered the surrounding cityscape down to Porta Ticinese and the columns of S. Lorenzo in the background on the left, with the painting of the Deposition above the altar on the north wall. The composition of the cross itself presents it as a theophany by including two winged cherubs on either

²³¹ Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), especially pp. 33-90, and Christian Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary in Raphael* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011)

²³² Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, p. 54 and Michael Cole, "The Demonic Arts and the Origin of the Medium," *Art Bulletin* vol. 84, no. 4 (December 2002), p. 630. See also Christian Kleinbub, "At the Boundaries of Sight: The Italian Renaissance Cloud Putto," in *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, ed. John Hendrix and Charles H. Carman (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 117-133.

side of it, as if in the act of bearing it down from the heavens. Written descriptions of the cross confirm that these cherubs were part of the actual structure and not an embellishment by the artist of the print.²³³ The sense of a heavenly apparition is heightened in the print by the addition of a mandorla around the cross, edged by clouds that just brush the tops of the surrounding buildings, and, flanking the structure at the top, each riding his own roiling cloud bank, Saints Ambrose and Carlo Borromeo who descend to adore the cross and bless the faithful Milanese gathered below.

The bodies of the *confratelli* themselves were also deeply engaged in this enactment of the Passion, not only by virtue of their movement through the city in processions and their genuflections at *crocette* but by the crosses they wore beneath their clothes as constant reminders of Christ's sacrifice, removing them only while they slept. These badges are described in the confraternities' *regole* as being made of metal, specifically gold, silver, or any precious material, and measuring four finger's widths long, with larger crosses for the officers.²³⁴ The *confratelli* daily wore these crosses, which had been blessed by the archbishop, attached to their collars under their clothes. During processions they would be worn outside their garments and, likewise, when members died, they would be buried with their cross pinned to their graveclothes over their hearts.²³⁵ To this cross they were to have great devotion, never letting it fall to the

²³³ Latuada stipulates: "[Questa croce] è fistata sopra piedestallo, che forma coi suoi gradini quattro Altari, col Pilastro superiore lavorato di fina pietra, che sostiene alcuni Angioli di bianco marmo, li quali rappresentano di portare in trionfo il Venerabile Vessillo della comune nostra Salute." Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 3, p. 2.

²³⁴ "Ciascun Fratello e Sorella della Compagnia della Croce porti al collo un Crocifisso di metallo longo quattro dita in circa, e tutti siano ad un modo, ne si possano far d'oro, o d'argento, o d'altra materia pretiosa. Li crocifissi però delli Officiali siano maggiori delli altri almeno un dito, e quando si mutano gli Officiali, si mutino ancora li Crocifissi." *AEM* vol. 3, col. 1325.

²³⁵ "Portaranno il detto Crocifisso attaccato al collo sotti i panni, eccetto che in tutte le Processioni, che faranno loro, o che accompagneranno collegiamente lo portini scoperto sopra i panni... Quando morirà una

ground, praying before it in the morning, as noted above, and placing it at the head of the bed when they slept. They were to be mindful of it always and endeavor to "keep it before their eyes, and much more to have it imprinted upon their hearts."²³⁶ In his sermons Borromeo repeatedly urged his listeners to bear the wounds and cross of Christ in their own bodies, that they be "sculpted or imprinted in their hearts," language that is replete elsewhere in the statutes and *memorie* of the confraternities of Santa Croce.²³⁷ In a homily delivered in the Duomo on Friday, March 9, 1584, which the confraternities of S. Croce could have attended, Borromeo passionately enjoined the Milanese to participate in the Passion by wearing or carrying Christ's death within their bodies:

Let your grace remain with us, your splendor and zeal; remain in our hearts, in our wills, our minds, and in our innermost memories: make us always remember you, make us ever mindful of your most bitter Passion, that we may always behold you crucified before the eyes of our bodies and of our minds. We are not worthy to ask you that your most holy Stigmata be visibly imprinted upon our body, as it has been already on the body of your servant Francis and of others; nor dare we wish to carry them secretly, a favor that you accorded your spouse Catherine of Siena, as she, in her humility, prayed for. These are most special gifts and favors, conferred only on those who with the exercise of the most outstanding virtue and with this most intense charity were disposed to receive them. But we beg of you at least this: that you inflame our hearts with your love in such a way that your most holy Stigmata will imprint there, your thorns, your scourges; in such a way that we suffer with you, that we feel intimately your most bitter pains and sorrows, and that we carry them [or

persona della Compagnia, il suo Crocifisso, qual portava sotto i panni se gli metta di sopra al petto attaccato al collo, e farà il suo corpo sepolto con detto Crocefisso." Ibid, col. 1326.

²³⁶ "Al detto Crocifisso habbino la debita riveranza, et devotione, procurando ancora di spesso ricordarsene, et haverlo avanti gli occhi, et molto più d'averlo stampato nel cuore, per amore vedano di non lasciarlo cadere, smenticarlo in alcun luogo. Et la sera, quando vanno a dormire, se lo levino da dosso e lo phonghino a capo del letto, appendendolo in luogo decente e honesto." Ibid. See also above, p. 251.

²³⁷ The proem to the statutes of the confraternity at Cordusio, written by Carlo Borromeo and repeated verbatim in the *regole* for all S. Croce confraternities, states: "Because all of the study of the Christian must be Jesus Christ crucified, according to the Apostle, this (Christ crucified) he should wear/carry always sculpted in his heart. (Perche tutto lo studio del Christiano ha da essere nel Signor Giesu Christo Crocifisso secondo l'Apostolo; et questo si dovrebbe sempre portare scolpito nel cuore.)" ASDM section XIII vol. 30, q. 23, fol. 1r and AEM vol. 3, col. 1320. Borromeo's rules for the confraternity at Cordusio are also transcribed in full in Baldissarri, I "poveri prigionii," pp. 251-260. The phrase "scolpito nel cuore" or "nelle anime" is similarly a refrain in the *Memoriale* of the confraternity at S Babila. See Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale, pp. 9, 17.

wear them] also within our bodies. So that wearing [or bearing] in our bodies your death, your life may also manifest itself in us (2 Corinthians 4:10-11) and so that, by participating in your Passion, we may deserve to participate in your glory (Romans 8:17). Amen.²³⁸

The metaphor of imprinting, which was used in Aristotelian physics to explain the relationship between form, matter, and sensory perception, was often deployed in medieval and early modern religious discourse to indicate receptivity to a divine encounter.²³⁹ Encountering the body of Christ upon the stational crosses, in prayers, meditations, and processions, the *confratelli* of S. Croce were "imprinted" with his

²³⁸ "Mane nobiscum gratia tua, splendore tuo e calore; mane in cordibus nostris, in voluntate, in intellectu, in memoriae nostrae penetralibus: Fac tui semper recordemur, Passionis tuae acerbissimae semper memores simus, te semper crucifixum ante corporis et animi oculos propositum habemus. Non digni sumus, qui tantum a te munus expectemus, ut corpore nostro sacratissima Stigmata tua, ut olim servo tuo Francisco alisque, manifeste imprimantur; nec desiderare praesumimus, ut iisdem latenter signemur, quemadmodum Sponsae tuae Catharinae Senesi, id ex humilitate a te postulanti, concessum est. Siquidem dona tua haec sunt et munera pretiosissima, in eos tanum collata, qui egregiis virtutibus, et ardentissima caritate ad ea recipienda se disposuere, prout etiam duae illae adhuc viventes Mulieres, de quibus nuper, ut diximus, ex fide digna relatione accepimus. Sed hoc te saltem rogamus, ut nostris tuum inseras amorem pectoribus, ut insculpantur cordibus nostris tua sacratissima Stigmata, spinae tuae, ac flagella; ut tibi condoleamus, intime sentiamus acerbissimos dolores tuos, atque eosdem etiam in corpore nostro portemus, *semper mortificationem tuam, in corpore nostro circumferentes; ut vita tua manifestetur in nobis*, et tibi hic compatiens, tecum quoque conglorificari mereamur. Amen." Carlo Borromeo, *S. Caroli Borromei S.R.E. Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Mediolani Homiliae*, vol. 3, ed. Joseph Antonio Sassi (Milan: Typographia Bibliotecae Ambrosianae/Joseph Marellus, 1747), p. 450. The biblical passages he alludes to, italicized in Sassi's text with the verse citations in the margins, are "Always bearing in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. For we who live are always being given over to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus also may be manifested in our mortal flesh" (2 Corinthians 4: 10-11) and "And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ provided we suffer with him in order that we may be also glorified with him" (Romans 8:17).

²³⁹ Megan L. Holmes, "Ex-votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult," in *The Idol in the Age of Art*, ed. Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 161-162; Katharine Park, "Impressed Bodies, Reproducing Wonders," in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 254-271; and Zardin, "Scolpisci in me divota imago." Gabriele Paleotti takes up the notion of imprinting and impressionability specifically in relation to images in his *Discorso*, writing that "strong impressions may be made on our fantasy by the various concepts in apprehends out of the forms of things, that those forms leave alterations and striking signs on the bodies of persons... So, our imaginative faculty being so receptive to such impressions, there is doubtless no stronger or more efficacious instrument in causing this than life-like images, which practically catch the senses off guard and overwhelm them." After listing several antique and early Christian examples in which images imprinted themselves on the imaginations of pregnant women and, through them, on the physiognomies of their children, and in which images incited moral and pious behavior, Paleotti turns specifically to the power of the crucifix. St. Mary of Egypt, he writes, felt that "darts issued from that image [of the crucifix] and penetrated her heart," and in a more modern and geographically relevant example, he recounts the tale of "a man in Milan who, intent on killing an enemy of his, went into a church and gazed at an image of Jesus on the cross. Straightaway he was overcome with emotion and, kneeling down, changed his wicked intent completely." Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse On Sacred And Profane Images*, trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012), pp. 120-123.

suffering and death. Mattia Bellintani da Salò, in another of his Milanese sermons, echoes this desire to be subsumed into Christ's body through affective prayer: "So close must be our union with Jesus Christ on the Cross that we may be, as it were, incorporated in his suffering, imitate it and accept it lovingly."²⁴⁰ Just as Milan was transformed into a New Jerusalem, so each *confratello* and *consorella* was transformed into an *alter Christus* and had the Passion mapped onto his or her own body.

In the stagecraft of devotion to Christ's Passion, the city of Milan and the bodies of the *confratelli* were thus emblazoned with significance. For the *confratello* worshipping at the foot of the cross, meditating on Christ's suffering, bearing the cross and images of the Passion through the streets, and encountering memorials to Christ's death at every corner, it would have indeed seemed as if as the Passion was occurring before his eyes, "in the self same place" where he was. The *croci stazionali* "charged up" the city around the Milanese, as Timmermann writes, "providing a moralizing gloss on the visible world and transcending it with exemplars of virtue and sacrifice."²⁴¹ For members of the confraternities of Santa Croce, their entire world was defined by the Passion: the topography of the city was demarcated by crosses bearing images of Christ's suffering and death and ordered according to his final moments; the times of day were marked by the hours of the Passion, signaled by the ringing of church bells; their bodies were inscribed by the cross, externally by their badges and internally on their hearts, so that

²⁴⁰ "Adunque strettissima deve esser la unione fra noi, e questo beatissimo sposo nostro Gesù Christo: Unione (dico) stretta in Croce, che molto ci incorporatiamo al suo patire, che molto vivamente il contempliamo, che molto fortemente l'imitiamo, che molto amorosamente il riceviamo." Bellintani, *Delli dolori di Christo Sig. Nostro*, pp. 243-244. For the English translation see Bellintani, *The Sufferings of Christ by Father Mattia Bellintani da Salò*, p. 288.

²⁴¹ Timmermann, "Wayside Crosses," p. 431.

they "took up" Christ's cross and walked with him in procession through the streets of the "New Jerusalem" to Calvary.

V. Transformations: The *Santi Vescovi* in Seicento Milan

On June 4, 1629, seven members of the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio arrived at the Villa di Senago to seek Federico Borromeo's opinion on the ongoing renovation of their cross, an encounter recorded in colorful detail in the confraternity's *memorie*.²⁴² After a hearty welcome from a "R. Sig. Alffere," who embraced the *confratelli* and pressed drinks upon them, they presented the Cardinal-Archbishop with four drawings of proposed designs for the new cross. To assist in this consultation, Borromeo called for the painter Camillo Procaccini (1551-1629) to be brought immediately to his chambers—"in a sack," if the old man should plead an indisposition due to gout. After careful consideration, the two men recommended that the *confratelli* forgo the traditional cross in favor of a bronze statue of Carlo Borromeo: "and the Cardinal said these words, that by now there were so many columns in Milan that, indeed, he was amazed that these Milanese had never thought to build a statue of S. Carlo!"²⁴³ What

²⁴² The project to rebuild the cross at Cordusio had begun in 1624 when the first stone was laid, having been blessed by Federico Borromeo.

²⁴³ "Memoria como il dì 4 Giugno seconda festa di Pentecosto si andò a Senago luogo del Illustrissimo sr. cardinale et erano al numero como abbasso, et così subito che fussimo entrato della porta del Palazzo del sr. Cardinale dicessimo à un pretto che ivi era se si poteva parlare con esso, et esso pretto ne ['ne' here stands for noi] mandò in una camera nella quale trovassimo il R. sig. Alffere, il quale ne fece molto careze et insieme ne regalò con darne da bere à tutti con grande applauso et doppo no[i] disse che cosa desideravamo dal Sg Cardinale, e così dal sig. Carato gli fu risposto che eramo venuti ver dar parto al sig. Cardinale et insieme pigliare il suo parero di quello dovevamo fare per compiro la fabricca della Croce, cioè s'era meglio metere la Colona oppuro tralasciarla, et così detto signore Affero subito andò di sopra una scala la quali andava nella camera dell sig. Cardinale, et gli dissò il tutto al che esso con molta allegria noi fece andare alla Camera anzi esso sig. Cardinale veneal uscio à farno[i] cenno di andare in camera, et così subito tutti intratti s'inginochiasimo et noi diede la benedictione, et così dal sig. Carato gli fu mostrato quatro dessegni, dove che vedendo il sig. Cardinale detti disegni disse apuonto è qui il sig. Porchagino il quale anch'esso dirà il suo parero. E così subito lo mandò a dimandere qual prestamento fu portato in camera--in una sechieta non potendo venire per esser travagliato dalla Gotta--e così gli disse il sig.

role, if any, Procaccini played in the production of the final statue (fig. 113), which was designed by the sculptor Dionigi Bussola (1615-1687) and cast by Ambrogio Grosso in 1670, is unclear, as are the reasons for the more than four decades that elapsed between the inception of the work and its installation.²⁴⁴ But once more, as in 1577 when the original cross was built, we see the cross at Cordusio leading the way to codify a new iconography for the Milanese stational crosses.

The episode of the *confratelli's* visit to Federico Borromeo is significant not only as a vivid historical anecdote but as the inauguration of a new phase in the physical appearance and cultic identity of the *croci stazionali*. Beginning in the seventeenth century we observe a shift in the orientation of the stational crosses away, somewhat, from the cross and Passion of Christ and towards a celebration of the Milanese church and the nascent cult of S. Carlo. It is no coincidence that in the same year of Carlo's canonization, 1610, each stational cross was assigned a patron saint or protector from among the canonized former bishops of Milan, also at the behest of Archbishop Federico.²⁴⁵ The confraternities commissioned painted portraits of these saints from some of the city's leading artists—the portrait of S. Ambrogio, to cite one surviving example, was painted by Cerano (fig. 114)—and they sent them to Rome for Carlo's canonization, where they formed a massive triumphal arch erected outside of St. Peter's

Cardinale che dovesse vedere detti disegni et insieme dirci il suo parere. Dove che doppo havere fatto consideratione ambbi duoi, vengo in parere che fosse meglio tralasciare la colona et fare una statuo di S. Carlo, e disse il sig. Porchagino di farla de brazza 4, et il sig. Cardinale disse questo parole, cioè, che hor mai per Milano gline assai de colone, anzi che restava stupito che questi milanesi non havessero mai pur fatto fare una statua di S. Carlo." Trotti 72, fols. 51v-52r. "Sig. Porchagino" is identified as Camillo Procaccini by Rivola in *Vita di Federico Borromeo*, p. 533.

²⁴⁴ Given that Procaccini died in 1629, the same year as the confraternity's visit to Federico Borromeo, it seems highly unlikely that his involvement extended beyond this initial discussion. On Bussola and the statue of S. Carlo see Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 5, pp. 21-22; and Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga, "Bussola, Dionigi," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 15 (Milan: Treccani, 1972), accessed January 15, 2014, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dionigi-bussola_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

²⁴⁵ Rivola, *Vita di Federico Borromeo*, p. 535 and Buratti Mazzota, "Croci stazionali," p. 969.

Basilica, the appearance of which is preserved in a commemorative print by Matthäus Greuter (fig. 115).²⁴⁶ The triumph that the arch proclaimed was that of the Ambrosian church with its long line of sainted "good pastors" and of the ascent of Carlo Borromeo into their ranks. Carlo's portrait occupied the very center above the archway, directly below those of Milan's first bishop, S. Barnaba, and its greatest bishop and patron saint, S. Ambrogio, to whom Carlo's biographers often compared him.²⁴⁷ After the conclusion of the festivities in Rome, the portraits returned to Milan where they featured prominently and regularly in the displays and apparati installed at the stational crosses.²⁴⁸ Meanwhile, in Milan, the stational crosses staged tableaux of unprecedented scale and splendor, as discussed previously and as described in detail by Grattarola, to celebrate their new saint.²⁴⁹

It is hardly surprising that the confraternities of S. Croce participated to such a degree in the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, who was their founder, and that the stational crosses would occupy such a prominent place in his legacy. The importance of

²⁴⁶ On the identification of the painting in the Ambrosiana with the one appended to the triumphal arch in Rome, see the catalogue entry by Francesco Frangi in *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana* vol. 2 (Milan: Electa, 2006), pp. 114-117. For the apparati in Rome, see Grattarola *Successi Meravigliosi della venerazione di S. Carlo*, pp. 224-227 and Andrea Spirti, "L'apparato vaticano per la canonizzazione di San Carlo Borromeo (1610): novità e considerazioni" in *Studi di Storia dell'arte in onore di Maria Luisa Gatti Perer* ed. M. Rossi and A. Rovetta (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1999) pp. 291-299. The memorie of the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio likewise record their receipt of S. Barnaba as patron, because he was the first Archbishop of Milan and they were the first confraternity of S. Croce, the production of his portrait by Bartolomeo Roverio, called Genovesino, and the painting's journey to Rome and back. Trotti 72, fols. 8r, 21r. On this painting see also Alessandro Rovetta, "Bartolomeo Roverio detto il Genovesino tra la Croce del Cordusio e l'Ambrosiana," in *Studi in onore di Francesca Flores d'Arcais*, ed. Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi e Marco Rossi (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2010), pp. 171-177.

²⁴⁷ "Questi [sic] sarà un altro Santo Ambrogio, si vedrà per certo un giorno il suo stendardo a somiglianza di quello dell'istesso Santo; parole che già noi habbiamo viste adempiute." Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo*, p. 38.

²⁴⁸ For the example of S. Barnaba at Cordusio, see Trotti 72, fols. 21v and 35r. The *memorie* makes special note that the painting was displayed annually on the Feast of S. Barnaba (June 11) as well as on other solemnities. For the portrait of S. Mauricillio at the cross near S. Satiro see *Storia della Compagnia della Santa Croce (basilica di San Satiro in Milano)*, BAM Cusani Q38, pp. 9-10. D'Aragona likewise makes note of multiple occasions on which the crosses displayed the portraits of their patrons in Trivulziana 1765.

²⁴⁹ See pages 241-242, 265-266, and 285-286 above and entries in Appendix A, in addition to Grattarola, *Successi Meravigliosi*, pp. 298-306. Many other sacred sites and churches in Milan were also decorated for the festivities.

the crosses and confraternities to the hagiography of S. Carlo is attested by the regular inclusion of scenes of the blessing of the cross at Cordusio and processions of the S. Croce confraternities among the Quadroni, Alberto Ronco's prints, and the many broadsheets advertising Carlo's miracles and good works issued in the early seventeenth century (figs. 116 and 117), as well as by the accounts in his early biographies. The rapid canonization of S. Carlo, only twenty-six years after his death and on the heels of a decades-long moratorium on the creation of new saints triggered by the Protestant Reformation, must have affirmed for the Milanese the sanctity and legitimacy of his ritual city, of which the *croci stazionali* were perhaps the most visible symbols.²⁵⁰

Accordingly, the crosses became sites for his veneration, as well as for devotion to the Passion, and were decorated on his feast day and acknowledged in processions of his relics. In 1600, before Carlo was even yet beatified, on November 3 (the eve of the anniversary of his death), the confraternity of S. Croce at Cordusio held a torchlit procession to pray before his tomb in the Duomo before marching back to their cross, which was adorned sumptuously for the occasion.²⁵¹ Grattarola records similar processions and *apparati* at the other stational crosses from 1601 and the Diocesan

²⁵⁰ The last canonization to occur before the Council of Trent was in 1523 and no more saints were created until Diego of Alcalà in 1588. See Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 49-50. In his account of Carlo Borromeo's canonization Grattarola writes of the importance of the stational crosses among his "innumerable" pious works and initiatives: "Tra le innumerabili opere pie fatte da San Carlo, e tra i molti istituti da lui ritrovati e introdotti nella Città di Milano per aumento del culto Divino, e per salute delle anime, non ha havuto l'infimo luogo la fondatione dell'ecompañie delle Croci, istituto che abbraccia gran numero di popolo, e lo tiene occupato nelle divine lodi, per l'oratione pubblica, che si fa ogni sera alle Croci, piantate in trent'otto luoghi, i più conspicui della Città." Grattarola, Successi Meravigliosi, p. 298.

²⁵¹ "Memoria come questo dì suddetto fu fatta la festa del Beato Carlo Borromeo del titolo di S. Prassede nostro Arcivescovo, e fu fatto una processione solenne con 30 celostri di libbre 6 l'uno per tutto le solite contrade, e poi in Domo a far oratione alla sepultura, dove è riposto il corpo del Beato Cardinale, fu acconica ancora la Croce piena di lampade al numero __. E furono poste due croci con lampedarii nelli doi cantori, e il Capello di Cardinale in cima la cupa [sic] della Croce medemamente con lampedini. La musica che accompagnò la processione in domo con li 6 trombetti e fu fatto un falò e furono sparati cento monteretti, e questo fu la sera e principiò a 24 hore e fini a due di notte." BAM, Trotti 72, fol. 20v.

Trattato delle croci includes Carlo's feast day of November 4 in the list of festival occasions on which all confraternities of S. Croce would process to the Duomo.²⁵² When plague again struck Milan in 1630, Carlo Borromeo reprised his penitential procession in death when his relics were carried through the city from cross to cross²⁵³

Already in 1613-1616, with the addition of the statue of St. Helena to the cross of S. Senatore, the basic form of the stational crosses had begun to change to include more elaborate sculptural compositions, a trend continued by the placement of the "Redeemer" on the column at Verziere in 1672. By midcentury, many of the crosses had been declared to be "in ruins," likely damaged by the elements, and their simple Borromean designs lacking the "majesty" desired by Seicento tastes.²⁵⁴ An ink drawing (fig. 118) included with a report of a pastoral visit to the cross of S. Ausanio in 1671, in which the *confratelli* were granted permission to restore and enlarge it—"ristaurare dalli fundamenti de crescere et rinovare tutta la croce"—depicts a tall Doric column on a refined base with some geometric ornament and articulation and surmounted by a dado, unfortunately with only amorphous pencil scribbles to suggest something on top of it.²⁵⁵ Some of these

²⁵² Grattarola, *Successi Meravigliosi*, pp. 31-32 and 36-37; *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM, fols. 15r-15v

²⁵³ Trotti 72, fols. 42v-60r. The folios in this section are numbered irregularly, with an extra set labeled 42-43 inserted between folios 59 and 60; this section begins on the duplicate folios 42 and extends to folio 60r to cover a total of only four pages rather than thirty five. Carlo's relics were carried from the Duomo to twelve "stations" including S. Sepolcro and the following crosses: S. Satiro, Botonuto, Verziere, Porta Orientale (the cross of S. Mona at S. Babila), Porta Nuova (the cross of S. Protasio at S. Anastasia), Ponte Vetro, S. Giacomo [Anatalone], S. Rocco [S. Ausanio] in Porta Vercellina, Carobbio, the cross "della Balla," and Cordusio.

²⁵⁴ See, for example, the report of a pastoral visit to the cross at Carobbio in 1658, which stipulated "havendo li opperarii (sic) della Croce del Carobbio in Porta Ticinese determinato di reedificare detta Croce per riparare le ruine." ASDM, Section X, Visite Pastorali, Miscellanea Città, vol. XIII, q. 38. Latuada describes the renovation in 1655 of the cross of Monforte: "Verso l'anno 1655 la Colonna, sopra cui era eretto il Sacro Vessilo della comune Redenzione, minacciava rovina, la onde gli Ascritti a quella Compagnia raccolsero varie limosine, e la fecero con maggior maestria rialzare in quella maniera, che al presente si vede." Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 1, p. 224.

²⁵⁵ ASDM, Section X, Visite Pastorali, Miscellanea Città, vol. 16, q. 24 (S. Rochi Portae Vercellinae). The drawing has also been published in Adele Buratti Mazzotta *I disegni dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano* (Milan: Biblioteca di via Senato Edizioni/Provincia dei Milano, 2002), p. 91

new, more ornate columns retained the crosses at their summits, such as the cross of S. Protasio in Porta Nuova (fig. 119) but more frequently they were now decorated by statues of their patron saints or other figures.²⁵⁶ An example of this type can be seen on the cross of S. Marolo, which appears to have been made to an eighteenth-century design (fig. 120), as well as on the crosses of S. Senatore, Verziere, and Cordusio.²⁵⁷ This new iconography did not exclude the cross but framed and contextualized it by placing it in the hands of the saint, who acts as an intermediary between the viewer and the object of his devotion, offering the cross to his or her gaze and modeling the pious adoration in which they were to engage. The saint stands on an elaborate pedestal, dressed in pontifical garb with his bishop's miter on his head and gazing devoutly at a crucifix in his right hand, with the figure of Christ facing him and not, interestingly, held out to the viewer. According to later sources, such as Latuada's *Descrizione*, practically all of the stational crosses followed this design after the seventeenth century. In some cases, it seems, the crosses or crucifixes held by these sculptures were the original objects from the earlier monuments.²⁵⁸

If the Cinquecento crosses, with their ancient Roman associations, symbolized the victory of the cross and the Christian faith over plague and heresy, the Sei- and Settecento bishops signified the triumph of the Milanese church. As surrogates for the viewer—for all the Milanese, and for the generations of the Ambrosian church, reaching from Carlo Borromeo back to the apostle S. Barnaba—these bishops held aloft the

²⁵⁶ A few, such as the cross at S. Michele alla Chiusa, featured incredibly elaborate compositions with multiple registers of sculpture. Built in 1713-1728, this cross had one of the most complex compositions of all the *croci stazionali*, with of four sculpted stone altars with four columns forming a tribune, under which was an angel made of white stone holding the cross. Above the tribune was a base with four panels with inscriptions; on top of this base was a white marble statue of St. Michael the Archangel, larger than life sized. See entry 23 in Appendix A and Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 3, pp. 171-173.

²⁵⁷ On the cross of S. Marolo, see *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 259-264.

²⁵⁸ When the cross at S. Anastasia was again rebuilt in the eighteenth century to comprise a statue of S. Protasio, this statue, according to Latuada, "sustiene colla destra [mano] il medesimo Crocefisso." *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 376.

"Vexilla Redemptio," proudly proclaiming the religiosity of their city, the "great religion" that caused Gabriele Paleotti to declare: "when I regard [Milan]...I seem to see another Jerusalem."²⁵⁹ The inclusion of the bishop as a "middle man" between the viewer and the crucifix can be seen not only as an indicator of the growth of the cult of saints in Milan and its alignment with the stational crosses following the canonization of S. Carlo, but as an outgrowth of the post-Tridentine emphasis on the role of the clergy and the church as intermediaries between the laity and the sacred. On these monuments the clergy is granted privileged access to the cross, allowed to hold it in their hands and to gaze directly upon the figure of Christ. Atop the columns of the *croci stazionali*, the bishops control access to the cross and instruct their flock on how they should venerate and interact with the holy symbol.

VI. Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to reconstruct the appearance of the stational crosses erected in Milan at the end of the sixteenth century under Archbishop Carlo Borromeo and to recover the large body of visual culture surrounding them, from altar decorations and paintings to temporary *apparati* and ephemeral displays. I have also situated the crosses within the religious culture of the Catholic Reformation, in which the category of the sacred image came under pressure and had to be refined and renegotiated. After locating the *croci stazionali* within broader traditions of wayside crosses and the Via Crucis, and connecting them to the nascent devotion of the Stations of the Cross, I

²⁵⁹ According to Giussano, Paleotti visited Milan in 1582 and gave a sermon in the church of S. Nazaro in Brolio: "...dicendo simili parole; *O Milano non so che predicarti, perche quando ti miro, e considero le tue attioni Sante, e la gran religione, mi par di vedere un'altra Giursalemme.*" Giussano, Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, p. 581.

explored the ways in which the crosses were activated in confraternal devotions and processions to transform the city of Milan into a "New Jerusalem. Lastly, I have commented on realignment of the stational crosses in the seventeenth century with the cult of the newly-canonized Carlo Borromeo and the transformation of the stational crosses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into monuments to the Ambrosian church. I would like now to close this chapter by briefly relating the demolition of the stational crosses and the shuttering of their confraternities in the late eighteenth century, an act which also signified, more or less, the end of confraternal piety in Milan.

The curtain closed on the ritual city in a series of letters dating to early 1772, between Karl Joseph von Firmian, the Plenipotentiary of Lombardy, and Prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Ritzberg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Hapsburg Empire.²⁶⁰ On the heels of the removal, in 1769, of altars and religious images from the streets of Mantua, also under Hapsburg control, they envisioned a similar purge in the Lombard capital. Their correspondence details plans for the systematic demolition of what were then more than fifty stational crosses, and the disbanding of the confraternities of S. Croce. As discussed in chapter one, this initiative formed part of the wholesale suppression of the city's religious institutions at the end of the eighteenth century and is a fascinating narrative in its own right, generating a rich body of documentation that reveals much about late Settecento attitudes towards sacred images and lay devotion among the ruling elite. Kaunitz and Firmian denounced the crosses as outdated monuments to religious

²⁶⁰ This correspondance is divided between Milan and Vienna. The letters sent by Kaunitz, in Vienna, to Firmian, in Milan, are preserved in ASM, Culto, p.a., 2097. Firmian's replies are currently housed in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv in Vienna, AT-OESTA/HHStA AKA 32-50. An account of the suppression of the confraternities and the removal of the crosses and other religious images, with reference to these letters, can also be found in [Milano sconosciuta](#), pp. 70-108.

superstition and decried their ruinous condition and disruption of urban traffic.²⁶¹ Hoping to avoid a scandal with the locals (or "*volgo*," as he calls them), whom Kaunitz feared would equate the destruction of their beloved crosses with iconoclasm, he urged Firmian to proceed with caution. He advised new regulations to restrict the confraternities' ability to collect revenue; he ordered engineers' reports on the crosses' structural soundness, architects' evaluations of their artistic merit, and traffic studies of their effects on congestion.²⁶² Firmian would need only to wait for "some disastrous carriage accident" to occur, whereupon he could easily justify the removal of the offending monuments.²⁶³ By 1786, despite multiple protests, the suppression of the companies of Santa Croce in Milan was complete, their assets liquidated, and most of the crosses ordered razed to the ground. The confraternal "cult on the streets" was no more.

²⁶¹ ASM Culto, p.a. 2097

²⁶² ASCM Località Milanese 136

²⁶³ 27 April, 1772, ASM Culto, p.a. 2097: "Non mancherà poi, che farà credere al volgo che questa distruzione delle Croci, qualora non si faccia con molta precauzione e prudenza, sia una rinnovata guerra d'Iconoclasti... Invece di pensare dutto d'un colpo all'annientamento delle Scuole e del materiale delle croci, le quali per essere di pietra non potranno demolirsi in un momento, ne senza strepito, cui sembra, che farebbe stato meglio di pensar solo alla abolizione di tutte le esazioni che ora fanno le Scuole, la quale terminata, dopo breve tempo all'occasione di qualche disastroso accidente di carrozze, ovvero con arte sparso nel popolo, si sarebbe potuto senza il minimo scandalo, e giustificatamente passar ad abbattere qualche Croce, così successivamente le altre nella stessa maniera."

CONCLUSION

Sacred Topographies and Devotional Bodies

In this dissertation I have endeavored to elucidate the making and meaning of images in confraternal performance in Cinquecento Milan through a careful analysis of select confraternities devoted to the Passion and body of Christ. Although each of these three case studies has been monographic in scope, together they offer a window onto a more panoramic devotional landscape in Renaissance Milan. These confraternities operated within a much larger network of churches, lay sodalities, *luoghi pii*, religious monuments, and cult images within the city walls, and intersected with a variety of devotional practices and civic institutions. In the *Santuario della Città e Diocesi di Milano* (1603), dedicated to Federico Borromeo, Paolo Morigia enumerates Milan's many relics, shrines, and sanctuaries.¹ Building on his several earlier accounts of the city's religious culture and sacred sites, contained within more encompassing histories of Milan, Morigia extols the holy treasures of "*la Seconda Roma* (the second Rome)," which he claims no other city in Italy—or perhaps beyond—could equal, declaring it a "glorious Republic of Holy Bodies and Sacred Relics."² Alongside these relics and shrines were

¹ Paolo Morigia, *Santuario della Città e Diocesi di Milano. Nel quale si contiene il numero, e nome di tutti Corpi Santi, Teste, e Reliquie, che sono in tutte le Chiese della Città, di porta in porta, e in quella della Diocesi* (Milan: Antonio degli Antonii, 1603).

² "Crederò adunque che la nostra Città convenevolmente si poscia chiamar ... la Seconda Roma, percioche levandoci Roma, ella non cede a niuna Città d'Italia, e forse più oltre, al gran numero di questi celesti Tesori. Percioche vederassi chiaramente un numeroso essercito, e una republica gloriosa de Corpi Santi, e Sacre Reliquie che possede la nostra Città." Ibid, fol. 7v. In fact, the city's suburbs were known as the "Corpi Santi" due to the multitude of relics preserved and venerated in the vicinity. See Evelyn S. Welch, "Patrons, Artists, and Audiences in Renaissance Milan, 1300-1600," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy:*

the lay confraternities and *opere pie*: "the Hospitals, *luoghi pii* ... Companies, [and] secret Schools" that, Morigia writes in another text, transformed Milan into a mirror of the fourteen works of mercy, seven corporeal and seven spiritual.³ Following Morigia's rich account, in this brief conclusion I will offer some reflections on how the three case studies presented here—featuring specific examples within the urban environment of intimate and sensorial devotional imagery and dynamic ritual performances enacting the Passion—fit into the broader urban sacred topography of Milan at this time. I will also suggest the relevance of this study for our understanding of visual culture in Renaissance Milan and of the nature and place of confraternal piety in the early modern city. I gesture, too, towards some lines of inquiry for future research.

This study has focused on devotion to the body and Passion of Christ, a current which gained intensity in Milan over the course of the Cinquecento where it eventually dovetailed with Borromean emphases on public ritual performance and the cult of relics. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the confraternity of Corpus Christi at San Giorgio al Palazzo was part of a network of some thirteen parish-based sacrament confraternities within Milan, which the sodality would join for the annual city-wide procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi.⁴ As discussed in chapter two, this number expanded exponentially in the late Cinquecento following the reform initiatives of Carlo Borromeo, who advocated the establishment of a sacrament confraternity in each parish in the

Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 22.

³ "...tutte le sorti d'opere pie, e limosine che si fanno da tutti gli Hospitali, luoghi pii, Monasteri, e di Porta in Porta della Città, da Compagnie, Scuole secrete, Capelle e scolari con l'habito... Di modo che ciascheduno potrà vedere come in lucidissimo Specchio che in questa Città s'oprano, ed adempiano tutte le quattordici opere della Misericordia, cioè le sette corporali, e l'altre sette spirituali." Paolo Morigia, Tesoro prezioso de' Milanesi, nel quale si raccontano tutte l'opere di carità Christiana, e limosine, che si fanno nella Città di Milano... (Milan: Gratiadio Ferioli, 1599), fols. 3v-4r.

⁴ Ambrogio Palestra, "Ricerche sulle confraternite del SS. Sacramento sorte nella diocesi di Milano prima di S. Carlo Borromeo," Ambrosius vol. 38 (1962), pp. 15-46.

diocese; concomitantly, in 1583, an Archconfraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento was founded in Milan's Duomo, generating new corporate relationships and hierarchies.⁵ These new Corpus Christi confraternities were complemented by sodalities dedicated to Passion relics—like Santa Corona, with its devotion to the Sacred Thorn and the Santa Croce companies which were involved in the Borromean devotion to the Holy Nail and the True Cross—both considered in this study. There were also new image cults featuring miraculous crucifixes in Milan during this period like that at Santa Prassede in Porta Orientale, which was attended by a community of Capuchin nuns and attracted substantial devotion from the wider lay community.⁶ During Carnival, the nuns of S. Prassede were accustomed to divide themselves into seven companies and stage penitential theatrical tableaux of scenes from the life and Passion of Christ, perhaps visually inspired by the paintings that decorated the church's interior, which exclusively addressed the same theme.⁷

Equally prolific and influential in the Lombard capital, however, was devotion to the Virgin Mary, with approximately forty-two churches dedicated to the Madonna within the city walls and at least eighteen Marian confraternities, among them several

⁵ Borromeo articulated his desire to expand lay devotion to the sacrament in a letter of 1566: "il mio scopo nel governo dei laici è posto in introdurvi quanto più posso la frequenza de' Sacramenti, come rimedio potentissimo contra tutti i peccati et habiti cattivi; però adesso ho già incaminato d'introdurvi una compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento per ogni parrocchia: dove enteranno tutti i principali de la città, con molte leggi appartenenti alla bona vita loro et particolarmente circa la frequentia di questo Santissimo Sacramento." Quoted in Enrico Cattaneo, "I temi dominanti della sua pastorale," in Attualità della pastorale di S. Carlo Borromeo (Milan: Massimo-Didascalion, 1965), p. 235: 220-238. A translation appears in Danilo Zardin, "Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era: Shaping Consciences and Christianizing Society in Milan and Lombardy," in The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 192

⁶ Anna Pestalozza, "Storia di una devozione: il crocifisso di Santa Prassede a Milano," Archivio storico lombardo vol. 117 (1991), pp. 105-124.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

devoted to the Rosary.⁸ The Rosary featured regularly in the devotions of S. Corona, and future research may probe the potential for relationships between the sodality and the Confraternità del Rosario active at S. Maria delle Grazie from the late Quattrocento. Marian image cults were also on the rise during this period, with the Madonna dell'Albero in the Duomo among the most prominent. This altar, named for a sculpture of the Madonna and Child sprouting from the Tree of Jesse, had been the principal altar of the old cathedral of Santa Tecla and remained the primary Marian altar following its absorption into the new Duomo. There, in the later sixteenth century, it attracted the devotions of the society of the Ave Maria, formerly centered around the altar of the Madonna del Pilone, that inspired the Borromean *oratione della sera* practiced also by the confraternities of S. Croce; in 1584, it became the seat of the Duomo's Confraternity of the Rosary.⁹ It would be useful to consider the relationship between Marian devotion in the city and the confraternal devotion to the Passion considered here. Of interest in this regard might be the confraternity that attended the miraculous image of the "*Madonna della Passione*," a *Lamentation* that in 1590 had bled onto the hand of a devotee who had kissed Christ's chest, at Santa Maria della Passione.¹⁰ Across the city at Santa Maria Segreta, the miraculous image and confraternity of Santa Maria Annunziata, founded in 1516, was aggregated to the parish's sacrament sodality by Carlo Borromeo in

⁸ Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, "Per la definizione dell'iconografia della Vergine del Rosario," in Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della "grande riforma": cultura, religione, e arti del governo nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento, ed. Franco Buzzi and Danilo Zardin (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1997), pp. 185-208. See also Christine Getz, Mary, Music, and Meditation: Sacred Conversations in Post-Tridentine Milan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), especially the introduction and chapter four.

⁹ See the discussion in chapter four as well as Christine Suzanne Getz, Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth Century Milan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 22, 257-258 and Enrico Cattaneo, Maria santissima nella storia della spiritualità Milanese, (Milan: Scuola tipografica di San Benedetto Abbazia di Viboldone, 1955), pp. 103-104. Other prominent Marian cults in the city at this time included S. Maria dei Miracoli at S. Maria presso S. Celso. On Marian worship throughout the city, with relevant bibliography, see Getz, Mary, Music, and Mediation, cited above.

¹⁰ Getz, Mary, Music, and Mediation, pp. 6-7 and Carlo Marcora, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale (1554-1598)," Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano, vol. 12 (1965), p. 392.

1582.¹¹ Likewise, less emphasis has been given here to the dimension of female piety, although chapter four touches on the participation of *consorelli* in the companies of S. Croce and notes a striking example of a woman leading the *oratione della sera* at one of the plague altars at the height of the epidemic, while chapter three briefly addresses the ties between the confraternity of S. Corona and the order of female Dominican tertiaries at San Lazzaro. Recent scholarship has shed light on women's devotion, sociability, and public influence in Milanese convents, and future study is needed to thoroughly investigate the impact of female mystics such as the visionary Arcangela Panigarola (1468-1525).¹² The reenactment of the Passion narrative by male and female confraternal members described in this dissertation complements this scholarship on gender and piety.

Confraternities like the Compagnia della Santa Corona were also important sites of charitable activity and figure in the institutional history of charity in Milan. Santa Corona was one of dozens of *luoghi pii*, including the venerable Quattro Marie, the Pietà, the Misericordia, and Santa Maria dell'Umiltà. These organizations attended to the needs of the city's poor as well as to the spiritual health of members, and several of them collectively contributed to the operation of the Ospedale Maggiore, continuing a tradition of centralized civic charity begun under Duke Francesco I Sforza.¹³ Alongside the Ospedale Maggiore were additional medical and foundling hospitals such as the Ospedale di San Martino, whose orphans marched with the confraternities of Santa Croce on major feast days,

¹¹ On the cult and confraternity of Santa Maria Annunziata see Paol Curatolo, "Notabili a Milano tra Cinque e Seicento: le confraternite nella parrocchia di S. Maria Segreta," *Archivio storico lombardo* vol. 117 (1991), pp. 59-103.

¹² P. Renée Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹³ On earlier traditions of social care in Milan, the Ospedale Maggiore, and the centralizing reforms of Francesco Sforza see chapter five on "Healing the City" in Evelyn Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). As noted in chapter three of this dissertation, S. Corona was ultimately aggregated to the Ospedale Maggiore in 1786.

carrying with them the "mysteries of the Passion." The confraternities of S. Croce combined deep radication in their individual neighborhoods with a citywide distribution of monuments and sodalities, and the traversal of the cityscape in procession. They were connected not only to one another, but to other lay organizations and religious orders within Carlo Borromeo's ritual city, such as the Schools of Christian Doctrine, in which members were encouraged to participate and with which they shared a Prior General, and the Congregation of the Oblati at San Sepolcro, which oversaw their activities.

Beyond these specific relationships, opportunities for interaction on a larger scale were provided by the grand ritual occasions that punctuated the Ambrosian liturgical year and united the city in its common religious heritage: Corpus Christi, Holy Week, the Feast of the Holy Nail, the Feast of St. Ambrose, and the great Ambrosian Litany held over three days following the Ascension, performed exclusively by the clergy but observed by all. Accordingly we may understand the sacred topography of Milan not as one unified scheme but as a palimpsest of overlapping and intersecting sites, itineraries, and practices. A more profound understanding of the institutional histories and visual culture of Milanese sodalities of the sort offered here allows one to appreciate better this dynamic and multi-dimensional landscape.

Through the case studies presented in this dissertation, a new perspective on Milanese art and devotion in the sixteenth century ultimately emerges. The visual art utilized by these confraternities has been shown to be deeply performative and experiential, operating in conjunction with a type of somatic or embodied piety that emphasized the devotee's (imagined) corporeal interaction with the holy figures depicted. Such a conception of a performative lay piety in a "ritual city" was not exclusive to Milan

or to the Cinquecento, having been experimented with to great, if not lasting, effect a century earlier in Florence by Savonarola, among several examples.¹⁴ In Carlo Borromeo's Milan, however, the ritual city would achieve greater longevity and urgency, bolstered by the official sanction of the Church and fueled by the purifying aims of the Catholic Reformation. Here I would like to return to a theme raised in the introduction concerning the critical role of lay piety in the (re)fashioning of urban identity in post-Sforza Milan. Following the fall of Ludovico Sforza in 1499 and the subsequent occupation of the city by foreign powers, Milan struggled to redefine itself, emerging at the end of the Cinquecento as the *città rituale*, with Carlo Borromeo assuming the role of a second St. Ambrose, and as the "laboratory" of Catholic reform. In this renegotiation, civic identity became inextricably bound up in, and expressed through, religious practice, as Federico Chabod has thoroughly argued and as these case studies have further demonstrated. The potency of the ritual city's enduring legacy, and of Borromeo himself, for the Milanese is attested to by the caution urged by the Hapsburg Minister of Foreign Affairs to his subordinate in Lombardy when strategizing the planned suppression of the stational crosses in 1772, reminding him that they were grappling with the "annihilation [of] the memory and exercise" of an "old institution attributed to S. Carlo."¹⁵

¹⁴ Some of the major recent accounts of Savonarola, with relevant bibliography, are Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Stefano Dall'Aglio, *Savonarola and Savonarolism*, trans. John Gagné (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010); and Lauro Martines, *Fire in the City: Savonarola and the Struggle for the Soul in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). A broader survey of Savonarola's impact is found in the essays in Stella Fletcher and Christine Shaw, eds., *The World of Savonarola: Italian Elites and Perceptions of Crisis* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

¹⁵ "Nella presente circostanza si rende c[os]i tanto più necessario, che si tratta d'una vecchia istituzione attribuita a S. Carlo, e che probabilmente avrà avuto la sua origine dall' essersi durante la peste in Milano, celebrati i divini uffici nelle strade e piazze, affine di schivare il pericolo di contagio [sic] nel concorso del popolo nelle chiese. Nell' annientare le memorie ed esercizi di divozione di tale epoca, e uso, sarebbe bene il risparmiar un generale avviso, e sostituirvi qualche decreto da intimarsi a ciaschedun corpo..." Letter of July 2, 1772, from Prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Ritzy to Karl Joseph von Firmian, *ASM Culto*, p.a., 2097.

The body and Passion of Christ became nodes for the production of place, facilitated by visual images and monuments and enacted in devotions and public rituals.¹⁶ As I have argued, each of these examples—Bernardino Luini's Passion cycle in the sacrament chapel in S. Giorgio al Palazzo, Gaudenzio Ferrari's frescoes and Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* in the chapel of S. Corona, and the *croci stazionali* and their related ephemera—engaged notions of place and heterotopia, visually enfolding viewers into the events of Christ's Passion and momentarily eliding the spatial and temporal distance between Cinquecento Milan and biblical Jerusalem. At the same time that they reached towards Jerusalem, these image ensembles and the devotions that animated them held fast to their local contexts through their connection to celebrated Milanese relics, their activation in processional routes through the city, and their evocation, to greater and lesser extents, of the distinctly Lombard sacroscape of the *sacri monti*. The findings I have presented here about the interconnections of the simulacra at Varallo and Milanese confraternal images and ephemeral displays should support further investigation into the resonances of the *sacri monti* in Lombard visual culture and their role in the formulation of the experiential and embodied devotional art forms that characterized Christocentric devotion in Milan.

Just as we speak of heterotopia and the interpenetration of sacred and urban space, we might also speak of the interpenetration of sacred bodies and the bodies of devotees. Indeed, alongside the formation of pictorial and physical sacred space, this dissertation has been deeply concerned with the production of devotional bodies through confraternal art and ritual. These "devotional bodies" included not only the bodies of Christ and other

¹⁶ The type of "emplacement" through ritual and image that I have argued for in these case studies is elaborated upon by the anthropologist Jonathan Smith in *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

sacred beings, so vividly rendered in chapel decorations, inhabiting the tops of columns in the streets, and mobilized in procession, but also the bodies of confraternal participants, animated in meditation and ritual so as to perform and engage with Christ in the imagined (re)enactment of the events of the Passion. By producing immersive spaces for devout viewers in which to act, and by cultivating a tangible presence, the images and monuments considered in this dissertation move beyond the discourses on naturalism and illusionism so often emphasized in accounts of Lombard visual culture to suggest compelling intersections with somaesthetics, a term employed in recent years by historians of early modern art to describe "the cultivation of the body and mind to enhance sensory appreciation and creative self-fashioning."¹⁷ These "devotional bodies," sacred and mortal, image and flesh, imagined and concrete, reciprocally activated one another: the *confratelli* discussed in these chapters positioned themselves to view "miracles" of perspectival illusion and Real Presence, they kissed the face of Christ in devotion, knelt down and gazed up at crosses high above the streets, processed through the city, and wore Christ's cross pinned on their bodies and "sculpted" in their hearts. These performances coincided with, and took recourse to, a piety that drew upon advances in anatomical learning to make the physical fabric of Christ's body increasingly available, detailing not only his outward appearance but the inner construction of his flesh. Narrating the nailing of Christ to the cross in the *Corone Spirituali*, written for

¹⁷ Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in Touch Me, Touch Me Not Re-evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity, ed. Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli, special issue of Open Arts Journal vol. 4 (winter 2014-2015), p. 112. See also Richard Shusterman, Body Consciousness: a Philosophy of Mindfulness And Somaesthetics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and Terry-Fritsch's forthcoming book Somaesthetic Experience and the Renaissance Viewer in Florence. On the prevailing, though not undeserved, scholarly emphasis on Lombard naturalism, see Andrea Bayer, ed., Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004).

Carlo Borromeo, Fra Mattia Bellintani da Salò describes the pain that reverberated through the nerves and muscles of his hands and feet with each blow of the hammer and the gaping cavities opened by the nails.¹⁸ Likewise, we recall one of Borromeo's sermons on the Holy Nail, which "had the divine privilege to penetrate the flesh, the veins, and the nerves of the Son of God."¹⁹

The dynamic physicality and tangible presence of Milanese devotional art of this period moreover appears to have been mediated across, and enhanced by, a sustained engagement with polychrome sculpture, raising provocative implications for notions of sacred materiality, the relationships between artistic media, and the discourse of the *paragone*. In so doing, it further introduces the possibility of the exchange of ideas with Spain, where such dialogues between sacred painting and sculpture have already been documented.²⁰ Situating the realism of Spanish sacred painting in the seventeenth century in relation to the region's rich tradition of polychrome statuary, the painting of which comprised part of the training of all young painters, Xavier Bray has argued that sculpture assisted two-dimensional artists in crafting the "illusion of palpable reality" and

¹⁸ "Del dolore, che senti il corpo, per l'inchiudarsi quest'altra mano: non potendosi ritirare i nervi, per la inchiudatura delle mani, cosa che molto accrebbe la sa pena, ritirandosi perciò quelli della parte inferiore del corpo. Del tirar, che si fece da' Ministri i santi piedi con violenza grande al loco loro, che più non vi arrivavano, essendosi da quella parte attratti i nervi all'inchiudar delle mani. Il qual tirare fù con nuovo dolore di tutto il corpo, de' nervi, e delle mani inchiudati ... Del primo colpo fatto ne' piedi con acerbe doglie, per essere il piede pieno di muscoli e nervi. Del secondo colpo, che fè arrivar la punta del chiodo insino all'altro piede, passato già il primo ... Del quarto, che spinse il chiodo insino al legno, con grande apertura del buco fatto sù piedi." Mattia Bellintani da Salò, Corone Spirituali del M.R.P.F. Matthia Bellintani da Salò... (Salò: Bernardino Lantoni, 1617), pp. 65-67. On this text, which was written in the late sixteenth century for Carlo Borromeo but not printed until the seventeenth century, see earlier discussions in chapters three and four.

¹⁹ "...Clavus nempe ille felicissimus, qui Filii Dei carnes, venas, et nervos meruit configere." Giuseppe Antonio Sassi, ed., S. Caroli Borromei S.R.E. Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Mediolani Homiliae vol. 3 (Milan: Ex typographia Bibliothecae Ambrosianae apud Joseph Marellum, 1747), p. 399.

²⁰ Xavier Bray, ed., The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting And Sculpture 1600-1700 (London: National Gallery, 2009). Along these lines, it is important to note that not only was Milan under Spanish dominion but several of the devotional texts promoted in the later sixteenth century by Carlo Borromeo were of Spanish origin.

sacred presence.²¹ Interestingly, while noting similar concerns with verisimilitude and chiaroscuro modeling in the art of Caravaggio, Bray directly contrasts Spain with Italy and indicates that there was no comparable tradition of polychrome sculpture in the latter, a claim at odds with the substantial corpus of painted statuary both at the *sacri monti* and in the churches and ephemeral displays of Lombardy.²²

In closing, I would like to return to an image discussed briefly in chapter four, a painting by Cerano of Carlo Borromeo adoring the dead Christ in the chapel of the Sepulcher at Varallo (see fig. 102). Cerano's canvas was one of several paintings on this theme produced in the years surrounding Borromeo's canonization in 1610, among them examples by Giulio Cesare Procaccini (fig. 126) and Morazzone (fig. 127). Although not confraternal images, these paintings were produced within the religious climate of Tridentine Milan and utilized within frameworks of affective Christocentric piety, and therefore provide useful complements to the examples considered in these chapters. Carlo's devotion to the *sacro monte* featured prominently in his hagiography, in particular his last pilgrimage to Varallo immediately before his death in 1584, where his meditations on Christ's suffering were set in comparison to his own asceticism to encourage readers to interpret the Milanese archbishop as an *alter Christus*.²³ The paintings depict Borromeo kneeling within the Sepulcher, fitted with a life-sized wooden sculpture of the dead Christ, attributed to Gaudenzio Ferrari, with jointed, movable arms, pierced hands and feet, and vivid polychromy to render his blood-streaked body (figs.

²¹ Ibid. See p. 36 of Bray's introductory essay for the quotation.

²² Ibid, p. 18.

²³ Giovanni Pietro Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, prete cardinale del titolo di Santa Prassede Arcivescovo di Milano* (Rome: Stamperia della Camera apostolica, 1610), pp. 480-487 and Carlo Bascapé, *Vita e opere di Carlo Arcivescovo di Milano Cardinale di S. Prassede*, trans. Giuseppe Fassi (Milan: NED, 1983), pp. 613-625.

128 and 129). Pilgrims to Varallo were invited to caress this sculpture's flesh, kiss its face, and even to probe the wounds with their fingers.²⁴

Cerano's tenebrism conveys the nocturnal setting of Carlo's vigil, which he was accustomed to keep in the evenings, visiting the chapel by the light of a single lantern. At the same time, the strong chiaroscuro emphasizes the contours of the figures, creating effects of modeling that enhance and resonate with Varallo's original medium of sculpture. Utilizing the period's standard pictorial language for the miraculous, Morazzone and Procaccini include angels flying in from above and gathered around the bier. The miracle they herald may be Christ's imminent resurrection, suggested in Morazzone's painting by the pointing of the angel to the flickering candle, or else the miraculous apparition of the dead Christ himself to the meditating Borromeo.²⁵ Although ostensibly images of the archbishop praying before a sculpture in a specific and very confined setting, neither Cerano, Procaccini, nor Morazzone reproduce the chapel but situate Borromeo and the dead Christ within ambiguous spatial environments. The absence of locational specificity is especially striking in Morazzone's painting given his intimate familiarity with the *sacro monte*, where he worked on frescoes for several years. The constructed setting of Varallo has given way to Jerusalem where Borromeo encounters not a wooden sculpture but an incarnate body. Sculpture, here, thus becomes a vehicle for a discourse on presence, both sacred and pictorial.²⁶ More specifically, the *sacro monte* becomes a trope for staging an encounter with the sacred through masterful

²⁴ Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind," p. 127.

²⁵ On candles and the resurrection see Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 97-98

²⁶ At the same time, the transfiguration of the wooden statue through subtle, painterly brushstrokes invokes the *paragone* and suggests painting's superior ability to render enlivened sacred matter.

artifice, seen elsewhere in the reverberations of Varallo's imagery in Gaudenzio's frescoes in S. Maria delle Grazie and in the ephemera of the confraternities of S. Croce.

The body of Christ, mediated through Gaudenzio's polychromed, anatomically articulated sculpture, and enfolded upon the canvas in oil paint, is fully, physically present for Carlo and, by extension, to the viewer of the image who joins the saint in pious contemplation. In this way, what is depicted in these images is not a meditation before an image of the dead Christ but the goal of that meditation. What we see is the vision of Christ cultivated through mental oration and made concrete in the project of the *sacro monte*, articulating clearly the sacred and somatic presence understood to be embodied at the activated and "authentic" site of the "New Jerusalem" at Varallo. Rendered in the lifelike forms of Lombard naturalism and invoking Varallo's claim to facsimile, Cerano's Christ comments on the power of sacred likeness. The stage-management of the *sacro monte*, similar to the illusionistic and immersive chapels in S. Giorgio al Palazzo and S. Maria delle Grazie and to the processional and ephemeral apparatus constructed around the stational crosses, in concert with vivid and tangible images and rigorous spiritual exercises, assists the devotee in the cultivation of his or her spiritual gaze—the "eye of the intellect"—through which Christ is finally and truly revealed.

FIGURES



Figure 1: Antonio Lafréry, *La Gra. Città di Milano* (map of Milan), 1573, etching.



Figure 2: View of Leonardo's *Last Supper* and the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan, after the bombing of 1943.

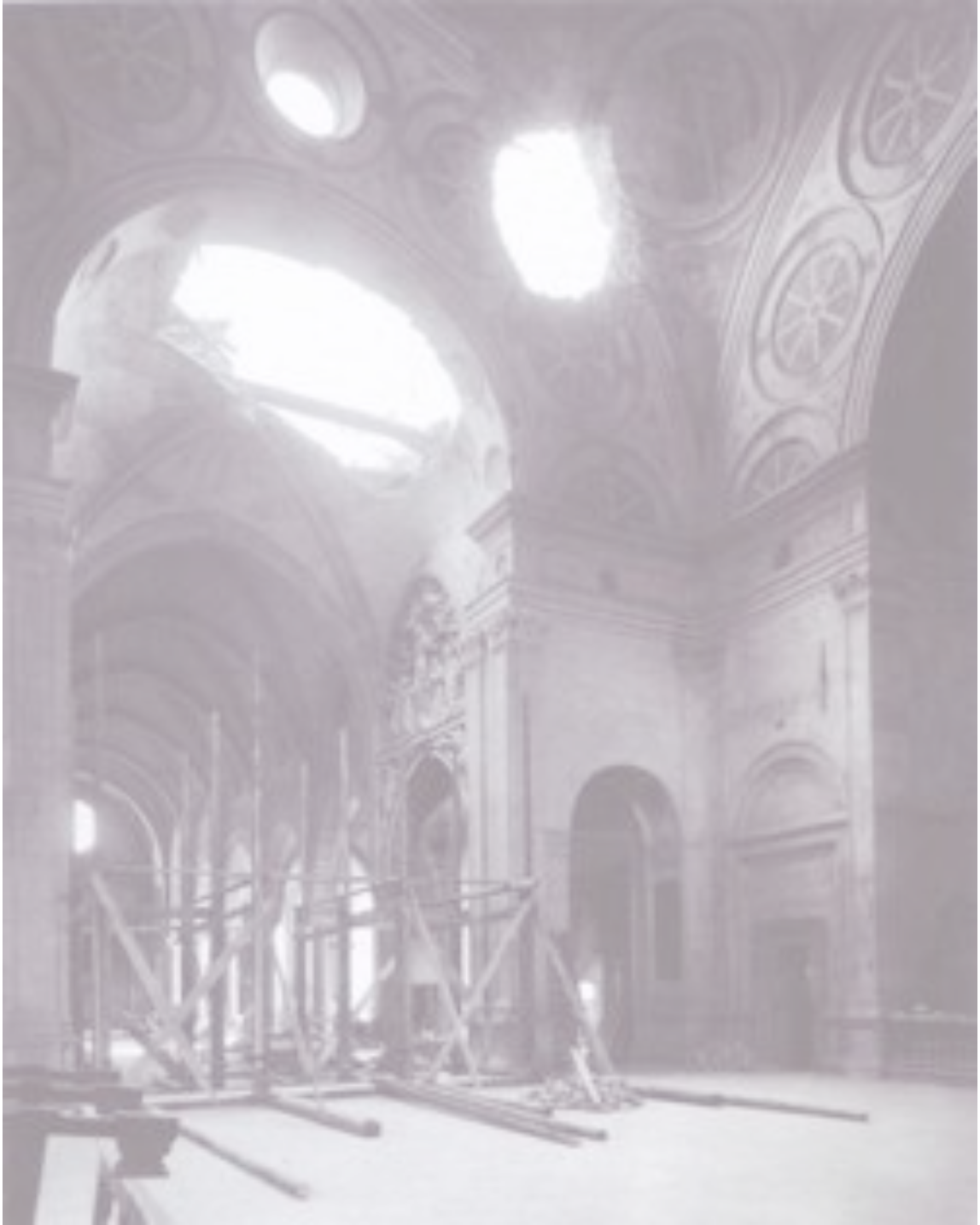


Figure 3: View of the nave of S. Maria delle Grazie, Milan, after the bombing of February 1943.



Figure 4: Unknown artist, *The Processing of the Eucharist to the Sick*, late fifteenth century, tempera on wood panel. San Lorenzo Maggiore, Milan.



Figure 5: Unknown artist, *Milanese Corpus Christi Procession*, ca. 1560, woodcut from an Ambrosian missal.



Figure 6: Bernardino Luini, Chapel of Corpus Christi with scenes from the Passion of Christ, 1516, oil on wood panel and fresco. San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.

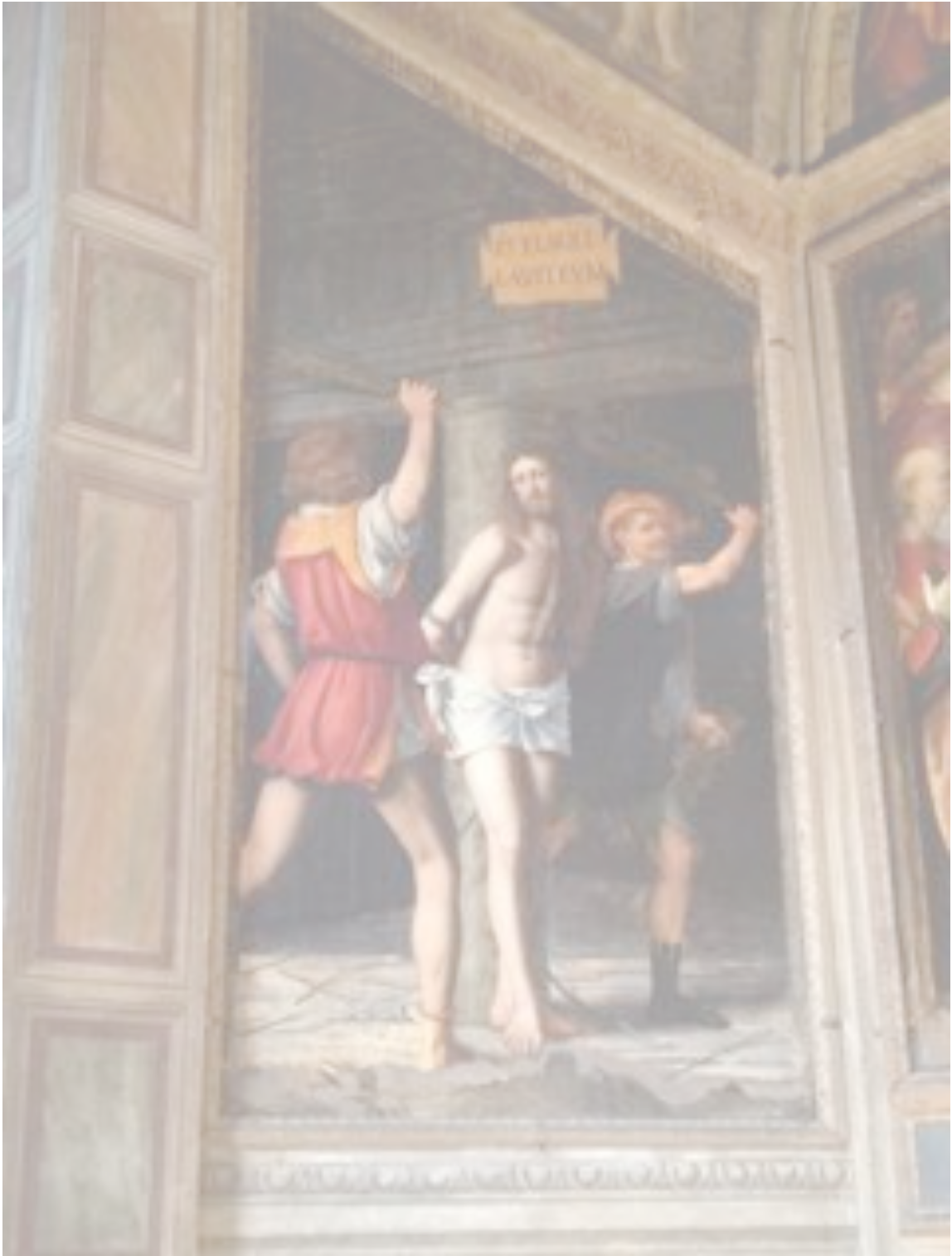


Figure 7: Bernardino Luini, *The Flagellation*, 1516, oil on wood panel. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.



Figure 8: Bernardino Luini, *Ecce Homo*, 1516, oil on wood panel. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.



Figure 9: Bernardino Luini, *The Crowning with Thorns*, 1516, oil on wood panel. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.



Figure 10: Bernardino Luini, *The Crucifixion*, 1516 fresco, 1516. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.



Figure 11: Bernardino Luini, *The Lamentation*, 1516, oil on wood panel. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.



Figure 12: Bernardino Luini, *Pietà with Instruments of the Passion*, ca. 1515, oil on wood panel. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, TX.



Figure 13: Donato Bramante, Choir of Santa Maria presso San Satiro (interior), begun ca. 1480, Milan.



Figure 14: Agostino Fondulis, *Pietà*, ca. 1483, painted terracotta. Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Milan

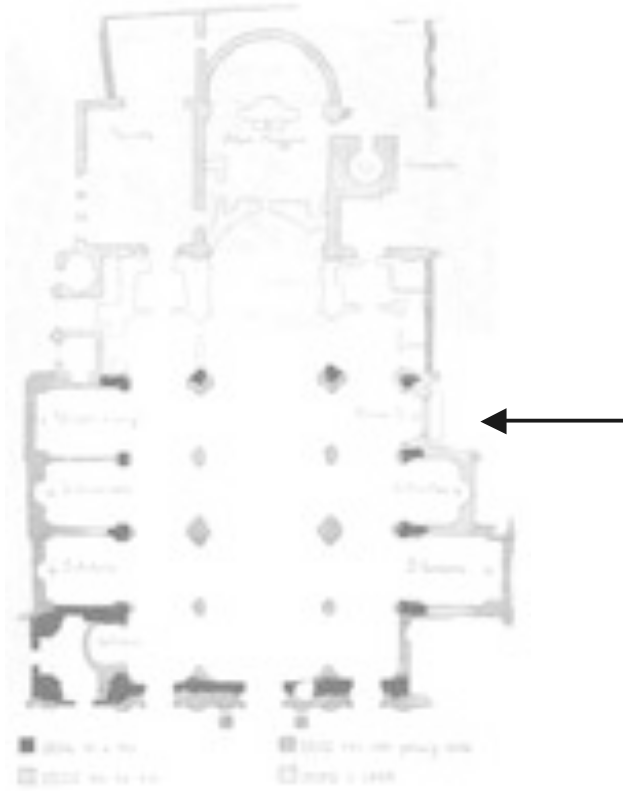


Figure 15: Ground plan of the Church of San Giorgio al Palazzo.



Figure 16: Photograph of the Chapel of Corpus Christi after renovations to expand the space, ca. 1920.



Figure 17: Desiderio da Settignano, Eucharistic Wall Tabernacle, ca. 1460-1461, marble. San Lorenzo, Florence.



Figure 18: Bernardo Zenale, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1504-1509, oil on wood panel. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia.



Figure 19: Girolamo Romanino, *The Mass of Sant'Apollinare*, ca. 1525, oil on wood panel. Altar of the Sacrament, Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia

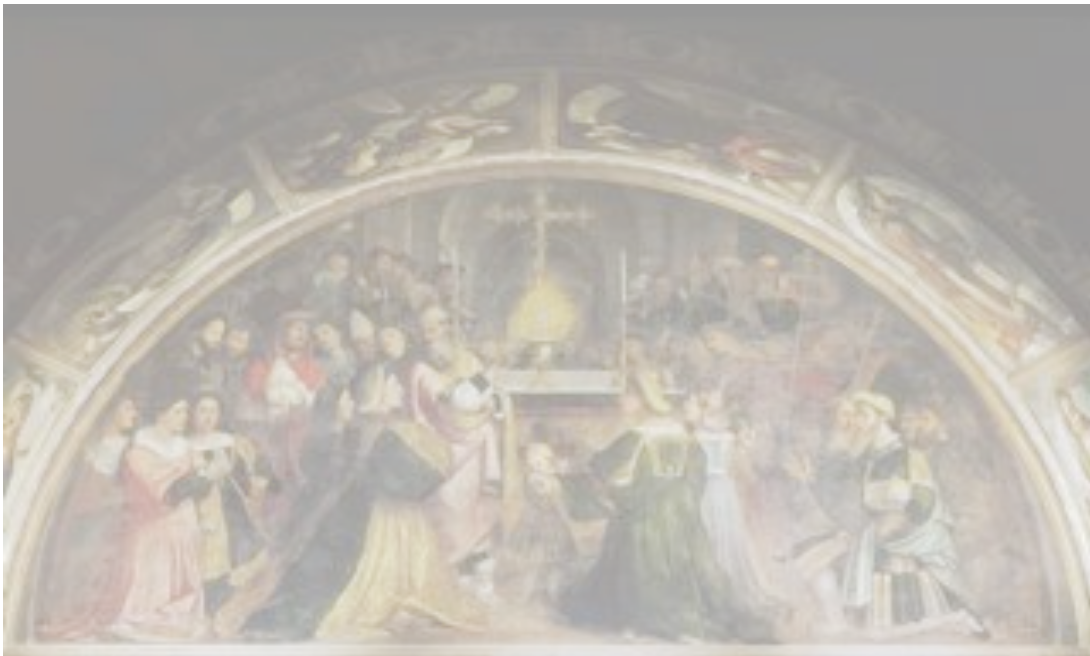


Figure 20: Romanino, *The Adoration of the Eucharist*, ca. 1521-1524, fresco. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia.



Figure 21: Bernardino Luini, Inscription on the *Lamentation* (detail of figure 11).



Figure 22: Bernardino Luini, *Saint Sebastian*, ca. 1512, oil on wood panel. Private Collection.



Figure 23: Bernardino Luini, *Flagellation of Christ* (detail), ca. 1525, fresco. San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore, Milan.



Figure 24: Bernardino Luini, *Ecce Homo* (detail of Christ's wounds), 1516, oil on wood panel. Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.



Figure 25: Bernardino Luini, *Study for the Lamentation*, ca. 1516, pen and ink wash on paper. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 26: Andrea Mantegna, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1490, tempera on canvas. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.



Figure 27: *Measure of the Side Wound and the Body of Christ*, ca. 1484-1492, colored woodcut print, Munich. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

The inscription reads: "This is the length and width of Christ's wound which was pierced in his side on the Cross. Whoever kisses this wound with remorse and sorrow, also with devotion, will have, as often as he does this, seven years' indulgence from Pope Innocent."



Figure 28: Andrea Mantegna, *Entombment of Christ*, ca. 1470-1478, engraving. British Museum, London.



Figure 29: Andrea Solario, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1505-9, oil on panel. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 30: Perugino, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1495, oil on wood panel. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



Figure 31: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Study of Perugino's Lamentation*, after 1500, oil on canvas pasted on wood panel. Museo Borgogna, Vercelli.



Figure 32: Bernardino Luini or Marco Marziale, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1507-1512, oil on panel. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.



Figure 33: Giovanni Francesco Caroto, *Pietà*, ca. 1515, oil on panel. Collezione Fontana, Turin.



Figure 34: Bernardino Luini, Detail of the *Lamentation*, showing a woman and child with a goldfinch (detail of figure 11).



Figure 35: Leonardo da Vinci, *The Madonna Litta*, ca. 1490-1500, oil on wood panel (transferred to canvas). Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Figure 36: Joos van Ghent, *Communion of the Apostles (Altar of Corpus Domini)*, ca. 1472-1474, oil on wood panel. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.



Figure 37: Joos van Ghent, Detail of the *Communion of the Apostles*, showing a woman and child (detail of figure 36).



Figure 38: Bernardino Luini, Detail of the *Lamentation*, showing the bishop saint on the right with a maniple on his wrist (detail of figure 11).



Figure 39: Bernardino Luini, Detail of the *Lamentation*, showing two Jewish figures with Joseph of Arimathea (detail of figure 11).



Figure 40a: Unknown artist, *Moses and the Israelites*, from a French *Bible historiale*, early fifteenth century. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5212, fol. 128v.



Figure 40b. Unknown Lombard artist, *The Mocking of Christ*, ca. 1480, fresco transferred to canvas. Palazzo del Monte di Pietà, Milan (original location: monastery of Santa Chiara, Milan).



Figure 41: Pordenone, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1522, fresco. Duomo, Cremona.



Figure 42: Raphael, *Disputa* (*Disputation over the Holy Sacrament*), ca. 1509-1512, fresco. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome.



Figure 43: Masaccio, *The Holy Trinity*, ca. 1420, fresco. Santa Maria Novella, Florence.



Figure 44: Perspective scheme of the Chapel of Corpus Christi, San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan.



Figure 45: Bernardino Luini, Detail of the *Crucifixion* showing the soldiers casting lots (detail of figure 6).



Figure 46: Raphael, *The School of Athens* (detail of the Euclid group), ca. 1509-1512, fresco. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome.



Figure 47: Titian, *The Crowning with Thorns*, ca. 1540-1542, oil on wood panel, transferred to canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris (original location: Chapel of Santa Corona, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan).



Figure 48: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Flagellation* (bottom) and *Ecce Homo* (top), ca. 1541-1542, fresco. West wall of the Chapel of Santa Corona, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan



Figure 49: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1541-1542, fresco. East wall of the Chapel of Santa Corona, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan



Figure 50: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Arma Christi*, ca. 1541-1542, fresco. Ceiling of the Chapel of Santa Corona, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan.



Figure 51a: Bernardo Zenale, *The Crowning with Thorns* (restored), ca. 1502-1505, oil on wood panel. Collezione Borromeo, Isola Bella (original location: altar or Chapel of Santa Corona, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan).

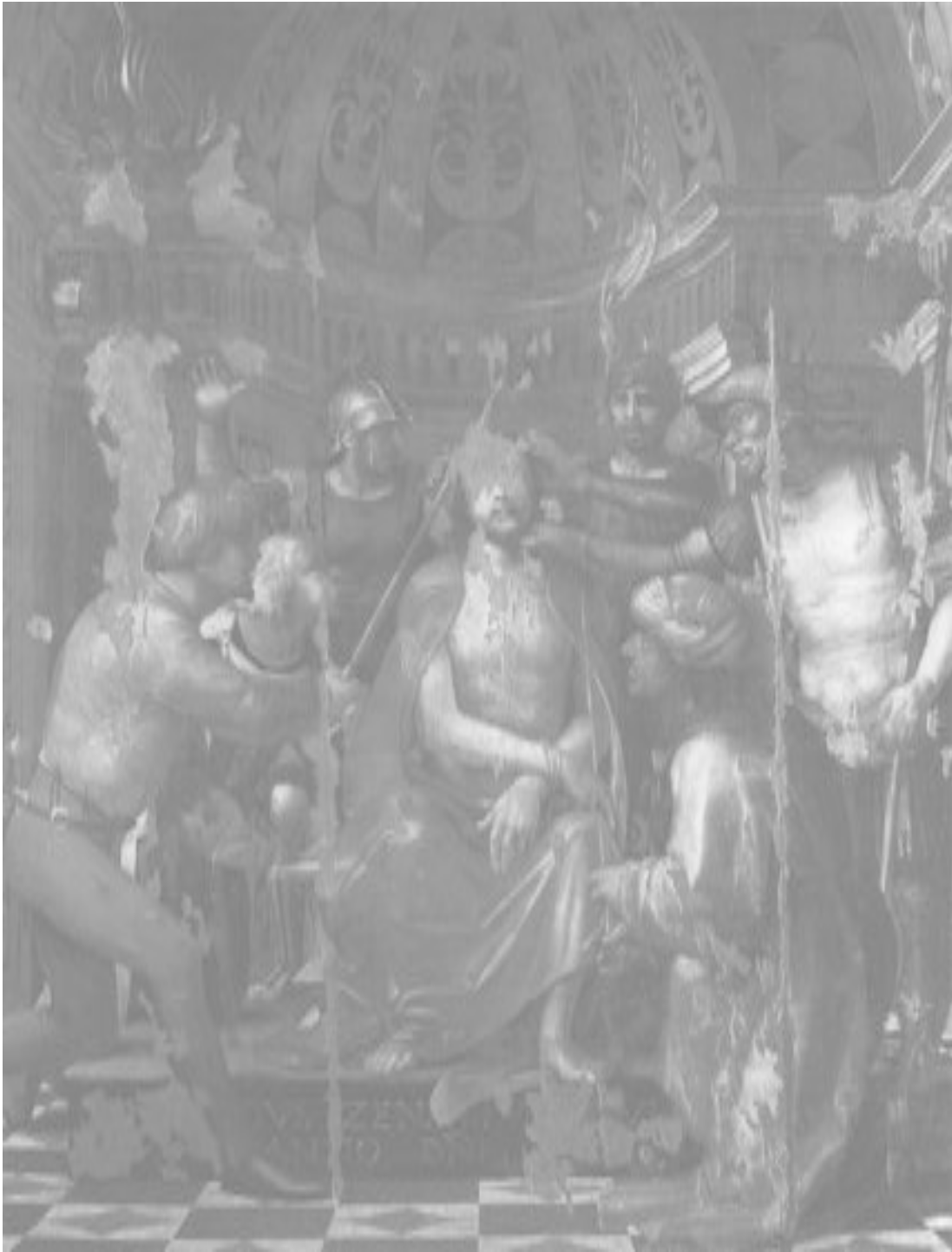


Figure 51b: Bernardo Zenale, *The Crowning with Thorns* (prior to restoration), ca. 1502-1505, oil on wood panel. Collezione Borromeo, Isola Bella (original location: altar or Chapel of Santa Corona, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan).



Figure 52: Attributed to Cesare da Sesto, *Madonna and Child with Saints Ambrose and Jerome*, early sixteenth century, oil on wood panel. Private collection, Milan (original location: Oratory of Santa Corona, Milan).



Figure 53: Bernardino Luini, *The Crowning with Thorns*, ca. 1521-1522, fresco. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan (original location: Oratory of Santa Corona).



Figure 54: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Chapel of the Arrival of the Magi*, polychrome terracotta, fresco, and mixed media, ca. 1516. Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia.



Figure 55: Gaudenzio Ferrari, Detail of *The Crucifixion* showing a figure reaching "out" to grasp the architectural frame, ca. 1541-1542, fresco. Chapel of Santa Corona, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan.



Figure 46: Albrecht Dürer, *The Crowning with Thorns (Albertina Passion)*, ca. 1500, woodcut.



Figure 57: Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athanadoros of Rhodes, *Laocoön and His Sons*, probably the original of first century CE, or a Roman copy of the first century CE, marble. Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 58 (left): Titian, *Saint Sebastian*, detail of the *Averoldi Polyptych*, 1520-1522, oil on wood panel. SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia.

Figure 59 (right): Titian, *The Meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1522-1523, oil on canvas. The National Gallery, London.



Figure 60: Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, *Laocoön*, ca. 1506-1508, engraving. British Museum, London.

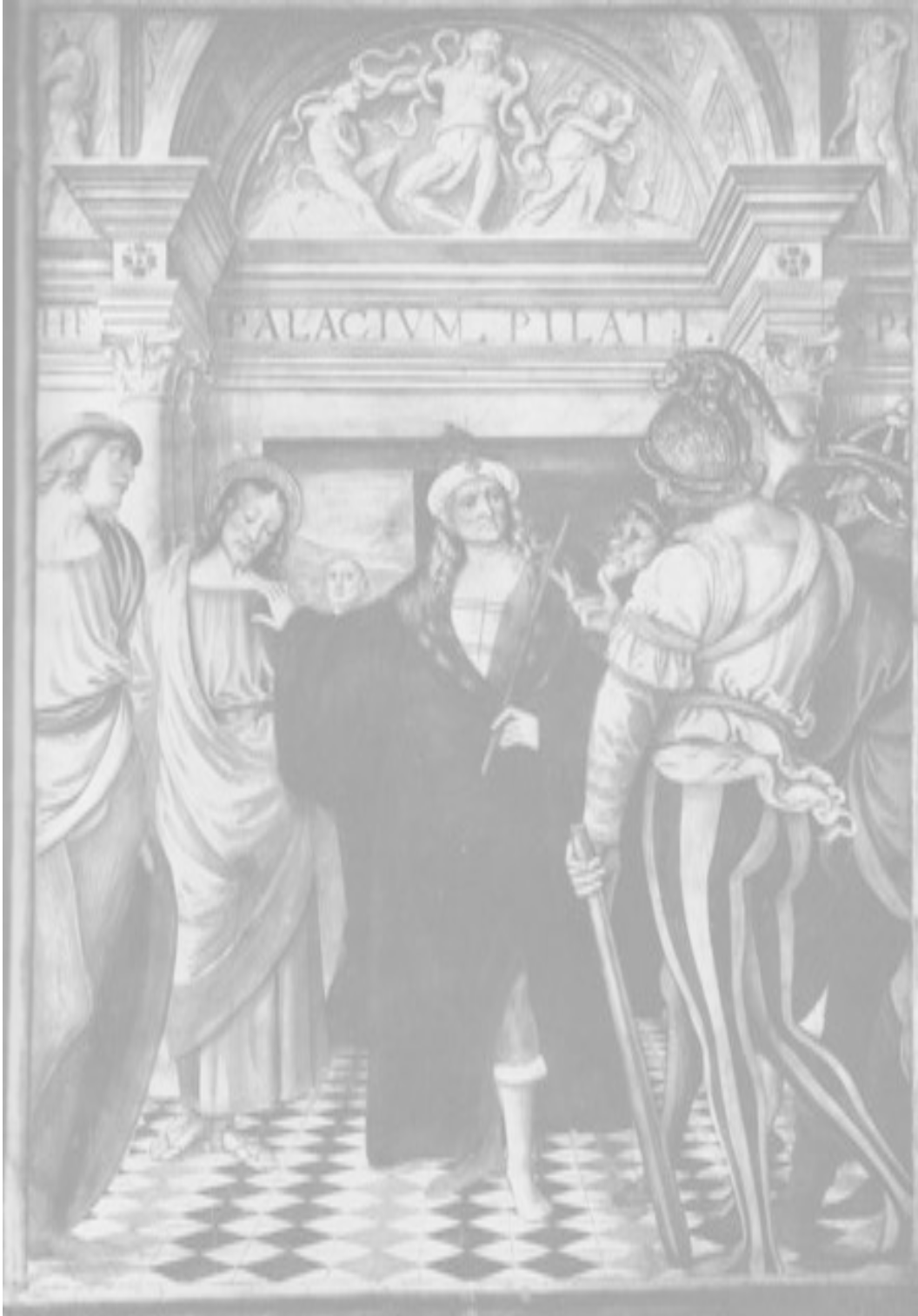


Figure 61: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Christ Before Pilate*, ca. 1513, fresco. Tramezzo of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo-Sesia.



Figure 62: Moderno (Galeazzo Mondella), *The Flagellation*, ca. 1506-1509, silver and gold relief. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Figure 63: Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, ca. 1538, oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 64: Michelangelo, *Ignudo* above the *Erythraean Sibyl*, 1508-1512, fresco. Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, Rome.



Figure 65: Bastiano da Sangallo, copy of 1542 of Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*, 1505, oil on wood panel. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, UK.



Figure 66: Titian, *Tiberius/Nero*, detail of the *Crowning with Thorns* (figure 47).

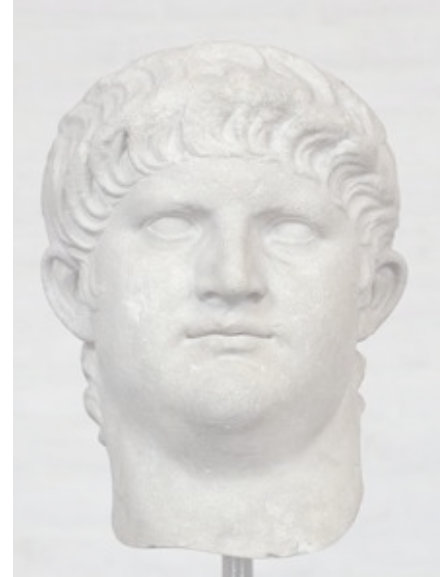


Figure 67 (right): *Head of Nero*, 54-68 CE, marble. Glyptothek, Munich.



Figure 68: Aegidius Sadeler II, *Nero*, engraving after Titian's lost painting for Federico Gonzaga, part of the *Twelve Caesars* cycle, of ca. 1536.



Figure 69: Andrea del Sarto, *Madonna of the Harpies*, ca. 1517, oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 70: Fra Bartolommeo, *Salvator Mundi*, 1516, oil on canvas. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



Figure 71: Michelangelo, *Risen Christ*, 1519-1521, marble. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome



Figure 72: Guercino, *Allegory of the Superiority of Sculpture over Painting* (*della scoltura sì, della pittura no*), early seventeenth century, pen and brown ink, wash, and black chalk. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 73: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Chapel of the Crucifixion*, ca. 1515-1520, polychrome terracotta sculptures, fresco, and other media. Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia.



Figure 74: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1513, fresco. Tramezzo of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo-Sesia.



Figure 75: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1530, fresco, Chapel of Mary Magdalene, S. Cristoforo, Vercelli.

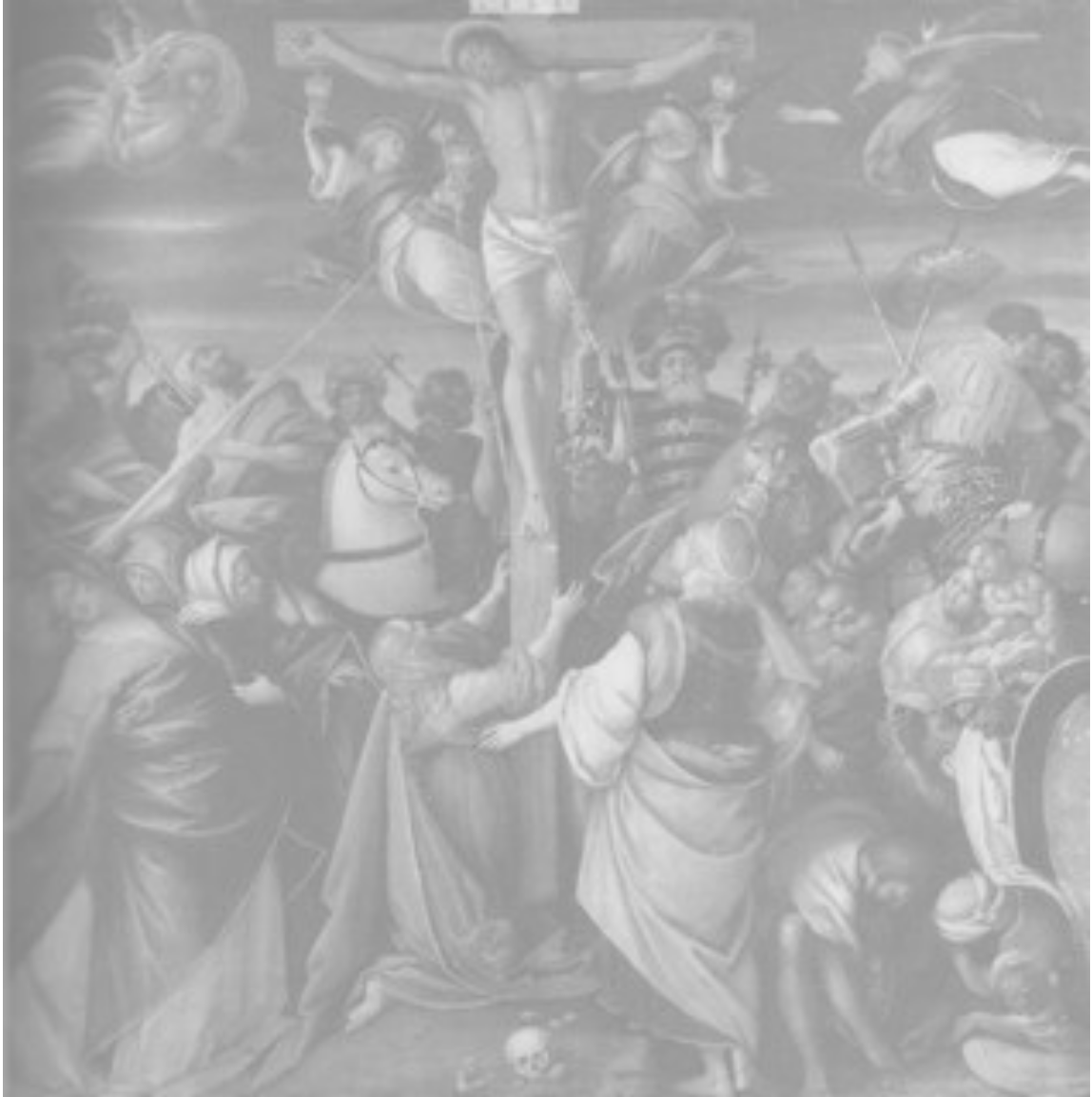


Figure 76: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1534-1536, tempera on canvas (perhaps a processional standard). Galleria Sabauda, Turin.



Figure 77: Titian, *The Crowning with Thorns*, ca. 1570-1576, oil on canvas. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



Figure 78: Il Fiammenghino (Gian Battista della Rovere), *San Carlo Processes with the Santo Chiodo during the Plague*, ca. 1602, oil on canvas. Duomo, Milan.

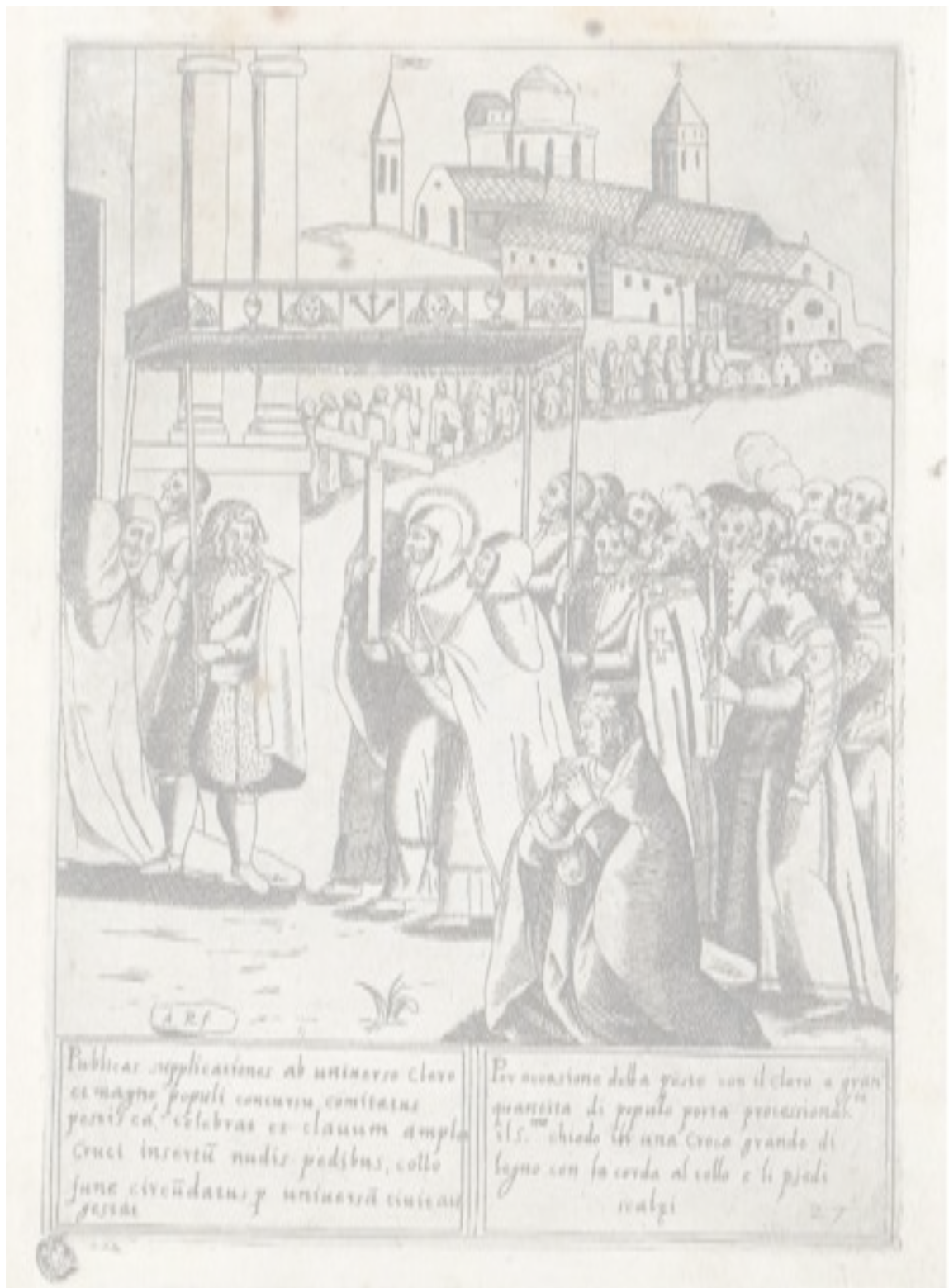


Figure 79: Alberto Ronco, *Plague Procession of Carlo Borromeo (Episodes from the life of Carlo Borromeo)*, 1610, engraving. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Casello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 80: Nunzio Galiti, *Bird's-Eye View of Milan* (print issued to celebrate the end of the plague), 1578, etching. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

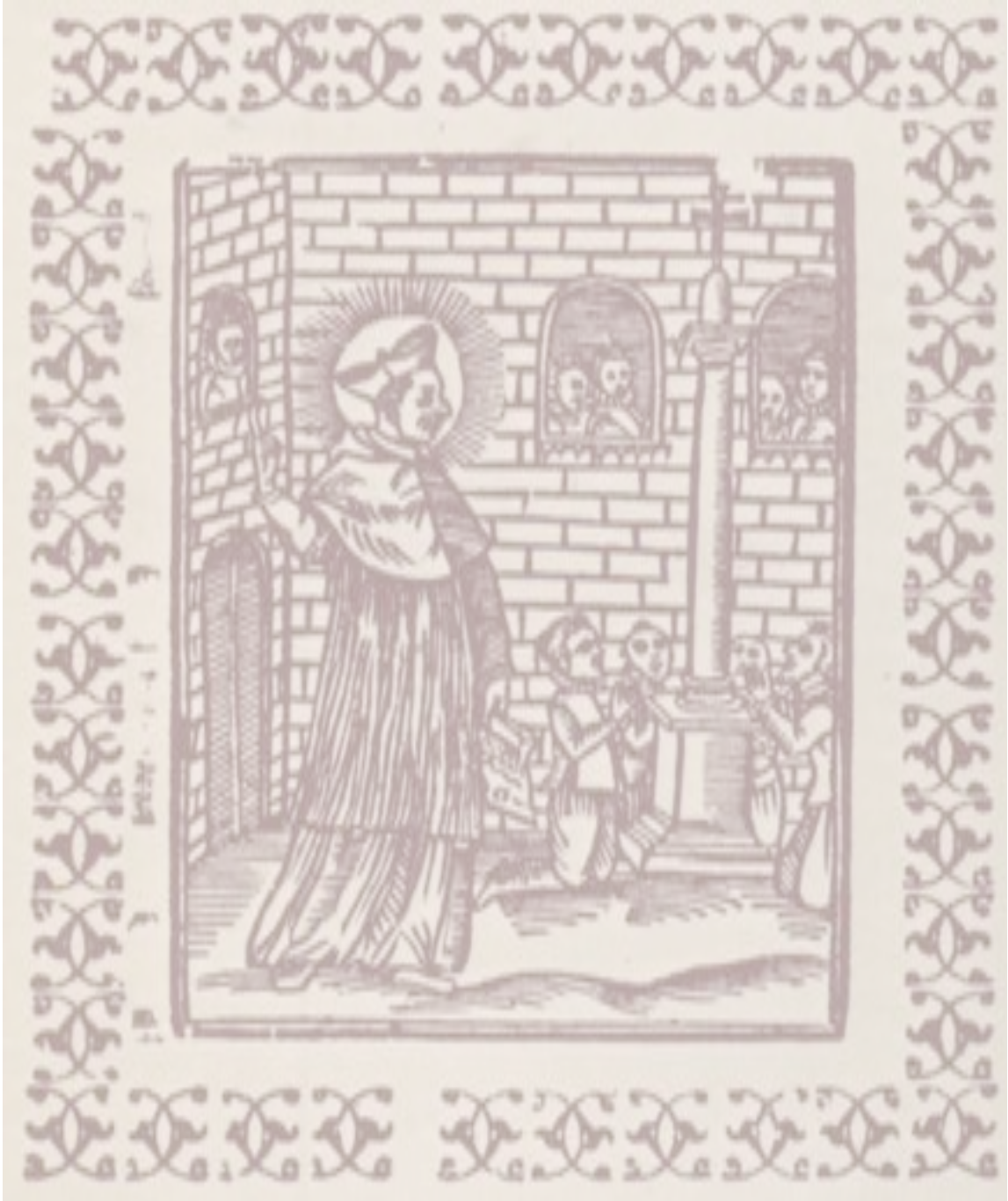


Figure 81: *S. Carlo Celebrates the Mass at a Temporary Altar during the Plague*, frontispiece of the *Vera relatione di vintidue Miracoli operati da Dio Nostro Sig. per gli meriti del B. Carlo Cardinale Borromeo*, 1610, woodcut.



Figure 82: Map of all of the stationary crosses in Milan erected before 1650. See Appendix A for details on each cross by number.

Image: Federico Agnelli, *La gran città di Milano (detail)*, ca. 1696-1702, etching. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 83: Alberto Ronco, *San Carlo Blesses the Cross at Cordusio* (*Episodes from the life of Carlo Borromeo*), 1610, engraving. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Casello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 84: Giovanni Battista Crespi (Il Cerano), *San Carlo Blesses the Cross at Cordusio* (detail), ca. 1603, oil on canvas. Duomo, Milan.



Figure 85: Stational Cross of Bottonuto (S. Glicerio), 1607, now relocated near the Giardini Pubblici, Milan (original location: Contrado Larga, also called Bottonuto, now called Piazza Diaz, Milan).



Figure 86: Column of Trajan, ca. 112 CE, marble, Forum of Trajan, Rome. The statue of St. Peter on top of the column is a sixteenth-century replacement of the lost original heroic nude statue of Trajan.



Figure 87. Unknown artist, *The "Brazen Serpent,"* tenth century CE, bronze. Nave of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan (originally Byzantine).

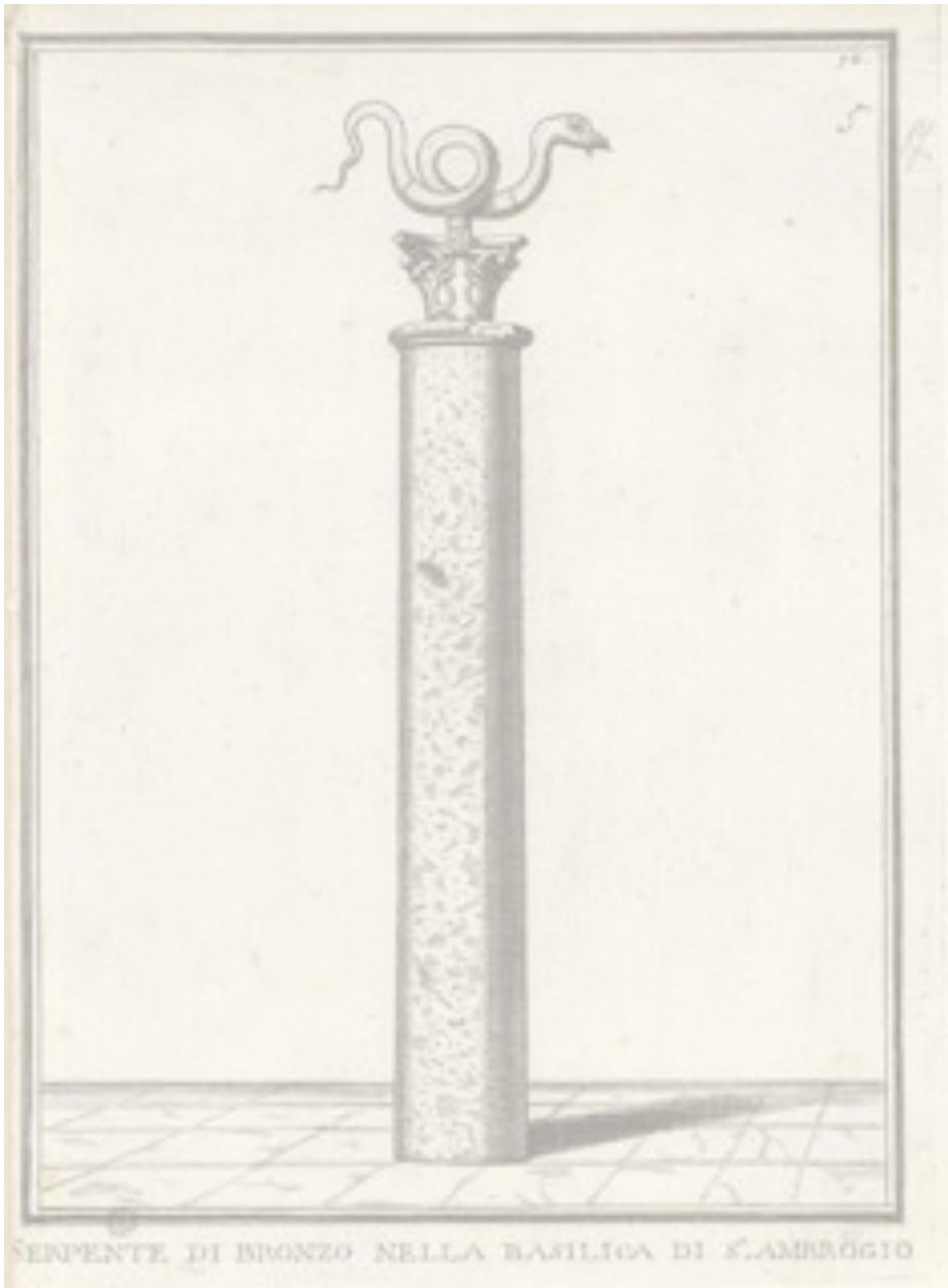


Figure 88: Giambattista Bianchi (printer), *The Brazen Serpent*, 1760, etching and engraving. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 89: *The Stational Cross and Leone at S. Babila*, early to mid-seventeenth century, pen and ink on paper. ASDM section X, S. Babila, vol. XVI, q. 15.



Figure 90: Column of the *Leone*, Piazza San Babila, Milan.



Figure 91: Melchiorre Gherardini, *View of Corso di Porta Orientale during the plague of 1630*, ca. 1630, etching. Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo di Brescia, Brescia.



Figure 92: Stational cross of S. Martiniano (Verziere), 1604-1673. Column by Giandomenico Richini, base after a design by Pellegrino Tibaldi (or Giovanni Battista Lonati), and the sculpture of Christ, a copy after the original by Giuseppe and Giambattista Vismara. Largo Augusto, Milan.



Figure 93: Drawing of the statue of the Redeemer for the column of Verziere Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 94: *The stational cross/altar of S. Venerio*, detail from a view of the Columns of S. Lorenzo in Pietro and Giuseppe Vallardi, *Principale vedute di Milano*, 1817, etching and aquatint.



Figure 95: Photograph of the altar of S. Venerio at the Columns of S. Lorenzo, before 1934.



Figure 96: View of the Columns of San Lorenzo from the south, Corso di Porta Ticinese, Milan.



Figure 97: Ambrogio Pessina, *A True Drawing of the S. Croce newly rebuilt on the Carrobbio of Milan*, ca. 1658, etching. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 98: Unknown artist, *The Holy Nail that is venerated in the Duomo*, ca. 1750, etching. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 99: Photograph of the *Nivola* bearing the Holy Nail on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14), Duomo, Milan.



Figure 100: Stational cross of S. Senatore, completed ca. 1616, Corso Italia, Milan.



Figure 101: Gianpietro Lasagna, based on a design by Il Cerano, *St. Helena*, detail of the top of the stational cross of S. Senatore, completed ca. 1616. Corso Italia, Milan.



Figure 102: Il Cerano (Giovanni Battista Crespi), *Carlo Borromeo Adoring the Dead Christ at Varallo*, ca. 1610, oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Figure 103: Attributed to Francesco Brambilla the younger, Antonio Rotta (il Padovano), Elio Buzzi, and Pietro Antonio Daverio,¹ *Christ before Pilate*, late sixteenth century, polychrome terracotta. S. Sepolcro, Milan.

¹ The attribution is proposed by Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga, "L'iconografia della Passione e il dibattito sulle sacre scritture. Il progetto di un sacro monte nella chiesa milanese del Santo Sepolcro nell'età della controriforma," in *Sacri monti: devozione, arte e cultura della controriforma*, ed. Luciano Vaccaro and Francesca Riccardi (Milan: Jaca Book, 1992), p. 174.



Figure 104: Il Morazzone (Pier Francesco Mazzucchelli), *The Annunciation*, ca. 1607 or 1616-1617, oil on canvas. Raccolta d'Arte dell'Ospedale Maggiore, Milan (original location: S. Maria ad Elisabetta, Milan).



Figure 105a: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Chapel of the Annunciation*, ca. 1514-1521, reconfigured in 1572, polychrome wooden sculpture and other media. Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia

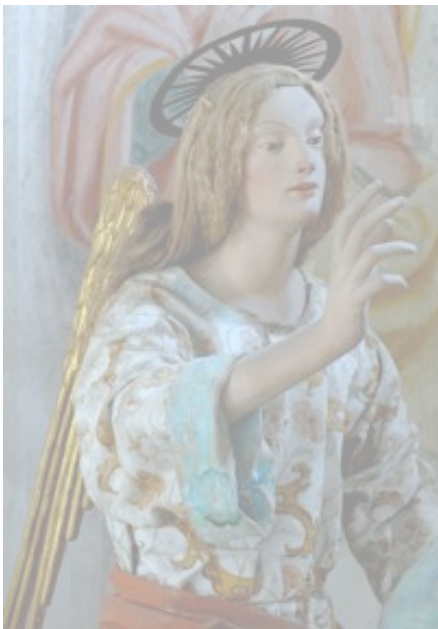


Figure 105b: Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Angel Gabriel*, ca. 1514-1521, polychrome wooden sculpture and other media. Chapel of the Annunciation, Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia.



Figure 106: Giovanni d'Enrico, *Chapel of the Agony in the Garden*, before 1604 (replacing an ensemble from the early sixteenth century), polychrome wood sculpture, fresco, and other media. Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia.



Figure 107: Giovanni Battista Bernero, *San Carlo Borromeo*, 1776, polychrome terracotta. Chapel of the Agony in the Garden, Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia.



*Memoria che habò S. Carlo delle processioni
che si fanno in Milano per le Crociate.*

Figure 108: Andrea Vaccario, *Procession of the Confraternity of S. Croce* (detail of figure 117), ca. 1599-1620 (1610), engraving. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 109: Carlo Biffi, *Apparato of Mount Etna erected in Piazza del Duomo to celebrate the birth of Baldassare, son of King Philip IV of Spain on February 4, 1630*, 1630, pen and ink on paper. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Designed by the architect Francesco Maria Richini, with painting by Bartolomeo Genovesino and Panfilo Nuvolone and sculpture by Girolamo Prevosto and Giovan Pietro Lasagna.

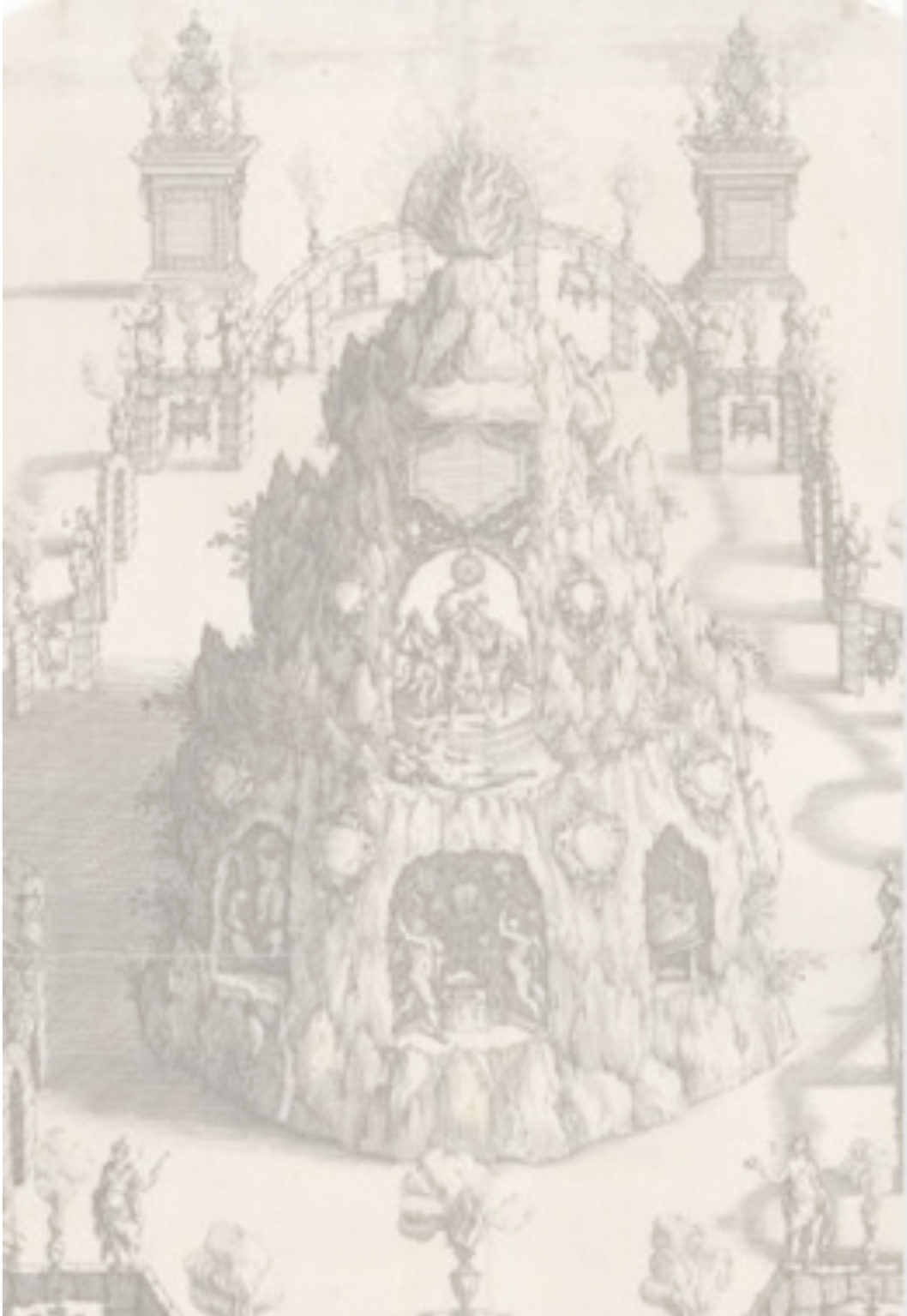


Figure 110a: Cesare Bassano, *Mount Etna with the Theater and Pedestal Erected in the Piazza del Duomo di Milano* (detail), 1630, etching after the drawing by Carlo Biffi. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 110b: Detail of figure 110a showing the niches with sculpture.



Figure 111: Unknown artist, *Drawing of an ephemeral display*, between 1575 and 1625, graphite, bistre, and ink on paper. Civico Gabinetto dei Disegni, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 112: Federico Barocci, *Madonna del Popolo*, 1575-1579, oil on wood panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 113: Dionigi Bussola and Ambrogio Grosso, *Carlo Borromeo* (once part of the stational cross of S. Barnaba), 1670, bronze. Piazza Borromeo, Milan (original location: Piazza Cordusio, Milan).



Figure 114: Il Cerano (Giovanni Battista Crespi), *St. Ambrose*, ca. 1610, oil on canvas. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.



Figure 115: Matthäus Greuter (printer), Girolamo Rainaldi (inventor/architect), *Triumphal Arch erected outside of St. Peter's Basilica on the occasion of the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, 1610, engraving. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.*



Figure 116: Pieter De Jode the Younger, *The True Portrait, Life, Death, Deeds, and Miracles of S. Carlo Borromeo*, 1610, engraving. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Figure 117: Andrea Vaccario, *San Carlo Borromeo*, ca. 1610, engraving. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

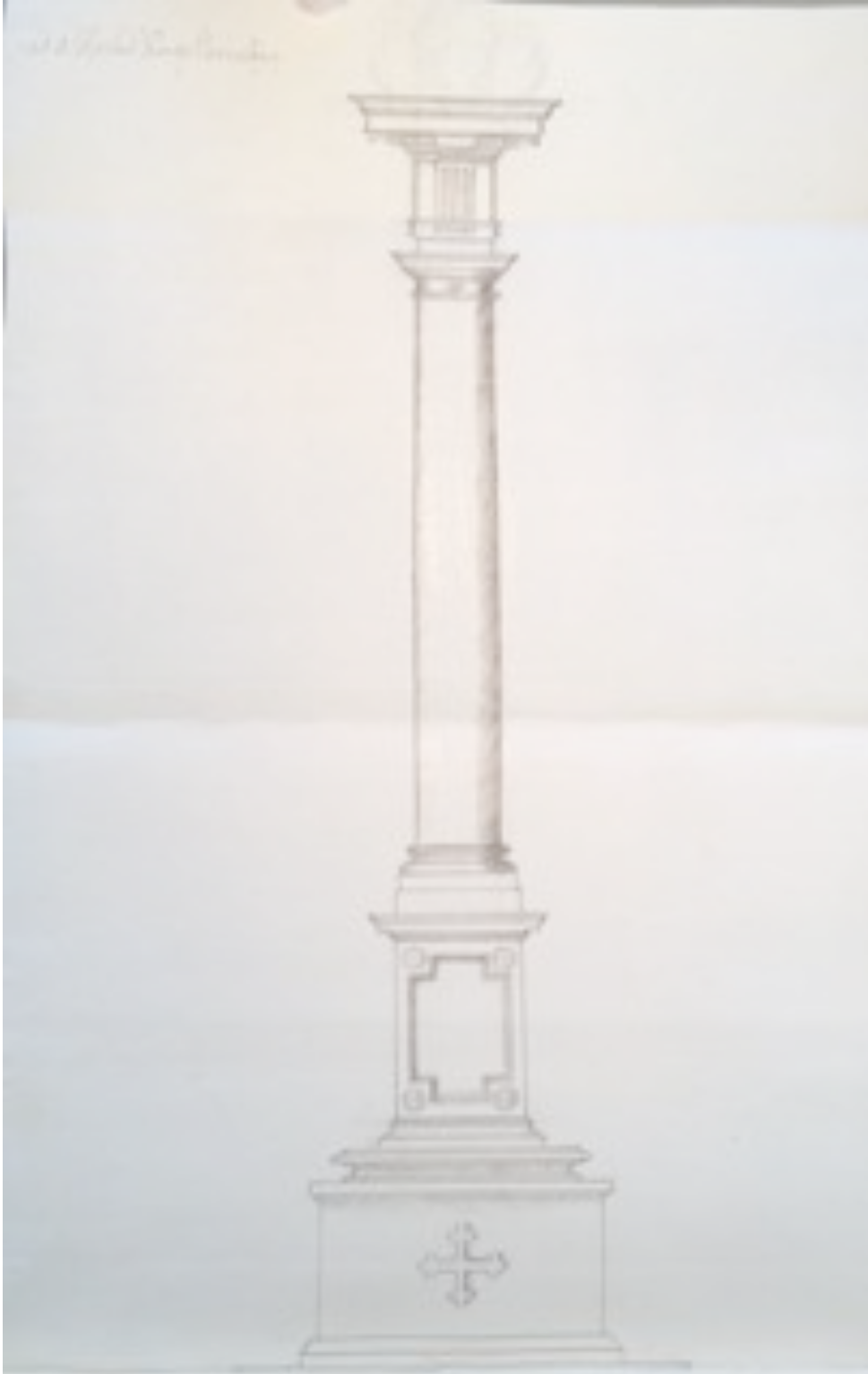


Figure 118: Unknown artist, *The Column of the Stational Cross of "S. Rocho" (S. Ausanio) in Porta Vercellina*, ca. 1671, pen and ink with pencil on paper. ASDM section X, *Miscellanea Città*, vol. XIV, q. 24.



Figure 119: Durellus, *Stational cross of S. Protasio in Porta Nuova*, ca. 1686, engraving.



Figure 120: *Stational cross of S. Marolo*, late seventeenth/early eighteenth century. Moved to Piazza S. Nazaro in 1776 (original location: Via della Maddalena and the Corso di Porta Romana, then moved near S. Giovanni in Conca).



Figure 121: *Stational cross of S. Eustorgio/Peter Martyr* (and detail), seventeenth century. Piazza S. Eustorgio, Milan.



Figure 122: Marc'Antonio del Re, *View of the church of S. Eustorgio*, showing the columns/ stational crosses of S. Eustorgio (left) and St. Peter Martyr (right), ca. 1743-1748, etching. Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

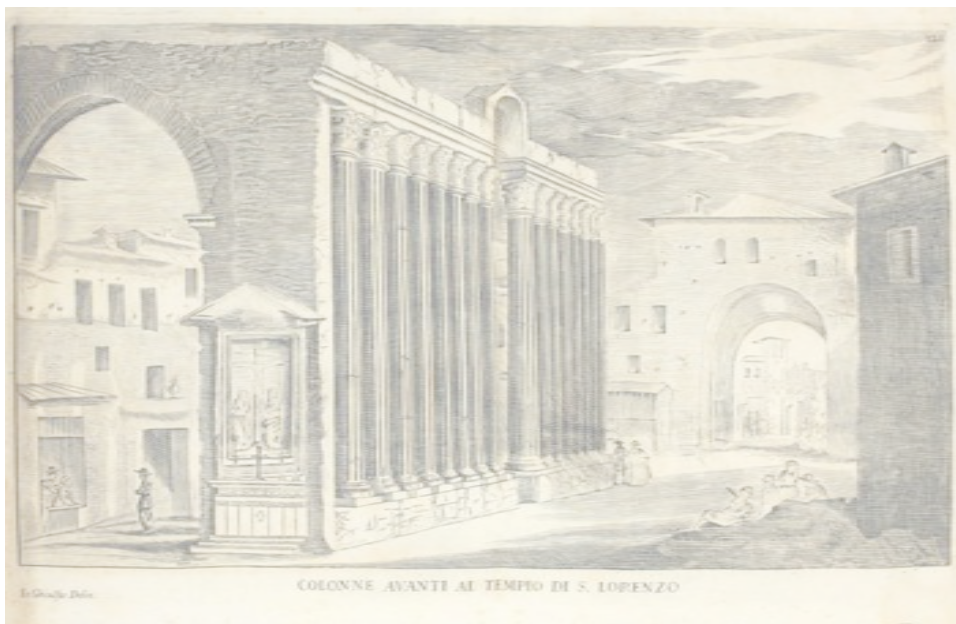


Figure 123: Giovanni Ghisolfi (design) and Federico Agnelli (printer), *View of the Columns of S. Lorenzo from the north*, showing the altar/stational cross of S. Eustorgio (II), 1674, etching.²

² This print is included in Carlo Torre, *Il ritratto di Milano: Diviso in tre libri, colorito da Carlo Torre...* (Milan: Federico Agnelli, 1674), between pp. 120 and 121.



Figure 124: Giovanni Battista Dell'Acqua, *View of the Church of San Marco*, 1836, oil on canvas. Museo di Milano.



Figure 125: *Stational cross of S. Lazzaro alla Vetra*, 1728. Piazza della Vetra, Milan.



Figure 126: Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *San Carlo Adoring the Dead Christ at Varallo*, ca. 1610-1613, oil on canvas. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.



Figure 127: Attributed to Il Morazzone (Pier Francesco Mazzuchelli), *San Carlo Meditating by the Body of Christ*, 1618, oil on canvas. Private collection.



Figure 128: Attributed to Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Dead Christ*, first decade of the sixteenth century, polychrome wood. Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher, Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia.



Figure 129: Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher, constructed by 1491, wooden figure of the *Dead Christ* by Gaudenzio Ferrari installed in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Sacro Monte di Varallo, Varallo-Sesia.

APPENDIX A:

Annotated List of the Stational Crosses in the City of Milan

All crosses and altars are identified by the name of the patron saint assigned to them by Andrea Buono at the behest of Federico Borromeo in 1610. The number given to each cross corresponds to its location on the map in figure 82. These numbers additionally correspond to the narrative order of the episode or “mystery” of the Passion to which each confraternity had its particular devotion. The three crosses and confraternities established after the initial apportioning of mysteries in 1605-1607 are listed at the end, regardless of the chronological placement of the mystery that they were eventually assigned.

The church of S. Sepolcro is also identified on the map by the letter A.

* Indicates those crosses still extant.

‡ Indicates those crosses (since renovated and/or demolished) classified as "antique" (constructed prior to 1576).

1. S. Barnaba*

Location: Piazza Cordusio.

Year Built: 1577.

Mystery of the Passion: Originally the entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, this was changed to the "compendium" of the whole Passion in 1607. The motto given in the Diocesan treatise corresponds to the former: "Dico vobis quia si hii tacuerunt lapides clamabunt—I say to you that if these were silent, the stones would cry out" (Luke 19:40).¹

Physical Description: The original monument consisted of a plain stone column with a crucifix at the top (fig. 83). This structure was replaced by a stone pedestal surmounted by a bronze statue of Carlo Borromeo (fig. 113), designed by Dionigi Bussola and cast by Ambrogio Grosso, with the copper for his clothing made by Alberto Guerra, completed in 1670.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: The portrait of S. Barnaba, commissioned and completed in 1610 for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, was painted by Bartolomeo Roverio, called Il Genovesino. This painting was displayed each year on Barnaba's feast day, June 11. The confraternity's *memorie* additionally record a painting

¹ All of the mottos provided here are taken from the list of the mysteries and mottos as assigned in 1605 and recorded in Trattato delle croci erette in Milano, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fols. 6v-8r.

in their possession of the "compendio," likely referring to the small painting of their assigned mystery of the Passion that would be affixed to their processional cross and carried in processions.² The same document also makes note of a series of unspecified paintings of scenes from the Passion displayed at the cross each year on Maundy Thursday.

When Carlo Borromeo was beatified (the *memorie* say in 1600, but his beatification did not actually occur until 1602), the confraternity erected a statue of Carlo at the cross and built a large bonfire in the middle of the piazza. When they processed to Carlo's tomb in the Duomo they carried a portrait of the archbishop loaned to them by the School of Christian Doctrine.

The elaborate *apparato* for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610 is described in detail by Grattarola, as well as in the confraternity's records. A rectangular stair was constructed around the column, supported at each of the four corners by a camel sitting on top of a basket (one of the Borromeo family's heraldic symbols) and covered in candles and damask hangings. Between the camels, on each side of the cross, were large placards forming one long inscription:

"Sancto Carolo Cardinali Mediolanensis Ecclesiae olim Archiepiscopo et Pastori vigilantissimo; Divi Ambrosii et Sanctorum Antistitum egregio imitatori, patriae parenti optimo. Qui praeter multa alia praeclara instituta in compitis huius urbis, ad excitandam populi pietatem, Vexillum S. Crucis passim erigendum curavit. Quique locum unum inter caeteros primum praesens invisit delegit, designavit, atque novis ceremoniis comitante Clero Metropolitanae Ecclesiae consecravit. Societas ab eodem hoc celebri loco prima omnium erecta, et aucta donis, in communi laetitia ob eius sanctitatem Pontificia voce declaratam, M.H.B.M.D."³

Around the cross were eight angels "the size of a man," with garlands of flowers, and on the cupola of the cross were the heraldic emblems of Carlo Borromeo. Also around the cross were four "life-sized" unicorns with snakes impaled on their horns, another emblem of the Borromeo family. The houses around the piazza were hung with fine Flanders tapestries and a frieze of red cloth decorated with cornucopias and the likenesses of all of the canonized archbishops of Milan.

The confraternity's *memorie* describes many other *apparati* staged on feast days. Some consisted of generic ornament: covering the cross and the piazza with rich cloth and tapestries, flowers, and greenery and unspecified "devout paintings," or constructing triumphal arches. Others involved narrative tableaux representing various subjects, among them:

² Erezione della Croce del S. Crocifisso al Cordusio..., BAM Trotti 72, fol. 28v. On the small paintings of the mysteries of the Passion, see the discussion in chapter four, pp. 238-240.

³ "To S. Carlo, the former Cardinal, Archbishop, and most vigilant pastor of the Church of Milan; the most excellent imitator of St. Ambrose and the sainted bishops, the best father of our land. Who in addition to his many other splendid institutions arranged that the Banner of the Holy Cross be erected in the city streets to arouse the piety of the people. And who personally visited, chose, and appointed this place first of all the others and consecrated it with new ceremonies attended by the clergy of the cathedral. The society at that same much-visited place, the first erected of all of them, and with increased gifts, was declared holy by his pontifical voice, to the joy of all."

- The sacrifice of Abraham, likely Abraham and Isaac (for Corpus Christi in 1617).⁴
- St. Francis receiving the stigmata on top of a "high mountain" with the angel posed on top of one of the houses in the piazza; at the base of the mountain was a tableau of Francis preaching to the animals. Some of the animals may have been sculpted or stuffed and others may have been living—"con diversi animali vivi et morti postivi" (Corpus Christi in 1618).⁵
- The Last Supper, consisting of a "large theater—*gran teatro*" with wooden columns, with Christ and the apostles sculpted in wood (Corpus Christi in 1619).
- Jacob's dream of the ladder to Heaven (Corpus Christi, year unspecified).
- The "three boys in the furnace," which may refer either to the Old Testament story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who are miraculously preserved from the flames after being thrown into a furnace for refusing to worship the Babylonian gods (Daniel 3:19-30) or to one of the many medieval and early modern host miracle stories in which Jewish children who received the Eucharist are thrown into a furnace by their outraged parents but are found unharmed (Corpus Christi, year unspecified).⁶
- When Carlo Borromeo met with Filippo Neri in Rome and gave him funds to found the Oratory (Corpus Christi, year unspecified).
- When Melchizedek offered bread and wine to Abraham (Corpus Christi, 1626).
- The Passover, with a platform fashioned as a city with the doors of the Israelites marked with a blood-red Tau and a large sculpture of the angel, with feathered wings, holding a lightning bolt. The document states that this tableau was "done by the hand of Signore Bertolameo Genovesino," the same artist who produced the confraternity's portrait of S. Barnaba (Corpus Christi, 1630).⁷

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1624-1670 the original cross was replaced with the statue of Carlo Borromeo still extant (fig. 113). The new foundation was laid in 1624, but the sculpture was not completed until 1670. In 1786 the entire structure was moved from Piazza Cordusio to Piazza Borromeo, outside the church of S. Maria Pordone.

Associated Images and Spaces: Latuada and other sources note three frescoes on the exterior walls of nearby houses in Piazza Cordusio: the Virgin and Child with St. Joseph by Morazzone, the Adoration of the Magi by Barabino, and Christ carrying the cross to Calvary by Fiammenghino.

2. S. Dionigi †

Location: Near what is now the Giardini Pubblici in Porta Orientale.

Year Built: Before 1607; an inscription recorded an earlier cross extant in 1361.

⁴ Several of these are listed in BAM Trotti 72, fol. 27r.

⁵ Ibid, fol. 22v.

⁶ For the history and proliferation of this narrative see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, p. 9

⁷ BAM Trotti 72, fol. 59r.

Assigned Mystery of the Passion: Christ takes leave of his mother. The accompanying motto was "quis mihi det ut pro te moriar filii mei—who will let me die for you, my son?" (2 Samuel 18), words originally spoken by King David to Absalom.

Physical Description: A stone column with a metal cross and an altar. An inscription on the base read: "Sciunt cuncti quod ex parte domini Roberti Dei gratia Archiepiscopi Mediolani omnibus et singulis vere poenitentibus et confessis, qui crucem hanc devote visitaverint et ei debitam reverentiam exhibuerint XL dies de iniunctis poenitentiis in domino relaxantur. Anno Domini MCCCLXI die domenco mensis magii Jacobinus da Cubo habuit hanc gratiam."⁸

Associated Images and Spaces: A cross allegedly erected outside the walls of the city by S. Barnaba in the year 56 CE. The stone in which this cross was said to have been embedded was conserved in the nearby church of S. Dionigi (now defunct) until 1783.

3. S. Mirocleto (also called the cross of Monforte)

Location: Near the church of S. Maria della Passione in Porta Orientale.

Year Built: Circa 1610; the confraternity was established in 1604.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ washes the feet of his disciples. The accompanying motto was "coepit lavare pedes discipulorum et extergere linteo quo erat praecinctus—he began to wash the feet of the disciples and to wipe them with the linen with which he was girded" (John 13:5).

Physical Description: A column with a cross held in the hands of the Virgin Mary (the Virgin of the Rosary).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: Images displayed on feast days included paintings of the Holy Family with angels set within a grove, the Annunciation, St. Peter freed from prison by the angel, and the Entombment of Christ. Other paintings are described as Chinese-inspired ("*fatte alla Chinese* [sic]") with garlands of flowers.

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1655, the cross was determined to be in a serious state of ruin and was rebuilt with "greater majesty."

4. S. Martiniano (or Matroniano, also called the cross of Verziere)*

Location: The Verziere in Porta Tosa (now Largo Augusto).

Year Built: Originally constructed in 1576 but demolished soon after and rebuilt 1604-1673. The confraternity was established in 1579.

⁸ Serviliano Latuada, Descrizione di Milano ornata con molti disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue, che si trovano in questa metropoli, vol. I (Milan: Nella Regio-Ducal Corte, a spese de Giuseppe Cairolì, 1737), p. 210.

Mystery of the Passion: The Last Supper. The accompanying motto was "Filli tui sicut novella olivarum in circuitu mensae tuae—your children will be like olive shoots around your table" (Psalm 128:3).⁹

Physical Description: No full description remains of the original monument. The current structure consists of an immense column designed by Giandomenico Richini on a base carved in relief and reportedly designed after a model by Pellegrino Pellegrini (Pellegrino Tibaldi). One historian has challenged the attribution to Pellegrini and suggests instead Giovanni Battista Lonati.¹⁰ On top of the capital is a colossal statue of the "Redeemer" or Risen Christ with the cross in his hand, sculpted in marble by Giuseppe and Giambattista Vismara in 1672 (figs. 92-93).

Known Alterations and Restorations: The original column was demolished by civil authorities after Carlo Borromeo's death in 1584. The confraternity was granted permission to rebuild the structure in 1604 and the new monument, which cost about 50,000 lire to construct, was finally completed and blessed in 1673. Another restoration is recorded in 1727. The bronze figure visible today on top of the column is a modern copy installed in 1927, according to an inscription on the base.

Associated Images and Spaces: The *confratelli* had particular devotion to a miraculous image of the Virgin, which was originally in the Contrada Larga near Verziere and was moved to the church of S. Stefano Maggiore in 1581. An inscription on or near the image commemorated the transfer: "Haec est illa Deiparae Virginis Imago Sacratissima, quae tum antiquitate, tum miraculis, tum etiam Fidelium veneratione clarissima quondam in Via quae dicitur Lata colebatur, in hoc Sacellum eidem Scholarium pietate dicatum translata VI Kalend Julii MDLXXXI."

5. S. Giovanni Buono (the Oratory of S. Maria ad Elisabetta)

Location: At the bottom of Piazza del Verzaro (Verziere)

Year Built: 1624.

Mystery of the Passion: The agony in the garden. The accompanying motto was "et factus est sudor eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram—and his sweat became like great drops of blood falling down upon the ground" (Luke 22:44).

Physical Description: A small, single-nave chapel with an altar where "many masses" were celebrated each day. This was the meeting place of the Congregazione Generale of the confraternities of S. Croce.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: An altarpiece of the Annunciation by Morazzone (fig. 104).

⁹ In the Vulgate this psalm is numbered 127.

¹⁰ See the discussion in chapter four, note 26.

6. S. Carlo (also called the cross or chapel at Pasquirolo)

Location: Near the Luogo Pio di Quattro Marie in what is now Piazza Carlo Borromeo in Porta Orientale.

Year Built: 1616.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane. The accompanying motto was "Cohors ergo et tribunus et ministri Iudaeorum comprehenderunt Iesum et ligaverunt eum—then the mob of soldiers and their captain and the officers of the Jews seized Jesus and bound him" (John 18:12).

Physical Description: A small open chapel with iron gates.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A painting of the *Lamentation* (dead Christ, Virgin Mary, and other Marys) that had been placed over the original plague altar in 1576 to celebrate the mass. According to Latuada, the neighborhood always held devotions to/by this image.

Known Alterations and Restorations: When the confraternity was established in 1616, they added lateral images, whose subjects are not specified by Latuada, to the original altarpiece. These paintings were all restored in 1689.

7. S. Galdino

Location: Near S. Salvatore adjacent to Piazza del Duomo.

Year Built: 1606.

Assigned Mystery of the Passion: Christ is brought before Annas. The accompanying motto was "Et adduxerunt eum ad Annam primum—and they led him away first to Annas" (John 18:13).

Physical Description: A small chapel, called the "cappelleta della Santa Croce." Latuada describes it as a chapel of wood construction adorned with paintings by Giambattista Galiano.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A painting of S. Galdino completed in 1610 by Giambattista Secco and sent to Rome for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo.

Known Alterations and Restorations: The chapel was demolished in 1673 after sustaining heavy water damage and was rebuilt in stone and brick. In 1702 the walls were frescoed by Mariani. A painting on panel of the Virgin by "i Figini," under the transept, was restored ca. 1702.

Associated Images and Spaces: An "antique" fresco of the Virgin, which predated the chapel and had been the focus of the *oratione della sera*. The fresco was lost in 1638 and then repainted again by Carlo Preda (1651-1729), who also added saints Sebastian and Roch on either side.

8. S. Protasio and S. Gervasio

Location: Piazza del Brolio in front of the church of S. Stefano, today at the corner of Via Laghetto and Festa del Perdono, in Porta Orientale.

Year Built: Built under Carlo Borromeo, circa 1576-1584.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is taken before Caiaphas. No accompanying motto is recorded for this mystery.¹¹

Physical Description: An iron cross on a stone base encircled by four altar frontals, with stone steps. After the cross was demolished and rebuilt on a new site, a bronze statue of S. Ambrogio was added in 1712.

Known Alterations and Restorations: This cross was originally located closer to the Laghetto, near the site now occupied by part of the Ospedale Maggiore, and was demolished in 1637 (on the map as 8a). It was eventually rebuilt in Piazza del Brolio in 1705 and the statue of S. Ambrogio was completed in 1712 (on the map as 8b).

9. S. Caio (or Cajo)

Location: At the "Stella" outside Porta Tosa (one of the smaller gates in Porta Orientale).

Year Built: Circa 1576.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is beaten and spat upon before Caiaphas. The accompanying motto was: "Tunc expuerunt in faciem eius et colaphis eum ceciderunt—then they spat in his face and struck him" (Matthew 26:67).

Physical Description: No detailed description of the original monument has so far surfaced. In the eighteenth century it consisted of a column with a statue of S. Caio holding the cross in his hand.

¹¹ Why no motto is recorded for this cross is unclear. Several of the stational crosses were built or allocated mysteries after the list in the Diocesan *Trattato* was drawn up in 1605, and therefore do not have an accompanying scriptural motto recorded; some of these are listed as an addendum, with their mysteries indicated but without mottos, at the end of the list in the *Trattato*. However, this cross was built well in advance of 1605, so its omission from the list of crosses and mysteries/mottos in the *Trattato* is perplexing. In addition, several crosses and mysteries in the list do not correspond to known stational crosses. These are a cross "alla Casinelle," outside of Porta Orientale near Piazzale Dateo, which is recorded as receiving the mystery of when Christ, drawing near Jerusalem, wept: "Videns Jesus civitatem flevit super illam dicere quia si cognovisses, et tu, quidem in hac die tua ad pacem tibi--when he saw the city he wept over it, saying, 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace!'" (Luke 19:41-42); a cross inside Porta Romana whose mystery was when the crowd asked for the release of Barabas instead of Jesus, with the inscription "Clamaverunt omnes rursus dicentes non hunc sed Barabam--they all cried out again, saying, 'not this man, but give us Barabas'" (John 18:40); and a cross in Borgo d'Ortolani in Porta Comasina, which was assigned the mystery of the earthquake and blotting out of the sun after Jesus's death, when the crowd beat their breasts and left Calvary, with the motto "Percutientes pectora sua revertebantur--beating their breasts, they returned home" (Luke 23:48). It is perhaps possible that the cross of SS. Protasio and Gervasio (number 8 in this catalogue) corresponds with the cross here described as "alla Casinelle," but their dates of foundation do not match (SS. Protasio and Gervasio before 1584, and the cross "alla Casinelle," according to the *Trattato*, in 1604).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A portrait of S. Caio was completed in 1610 for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, as was done for all stational crosses. Other paintings displayed on feast days included: the Immaculate Conception, the calling of St. Peter, the denial of Christ by Peter, Christ holding the Cross and gesturing to Peter, the Crowning with Thorns, Christ's encounter with Veronica on the road to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Good Thief, the Entombment, S. Carlo Borromeo in penitential garb processing through Milan with the Holy Nail affixed to the cross while an angel sheathes his sword, and portraits of other saints including S. Benedetto.

Known Alterations and Restorations: The cross was demolished in 1718 and rebuilt, with the new cross blessed in 1726.

10. S. Calimero*

Location: At the intersection of Corso di Porta Romana and Corso di Porta Vigentina.

Year Built: 1581.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is brought before Pilate. The accompanying motto was "Tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi—they delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor" (Matthew 27:2).

Physical Description: There is no detailed description of the original cross, which was replaced shortly after with a four-sided structure in the shape of a well with S. Calimero inside and above it the Christ Child on a cloud with the cross in his arms. This, too, was replaced by the current stone statue of S. Calimero in the eighteenth century.

Known Alterations and Restorations: There was one renovation in the seventeenth century shortly after the construction of the original cross, and another in the eighteenth century.

Associated Images and Spaces: The nearby church of S. Calimero was built on the site of his martyrdom and contains the remains of the well in which he was martyred.

11. S. Marolo*‡

Location: The cross was originally located on the corner of Via della Maddalena and the Corso di Porta Romana, but was then almost immediately moved to a site nearby on the old city walls near S. Giovanni in Conca. In 1776 it was moved again to Piazza S. Nazaro.

Year Built: Latuada indicates it was one of those established by Carlo Borromeo.¹²

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is taken from Pilate to King Herod. The accompanying motto was "Pilatus remissit Jesum ad Herodem—Pilate sent Jesus to Herod" (Luke 23:7).

¹² This cross and confraternity may correspond with the *compagnia* of "S. Giovanni Gugirolo," listed twelfth in the processional order given to the extant confraternities of S. Croce by Francesco Porro on March 12, 1581. The church of S. Giovanni Gugirolo was located in close proximity this cross's original. BAM Trotti 72, fol. 15r.

Physical Description: The original structure consisted of a cross on top of a column, later replaced by a statue of S. Ulderico wearing a miter and holding a cross, with a crozier in his other hand. (Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona identifies the statue's subject as S. Marolo.) This statue is on a high base of red granite with four medallions in bronze with traces of gilding. These depict St. Helena, Constantine, and two unknown bishops.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: On "giorni solenni" the cross was decorated with paintings representing unspecified episodes from the Passion, now lost.

For funerals of *confratelli* a series of moralizing paintings addressing the inevitability of death were displayed around the cross. These were: a young woman wearing copious amounts of jewels and seated before a mirror with the figure of Death behind her, holding in his hand a placard with the inscription "Ogni fior di beltà mia falce a terra—every flower of beauty is cut down by my scythe." Another depicted a queen who had laid down her scepter in a barren land ("terra morta"), with several soldiers remaining "full of admiration," while to the side a group of women mourned with the inscription "Si proverà l'eterno caldo—they will experience the eternal fire." Yet another represented an old man sitting at a table attentively reading two books, with Death standing before him holding a placard with the inscription "Contro il mio poter scienza non vale—against my power science/knowledge is worthless." A fourth depicted a young man and an old man traveling through a wood together with a child (likely representing the three ages of man), with the inscription "La morte ci spolia d'ogni cosa—death strips us of everything." Another portrayed a man wearing torn clothes, with a plate with a meager amount of food by his feet, who is unexpectedly set upon by Death, along with the motto "Anche de stenti tuoi ne prendo scherno—I mock even your struggles." A sixth represented Death and a group of seven well-dressed men, seeking alms with the right hand and with the left gesturing to a box on the ground, above which was the motto "Nella cerca non regna la sorte—fate does not rule in the search." Yet another showed three card players dropping their cards at the appearance of Death, who held a placard with the inscription "Io in un ponto solo il tutto vinco—in one hand I win it all." The final painting depicted an old man at a table counting money and two women placing a sack of money in a box, and between them a sick man being tended to by a woman with the inscription "L'avaro cuor muore, come vissuto—the avaricious heart dies as it lived."¹³

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1776 the cross was moved to the small piazza in front of the church of S. Nazaro in Brolo/Brolio.

Associated Images and Spaces: In the 17th century the confraternity received the rights to lease a sacristy nearby, rent and tax free, in perpetuity.

12. S. Glicerio*

Location: Contrado Larga, also called Bottonuto (now called Piazza Diaz) in Porta Romana.

Year Built: 1607.

¹³ Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 31.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ insulted before Herod. The accompanying motto was "Sprevit autem illum Herodes cum exercitu suo et inlusit inutum veste alba et remisit ad Pilatum—and Herod with his soldiers treated him with contempt and mocked him. Then, arraying him in splendid clothing, he sent him back to Pilate" (Luke 23:11)

Physical Description: An obelisk supported by four brass balls, topped with a cross (fig. 85).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: Decorations for funerals of members included several allegorical images accompanied by written mottos, arranged in pairs on each side of the cross. One depicted a king seated in a grand pavilion wearing a crown and holding a scepter, with Death at his feet and the motto "Sceptum non eripit geannam [sic]—[?] does not wrest the scepter."¹⁴ Below this was an image of a disheveled woman with bread and a rooster, with the inscription "L'uom da un fiato hebbe il resp[i]ro, e la prende in un respiro—Man had life from a breath and [life] is taken in a breath." Another showed a cardinal sitting at a table with the inscription "In celesti Jerusalem virtutes nos col[l]ocant—Our virtues place us in the heavenly Jerusalem," and below this a painting of a seated man with two vessels full of flames and serpents, with the motto "Dalle fiamme il rio martoro cangia l'uomo di terra in oro—From the flames cruel punishment transforms man from dirt into gold." The third pair included a painting of a pope standing near a table on which were various papers and musical instruments, from which he took a key, and clock, above which was the inscription: "Sine paribus eram mundo par ceteris—I was without equal; in the world I am equal to the rest." Below this was a picture of a queen sitting in the midst of several fountains wearing one crown and holding another with the inscription "L'uman superbo orgoglio mane è il mondo, è la morte un scog[lio]—Human arrogant pride is the morning of the world, and death is the rocky [end]."¹⁵ Lastly, there was a painting of an emperor with the inscription "Invictus a morte victus—the undefeated is defeated by death," and below that a painting of a seated woman crowned with flowers holding a basket of fruit with a lion by her feet and the inscription "La vita è un fragil fiore nasce in terra e in terra muore—Life is a fragile flower [that is] born in the earth and dies in the earth." Accompanying these images were additional pictures representing various "symbols" of the Passion of Christ.¹⁶

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1767 the cross was relocated to Via del Boschetti near the Giardini Pubblici, where it still resides.

Associated Images and Spaces: A fresco nearby of the Adoration of the Magi that fell into disrepair and was then restored under the auspices of the confraternity to the same design, painted on canvas by Giacomo Paravicino and blessed in 1723 in the church of S. Nazaro. In the adjacent contrada (the Contrada Chiaravalle) there was a painting of the Madonna and Child by Ercole Procaccini that was detached and moved to the wall of Palazzo Trivulzi in 1628 by Giulio Ronchi, due to an outbreak of plague. There it came to be considered as a protector or talisman against the plague and survivors had images of

¹⁴ The word "geannam" does not represent a known word in Latin and must be an error on d'Aragona's part, or on the part of his sources.

¹⁵ I thank Megan Holmes and Giovanni Minnone for their assistance with this particular translation.

¹⁶ Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 30.

saints Sebastian and Roch added to the sides. This painting was restored in 1737 but is no longer extant.

13. S. Castriziano

Location: Near the church of S. Giovanni Itolano (also called S. Giovanni Laterano) in Porta Romana.

Year Built: 1577.

Mystery of the Passion: The Flagellation. The accompanying motto was "Aprehendit Pilatus Jesum, et flagellavit—then Pilate took Jesus and scourged him" (John 19:1).

Physical Description: A column with a brass crucifix blessed by Carlo Borromeo, with the commemorative inscription: "Trophaeum hoc Carolo Borromaeo S.R.E. Cardinali Mediolani Archiepiscopo Auctore erectum, ab eodem est rite benedictum, saeviente pestilentia VII Kal. Julii Anno MDLXXVII."

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: Casale describes the cross as having "mysteries of the Passion" attached to it or inscribed on it in some way.

The *apparato* for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610: a cupola was erected over the cross with canvas painted to look like a cloud with angels. On top of this was a polychrome wooden statue of the risen Christ and four trumpeting angels. At the base of the column were stairs with a polychrome statue of Carlo Borromeo on one side and, on the other, St. Helena holding a gilded cross. The rest of the stairs were covered with various statues and paintings of other saints; at each of the four corners were angels holding "mysteries of the Passion" and the entire apparatus was covered with abundant candles and lights. Near the cross draperies were set up in the guise of a "maestoso teatro" with a large quantity of greenery and flowers, and with 38 paintings of the canonized archbishops of Milan from Barnaba to Carlo, with a motto from scripture between each one. Grattarola, who describes this tableau, does not indicate whether or not these 38 paintings were the ones commissioned by the different confraternities and sent down to Rome.

Known Alterations and Restorations: Casale indicates a renovation in 1580-1583.¹⁷

14. S. Mauricillio

Location: Behind the church of S. Maria presso S. Satiro

Year Built: 1577; this was the third cross built in the city after the plague of 1576.

Mystery of the Passion: The Crowning with Thorns. The accompanying motto was "Plentes [sic] coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti eius—and plaiting a crown of thorns they placed it upon his head" (Matthew 27:29).

¹⁷ Carlo Marcora, Carlo, "Il diario di Giambattista Casale (1554-1598)," Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano, vol. 12 (1965), pp. 335-336.

Physical Description: The original structure consisted of a crucifix on top of a marble column with gates "elegantly worked in iron" and an altar adjacent. This was replaced in 1690-1709 by a bronze statue of S. Satiro, cast in the foundry of Giuseppe Fontana and designed by the sculptor Stefano San Pietro. A small metal crucifix, blessed by Carlo Borromeo, was said to have been placed by him in the foundation in 1577; this crucifix was placed in a lead casket and re-interred in the new foundation when the cross was rebuilt in 1690.¹⁸

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A portrait of S. Mauricillio by a "valente pennello," identified putatively as Ercole Procaccini the Younger by Alessio Astefani in his history of the confraternity.¹⁹ The sodality also, like all other S. Croce confraternities, possessed a painting of their assigned mystery that they carried in procession.

Known Alterations and Restorations: In addition to the renovation in 1690-1709, the cross was restored and re-blessed in 1750. When the cross was permanently demolished in 1784-1785 the statue of S. Satiro entered the Accademia di Brera but has since been lost.²⁰

15. S. Senatore (also called S. Eufemia)*†

Location: On Corso Italia outside the church of S. Paolo Converso in Porta Romana

Year Built: 1581.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is mocked by the Jews in the Praetorium. The accompanying motto was "Genu flexo ante eum inludabant dicentes ave rex Iudaeorum—kneeling before him they mocked him, saying, 'Hail, King of the Jews!'" (Matthew 27:29).

Physical Description: We do not have a detailed description of the original cross, which was deemed "too simple" and replaced in 1613-1616 by a tall Corinthian column with a statue of St. Helena (S. Elena) at the top holding a large wrought-iron cross in her arms (figs. 100-101). The statue was carved by Gianpietro Lasagna based on a design by Cerano (Giovanni Battista Crespi).

The column had four altar frontals and steps for candlesticks around it that extended to form a semicircle on each side. Above the altars on each side were Latin inscriptions written in gilded letters. These were: "Hoc signum erit in caelo cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit—this sign [of the Cross] shall be in Heaven when the Lord comes in Judgment," "Qui vult venire post me abneget semetipsum et sequatur me—if anyone would come after me, let him deny himself [and take up his cross] and follow me" (Matthew 16:24), "Mihi absit gloriari nissi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi—but far be it from me to boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Galatians 6:14), and "Qui non accepit Crucem suam et sequitur me non est me dignis—and whoever does not take up his cross and follow me is not worthy of me" (Matthew 10:38).

¹⁸ On this cross and confraternity see *Storia della Compagnia della Santa Croce (basilica di San Satiro in Milano) dal 1576 al 1786*, BAM Fondo Cusani Q38 inf., especially pp. 9-16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 21.

²⁰ Susanna Zanuso, *A Pair of Putti from Palazzo Annoni and Bronze Sculpture of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in Lombardy* (Milan: Carlo Orsi, 2013), pp. 39-40.

Known Alterations and Restorations: Rebuilt 1613-1616.

16. S. Dazio

Location: The Ponte dei Fabbri on the present-day Via Edmondo de Amicis in Porta Ticinese.

Year Built: The confraternity was established in 1583; according to Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona the stational cross was built later under Federico Borromeo.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is led down the stairs at the Praetorium. No accompanying motto is recorded for this mystery.

Physical Description: The original column is not described and was replaced in 1757 with a statue of S. Dazio on a "beautiful pedestal that truly draws the eye of the viewer."²¹ An inscription noted the laying of the first stone of the new structure: "1757 6 Januarii Joannes Georgius Pius, Marchio Pallavicinus Trivultius Primum Lapidem Posuit," and on either side: "In hoc signo vincens" and "Absit gloriari nisi in cruce—may I never boast except in the cross" (Galatians 6:14).

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1757 the original cross was replaced by a statue of S. Dazio.

17. S. Materno

Location: The Carrobbio on Corso di Porta Ticinese.

Year Built: 1577.

Mystery of the Passion: Ecce Homo: when Pilate brought Jesus out wearing a purple robe and the crown of thorns and presented him to the people. The accompanying motto was, likewise, "Ecce homo—behold the man" (John 19:5).

Physical Description: There is no description of the original cross, which was replaced in 1658 by the structure recorded in a print conserved in the Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli: a pedestal on steps with four altar frontals, with a pier of stone above, on top of which were several putti carved in white marble holding up a crucifix in triumph (fig. 97).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona records an *apparato* for the procession in 1632 of the head of S. Barnaba and other relics consisting of a tableau of the Supper at Emmaus with two large credenzas.

Known Alterations and Restorations: An altar occupied this site during the plague of 1576, replaced by the original stational cross in 1577. In 1658, the Borromean cross was replaced by the more ornate cross depicted in the print. In 1777, the base of this cross

²¹ "...un bellissimo piedestallo che veramente trae a se l'occhio de risguardanti." Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 28.

became unstable and, after a prolonged dispute between the confraternity and the city, the structure was ordered demolished in 1787 and sold for 425 lire.

Associated Images and Spaces: On the wall of the nearby Torre dei Malsani, an old hospital, was a "divota immagine" of the Virgin Mary of the Seven Sorrows with an altar. Not far from this altar was the place where the archbishop would wash a leper every year on Palm Sunday.

18. S. Eustorgio (or St. Peter Martyr)*

Location: Outside the church of S. Eustorgio in Porta Ticinese.

Year Built: Before 1580.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is sentenced to death. The accompanying motto was "Pilatus tradidit eis Jesum, ut crucifigeretur—Pilate handed Jesus over to them to be crucified: (John 19:16). The *trattato* in the Archivio Storico Diocesano, contradicting Giovanni d'Aragona, Torre, Latuada, and other sources, indicates that this mystery was instead assigned to the altar on the north side of the columns of S. Lorenzo, also dedicated to S. Eustorgio, and that this cross and confraternity received the mystery of Christ's encounter with his mother along the road to Calvary with the accompanying motto "Tuam ipsius animam per transibit gladius—a sword will pierce your own soul also" (Luke 2:35).²²

Physical Description: No detailed description is available of the original Borromeo cross. We have records of two other monuments associated with this confraternity: the first is a statue of St. Peter Martyr atop a stone column (fig. 121) that replaced the original cross in the seventeenth century and the second is an additional column with a statue of S. Eustorgio built in the mid-eighteenth century.

Known Alterations and Restorations: A new column with a statue of S. Eustorgio on top was built ca. 1748. A print of the piazza in front of the church of S. Eustorgio (fig. 122) shows several columns, and the column with St. Peter Martyr is still extant today, which indicates that the column with S. Eustorgio was an addition instead of a replacement.

Associated Images and Spaces: This cross was located near to the church of S. Barnaba al Fonte, built under Federico Borromeo, where the font was in which S. Barnaba allegedly baptized some of the first Milanese Christians, including the future bishop (and saint) Caio.

19. S. Magno

Location: At the intersection of Via della Chiusa and Via del Crocefisso behind the church of S. Lorenzo in Porta Ticinese.

Year Built: 1581.

²² Trattato delle croci, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fol. 7r.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ carries the cross to Calvary. The accompanying motto was "Baiulans sibi crucem exivit in eum qui dicitur Calvariae locum—he went out, bearing his own cross, to the place called the skull" (John 19:17).

Physical Description: We have no specific description of the original structure, which was replaced in 1705-1728 with a stone statue of S. Brunone (Bruno of Cologne, the founder of the Carthusian order) with a crucifix in his hand.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: In 1756 there was an *apparato* with the theme of the life of St. Peter and the acts of the apostles.

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1705 the "ruined" old structure was taken down and rebuilt, completed in 1728.

20. S. Venerio*

Location: On the south side of the ancient Roman columns outside the church of S. Lorenzo in Porta Ticinese.²³

Year Built: The altar was established during the plague of 1576. It was designated a stational cross and had a confraternity established under Federico Borromeo, before 1607.

Mystery of the Passion: Simone of Cyrene takes the cross for Christ. The accompanying motto was "Impossuerunt illi Crucem portare post Jesum—they laid on him the cross, to carry it behind Jesus" (Luke 23:26).

Physical Description: This "cross" consisted of an altar attached to the south wall of the *colonne* outside S. Lorenzo above which hung a painting of the crucifixion "with other saints," putatively identified by Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona as Saints Sebastian, Roch, and Carlo Borromeo (figs. 94-96).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: An additional painting of S. Aquilino in majesty is recorded above the altarpiece in the eighteenth century along with the inscription: "Sancti Aquilini Sacerdotis et Martiri, expressa imagine ad incorruptos cineres, compendiarium viam religiosi sodales indicabant 1714."

Known Alterations and Restorations: The image of the Crucifixion currently in the vitrine is a modern replacement, installed some time after 1934.²⁴

21. S. Eustorgio II

Location: On the north side of the ancient Roman columns outside the church of S. Lorenzo in Porta Ticinese.

Year Built: Before 1607.

²³ Because both this cross and the second cross of S. Eustorgio are located on the columns outside of S. Lorenzo, only one box is used on the map, with the numbers above and below it.

²⁴ See the discussion in chapter four, p. 228.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ encounters his mother along the road to Calvary, with the accompanying motto "Tuam ipsius animam per transibit gladius—a sword will pierce your own soul also" (Luke 2:35). The *trattato* in the Archivio Storico Diocesano indicates that this mystery was instead assigned to the cross in front of the church of S. Eustorgio and that this altar received the mystery of when Christ was sentenced to death, with the motto "Pilatus tradidit eis Jesum, ut crucifigeretur—Pilate handed Jesus over to them to be crucified: (John 19:16).²⁵

Physical Description: An altar attached to the north wall of the *colonne* of S. Lorenzo, with a painting of the deposition from the cross with the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene at Christ's feet holding a jar of unguents with which to anoint him (fig. 123).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: In the mid-eighteenth century, a painting of the martyrdom of S. Lorenzo was installed above the "S. Croce" depicting the saint kneeling on the grill with the cross before him and an angel, and an inscription reading "Signo Crucis caecos illuminavit Laurentius in igne pro Cruce passus est exemplum dedit tantum Cruci amorem. Carissimi Confratres imitamini, anno 1730—S. Lorenzo cured the blind with the sign of the Cross, he died in the fire for the Cross, he gave such an example of love for the Cross. Dearest brethren, imitate him! 1730."

22. S. Mansueto

Location: On Via Arena near the Conca del Naviglio in Porta Ticinese.

Year Built: 1590, blessed by Federico Borromeo in 1596. The confraternity was established in 1581.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ meets the women of Jerusalem along the road to Calvary and wipes his face with Veronica's veil. The accompanying motto was "Dixit filiae Hierusalem, nolite flere super me sed super vos ipsas flete, et super filios vestros—he said, 'Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children'" (Luke 23:28).

Physical Description: A plague altar occupied this site in 1576 and the original structure was likely a simple cross on a column. In the eighteenth century this was replaced by a statue of S. Mansueto on a base with four lateral columns on top of two steps.

Known Alterations and Restorations: The original cross was rebuilt in 1705-1706 and replaced with the statue of S. Mansueto.

23. SS. Nazaro e Celso, also called S. Michele alla Chiusa

Location: At the intersection of Via della Chiusa, Via Olmetto, and Via. S. Vito in Porta Ticinese.

²⁵ ASDM Trattato delle croci, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fol. 7r. See entry number 18 in this appendix.

Year Built: A plague altar was constructed in 1576 and the confraternity was established in 1605. No permanent stational cross, however, seems to have been installed until 1713.²⁶

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is stripped of his garments on Calvary and given gall to drink. The accompanying motto was "Recordare paupertatis meae absinthii et fellis—remember my poverty, the wormwood and the gall" (Lamentations of Jeremiah 3:19).

Physical Description: The original structure was an open air altar erected during the plague in 1576. The Baroque structure, built in 1713-1728, had one of the most complex compositions of all the stational crosses, consisting of four sculpted stone altars with four columns forming a tribune above. Under this tribune was an angel made of white stone holding the cross; above the tribune was a base with four panels with inscriptions alluding to St. Michael the Archangel; on top of this base was a white marble statue of Michael the Archangel, larger than life-sized.

Known Alterations and Restorations: The original plague altar was replaced with an elaborate stational cross in 1713-1728. The whole structure was demolished in 1782.

Associated Images and Spaces: A painting of the crucifixion (of the "Holy Crucifix") with saints Sebastian and Roch on the nearby wall of the house owned by the Ponzia family. In addition, the confraternity maintained an altar in the church of S. Michele alla Chiusa with an altarpiece of the Crucifixion and other images of St. Anthony of Padua and saints Nazaro and Celso; they also had a sepulcher in the church in which members could be buried.

24. S. Ausanio (also called the cross of S. Rocco)

Location: On Corso Magenta at the corner of Via Nirone and Via Sant'Agnese in Porta Vercellina.

Year Built: 1603 or before 1581.²⁷

Mystery of the Passion: The raising of the cross on Calvary. The accompanying motto was "Ibi crucifixerunt eum—there they crucified him" (Luke 23:33).

²⁶ Latuada states that the plague altar was not replaced until 1713. See Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano* vol. 3, p. 172. In his *Trattato*, Matroniano Binago refers to a cross blessed by the Prior General of the confraternities of S. Croce, Andrea Buono, but this cross appears to be a portable processional cross and not a monumental structure: "Vicino a S. Michele la Giusa fu principiata di oratione adi 19 Giugno 1603 et adi 27 Luglio 1605 fu formata compagnia di croce dal Rev. Generale cioè il Sig. Andreia Bono e in tal giorno il detto Generale li benei la croce venendo in domo ogni venerdì conforme alle altre compagnie." *Trattato delle croci*, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fol. 3v.

²⁷ All sources agree that the cross of S. Ausanio was established in 1603 except for Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona, who raises the possibility that this cross and confraternity was actually founded earlier than 1581, citing certain documents in his possession (in his capacity as chancellor of the confraternity of Cordusio) that suggest that the confraternity attended a meeting of the General Congregation of S. Croce confraternities in 1581. These documents are likely the *memorie* contained in Trotti 72, which include an entry describing this meeting, at which "La Crocetta di P. Vercellina la vecchia" was present, but the document provides no further specifics. The only other likely candidate for this cross, however, the cross of S. Anatalone, is already listed in this passage in Trotti 72 under its other name, the cross of S. Giacomo. See Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 6 and BAM Trotti 72, fol. 15r.

Physical Description: No specific description remains of the original structure, which was rebuilt in 1671 to comprise a stone altar that served as a base for a high column on which was placed a statue of S. Ausanio in pontifical garb holding the cross in his hand. A drawing conserved in the Archivio Storico Diocesano (fig. 118) appended to the confraternity's request to the archbishop for permission to conduct the renovations, according to Adele Burrati Mazzota, may depict the cross prior to this renovation.²⁸ However, as this drawing only depicts the column and not the object on top of it, and since the new cross also included a high column, it would appear equally likely, if not more so, that the ASDM drawing portrays a design for the new monument.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: According to Grattarola, for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610, the confraternity constructed an elevated mount ("monte") with a cupola above and a frieze decorated with greenery, cherubs, portraits of Saints, and stars. On the mount were three chapels with tableaux of polychrome sculpture. On the right was the Nativity with the Virgin Mary, Joseph, and the Christ Child with the ox and the donkey. On the left was King Herod, dressed sumptuously in white and red silk and gold damask, overseeing the slaughter of the Holy Innocents. In the center chapel, near the stational cross, was the Agony in the Garden, with a lifelike sculpture ("una figura al naturale") of Christ and the angel holding the chalice and cross, comforting him, and also a sculpture of Carlo Borromeo himself, kneeling in prayer, "in imitation of the devotions he made at the *sacro monte* of Varallo before his death." A placard contained the inscription: "D. Carolus Cardinalis, vitae sanctitate et rebus praeclare gestis, clarissimus, mortem adventantem; quasi eventus praesagiens in Sacrum Varalli Montem secessit, et divinis misteriis contemplandis, se se ad foeliciter migrandum apparavit."

For another *apparato*, possibly also connected to the canonization of Carlo Borromeo or perhaps installed for another occasion, the confraternity placed the following paintings (nine in total) around the cross.²⁹

Facing the casa Visconti Litta: in the corner was a putto with the motto "Quando nemo poterit operari," and then a painting representing Pride and Self-Consciousness ("Rispetto Umano," which translates roughly to "fear of what people will say") with Love of Worldly Pleasures, with an angel gesturing to the Cross with people at its foot adoring it, with the motto "Absit gloriari nisi in Cruci Domini Nostri Jesu Christi—do not glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Galatians 6:14) above it. In the other corner was a putto with the motto "Ergo dum tempus habemus—So then, as we have the opportunity..." (Galatians 6:10).³⁰ Below this was a painting representing Moses parting the Red Sea with his staff and the Israelites crossing to safety while the water crashed down and drowned the Egyptians, with the motto "Fugiamus Israellem Dominus enim pugnat

²⁸ Adele Burrati Mazzotta, ed., *I disegni dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano* (Milan: Biblioteca di via Senato, 2002) p. 91. The original drawing and related request filed by the confraternity, dated April 21, 1671, are conserved in ASDM Section X, Miscellanea Città, vol. XIV, q. 24.

²⁹ For the ambiguity surrounding the context of this display, see the discussion on p. 241, note 82. This *apparato* is described in Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 6.

³⁰ The full verse is: "So then, as we have opportunity, let us work that which is good toward all men, and especially toward them that are of the household of the faith."

pro eis contra nos—let us flee from before Israel; for the Lord fights for them against us [the Egyptians]" (Exodus 14:25).

Facing the Ponte: in the corner was a putto with the motto "Venite ad me omnes—come to me all of you" (Matthew 11:28) and a painting representing Idleness, Sloth, and Interest ("Interesse"—perhaps Profit?) with an angel gesturing to the Cross with the motto "In hoc signo vinces—"in this sign conquer." Beneath this was another painting representing the Brazen Serpent and the Israelites, many sick and others dead from snakebites, who recover when they look at the Serpent, and the motto above "Cum percussi aspicerent sanabantur—when the afflicted look upon it they are cured" (Numbers 21:9).

Facing Via Nirone: in the corner a putto with the motto "Preterit figura huius mundi—for the fashion of this world passes away" (1 Corinthians 7:13) and a painting depicting the People with the Cross on their shoulders with the motto above: "Tollat ut sequatur me—let him take up [his cross] and follow me" (Matthew 16:24). In the other corner was a putto with the motto "Onus meum leve—my burden is light" (Matthew 11:30) and beneath this another painting of Moses sweetening the water for the Israelites in the desert by placing a branch into the spring, with the motto above "Ostendit ei lignum quod cum misisset in aquas indulcedinem reversae sunt—when he cast the wood into the waters they were made sweet" (Exodus 15:25).

Facing the Corso della S. Croce di S. Ausano: in the corner was a putto with the motto "Ego vestigiam vos—I follow your footprints/footsteps" and a painting of the Last Judgment with the Risen Christ and the Cross, from the right side of which blood pours out over the elect and from the left lightning crashes down on the damned, with the motto "Erit in Caelo cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit—it shall be in Heaven when the Lord comes in judgment." In the other corner was a putto with the motto "Magis satagite ut per opera bona certam—give the more diligence that through good works you ensure [your calling and election]" (2 Peter 1:10) and to the left a painting of the Garden of Eden with the serpent twined around the Tree of Knowledge and one single hand picking the fruit, and a short distance away the earth full of thorns and tribulations with the "Human Race" (genere umano) laden with chains and Death triumphant as demons swarm. On the right was the mount of Calvary with the cross of Christ covered in blood, the "Human Race" joyous with their chains broken open, and Death defeated with the demons cast into Hell with the motto above: "Per lignum Adam deceptus est, et per crucem mundus redemptus est—by the wood Adam was deceived, and by the cross the world was redeemed."³¹

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1671 the cross was rebuilt to include a statue of S. Ausano.

³¹ This verse is taken from an antiphon at Lauds on the feast of the Invention of the Cross: "Unde transgressio mortem intulit, inde gratia vitam reddidit. Per lignum Adam deceptus est, et per Crucem mundus redemptus est: per quam Salvator noster, primitiae dormientium factus, hodie surrexit a mortuis. Venite, adoremus eum, dicentes, Halleluia." Breviarium Ambrosianum Sancti Caroli Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Iussu Editum, et novissime Ioseph Cardinalis Archinti Archiepiscopi Auctoritate Recognitum. Pars Aestiva (Milan: Benjamin & fratres de Sirtoris Impress. Arch., 1700), p. 548

25. S. Ambrogio†

Location: Near the church of S. Vittore al Teatro, in what is now the Piazza degli Affari in Porta Vercellina.

Year Built: 1625.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ asks God to forgive his killers. The accompanying motto was "Pater ignosce illi, quia nesciunt quid faciunt—Father, forgive them for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34).

Physical Description: From Latuada we have short descriptions of three separate structures. The first, a plague cross from 1524, consisted of a small brass cross on a wooden column. The second cross, constructed under Federico Borromeo, was a simple marble column with the "Immagine del Crocifisso" on top and a rough stone altar beneath. This structure was then rebuilt in the eighteenth century to include four altars around a pedestal on which was a stone statue of S. Ambrogio with the cross in one hand and a crosier in the other. An inscription on the new cross read: "Anno 1723 S. Ambrosio Patri ac Patrono, Crucis defensori, Arrianorum victori."

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A portrait of St. Ambrose painted ca. 1610 by Cerano, now in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (fig. 114).³²

Known Alterations and Restorations: The original plague cross from 1524 was partially demolished under governor Ferrante Gonzaga (r. 1546-1554). A new cross was constructed in 1625 and then rebuilt "with greater elegance" in 1723.

26. S. Anatalone (sometimes called the cross of S. Jacomo)

Location: The intersection of Via Meravigli and Via S. Giovanni al Muro, near the church of S. Maria alla Porta in Porta Vercellina.

Year Built: The cross was blessed by Carlo Borromeo in 1584; the confraternity was established there in 1578.

Mystery of the Passion: Jesus is nailed to the cross. The accompanying motto was "Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos—they have pierced my hands and my feet" (Psalm 22:16).

Physical Description: The earliest description is from Latuada and likely corresponds to design from the seventeenth or early eighteenth century: an altar with steps and high column, with a stone statue of an angel carrying the cross. In 1757 this structure was replaced with a statue of S. Anatalone, and the altar and stairs were updated and embellished.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: An *apparato* for a procession of relics in 1632 included four paintings of S. Carlo Borromeo, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, and S.

³² On this painting see the discussion in chapter four, p. 303, note 246.

Anatalone, and four smaller paintings of St. Helena, St. Jerome in the desert, St. Francis, and the penitent Magdalene, each adoring the Holy Cross. There was also a large painting of Carlo Borromeo adoring the crucifix which the confraternity "displayed frequently to counsel the people to devotion to Jesus Crucified."³³

In addition, the confraternity possessed a "very large" painting of S. Anatalone that was sent with the others to Rome and affixed to the triumphal arch outside St. Peter's Basilica for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610.

For funerals of members, the cross was habitually adorned with several paintings arranged in a semicircle: one of Carlo Borromeo kneeling to pray for the liberation of Milan from the plague with a pile of corpses and others dying before him with the inscription "Fuimus sicut vos, vos eritis sicut nos—as you are now so once were we, as we are soon you shall be;" one of a multitude of people kneeling before a crucifix with the inscription "Monumenta aperta sunt—the tombs are opened;" another painting of a corpse rising from a tomb with Death beside him and a trumpeting angel above with the motto "Mortis et orationis—[of] death and prayer;" a painting of the Brazen Serpent adored by the Israelites in the desert with the motto "in quo salus—in this is health;" two paintings of an angel liberating a soul from Purgatory and leading him/her to Heaven; a Cross adored by many people with the inscription "Vexilla Redemptio—the banner of redemption;" and finally one of a woman holding a sick man in her arms, showing him to a prophet with the motto "oratio sublevabit infirmum—prayer will raise up the sick."

Known Alterations and Restorations: One renovation of unknown date in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century when the original cross was replaced with the angel. One more occurred in 1757, when the angel was replaced with the statue of S. Anatalone; the new cross was blessed in 1758.

27. S. Geronzio (also called S. Marcellino) †

Location: Ponte Vetero, at what is now the intersection of Via Cusani and Via Broletto in Porta Comassina.

Year Built: This cross was one of the "antique" crosses from the plague of 1524 and was re-blessed by Carlo Borromeo in 1576 and accorded an indulgence of 100 days each time a passerby "gave it reverence."³⁴ The structure was built anew in 1606, at which point its confraternity was also established.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ is crucified between the two thieves. The accompanying motto was "Crucifixerunt eum, et latrones unam a dextris et alterum a sinistris—they crucified him with one thief on his right and the other on his left" (Mark 15:27).

Physical Description: No specific description is recorded.

³³ "Un Quadro grande rappresentante S. Carlo Borromeo, che adora il Crocefisso, e si espone frequentemente per conciliare il popolo alla divozione di Gesu Crocefisso." Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 5.

³⁴ Trattato delle croci, ASDM section XIV, vol. 166, q. 11, fol. 3r.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: On "giorni solenni" the altar was adorned with a painting of the Resurrected Christ and another of the Madonna and Child with St. Anthony of Padua and St. Joseph "made by the hands of excellent painters."³⁵

Known Alterations and Restorations: This was one of the older crosses from the plague of 1524 and was re-blessed by Carlo Borromeo in the fall of 1576. It was completely remade in 1606 and again in 1675, although no descriptions of the new structures are known. The cross was demolished in 1786.

Associated Images and Spaces: A stone from the altar of the church of S. Pietro Celestino was incorporated into the base of the cross.

28. S. Ampelio

Location: Piazza del Carmine

Year Built: 1606.

Mystery of the Passion: The soldiers cast lots for Christ's clothing. The accompanying motto was "Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso—today you will be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43).

Physical Description: A stone altar and a column supporting a cross.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: D'Aragona records several paintings in the confraternity's possession that had carved and gilded frames. Their subjects were the Virgin and Child, Carlo Borromeo adoring the Cross, St. Joseph with the Christ Child, and a portrait of St. Ambrose.

Associated Images and Spaces: Members of the confraternity appear also to have performed the nightly oration at "another place" next to the Ponte di Porta Comasina, which may refer to the cross of S. Geronzio. There was also a fresco of the Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Carlo blessed in 1618.

29. S. Simpliciano (also dedicated to St. Roch)

Location: On what is now Corso Garibaldi near the church of S. Simpliciano in Porta Comassina.

Year Built: The altar was constructed during the plague of 1576; the confraternity was established in January of 1578.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ commends John the Beloved Disciple to his mother. The accompanying motto was "Mulier, ecce filius tuus, de inde dicit discipulo ecce mater—'woman, behold your son,' and then to his disciple he said 'behold your mother'" (John 19:26).

³⁵ "...perle mani fatti da eccelenti pittori." Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 16.

Physical Description: This "cross" was in fact a small chapel dedicated to St. Roch at which a confraternity of S. Croce was established in 1578.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A painting of St. Roch was installed on the site in 1578. In 1610 the confraternity commissioned a portrait of S. Simpliciano, their patron protector, as well as another painting of St. Roch and a child displaying a bubo on his leg.

For the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610 an octangular structure resembling a "majestic temple" was set up near the chapel, with four triumphal gates (most likely arches) and covered with fine tapestries and cloth. On the main doorway, facing the city, an inscription in gold mosaic read: "Sancte Carole ora pro nobis—S. Carlo pray for us," and below "Corona aurea super mitra expressa signo sanctitatis—a golden crown [or halo] above his miter indicates his sanctity." On the four sides of the structure between the arches were large paintings depicting four archbishops of Milan (S. Barnaba, S. Ambrogio, S. Simpliciano, and S. Galdino) and another painting was installed in the chapel depicting God the Father giving the sign of blessing with his right hand and holding up the world with his left. Hanging above the main entryway was a large image of Carlo Borromeo between two angels, one crowning him. Above the cornice of the edifice were lights, vases of flowers, and Carlo Borromeo's heraldic devices; at the very top was a large gilded cross.³⁶

Known Alterations and Restorations: In the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century the chapel was restored and decorated with unspecified images and a statue of the Virgin of Loreto.

30. S. Benigno

Location: The "Foppa" cemetery in Porta Comassina.

Year Built: Giovanni d'Aragona gives a date of 1580 for the establishment of this cross's confraternity; however Latuada indicates that the "*colonna*" was not built until 1616, suggesting that the confraternity may have made use of the original plague altar, blessed by Carlo Borromeo in 1576, for some time before constructing a permanent stational cross.³⁷

Mystery of the Passion: Christ dies upon the cross. The accompanying motto was "Iesus emissa voce magna exspiravit—Jesus uttered a loud cry and breathed his last" (Mark 15:37).

Physical Description: A stone column with vegetal ornament and a cross on top.

Known Alterations and Restorations: Latuada indicates that the cross was rebuilt in 1735 as a small chapel.

Associated Images and Spaces: The "Foppa" is a cemetery where many of the victims of the plague in 1524 were buried.

³⁶ Grattarola, pp. 304-305.

³⁷ See Trivulziana 1765, fasc. 22 and Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, vol. 5, p. 58-59

31. S. Eusebio

Location: Outside the church of S. Marco.

Year Built: The confraternity was established in 1604; the altar was extant during the plague in 1576-1577.

Mystery of the Passion: Longinus stabs Christ's side with a spear. The accompanying motto was "Unus milletum lancea latus eius apervit—one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear" (John 19:34).

Physical Description: An open-air chapel on the street that served as a plague altar with an altarpiece of the Virgin Mary and Saints Ambrose, Augustine, and Carlo Borromeo. Below the altar was an image of the deposition from the cross with Mary weeping at Christ's feet. A painting of the exterior of S. Marco (fig. 124) by Giovanni Battista Dell'Acqua, dated 1836, appears to show a painting of the Madonna and Child with saints above an alcove where an altar once stood, though whether this painting corresponds to the one known to have adorned the stational cross (and listed in the inventory of the confraternity's assets drawn up upon its suppression in 1786), is unclear. The image in the painting, for example, appears to depict only two saints along with the Madonna and Child rather than the three indicated by the inventory and descriptions of the stational cross.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A painting of S. Eusebio that was sent to Rome with the others in 1610. An inventory of the confraternity's assets made in 1786 lists a few other paintings in their possession: one represented the exaltation of the Cross ("l'esaltazione della S. Croce"), another was of the Virgin, and one of S. Joseph.³⁸

Associated Images and Spaces: A confraternity and chapel of SS. Crocefisso in the church of S. Marco appears to be unrelated to the stational "cross" of S. Eusebio and confraternity of S. Croce.³⁹

32. S. Protasio

Location: The Corso di Porta Nuova near the church of S. Anastasia, at what is now the intersection of Via Manzoni and Via Monte Napoleone.

Year Built: 1578-1579.

Mystery of the Passion: The deposition of Christ between Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. The accompanying motto was "Acceperunt ergo corpus Iesu, et ligaverunt eum—thus they received the body of Jesus and wrapped it" (John 19:40).

Physical Description: A high column with a crucifix above a four-sided stone altar; the cross was protected from the elements by a copper pavillion. In 1686 this cross was replaced by more ornate column and base, of which a print by Simone Durello (Durellus) survives (fig. 119). The Baroque cross was again replaced in the eighteenth century with

³⁸ ASM Amministrazione del Fondo di Religione 1474

³⁹ See chapter four, p. 229, note 42.

a statue of S. Protasio, but this design incorporated the original cross, placing it in the bishop's hand.

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: On feast days the cross was adorned with paintings of the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, the blessing of the stational cross and crucifix by Carlo Borromeo, the consecration of S. Epifanio (a bishop of Pavia in the fifth century) kneeling before the altar of S. Protasio, and a painting of S. Protasio inscribing some verses on the tomb or funerary monument of S. Barnaba. An inventory of the confraternity's possessions lists four oil paintings, their subjects unspecified, displayed for the funerals of *confratelli*, as well as a four scenes from the Old Testament (also unspecified), a painting of the Annunciation, a portrait of S. Protasio (most likely the one commissioned in 1610 for Carlo Borromeo's canonization), and one of the Virgin Mary with "five others," which might possibly correspond to the painting of their "mystery" of the Deposition, which is not mentioned elsewhere in the inventory.⁴⁰

Known Alterations and Restorations: The original cross was rebuilt at the behest of the patrician Gian Pietro Glussiano in 1686. This structure was apparently damaged and difficult to see, however, and so it was rebuilt again in the eighteenth century to include a statue of S. Protasio. The statue and a gilded copper pavilion were taken down in 1738 and the entire structure was demolished in 1781.

Associated Images and Spaces: On an exterior wall of the nearby foundling hospital of S. Caterina and S. Martino was a painting of the Madonna and Child, purchased by Cristoforo Fumagallo while he was on a pilgrimage to Loreto in 1575. This painting received votive offerings and the *oratione della sera* was performed there.

33. S. Onorato

Location: Near the church of S. Maria della Scala.

Year Built: The exact year is ambiguous, but it was one of the confraternities established by Federico Borromeo.

Mystery of the Passion: The Pietà. No accompanying motto is recorded for this mystery.

Physical Description: Like several other "crosses," this was not a column but an outdoor altar with a painting of the Pietà with Saints Francis of Assisi and Carlo Borromeo on either side, painted in 1605.

Known Alterations and Restorations: The painting and altar were restored in 1702.

34. S. Mona

Location: Near the church of S. Babila in Porta Orientale.

Year Built: 1579-1584. The column was completed in 1580 and the whole structure was finished and blessed in 1584. The confraternity was established in 1579.

⁴⁰ ASM Amministrazione del Fondo di Religione 1474.

Mystery of the Passion: The entombment of Christ. The accompanying motto was: "Posuit eum in monumento quod erat excisum de petra—they laid him in a tomb that was hewn out of the rock" (Mark 15:46).

Physical Description: A large metal cross or crucifix weighing 90 pounds atop a high column measuring 20 *braccie* high, or about 38 feet 8 inches and 21 *oncie* wide, approximately two feet (fig. 91). The column had a simple base and pedestal in which a relic of the True Cross was enclosed. Descriptions of the object on top of the column are inconsistent.⁴¹ Giovanni d'Aragona describes it as an empty cross with three nails where Christ's hands and feet would have been and the Crown of Thorns draped over the top, with a skull at its base (representing the skull of Adam). A drawing contained in records of pastoral visits to S. Babila represents a hypothetical combination of the stational cross with the nearby monument of the *Leone* (fig. 89).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: An iron railing of "nobilissimo lavoro" surrounding the column was wrought with "bellissimi misterii della Passione di Nostro Signore."⁴² Images displayed upon the altar on various feast days included portraits of S. Mona (sent to Rome in 1610 for Carlo Borromeo's canonization), S. Ambrogio, S. Barnaba (with a cross in his hands), and S. Carlo, and various paintings of heroic deeds performed by S. Mona in honor of the Holy Cross.

Known Alterations and Restorations: The cross was demolished in 1771 and the confraternity suppressed in 1784.

Associated Images and Spaces: The confraternity built an oratory, called S. Giovanni in Era, in 1619 but were forbidden to use it, and forced to demolish part of it, by the archbishop from whom they had not secured permission to construct it beforehand. The confraternity was unable to take possession of and use the building until 1692. Previously they had had the use of a chapel in the church of S. Babila.

35. S. Lazzaro alla Vetra*

Location: Piazza della Vetra, just behind the church of S. Lorenzo in the Parco delle Basiliche.

Year Built: 1643.

Mystery of the Passion: The circumcision of the infant Christ. No accompanying motto is recorded for this mystery.

Physical Description: Originally a stone column and a cross on a simple base contiguous to the gallows. In 1728 it was replaced with a statue of S. Lazzaro, holding the cross in his hand, on a stone base with four altar frontals (fig. 125).

Additional Decoration and Noted Apparati: A painting of the bishop S. Lazzaro by an unknown artist that was carried in procession.

⁴¹ See the discussion in chapter 4, pp. 226-227.

⁴² Memoriale della croce situata nel compito di P. Orientale, pp. 26-28, 47-48.

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1728 the original cross was taken down because it was too simple and too close to the gallows.

Associated Images and Spaces: The place now occupied by the Parco delle Basiliche was, in the early modern period, the site of the gallows where public executions took place.

36. S. Aquilino

Location: At the corner of Via Torino and Via della Palla (or Balla) in Porta Ticinese.

Year Built: Unknown, likely seventeenth century.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ appears to his mother. No accompanying motto is recorded for this mystery.

Physical Description: No specific description is available.

Associated Images and Spaces: An image of the Assumption of the Virgin, blessed in 1646 and carried in procession.

37. S. Natale

Location: Outside the church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo in Porta Ticinese

Year Built: Very little is known about the cross built on this site, which is described as an "antico monumento." The confraternity was established in 1611. In 1700-1728 the confraternity rebuilt the cross as a chapel.

Mystery of the Passion: Christ's body is wrapped in the shroud. No accompanying motto is recorded for this mystery.

Physical Description: No detailed description of the original "ancient" cross is known.

Known Alterations and Restorations: In 1700 the confraternity had the cross rebuilt as a chapel, which was completed in 1728. In 1750 they added a marble altar.

A Note on Sources:

The information contained in these entries is derived from several archival and early printed sources. Latuada's *Descrizione di Milano* (1737) contains short descriptions of each cross and was the major source used by the authors of the published catalogue *Le "Crocette" nella Milano di San Carlo* (1984). The majority of the additional paintings and *apparati* constructed for feast days and funerals are listed in Giovanni Antonio d'Aragona's manuscript *Memorie intorno alla Compagnia delle Sante Croci in Milano* (1760; Trivulziana 1765). On the *apparati* for Carlo Borromeo's canonization the major source is Grattarola's *Successi Meravigliosi della venerazione di S. Carlo Cardinale* (1614). Other manuscript and published sources are cited when appropriate.

APPENDIX B:

The Nightly Oration of the Confraternities of Santa Croce

Original Latin and Italian Text

English Translation

*ORATIONE DE FARSI OGNI SERA
Inanti alle Sante Croci erette nella Città,
e Diocesi di Milano instituita da Santo
Carlo Cardinale e Arcivescovo di Milano*

*ORATION TO BE DONE EACH NIGHT
Before the Holy Crosses erected in the City
and Diocese of Milan instituted by Saint
Charles Cardinal and Archbishop of Milan*

Vers. In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus sancti.

V: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

R: Amen.

R: Amen.

V: Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium et tui amoris in eis ignem accede.

V: Come Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of the faithful and kindle in them the fire of your love.

Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

V: Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi.

V: We adore you O Christ and we bless you.

R: Quia per sanctam Crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

R: Because by your Holy Cross you have redeemed the whole world.

Litanie

Litany

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison

*Domine miserere, Domine miserere,
Domine miserere*

*Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord
have mercy*

V: Christe libera nos

Christ deliver us

R: Salvator libera nos

R: Savior deliver us

V: Christe libera nos

Christ deliver us

R: Salvator libera nos

R: Savior deliver us

V: Christe libera nos

Christ deliver us

R: Salvator libera nos

R: *Savior deliver us*

Sancta Maria
Intercede

Holy Mary
Pray for us

Sancte Michael
Intercede

Saint Michael
Pray for us

Sancte Gabriel
Intercede

Saint Gabriel
Pray for us

Sancte Raphael
Intercede

Saint Raphael
Pray for us

Sancte Ioannes
Intercede

Saint John
Pray for us

Sancte Petre
Intercede

Saint Peter
Pray for us

Sancte Paulo
Intercede

Saint Paul
Pray for us

Sancte Andrea
Intercede

Saint Andrew
Pray for us

Sancte Iacobe
Intercede

Saint Jacob
Pray for us

Sancte Ioannes
Intercede

Saint John
Pray for us

Sancte Philippe
Intercede

Saint Phillip
Pray for us

Sancte Bartholomeo
Intercede

Saint Bartholomew
Pray for us

Sancte Thoma
Intercede

Saint Thomas
Pray for us

Sancte Matthae
Intercede

Saint Matthew
Pray for us

Sancte Iacobe
Intercede

Saint Jacob
Pray for us

Sancte Simon
Intercede

Saint Simon
Pray for us

Sancte Thadae
Intercede

Saint Thaddeus
Pray for us

Sancte Barnaba
Intercede

Saint Barnabas
Pray for us

Sancte Marce
Intercede

Saint Mark
Pray for us

Sancte Luca
Intercede

Saint Luke
Pray for us

Sancte Stephane
Intercede

Saint Stephen
Pray for us

Sancte Gervasi
Intercede

Saint Gervasio
Pray for us

Sancte Protasi
Intercede

Saint Protasio
Pray for us

Sancte Nazari
Intercede

Saint Nazarius
Pray for us

Sancte Celse
Intercede

Saint Celsus
Pray for us

Sancte Victor
Intercede

Saint Victor
Pray for us

Sancte Nabor
Intercede

Saint Nabor
Pray for us

Sancte Foelix
Intercede

Saint Felix
Pray for us

Sancte Sisini
Intercede

Saint Sissinius
Pray for us

Sancte Martyri
Intercede

Saint Martyrius
Pray for us

Sancte Alexander
Intercede

Saint Alexander
Pray for us

Sancte Georgi
Intercede

Saint George
Pray for us

Sancte Vitalis
Intercede

Saint Vitalis
Pray for us

Sancte Agricola
Intercede

Saint Agricola
Pray for us

Sancte Marcelline
Intercede

Saint Marcellinus
Pray for us

Sancte Babyla
Intercede

Saint Babila
Pray for us

Sancte Romane
Intercede

Saint Romanus
Pray for us

Sancte Corneli
Intercede

Saint Cornelius
Pray for us

Sancte Calymere
Intercede

Saint Calimerius
Pray for us

Sancte Cypriane
Intercede

Saint Cyprianus
Pray for us

Sancte Laurenti
Intercede

Saint Lawrence
Pray for us

Sancte Vincenti
Intercede

Saint Vincent
Pray for us

Sancte Sebastiane
Intercede

Saint Sebastian
Pray for us

Sancte Cosma
Intercede

Saint Cosmas
Pray for us

Sancte Damiane
Intercede

Saint Damian
Pray for us

Sancte Fidelis
Intercede

Saint Fidelis
Pray for us

Sancte Carpophore
Intercede

Saint Carpophorus
Pray for us

Sancte Aquiline
Intercede

Saint Aquilinus
Pray for us

Sancta Tecla
Intercede

Saint Tecla
Pray for us

Sancta Pelagia
Intercede

Saint Pelagia
Pray for us

Sancta Febronia
Intercede

Saint Febronia
Pray for us

Sancte Valeria
Intercede

Saint Valeria
Pray for us

Sancta Agnes
Intercede

Saint Agnes
Pray for us

Sancta Catherina
Intercede

Saint Catherine
Pray for us

Sancta Anastasia
Intercede

Saint Anastasia
Pray for us

Sancta Caecilia
Intercede

Saint Cecilia
Pray for us

Sancta Agatha
Intercede

Saint Agatha
Pray for us

Sancta Euphemia
Intercede

Saint Euphemia
Pray for us

Sancta Lucia
Intercede

Saint Lucy
Pray for us

Sancta Margarita
Intercede

Saint Margaret
Pray for us

Sancta Apollonia
Intercede

Saint Apollonia
Pray for us

Sancta Clara
Intercede

Saint Claire
Pray for us

Sancta Iustina
Intercede

Saint Justine
Pray for us

Sancta Marcellina
Intercede

Saint Marcellina
Pray for us

Sancta Ursula
Intercede

Saint Ursula
Pray for us

Sancta Marta
Intercede

Saint Martha
Pray for us

Sancta Maria Magdalena
Intercede

Saint Mary Magdalene
Pray for us

Sancta Anna
Intercede

Saint Anne
Pray for us

Sancta Perpetua
Intercede

Saint Perpetua
Pray for us

Sancta Monica
Intercede

Saint Monica
Pray for us

Sancte Anatolo
Intercede

Saint Anatole
Pray for us

Sancte Mirocles
Intercede

Saint Mirocles
Pray for us

Sancte Dionysi
Intercede

Saint Dionysus
Pray for us

Sancte Materne
Intercede

Saint Maternus
Pray for us

Sancte Mona
Intercede

Saint Mona
Pray for us

Sancte Simpliciane
Intercede

Saint Simplicianus
Pray for us

Sancte Silvester
Intercede

Saint Sylvester
Pray for us

Sancte Hieronymus
Intercede

Saint Jerome
Pray for us

Sancte Gregori
Intercede

Saint Gregory
Pray for us

Sancte Benedicte
Intercede

Saint Benedict
Pray for us

Sancte Francisce
Intercede

Saint Francis
Pray for us

Sancte Bernarde
Intercede

Saint Bernard
Pray for us

Sancte Augustine
Intercede

Saint Augustine
Pray for us

Sancte Nicolae
Intercede

Saint Nicholas
Pray for us

Sancte Martine
Intercede

Saint Martin
Pray for us

Sancte Galdine
Intercede

Saint Galdinus
Pray for us

Sancte Carole [after 1610]
Intercede

Saint Charles [after 1610]
Pray for us

Sancte Ambrosi
Intercede

Saint Ambrose
Pray for us

Omnes Sancti
Intercede

All the Saints
Pray for us

Exaudi Christe
Voces nostras.

Hear, O Christ
Our voices

Exaudi Christe
Voces nostras.

Hear, O Christ,
Our voices

Exaudi Christe
Voces nostras.

Hear, O Christ,
Our voices.

Exaudi Deus.
Et miserere nobis.

Hear us, O God.
And have mercy upon us.

Exaudi Deus.
Et miserere nobis.

Hear us, O God.
And have mercy upon us.

Exaudi Deus.
Et miserere nobis.

Hear us, O God.
And have mercy upon us.

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison

Pater Noster (*secreto*)

Our Father... (*silently*)

V: Et ne nos inducas in tentationem,
R: Sed libera nos a malo.

V: And lead us not into temptation,
R: But deliver us from evil.

V: Ego dixi domine miserere mei,
R: Sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi.

V: I have said, 'Lord, have mercy on me.'
R: Heal my soul, because I have sinned against you.

V: Convertere domini aliquantulum.
R: Et deprecabilis esto super fervos tuos.
V: Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam.

V: Turn to us, O Lord, for a little while.
R: And be gracious unto your servants.
V: Extend to us your mercy, O Lord.

R: Et salutare tuum da nobis.
V: Dominus virtutum nobiscum.
R: Susceptor noster Deus Iacob.
V: Domine exaudi orationem nostram.
R: Et clamor noster ad te preveniat.
V: Exurge Christe adiuva nos.
R: Sed libera nos propter nomen tuum.

R: And grant us your salvation.
V: The Lord of hosts is with us.
R: The god of Jacob is our protector.
V: Lord hear our prayer.
R: And let our cry come unto you.
V: Arise, O Christ, and help us.
R: Deliver us for the sake of your name.

Psalmus 56

Psalm 56 (or 51 (RSV), or 50 (Vulgate))

Miserere mei Deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

Have mercy upon me O God; according to your loving kindness.

Et secundum multitudinem miserationem tuarum: dele inquietatem meam.

According to the multitude of your mercies; blot out my offences.

Et in ultimum lava me ab iniustitia mea: et a delicto meo munda me.

Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego agnosco: et delictum meum contra me est semper,

Tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci: ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis, et vincas cum iudicaris.*

Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti; incerta et occulta sapientiae tuae manifestasti mihi.

Asperges me hyssopo et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.

Auditui meo dabis gaudium, et letitiam, et exultabunt ossa humilitata.

Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis: et omnes iniquitates meas dele.

Cor mundum crea in me Deus: et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis,

Ne proicias me a facie tua; et spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me.

Redde mihi laetitiam salutis tuae; et spiritu principali confirma me.

Docebo iniquos vias tuas; et impii ad te convertentur.

Libera me de sanguinibus Deus, Deus salutis meae; et exultabit lingua mea iustitiam tuam.

Domine labia mea aperies; et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.

Quoniam si voluisses sacrificium, dedissem utique; holocaustis non delectaberis.

Sacrificium Deo Spiritus contribulatus: cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.

Benigne fac domine in bona voluntate tua Sion: ut aedificentur muri Hierusalem.

Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness; and cleanse me from my sin.

For I acknowledge my faults; and my sin is ever before me.

Against you only have I sinned and done evil in your sight; and so you are justified in your words and upright in your judgment.*

For behold, you delight in truth; you revealed your uncertain and hidden wisdom to me.

Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Let me hear of joy and gladness; let the bones that you have broken rejoice.

Hide your face from my sins; and blot out all my iniquities.

Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.

Cast me not away from your presence; and take not your Holy Spirit from me.

Restore to me the joy of your salvation; and sustain me with your bountiful Spirit.

Then I will teach your ways to the wicked; and sinners will return to you.

Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God; and my tongue will sing aloud of your righteousness, O God of my salvation.

O Lord, open my lips; and my mouth will proclaim your praise.

For you will not delight in sacrifice, or I would give it; you will not be pleased with a burnt offering.

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, you will not despise.

Do good to Zion in your good pleasure; build up the walls of Jerusalem.

Tunc acceptabis sacrificium iustitiae,
oblaciones, et holocausta: tunc imponent
super altare tuum vitulos.

Then will you delight in right sacrifices, in
burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings;
then bulls will be offered on your altar.

Gloria patri, et filii, etc.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son, etc.

V: Domine averte facie tuam a peccatis
nostris.

V: O Lord, hide your face from our sins.

R: Et omnes iniquitates nostras dele.

R: And blot out all our transgressions.

V: Domine exaudi orationem nostram.

V: O Lord, hear our prayer.

R: Et clamor noster ad te perveniat.

R: And let our cry come unto you.

Deus, qui unigeniti filii tui pretioso
sanguine vivificae Crucis vexillum
sanctificare voluisti; concede quaesumus,
eos, qui eiusdem sanctae Crucis gaudent
honore, tua quoque ubique protectione
gaudere.

O God who wished to sanctify the living
Cross with the precious blood of your only
son, grant we beseech you, that they who
rejoice in honor of that holy Cross may
also rejoice in your protection.

A cunctis nos quaesumus Domine mentis,
et corporis defende periculis et intercedente
pro nobis Beata et gloriosa Dei genitrice
Maria, cum Beatis Apostolis tuis Petro, et
Paulo, atq. beato Pontifice nostro
Ambrosio, et omnibus sanctis, salutem
nobis tribue benignus, et pacem, ut
destructis adversitatibus, et erroribus
universis, Ecclesia tua secunda tibi serviat
liberate.

Preserve us, O Lord, we beseech you,
from all dangers of soul and body; and by
the intercession of the glorious and
blessed Mary the ever Virgin Mother of
God, of your blessed Apostles, Peter and
Paul, of our blessed bishop Ambrose, and
of all the Saints, grant us in your mercy,
health and peace; that all adversities and
errors being removed, your Church may
serve you with secure liberty.

Exaudi Domine quaesumus supplicum
preces, et confitentium tibi parce peccatis,
ut pariter nobis Indulgentiam tribuas
benignus, et pace, per Dominum nostrum,
etc.

Hear graciously we beseech you, O Lord,
the prayers of your suppliants and pardon
the sins of them that confess to you; that,
being benign unto us, you may likewise
give us pardon and peace. Through our
Lord, etc.

V: Domine exaudi orationem nostram.

V: O Lord hear our prayer.

R: Et clamor noster ad te perveniat.

R: And let our cry come unto you.

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison

V: Benedicamus Domino.
R: Deo gratias.

Diciamo devotamente **cinque Pater** et **cinque Ave Marie** alle cinque piaghe del Nostro Signor per remissione de nostri peccati, per la Santa Chiesa, per il Sommo Pontefice, per il nostro Sig. Cardinale Arcivescovo, e per tutti i nostri Governatori Spirituali, et temporali, accio il Signor difenda questa Città e tutta la Chistianità da guerra, pestilenza, e carestia, e da ogni avversita, et anco per quelli, che dicano parole disonoste, e vani giuramenti, acciò si emendino.

Ricorriamo alla Santissima Vergine Regina, e Signora nostra, pregandola, che ci vogli aiutare appresso al suo Figliuolo dicendo:

Salve Regina mater misericordiae, vita dulcedo, et spes nostra salve. Ad te clamamus, exules filii Euae. Ad te suspiramus gementes, et flentes in hac lachrymarum valle. Eia ergo advocata nostra illos tuos misericordes, oculos, ad nos converte. Et lesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende. O clemens, O pia, O dulcis virgo Maria.

V: Dignare me laudare te virgo sacrata.
R: Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriosae Virginis matris Mariae corpus, et animam, ut dignum filii tui habitaculum effici mereretur, Spiritu Sancto cooperante, praeparasti, da ut cuius dulci commemoratione laetamur, ei s pia intercessione ab instantibus malis, et amore perpetua liberemur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.
Amen.

V: Let us bless the Lord.
R: Thanks be to God.

Let us devoutly say **five Our Fathers** and **five Hail Marys** in honor of the five wounds that Our Lord, for the remission of our sins, for the Holy Church, for the Pope, for our Cardinal Archbishop, and for all our Governors spiritual and temporal, so that the Lord will defend this City and all of Christendom from war, pestilence, and famine and from every adversity, and also for those who say dishonest words and vain oaths, that they might amend their ways.

Let us turn to the Blessed Virgin Queen, and Our Lady, praying that she will intercede with her Son on our behalf to help us, saying:

Hail, holy Queen, Mother of Mercy, hail our life, our sweetness and our hope. To you do we cry, poor banished children of Eve; to you do we send up our sighs, mourning and weeping in this valley of tears. Turn then, most gracious advocate, your eyes of mercy toward us; and after this our exile, show unto us the blessed fruit of your womb, Jesus. O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary!

V: Allow me to praise you, O sacred virgin.
R: Give me strength against your enemies.

Almighty and everlasting God, who with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit did prepare the body and soul of the glorious Virgin Mother Mary to become a dwelling place fit for thy Son, grant that as we rejoice in her commemoration, so may we by her fervent intercession be delivered from present evils and from everlasting death. Through the same Christ our Lord.
Amen.

Fidelium animae per Dei misericordiam
requiescat in pace.
Amen.

Ricordiamoci dell' anime, che son nel
Purgatorio massime della nostra
compagnia, e preghiamo il Signor, che gli
doni il Paradiso, che acquistareno conto
giorni d'Indulgenza, dicendo il
De profundis, over **tre Pater** et **tre Ave**
Marie quando sona il segno dell' oratione
per i Morti la sera.

Ant. Si iniquitates

De profundis clamavi ad te domine;
Domine exaudi vocem meam.

Fiant aures tua intendente; in vocem
orationis meae.

Si iniquitates observaveris domine;
domine quis sustinebit?

Quia apud te propitiatio est; et propter
nomen tuum sustinui te domine.

Sustinuit anima in verbo tuo; speravit
anima mea in domino.

A vigilia matutina usque; in noctem;
speret Israel in domino.

Quia apud dominum misericordia est;
copiosa apud eum redemptio.

Et ipse redimet Israel; ab omnibus
iniquitatibus eorum.

V: Requiem aeternam dona eis domine.

R: Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

V: Domine exaudi orationem nostram.

R: Et clamor noster ad te perveniat.

Fidelium Deus omnium conditor, et
redemptor animabus famulorum, et
famularumque; tuarum cunctorum
remissionem tribue peccatorum, ut
indulgentiam, quam semper optenerunt,

Let the souls of the faithful rest in peace
through God's mercy.
Amen.

Let us recall the souls that are in
Purgatory, especially those of our
Company, and pray to the Lord that he
give them Paradise, that they acquire the
sum of the days of indulgence, saying the
De Profundis or **three Our Fathers** and
three Hail Marys when the sign is given
for the prayer for the Dead each night.

Ant. If thou, O Lord

From the depths, I have cried out to you,
O Lord; Lord, hear my voice.

Let your ears be attentive; to the voice of
my supplication.

If you, Lord, were to mark iniquities; who,
O Lord, shall stand?

For with you is forgiveness; and because
of your name I wait for you, Lord.

My soul has awaited his word; my soul
has hoped in the Lord.

From the morning watch, even until night,
let Israel hope in the Lord.

For with the Lord there is mercy; and with
him is plenteous redemption.

And he will redeem Israel; from all his
iniquities.

V. Give them eternal rest, O Lord.

R: And shine perpetual light upon them.

V: O Lord hear our prayer.

R: And let our cry come unto you.

O God the creator, and redeemer of all the
faithful, give unto the souls of your
servants, men and women, remission of all
their sins: that through pious supplications
they may obtain the pardon which they

piis supplicationibus consequantur. Qui
vivis, et regnas in saecula saeculorum.
Amen.

V: Requiem aeternam dona eis domine.
R: Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
V: Animaе omnium fidelium defunctorum
per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace.
R: Amen

*Se suoni l'Ave Maria con il Campanello, et si dica
devotamente*

Finalmente ricorriano alla Santissima
Passione di Giesu Christo Crocifisso,
dicendo devotamente.

Et semper Signor sia fatta non la nostra,
ma la vostra santissima volantà. Essaudite
Signor li nostri prieghi per Christo Signor
Nostro.

Ah Signor Giesu Christo Crocifisso
figliuolo di Dio vivo, Dio nostro, fate vi
preghiamo, che la vostra Santissima
Passione sia la nostra redentione, e siate
propitio a noi peccatori.
Amen.

Misericordia Signor,

Si battino il petto, et bagino la terra

Lasciate Fratelli, e sorelle, le parole
dishoneste, e illeciti giuramenti, acciò non
siate castigati da Dio. Ricordatevi della
morte, del giuditio, dell' inferno, e della
gloria del Paradiso, che mai non peccarete.

Andiamo con la beneditione del signore,
dicendo,

In nomine patris, et Filii, et spiritus sancti.
Amen.

have always wished for. Who lives and
reigns now and for ever,
Amen.

V: Give them eternal rest, O Lord.
R: And let perpetual light shine upon them.
V: Let the souls of all faithful departed
rest in peace by the mercy of God
R: Amen

*They sing the Hail Mary with the ringing of the
church bell and say devoutly:*

Finally let us turn to the Holy Passion of
Jesus Christ Crucified, saying devoutly:

And always, Lord, not our will but your
most holy will be done. Hear, O Lord, our
prayers through Christ Our Lord.

Ah, Lord Jesus Christ Crucified, son of
the living God, our God, let it be, we pray,
that your most Holy Passion may be our
redemption and that you may be gracious
to us sinners.
Amen.

Merciful Lord,

They beat their breast and kiss the ground

Renounce, brothers and sisters, dishonest
words and vain oaths, that you may not be
punished by God. Remember death,
judgment, and Hell, and the glory of
Paradise, that you may never sin.

Let us go with the blessing of the Lord,
saying:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Spirit.
Amen.

* The text appears to omit verse 6 of the psalm: "Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum; et in peccatis concepit me mater mea - For behold, I have been wicked from my birth; and in sin did my mother conceive me."

I have drawn from standard English versions of psalms and traditional prayers and antiphons where applicable, otherwise all translations are my own.

Source: Regole già stabilite da Santo Carlo Cardinale Borromeo, per le Compagnie della Croce da esso erette, et hora date in luce d'ordine dell' Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Sig. Cardinale Federico Borromeo Arcivescovo di Milano. In Milano, nella stampa vicino la Rosa, 1633.

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