PRESENT IN THE PERFORMANCE: STEFANO MADERNO'S *SANTA CECILIA*

AND THE FRAME OF THE JUBILEE OF 1600

by

KELLY ANNE WHITFORD

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Art History
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

December 2011

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Kelly Anne Whitford

Title: Present in the Performance: Stefano Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* and the Frame of the Jubilee of 1600

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Art History by:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dr. James Harper | Chairperson |
| Dr. Nicola Camerlenghi | Member |
| Dr. Jessica Maier | Member |

and

Kimberly Andrews Espy    Vice President for Research & Innovation/Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded December 2011

THESIS ABSTRACT

Kelly Anne Whitford

Master of Arts

Department of Art History

December 2011

Title: Present in the Performance: Stefano Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* and the Frame
of the Jubilee of 1600

In 1599, in commemoration of the remarkable discovery of the incorrupt remains of the early Christian martyr St. Cecilia, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato commissioned Stefano Maderno to create a memorial sculpture which dramatically departed from earlier and contemporary monuments. While previous scholars have considered the influence of the historical setting on the conception of Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*, none have studied how this historical moment affected the beholder of the work. In 1600, the Church's Holy Year of Jubilee drew hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Rome to take part in Church rites and rituals. This thesis employs anthropological theories of performance as a means of analyzing how this context influenced the interaction of Jubilee pilgrims with Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*. The work's innovative form and the context of the Jubilee composed a dynamic relationship between sculpture and viewer and resulted in a profound intercessory experience.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR:  Kelly Anne Whitford

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Art History, 2011, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, Art History, 2006, Carleton College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Renaissance and Baroque Rome
Performance theory

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of Art History, University of
    Oregon, 2010-2011

English Teacher, Peace Corps, Benin, 2006-2008

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Dean's Graduate Fellowship, University of Oregon, 2011

Marion Dean Ross Book Prize in Architectural History, Department of Art
    History, University of Oregon, 2011

Mark Sponenburgh Research Award, Department of Art History,
    University of Oregon, 2011

Marian Donnelly Award for Excellence in Academic Performance,
    Department of Art History, University of Oregon, 2010

Mark Sponenburgh Research Award, Department of Art History, University of Oregon, 2010

Marian C. Donnelly Conference Travel Grant, Department of Art History, University of Oregon, 2010

Gloria Tovar Lee Scholarship in Art History, Department of Art History, University of Oregon, 2009

Graduate *cum laude*, Carleton College, 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF FIGURES

**CHAPTER I**

**INTRODUCTION**

On October 20, 1599 the incorrupt remains of St. Cecilia were dramatically discovered lying in a sarcophagus under the main altar in the Church of Santa Cecilia in Rome. After a month-long period when the preserved body was kept on display and received such illustrious visitors as Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605), the saint was reinterred under the altar. Subsequently, for the occasion of the Jubilee of 1600, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato (r. 1590-1618), the titular cardinal of the church, commissioned the young artist Stefano Maderno to produce a sculpture commemorating the fortuitous recovery of the saint's relics and their incorrupt state (fig. 1). Maderno's work presents the viewer with a broken female form. St. Cecilia lies on her right side, appearing as though she has been unceremoniously abandoned. Her long, full-length dress gathers between her stacked knees, surprisingly revealing the shape of the virgin martyr's legs and outlining the rise and fall of her small waist and hips. Her hands fall, lifeless, in front of her body, while her head, grotesquely turned away, displays sharp cuts across the back of her neck. The unkempt appearance of her sanctified body is incongruous in the sumptuous church setting and conveys a sense of reality and immediacy, drawing the viewer into her space and her story.

**Figure 1**. Stefano Maderno, *Santa Cecilia*, 1600, marble. The church of Santa Cecilia, Rome. (Photo: author)

While previous scholars have considered the influence of the historical setting in 1600 on the conception of Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*, none have studied in depth how this historical moment affected the beholder of the work.[1] In 1600, the Church's Holy Year of Jubilee drew hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Rome to take part in Church rites and rituals. The field of performance theory allows for a more thorough response to the question of how the events which defined the Jubilee year (the celebratory processions, acts of veneration, and displays of

---

[1] Pamela M. Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 6. Scholars like Jones, David Freedberg, and Hans Belting have conducted studies of the theories of response, but have not considered Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*. While Freedberg addresses the psychological response of the beholder, Jones considers the context as a means of understanding the historical responses to works of art. See David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); and Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Church power) affected visiting pilgrims and influenced their interaction with

Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*.[2]

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the gruesome and bloody

martyrdoms of early Christian saints had developed as one of the most popular

motifs for church decorations in Rome, but Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* was unlike

any monument or image that had come before it. Shocking paintings and

sculptures of the attempted burning of St. Agnes, the shooting of St. Sebastian

with arrows, and the flaying of St. Bartholomew constituted part of the Church's

efforts during the Counter-Reformation to reinvigorate the cult of the first saints

and to inspire contemporary piety with the selfless acts of devotion and sacrifice

by the earliest Christians. The naves, side aisles, and apses of prominent

churches in Rome underwent refurbishment at the end of the sixteenth and the

beginning of the seventeenth centuries to incorporate such inspirational

iconographic programs.[3]

Many examples, like those in the church of San Vitale, displayed these

violent scenes as a means of demonstrating the holiness and valor of the martyrs.

Agostino Ciampelli's frescoes of St. Vitalis (ca. 1595) reveal the saint's torture by

stretching and death by burial. In each image the nude saint, contrasted with the

profane clothed figures of his persecutors, is portrayed as an example of spiritual

---

[2] Performance studies is a widely defined area with contributions from the fields of anthropology, sociology, folklore, and theater. For a historiography of recent performance, theater, and spectacle scholarship see William O. Beeman "The Anthropology of Theater and Spectacle," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 369-393.

[3] See Alexandra Herz, "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late 16th-Century Rome Seen in Context," *Storia dell'arte* no. 62 (1988): 53.

strength. The subject of early Christian martyrs also dominated large-scale oil commissions for church chapels. Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* (1599-1600) in the church of San Luigi dei Francesi and *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (1600-1601) in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo rely less on the dramatic and moving effect of bloodied corpses and instead emphasize the frailty and emotional distress of these two men who desperately struggle against their assailants.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo housed one of the most well known and large scale martyr cycles in Rome.[4] Completed in 1582 by Niccolò Circignani and Matteo da Siena, its ambulatory walls feature thirty-two frescoes containing over 125 individually labeled martyrs that provided the material for religious contemplation, prayer, and spiritual exercise.[5] Comparisons among Circignani's numerous martyr images and between the Roman martyr cycles reveal established iconographies that artists repeatedly employed. For example, within the cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo, Circignani utilized the same iconography of the *Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist* boiling in water for the *Martyrdom of St. Cecilia*. In both images the

---

[4] The church contained the relics of St. Stephen Protomartyr, St. Lawrence, Saints Primus and Felicianus, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Brigid, St. Cornelius, and St. Domitilla. For more information on the renovations and artistic program see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 134.

[5] Each martyr is labeled with a letter and each fresco has two corresponding text panels (one in Latin, the other in Italian) which identify the figures. For an index of the iconographic program at Santo Stefano Rotondo see Leif Holm Monssen, "The Martyrdom Cycle of Santo Stefano Rotondo, Part One," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 2 (1982): 311-314.

artist depicted the centrally positioned main figure standing in a caldron of boiling water, while surrounded by onlookers. Many artists made use of traditional iconographies to produce clearly identifiable images for instruction and veneration, but Maderno's restrained and emotive *Santa Cecilia* stands apart from both earlier images and contemporary examples because the sculpture does not represent the saint's life or even the moment of her execution, but rather her continued corporeal presence in death.

In 1600, Maderno's sculpture was installed in the church of Santa Cecilia in Rome. The church had been constructed atop the location of the saint's martyrdom—the third-century house church belonging to her family.[6] Cecilia's persecution and subsequent death had resulted from her efforts to baptize fellow Romans (including her husband Valerian and his brother, Tiburtius) as well as her refusal to denounce her faith.[7] Initially sentenced to suffer death by steaming in her own bath, she was eventually sentenced to decapitation when the first effort failed. Though her executioner struck Cecilia's neck three times, she did not die immediately but lay on her bathroom floor for three days, finally dying as a result of blood loss.[8] Like many other Christian martyrs of the era who were

---

[6] See Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianum Romae*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Paleficio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1937), 94-111.

[7] See for instance J. Spence Northcote and W.R. Brownlow, *Roma Sotteranea or Some Account of the Roman Catacombs Especially of the Cemetery of San Callisto* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869), 387-388.

[8] See "Passio sanctae Caeciliae martyris die XXII mensis novembris hoc est X kal. decembris" in Hippolyte Delehaye, *Étude sure le legendier Romain* (Brussels: 1936), cited in Maryvelma Smith O'Neal, "Stefano Maderno's *Saint Cecilia*: A Seventeenth Century Roman Sculpture Remeasured," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 38 (1985): 9.

buried in Rome's catacombs, Cecilia was interred outside the city's walls along with her martyred husband and his brother, in the Catacombs of St. Callixtus.

During the ninth century, after nearly five hundred years of burial, Pope Paschal I (r. 817-824) undertook a campaign to relocate early Christian martyrs from outside the city's walls to within the city's churches.[9] As part of this project Paschal sought to recover the remains of St. Cecilia in order to rebury them in the new church he was erecting above the site of the saint's earlier house. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Paschal was assisted by a vision in which St. Cecilia herself appeared to him and commanded,

> as you have begun to look for me, you should not stop applying yourself with unceasing effort to find me, because the Lord God for whose love and honour I suffered has been pleased that you should find me and bury me in the church you have newly built.[10]

Following these instructions, Paschal discovered her remains clothed in gold fabric along with "the linens full of the blood of her martyrdom."[11] After this triumphant discovery, Paschal translated the body of St. Cecilia along with the remains of her husband St. Valerian, his brother St. Tiburtius, St. Maximus, and the Popes Urban and Lucius from the catacombs to the recently completed

---

[9] For an examination of Paschal's efforts and the accompanying architectural projects see Caroline J. Goodson, "Building for Bodies: The Architecture of Saint Veneration in Early Medieval Rome" in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot, England: Ashgate 2007), 51.

[10] For the contemporary record of the pontificate see *Liber Pontificalis [The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes]*, trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), 100: 15.

[11] *Liber Pontificalis* 100: 16.

church of Santa Cecilia in 821.[12] Paschal placed the newly relocated relics under a

*ciborium* and within an annular crypt, allowing for easy circumambulation by

pilgrims.[13]

---

[12] For a study of the Catacombs of St. Callixtus see Antonio Baruffa, *The Catacombs of St. Callixtus: History, Archaeology, Faith*, trans. William Purdy, 2nd English ed. (Vatican City: L.E.V., 2000), 70. For the contemporary account of Pope Paschal's holy vision and subsequent discovery of St. Cecilia in the catacombs see *Liber Pontificalis* 100: 15-17. The full passage reads, "(15) There is another thing which we think should not be omitted. One day when he had made his way to St Peter the prince of the apostles' church to celebrate the customary vigils before St Peter and to stay and sing morning praises in front of his confessio as Sunday dawned, he sank into a sudden sleep and saw standing beside him a girl who had the appearance of a virgin and was adorned with the clothing of an angel. She uttered these words: 'We thank you greatly for not abandoning the struggle you had long undertaken on my part when you lent your ears to the deceptive reports that were spread. It is because you have been so much in my service that we are able to speak to each other with our own voices.' The pontiff was now listening carefully, and began eagerly to inquire who she was who spoke such words to him, and what her name was. To him she replied: 'If you ask my name, I am called Caecilia, Christ's servant.' To her the chief prelate spoke: 'How can I believe this, since for a long time the story has been told that the body of Caecilia, this venerable martyr of Christ, had been stealthily purloined by Aistulf king of the Lombards and by his men, when he was besetting Roma as an enemy.' When the venerable pontiff suggested such things, almighty God's handmaid said to him: 'That the Lombards sought eagerly to find me is certainly true; but I was aided by the assistance of my Lord Jesus Christ and my lady, God's holy mother the ever-virgin Mary, and they were unable either to find me or to take me far away from here as they wished. And so, as you have begun to look for me, you should not stop applying yourself with unceasing effort to find me, because the Lord God for whose love and honour I suffered has been pleased that you should find me and bury me in the church you have newly built.' So saying, she was taken from his sight. (16 ) Then, when morning praises were over, this venerable pontiff, in view of the sign so clearly and undubitably [*sic*] revealed, painstakingly began to seek here and there where her sacred body might lie buried. As he sought carefully, God granted that he discovered it, clothed in gold vestments, in the cemetery of Praetextatus outside the Appian Gate, with the body of her venerable husband Valerian, and also the linens full of the blood of her martyrdom when, stricken by the ungodly executioner, she was consecrated a martyr of the Lord Christ who reigns for ever. These linens had been used to wipe away the holy martyr's blood; soaked in sacred blood from the executioner's three strokes, they were discovered wrapped at the feet of her body. (17) Handling all these things himself, he gathered them and with great honour placed that virgin's body with the martyrs her dear husband Valerian and Tiburtius and Maximus, also the pontiffs Urban and Lucius, under the sacred altar in the church dedicated in the name of this holy martyr inside this city of Rome's walls, to almighty God's praise and glory. For the honour and help of these holy martyrs he built a monastery close to that church at the place called Colles Jacentes in honour of the virgins and martyrs SS Agatha and Caecilia; in it he set up a community of monks serving God, to sing the daily praises to the Lord almighty in this titulus of St Caecilia day and night."

[13] St. Cecilia was laid in her own sarcophagus and placed closest to the *fenestella,* a small window affording a view of the sarcophagi. Popes Urban and Lucius were then placed together in a second sarcophagus which was situated behind Cecilia's, while the last sarcophagus, containing Valerian, Tiburtius, and Maximus was positioned beneath Cecilia's. For a detailed description of their reinterment as well as illustrative diagrams see Caroline J. Goodson, "Material Memory:

Nearly eight centuries later, in 1599, the rediscovery of St. Cecilia's body in its resting place under the church's altar and the subsequent revelation of her incorrupt state provided the occasion for Maderno's commemorative sculpture. Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* not only purports to capture the appearance of her allegedly incorrupt relics as they were found in 1599; in its position under the main altar and above the location of her interred remains it functions as a tomb monument marking the location of her burial, while the dramatic form of her figure lying twisted on its side recalls the drawn-out scene of her death, thereby memorializing her martyrdom. As martyr image, effigy, and commemorative statue, Maderno's innovative work departed from contemporary examples and traditional forms of funerary monuments.

As a young artist who had undergone his training in Rome, Maderno would have viewed innumerable effigies and tombs from the medieval and Renaissance periods in the city's churches.[14] Following established traditions of

Rebuilding the Basilica of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome," *Early Medieval Europe* 15, no. 1 (2007): 22.

[14] Stefano Maderno was born around 1576, most likely in Lombardy. Maderno's biographer Giovanni Baglione describes his early education in Rome as consisting of restoring antique statues and executing copies of both antique and contemporary works. See Giovanni Baglione cited in Catherine Elna Fruhan, "Trends in Roman Sculpture circa 1600," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1986), 204-205. Maderno's sculpture of St. Cecilia is one of the artist's earlier works, and definitely the most well known. Following its commission in 1600 his other large scale works included: A marble angel decorating the Aldobrandini monument in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (ca. 1605); a marble sculpture of St. Carlo Borromeo (ca. 1610) in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome; two reclining allegorical figures (Peace and Justice) in marble (ca. 1614) in the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome; and two marble angels in the church of Santa Maria dell Loreto in Rome (1628-29). See *Maderno* (Milano: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1966). During the remainder of his career he executed numerous miniature replicas of antique works, in terracotta. The earliest extant example dates form 1605, while the latest remains from 1650. For more information on his miniatures see Sergey O. Androssov, "Works by Stefano Maderno, Bernini, and Rusconi from the Farsetti Collection in the Ca'd'Oro and the Hermitage," *The Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1058 (May 1991): 296.

the genre, these funerary monuments arrested time and presented a posed ideal of the deceased. Artists either depicted the dead as they had appeared in life or as if sleeping. Often, small theatrical elements such as drawn curtains framed these scenes, thereby emphasizing the aspect of display.[15] A survey of papal tombs in Rome from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries reveals numerous examples of popes depicted in reclining positions with their hands folded on their chests and their heads resting on pillows, suggesting the repose of sleep. Other tombs represent various popes enthroned, offering benedictions.[16]

Unlike the many previous monuments that present viewers with idealized representations of the deceased, *Santa Cecilia* is not a figure simply on display. Maderno's statue purports to reveal a found, not a posed, body. Though dead, she is still a part of a narrative. Maderno's sculpture engages with space and time, suggesting previous moments from St. Cecilia's history while merging them with the present.

The dramatic form of Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* has motivated scholars to consider its conception and iconography. Most, like Anna Lo Bianco, conclude that the patron of the work, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, the titular Cardinal

---

[15] See Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 85-99.

[16] For example, Simone Ghini's *Tomb Slab of Martin V* (c. 1435 in the church of San Giovanni in Laterano) and Iaia da Piso's *Tomb of Pope Eugene IV* (previously in St. Peter's Basilica) both represent the deceased popes in reclining positions with their hands crossed over their chests. Antonio del Pollaiuolo's *Monument to Innocent VIII* (1492-1498) in St. Peter's Basilica and Guglielmo della Porta's *Tomb of Pope Paul III* (c. 1540), also in St. Peter's, represent examples of memorials that portray the deceased seated on a throne, offering a gesture of blessing.

of Santa Cecilia, greatly influenced the young Maderno.[17] Another scholar,
Maryvelma Smith O'Neal, examines the evolving image of the saint, suggesting
that Maderno's statue created an innovative iconography later adopted by artists
in depicting both St. Cecilia and other martyrs. She focuses in particular on the
fifteenth century when St. Cecilia gained her title of patroness of music and
images of the saint began to include musical attributes.[18] One particularly
insightful analysis, by Tobias Kämpf, establishes the spiritual and intellectual
context of the work's conception during the Counter-Reformation and examines
the work in tandem with its location in the church.[19] Kämpf asserts that the
sculpture, in a niche under the altar, is activated during the mass, when the host
is raised above it. At this instant, according to Kämpf, the multivalent form
symbolizes Christ's sacrifice, St. Cecilia's martyrdom, the discovery of her
remains in 1599, as well as the Second Coming of Christ.[20] While these authors,
along with other previous scholars of Baroque Rome, have based their analyses
on style, iconography, patronage, and other established art historical methods,
this thesis will employ anthropological theories of performance as a means of
analyzing the historical and religious context in which the work was first viewed,
upon its installation and display in the church of Santa Cecilia in 1600.

---

[17] See Anna Lo Bianco, *Cecilia: La storia, l'immagine, il mito; la scultura di Stefano Maderno e il suo restauro* (Rome: Campisano, 2001). This work also includes extensive photographs of Maderno's sculpture both *in situ* and when it was temporarily removed from the church for cleaning.

[18] See Smith O'Neil, "Stefano Maderno's *Saint Cecilia*," 9-26.

[19] See Tobias Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body: Paolo Camillo Sfondrato and the Language of Revelation," *The Sculptural Journal* VI (2001): 10-11.

[20] See Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 10-20.

This study will continue, in chapter two, with an analysis of the religious and historical context of the work's conception and creation during the Counter-Reformation. Chapter three will transition from the setting of the work's production to an analysis of the cultural context in which it was viewed in 1600. During the jubilees, held every twenty-five years in Maderno's time, the population of Rome would increase exponentially as pilgrims traveled from across Europe to the Holy See to celebrate their faith and gain indulgences.[21] This chapter will provide an understanding of the ritual elements of the Jubilee year and how these events constituted a performative framework in which Jubilee pilgrims interacted with Maderno's work. Finally, chapter four will provide an in-depth analysis of the interaction of *Santa Cecilia* and Jubilee pilgrims, informed by performance theory.

In 1600, as crowds of Jubilee pilgrims descended upon Rome and processed to its churches, they encountered the newly installed artistic schemes of martyrs' lives and deaths. As instructional devices, these images aided pilgrims in their efforts to attain salvation through the contemplation of the sacrifices of early Christian martyrs. At the church of Santa Cecilia, these same pilgrims were presented with a novel representation of one of these heroes of early Christianity. Its innovative form and the context of the Jubilee composed a

---

[21] For the Jubilee in 1600 it has been estimated that nearly 400,000 pilgrims (approximately four times the standing population) traveled to the holy city. See Richard Joseph Ingersoll, "The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 40-41.

dynamic relationship between sculpture and beholder and resulted in a

profound experience of intercession.

## CHAPTER II

## THE CONTEXT OF THE COMMISSION

The rediscovery of St. Cecilia's remains and the resulting commission for Maderno's sculpture in 1599 coincided with a period of heightened religiosity in Rome as the Church struggled to portray a sense of strength and power in the face of criticism and dissent. It is within the context of the Church's efforts to revitalize the Christian faith that Cardinal Sfondrato, the patron of the work, astutely conceived of St. Cecilia's rediscovery and Maderno's sculpture as effective means to exploit the Counter-Reformation culture and Jubilee context for the benefit of his church. Sfondrato understood that the dramatic recovery of the saint's relics would be of particular interest within the historical and religious setting of Rome in 1600, and that a commemorative sculpture of the event would prove particularly engaging during the Jubilee celebrations.

As an occasion for the faithful to travel to Rome and renew their spiritual focus, the Jubilee of 1600 served the contemporary Counter-Reformation propaganda schemes of the Church, but its ceremonies and rituals were based upon previous Jubilee celebrations, which had begun in 1300 and by 1600 were celebrated every quarter century.[22] The historical origins of this celebration declared its importance for the faithful while demonstrating the enduring

---

[22] For the celebration of the Jubilee, which was originally intended to be centennial, but came to be celebrated every twenty-five years see Herbert Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee: An Account of the History and Ceremonial of the Roman Jubilee* (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1949), 5; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 43-44; and Gary Dickson, "The Crowd at the feet of Pope Boniface VIII: pilgrimage, crusade and the first Roman Jubilee (1300)," *Journal of Medieval History* 25, no. 4 (1999): 280.

strength of the Church.[23]  The first Holy Year of Jubilee, pronounced in 1300 by

Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), asserted the prominence and importance of

Rome as the center of Christianity and afforded the faithful an opportunity to

receive a plenary indulgence, a complete remission of sins.[24] Pope Boniface VIII

established two requirements to receive the indulgence. First, it was necessary to

receive the Sacrament of Penance and second, pilgrims were required to visit the

major Roman basilicas of the apostles, once a day for fifteen consecutive days.[25]

While pilgrims spent their time traversing the city of Rome and visiting its major

---

[23] See Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 2.

[24] The Lateran Council of 1215 concluded that a plenary indulgence (as opposed to a partial indulgence) guaranteed salvation, but, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one could only be earned by participating in a crusade. The year 1300 was, therefore, the first instance when a plenary indulgence was granted as a result of pilgrimage and potentially available to any member of the Christian community. See Norman P. Tanner S.J. (ed.), "Lateran IV (1215)" in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* vol. 1, (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 270-271; and Barbara Wisch, "The Roman Church Triumphant: Pilgrimage, Penance and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575," in *Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft: Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University*, vol VI, part 1 (University Park, Pennsylvania: Department of Art History, The Pennsylvania State University, 1990), 83.

[25] In 1300 this meant visiting St. Peter's and the church of San Paolo fuori le mura. In 1343 Clement VI (r. 1342-1352) included the church of San Giovanni in Laterano and in 1373 Gregory XI (r. 1370-1378) completed the list with the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, to make a total of four destinations. See Thurston, *Holy Year of Jubilee*, 140. The rules of the indulgence necessitated that Romans visit the major basilicas once a day, for thirty consecutive days while visitors were only required to make the rounds to the four basilicas for fifteen days. The text of the original bull dated 22 February, 1300 and explaining these rules reads, "[Per questo] stabiliamo che coloro che vorrano divenire partecipi dell'indulgenza di tal genere da Noi concessa, si rechino neele medesime basiliche, se si tratta di romani per trenta giorni continui o saltuari e almeno una volta al giorno, se invece si tratta di pellegrini o di stranieri nello stesso modo per quindici giorni." See "Antiquorum habet: Istituzione del giubileo e della piena remissione dei peccati," in Erminio Lora (ed.) *Bollario dell'anno santo: documenti di indizione dal Giubileo del 1300* (Bolona: Centro editoriale dehoniano, 1998), 9. The discrepancy resulted from the reasoning that pilgrims to Rome had already endured hardship before their arrival in the city. The fifteen additional days required of Rome's citizens insured a greater equality of effort as described in *Declaration of the Jubilee Year* which was written by Sebastiano Fabrini, a Silvestrine Monk, and published in Rome in 1600. See Sebastiano Fabrini, *Dichiaratione del giubileo dell'anno santo* (Rome: Bartholomeo Bonfadino, 1600), 385-389.

basilicas, they also would have used this opportunity to venerate the relics of

saints at some of the city's lesser churches, such as the church of Santa Cecilia.

Since the Jubilee's inception, the plenary indulgence has figured

prominently in the practices of the year's celebrations. A brief explanation of the

conception and history of the indulgence system elucidates one of the most

important aspects of medieval and Renaissance religious politics. The issue of

indulgences had become, by the turn of the seventeenth century, a primary issue

of debate among Christians. The papal bull of 1300 announced the first Jubilee

and claimed for the pope the authority to grant plenary indulgences during the

Jubilee year as a result of the powers and responsibilities bestowed on him by the

apostolic founders of the Church.[26] The right of granting remission had been

passed from Christ to St. Peter, and as his successors, subsequent popes

maintained a claim to that authority. After its initial institution, the use of the

plenary indulgence became more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries when, as a means of garnering political and economic gains, popes

began to offer the plenary remission of sin to some of those unable to make the

---

[26] See the Bull "Antiquorum habet," 7-9. Several decades later, in a bull dated January 27, 1343, Pope Clement VI (r. 1342-1352) announced his intention to proclaim a year of Jubilee in 1350, and while doing so he established a clearer theological basis for indulgences, citing that Christ's passion "acquired the treasury (*thesaurum*) of the Church Militant, wishing to store up treasure for the sons of His Holy Father, such that there might now be an infinite treasure for men, through which those who draw upon it are made friends of God. Indeed, this treasure is not wrapped in cloth, nor hidden in a field, but committed to be dispensed to the faithful profitably through St. Peter, the bearer of the keys of heaven and to his successors on earth, and applied mercifully for right and reasonable causes to the truly penitent and confessed, now for the plenary, now for the partial remission of temporal penalty owed by sin." See the Bull Extravagantes communes 5.8.2 in *Corpus iuris canonici,* vol. 2, ed. Aemilianus Freidberg, (Leipzig, Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1879-1981), 1304 quoted and translated in Robert W. Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury: Indulgence in Latin Christendom, 1175-1375* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2007), 79.

pilgrimage to Rome. As more frequent opportunities to gain indulgences by monetary means arose, the critics of the indulgence system became more numerous and vehement.[27]

Critics had been voicing concern over the indulgence system for centuries, but in 1517, Martin Luther proffered the most well-known commentary on the Roman Church, which specifically targeted the practice of granting remission in return for monetary contributions.[28] In his ninety-five theses, Luther argued that "Christians are to be taught that he who sees a needy man and passes him by, yet gives money for indulgences, does not buy papal indulgences but God's wrath."[29] Relying upon Scripture as opposed to papal teachings and dogma, he further stated that "the true Christian pilgrimage is not to Rome, or Compostela, but to the prophets, the Psalms, and the Gospels."[30] Luther's questioning of Jubilee practices articulated some of the fundamental differences between the sixteenth-century Roman Church and the Reform movement.

In response to these and other attacks, the Church convened the Council of Trent, which, in 1563, responded that

---

[27] See Katharine Brophy Dubois, "Strangers and Sojourners: Pilgrims, Penance and Urban Geography in Late-Medieval Rome" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001), 122-123.

[28] For an explanation of the critical discourse previous to 1517 and examples of scholars, previous to Luther, who shared similar concerns with the Church's indulgence system, see Heiko Augustinus Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought*, trans. by Paul L. Nyhus (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 4.

[29] Martin Luther, "Ninety-Five Theses," in *Martin Luther's 95 Theses: With the Pertinent Documents from the History of the Reformation*, ed. Kurt Alano (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), 54.

[30] Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Mentor, 1950), 367.

since the power of granting indulgences was conferred by Christ in the Church, and she has even in the earliest times made use of that power divinely given to her, the holy council teaches and commands that the use of indulgences, most salutary to the Christian people and approved by the authority of the holy councils, is to be retained in the Church, and it condemns with anathema those who assert that they are useless or deny that there is in the Church the power of granting them.[31]

Jubilees following Luther's censure in 1517 continued the practices he found so abominable and were an efficacious and economically advantageous means of strengthening the Church by unifying the faithful. In 1575, the priest Gregory Martin described the international congregation of Christians who, during the Jubilee,

> meet and assemble together out of all the world in the head City of Christianity; to protest their unity of faith, and Charity of minds in so great diversity of Nations; to solace and comfort and confirm one another in devotion and true religion against Pagans, Jews, and Heretics.[32]

After the Church's official response in 1563, subsequent Jubilees more pointedly and dramatically confronted Luther's attack and the criticisms of reformers by reinvigorating the practices of penitential discipline and indulgences.

To return to 1600, then, the political and religious context of the Counter-Reformation and the role of the Jubilee in declaring the Church's doctrines

---

[31] "'Decree Concerning Indulgences,' from the Twenty-Fifth Session begun on the third and closed on the fourth day of December, 1563" in *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent: Original Text with English Translation*, trans. H.J. Schroeder, O.P. (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1941), 253.

[32] The original text reads, "meete and assemble together out of al the world in the head Citie of Christianite; to protest their unitie of faith, and Charitie of mindes in so great diversitie of Nations; to solace and comfort and confirme one an other in devotion and true religion against Pagans, Jewes, and Heretikes." See Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, ed. George Bruner Parks (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), 222. Alterations to English spellings are my own. Reverend Gregory Martin had lived in Rome from 1576 until 1578 and wrote *Roma Sancta* between 1580 and 1581. The work records his impressions of the city as well as its topography, and includes excerpts and documents from the most recent Jubilee in 1575.

provided particularly ripe circumstances for the dramatic events surrounding the rediscovery and reinterment of St. Cecilia's incorrupt relics. In addition to utilizing popular religious celebrations, like the Jubilee, as a means of strengthening the Christian faith during the Counter-Reformation, the Church also exerted considerable effort in revitalizing the study and veneration of some of Christianity's first saints. The struggles undertaken by early Christians resonated in the sixteenth century with those fighting to identify and proclaim their beliefs in the face of Protestant critique. Within this setting a renewed interest in early Christian saints and their sites of burial emerged as a source of pride.[33]

As evidence of the popularity of Early Christian Saints' cults, many guidebooks from the late sixteenth century included information on the saints' lives and martyrdoms. Pompeo Ugonio's *Historia delle stationi di Roma* (1588) outlines the origins and functions of Rome's stational churches and contains information on the saints to whom these churches were dedicated. In 1591,

---

[33] The Counter-Reformation movement to appropriate and reconstitute early Christian ritual, iconography, and practice, centered around the oratory of St. Philip Neri (1515-1595) who, though, already dead in 1599, greatly influenced his pupil, Cardinal Sfondrato. Although most of the entombed remains of early Christians had been removed from the catacombs in the ninth century by the efforts of those like Paschal I, sixteenth-century explorers of the catacombs reported on their original locations, sizes, and decorations, while hypothesizing about the remains they had once held. Figures like St. Charles Borromeo, St. Philip Neri, Cesare Baronio, and Antonio Bosio who investigated the catacombs, published their accounts, and sparked even greater interest in subterranean Rome. The work *Roma Sotterranea* by Antonio Bosio, published in 1600, was one example that fomented interest in the catacombs and led to greater numbers of visitors and explorers during the seventeenth century. See J. Stevenson, *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 48; and Simon Ditchfield, "Text Before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's *Roma Sotterranea* Revisited" in *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (New York: Boydell & Brewer Inc., 1997), 347-348.

Antonio Tempesta's illustrations for a manual by Antonio Gallonio which describes the instruments of torture used on martyrs, reveal a more specific interest in the suffering these saints endured.[34] Triumphant stories of early Christian martyrs who fought for their faith served as powerful religious propaganda during the Counter-Reformation and the actions of Sfondrato, the titular priest of the church of Santa Cecilia in 1599, reveal his understanding of the piety and fervor that the cult of the first martyrs could inspire.[35]

In 1597, Cardinal Sonfdrato began directing renovations at the church of Santa Cecilia knowing that this building project would provide the opportunity to uncover the saint's place of burial.[36] During the course of this work, on Wednesday, October 20, 1599, three marble sarcophagi containing six incorrupt bodies were discovered under the altar.[37] Pope Clement VIII demonstrated an

[34] See Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato degli instrumenti di martirio e delle varie maniere di martoriare usate dai gentili contro christiani* (Rome, 1591); and Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, 136.

[35] See Jack Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 58; and Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 11 and 17.

[36] Bosio, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae* cited in Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 11; and Archivio di Stato di Roma, Benedettine, Busta 4202, fol. 10, '1597. Nota delli risarcimenti, e pitture fatte nella Chiesa per ordine del Card.[inal]e Sfondrati Titolare.---To. 50. Pag. 41', cited in Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 22n. Reportedly Sfondrato knew that St. Cecilia could be found under the altar because after his uncle's death (Pope Gregory XIV) on October 15, 1591, Sfondrato had found a letter from Paschal I, among his uncles' papers, which had included information of the saint's discovery and the transfer of her body from the catacombs to the church, including their location.

[37] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinati Latini 1067, fol. 672v, "di Roma li XXX. Ottobre 1599" transcribed in Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 23n. The *avviso* reads, "Questi Ill.[ustrissi]mi Card:[ina]li attendo ad accomodar le loro Chiese titolari, frà le quali il Card:[ina]l Sfondrato fà resarcire quella di S:[an]ta Cecilia in trastevere, presso il cui corpo trovato sotto l'altar Magg:[io]re in una cassa d'Ebano lunga 6 palmi, intiero et nel collo la ferita, ch'hebbe nel suo martirio col sangue ancor vivo; ne furno trovate dell'altre di Marno con 4 altri corpi S:[an]ti cioè S:[an]to Urbano Papa, il Marito, e Cug:[na]to di S:[an]ta Cecilia battezzati da d:[ett]o S:[an]to Urbano, et un altro corpo di Papa."

immediate interest in the happenings and quickly dispatched Cardinal Cesare

Baronio (r. 1596-1607) and Antonio Bosio, both scholars of the catacombs and

their early Christian inhabitants, to observe and record the events.[38] Baronio

recorded that,

> we found the venerable body of Cecilia in the same place that we have
> read that she was found and placed in the tomb by Pope Paschal. At her
> feet were still veils imbued with blood; the robe of which the Pope spoke
> was still recognizable as a material of silk and gold though damaged by
> time… One saw with admiration that the body was not extended like the
> dead in their tombs; but the very chaste virgin was lying on her right side,
> as on a bed, knees tucked in with modesty, offering the aspect of a
> sleeping person, and inspiring in all a respect that, despite the attraction of
> a pious curiosity, no one dared lift the vestments in order to discover the
> virginal body.[39]

Fostered by the contemporary zeal for early Christian archaeology, a

series of subsequent events reveal the public interest in her incorruptible form.

An *avviso* dated October 30, 1599 records that after their recovery, the remains of

St. Cecilia and her companions were ceremoniously placed under the *ciborium*.[40]

Soon after, Pope Clement VIII fueled interest in the site by visiting the church on

November 10, 1599.[41] Subsequently, Cardinal Sfondrato granted the request of

---

[38] See Lo Bianco, *Cecilia*, 15.

[39] See Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 9 (Antwerp, 1601), 692-693, trans. by Andrew Farrington and quoted in Smith O'Neil, "Stefano Maderno's *Saint Cecilia*," 16.

[40] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinati latini 1067, fol. 672v transcribed in Tobias Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body, 23n. The *avviso* states: "tuttie intieri, e posti dom:[meni]ca passata con grand:issimma pompa, e devotione in una Ciboria della med:[esim]a chiesa, dove concorse gran popolo à vederli."

[41] See Lo Bianco, *Cecilia*, 16.

the Roman population and allowed them to venerate her displayed corpse.[42] The

opportunity to view St. Cecilia's incorrupt relics generated an impressive

response and the Swiss Guard was dispatched to control the overzealous crowds

who threatened the conservation of her remains.[43] Cardinal Sfondrato quickly

isolated her from the public, and on her feast day, November 22, 1599, Pope

Clement VIII, accompanied by forty-two cardinals and the entire papal court,

reinterred her corpse in the church of Santa Cecilia.[44]

---

[42] Prior to the rediscovery of her remains, great interest in the relics of St. Cecilia already existed and is evidenced by the number of guidebooks to Rome which cite her dramatic history. Numerous examples proliferated in various languages and formats. The most popular guide, the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum Urbis*, was first published in 1475 and forty-three additional editions in Latin appeared before 1524. Other editions were printed in German, Italian, French, Spanish, and Flemish. See Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 34. In addition to outlining itineraries to follow, guidebooks also often provided historical information on the saints. The story of the life of St. Cecilia was well known and recounted in these popular guidebooks. A work published in 1591, written by Antonio Gallonio includes short histories of the martyred female Roman saints. See Antonio Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane* (Rome, 1591), 212. *Le cose maravigliose*, a popular guidebook to the city, was republished in 1600. This work includes a print of the facade of the church of Santa Cecilia and is accompanied by a brief entry summarizing Paschal's efforts to recover and translate her relics as well as the much more recent rediscovery of her remains. See *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma citta di Roma: anfiteatro del mondo, con le chiese et antichita rappresentate in disegno da Girolamo Francino* (Rome: Franzini, 1600): 36-37.

[43] *Avviso* of November 17, 1599, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinati latini 1067, fol. 688 transcribed in Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body, 28n. The original text reads, "Dom.[eni]ca matt.[in]a Il Card.[ina]le Sfondrato fece metter fuori in un altare alla publica vista del popolo il sacro Corpo di S.[an]ta Cecilia, ma vi fu tanto concorso di gente, che quantunque ci si teneva la guardia de svizzeri in ogni modo, non si poteva tener il popolo à freno onde il Card.[ina]le fece rimettere il corpo più [fol 689v] presto di qualque si era rissoluto, dovendosi poi lunedi pross.[imo] che sarà la festa di d.[ett]a Santa rimettere nel luogo deputato et fatto rifare àpposta sotto l'Altare maggiore."

[44] *Avviso* of Wednesday, November 24, 1599 in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinati latini 1067, fol. 704r. transcribed in Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 29n. The original text reads, "N.[ostro] S.[igno]re lunedi matt.[in]a giorno dell festivita di S.[an]ta Cecilia sene passò co' tutta la Corte et SS.ri Car.[din]li a d.[ett]a Chiesa ove tenne capella, essendo stato il giorno dopo pranzo rimesse le religuie sante al lor luogo, et con tutto che fusse un cattiviss.[issim]o tempo, et continuo co' pioggie in ogni modo ci fu tanto popolo, che si strattava dell Impossibile ad Intrarci." See also Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 14; Lo Bianco, *Cecilia*, 16; and Ottavio Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti Dell'Alma Città Di Roma* (Rome: Zannetti, 1625), 611.

To commemorate the remarkable discovery of St. Cecilia and the miraculous state of her preservation, Cardinal Sfondrato commissioned the young Maderno to complete a marble sculpture of the saint. Bosio describes that in order to install the work under the altar

> a small 'loculus' was excavated in length equal to that of a prostate body, which was then lined completely in black stone. Within this small 'loculus' is to be seen the statue of the Blessed Cecilia, in the most shining white Parian marble, depicting the body just as it was found within the ancient coffin.[45]

The exact date of the sculpture's completion and installation in the church is unknown, but various financial records and *avvisi* as well as the speed with which the reinterment of St. Cecilia and the commissioning of the statue took place demonstrate that it was conceived and realized as an important aspect of the Jubilee celebration.[46] Evidence for the timely completion of the sculpture is found in Bosio's work, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae virginis.* Published in 1600, it afforded the Jubilee pilgrim the story of St. Cecilia's life, martyrdom, original burial, reburial in 821 and later discovery in 1599, and also included descriptions

---

[45] Bosio, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae…* , 172-173, in Smith O'Neil, "Stefano Maderno's *Saint Cecilia*," trans. Andrew Farrington, 14. The Latin original reads "Est in eius muri medio loculus in longitudine excavatus ad cubantis corporis mensuram, qui totus undique nigro lapide circumuestitur. Intra hunc loculum statua B. Cæciliæ Virginis è Pario marmore candidissimo collocata visitur, ea omnino forma, qua sacrum eius Corpus intra Arcam veterem com pofitum, inuentum est: Iacet enim tenuissima veste ad talos sluente præcincta, humum dextero premens latere, vultu ad Consessionem obverso, ita ut astantium conspectum refugiat; caput linteo circumuolutum, manus in anteriorem partem proiectæ, genuaque paululum erecta cernuntur."

[46] See Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body, 14.

of Maderno's sculpture, establishing a date of installation prior to the end of 1600.[47]

Cardinal Sfondrato's efforts to memorialize the rediscovery of St. Cecilia's remains in marble and on paper demonstrate the importance with which he considered the event. Although announced at the time and portrayed in contemporary accounts as a fortuitous occurrence, the discovery of the saint's corpse in 1599 was actually a carefully choreographed event, directed by Sfondrato to garner attention for his church on the eve of the Jubilee.[48] The Counter-Reformation culture—defined by its renewed interest in early Christianity, public demonstrations of Church authority, and the propagation of these beliefs in artistic commissions—afforded Cardinal Sfondrato the ideal moment to recover St. Cecilia's remains and subsequently reestablish her importance and prominence within the Christian topography of Rome. As the Jubilee of 1600 was approaching, Sfondrato understood that the upcoming celebrations and the accompanying pilgrims would provide a large and faithful audience motivated by the Church's propaganda to interact with early Christian martyrs. This created an ideal setting for the conception and creation of

---

[47] See Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *History of the Popes* XXIV, ed. and trans. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1933), 272 and 277-278. Bosio's work, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae virginis, Valeriani, Tiburtii, et Maximi martyrum*, published in 1600 records the appearance of the sculpture *in situ* beneath the altar, thereby establishing an installation date, during the year of 1600. See A. Bosio, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae virginis, Valeriani, Tiburtii, et Maximi martyrum* (Rome: Paolini, 1600), 172-173.

[48] See Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 14.

Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*, but it also provided a unique but ephemeral context, in which Jubilee pilgrims viewed the work.

**CHAPTER III**

**THE PERFORMATIVE FRAME OF THE JUBILEE OF 1600**

At the end of the fifteenth century, when Pope Sixtus IV restored the *Ponte Sisto*, a bridge spanning Rome's Tiber river, he had an inscription affixed to the new structure: "For the use of the Roman population and the multitude of pilgrims who come to the Jubilee."[49] Aware of the vast numbers of the faithful who descended upon Rome for each Holy Year, Sixtus had dedicated some of the Church's money to similar urban planning and infrastructure projects in order to facilitate pilgrims' visits to Rome's churches. The wording of the inscription acknowledges that the Jubilee incorporated the city of Rome — its bridges, streets, churches, and *piazze* — into the celebrations. During the Holy Year, Rome attained a ceremonial topography which appeared only every twenty-five years and afforded Jubilee pilgrims a particular experience of the city and the monuments it contained. According to one contemporary account, the Holy Year allowed pilgrims to see, taste, hear, and experience the charity, devotion, and magnificence of Rome.[50] In 1600 the Holy Year events throughout the city, in

---

[49] Arnold Esch, "Il giubileo di Sisto IV (1475)," in *La storia dei giubilei*, vol. 2, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome: BNL Edizioni, 1998), 115.

[50] The original text by Sebastiano Fabrini and published in Rome in 1600, in full, reads, "Le cose che essi hanno viste, sentite, gustate, & esperimentate in salute dell'anime loro, cioè la gran fede della Città di Roma, la carità, la divotione, la magnificenza, la grádezza, la santità delle Chiesa dei Santissimi Apostoli Pietro, & Paolo, & altre quasi infinite, la maestà, & la gloria del Santissimo Pontefice Romano, la continua frequenza, & con corso del popolo Christiano à visitar le sette Chiese, la divotione, & la gravità nelle sante cerimonie offervate in Roma con molto decoro, la gran diligenza, & cura degli hospitali, dove si governano infermi, & si ricevono i Peregrini con grandissima carità." See Fabrini, *Dichiaratione del giubileo dell'anno santo*, 123-124.

which pilgrims took part, created a Jubilee-defined setting and influenced how viewers interacted with Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*.[51]

In his seminal 1986 essay *Frame Analysis* sociologist Erving Goffman provides the term "frame" to identify the context or the "definition of the situation."[52] According to Goffman, any given social situation can contain innumerable numbers of frames based upon the participants, all of whom provide differing perspectives.[53] In Goffman's colloquial example, he explains that a game of golf will be framed quite differently based upon whether or not one is the golfer, and therefore at play, or one is the caddy, and at work.[54] The Jubilee of 1600 framed pilgrims' experience of Rome. As a result, their encounter with the city greatly differed from that of merchants in Rome or non-Christian visitors to the city.[55]

---

[51] The Jubilee of 1600 was announced by papal bull on May 19, 1599. For the full text of the bull see "Annus Domini placabilis: Indizione del giubileo universale per l'anno 1600," in *Bollario dell'anno santo: documenti di indizione dal Giubileo del 1300*, edited by Erminio Lora (Bologna: Centro editoriale dehoniano, 1998), 201-215.

[52] Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986). While Kämpf does employ the word "frame" in his title and study of Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*, he does not use it in the same theoretical sense as this thesis. Kämpf's usage does not refer to the anthropological definition by Goffman, but rather to an architectural devise. According to Kämpf the "gleaming architectural frame to Cecilia's incorrupt body extended the entire width of the nave, giving the relics a prominence unseen even in St. Peter's." See Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 14.

[53] See Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 1.

[54] See Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 8.

[55] *Avvisi* from June 17, 1600 and August 5, 1600 record the presence of Protestants "whose preachers had again described the solemnity as a mere financial speculation" and "Mahometans" who had traveled to Rome during the Jubilee. *Avvisi* quoted in Pastor, *History of the Popes* XXIV, 276-277.

The Church promised that the souls of those pilgrims who traveled to Rome and earned the plenary indulgence are

> redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, [and] are delivered from the insupportable yoke of diabolical tyranny, and from the obscure prison and chains of sin, by the divine virtue of the Sacraments, and their sins and punishments being remitted, they are adopted sons of God, and admitted to the heritage of the heavenly kingdom, and possession of Paradise, receiving other infinite benefits of God.[56]

This heavenly reward set the tone for the year's celebrations and fostered a community of religious devotees. Jubilee pilgrims, who arrived en masse to the city, entered a frame in which the rules that governed their daily lives had been temporarily suspended. Instead of spending their days as they would at home, pilgrims passed their time in Rome visiting various churches, venerating relics, and offering prayers to the saints. These events, when considered as performances, resultantly framed the city and its monuments (including Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*).

One of the most well-known performance scholars, Richard Schechner, has explained that, most simply, a performance is an event involving a performer doing and a spectator observing.[57] This broad interpretation covers the more traditional use of the word performance and the examples of a Broadway

---

[56] The original text reads, "redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, [and] are delivered from the insupportable yoke of diabolical tyranny, and from the obscure prison and chaines of sinne, by the divine vertue of the Sacraments, and their sinnes and punishments being remitted, they are adopted sonnes of God, and admitted to the heritage of the heavenly kingdome, and possession of Paradise, receyving other infinite benefites of God." See *The ceremonies, solemnities, and prayers, used at the opening of the holy gates of foure churches, within the citie of Rome, in the yere of Iubilee: and also the great Iubile for this yeere of our Lord 1600…* (London: Printed for Iohn Wolfe, 1600), 14. Alterations to English spellings are my own.

[57] See Richard Schechner, *Performance Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

musical, an opera, or a one-man show (all of which clearly include an audience

that watches an actor or a group of actors on a stage). But this definition also

applies to many religious events that took place during the Jubilee. During the

opening and closing of the *Porta Santa* at St. Peter's Basilica, which served as the

opening and closing ceremonies of the Jubilee year, a large crowd would gather

to watch the ritual actions of the pope. This event provides an historical example

of Schechner's definition of a performance.[58] But in addition to this more

generalized interpretation, Schechner also more narrowly defines performance as

"any activity that involves the presentation of rehearsed or pre-established

sequences of words or actions."[59] Returning to the examples listed above, this

applies to the lyrics and choreography rehearsed and then performed in a

Broadway musical, the lyrics and music of an opera, as well as the lines and

actions of an actor in a one-man show. In each of these instances, an actor

commits to memory a series of lines, actions, or notes that are then recreated on a

---

[58] The *Porta Santa* is an entryway into St. Peter's Basilica that remains closed, sealed by a brick wall at all times, except on the occasion of a Jubilee. The beginning of the Jubilee and the consequent temporary transformation of Rome was signaled by the choreographed dismantling of the wall, while the rebuilding of this barricade sealed the door and signaled the Jubilee's completion, at the end of the year. The Church employed the *Porta Santa* and its rituals to declare its authority, as the door was used to symbolize the door to heaven, and the pope's ritual opening and closing of the *Porta Santa* demonstrated the Church's control of entry into heaven. For an account of the opening of the *Porta Santa* on December 31, 1599 see *Ceremonies, solemnities, and prayers*, 4; and Diary of Paolo Alaleona quoted and translated in Thurston, *Holy Year of Jubilee*, 226. For an account of the closing ceremonies of the *Porta Santa* on January 13, 1601 see Thurston, *Holy Year of Jubilee*, 245.

[59] Henry Bial, "Introduction to Part II: What is Performance?," *The Performance Studies Reader,* ed. Henry Bial (New York: Routledge, 2007), 59.

stage. But, again, this definition can also be extended to the choreographed

actions of the pope opening or closing the *Porta Santa*.[60]

While pilgrims served as the audience for ceremonies like the *Porta Santa*,

they also participated as actors in numerous Jubilee events. By processing

through the city upon arriving in Rome and venerating relics, pilgrims were

provided with the opportunity to take part in Jubilee performances. These events

establish the performative frame of the Jubilee and allow for an analysis of the

actions of pilgrims during the Holy Year, thus elucidating the role they played

when they encountered Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*.

The Jubilee pilgrimage itself was an impressive ritual in which pilgrims

took part. The often arduous trip to Rome functioned to reinforce Christian

identity and unify the participants who walked and rode together on their way

to the papal city.[61] The journey would culminate with the triumphal arrival in

and subsequent procession through Rome.[62] Confraternities met pilgrims at the

city gates and accompanied them to St. Peter's Basilica while singing the *Te*

---

[60] In 1500 Alexander VI (r. 1492-1503) established the *Porta Santa* as the site of the commencement and conclusion of the Jubilee year. John Burchard, Alexander VI's Master of Ceremonies, recorded the opening of the *Porta Santa* in 1499. See Marcello Fagiolo, "Roma sacra e Roma profana: La città dei Trionfi e delle Basiliche," in *La Festa a Roma: dal Rinascimento al 1870* vol. 1, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Umberto Allenmandi & Co., 1997): 26; and Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, *Roma, 1300-1875: L'arte degli anni santi* (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1984), 67.

[61] There exist numerous helpful studies of the anthropology of pilgrimage. For an introduction to the field see Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, "Approaches to the Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism," in *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*, ed. Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004). Victor Turner has also contributed multiple studies to the field including Victor Turner, *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (Ranchi, India: Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, 1979).

[62] See Fabrini, *Dichiaratione del giubileo dell'anno santo*, 305.

*Deum*.[63] Rocho Masini, a goat-keeper serving the Confraternity of Jesus from Viterbo, recorded the pilgrimage of the confraternity during the Jubilee in 1575. He noted that when they reached an inn just outside Rome they were met by six musicians sent by a local confraternity. Together, the brothers and musicians processed into the city where they were met by forty more Romans "all clothed in red gowns according to their custom, carrying twelve white tapers, and they led us to their Church."[64] Those partaking in the processions celebrated their successful journey, while other pilgrims who had already arrived would reinforce this celebration, observing the colorful and often boisterous entry of fellow pilgrims. One account describes the arrival of a group who brought with them "several Crucifixes and rich banners, their standards, their lights in high gilt lanterns, their music, their Pilgrim's apparel, some white, some red, some one color, some another, according to the suit of every company."[65] Other confraternities or companies arriving in Rome displayed expensive holy objects

> some representing death and damnation, some the heavenly joys, other some the Church Militant, others the Church Triumphant, the Orders of the Angels, the variety of Martyrs and Martyrdoms with the instruments thereof; the diversity of Saints, the purity of Virgins, the stories of the old Testament, the state of Penitents.[66]

---

[63] See Angelo Pientini, *Le pie narrationi dell'opere piv memorabili fatte in Roma l'anno del givbileo MDLXXV* (Florence : Appresso Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1583), excerpt in Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 232.

[64] Rocho Masini of Viterbo, (Journal of Pilgrimage to Rome in 1575 of the Confraternita del Gesù), ed. Pierre Cardinal La Fonatine, in Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 270-271.

[65] The translated text reads, "several Crucifixes and rich banners, their standards, their lightes in high gilted lanternes, their musike, their Pilgrimes apparel, some white, some red, some one colour, some an other, according to the sute of every companie." See Pientini, *Pie Narrationi,* excerpt in Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 230.

[66] Pientini, *Pie Narrationi,* excerpt in Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 231.

The arrival and procession of these groups by the hundreds, or even thousands, produced elaborate scenes of pomp and display.[67] Pilgrims who walked in these processions adopted the identity of actors within these performances. The dress worn and objects carried by arriving pilgrims promoted this new identity, which was centered upon the task of pilgrimage and shaped by the Jubilee frame.

Once they had arrived in the city, pilgrims used their time in Rome to visit some of the most important relics of Christendom. The reliquaries and monuments to the saints operated within a visual vocabulary of commemoration and prompted acts of veneration.[68] Of the relics housed in Rome, first and foremost on a pilgrim's list would be those depicting a likeness of Christ or those objects which had come into contact with him during his life. These include the Veronica, a piece of fabric that St. Veronica allegedly used to wipe Christ's face, resulting in a record of his likeness. Kept in its own chapel in St. Peter's, this object drew large crowds when the pope displayed it every Sunday and feast day during the Jubilee year.[69] Christ's manger was kept in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, while his swaddling clothes and the foreskin from his circumcision, as well as the stairway where Jesus was judged before Pilate, were kept at the

---

[67] Angelo Pientini da Corsignano recorded that during the Holy Year of 1575 arriving confraternities numbered 3000 and 8000 members. See Pientini, *Pie Narrationi,* excerpt in Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 237.

[68] See Goodson, "Material Memory," 23.

[69] See Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 39.

church of San Giovanni in Laterano.[70] Attracted by the recent dramatic stories of the rediscovery of an incorrupt saint and the rigorous campaign of propaganda enacted by Cardinal Sfondrato, at the center of which was Maderno's statue, many pilgrims also chose to visit the church of Santa Cecilia. The act of veneration—the gestures of the sign of the cross and the uttered words of prayers—was a performance Jubilee pilgrims repeated throughout Rome and many times over as they visited the relics and shrines of Christian saints.

In 1575 Cardinal Borromeo instructed Jubilee pilgrims as to the proper actions and reflections one should execute at the sites of holy relics. He suggested that,

> while you visit those holy places, you shall have occasion to remember so many blessed Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, considering their life, or any one particular action of theirs, such as you know, or as the very place itself will show you; and with all you shall pray to our Lord God that by intercession he will give you grace to imitate and follow their holy conversation, and to obtain the pardons and indulgences that in the said places are given and granted.[71]

By prescribing the mental actions pilgrims should take, Cardinal Borromeo furnished a constructed experience, composed of the display of rehearsed actions

---

[70] See Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 39-41.

[71] The translated text reads, "while you visite those holy places, you shal have occasion to remember so many blessed Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, considering their life, or any one particular action of theirs, such as you know, or as the very place itself will shew you; and withal you shal pray to our Lord God that by intercession he wil geve you grace to imitate and folow their holy conversation, and to obteine the pardons and indulgences that in the said places are geven and graunted." Cardinal Borromeo, *Lettera Pastorale* excerpted in Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 227. Alterations to English spellings are my own.

or "restored behavior"—an integral aspect of Schechner's definition of performance.[72]

The Jubilee provided a performative setting in which pilgrims became both observers and actors within the grand stage of Rome. While Jubilee participants may have come from many points of departure and varied circumstances, they were unified in their desired destination (geographic and spiritual) and their temporary pilgrim identities.[73] All were required to complete the arduous journey and visit the same relics in Rome in order to reap the spiritual benefits the Jubilee year offered. In the meantime, participants were defined not by their traditional identities, but by their status as pilgrims. The new identity this novel perspective afforded modified pilgrims' perceptions of monuments in Rome, allowing viewers from distinct homelands, backgrounds, and classes to comprehend a common ritual vocabulary. The active roles pilgrims played within the performative Jubilee frame greatly influenced their interaction with Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*.

---

[72] See Bial, "Introduction to Part II," 59.

[73] In his guidebook, Camillo Fanucci prescribes different prayers for pilgrims to recite, based upon their level of eduction. See Camillo Fanucci, *Tratto di tutte l'opere pie dell'alma città di Roma…* (Rome, 1601), 137 quoted in Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome*, 301.

## CHAPTER IV

### KEYING THE DISCOVERY OF ST. CECILIA'S CORPSE

In 1599 the scholar Antonio Bosio recorded his reactions after viewing St.

Cecilia's recently exhumed corpse:

> The body of the maiden was about five and a half palms long, since the body had no doubt dried up and contracted through the passage of time, for it was obvious that in life the girl was of greater height. The body lay on the right side with the legs drawn together, with the arms projecting in front and the neck sharply bent, the face lying on the ground like a sleeper, perhaps retaining the appearance of the moment when, after the third blow, she fell, rendering upon her soul to God, and was placed in the cemetery by Pope Urban. In this condition Paschal placed it under the main altar, so that the head faced the south of the church and the feet north.[74]

While noting the unique position of the saint's remains, Bosio's comments also

emphasize the role her body played during the pontificates of both Urban I (who

buried her in the catacombs) and Paschal I (who translated her remains from the

catacombs to the church).[75] Bosio cites the major events of the afterlife of St.

Cecilia's earthly remains, explaining that her corpse had remained in this

position most likely since her death; she had been interred in this pose, translated

---

[74] Bosio, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae,* 157 translated and quoted in Smith O'Neil, "Stefano Maderno's *Saint Cecilia*," 16. The original passage reads, "Virginieum Corpus palmos quique cum ferè dimidio longu apparebat, haud dubiè vetustate exsuccis offibus, atque contractis; nam viunetem Virginem excelsiore statura fuisse quis ambigat? Iac ebat id corpus in dexterum incumbens latus, paululum contractis cruribus, brachijsque ante proiectis, ceruice autem valde reflexa, facieque ad humum procumbente dormientis instar, eam ut credi po test sormam retinens, in qua post trinam percussionem, cui triduum superuixit, animam Deo reddens conciderat, fueratque pariter Cœmeterio ab Urbano Pontifice collocatum: quod ita Paschalis sub Altari maiore reposuerat, ut summa part eius ad meridionalem, extrema ad septentrionalem Ecclefiæ partem spectaret."

[75] Kämpf interprets the careful links between the events in 1599 and 1600 and those in the ninth century to be a careful manipulation of the discovery of St. Cecilia's remains driven by the "papally motivated restoration of the titular churches for the coming Jubilee year in 1600." See Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 14.

in this guise, and rediscovered in the same arrangement. By referencing this series of historical events he positioned the recent uncovering of her relics within this dramatic and enduring narrative.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, contemporary accounts and guidebooks like Bosio's educated pilgrims about the events at the church of Santa Cecilia and attracted visitors to the site of her burial and memorial. Armed with the information in these reports, pilgrims entering the church in 1600 could discover the church's contents for themselves. Upon entering the main portal, pilgrims could already discern Maderno's sculpture at the termination of the nave, beneath the main altar. The work's shining white marble stands out from the surrounding sumptuous polychrome marble and the glittering apse mosaic, spotlighting it against the colorful presbytery. As has been analyzed by Kämpf in his study of the work's location within the church, the sculpture inhabits a meaningful position. The form of St. Cecilia's corpse, represented by Maderno's statue, rests at the intersection of the nave and the vertical axis defined by the symmetrical apse mosaic, the soaring white thirteenth-century ciborium by Arnolfo di Cambio, and the main altar.[76] Drawn to this space, pilgrims made their way down the side aisle as a series of spoliated columns intermittently obscured their view of Maderno's sculpture. If allowed to descend down into the annular crypt, pilgrims would glimpse the saint's sarcophagus through the

---

[76] Kämpf investigates the work's location in light of contemporary interest in early Christian themes and liturgies, in particular the principle that Christ should be positioned above the altar (in the form of the host), while the holy martyrs should be positioned below. See Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 11.
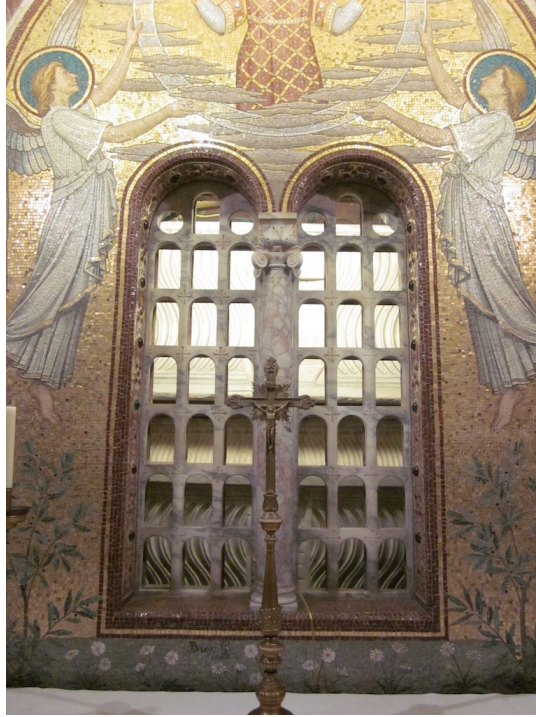
**Figure 2**. Crypt (with a view of St. Cecilia's sarcophagus through the *fenestella*). The church of Santa Cecilia, Rome. (Photo: author)

*fenestella* (fig. 2) and then, after climbing a set of stairs, would reemerge on the other side of the nave. From this vantage point, pilgrims perceived the sculpture of *Santa Cecilia* on a personal and intimate scale immediately after visiting the site of the saint's actual relics. The representation of the saint's lifeless but still incorrupt remains allowed pilgrims to imagine the experience of seeing what her actual corpse, in the crypt just below their feet, truly looked like. The form of the saint's unidealized and unposed body conveyed a sense of shocking realism. Further inviting the interaction of viewers, the index finger of her right hand breaks the barrier of the loculus—the visible vertical plane established between

**Figure 3**. Stefano Maderno, *Santa Cecilia*, 1600, marble. The church of Santa Cecilia, Rome. (Photo: author)

the viewer and the work by the boundary of the marble base—allowing the sculpture to enter the space of the pilgrims (fig 3).

The innovative and engaging form of Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* implicated Jubilee pilgrims who, as a result of the performative frame of the Jubilee, had already participated as actors in the Holy Year celebrations. While Schechner's definition of performance focuses on the repeated or pre-arranged actions of the actors, others scholars, like Goffman and Richard Bauman, have focused on the origin of these repeated actions. Goffman explains that performances produce a copy of an original event.[77] Bauman supports this claim, explaining that "all performance involves the consciousness of doubleness, through which the actual execution of an action is placed in mental comparison with a potential, an ideal,

---

[77] See Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 40.

or a remembered original."[78] In the model of performance by Goffman and Bauman when an original action is reproduced into a secondary action, many of the primary elements will be copied, but not every element will be duplicated. As a result it is not a matter of mimesis but an example of transcription, where some elements are lost or transformed.[79] Goffman calls the process of transcribing an original event to a performed event "keying."[80] By conforming to accounts of the saint's incorrupt corpse, Maderno's work suggested the specific moment of her discovery and implicated viewers in this narrative. Using Goffman's terminology, Maderno's sculpture—its form, location under the altar, and size—functioned within the performative Jubilee frame to key the discovery of St. Cecilia's remains in 1599. When pilgrims entered the church, spied Maderno's sculpture, and then made their way toward the unsettling form of a lifeless and seemingly abandoned body, they recreated the discovery of the saint's remains the previous year.

---

[78] Marvin Carlson, "What is Performance?" in *The Performance Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Bial, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 73.

[79] See Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 41.

[80] Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 43-44. The term "keying" was developed by Goffman. According to Goffman, keys can be organized in five domains: make-believe, contests, technical redoings (rehearsals), regroundings, and ceremonials. In general, sociological and anthropological scholars have employed or responded to Goffman's idea of frames, more so than to his concept of keying. Those scholars that do investigate keying are often linguistic scholars, analyzing verbal interactions such as jokes or anecdotes. For examples see: Thomas Kochman, "The Boundary Between Play and Nonplay in Black Verbal Dueling," *Language in Society* 12, no. 3 (1983): 329-337; Barbara Strodt López, "Personal Anecdotes in University Classes," *Anthropological Linguistics* 29, no. 2 (1987): 194-269; and Paul McLean, "A Frame Analysis of Favor Seeking in the Renaissance: Agency, Networks, and Political Culture," *American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 1 (1998): 51-91.

**Figure 4**. Inscription in the floor of the church of Santa Cecilia, Rome. (Photo: author)

An inscription in the floor of the church, directly in front of *Santa Cecilia*, further emphasized the intersection between statue and relics (fig. 4): "Gaze upon the likeness of the most holy virgin Cecilia,/ Which I saw myself lying in an entire state in the sepulcher/ I have had this same likeness, precisely in the same position her body lay,/ Expressed for you in marble."[81] The accompanying inscription, written in the voice of Cardinal Sfondrato, asserts that the titular priest had been present at the discovery of her corpse and verifies that Maderno's work accurately captures the appearance of her incorrupt body.

---

[81] Bosio, *Historia Passionis B. Caeciliae…*, 173 quoted in Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 19 (note 32). The inscription reads "PAVLVS TT. S. CÆCILIÆ/ EN TIBI SANCTISSIMÆ VIRGINIS CÆCILIÆ IMAGINEM/ QVAM IPSE INTEGRAM IN SEPVLCHRO IACENTEM VIDI/ EANDEM TIBI PRORSVS EODEM CORPORIS SITV/ HOC MARMORE EXPRESSI."

Goffman's theory further explains that keys themselves can also be rekeyed.[82] Maderno's sculpture not only keys St. Cecilia's discovery in 1599, but it also rekeys her initial recovery from the catacombs in 821 as well as her martyrdom in the fourth century. As Bosio noted in his description of St. Cecilia's corpse, the miraculous discoveries of her remains defined the history of her corpse and these events repeatedly cited and transcribed one another. Beginning with her tragic martyrdom and the sight of her dead body on her bathroom floor, each subsequent rediscovery of her remains invoked this original scene while simultaneously recreating each later discovery of her corpse, as well. In effect, the recovery of St. Cecilia in 1599 had already keyed Paschal's finding of her remains in 821. Thus, Maderno's sculpture rekeyed this same event. *Santa Cecilia* recalled each of these moments and the repeated discovery of Maderno's sculpture by Jubilee pilgrims keyed and rekeyed the afterlife of the saint's earthly remains.

While much of Maderno's artistic program commemorated St. Cecilia's recovery by Cardinal Sfondrato, aspects also suggested the saint's earlier translation in 821, thereby reinforcing the work's multivalent form. On either side of the sculpture, on the dividing wall between the nave and the presbytery, six gilt relief figures, also by Maderno and each with an accompanying label,

---

[82] See Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 79.

40

recall her burial and discovery in the catacombs (figs 5 and 6). To the right of the statue stand Pope Lucius, Pope Urban, and the martyred St. Maximus, while St. Valerian, St. Cecilia, and St. Tiburtius occupy space to the left.[83] These reliefs provide a visual catalogue of those martyrs once buried with St. Cecilia in the catacombs and translated with her corpse to Santa Cecilia.

Extending beyond the figure of *Santa Cecilia* and its niche, Maderno's contributions incorporated existing ninth-century decorations to further reiterate the sculpture's relationship to the events of 821. The statue interacts with the earlier ninth-century apse mosaic, which provides the backdrop for the church's altar. The mosaic represents Christ surrounded on either side by a total of six figures (fig. 7). Immediately to either side of him stand St. Peter and St. Paul.



**Figure 5**. (left) Stefano Maderno, *Pope Lucius, Pope Urban, and St. Maximus*, 1600, gilt. The church of Santa Cecilia, Rome. (Photo: author)

**Figure 6**. (right) Stefano Maderno, *St. Valerian, St. Cecilia, and St. Tiburtius*, 1600, gilt. The church of Santa Cecilia, Rome. (Photo: author)

---

[83] These are the six bodies placed beneath the altar by Pope Paschal I in 821.

Also at Christ's left are St. Valerian (Cecilia's husband) and St. Agatha, who,

along with Cecilia, received the dedication of the neighboring convent. On

Christ's right, a richly dressed St. Cecilia stands beside Pope Paschal I who holds

a small model of the church. The inscription accompanying the apse mosaic

reads:

> This spacious house, constructed with various precious stones, which once in an earlier age had been ruined, sparkles. Wealthy Bishop Paschal has built this house of the Lord for the better, forming it with a bright foundation. This golden sanctuary of the temple echoes with gems. Here, joyous with the love of God, he has united the holy bodies with Cecilia and her companions. Here the youth in their prime shine brightly, those blessed limbs which long ago rested in death in the catacombs [*in cruptis*]. Rome, forever embellished, always exulting, resounds.[84]



**Figure 7**. Apse mosaic (with Pope Paschal I, St. Cecilia, St. Paul, Christ, St. Peter, St. Valerian, and St. Agatha), ninth century, mosaic. The church of Santa Cecilia, Rome. (Photo: author)

---

[84] Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions* (Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 29.

Like the published narratives which served as literary records of St. Cecilia's history, this inscription and the mosaic it accompanies functioned as visual testimony of the translation of her relics and the role that Pope Paschal played in that episode. The depiction of Paschal and Cecilia, side by side in the mosaic, declared the truthfulness of this event.

While the crumpled, lifeless form of Maderno's statue, not far from the actual site of St. Cecilia's death, suggested her long, drawn-out martyrdom, the interaction of Jubilee pilgrims with the work effectively "transcribed" or keyed the historical recoveries of her corpse. Thus, the sculpture of *Santa Cecilia* served to compress both time and space, suggesting the entire history of her corpse in a single form.[85] While these three episodes were each represented by Maderno's sculpture, they were also corroborated by the surrounding ninth and seventeenth-century architectural and artistic elements in the church. The interaction of these elements related the distinct temporal events to one another and emphasized the enduring presence of St. Cecilia.

Throughout Rome, the relics and memorials of Christian saints allowed the faithful a certain level of interaction with these figures, and another contemporary source provides insight into the important role these objects played. Ascanio Donguidi, an Augustinian Canon Regular at the Lateran,

---

[85] Kämpf also examines this aspect of the work, asserting that there is no consensus as to which event the sculpture depicts. See Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 16.

published a guidebook of Rome for the Jubilee of 1600.[86] In one passage, meant

to be read on the walk to St. Peter's, Donguidi instructs pilgrims to

> greatly enjoy thinking about your visit to all the Saints whose relics are
> kept in that Church. Imagine yourself having found the saints present and
> alive...O with how much great devotion and fervor and joy of heart you
> would go into Saint Peter's, if you truly believed to find him...sitting in his
> Pontifical Throne, or how you would hurry, even run, if you imagined
> being able to find present [and alive] in said Church where they are
> buried, all the Holy Martyrs, Popes, Confessors, and Holy Virgins.[87]

Framed by their active roles in the performances of the Jubilee, the interactions of

pilgrims with Maderno's work in the church of Santa Cecilia allowed the saint to

come to life, as Donguidi's guide suggests. As a result, instead of simply viewing

a commemorative sculpture, pilgrims came to experience the saint and her relics

on a much more visceral level. Within the context of the Counter-Reformation,

this kind of personal interaction between saint and pilgrim reinforced the

Church's role in attaining salvation.

The faithful believed that saints could offer a special connection to God,

given that these holy figures were present in heaven beside Christ but also still

partially inhabiting the earthly realm through their remains and relics. Pilgrims,

therefore, believed that saints could intercede on their behalf as a function of the

unique position these holy figures maintained between these two worlds.[88] The

decrees of the Council of Trent re-established this idea and argued the necessary

---

[86] See Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome*, 106.

[87] Ascanio Donguidi, *Guida de Pellegrini Et Persone Divote che Desiderano Prender il Santissimo Guibileo dell'Anno Santo* (Rome, 1600), 11-12 quoted in Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome*, 107.

[88] See Binski, *Medieval Death*, 12.

role of relics.  The Church instructed its clerics to inform their followers and all

Christians that

> the saints who reign together with Christ offer up their prayers to God for
> men, that it is good and beneficial suppliantly to invoke them and to have
> recourse to their prayers, assistance and support in order to obtain favors
> from God through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who alone is our
> redeemer and savior….Also, that the holy bodies of the holy martyrs and
> of others living with Christ, which were the living members of Christ and
> the temple of the Holy Ghost, to be awakened by Him to eternal life and
> to be glorified, are to be venerated by the faithful, through which many
> benefits are bestowed by God on men.[89]

The acts of veneration at the church of Santa Cecilia fulfilled this prescription,

but the suggestive form of Maderno's sculpture, in conjunction with the

performative frame of the Jubilee, allowed pilgrims to act as discoverers of her

incorrupt corpse and afforded them an experience of venerating her true relics.

---

[89] "'On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images,' from the Twenty-Fifth Session begun on the third and closed on the fourth day of December, 1563" translated in *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 215-217.

**CHAPTER V**

**CONCLUSION**

As a result of Cardinal Sfondrato's architectural and artistic renovations, the church of Santa Cecilia produced a performative experience during the Jubilee of 1600. Its interior displayed a singularity of purpose that is evident in Bosio's statement that "'all the innovations at the main altar and the ornament for the holy grave' were designed to be taken in at a glance by anyone entering the church."[90] These elements created a visually unified composition at the center of which was Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*. The sculpture functioned as an effigy and commemorative monument, but additionally it afforded a potent intercessory experience, implicating Jubilee pilgrims in a performance with the saint's remains.

The dramatic discovery of the saint's corpse and the resulting renovations proved so successful at bringing attention and prestige to the church of Santa Cecilia and its eponymous saint that this program inspired similar events at the church of Santa Bibiana and later the church of Santi Luca e Martina. In 1624, at Santa Bibiana, the martyr's relics were found in time for celebrations of this event to coincide with the Jubilee of 1625.[91] This discovery elicited the intervention of

---

[90] Bosio, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae…* , 171-172, quoted and translated in Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," 15.  The original text reads: "Huius quoque mediae navis spatium remotis veterum Ambonum, seu pulpitorum è marmore impedimentis, cum nulli iam usui sint, in ampliorem speciem dilatavit, ita ut sub uno aspectu ingredientibus nova omnia ad Aram maiorem, & circa sacrum tumulum ornamenta compareant."

[91] The remains were discovered on March 2, 1624. See Sandra Vasco Rocca, *Santa Bibiana* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1983), 97.

Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644), who commissioned Agostino Ciampelli and Pietro da Cortona to paint the nave with scenes from the saint's life, and charged Gian Lorenzo Bernini with directing the restorations, designing a new facade for the church, and creating a commemorative statue of the saint.

Bernini's sculpture stands behind the altar and depicts St. Martina who, leaning against the column on which she suffered flagellation, receives a holy vision. Her head falls back in awe and she holds out her right hand in acknowledgement of God's presence. As at the church of Santa Cecilia, this artistic program centered around the newly rediscovered remains of the early Christian martyr, but Bernini's sculptural commemoration of St. Bibiana maintained established iconographies. Bernini represented the saint alive, at the moment when she has accepted her martyrdom and thus is communing with God.[92] St. Bibiana's attention is directed toward a heavenly space and she is therefore not engaging the viewer.

Nearly ten years later, Pietro da Cortona, one of the artists who had worked on the renovations in the church of Santa Bibiana, would adopt the same program at the church of Santi Luca e Martina where he served as both architect and patron. In 1634, while excavating under the floor of the *confessio*, near the high altar, Cortona reportedly discovered the relics of St. Martina along with

---

[92] See Rudolf Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 7.

those of the martyrs Concordius, Epiphanius, and a fourth, unnamed martyr.[93]

St. Martina's head was separated from her body and housed in a copper vase.[94]

Following this discovery, the bodies of the martyrs were reburied under the high

altar in a sepulcher in the lower church, in January of 1635. Shortly thereafter, a

new sculpture was commissioned to commemorate the fortuitous event.[95] Nicola

Menghini's work, installed in a niche behind the altar, recalls Maderno's *Santa*

*Cecilia* because it also represents a martyred saint in a reclined position. *Santa*

*Martina* lies on her right side, her head resting on the vase in which it would later

be discovered. This image represents the martyr at the moment of her death; and

ostensibly preserves her form and appearance prior to her eventual decay.

Yet, the sculptures of *Santa Bibiana* and *Santa Martina*, though influenced

by the restorations and artistic program at Santa Cecilia for the Jubilee of 1600,

do not elicit the same performative interaction with their beholders.[96] These later

works arrest time, commemorating specific moments while capturing the

---

[93] See Karl Noehles, Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, and Carlo Pietrangeli, *La Chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina: Nell'Opera di Pietro da Cortona* (Rome: The Rome University Press, 1970), 98; Jörg Martin Merz and Anthony Blunt, *Pietro da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). For a contemporary account see Marsilio Honorato, *Historia di Santa Martina Vergine, e Martire Romana, cavata da gl'antichi manoscritti…* (Rome, 1635).

[94] See Noehles, *La Chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina*, 98.

[95] The remains were reinterred on January 14, 1635. See Noehles, *La Chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina*, 100.

[96] An additional example of this same artistic program motivated by the rediscovery of an early Christian martyr was also seen at the church of Sant'Anastasia. During renovations the saint's remains were discovered on February 4, 1678. Ercole Ferrata and Francesco Aprile executed a reclining statue of the saint which depicts her martyrdom, burning on a bed of logs, between 1685-1686. For a summary of the 17th-century renovations and additions to the church see Fabio Barry, "Building History: the Baroque remodellings of S. Anastasia al Palatino" *Storia dell'Arte*, no. 95 (1999): 45-102.

appearance of the martyrs' bodies in life (or at the moment of death). The statue of *Santa Cecilia* differs because the saint's flesh did not need a representational or symbolic rendering of its impermanence; it was already incorrupt. Her sculpted form portrays her miraculous preservation in death and as a result it invoked the entire narrative of her remains. Upon its completion in 1600, the dramatic and emotional form of *Santa Cecilia* had distinguished it from previous works, but the dynamic interaction between Maderno's sculpture and Jubilee pilgrims separated the work from later monuments, as well.

Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* exemplifies how a statue, in conjunction with its architectural and decorative setting as well as a unique performative context, can compress time, recalling multiple historic moments while engaging with its contemporaneous setting. The effectiveness of *Santa Cecilia* was contingent upon its ability to visually recall elements of her history while also implicating Jubilee pilgrims—a link that demonstrates the repetitive nature of performance and the simultaneous commemorative and active roles of objects within these performances. The resulting experience allowed for not only the retelling, but the continuation, of St. Cecilia's narrative. As pilgrims interacted with the saint through Maderno's sculpture, they actively performed and contributed to the ongoing story of her remains.

# APPENDIX

## SUPPLEMENTAL SOURCES

Armenante, Lucia, Giulia Barone, Isa Barsali, et al. *Roma sancta: La citta delle basiliche*. Edited by Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna. Rome: Gangemi, 1985.

Bann, Stephen. "Shrines, Curiosities, and the Rhetoric of Display." In *Visual Display: Culture Beyond Appearances*. Seattle, Washington: Bay Press Seattle, 1995: 15-29.

Bergsma, John Sietze. *The Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran: A History of Interpretation*. Boston: Brill, 2007.

Bial, Henry. "Ritual." In *The Performance Studies Reader*, edited by Henry Bial. Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 2007: 87-88.

Bimbenet-Privat, Michèle and Alexis Kugel. *La collection d'orfèvrerie du Cardinal Sfondrati: Au Musée Chrétien de la Bibliotheque Vaticane*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1998.

Burns, Peter M. *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Calarco, Anthony Steven. "Commemorative Monuments in Sixteenth Century Italy." PhD diss. Case Western Reserve University, 1973.

Curl, James Stevens. *Death and Architecture: An Introduction to Funerary and Commemorative Buildings in the Western European Tradition, with Some Consideration of Their Settings*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002.

Fagiolo, Marcello, ed. *La Festa a Roma*. 2 volumes. Rome: Umberto Allemandi & Co., 1997.

Fagiolo dell'Arco, Maurizio. *La Festa Barocca*. Vol 1. Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1997.

Foxe, John. *The Ecclesiastical History, containing the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, with a General Discourse of these Latter Persecutions, horrible troubles and tumults, stirred up by Romish Prelates in the Church, with divers other things incident, especially to this Realm of England and Scotland, as partly also to all other foreign nations appertaining, from the time of the King Henry the VIII to Queen Elizabeth our gracious lady now reigning.* Vol 2. London: John Day, 1583.

Gansfort, Wessel. "From the Letter in Reply to Hoeck by Wessel Gansfort." In *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought Illustrated by Key Documents*, edited by Heiko Augustinus Oberman and translated by Paul L. Nyhus. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966: 99-120.

van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage.* Translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, introduction by Solon T. Kimball. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

Goodson, Caroline J. "Revival and Reality: The Carolingian Renaissance in Rome and the Basilica of S. Prassede." *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 20, no. 6 (2006): 163-192.

Hahn, Cynthia. "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines." *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (Oct., 1997): 1079-1106.

Hallam, Elizabeth and Jenny Hockey. *Death, Memory and Material Culture.* New York: Berg, 2001.

Kaelber, Lutz. "The Sociology of Medieval Pilgrimage: Contested Views and Shifting Boundaries." In *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety*, edited by William H. Swatos, Jr. and Luigi Tomasi. Westport Connecticut: Praeger, 2002: 51-74.

Kapchan, Deborah A. "Performance." *The Journal of American Folklore* 108, no. 430 (Autumn, 1995): 479-508.

Kertzer, David I. *Ritual, Politics, and Power.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Le Goff, Jacques. "The Jubilee Over the Course of History." In *Rome: The Pilgrim's Dream*, edited by Gloria Fossi. Rome: BNL, 1998.

MacAloon, J. "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies." In *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

Miller, Edward Waite, ed. *Wessel Gansfort: Life and Writings*. Vol 2. Translations by Jared Waterbury Scudder. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917.

Nelson, Robert S. "The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now." *Art History 12*. Oxford, 1989: 144-157. Reprinted in *Later Byzantine Painting: Art, Agency, and Appreciation*, edited by Robert S. Nelson. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2007: 144-157.

Olson, Todd P. "Pitiful Relics: Caravaggio's Martyrdom of St. Matthew." *Representations* 77, no. 1 (winter 2002): 107-142.

Ostrow, Steven F. *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Rappaport, Roy A. "Ritual." In *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communication-centered Handbook*, edited by Richard Bauman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992: 249-260.

Rice, Louise. *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter's: Outfitting the Basilica, 1621-1666*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Schechner, Richard. "From Ritual to Theatre and Back." In *Ritual, Play, and Performance: Readings in the Social Sciences/Theatre*, edited by Richard Schechner and Mady Schuman. New York: The Seabury Press, 1976: 196-222.

Schieffelin, Edward L. "Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality." *American Ethnologist* 12, no. 4: 707-724.

Shaffern, Robert W. "Indulgence and Saintly Devotionalisms in the Middle Ages." *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 4 (Oct., 1998): 643-661.

Steinmetz, David C. *Misericordia Dei: The Theology of Johannes von Staupitz in its Late Medieval Setting*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968.

Stiles, Kristine. "Performance." In *Critical Terms for Art History*, edited by Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff. Second Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003: 75-97.

Tiberia, Vitaliano. *Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Agostino Ciampelli in Santa Bibiana a Roma: I restauri*. Perugia: Ediart, 2000.

Tomasi, Luigi. "*Homo Viator*: From Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism via the Journey." In *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety*, edited William H. Swatos, Jr. and Luigi Tomasi. Westport Connecticut: Praeger, 2002: 1-24.

Turner, Victor. *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982, 11-32.

Turner, Victor and Edith Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Young, James E. "Memory/Monument." In *Critical Terms for Art History*, edited by Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff. Second Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003: 234-247.

## REFERENCES CITED

Androssov, Sergey O. "Works by Stefano Maderno, Bernini, and Rusconi from the Farsetti Collection in the Ca'd'Oro and the Hermitage." *The Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1058 (May 1991): 292-297.

"Annus Domini placabilis: Indizione del giubileo universale per l'anno 1600." In *Bollario dell'anno santo: documenti di indizione dal Giubileo del 1300*, edited by Erminio Lora. Bologna: Centro editoriale dehoniano, 1998: 201-215.

"Antiquorum habet: Istituzione del giubileo e della piena remissione dei peccati." In *Bollario dell'anno santo: documenti di indizione dal Giubileo del 1300,* edited by Erminio Lora. Bologna: Centro editoriale dehoniano, 1998: 7-9.

Badone, Ellen and Sharon R. Roseman. "Approaches to the Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism." In *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*, edited by Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Bainton, Roland H. *Here I Stand: A life of Martin Luther*. New York: Mentor, 1950.

Barry, Fabio. "Building History: the Baroque Remodellings of S. Anastasia al Palatino." *Storia dell'Arte*, no. 95 (1999): 45-102.

Baruffa, Antonio. *The Catacombs of St. Callixtus: History, Archaeology, Faith*. Translated by William Purdy. Second English edition. Vatican City: L.E.V., 2000.

Beeman, William O. "The Anthropology of Theater and Spectacle." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 369-393.

Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Bial, Henry. "Introduction to Part II: What is Performance?" In *The Performance Studies Reader*, edited by Henry Bial. Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 2007: 59-60.

Binski, Paul. *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Bosio, Antonio. *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae virginis, Valeriani, Tiburtii, et Maximi martyrum*. Rome: Paolini, 1600.

*Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent: Original Text with English Translation*. Translated by H.J. Schroeder, O.P. St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1941.

Carlson, Marvin. "What is Performance?" In *The Performance Studies Reader*, edited by Henry Bial. Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 2007: 70-75.

*The ceremonies, solemnities, and prayers, used at the opening of the holy gates of foure churches,within the citie of Rome, in the yere of Iubilee : and also the great Iubile or this yeere of our Lord 1600…* London: Printed for Iohn Wolfe, 1600.

*Le cose maravigliose dell'alma citta di Roma: anfiteatro del mondo, con le chiese et antichita rapresentate in disegno da Girolamo Francino*. Rome: Franzini, 1600.

Dickson, Gary. "The Crowd at the Feet of Pope Boniface VIII: Pilgrimage, Crusade and the First Roman Jubilee (1300)." *Journal of Medieval History* 25, no. 4 (1999): 279-307.

Ditchfield, Simon. "Text Before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's *Roma Sotterranea* Revisited." In *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society*, edited by R. N. Swanson. New York: Boydell & Brewer Inc., 1997: 343-360.

Dubois, Katharine Brophy. "Strangers and Sojourners: Pilgrims, Penance and Urban Geography in Late-Medieval Rome." PhD diss. University of Michigan, 2001.

Esch, Arnold. "Il giubileo di Sisto IV (1475)." In *La storia dei giubilei*, edited by Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna Vol. 2. Rome: BNL Edizioni, 1998: 106-149.

Fabrini, Sebastiano. *Dichiaratione del giubileo dell'anno santo*. Rome: Bartholomeo Bonfadino, 1600.

Fagiolo, Marcello and Maria Luisa Madonna. *Roma, 1300-1875: L'arte degli anni santi*. Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1984.

Fagiolo, Marcello. "Roma sacra e Roma profana: La città dei trionfi e delle basiliche." In *La Festa a Roma: dal Rinascimento al 1870*, edited by Marcello Fagiolo. Vol. 1. Umberto Allenmandi & Co., 1997.

Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Freiberg, Jack. *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Fruhan, Catherine Elna. "Trends in Roman Sculpture circa 1600." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1986.

Gallonio, Antonio. *Historia delle sante vergini romane con varie annotatione e con alcune vite brevi de' santi parenti loro*. Rome, 1591.

Goffman, Erving. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986. Originally published 1974.

Goodson, Caroline J. "Building for Bodies: The Architecture of Saint Veneration in Early Medieval Rome." In *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, edited by Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar. Aldershot, England: Ashgate 2007: 51-79.

Goodson, Caroline J. "Material Memory: Rebuilding the Basilica of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome." *Early Medieval Europe* 15 no. 1 (2007): 2-34.

Herz, Alexandra. "Imitator of Christ: The Marty Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context." *Storia dell'Arte* no. 62 (1988): 53-70.

Honorato, Marsilio. *Historia di Santa Martina Vergine, e Martire Romana, cavata da gl'antichi manoscritti…*Rome, 1635.

Ingersoll, Richard Joseph. "The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985.

Jones, Pamela M. *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008.

Kämpf, Tobias. "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body: Paolo Camillo Sfondrato and the Language of Revelation." *The Sculptural Journal* VI (2001): 10-20.

Kendall, Calvin B. *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions*. Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Kessler, Herbert L. and Johanna Zacharias. *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Kochman, Thomas. "The Boundary Between Play and Nonplay in Black Verbal Dueling." *Language in Society* 12, no. 3 (1983): 329-337.

Krautheimer, Richard. *Corpus Basilicarum Christianum Romae*. Vol. 1. Vatican City: Ponteficio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1937.

*Liber Pontificalis [The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes]*. Translated with an introduction and commentary by Raymond Davis. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995.

Lo Bianco, Anna. *Cecilia: La storia, l'immagine, il mito; la scultura di Stefano Maderno e il suo restauro*. Rome: Campisano, 2001.

López, Barbara Strodt. "Personal Anecdotes in University Classes." *Anthropological Linguistics* 29, no. 2 (1987): 194-269.

Luther, Martin. "Ninety-Five Theses." In *Martin Luther's 95 Theses: With the Pertinent Documents from the History of the Reformation*, edited by Kurt Alano. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1967.

*Maderno*. Milan: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1966.

Martin, Gregory. *Roma Sancta (1581)*. Edited by George Bruner Parks. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969.

Masini, Rocho of Viterbo. (Journal of Pilgrimage to Rome in 1575 of the Confraternita del Gesù). In *Roma Sancta*, edited by George Bruner Parks. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969. Originally printed in *Anni Santi*, edited by Pierre Cardinal La Fonatine. Venice, 1934.

Merz, Jörg Martin and Anthony Blunt. *Pietro da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

McLean, Paul. "A Frame Analysis of Favor Seeking in the Renaissance: Agency, Networks, and Political Culture." *American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 1 (1998): 51-91.

Monssen, Leif Holm. "The Martyrdom Cycle of Santo Stefano Rotondo, Part One." *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 2 (1982): 175-319.

Noehles, Karl, Giovanni Incisa dell Rocchetta, and Carlo Pietrangeli. *La Chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina: Nell'Opera di Pietro da Cortona*. Rome: The Rome University Press, 1970.

Northcote, J. Spence and W.R. Brownlow. *Roma Sotteranea or Some Account of the Roman Catacombs Especially of the Cemetery of San Callisto*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869.

Oberman, Heiko Augustinus, ed. *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought*. Translations by Paul L. Nyhus. Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Panciroli, Ottavio. *Tesori nascosti dell'alma città di roma*. Rome: Zannetti, 1625.

Freiherr von Pastor, Ludwig. *The History of the Popes*. Vol. XIII, XXIV, and XXIV. Edited and translated by Ralph Francis Kerr. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1933.

Pientini, Angelo. *Le pie narrationi dell'opere piu memorabili fatte in Roma l'anno del giubileo MDLXXV*. Florence: Appresso Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1583.

Rocca, Sandra Vasco. *Santa Bibiana*. Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1983.

Schechner, Richard. *Performance Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1988. First published in 1977.

Shaffern, Robert W. *The Penitents' Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175-1375*. Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2007.

Smith O'Neil, Maryvelma. "Stefano Maderno's *Saint Cecilia*: A Seventeenth Century Roman Sculpture Remeasured." *Antologia di Belle Arti* 38 (1985): 9-26.

Stevenson, J. *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.

Stinger, Charles L. *The Renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Tanner S.J., Norman P., ed. "Lateran IV (1215)." In *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990.

Thurston, Herbert. *The Holy Year of Jubilee: An Account of the History and Ceremonial of the Roman Jubilee*. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1949.

Turner, Victor. *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology*. Ranchi, India: Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, 1979.

Wisch, Barbara. "The Roman Church Triumphant: Pilgrimage, Penance and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575." In "*All the World's a Stage…" Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*. Part 1, *Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Department of Art History, The Pennsylvania State University, 1990.

Wittkower, Rudolf. *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*. Third Edition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981 (originally published 1955).