

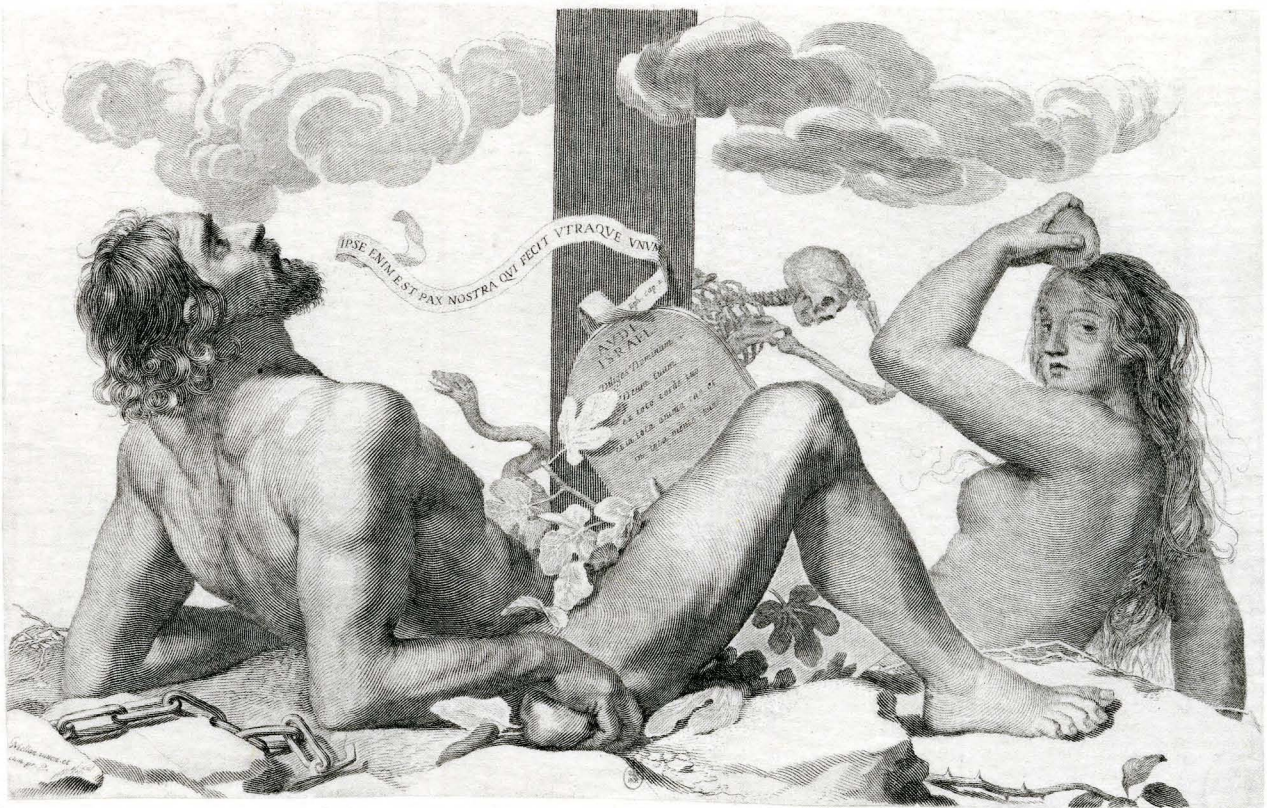
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PRINTS FOR PENTECOST
THE TITLE PLATES AND FRONTISPIECES
TO AN ANNUAL SERMON IN SEICENTO ROME

BY

LOUISE RICE

Title plates and frontispieces are an important but often neglected category of printed image¹. This article looks at the genre as a whole through the lens of one exceptional series: the title plates and frontispieces to the published sermons distributed at the papal mass on Pentecost Sunday. A case study of this kind, that focuses on a series of related plates issued annually over a period of nearly four decades (1617-1655) and linked by common iconographic motifs, can serve several purposes. First, it lets us trace the development of the genre over time and offers insight into the evolutionary forces that helped shape it. Second, it makes it possible to assess the caliber and status of the artists who undertook this kind of work. Third, it contributes to our understanding of the business of print production (costs, distribution, print runs, etc.). Finally, it confers an advantage of a purely practical kind. As anyone who has studied them knows, frontispieces all too often become separated from the books they were made to accompany. Print rooms abound with severed frontispieces, frequently unidentified and misinterpreted, just as libraries are full of books missing their prefatory images. The appendix at the end of the article corrects this situation for one set of publications, virtually reuniting the images with their texts.

* The following abbreviations will be used : APUG (Rome, Archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana) ; ASR, C-F (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Cartari-Febei).

1. One of the few general studies, but limited to incunabula, is Margaret SMITH, *The Title-page, its Early Development, 1460-1510*, London, 2000. On the early modern title page, see Margery CORBETT and Ronald LIGHTBOWN, *The Comely Frontispiece : the Emblematic Title-page in England, 1550-1660*, London, 1979 ; Jutta BREYL, *Pictura loquens, poesis tacens. Studien zu Titelbildern und Rahmenkompositionen der erzählenden Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts von Sidneys « Arcadia » bis Ziglers « Banise »*, Wiesbaden, 2006 ; *Entree aus Schrift und Bild. Titelblatt und Frontispiz im England der Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Busch et al., Berlin, 2008 ; Dietmar PEIL, « Titelkupfer / Titelblatt – ein Programm ? Beobachtungen zur Funktion von Titelkupfer und Titelblatt in ausgewählten Beispielen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert », in *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit. Theorie, Formen, Funktionen*, éd. Frieder von Ammon and Herfried Vögel, Münster, 2008. The literature on Italian title pages and frontispieces is particularly sparse, but see Francesco BARBERI, *Il frontespizio nel libro italiano del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento*, Milan, 1969 ; *Libri e cultura nella Roma di Borromini*, éd. Barbara Tellini Santoni and Alberto Manodori, Rome, 2000 ; and Helen HILLS, « “The face is a mirror of the soul” : frontispieces and the production of sanctity in post-tridentine Naples », in *Art History*, t. 31, 2008, p. 547-573.

Sacred oratory was a thriving business in seventeenth-century Rome². The Latin sermons recited at papal masses and other high liturgical functions were often printed, generating employment not only for the orators who composed and delivered them, but also for those in the publishing industry, including the painters and printmakers who provided the title plates and frontispieces that sometimes embellished pamphlets of this sort. Bound in parchment or colored paper, printed sermons were distributed during the mass and were meant both to accompany and to commemorate liturgical events of special importance. As such, they belong to the broader category of festival literature, that vast body of sub-book publications issued in connection with ceremonial functions such as papal *possessi*, ambassadorial entries, thesis defenses, fireworks displays, funeral services, and the like³.

The Pentecost mass was a significant event in Rome's liturgical calendar. It took place sometimes in St. Peter's and sometimes in the papal chapel at the Vatican or Quirinal Palace, and it was attended by the pope, the college of cardinals, and a numerous retinue of prelates and noblemen. Highlights included a choral setting of the liturgy and an elegantly composed Latin sermon⁴. Until 1614, the sermon was normally delivered by an orator of established reputation and experience. But in that year, rather exceptionally, it was a theology student at the Jesuit-run Roman Seminary, one Sebastiano De Paolis, who recited the oration. His performance was greatly admired and the pope, to demonstrate his confidence in the Jesuits and their educational enterprise, decided to grant the honor of delivering the Pentecost sermon to a Seminarian in perpetuity⁵. The practice established in 1614 continued virtually uninterrupted until the suppression of the Jesuit order and the closure of its schools in 1773.

2. The essential study is Frederick MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*, Princeton, 1995.

3. On the printing industry in Seicento Rome and the proliferation of festival pamphlets, see Laurie NUSSDORFER, « Print and pageantry in baroque Rome », in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, t. 29, 1998, p. 439-464. See also Maurizio FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO, *Bibliografia della festa barocca a Roma*, Rome, 1994 ; Simonetta TOZZI, *Incisioni barocche di feste e avvenimenti. Giorni d'allegrezza*, exhibition cat., Rome, 2002.

4. For descriptions of the annual Pentecost mass, see in APUG, ms. 2801 (Girolamo NAPPI, *Annali del Seminario Romano*, t. II), p. 630-631 and *passim* ; ASR, C-F, busta 73 (Carlo CARTARI, *Diario*), f. 71v, 273, and *passim* in subsequent volumes ; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 2818 (Paolo ALALEONE, *Diario*), fol. 4v-5 and *passim* in this and subsequent volumes ; see also Gaetano MORONI, *Le cappelle pontificie, cardinalizie, e prelatizie*, Venice, 1841, p. 275-277. On the musical setting of the mass composed by Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger and performed at the Pentecost service in 1627, see Jean LIONNET, « Performance practice in the papal chapel during the 17th century », in *Early Music*, t. 15, 1987, p. 12-13. On the Pentecost sermons, see F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...* and Louise RICE, « The Pentecostal meaning of Borromini's S. Ivo alla Sapienza », in *Francesco Borromini 1599-1667. Atti del convegno internazionale (Roma 13-15 gennaio 2000)*, Rome, 2000, p. 259-270.

5. APUG, ms. 2801, p. 630-631 : « [1614] Quest'Anno dalli Seminaristi si cominciò a recitare l'orazione dello Spirito Santo nel giorno della Pentecoste nella Capella Papale. Fu recitata la prima volta da Sebastiano de Paulis chierico e nipote del Padre Lorenzo Paoli Procuratore Generale della Compagnia di Gesù. L'orazione fu composta dall'istesso Sebastiano e fu approvata e stimata degna della Capella Papale. Piacque tanto il suo bel talento di recitare che da Monsignore Vice Gerente a nome di Sua Santità fu avisato il p. Rettore del Seminario che per l'avvenire l'orazioni dello Spirito Santo sarebbero recitate dalli Seminaristi. [...] Tutto il Seminario andò a sentirlo in S. Pietro alli 18 di maggio. V'erono 30 Cardinali, di più v'era il Contestabile Colonna et il Principe Borghese, e tutti fecero plauso all'oratore ». Notwithstanding the claim made here that De Paolis composed as well as delivered the sermon, the author was, in fact, the Jesuit priest and famed orator, Bernardino Stefonio.

The Roman Seminary was founded in 1565 by Pope Pius IV, who placed it under the governance of the Jesuits⁶. Its original mandate as spelled out in the decrees of the final session of the Council of Trent in 1563 was to train local boys of proven intellectual ability and modest means for careers as parish priests. To avoid insolvency, however, the Seminary was soon forced to open its doors to paying boarders. The school thus came to embody two distinct populations, the *chierici*, or priests-in-training, and the moneyed and aristocratic *convittori*, or paying boarders, who soon outnumbered the *chierici* by about ten to one. Sebastiano De Paolis, as it happens, was a *chierico*. But after 1614, the Jesuits decided that the Pentecost orator would always be selected from among the *convittori*. In this way, they ensured that the school was represented by someone nobly born and well connected. The lucky recipient of the honor was not expected to compose the sermon himself. This sensitive task was entrusted to one of the Jesuit professors at the Roman Seminary or at the nearby Roman College, exquisite Latinists and experienced orators like Giovanni Battista Ferrari, Bernardino Stefonio, and Alessandro Donati. The student was chosen, instead, on the basis of possessing « a good presence, grace of delivery, and sufficient means to enable him to publish his sermon in the customary manner »⁷. The last requirement – that the student be well enough off to finance the publication of the sermon – was by no means the least important, and it explains how it came about that the Pentecost sermons were among the most lavishly produced publications of their kind.

Neither Sebastiano De Paolis in 1614 nor the first two *convittori* who followed him in 1615 and 1616 issued their texts in print⁸. But when the *convittore* Girolamo Sabbatini

6. On the Roman Seminary, see Domenico ROCCIOLLO, « Fonti per la storia del Seminario Romano », in *Richerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, t. 7, 1988, p. 389-453 ; *Il Seminario Romano. Storia di un'istituzione di cultura e di pietà*, ed. Luigi Mezzadri, Milan, 2001 ; Luca TESTA, *Fondazione e primo sviluppo del Seminario Romano (1565-1608)*, Rome, 2002 ; and Louise RICE, « *Pomis sua nomina servant*. The emblematic thesis prints of the Roman Seminary », in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, t. 70, 2007, esp. p. 197-204.

7. APUG, ms. 2800 (Girolamo NAPPI, *Annali del Seminario Romano*, t. I), p. 491-492 : « Oratione dello Spirito Sancto. ¶L'oratione dello Spirito Santo, seben fu cominciata a recitar da un Chierico, [adesso si recita da un convittore] alla presenza del Papa e Cardinali nella Capella Papale nel giorno del Pentecoste. ¶S' avisa detta oratione al Prefetto de' studij un paio di mesi prima acciò si trovi chi l'habbi a comporre, et il Padre Rettore avisò l'oratore molto prima avvertendo ch'habbi buona presenza, gratia da recitare, e commodità da spendere, dovendosi spendere per farla stampare conforme al solito. ¶Prima di stampare, si mostri al Prefetto de' studij del Collegio Romano e si pigli licenza dalla Casa Professa prima di darla al Maestro di Sacro Palazzo e Monsignor Viceregente. ¶Doverà anco prima di darla alla stampa far sapere a chi si deve dedicare, se si contenta che si li dedichi et accetti tal offerta. ¶Nel stamparsi se ne fanno alcune legare per li Cardinali in modo che siano degne per loro, non con molta spesa. Se ne stampare 500 o 600 secondo chi ne vole dispensare oltre il Seminario, dandosene una per uno, et alli Padri alcune di più. ¶Prima di provarla in Seminario si va alla Capella del Papa per provarla con tutte le ceremonie che ci vanno, e si va con il Prefetto de' studij e con il Padre che ha composto l'oratione, avvertendo che quella che si recita al Papa non sia così lunga come quella che si stampa. ¶Nella Vigilia della Pentecoste doppo che si saranno cantate le litanie, si provrà l'oratione in Seminario, in Refettorio over in sala, presenti tutti li scolari ».

8. Gavino Manca, who delivered the sermon in 1616, did in fact publish the text, but only in 1634. All thirty-one of the Pentecost sermons delivered by Seminarians between 1614 and 1645, including those of 1614, 1615, and 1616, were published (or, in most cases, republished), but without their original title plates or frontispieces, in a collection edited by Girolamo Nappi, S. J. (*Orationes de Sancti Spiritus adventu habitae ipso Pentecostes die in Sacello Pontificum Vaticano et Quirinali a Seminarium Romanum convictoribus, opera R. P. Hieronymi Nappij Soc. Iesu collectae*, Rome, 1645). The volume is dedicated to Card. Camillo Pamphili

delivered the oration in 1617 and published it in the form of a booklet which he distributed to everyone who attended the mass, he established a precedent that was followed by virtually all of his successors for the next century and a half.

Sabbatini's sermon has a title page of the utmost simplicity, set in movable type, with a small engraved coat of arms of the dedicatee, Monsignor Pietro Pavoni, the pope's *maestro di camera*, printed at the bottom of the page (ill. 1). The following year the student orator, Mario Acquaviva d'Aragona, improved on this with a title plate similar in format but entirely engraved and set within a flowered border reminiscent of an illuminated manuscript (ill. 2). Over the next few years, the title plates grew steadily fancier, with decorative borders or architectural frames often featuring the heraldic or personal devices of the dedicatee. Heraldic eagles crowd the border around the title to the 1619 sermon dedicated to Vincenzo Giustiniani (ill. 3); a cartouche of lilies flanked by unicorns encloses the title of the 1621 sermon dedicated to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (ill. 4); and the title of the 1623 sermon dedicated to Cardinal Gaspare Borghese is adorned with bull caryatids, while above the entablature putti play with recumbent bulls supporting between them a portrait of the cardinal⁹ (ill. 6). The 1623 title plate, the most elaborate to that point, was also the first to be signed. By inscribing their names, the artists – Antonio Pomarancio and Johann Friedrich Greuter – not only identified their authorship, they defined the title plate as a work of art in its own right. From then on, all the prints in the series were signed.

These earliest title plates in the series lack any sort of narrative subject matter. Their imagery is primarily heraldic and refers to the dedicatee rather than to the content of the sermon or to the feast for which it was written¹⁰. The following year, 1624, saw an important development. For the first time, the title plate has a quasi-narrative character (ill. 7). Atop a low pedestal, a youthful Hercules and a bearded Atlas share the burden of carrying the earth on their shoulders, while infant angels pour tongues of flame, symbolizing the descent of the holy spirit at Pentecost, from inverted cornucopias. The presence of Hercules and Atlas is seemingly gratuitous given that neither is mentioned in the sermon, which instead has to do with Adam and with the salvation of the earth; the *sphaera mundi* is the sole common denominator between the image and the text it accompanies. The inclusion of pagan deities on the title plate of a sermon intended for a solemn Christian feast may have offended the standards of decorum that governed the genre. Explicitly mythological (as opposed to allegorical) characters appear in none of the subsequent prints in the series.

The 1624 title plate was also the first to feature the Pentecostal tongues of flame, as described in Acts 2 : 1-4 :

and has a modest frontispiece by Valérien Regnart representing three putti playing with the papal keys and baldachin over the emblem of the Seminary (a bed of seedlings with the motto *Pomis sua nomina servant*). See my description of the volume in *Scholion*, t. 1, 2002, p. 147-148.

9. As their title pages got more elaborate, the students found more illustrious dedicatees. The first three pamphlets in the series (1617-1619) were dedicated to prelates or laymen, but each one thereafter was dedicated either to a cardinal or to the pope himself.

10. One exception is the 1622 title page, which does feature the dove of the holy ghost in an oval frame supported by putti, with the inscription *Vbi vult, spirat* (John, 3:8 : « it blows where it wills »).

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat up ^{on} each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost.

In Pomarancio's print, angels rain tongues of flames onto their companions below, who reach up gratefully to receive them. The use of this imagery did not immediately catch on. The title plates of 1625 and 1626 revert to a non-narrative formula and an iconography of a purely dedicatory character (ill. 8 and 9). But the title plate of 1627 once again presents a quasi-narrative subject involving specifically Pentecostal imagery (ill. 10). Divine Truth, emanating light, sends tongues of flame fanned by « a rushing mighty wind » against personifications of royal and military might. From then on, narrative or quasi-narrative subject matter becomes the norm and tongues of flame (or other manifestations of fire, light, or wind) appear in almost every one of the succeeding images.

The next development occurred in 1630, when for the first time the sermon was published with a proper frontispiece as opposed to an engraved title plate (ill. 13). The distinction may not at first seem obvious, but it is of critical importance in the evolution of the genre. Although in this case the frontispiece does still announce both the sermon's title and the name of the orator, it omits the information concerning the publisher and the place and date of publication that normally appears at the foot of a title plate. More to the point, it is followed by a second, purely textual title ~~plate~~ ^{page}, in which the title and the orator's name are repeated and the publisher's information provided. This simple innovation – his doubling of frontal pages – allows us to define the difference between a title plate and a frontispiece. Whereas a title plate generally stands alone, a frontispiece is always accompanied by a title page (which, when paired with a frontispiece, is usually unengraved and relatively plain)¹¹. The 1630 sermon is a transitional publication in this respect : it is the first in the series to have a frontispiece followed by a plain title page, but its frontispiece is still conceived very much like an engraved title plate.

The 1630 sermon is also innovative in another way. It is the first in the series to have two titles, or what we might call a title and a subtitle. In previous years, the sermon was always labeled very matter-of-factly *De Sancti Spiritus adventu oratio* (« Sermon on the Descent of the Holy Spirit ») or some variant of that phrase. But the 1630 sermon is instead entitled *Igneae corona* (« The Fiery Crown »), with the traditional heading *De Sancti Spiritus adventu oratio* relegated to the status of a secondary title or subtitle. It is this subtitle that we find inscribed on the frontispiece, but the fiery crown, made of forked tongues of flame, is also present : pictured rather than written, it floats above the textual cartouche like a cardinal's hat above a coat of arms. These two developments – the doubling of the frontal pages and the introduction of a poetic title – are clearly related and reflect a growing interdependence between the image and the text. It is not just that the prefatory image adheres more closely to the poetic

11. There are, admittedly, plenty of exceptions, fancy publications that have both an engraved title page and a frontispiece. But even when a book contains more than one prefatory image, we need to take care how we label them. Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* of 1650, for example, is often said to have a title plate and a frontispiece, whereas in fact it has a plain title page and two frontispieces, one of which is a portrait of the dedicatee.

theme of the oration ; the oration itself has grown more pictorial in its language and imagery and, as a consequence, more dependent on the illustration that accompanies it.

In the following year, Alessandro Cesarini took these innovations a step further, commissioning a proper frontispiece that features no text other than the poetic title – *Maritalis ignis* (« Marital fire ») – which it pointedly illustrates¹² (ill. 14). With the subtitle as well as all information concerning the orator, the publisher, and the place and date of publication relegated to the title page, the frontispiece is now free to communicate its message in a more purely pictorial language. Paradoxically, it is this very separation of prefatory image from titular text that makes possible a closer correlation between the frontispiece and the sermon itself. Indeed, in this instance, the prefatory engraving and the text of the sermon function so interdependently that it is difficult to say whether the image illustrates the text or the text describes and explicates the image. Rather like an emblem and its motto, each helps to make sense of and enriches the meaning of the other.

A year later, a curious incident interrupted the printing history of the Pentecost pamphlets. When Francesco Maria Rho, the Seminarian chosen to deliver the 1632 oration, tried to follow in Cesarini's footsteps and preface his text with a frontispiece, the master of the Sacred Palace refused to give his *imprimatur*. What his objections were we do not know, but it is clear that they had to do with the image rather than with the text of the sermon. « In the year 1632, Francesco Maria Rho recited an oration on the holy spirit, but he did not publish it *because of difficulties concerning the frontispiece* raised by the Master of the Sacred Palace [*italics mine*]. It was later published without a frontispiece at the expense of a fellow convictor, Carlo Vincenzo Carcarasio »¹³. The incident reminds us that all printed works – even sermons delivered in the presence of the pope – were subject to censorship. We know that the Pentecost orations (which were, after all, composed by the Jesuit fathers) were first scrutinized by the Prefect of Studies at the Roman College, before being submitted to the Master of the Sacred Palace and the Monsignor Viceregent¹⁴. But the prefatory engravings may not have been vetted ahead of time in quite the same way, and in this instance something must have slipped past the in-house censors that caused concern at a higher level and led to the rejection of Rho's frontispiece¹⁵.

12. For a summary of the dense and mystical marital imagery developed in Cesarini's oration, see F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 136.

13. APUG, ms. 2801, p. 793 : « Nell'anno 1632 [Francesco Maria Rho] recitò un oratione dello Spirito Santo, e non fu stampata dal medesimo per le difficoltà fatte dal maestro di Sacro Palazzo circa il frontispitio. Poi si stampò senza da Carlo Vincenzo Carcarasio convittore ». Also *ibid.*, p. 768 : « Questo [Carcarasio] fece stampare l'oratione dello Spirito Santo che fu recitata l'anno 1632 da Francesco Maria Rho, che non la pote far stampare con il frontispitio al qual si fece difficoltà dal Maestro di Sacro Palazzo ».

14. See n. 7 above.

15. The problem may have had to do with the print's subject matter. Following Cesarini, whose 1631 sermon treated the theme of divine love, Rho entitled his oration *De legislatore cordium Amore Deo* (On the God Love, Legislator of Hearts). The text is in no way controversial and makes plain that the love in question is divine. But the winged deity who doubtless figured in the frontispiece perhaps resembled the pagan love god too closely to satisfy the censors. Cesarini, too, had pictured Divine Love looking very Cupid-like in his frontispiece of the previous year ; but there his role in the marriage ritual may have mitigated his pagan associations. In Rho's frontispiece, in contrast, the love god of the sermon's title presumably would have taken center stage, exposing him to more attentive scrutiny and perhaps triggering an adverse reaction from the Sacred Palace.

In 1633, the sermon was once again published with a frontispiece and so was every subsequent sermon in the series through 1646 (ill. 15-28). Then something happened. For three years in a row (1647-1649), the sermons were published with plain title pages and no frontispieces. In the first half of the 1650s, the frontispieces reappeared, but sporadically, and after 1655 they disappeared altogether (ill. 29-32). The sermons continued to be published up until the suppression of the Society in 1773, but without pictorial decoration of any kind.

These shifts in practice are probably best understood against the history of the Roman Seminary. In the 1630s and 1640s the institution was going through hard times. The strict discipline imposed by the Jesuits on their aristocratic students was not always accepted with humility and grace. On two occasions, there were violent revolts on the part of the convicts, resulting in numerous expulsions and restrictions to their privileges. The first of these student revolts occurred in May of 1631¹⁶. It began with the boys in a single dormitory who, chafing under the severity of their house prefect, started a riot. The disturbance quickly spread throughout the school. Unable to restore order and fearful for their own safety, the Jesuits beat a hasty retreat. Meanwhile the boys decided on a mass exitus and all but a handful fled the institution, seeking refuge with relatives or friends throughout the city. Most of them were eventually rounded up and brought back, but two dozen boys considered incorrigible were expelled. Pentecost that year fell on June 8, about a month after the rebellion was quelled. The student orator, Alessandro Cesarini, who had been selected before the trouble broke out and who in any case took no part in the disturbance (he was to become a Jesuit less than a year later), delivered the annual sermon as scheduled. But the rebellion of 1631 had serious repercussions. In Germany, an *avviso* circulated claiming that the Seminarians had revolted because they were being sexually molested by their teachers. The scandal was still very much alive more than a year later, and had gained so much currency that in April 1632 Cardinal Francesco Barberini took it upon himself to write a disclaimer, flatly contradicting the Protestant version of events and maintaining the purity and innocence of the Jesuits. It was around this time that Francesco Maria Rho, having been selected to deliver the Pentecost oration in 1632, was presenting the design of his frontispiece to the scrutiny of the Master of the Sacred Palace. Could the decision to deny him permission to publish have resulted from a heightened state of sensitivity brought about by the uprising and subsequent scandal?

A second student revolt took place at the beginning of 1647¹⁷. It was more serious in that it resulted in a good deal of violence. It too was put down and forty students were expelled, including (much to the mortification, we may imagine, of his teachers) Ferdinando Raggi, who had delivered the Pentecost sermon only the year before. In the aftermath of this disastrous outburst, the Jesuits were in no mood to accord their noble

16. APUG, ms. 2801, p. 854-880 ; L. MEZZADRI, *Il Seminario Romano...*, p. 45-47, esp. n. 111-114 for additional primary source materials.

17. APUG, ms. 2801, p. 1098-1126 ; Giacinto GIGLI, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Manlio BARBERITO, Rome, 1994, t. II, p. 496 ; L. MEZZADRI, *Il Seminario Romano...*, p. 48-49, esp. n. 118 for additional primary source materials.

students the usual privileges to which they had become accustomed. For the first time since 1614, the person appointed to deliver the sermon *coram papa* on Pentecost Sunday was not a Seminarian, or at any rate not a genuine one, but a student at the Roman College, one Agostino Bentivoglio. The privilege granted by Paul V remained in effect but the Jesuits found a crafty way of circumventing it :

Since it was a long established custom that the Pentecost sermon was delivered by a student from the Roman Seminary and since the above mentioned Bentivoglio was not a student at the Seminary, the Jesuit fathers arranged, so that there would be no objection, that this same Bentivoglio enroll at the Seminary some three days earlier and live there with the boarders, so that he might deliver the oration in the pontifical chapel. They say, however, that he left soon afterwards and returned to his own home¹⁸.

Their choice of a non-Seminarian to deliver the Pentecost sermon reflects the dysfunctional relationship that had developed between the Jesuits and their noble students, and things got worse before they got better. There was yet another violent uprising two years later, in 1649, as a result of which the pope, either because he sided with the students or, more likely, because he considered it the easiest way to restore calm, ordered the Jesuits to replace their entire staff, from the Rector on down¹⁹. During the three years sandwiched by the rebellions of 1647 and 1649, the Pentecost pamphlets were published but lacked title plates or frontispieces.

The series resumed in 1650 with a frontispiece by Johann Paul Schor (ill. 29) and others followed in 1652, 1653, and 1655. But the sermon of 1655, delivered in the presence of the newly-elected Pope Alexander VII, was the last to include an engraving. The Pentecost sermons continued to be printed for another hundred and twenty years, but from then on the pamphlets were entirely unadorned. It is unclear whether it was the pope who put an end to what he may have considered an unnecessary extravagance, or whether other

18. ASR, C-F, busta 74, p. 118 : [9 June 1647] « Sermonem habuit Comes Bentivolus florentinus. Hic nota, quod cum hac die consuetum sit quotannis sermonem huiusmodi haberi a Seminarij Romani alumno, et prefatus Bentivolus nequaquam talis sit, Patres Societatis Jesu, ne sibi deinceps preiudicium inferrent, effecerunt, ut idem Bentivolus tribus ab hinc diebus in Seminarium Romanum ingressus sit, et ibidem inter alios alumnos permaneri, ut uti talis in Sacello Pontificio oraret ; hoc autem cito (ut aiunt) inde egrediens, ad proprias aedes redibit ».

19. G. GIGLI, *Diario di Roma...*, t. II, p. 556 : « A di 16 di Marzo nel Seminario Romano fu gran tumulto contro i Giesuiti, che lo governano, perche volendo essi castigare severamente un giovane convittore, quello accordatosi con altri Compangi serrorno in una stanza quattro Giesuiti, et ve li tennero quattro giorni dandoli a mangiare pane et acqua. Li Giesuiti ruppero una fenestra, et uscirno fuori, del che essendosi avvisti li giovani tutti si sollevorno, et con le bastonate, et con i sassi cacciorno via tutti li Giesuiti, uno de' quali fu sfregiato, et essi si fecero forti in casa, et aperte le porte della dispensa, et delle cose da mangiare se ne satollorno, et le posero a sacco, et essendo venuti il Governator di Rome, il Vicegerente, et il Bargello con tutta la Sbirreria, non gli volsero aprire, et dalle fenestre li minacciavano in modo, che li facevano star lontani. Finalmente si contentorno di ricever dentro Monsig. Vicegerente solo con il Bargello, li quali gli diedero parola di non farli alcun dispiacere, et essendo entrati raccontorno al Vicegerente li strapazzi, et li mali trattamenti, che li facevano li Giesuiti, et finalmente furono pacificati con questa conditione, che niuno di quelli Giesuiti, che prima vi erano al governo vi dovessero più tornare, et così gli fu mandato un nuovo Rettore con altri Compagni tutti nuovi ». See also L. MEZZADRI, *Il Seminario Romano...*, p. 49.

factors were involved²⁰. All that can be said with any certainty is that, with the frontispiece of 1655, a tradition begun nearly forty years earlier came to an end.

Viewed collectively, the Pentecost prints display a striking diversity of iconography. Pentecostal fire is the theme that unites all but the earliest of them, but while tongues of flame are the leitmotif, variation is the name of the game. Only one of the frontispieces involves a literal depiction of the story of Pentecost, and even it represents an imaginary moment, implied but not actually described in the book of Acts, when the apostles draw lots from an urn to determine the country each will evangelize (ill. 22). Only one other shows a scene from the New Testament: Peter enthroned, inscribing a scroll with the text from Acts (ill. 28). All of the other frontispieces illustrate either Old Testament subjects that have to do with the descent of the holy spirit in the form of fire or wind, or purely invented allegorical themes, usually involving Ecclesia in one guise or another²¹.

Heraldry figures prominently. The coat of arms of the dedicatee is present in most of the prints, and so too, very often, is the orator's. In the earlier engravings, heraldry is treated primarily as decoration. Later, we find it integrated into the narrative. A honeycomb symbolizing eloquence in the frontispiece to the 1635 sermon attracts the bees of the dedicatee Pope Urban VIII Barberini (ill. 17). An eagle emanating a zigzag of light in the upper right corner of the 1638 frontispiece alludes to the quarterings of the dedicatee, Cardinal Bentivoglio (ill. 20). The Pamphili dove with the olive branch in its beak returns to a prayerful Noah in the frontispiece to the 1645 sermon, the first dedicated to Pope Innocent X (ill. 27). For that matter, the dove features prominently in all of the frontispieces from the Pamphili pontificate²². In the frontispiece to the 1655 sermon, dedicated to Pope Alexander VII, Gideon makes his sacrifice beneath the intertwined branches of a stylized Chigi oak (ill. 32).

This oak tree is no casual inclusion; it is part of the Biblical story: « And Gideon went in, and made ready [the sacrifice]... and brought it out unto him under the oak [*sub quercu*], and presented it. [...] Then the angel of the Lord put forth the end of the staff

20. 1656 and 1657 were plague years. The disease reached Rome around the time of Pentecost (which, in 1656, fell on June 4). Less than two weeks later, all schools including the Roman Seminary were temporarily shut in an effort to limit the spread of the epidemic, and the closures continued on and off through the following year (see G. GIGLI, *Diario di Roma...*, t. II, p. 764: « A di 26 di giugno [1656] forno chiusi tutti li studj delle Scuole »; p. 776: « A di 13 giugno [1657] fu serrato il Collegio Romano per timore del contagio »). Maybe the decision to publish the pamphlets more simply, without frontispieces, had something to do, at least initially, with the state of emergency caused by the epidemic.

21. The iconographic diversity of the prints reflects the variety of poetic conceits developed in the sermons themselves. « Typically, the sermons allude only in passing to the Biblical story of Pentecost and instead describe the descent of the holy spirit in abstract, allegorical terms, using language rich in poetic metaphor. Variety and ornament are the goals of this kind of rhetoric, and no two Pentacost orations are ever alike ». (L. RICE, « The Pentecostal meaning... », p. 260; on sacred oratory in Baroque Rome, see also F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*).

22. Since Pentecost is the principal feast of the holy spirit, Pentecostal narratives involving the descent of the dove are not difficult to devise. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the dove appears in only five of the twenty-seven title pages and frontispieces commissioned either before or after the Pamphili pontificate, whereas she is present in every one of those commissioned during the Pamphili pontificate. Obviously, the dove, whose primary symbolism is theological, takes on additional heraldic significance when she appears in a Pamphili context.

that was in his hand... and there rose up fire out of the rock ». The episode of Gideon's sacrifice, linking as it does the Chigi oak with the divinely-ignited Pentecostal flames, was clearly chosen with the dedicatee in mind, and this is significant because, in 1655, Pentecost fell just five and a half weeks after the election of the new pope²³. Thus the sermon and its frontispiece were conceived, composed, and printed in little more than a month, no small feat considering the number of people involved. One can imagine the frenzied comings and goings of Francesco Rebuffo, the student appointed to deliver the sermon that year, as he coordinated the activities of Padre Girolamo Savignano, the Jesuit professor who devised the conceit and composed the text ; Gianfrancesco Romanelli who designed the frontispiece ; Guillaume Chasteau who engraved it ; the representatives of the newly-elected pope who accepted the dedication on Alexander's behalf ; the censors (both in house and at the Sacred Palace) who inspected both the text and the image for orthodoxy ; and the publisher who oversaw the typesetting, printing, and binding of the pamphlet.

The election of a new pope may have rushed the production of the Pentecost pamphlet in 1655, but even under normal circumstances the preparations seem not to have required more than two months, as we can judge from the fact that the Prefect of Studies was advised « to start thinking about the oration a couple of months before it is to be delivered so that someone can be found to compose it »²⁴. It would appear, from this, that an experienced painter and a skilled printmaker, working together, could turn out a polished engraving in remarkably little time.

Almost all of the prints in the Pentecost series are engraved and almost all of them are the products of a collaboration between a painter and a professional burinist, the former providing the drawing and the latter transferring the design to the copper plate. Two exceptions are the 1650 frontispiece by Johann Paul Schor and the 1653 frontispiece by Lazzaro Baldi, both of which are etched (ill. 29 and 31). As a more fragile medium than engraving, etching may have been considered less appropriate for publications like the Pentecost pamphlets that were issued in relatively large runs. On the other hand, since the designer could prepare the plate himself and thus eliminate the need for a professional printmaker, an etched frontispiece could be produced more cheaply and even more quickly than an engraved one.

The list of artists who contributed to the Pentecost pamphlets includes painters and printmakers of varying degrees of fame and at various stages in their careers. Some of the designers, like Domenichino, Romanelli, and Camassei, were well-established and highly successful painters. Others were at the outset of their careers and still struggling to make a name for themselves. Castiglione's frontispiece to the 1633 sermon, for example, is his first dated work, made when he was twenty-four²⁵ (ill. 15). Still others were what we might

23. Alexander VII was elected on April 7 and Pentecost occurred on May 16.

24. See n. 7 above.

25. *Il genio di Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione il Grechetto*, exhibition cat., Genoa, 1990, p. 235-237. Similarly, Johann Paul Schor's frontispiece to the 1650 pamphlet is among his earliest securely attributable works. Several of the painters who designed Pentecost frontispieces were attached to the studios of other, more established artists who very likely had a hand in recommending them for the job. Lazzaro Baldi, who

call professional print designers, artists like Antonio Pomarancio and Gregorio de' Grassi who supplemented their income as painters by regularly providing designs for engravings. Pomarancio designed five of the seven frontispieces issued between 1623 and his death in 1629 and Gregorio de' Grassi all six frontispieces issued between 1636 and 1642 ; these artists clearly enjoyed a special relationship with the Jesuits and must have been more or less « on call » when a student required a composition.

The pamphlets were issued in runs of at least 500 and probably more like 750 or 1000 copies²⁶. Everyone attending the papal mass received one, while at the Seminary « the Father Rector gets six copies bound in parchment, the Father Prefect of Studies four copies, the Father Minister three, and the Father Priests and Instructors two each ; all other Fathers get one. Everyone in the orator's dormitory gets two copies ; all other students get one copy. 150 copies go to the Roman College, to be given to the author [of the sermon] to distribute among the [other] Fathers. [The remainder] go to the rectors of [other] colleges, and to the Casa Professa, for the superiors and others »²⁷.

The copy destined for the pope was bound in calfskin or morocco, stamped with gold and tied with crimson ribbons ; sometimes, in addition, its frontispiece was illuminated (i.e. painted with colors and gold). The copies for the cardinals, the rector of the Seminary, and other distinguished recipients were bound in parchment, also stamped with gold and tied with ribbons. All other copies were bound in colored paper in a range of shades. The cost of producing the pamphlets was probably around 40 or 50 *scudi*²⁸.

designed and executed the 1653 frontispiece, was employed in the studio of Pietro da Cortona at the time. Carlo Magnone, the designer of the 1646 frontispiece, was a student and close follower of Andrea Sacchi and, according to a document of 1644, was actually living, along with his mother, in his master's house.

26. An undated set of instructions for the publication of the Pentecost sermon refers to an expected run size of 500 to 600 copies (see n. 7 above) ; but this number is likely to have grown over time. Given that, in the mid-1640s, the S. Ivo sermons were published in runs of 500 to 600 (see n. 28 below) and given that the Pentecost mass was a much larger and more prestigious affair than the S. Ivo mass, we can be reasonably sure that the Pentecost pamphlets were issued in larger numbers than the S. Ivo pamphlets.

27. APUG, ms. 2800, p. 629 : « In Seminario al P. Rettore 6 con una in carta pecora ; al P. Prefetto di Studij 4 ; al P. Ministro 3 ; alli Padri Sacerdoti e Repetitori due per ciascuno ; a gl'altri Padri una. Alla Camera due per ciascuno se si trova quello che fa l'orazione ; a gl'altri una. ¶Al Collegio Romano 150 dandosi al compositore per distribuire alli Padri. ¶Alli Rettori delli Collegij. Alla Casa Professa a superiori et altri ». This passage, in fact, is in reference to the S. Ivo pamphlets (see the following note), but the same or a similar pattern of distribution presumably applied to the Pentecost pamphlets.

28. The estimate is based on the cost of comparable publications for which payment documents survive. Every year on the feast of St. Ives (May 19), one of the *chierici* of the Roman Seminary delivered an oration in the church of S. Ivo dei Brettoni in front of the cardinals, the Auditors of the Rota, the law faculty of the Sapienza, and fellow students. These sermons were published in slim libretti similar to the Pentecost pamphlets. From itemized accounts related to the S. Ivo pamphlets of 1643 and 1644, we learn that the former was published in 500 copies at a cost of 19 *scudi* and the latter in 600 copies at a cost of 20 *scudi* (APUG, ms. 2800, p. 629, 627). These totals include the price of the paper, ink, and binding materials as well as the labor involved in typesetting and printing the text pages, in recutting an existing copper plate and pulling the frontispiece, and in trimming and binding the pamphlets. The mass on the feast of St. Ives was not as grand an occasion as the papal mass on Pentecost, nor were the *chierici* as rich as the *convittori* ; and since most of the S. Ivo pamphlets either lacked an engraving or re-used one from an earlier publication, they certainly cost less produce than the Pentecost pamphlets. On the other hand, a booklet of poems published in 1625 in connection with a thesis defense at the Roman Seminary cost almost 40 *scudi* to produce, or twice as much as

The students selected each year to deliver the oration *coram papa* were acutely aware of the pamphlets issued by their predecessors and wanted to equal if not to surpass them in quality and inventiveness. Competition and a context of oneupmanship put inflationary pressure on the evolutionary process and may have accelerated change. Over the course of four decades, the pamphlets – and their prefatory images – grew steadily larger (eventually, they more than doubled in size) and more elaborate. Title plates gave way to frontispieces, as we have seen, and this shift in typology led to a new conception of the print's prefatory function. The earlier title plates were non-narrative and took the form of frames, cartouches, façades, or portals – liminal structures that both defined a conceptual boundary between the reader and the text and offered an opening or pathway through it. But when framing devices were superseded by narrative scenes, the print's prefatory role became less generic. Increasingly, the image came to serve as a visual summation of the text, even as the text became more ekphrastic in relation to the image. It is, of course, unlikely that these developments were unique to the Pentecost series. Rather, we should presume that they reflect general trends in book design in Seicento Rome. A detailed survey of seventeenth-century Italian title plates and frontispieces has yet to be undertaken. But the Pentecost prints, produced at convenient annual intervals over a critical period in the genre's evolution, provide us, in the meantime, with a vivid preview of the bigger picture.

the S. Ivo pamphlets for a comparable run of 600 copies (APUG, ms. 2800, p. 494). The booklet of poems had a custom-made frontispiece and expensive bindings ; it was a fancier publication, in other words, on a par with the Pentecost pamphlets, and probably cost more or less what they did to produce.

APPENDIX
THE PENTECOST PAMPHLETS, 1614-1655

1614

Sebastiano De Paolis

Author : Bernardino Stefonio, S. J.

Note : not originally printed.

1615

Angelo Millini

Author : uncertain.

Note : not originally printed.

1616

Gavino Manca

Dedicatee : Don Gavino Manca de Çedrelles, Archbishop of Sassari in Sardinia.

Author : uncertain.

Note : not originally printed. The sermon was published eighteen years after it was delivered, under the title *Gavini Mancae et Figo oratio in diem sanctum Pentecostes habita in Basilica Vaticana anno 1616*, Rome : Francesco Corbelletti, 1634.

1617 (ill. 1)

Girolamo Sabbatini

Dedicatee : Pietro Pavoni, *maestro di camera* and secretary to Paul V.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Ferrari, S. J.

Publisher : Jacopo Mascardi .

An engraving of the dedicatee's coat of arms (73 x 76 mm) is inserted beneath the title, which is set in movable type.

Bibliography : F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 188.

1618 (ill. 2)

Mario Acquaviva d'Aragona

Dedicatee : Don Giuseppe Acquaviva d'Aragona.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Bernardino Stefonio, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Cavallo.

Title plate : unsigned ; 195 x 130 mm.

The dedicatee's coat of arms appears beneath the title, within a border of flowers. Dated : *Viterbij. Ex Typographia Discipulorum / Superiorum permissu. 1618.*

Bibliography : F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 189

1619 (ill. 3)

Francesco Giustiniani

Dedicatee : Vincenzo Giustiniani, Marquis of Bassano.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : not indicated.

Title plate : unsigned ; 193 x 130 mm.

The dedicatee's coat of arms appears beneath the title, within a border of volutes, garlands, and heraldic eagles.

1620

Diomede Montesperelli

Dedicatee : Card. Scipione Borghese.

Author : Alessandro Gottifredi, S. J.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Publisher : Jacopo Mascardi.

Title plate : unsigned.

An engraving of the dedicatee's coat of arms accompanied by four putti (70 x 87 mm) is inserted beneath the title, which is set in movable type.

1621 (ill. 4)

Antonio Guillamas Velazquez

Dedicatee : Card. Odoardo Farnese.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Francesco Brivio, S. J.

Publisher : Alessandro Zannetti.

Title plate : unsigned ; 185 x 124 mm.

The title appears in a cartouche of heraldic lilies, flanked by unicorns holding Farnese devices. Below center is Card. Farnese's coat of arms ; above center, a putto displays a banderole inscribed INSCRIPTI NOMINA REGVM [Virgil, *Eclogues*, II.106 : « inscribed with the names of kings »]. Dated : *Apud Alexandrum Zannettum Romae 1621 / Superiorum permissu.*

Bibliography : F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 186.

Note : Velazquez was Cardinal Farnese's page and got his place at the Seminario through Farnese's recommendation.

1622 (ill. 5)

Giulio Gabrieli

Dedicatee : Card. Scipione Borghese.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Ferrari, S. J.

Publisher : Alessandro Zannetti.

Title plate : unsigned ; 175 x 121 mm.

The title appears within an architectural frame flanked by solomonic columns. Below center, two Fames display the cardinal's arms ; above center, putti support an oval containing the dove of the holy spirit, with the inscription *Vbi vult, spirat* [John, 3:8 : « it blows where it wills »]. Dated : *Romae Apud Alexandrum Zannettum MDCXXII.*

1623 (ill. 6)

Girolamo Caio

Dedicatee : Card. Gaspare Borgia.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Vincenzo Guiniggi, S. J.

Publisher : Alessandro Zannetti.

Title plate : Antonio Pomarancio and Johann Friedrich Greuter ; 191 x 136 mm.

The title appears within an architectural frame featuring heraldic bull caryatids. Above center, Cardinal Borgia's portrait is displayed between two bulls ; below center is his coat of arms. Signed and dated : *Superiorum permissu. / Romae MDCXXIII. / Apud Alexand. Zanettum / Ant. Pomeranc. delin. / IFed Greuter sculp.*

Bibliography : [not listed in Hollstein German].

1624 (ill. 7)

Pietro Antonio Antinori

Dedicatee : Card. Francesco Barberini.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Vincenzo Guiniggi, S. J.

Publisher : Alessandro Zannetti.

Title plate : Antonio Pomarancio and Camillo Cungi ; 191 x 135 mm.

Hercules and Atlas support a globe featuring the cardinal's coat of arms, while putti left and right pour tongues of flame from cornucopias. Signed and dated : *A. P. I. / C. C. F. / Romae Typis Ale. Zannetti 1624 / Superiorum Permissu.*

1625 (ill. 8)

Giovanni Battista Zati

Dedicatee : Card. Antonio Barberini the elder.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Ferrari, S. J.

Publisher : Jacopo Mascardi.

Title plate : Andrea Lilio and Jérôme David ; 224 x 159 mm.

The title is set within a wreath of flowers supported by five putti. Three bees alighting on three flowers combine with the Capuchin insignia and cardinal's hat to form the dedicatee's coat of arms. Signed and dated : *Romae Apud Iacobum Mascardum 1625. Superiorum permissu / Andreas Anconae delin. / Hier. David sculp.*

Bibliography : F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 188-189 ; Massimo PULINI, *Andrea Lilio*, Milan, 2003, p. 232, n° 11 (proof copy).

1626 (ill. 9)

Francesco Angelo Suardo

Dedicatee : Antonio Barberini the younger, Prior of the Knights of Malta in Bologna.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Francesco Brivio, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Title plate : Domenichino and Claude Mellan ; 214 x 145 mm.

The title appears within an architectural frame and flanked by two allegorical figures who point to a portrait tondo of Antonio Barberini, inscribed ANTONIVS BARBERINVS EQ. HIER. BON. PR., held by a third figure in the upper center. Below center, two putti support the dedicatee's arms. Signed : *Romae apud Francescum Corbellettum / super. perm. / Dominicus Zamperius del. / Cl. Mellan Gall. f.*

Bibliography : IFF XVII, t. XVII, p. 204.

1627 (ill. 10)

Carlo Caraffa

Dedicatee : Pope Urban VIII.

Title : *Oratio de adventu S. Spiritus etc.*

Author : Girolamo Petrucci, S. J.

Publisher : Typographia Rev. Camerae Apostolicae.

Title plate : Antonio Pomarancio and Johann Friedrich Greuter ; 224 x 161 mm.

The title appears in a flaming tondo held by Divine Truth, who swoops down from above, emanating light. Heavenly Winds blast the earth with tongues of fire, astounding personifications of royal and military might. Two putti support the pope's coat of arms at the bottom center. Signed and dated : *A. Pomer. delin. / IF. Greut. incid. / ROMAE ex Typographia Rev. Camerae Apost. Superiorum permissu. 1627.*

Bibliography : Hollstein German, t. XII, n° 104.

1628 (ill. 11)

Carlo Firenzuola

Dedicatee : Card. Francesco Barberini.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Giovanni Luigi Confalonieri, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Title plate : Antonio Pomarancio and Christian Sas ; 230 x 162 mm.

The title appears in a cartouche attached to the side of the ship of the Church, manned by putti. Tongues of flame fanned by heavenly winds create St. Elmo's fire around the masthead. The cardinal's coat of arms is represented on the sail ; the student's on the ship's stern. Signed and dated : *Romae Apud. Francescum Corbellettum. Super. perm. Anno 1628 / A. Pomer. Inven. Christianus Sas sculp.*

1629 (ill. 12)

Martino Francesco Naldo della Borghesiera

Dedicatee : Card. Antonio Barberini the younger.

Title : *De adventu S. Spiritus oratio etc.*

Author : Alessandro Donati, S. J.

Publisher : Heir of Bartolommeo Zannetti.

Title plate : Antonio Pomarancio and Matthaeus Greuter ; 212 x 157 mm.

Source : Genesis, 1:2. The title appears on a tablet flanked by four angels and labeled *Spiritus Domini super aquas* [« the spirit of God on the face of the waters »]. Above center, God the father (depicted in a stipple technique suggestive of his ineffability) and the dove of the holy spirit emanate light which shines down on a stormy sea. Two putti exhibit the cardinal's arms, below center. Signed and dated : *Romae 1629. Apud Heredem Bartholomei Zannetti. / Ant. Pom. delin. M. G. sc.*

Bibliography : [not listed in Hollstein German].

1630 (ill. 13)

Giacomo Tolomei

Dedicatee : Card. Marzio Ginnetti.

Title : *Ignea corona, de S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Angelo Gallucci, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Title plate : Jacques Stella and Charles Audran ; 220 x 159 mm.

The title appears within a cartouche topped by a crown of flames fanned by a divine Wind. Thunderbolts and comets rend the sky. Below left, a philosopher indicates a picture of an exploding mine ; below right, a soldier points to his shield decorated with a cannon spewing fire. The cardinal's arms are at the bottom center. Signed : *J. Stella Gall. In. / C. Audran fecit.*

1631 (ill. 14)

Alessandro Cesarini

Dedicatee : Card. Alessandro Cesarini.

Title : *Ignis maritalis, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Francesco Brivio, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Jacques Stella and Charles Audran ; 225 x 163 mm.

Above center, Divine Love displays a cloth inscribed MARITALIS IGNIS, accompanied by infant Hymens (*imenini*) holding wedding torches. Tongues of fire rain down from heaven. Below, an altar, decorated with the cardinal's arms, is lit for the marriage rite. Flanking it are, on the right, the bride of Christ with the wedding ring and the keys of the household (i. e. the Church), and, on the left, Ecclesia, with the tiara and scepter. Signed : *J. Stella In. / C. Audran. Sculp.*

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 846 ; F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 136.

left
right

1632

Francesco Maria Rho

Dedicatee : none.

Title : *De legislatore cordium amore Deo, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : Ludovico Grignani.

No frontispiece (simple title page with coat of arms of Urban VIII).

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 768, 793, 886.

1633 (ill. 15)

Antonio Pignatelli (later Pope Innocent XII)

Dedicatee : Pope Urban VIII.

Title : *Fluvius igneus, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Francesco Brivio, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione and Charles Audran ; 221 x 158 mm.

Source : Daniel, 7:9-10. Above center, the Ancient in Years is seated in a chariot of fire, rivers of flame and tongues of fire streaming from his mouth, surrounded by angels armed with thunderbolts and fiery swords. Two putti hold a banderole inscribed FLVVIVS IGNEVS (« a fiery stream »). The Four Continents, below, surround a globe emblazoned with the Barberini bees. Signed : *Io. Bened. Castiglione Ienouen. Inventor/ C. Audran Fe.*Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 895-96 ; *Il genio di Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione il Grechetto*, exhibition cat., Genova, 1990, p. 235-237.

1634 (ill. 16)

Ercole Berzetti di Buronzo

Dedicatee : Card. Maurizio di Savoia.

Title : *De sacra pentecoste oratio etc.*

Author : Angelo Gallucci, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Claude Mellan ; 259 x 188 mm.

On the right, Fear of God, representing the Old Testament, uses a dagger to inscribe a block of stone LEX TIMORIS IN MONTE SINAI. On the left, Divine Love, representing the New Testament, uses a flaming arrow to inscribe a block of stone with the words LEX AMORIS IN MONTE SION set within a heart. In the background, Mt. Sinai resounds with thunderbolts and the trumpet of the Last Judgment, while a soft rain of fire falls on Mt. Zion. Signed : *Super. perm. / Cl. Mellan G. inven. et sculp. Romae.*

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 908 ; IFF XVII, t. XVII, p. 212-213.

1635 (ill. 17)

Valerio Arrigucci

Dedicatee : Pope Urban VIII.

Title : *Dotalis eloquentia verbi sponsi, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Giattini, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Andrea Camassei and Michel Natalis ; 233 x 168 mm.

Ecclesia is seated on a toppled column with the paraphernalia of martyrdom on the ground around her. She is the bride of Christ, and as a putto prepares to crown her with the tiara, the dove of the Holy Ghost at her ear gives her the gift of eloquence. Overhead, angels carry the symbols of that eloquence : water, honeycomb (from which emerge the Barberini bees), flowers, chains of gold, and the inscription *Dotalis eloquentia Verbi Sponsi* (« the dotal eloquence of the betrothed Word »). Tongues of fire rain down from heaven. Beside Ecclesia, on the left, an angel supports the pope's coat of arms.

Signed : A. C. inven. / Michael Natalis F.

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 916 ; Ann SUTHERLAND HARRIS, « A Contribution to Andrea Camassei studies », in *Art Bulletin*, t. 52, 1970, p. 60-61 ; F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 19, 158-159.

1636 (ill. 18)

Cristoforo Schinchinelli

Dedicatee : Pope Urban VIII.

Title : *De S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Fabio Ambrogio Spinola, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Gregorio de' Grassi and Johann Friedrich Greuter ; 234 x 165 mm.

Source : Ezekiel, 37:1-14. Ezekiel stands on the right, while around him an army of the dead assume flesh and spirit and are resurrected. The pope's arms are carried aloft by an angel, with a banderole inscribed DABO VOBIS SPIRITVM ET VIVETIS *Ezech. c. 37* [« I will cause breath to enter into you and you shall live »] ; the student's arms lie on the ground on the left. Signed : Gr. Grass. del. / IF. Gr. incid.

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 923 ; [not listed in Hollstein German].

1637 (ill. 19)

Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini

Dedicatee : Card. Ippolito Aldobrandini.

Title : *Turris linguis concordibus fabricata, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Francesco Brivio, S. J.

Publisher : Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Gregorio de' Grassi and Michel Natalis ; 232 x 162 mm.

Clemency (in allusion to Pope Clement VIII, uncle of the dedicatee) is seated on clouds and accompanied by putti who shower the earth with tongues of flame ; a banner at her side is inscribed TVRRIS LINGVIS CONCORDIBVS FABRICATA [« the tower built with concordant tongues »]. In the background, the tower of Babel, under construction, is attacked by an angel with a thunderbolt (Genesis, 11). In the foreground, sculptors decorate trophies and shields to hang from the walls of David's tower (Song of Songs, 4:4).

On one of the shields is the dedicatee's coat of arms. Signed : Gr. Grass. del. / M. Natalis f.

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 929-930 ; F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 108-109 ; L. RICE, « The Pentecostal meaning... », p. 259-270.

1638 (ill. 20)

Orazio Dalla Torre

Dedicatee : Card. Guido Bentivoglio.

Title : *Oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti .

Frontispiece : Gregorio de' Grassi and Johann Friedrich Greuter ; 234 x 162 mm.

A crowned eagle in a zigzag burst of light (eagle and zigzag alluding to Cardinal Bentivoglio's heraldry) sings and tears out his own feathers in an act of self-sacrifice and rebirth. On the left, Divine Wisdom (her garment decorated with eyes, a sun on her breast, wings on her head, and accompanied by two putti with a sacrificial tripod and the book of the seven seals) imparts the meaning of the eagle's act to Poetry (her dress made of iridescent feathers, a chameleon on her head, a viol in her hand, and accompanied by two putti, one blowing soap bubbles, the other holding a mask and a self-camouflaging squid, symbols of inconstancy, transience, or deception). A putto, upper left, holds the arms of the dedicatee and a banderole inscribed DIVINI AMORIS FVLMINA [« the thunderbolt of divine love »]. Signed : *Gr. Grass. delin. / IF. Gr. incid.*
Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 937 ; Hollstein German, t. XII, n° 68.

1639 (ill. 21)

Raffaele Andosilla

Dedicatee : Card. Antonio Barberini the younger.

Title : *Oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Giattini, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Gregorio de' Grassi and Sébastien Vouillemont ; 233 x 158 mm.

Source : 2 Maccabees, 1:18-23. Nehemiah orders the sacrificial altar sprinkled with liquid fire, or naphtha, which is ignited by the rays of the sun pouring down from the upper right. Spiral columns reminiscent of Bernini's baldachin in St. Peter's adorn the altar ; around one of them is a banderole inscribed IGNIS ET AQVAE FOEDVS [« the covenant of fire and water »]. A putto at the foot of the altar holds the arms of the dedicatee ; the student's arms are in the lower left. Signed : *Gr. Grass. del. / Seb. Vouillemont scul.*

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 947 ; RD, t. IX, n° 100.

1640 (ill. 22)

Carlo Anguissola

Dedicatee : Card. Francesco Barberini.

Title : *Oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Guglielmo Dondini, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Gregorio de' Grassi and Sébastien Vouillemont ; 229 x 162 mm.

The twelve apostles draw lots from a large vase inscribed SORTI DIVISIT EIS TERRAM [Psalms, 77:54 : « by lot he divided to them their land »] to determine the

countries each will evangelize. Peter, left, sends them on their way, while an angel swoops down from heaven with orb, palm, and trumpet inscribed IN OMNEM TERRAM EXIVIT SONVS EORVM [Psalms, 19:4 : « their sound is gone out into all lands »]. Beams of light and tongues of flame emanate from the upper right corner. Cardinal Barberini's arms are depicted on the banner hanging from the trumpet ; the student's arms are suspended from the handle of the vase. Signed : *Gr. Grass. inv. / ROMAE. APVD. HAERED. FRANCO. CORBELLETTI. SVPER. PERM. / Seb. Vouillemont inc.*

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 955-956 ; RD, t. IX, n° 101 ; F. MCGINNESS, *Right Thinking...*, p. 145.

1641 (ill. 23)

Ludovico Bussi

Dedicatee : Card. Francesco Barberini.

Title : *Ignis eruditio, sive de S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Andriani, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Gregorio de' Grassi and Johann Friedrich Greuter ; 235 x 169 mm.

Ecclesia, seated, wearing a cope and holding a book and cross, is flanked by Religion on the left (her face veiled and holding a book) and another female figure on the right wearing a wreath of flowers and pointing heavenward. Putti, above, bring flaming torches, candles, incense burners, pots de feu, and a banderole inscribed MISIT IGNEM IN OSSIBVS MEIS ET ERVDIVIT ME. *Thren. c. 1* [Lamentations, 1:13 : « he hath sent fire into my bones, and hath chastised me »]. The cardinal's arms are to the right of the seated figure ; the student's are in the lower left corner. Signed : *Greg. Grass. delin. / IF. Greuter incid.*

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 972-973 ; Hollstein German, t. XII, n° 69.

1642 (ill. 24)

Donato Acciaiuoli

Dedicatee : Card. Francesco Barberini.

Title : *Phoenix ab igne redivivus, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Cancellotti, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Cipriano Divini / [no engraver given] ; 233 x 167 mm.

The dove of the holy spirit hovers above, center, while a dovelike phoenix rises from the burning altar below. On the left, Ecclesia, with keys and staff, stands victorious over Heresy ; on the right, Synagogue, an idol at her feet, is confounded. Three rays emanate from the dove : the one directed at Ecclesia is inscribed VITA TIBI, the one directed at the phoenix DE FVNERE VITA, and the one directed at Synagogue TIBI FVNVS ERO. Below, draped over Heresy and the pagan idol, is a banderole inscribed CEDITE DIVINO MONSTRA CREMANDA ROGO (« Submit, monsters, to be burnt on the sacred pyre »). Cardinal Barberini's arms appear on altar ; the student's arms are in the lower left corner. Signed and dated : *Cypria Divinus Sept. delin. / 1642.*

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 1000-1001

1643 (ill. 25)

Gaspare Lascaris

Dedicatee : Card. Francesco Barberini.

Title : *Spiritus Domini nascente mundo, super aquas, surgente Ecclesia, super ignem*

Author : Carlo Bovio, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Raffaele Vanni and Cornelis Bloemaert ; 225 x 161 mm.

Ecclesia is seated on clouds, surrounded by putti holding her attributes : keys, tiara, miter, etc. Above center, the dove of the holy ghost radiates light ; tongues of fire fill the sky. In the landscape below, the spirit of God blows over surface of the waters [Genesis, 1:2]. A putto in the lower left corner displays the coats of arms of the student and of the dedicatee. Signed : *Eq : Raph : Vannius del. / C. Bloemaert sculp.*

Bibliography : APUG, ms. 2801, p. 1037.

1644 (ill. 26)

Francesco Grifoni

Dedicatee : Card. Francesco Barberini.

Title : *Ignis Triumphator, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Andriani, S. J.

Publisher : not indicated.

Frontispiece : Gianfrancesco Romanelli and Cornelis Bloemaert ; 262 x 201 mm.

Source : 1 Kings, 18:22-39. Elijah challenges the priests of Baal to put the power of their respective gods to the test. Each prepares a sacrificial bull but leaves the pyre unlit. The priests of Baal call out to their idol, even letting their own blood in their frenzy, but in vain : their pyre remains unignited. Then Elijah, after dousing his pyre with twelve jars of water, prays to the Lord and in response fire pours down from the sky and consumes his offering. Above, a putto holds a banderole inscribed IN AQVA PLVS IGNIS VALEBAT *Sap. 16* [Wisdom, 16:17 : « in water, the fire had more force »]. The cardinal's arms appear in the lower right corner. Signed : *IFr. Romanell : del. / C. B. sculp.*

Bibliography : Hollstein Dutch, t. II, n° 3 ; Bernhard KERBER, « Kupferstiche nach Gianfrancesco Romanelli », in *Giessener Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, t. 2, 1973, p. 139-142 and p. 165, n. 27.

1645 (ill. 27)

Ottavio De Mari

Dedicatee : Pope Innocent X.

Title : *Flamma custos, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Andriani, S. J.

Publisher : not indicated.

Frontispiece : Gianfrancesco Romanelli and Sébastien Vouillemont ; 268 x 203 mm.

Sources : Genesis, 3:24 and Genesis, 8:11. On the left, the angel of God with fiery sword upraised defends the Tree of Life from the serpent. Behind, on the right, Noah raises his hands in prayer as the dove returns with an olive branch. In the background

is a flaming hill. The student's arms appear in the lower left. Signed : *I. Fr. Romanelli del. / Seb. Vouillemont f.*

Drawing : Romanelli's preparatory drawing is in Düsseldorf (Jörg MERZ, *Pietro da Cortona und sein Kreis. Die Zeichnungen in Düsseldorf*, Munich, 2005, n° 54).

Bibliography : RD, t. IX, n° 24 ; B. KERBER, « Kupferstiche nach Gianfrancesco Romanelli... », p. 150, p. 168, n. 59.

1646 (ill. 28)

Ferdinando Raggi

Dedicatee : Pope Innocent X.

Title : *Oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Carlo Magnone and Cornelis Bloemaert ; 258 x 194 mm.

In a palatial interior, Peter, enthroned on the left and surrounded by apostles, inscribes a scroll *Visum est spiritui sancto et nobis* [Acts, 15:28 : « it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us »]. Above, the dove of the holy spirit accompanied by putti fills the room with light. The student's coat of arms is in the lower left corner. Signed : *Carolus Magnone del. / C. Bloemaert sculp.*

Drawing : A preparatory drawing in the same sense as the print is in the collection of the Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, inv. KdZ 23712. It has, in the past, been ascribed to Andrea Sacchi and associated with his frescoes in the Lateran baptistery (Ann SUTHERLAND HARRIS, *Andrea Sacchi*, Princeton, 1977, p. 88 and plate 126), but its clear relationship to the Pentecost frontispiece suggests that it is, instead, by Magnone.

1647

Agostino Bentivoglio

Dedicatee : Pope Innocent X.

Title : *Divinae gloriae currus Ecclesiae Militantis haereditas, sive de S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

No frontispiece. (Simple title page with woodcut coat of arms of Innocent X).

1648

Giorgio Gallone

Dedicatee : Pope Innocent X.

Title : *Virtus ex alto, de S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : Ludovico Grignani.

No frontispiece. (Simple title page with woodcut coat of arms of Innocent X).

1649

Ferdinando Nazari

Dedicatee : Card. Gio. Giacomo Panzirolo.

Title : *Humana lingua oculis manibus cordique praelata, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Guglielmo Dondini, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

No frontispiece. (Simple title page with woodcut coat of arms of Card. Panzirolo).

1650 (ill. 29)

Benedetto Riccobaldi del Bava

Dedicatee : Card. Tiberio Cenci.

Title : *Lingua bellatrix, oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Giattini, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Johann Paul Schor ; 253 x 189 mm. (Etching).

Source : Judges, 15:15-16. Samson slaughters the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass. The dove of the holy ghost appears in the upper left corner ; in the upper right a putto holds the Cenci arms and a banderole inscribed LINGVA BELLATRIX (« the militant tongue »). The student's arms are in the lower left corner. Signed and dated : IO. PAVL. SOR FEC. 1650.

1651

Orazio Messini

Dedicatee : Card. Camillo Pamphili.

Title : *Divina modulatio, sive de S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : Giovanni Battista Giattini, S. J.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

No frontispiece [?]

1652 (ill. 30)

Giacomo Pelli

Dedicatee : Card. Fabio Chigi.

Title : *Congeminatio seu percussus flammaram in adventu S. Spiritus emicantium oratio etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : Heirs of Francesco Corbelletti.

Frontispiece : Giacinto Brandi and Joseph Greuter ; 230 x 185 mm.

Ecclesia is seated above, center, with symbols of the papacy and with the dove of the holy spirit. Light emanating from the dove is concentrated by lenses into lethal beams that destroy the infidel's idol on the left and Heresy's book on the right. A putto holds a shield emblazoned with the cardinal's coat of arms. Signed : *Hyac. Brand. delin. / Joseph Greut. Incid.*

Bibliography : Hollstein German, t. XII, n° 20.

1653 (ill. 31)

Giacomo Pelli

Dedicatee : Card. Carlo de' Medici.

Title : *Diluvium ignis, sive de S. Spiritus adventu oratio etc.*

Author : uncertain.

Publisher : Ignazio de' Lazaris.

Frontispiece : Lazzaro Baldi ; 221 x 156 mm. (Etching).

Ecclesia stands, center, on a shell amidst the waters, surrounded by personifications of the Three Theological Virtues and of the Four Continents. Above, center, is the dove of the holy ghost with a banderole inscribed DILVVIVM IGNIS (« a flood of fire ») ; fiery light emanating from the dove pours down on Noah's ark in the left background. Putti support the arms of Cardinal de' Medici in the upper right corner. Signed : *Lazzerus Baldus inv. et inc.*

1654

[not printed ?]

n. d. [1655] (ill. 32)

Francesco Rebuffo

Dedicatee : Pope Alexander VII.

Title : *Gedeonis sacrificium sive fortium inauguratio oratio de S. Spiritus adventu etc.*

Author : Girolamo Savignano, S. J.

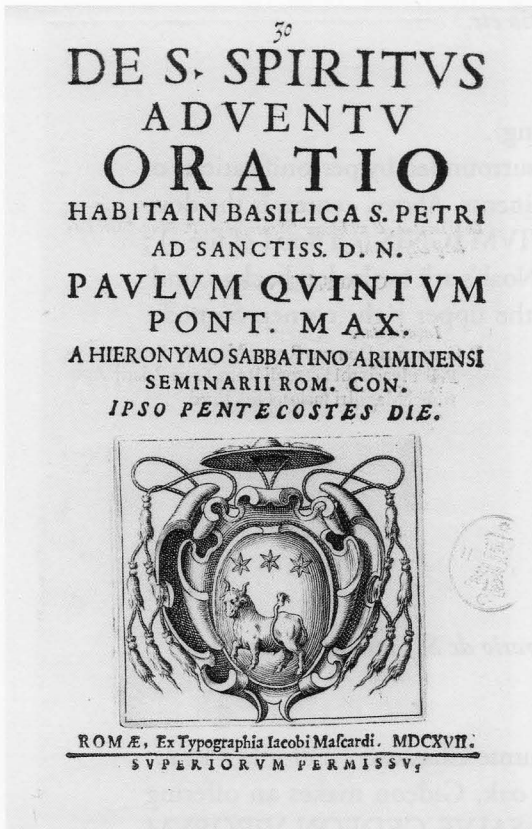
Publisher : [not indicated].

Frontispiece : [Gianfrancesco Romanelli] and Guillaume Chasteau ; 230 x 177 mm.

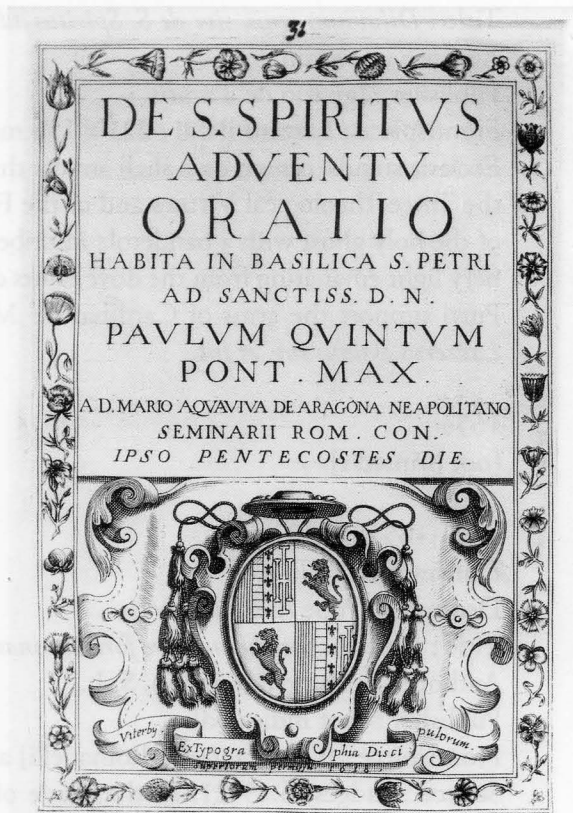
Source : Judges, 6:19-21. In the shade of a Chigi oak, Gideon makes an offering to God, while an angel with a banderole inscribed SALVE GEDEON VIRORVM FORTISSIME [Judges, 6:12 : « Hail, Gideon, mightiest of men »] descends from heaven to ignite the sacrificial fire. The battle with the Midianites rages in the background. The pope's arms appear on the banner held by one of three soldiers accompanying Gideon on the right ; the student's arms are represented in the lower left corner. Signed : *G. Castellus sculp.*

Drawing : Romanelli's preparatory drawing in reverse is in the Albertina, inv. 996 (Veronika BIRKE and Janine KERTÉSZ, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina. Generalverzeichnis*, t. IV, Vienna, 1997, p. 512).

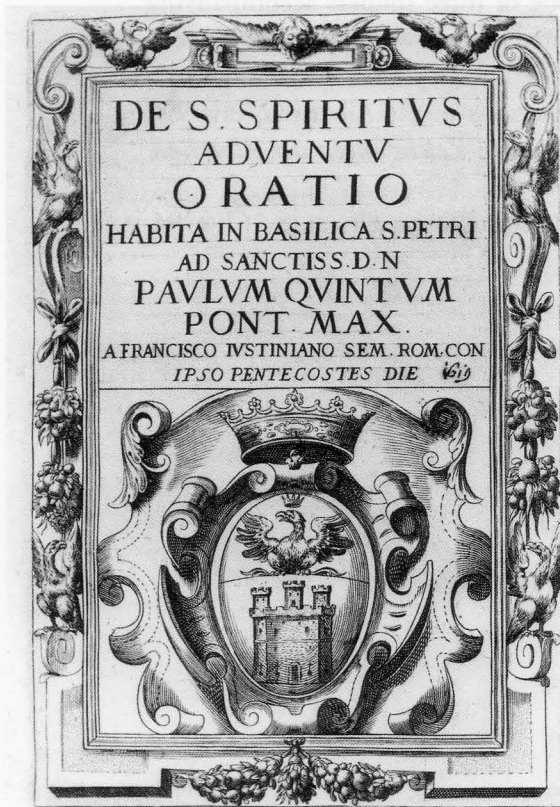
Bibliography : B. KERBER, « Kupferstiche nach Gianfrancesco Romanelli... », p. 161, n. 94.



Ill. 1. Title page of 1617.



Ill. 2. Title page of 1618.



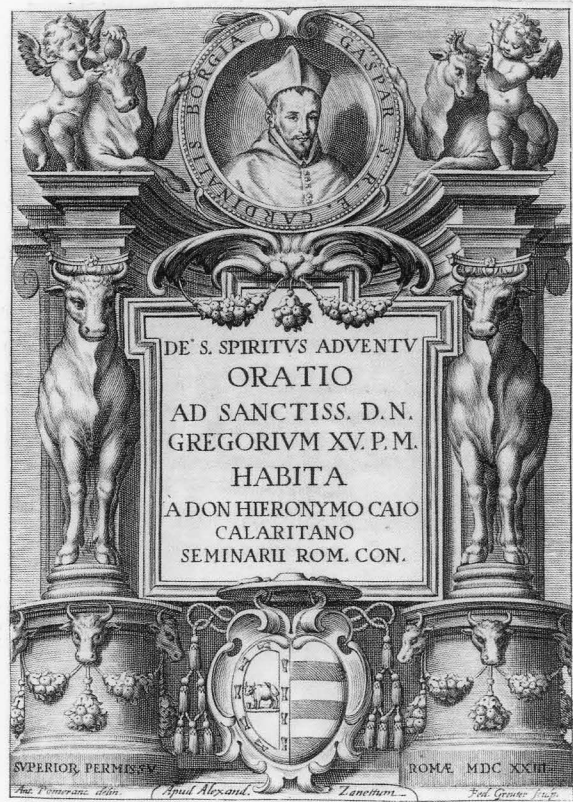
Ill. 3. Title page of 1619.



Ill. 4. Title page of 1621.



Ill. 5. Title page of 1622.



Ill. 6. Title page of 1623.



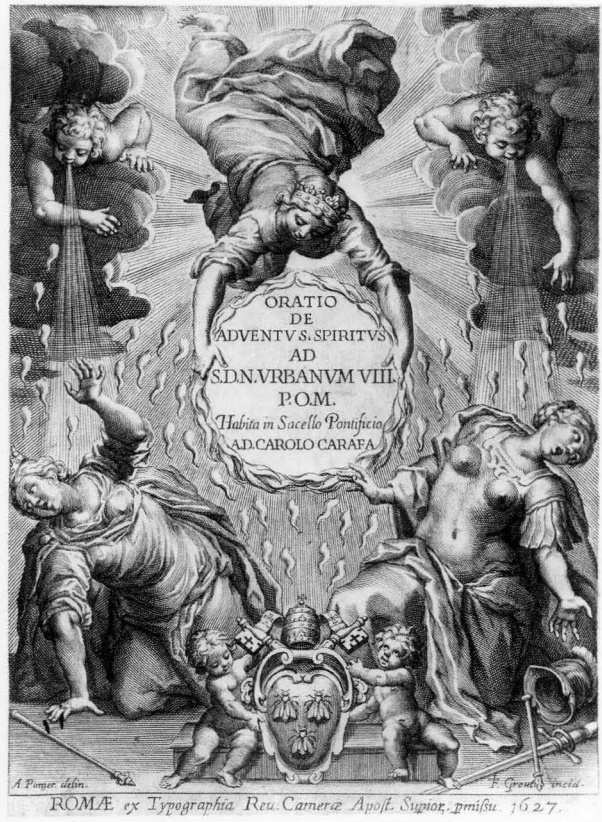
Ill. 7. Title page of 1624.



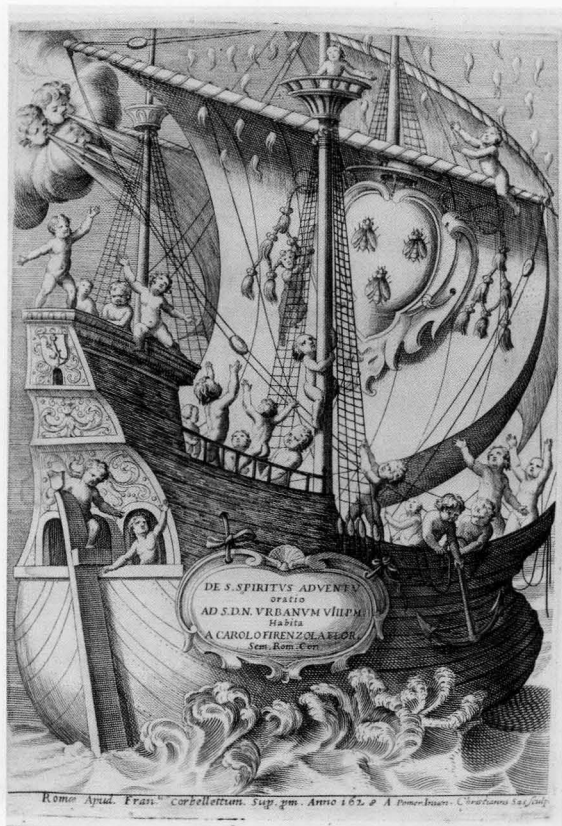
Ill. 8. Title page of 1625.



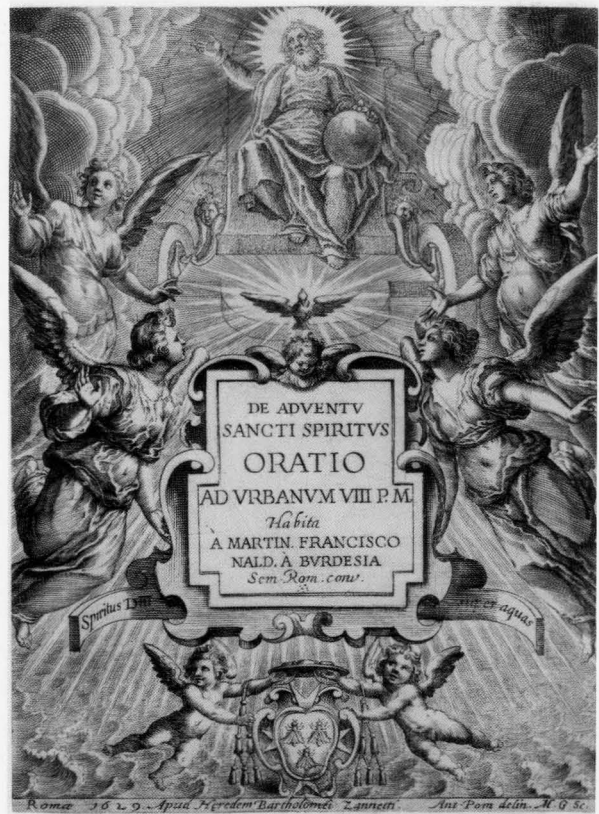
Ill. 9. Title page of 1626.



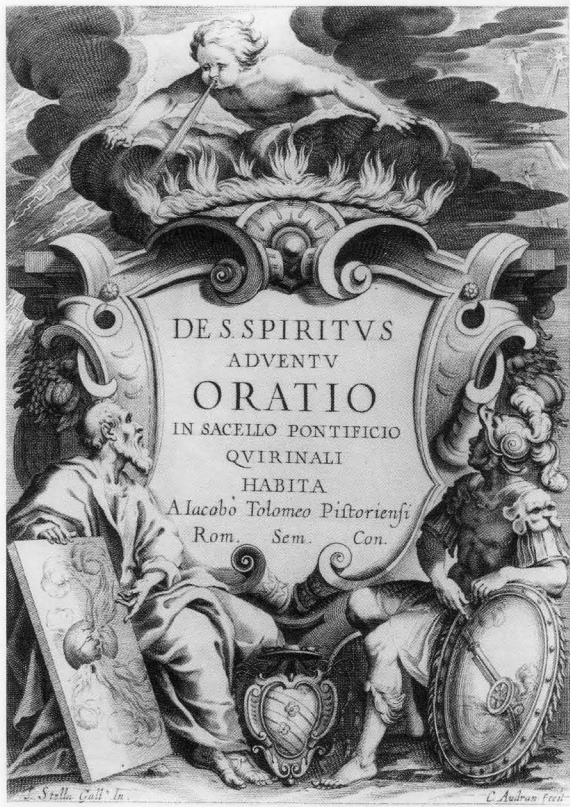
Ill. 10. Title page of 1627.



Ill. 11. Title page of 1628.



Ill. 12. Title page of 1629.



Ill. 13. Frontispiece of 1630.



Ill. 14. Frontispiece of 1631.



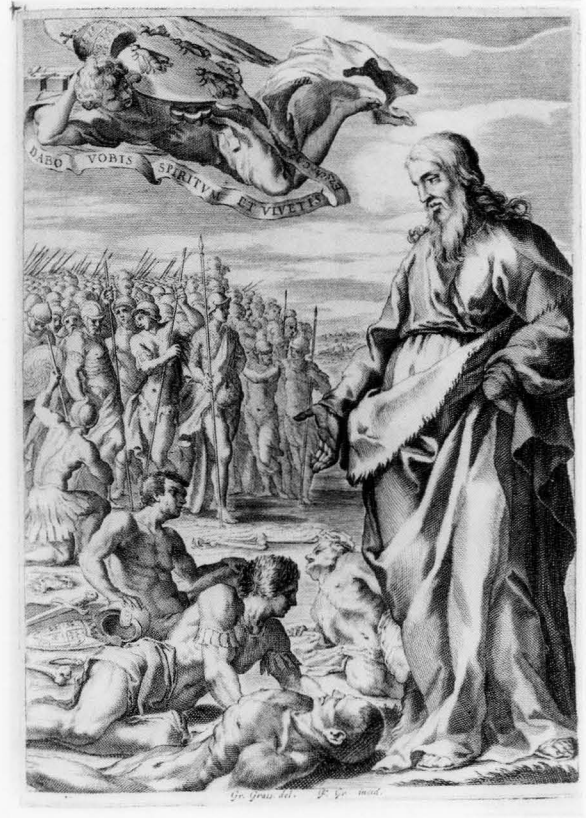
Ill. 15. Frontispiece of 1633.



Ill. 16. Frontispiece of 1634.



Ill. 17. Frontispiece of 1635.



Ill. 18. Frontispiece of 1636.



Ill. 19. Frontispiece of 1637.



Ill. 20. Frontispiece of 1638.



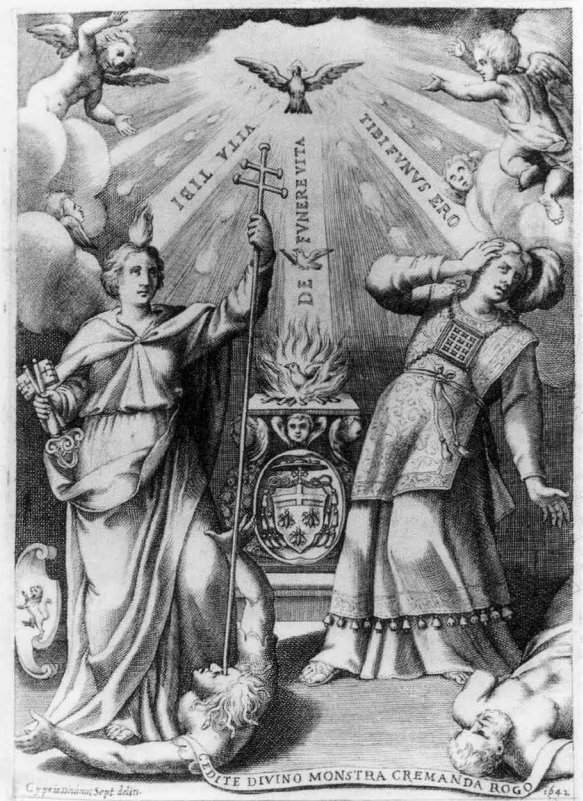
Ill. 21. Frontispiece of 1639.



Ill. 22. Frontispiece of 1640.



Ill. 23. Frontispiece of 1641.



Ill. 24. Frontispiece of 1642.



Ill. 25. Frontispiece of 1643.



Ill. 26. Frontispiece of 1644.



Ill. 27. Frontispiece of 1645.



Ill. 28. Frontispiece of 1646.



Ill. 29. Frontispiece of 1650.



Ill. 30. Frontispiece of 1652.



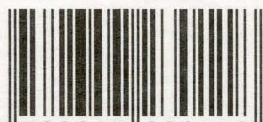
Ill. 31. Frontispiece of 1653.



Ill. 32. Frontispiece of 1655.

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