

SUPPLEMENTI

Changing the Enemy, Visualizing the Other:

Contacts between Muslims
and Christians in the Early
Modern Mediterranean Art

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Becoming paradigm: the image of the Turks in the construction of Pius V's sanctity

Giuseppe Capriotti*

Abstract

This essay uses three exemplary images to analyse how the image of the Turkish enemy was used to promote the beatification and sanctification of Pope Pius V. It shows how the Turk became the emblem of the battles the Church fought in the modern era against all forms of religious and political dissidence. Firstly, in a frontispiece published in the *Vita* by Girolamo Catena (1586), the victory over the Turks is remembered alongside the victory over the Huguenot heretics. Then in Lazzaro Baldi's 1672 painting of Pius V's beatification, the Pope is celebrated exclusively as the prophet who received the revelation about the victory at the battle of Lepanto. Finally, there is Andrea Procaccini's altarpiece (1712) that

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he created following the Pope's canonization for the chapel of St. Pius V in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. This picture shows St. Michael the Archangel as the *alter ego* of Pius V, in the process of knocking down the Turkish enemy personified as a woman. Here it is possible that the Turkish woman represents multiple layers of meaning. On the surface she symbolises the Ottoman Empire, but she may also be a representation of heresy and the battles that the Church faced at that time, as Europe became increasingly secular and more independent from the dictates of Catholicism.

Il saggio analizza attraverso tre immagini paradigmatiche come l'immagine del nemico turco sia stata utilizzata per promuovere la beatificazione e la santificazione di papa Pio V e come essa sia divenuta progressivamente l'emblema di tutte le lotte da compiere da parte della Chiesa contro ogni forma di dissidenza religiosa e politica in età moderna. Mentre nell'antiporta pubblicata nella *Vita* di Girolamo Catena (1586) la vittoria sui turchi è ricordata insieme a quella sugli eretici ugonotti, nel quadro della beatificazione, realizzato da Lazzaro Baldi nel 1672, il pontefice è celebrato solo ed esclusivamente come il profeta che ha ricevuto la rivelazione delle vittoria di Lepanto. A seguito della canonizzazione (1712) Andrea Procaccini realizza la pala d'altare per la cappella di San Pio V in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva a Roma, nella quale il nemico turco, personificato in una donna, viene atterrato da un San Michele arcangelo, che è l'*alter ego* di San Pio V. In questo caso è possibile che la donna turca rappresenti non solo l'Impero Ottomano, ma anche più in generale l'Eresia e le lotte che la Chiesa deve condurre in un'Europa sempre più laica e indipendente dei dettami del cattolicesimo.

1. *A first construction of the image of Pius V among Turks and Heretics, from before he became a saint*

Pope Pius V (born Antonio Ghislieri and later, as a Dominican, Friar Michele)¹ died on May 1st 1572, less than a year after the battle of Lepanto. It would take a further decade for him to be celebrated as a figure worthy of the honour of the altars. In the spring of 1586, Girolamo Catena published the *Vita del gloriosissimo papa Pio V*² in Rome and followed this with two further editions in 1587, one published in Rome and one in Mantova. This work is dedicated to Sixtus V, the Pope in office at that time, who was appointed cardinal under Pius V. Indeed, it was Sixtus who promoted the construction of Pius' grave in the 'Sistine Chapel' of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome between 1587 and 1591³. The two Roman editions of the book begin with a title page showing the author, title and typographic notes (the city, publisher and publishing date). Then

¹ Fernandez 1985; Feci 2000; Guasco, Torre 2012.

² Catena 1586. The hagiographic production linked to Pius V was analysed by Gotor 2005 e Gasti 2012.

³ Cf. Herz 1981.

follows an extraordinarily interesting frontispiece (fig. 1)⁴, which imitates the arrangement of the ephemeral arches that are used during festivals, processions, and triumphs⁵. This frontispiece uses personifications, historical scenes, and inscriptions to illustrate a complex allegory, in which the energetic Pope is celebrated as triumphant over Turks and Heretics⁶. According to Catena, «since Pius thought that Christianity had constantly been beaten and oppressed by the two evils of Turks and Heretics, he decided at the beginning of his pontificate to break down the pride of the former, and to extinguish the impiety of the other»⁷.

The central image of the Pope dominates the scene. His face is in profile, with hands woven in prayer before a crucifix. The *mozzetta* (cape) is present, although the *camauro* (hat) is missing. Surrounding the portrait is an inscription modelled on the biblical passage Galatians 6, 14 (Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi)⁸, that is, ABSIT MIHI GLORIARI NISI IN CRUCE DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI⁹. This iconography – the praying Pope, the crucifix and the same motto bordering the image – is found on several medals and coins forged during his pontificate¹⁰. In fact, Girolamo Catena stated that the reason «painters portray him with a crucifix in his hands»¹¹ is because the Pope kept such a crucifix in real life, alongside a copy of the same motto. On top of this oval image sits Pope Ghislieri's banded emblem, while directly underneath lie the emblems of the Dominicans to the right, and of the Cardinal-Nephew Michele Bonelli to the left¹². The presence of these emblems proves that Catena's *Vita* of Pius V was strongly supported by both Bonelli and the Dominican Order of Preachers. Bonelli was the son of the Pope's sister Domenica and he employed Catena as his long-term secretary¹³. He also had strong ties with the Dominican Order, having acted as their prefect of the Congregation of the Regulars since 1586¹⁴. Bonelli also promoted his uncle's image through the Latin translation of the *Vita*, which had to be modified

⁴ An unbound print of the book is preserved in the Casanatense library in Rome: 20.B.I 44/361.

⁵ On the difference between title page and frontispiece in the modern age see Barberi 1982.

⁶ On the importance of illustrated title pages and frontispieces in modern age culture see Palumbo 2012. More in general see Barberi 1969; Smith 2000; Gilmont, Vanautgaerden 2008.

⁷ «havendo Pio considerato la Christianità esser da due gagliardi nemici, Turchi, e heretici, continuamente battuta, e oppressa, pensò a principio del suo Pontificato d'abbatter l'orgoglio dell'uno, e spegnere l'impietà dell'altro»: Catena 1586, p. 42.

⁸ «But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world».

⁹ «As for me, there is no other glory than the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ». A more literal translation could be: «I do not want to be glorified except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ».

¹⁰ See Toderi, Vannel 2000, III, tav. 467, file 2557. More in general see Fea 2004.

¹¹ «i dipintori il dipingono con un Crucifisso in mano»: Catena 1586, p. 118. See Firpo 2010, p. 224; Mazzilli Savini 2012, p. 91.

¹² The coat of arms of the Dominicans is capé argent and sable, in base a mullet sable. The coat of arms of Bonelli is quarterly: 1st and 4th bendy; 2nd and 3rd per fess: 1st a bull passant, 2nd bendy; chief with a cross.

¹³ See Patrizi 1979.

¹⁴ See Prospero 1969.

after the Spanish Inquisition censored the first edition because the monarchy disapproved the book's discussion of the relationship between the Holy See and Spain¹⁵. Next, below these two coats of arms is a table containing an inscription that recalls the Pope's name, his home region of Bosco (in the province of Alessandria) as well as the order to which he had belonged: PIVS. V. P. M. BOSCO / ORIVNDVS. FORMER. ORD. / PRAED. Then below the table is a scene depicting a naval battle. The ships on the left are marked with the cross, and seem to have the upper hand over the sinking ships to the right, which are marked by a crescent moon. Meanwhile, men wearing Ottoman turbans or fez hats are falling or drowning in the water. This is clearly a scene from the Battle of Lepanto, as reported by the Christian fleets of the Holy League. It was Pius V who had constituted the league, and Catena's who later celebrated the battle as a heroic triumph in his *Vita*. The legacy of Lepanto would go on to become the greatest emblem of Pope Ghislieri's pontificate over the centuries.

The entire left side of the frontispiece is dedicated to the Battle of Lepanto. At the top is a female figure marked by the writing LIBER(ALITAS), who holds in her hands an upside-down cornucopia from which fruit spills out. According to the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa (first published in 1591, although it incorporates older ideas) the cornucopia is indeed one of the attributes of the personification of Liberality, the virtue of sharing one's own wealth and means for the benefit of the community¹⁶. Underneath this personification is a niche in which three figures are standing. In the centre, as a symbol of the papacy, there is a male figure wearing the papal tiara which is immersed in a luminescent halo. This figure watches over an embrace between a figure with the headgear and cape of the Venetian doge, representing the Serenissima, and a character wearing a crest, representing Spain. Below these characters is a table bearing the writing FOEDVS. ICTVM. / IN. TVR(CAS). ET. / VICT(ORES), meaning «the winners and the alliance against the Turks». This clearly refers to the Holy League's battle against the Ottoman empire, constituted by Pius V in alliance with the Republic of Venice and the Spanish monarchy¹⁷. The same iconography of this alliance appears in two medals forged by Giovanni Antonio de Rossi in 1571, where the three figures are marked by the same attributes and with a similar inscription: FOEDERIS IN TVRCAS SANCTIO, meaning «the constitution of the alliance against the Turks»¹⁸ (fig. 2). The medals have other symbols that further characterise the three figures. Under their feet we can see: the lion of St. Mark for the Serenissima, the lamb with the cross (the *Agnus Dei*) that represents

¹⁵ The issue has been thoroughly analysed by Gotor 2005, pp. 221-240.

¹⁶ Ripa 1992, pp. 248-250.

¹⁷ Canosa 2000, pp. 129-140.

¹⁸ Samples of these medals are preserved at the British Museum in London, and at the Civic Museum in Alessandria. See Toderi, Vannel 2000, III, tav. 426, nn. 2262 and 2263; Panizza 1985. Interesting variations on the iconography of the alliance were explored by engraver Martin Rota da Sebenico to represent the Holy League. See Pelc 1992.

the Papal State, and the eagle symbolising Spain¹⁹. The same iconography was used by Giorgio Vasari in his painting *Preparation for the battle of Lepanto* (1572) in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, as part of a cycle commissioned by Pius V²⁰. Returning to the frontispiece, under the representation of the Holy League there is a panel depicting trophies from the victory at Lepanto. Among the Turkish half-moon flags is the grisly image of a Turk being hung, still wearing his turban, while at the bottom two prisoners are chained down among the scattered weapons and turbans. These are Turkish soldiers forced into slavery following the battle. The image of the Turkish slave has a long iconographic tradition that has yet to be analysed in all its variations. However, it was probably codified in the modern age after Titian's famous painting for Philip II, which celebrates both the victory of Lepanto and the birth of Ferdinando, the first heir to the throne²¹. In the *Vita del gloriosissimo papa Pio V*, Catena describes and examines the slaves captured after the battle of Lepanto. According to him, more than 10,000 Turks were imprisoned²². The image of the slave was also displayed during the ephemeral celebrations for the victory. Upon returning home, the battle hero Admiral Marcantonio Colonna entered through the Porta Capena which had been decorated this way: «in front of it two big trophies were erected, showing the spoils of the enemies, and to which prisoners were tied up with their hands behind their backs»²³. Moreover, the triumph included «about two hundred Turkish slaves, dressed in the papal livery»²⁴; while «in the Capitol, flags stolen from the enemy were hanging from the windows», the triumphal procession later arrived at St. Peter in the Vatican, where Admiral Colonna kissed Pius's feet and «consigned to him the tied-up slaves»²⁵. Staging the humiliation of the enslaved enemy was an important visual aspect to the victory celebrations, which highlighted the superior strength of the Christian power²⁶.

On its right-hand side the frontispiece illustrates the superiority of Catholic orthodoxy over heretics. At the top, opposite Liberalitas, is a long-necked bird

¹⁹ These three figures also appear in an engraving that decorates the prophetic pamphlet *Discorso sulla futura et sperata vittoria contro i Turchi* (*Speech on the future, awaited victory against the Turks*), written by Giovan Battista Nazari and published in Venice in 1570 (Nazari 1570). See Pierozzi 1994.

²⁰ See Scorza 2012a; Blunt 1939/1940, p. 64, note 6; more in general see De Long 1998, in particular pp. 233-234.

²¹ I have been carrying out research on the development of this iconography that is soon to be published. See Capriotti 2016. On the iconography of the slave see, in general, McGrathm, Massing 2012.

²² Catena 1586, p. 200.

²³ «avanti la quale furono eretti due gran trophei, mostrando le spoglie de nemici, a cui eran ligati prigionj con le man dietro»: *ivi*, p. 203.

²⁴ «andavano avanti gli Schiavi Turchi circa dugento, vestiti della livrea del Papa»: *ivi*, p. 205.

²⁵ «nel campidoglio pendevano dalle fenestre l'insegne tolte da nemici»; «gli consignò gli schiavi ligati»: *ivi*, p. 206.

²⁶ Scorza 2012b, pp. 140-142.

marked by the writing GRATITVDO, which is a personification of gratitude²⁷. Underneath the bird is a niche that frames the dove of the Holy Spirit, immersed in a luminescent halo, which looks over two female figures standing face to face. Both figures carry attributes: the woman on the right holds a crown in one hand, and with the other she is using a stick to set fire to a pile of books lying at her feet; the woman on the left is looking towards the burning books, and is grasping a round temple as well as an obscure circular object. The first woman would seem the personification of Peace who usually burns weapons²⁸, but here is burning the weapons of heretics, their books. Because of the presence of the crown in one hand, it could more precisely be a personification of the French Crown, that defeat the heresy in agreement with the pope. The temple carried by the other woman has been used since the Middle ages as an attribute of the personification of the Church (especially in the iconography of the contrast between Church and Synagogue)²⁹. If in the left-hand niche there is an allegory of the Holy League saving Europe from the Turkish threat, then in the right-hand niche there might be an allegory of the actions made by Pius V and the French Crown to eradicate heresy³⁰. Next, written on the table underneath the figures is HERETI / CORUM. / CLADES, meaning «the heretics defeat». This introduces the last episode of the frontispiece: in the bottom right corner is a battle with knights and infantry, over which stands a flag bearing the coat of arms of Pope Pius V. Here, it is possible that the print refers to an episode that Catena describes: the defeat of the Huguenots at Moncontour in Brittany in 1569. Catena tells the anecdote of a Huguenot knight who converted to Catholicism upon seeing armed men appear in the air alongside the Pope's insignia. According to the author, «when they unfolded the Pope's insignia, [the Huguenot knights] saw in the air men with glittering armour and bloody swords going against them». One of the knights «immediately converted to the Catholic faith, vowing to God that if he escaped death he would always follow the signs of Pius»³¹.

Exactly as it happens in the monument dedicated to Pius V by Sixtus V in Santa Maria Maggiore, where the victories against Turks and Huguenots are celebrated³², the frontispiece consecrates Pius V as the vanquisher of these two

²⁷ Ripa 1992, p. 169: «Donna che in mano tenga una Cicogna».

²⁸ *Ivi*, pp. 334-337: «Donna, che nella destra mano tiene una face accesa rivolta in giù, e sotto à quella vi è un monte di arme di più sorte».

²⁹ Kühnel 1993-1994.

³⁰ I would like to thank the student Alessia Laudadio for suggesting me this interpretation during a lesson.

³¹ «videro allo spiegar dell'insegne del Papa huomini d'arme lucentissime in aria con le spade insanguinate contra loro»; «perciò subito alla fede catholica si converti, voto a Dio facendo, se scampava, sempre seguir l'insegne di Pio»: Catena 1586, p. 74. On the issue of Huguenots in France see Penzi 2005. More in general, on the battle against heresy carried out by Pius V, see Sella 1972.

³² See Silli 1979; Borsellino 1992.

great threats to Catholicism³³. Although Turks and heretics were both enemies of Pius V, it is the image of the Turk that has the major role in the frontispiece, since the central scene under the portrait of the Pope is specifically devoted to the battle of Lepanto. As we will see from the promotion of Pius V's image after his beatification and sanctification, the Pope's military commitment against the Turks later became increasingly prevalent. Eventually it would come to be the epitome of the struggle against heresy.

2. *The prophetic vision of the victory of Lepanto: the beatification painting*

The conflict of 1571 was merely a “disturbance on the surface” of the history of the Mediterranean, that failed to halt the eventual rise of the Ottoman empire³⁴. However the battle of Lepanto became a vital part of the image of Pius V on the occasion of his beatification. Also important to the images was the ‘prophecy’ that Pius reportedly received during the battle³⁵. Girolamo Catena says that Pius V had prayed, sighed, wept, and fasted so much before the battle that

he deserved to be guided to victory by God on the day of the battle. Pius was far from the battlefields, in his rooms in the Vatican palace, where he was walking and dealing with important issues with Bartolomeo Busotti from Bibiena, the treasurer general. Moving away from everything, he opened a window and, turning his eyes to the sky, stared out for a long time, then closed the window, turned toward the Treasurer full of enthusiasm and said, “It's not time to negotiate, go and say thanks to God, because our army has fought with the Turkish army and this time it has won”. He was leaving happily, when he turned to the Pope and saw him going to an altar and going down on his knees, thanking God with clasped hands³⁶.

³³ The same frontispiece, with some modifications, is used in the volume *De vita et rebus gestis Pii V Pontificis Maximi*, written by the Barnabite Giovanni Antonio Gabuzzi and published in Rome in 1605. Under the portrait the table carries a new inscription: PII. V. PONT. MAX. / VERA. EFFIGIES. The personification on the top left side is identical to that of the 1586 edition, carrying a cornucopia, but she is marked with the writing BENEFICENTIA. The personification on the top right side, on the contrary, has been completely modified: the woman holds in her hands a flame and a cross, accompanied by the writing RELIGIO. The two personifications under the niche on the right are identical to those of 1586, but are described with the words ZELVS. CATH.(OLICAE) / FIDEL., meaning «zeal and catholic faith». Also, the coat of arms under the Pope's portrait has been replaced by those of the Order of Barnabites: the oval on the left has a St. Paul with the sword, while the one on right hosts the Barnabites' coat of arms – a cross dividing the letters P(aulus) and A(postolus). At the moment it is difficult to establish the reasons for these slight modifications. On this *Life* see Gotor 2005, pp. 235-240; Gasti 2012, p. 62.

³⁴ See Formica 2012, pp. 65-102, in particular pp. 66-67.

³⁵ On this topic see the unrivalled work by Caffiero 1998, pp. 103-121.

³⁶ «meritò, che nel detto giorno Dio gli rivelasse la vittoria, stando Pio lontano tanto spatio di mare, e di terra, nel palagio Vaticano, alle sue stanze, per le quali passeggiando, e trattando negotij

Catena continues, saying that the treasurer stayed silent and simply wrote down the exact time when the Pope had received the revelation. When he learnt that the Christian fleets had in fact won, the treasurer recounted the episode to the cardinals and many other people, especially after the Pope's death. The same story was also told in 1605 by the Barnabite Giovanni Antonio Gabuzzi, in *De vita et rebus gestis Pii V Pontificis Maximi*, and later by the Dominican Arcangelo Caraccia in *Vita del beatissimo papa Pio Quinto*, edited in Pavia in 1615³⁷.

This prophecy forms the central theme of the official painting of the beatification of Pius V (fig. 3), created on the hundredth anniversary of his death (1st May 1672) under Pope Clement X³⁸. In his *Breve relatione delle cerimonie et apparato della basilica di San Pietro nella beatificazione del Glorioso beato Pio V dell'ordine dei predicatori*, Giuseppe Elmi tells us that «over the Altar of the Chair was located a wonderful painting of Blessed Pius the Fifth, painted by the famous Lazzaro Baldi, depicting how an angel showed the naval battle to the Pope»³⁹. Baldi (1624-1703) was a painter originally from Pistoia, but who later moved to Rome. He specialised in creating banners for canonisations and beatifications, supported by an extremely organised workshop that could work to very short deadlines using sketches and drawings that could be adapted to different needs⁴⁰. His painting for this occasion portrays the Pope looking out the window with his arms wide open. Cherubs are holding open the curtain while an angel points to where Pius should direct his gaze. Beyond the curtain we glimpse a naval battle: some ships are marked with half-moons, others with the cross. Then, to the left, there is a kneeling stool that supports the papal tiara, a book, and a lily. All reference to the battle against heresy is absent from the painting. Instead, the image of Pius V is now exclusively that of the Pope prophet. Finally, above the battle and among the clouds is another small and interesting detail: the image of a tiny Madonna with Child, which has a particular hagiographic history and is connected to a prodigy.

d'importanza, e in specie con Mons. Bartholomeo Busotti da Bibiena Thesorier generale, spiccatosi d'improvviso da loro, apri una finestra, e rivolti gli occhi al Cielo, tennevigli fissi per un gran pezzo, indi riserrando la fenestra, e mostrandosi pieno di gran cose, riguardò il Thesoriere, e dissegli, «Non è tempo da negozia questo, andate à ringratiar Dio, perché la nostra armata ha combattuto con la Turchesca, e su quest'hora ha vinto». Et egli incontanente se n'andò, ma inandando rivoltosi indietro vide il Papa, che s'era corso à uno altarino, e gittatosi in ginocchion ringratiava Dio con le man giunte»: Catena 1586, p. 195.

³⁷ Gabuzzi 1605, p. 133; Caraccia 1615, p. 133.

³⁸ A painting with a similar subject is found in the cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva and was made by Giovanni Luigi Valesio from Bologna, who had moved to Rome following Gregory XV (1621-1623). The painting does not, however, represent the vision or the prophecy: at the bottom the Pope is holding a crucifix and is saying the rosary without looking up, where an angel is looking at the Virgin with Child, showing them a canvas with a scene of the battle of Lepanto. See Baglione 1642, p. 354.

³⁹ «sopra l'Altare della Catedra stava collocato un bellissimo Quadro del Beato Pio Quinto, dipinto dal celebre Lazzaro Baldi, in questo rappresenta vasi come da un angelo gli fu mostrata la Rotta Navale»: Elmi 1672.

⁴⁰ Casale 1982; Casale 2011, pp. 67-70.

In his *Vita* of 1586 Catena says that in the Sala Regia of the Vatican two frescoes were painted (they were in fact created by Giorgio Vasari in 1572), one with the Holy League and the other with

the naval battle represented in its crucial moment, when Christ, St. Peter and St. Paul and many angels appeared in the sky with weapons in their hands, threatening the Turks, driving demons away and favouring the Christians. They say that all this was clearly seen by some of the Turkish prisoners⁴¹.

Therefore, according to the author some Turkish prisoners had seen Christ, alongside Saints Peter and Paul, and with other angels in the sky, all threatening the Turks and driving away demons that clearly represent the Turkish enemy. In 1615 Arcangelo Caraccia recounted that

some slaves had said that on the day of the battle, they saw in the air Christ and two saints (seemingly St. Peter and St. Paul), accompanied by many Angels, who had swords in their hands with which they threatened the Turks⁴².

For Ludovico Iacobilli, the Protonotary Apostolic, this miraculous vision became something else entirely. In his life of Pius V published at the time of the beatification in 1661, he stated:

after four hours of very hard battle, the Christians defeated the Turkish army, with the help of the Virgin, who was seen by many people in the sky going against the Turks and the demons that were helping them; she was also seen inciting the Catholics against the Turks and blowing the wind towards them⁴³.

The presence of the Virgin among the clouds in Baldi's painting clearly derives from Iacobilli's account, although the painter represents her in a non-threatening attitude. The appearance of the Virgin is also present in a fascinating engraving made for the beatification of Pius V (fig. 4), one example of which is now preserved in the Casanatense library in Rome. In the lower part of the print, a long inscription in Latin recalls the fundamental stages of the Pope's life, from birth to beatification. In this image we again find the theme of prophecy exactly as Catena described it. Pius V is kneeling in front of the crucifix with his hands woven in prayer. However,

⁴¹ «la battaglia navale rappresentata al vivo, con Christo, e S. Pietro, e S. Paolo, e con di molti Angeli, che soprastanno in aria con l'arme in mano, minacciando à Turchi, e cacciando demonij, e così favoreggiando à Christiani. Tutto cio da alcuni Turchi prigionj s'intese essere stato apertamente veduto da loro»: Catena 1586, pp. 207-208. For the paintings by Vasari cfr. De Long 1998.

⁴² «S'intese da alcuni schiavi, che il giorno dell'Armata videro in aria Christo, e due Santi, e si stimò fossero San Pietro, e San Paolo, accompagnati da molti Angeli, c'havevano le spade in mano, con le quali minacciavano il Turco»: Caraccia 1615, p. 134.

⁴³ «Doppo quattr'hore di durissima battaglia, i Christiani sconfissero l'Armata Turchesca, con l'aiuto dell'istessa B. Vergine, la quale fu vista da molti in aria agitar contro i Turchi, e contro i Demonij, che l'aiutavano; e animar i Cattolici contro Turchi, e soffiare vento contro essi»: Iacobilli 1661, p. 80.

this time he is looking up the other way, toward the angel who is opening the curtain to show him the defeat of the Turkish fleet in the background. Between the kneeling Pope and the naval battle there are also Dominican friars carrying a statue of the Madonna and Child, holding a rosary in her hand just like the one in the sky. Remembering the day of the battle, Caraccia says: «The seventh of October [...] was Sunday and it was the day dedicated to the Holy Rosary, during which throughout Christianity, the Holy Rosary processions are held»⁴⁴. Therefore, in the image the Virgin of the Rosary is repeated in the procession and in the sky to highlight the fact that the battle took place on the 7th October 1571. This was the first Sunday of October, the day that Romans used to celebrate the Virgin of the Rosary. By the 17th century, she had become the patron of the victory of Lepanto and was often celebrated with a rich iconography, especially among the Dominicans⁴⁵.

For the solemnization of August 7, 1672, Baldi's painting was taken to the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva and placed in the higher altar of the sixth chapel⁴⁶. In the *Vita di S. Pio V* published on the Pope's canonisation in 1712, biographer Paolo Alessandro Maffei tells us that Baldi's picture played an important role in the «solemn celebrations, held by the Order of Preachers in their church, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva» for the beatification:

In the gallery, which was the most beautiful and adorned part of the whole church, a sumptuous Altar was erected, on which appeared the painting by Lazzaro Baldi, an excellent painter, with S. Pius on his knees, lost in the ecstasy of an angelic vision, which showed him the victory of the Christian army over the Ottomans at Lepanto⁴⁷.

Maffei states that during the festivities the church was decorated with eight canvases showing the Pope's greatest miracles, accompanied with Latin inscriptions explaining the significance of each scene. One canvas was devoted to the «ceremony of the delivery of the stick and banner of the Holy Church to Marcantonio Colonna, for his great expedition against the Ottomans, accompanied by the prophetic prediction of victory»⁴⁸. Another five canvases were then placed outside the church:

⁴⁴ «Il settimo d'Ottobre [...] fu giorno di Domenica dedicata al Santissimo Rosario nel quale per tutto il Christianesimo, si fanno le processioni del Santissimo Rosario»: Caraccia 1615, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁵ Čapeta Rakić, Capriotti 2017.

⁴⁶ Casale 2011, pp. 181-183. A preparatory sketch for this painting is preserved in the Department of Drawings of Uffizi museum (inv. n. 3238). See Pampalone 1979, pp. 40-41. The same episode appears in a painting realised by Lazzaro Baldi following the beatification, in the Chapel of the Collegio Ghislieri in Pavia, see Angelini, Raimondo 2005, p. 64.

⁴⁷ «feste solennissime, fatte dai Padri Predicatori nella loro Chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva»; «Nella tribuna, che come capo della medesima Chiesa, avanzava di molto nella bellezza, e nell'ornamento le altre membra, venne eretto sontuosissimo Altare, su cui compariva dipinto da Lazzaro Baldi, eccellente dipintore, S. PIO genuflesso, e rapito in estasi nell'Angelica visione, che gli mostrò l'armata Cristiana, vittoriosa della Ottomana presso Lepanto»: Maffei 1712, p. 635.

⁴⁸ «funzione della consegna del bastone, e dello stendardo Generalizio di S. Chiesa a Marcantonio Colonna per la gran spedizione contro l'Ottomano, accompagnata dalla profetica predizione della vittoria»: *ivi*, p. 638.

Above the main portal, the most important place, St. Pius was depicted in a majestic throne and surrounded by a splendid crown of cardinals, in the act of appointing D. John of Austria as General of the Catholic League against the Turks. And to represent the certainty of the victory, for it was said that the saint had been given divine revelation, the painter had painted in the distance a complex confusion of ruined Turkish vessels, under some horrific clouds, among which one could see the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary, aiming to fill the Christian army with happiness through her presence⁴⁹.

This ephemeral cycle consisted of 14 canvases in total, including Baldi's. Three were dedicated to the victory at Lepanto, and one to the expedition against the Huguenots in France. Although no trace of them remains, Maffei's description shows that the battle of Lepanto and the Virgin's prophecy and intervention were the focal point of the celebrations, while the Pope's struggles against the heresies played a much lesser role.

The beatification took place during the pontificate of Clement X, at a time when his greatest problem was the threat of the Turks. The Kingdom of Candia had fallen into the hands of the Turks in 1669, yet the major European powers of France and Spain remained mostly indifferent to this advance because they had business relations with the Ottoman Empire. But the Pope was extremely concerned, so continuously sent large sums of money to fund defences in places such as Poland. Having lost its authority among the European powers, it was difficult for the Church to group the Christian principalities against the Turkish enemy⁵⁰. For Clement X, Pius V was the model of a resolute and rigorous Pope, who had successfully added strength and prestige to his Church, even though it had been in crisis in the second half of the 17th century⁵¹.

3. *The Turk as the paradigm of the enemies of the faith: the altarpiece by Andrea Procaccini*

The canonisation of Pius V, proclaimed on 22nd May 1712 by Clement XI, also took place in a period of great uncertainty for the papacy⁵². Pope Clement's decision to support Philip V in the war of the Spanish succession had great consequences. Philip was the nephew of King Louis XIV of France, and had been

⁴⁹ «Nel sito di mezzo sopra la gran porta, come in un luogo più ragguardevole, veniva figurato S. Pio in maestoso trono sedente, e circondato da splendida corona di cardinali in atto di conferire a D. Giovanni d'Austria la dignità di Generalissimo della Lega Cattolica contro il Turco: e per mostrare quella sicurezza di compiuta vittoria, che si disse avere avuta il Santo per Divina rivelazione aveva fatto il dipintore in lontananza una confusione artificiosissima di vascelli Turcheschi sdrucciati, sotto l'orrore di alcune nubi, dalle quali si lasciava vedere la Santissima Vergine del Rosario, intenta a colmare di felicità l'armata Cristiana colla sua presenza»: *ivi*, pp. 641-642.

⁵⁰ Petrocchi 1955, pp. 91-92; Osbat 1982.

⁵¹ Caffiero 1998, pp. 116-117.

⁵² *Ivi*, pp. 118-119.

chosen as heir to the Spanish Empire by the deceased Carlos II of Spain. Philip's claim to the throne was challenged by Emperor Joseph I of Habsburg, who occupied several territories of the Papal state. This forced Clement to recognise Joseph's brother, Carlos III, as King of Spain. Then in retaliation, Philip V cut off relations with the Roman curia and halted payment of the Pope's annuity in France. As more territories fell under Imperial rule, the Pope would lose even more annuities from the region⁵³. Even for the unstable sphere of religion and dogma, Clement XI's papacy was a succession of uncertainties and failures. It was a time that also included the spread of Jansenism especially in France, where papal measures against such heresy were not respected, and the Papal bull *Unigenitus* (1713) was even refused by many prelates⁵⁴. Against this backdrop of instability, and following the Turkish declaration of war against Venice (1714), Clement XI tried to redeem the fall of his international prestige and to overcome the divisions between the Catholic European powers. He re-emerged as a leader of a Christian League against the Ottoman Empire, perhaps attempting to halt the crisis of the papacy by using fear of the Turks as a rallying point. However, the results were disappointing and «European Catholic countries made the defence against Turkey an instrument to increase their claims and to consolidate their anti-curia policy»⁵⁵.

There are marked differences between the papacies of Pius V and Clement XI. However, in Maffei's biography of Pius V he offers a dedication to the Pope in office, in which the author claims to have been

driven to the enterprise by the perfect resemblance between the heroic actions of the Saint, and those of YOUR BEATITUDE. So I think it is superfluous to make a comparison, since each one in the history of this great Pontiff, whom you have placed with solemn and utmost pomp in the sacred Canon of the Saints of the Church of God, will see the reality of your SANCTITY; so that in reading this the World will always have accurate information of two excellent and Holy Pontiffs⁵⁶.

Furthermore, in his account of the sanctification of Pius V at the end of the volume «in such catastrophic times», Maffei is again explicit: all the virtuous enterprises of Pius V

are Yours, HOLY FATHER, for he has made them and You have approved them, and by approving and authenticating them, sublimating him to the degree of SAINT of the Church of God, You have made them almost entirely Yours. They are Yours because you have learned to

⁵³ Andretta 1982.

⁵⁴ Cognet 1978a; Cognet 1978b; Rosa 2015, pp. 28-31.

⁵⁵ Andretta 1982, p. 309.

⁵⁶ «animato all'impresa dalla perfetta rassomiglianza, che corre tra l'eroiche azioni del SANTO, e quelle di VOSTRA BEATITUDINE. Quindi è, che io stimo affatto superfluo il farne il confronto, mentre ciascuno nella Storia di questo gran pontefice, ch'ella ha con solenne, e massima pompa collocato oggi appunto nel sacro Canone de' Santi della Chiesa di Dio, vedrà espressa al vivo la SANTITÀ VOSTRA; di maniera che nella lettura di quella averà il Mondo per sempre un'esatta informazione di due eccelsi, e Santi Pontefici»: Maffei 1712, initial dedication, non-numbered pages.

imitate them, as far as possible in these present and ungrateful times, in which You have been able to heroically exercise Your High Virtue and all the great talents that God has given you for the benefit of the Christian world, miraculously appointing you to its government⁵⁷.

The comparison between Pius V and the Pope in office is also present in *Vita S. Pii Sommi Pontificis*, written by the Dominican Tommaso Maria Minorelli on the occasion of the sanctification of 1712. Clement XI follows the legacy of Pius V; he equals his dignity and is close to his sanctity, even though the Christian world is tormented by calamities and shaken by wars⁵⁸. On the 7th August 1712, Minorelli gave an oration in front of the Pope as part of the octavary of the canonisation in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. Here, Minorelli made the same comparison and then asked the new saint to pray for the Pope in office: «Pray God, so that Clement can happily see Europe finally in peace and the Church made greater, once the enemies of faith have been repressed and defeated. In short, may he successfully accomplish what you have just started»⁵⁹. Minorelli also gives encouragement to Clement XI:

God wanted you to be Head of the Church in this time of calamity: a Pope who fears no hardship, who is unafraid of any danger, and does not avoid any responsibility in order to protect it from attacks and to preside over it with the great glory of your virtues and the increasing acquisition of prestige⁶⁰.

Of course, such a portrait bears less resemblance to the Pope in charge, who was unable to handle international politics and the defence of faith. Rather, it is a better description of the newly-appointed St. Pius V, who was perpetually celebrated as the tenacious opponent of religious dissidence and of the Turkish threat. This portrait also resembles the image of Pius V in an altarpiece by Andrea Procaccini, made for the chapel of St. Pius V in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva (figs. 5 and 6).

This painting was undoubtedly created after the canonisation of the Pope and before the painter's departure to Spain in 1720⁶¹. The altarpiece is mentioned

⁵⁷ «in tempi tanto calamitosi»; «sono Vostre, SANTISSIMO PADRE, perché egli le ha fatte, e Voi approvate le avete, e coll'approvarle e autenticarle, sublimandolo al grado di SANTO della Chiesa di Dio, le avete fatte quasi interamente Vostre: perché avete impresso ad imitarle, per quanto vien permesso dai presenti infelicissimi tempi, ne' quali avete avuta occasione di esercitare in grado eroico la somma Virtù Vostra, e tutti quegli alti talenti, che Dio vi ha conceduti per beneficio del Mondo Cristiano, al cui governo miracolosamente vi ha chiamato»: *ivi*, p. 667.

⁵⁸ Minorelli 2012, pp. 113-114.

⁵⁹ Gasti 2011, p. 14: «Deum exora ut Clemens videat ac laetetur Europam demum pace compositam, Ecclesiam Fidei hostibus repressis et profligatis amplificatam atque – ut paucis omnia amplectar – quae ipse morte nimis propera Christianorum ereptus votis dumtaxat inchoasti successu felicior perficiat».

⁶⁰ Gasti 2011, pp. 13-14: «Ecclesiae te praecesseris his calamitosissimis temporibus Deus voluit, ut is Pontifex esses qui nullam pertimesceres difficultatem, nullo terreris periculo ac nullum refugeris laborem, ut illam adversus incurrentium in eam conatus tuereris atque maxima tuarum virtutum gloria meritorumque maiore in dies accessione gubernares».

⁶¹ For an updated profile of the painter see Zolle Betegón 2016.

for the first time by Nicola Pio in 1724 and later in *Roma ampliata e rinovata* in 1725 as positioned on the high altar of St. Pius V's chapel⁶². This work had thus taken the place of Baldi's beatification, which was moved to the right-hand wall, where it can still be found today⁶³. The chapel of St. Pius V had been given to the Mellini family on 2nd July 1711, as part of the dowry of Giulia Cevoli Mellini⁶⁴. In the centre of the chapel floor is an epigraph from 1726, which reminds us that Giulia Mellini had prearranged to be buried there on her death⁶⁵. On 1st January 1727 she donated the relics of Saint Victory to the Fathers of Minerva, «so that they can put them under my Altar to St. Pius in the front part of the church and preserve them there for public veneration [...] and for this I can freely donate everything, as I did, to my Chapel of St. Pius»⁶⁶. Again, the relics can still be found in the chapel today. In the entry arch of the chapel we can see the coat of arms of the Mellini family, together with that of the Cevoli family⁶⁷ (fig. 7). It is difficult to define Giulia Mellini's role in the commissioning of Procaccini's painting, as we have no other information about her. The iconography of the piece was probably conceived in agreement with Antonin Cloche, general master of the Dominicans from 1686 to 1720 and promoter of the canonisation of Pius V⁶⁸. Or it may have been the already mentioned Tommaso Maria Minorelli, the Dominican and biographer of Pius V and librarian of Casanatense library from 1711⁶⁹.

We do know that Procaccini studied for the composition, with a drawing that is now preserved at the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen. Its quality of finish and its format (39 x 25.5 cm), identify it as a sketch that would have been presented to the commissioner (fig. 8)⁷⁰. The final painting shows Pius V wearing the papal tiara and robes, sitting on a throne inside a church framed by two columns on high plinths. He is holding up a crucifix with his right hand, but his face is looking to the left where an angel is holding a book with a lily on it. In the open volume we can see the *incipit* and several verses of Psalm 109, announcing to the eternal minister the defeat of all his enemies:

⁶² Pio 1977, p. 16; *Roma ampliata* 1725, p. 114.

⁶³ Casale 2011, p. 182; Pampalone 1979, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁴ Palmerio, Villetti 1988, p. 178.

⁶⁵ «D(IO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) / IULIA CEVOLI MILLINI ROMANA / SS. DOM. ET PIUM V EIUS PATRONO / ET MORTUA AD FUTUROS SPERANS / HUNC SEPULCHRI LOCUM / SIBI EYT SUIS HAEREDIBUS / VIVENS DELIGIT / QUO SUA OSSA CONDANTUR / ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXVI». See Forcella 1869, p. 512.

⁶⁶ «affinchè si compiacino di collocarle sotto il mio Altare di S. Pio in detta Chiesa dalla parte anteriore, e ivi tenerle e conservarle alla pubblica venerazione [...] e perciò di tutto posso far libero dono, come lo fo a detta mia Cappella di S. Pio»: Archivio di Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cm II.i. 2.1, *Chirografo di dono delle reliquie di Santa Vittoria ai PP. della Minerva*.

⁶⁷ The coat of arms is per fess, first bendy, chief charged with letter M, supported by a file; second barry, chief charged with three mullets. We have scant information about the Mellini family. See Cecchelli 1946, pp. 39-49 e pp. 54-55.

⁶⁸ In his *Vita*, written in 1721 by Conrado Pio Mesfin, Cloche's commitment to promoting the cult of Pius V is recalled, but no mention is made of the altarpiece in the chapel. See Mesfin 1721.

⁶⁹ Minorelli 2012, pp. 19-21.

⁷⁰ The drawing carries an old inscription: «Andrea Procaccini Romano A[l]l[ie]v[us] di C. maratti 1671». See Turčić 1985, p. 795.

The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand: Until I make thy enemies thy footstool. The Lord will send forth the sceptre of thy power out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thy enemies. With thee is the principality in the day of thy strength: in the brightness of the saints: from the womb before the day star I begot thee. The Lord hath sworn, and he will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek. The Lord at thy right hand hath broken kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among nations, he shall fill ruins: he shall crush the heads in the land of the many. He shall drink of the torrent in the way: therefore shall he lift up the head⁷¹.

At the feet of the pontiff, the annihilation of the enemy from David's psalm is taking place in the foreground. A female character wearing a crescent moon turban is looking down, a symbol of the Ottoman empire. Behind her is a quiver, and beneath her are a bow, a shield and a red flag carrying the Turkish insignia of the silver crescent moon. The woman raises a blue cape with her left hand, to protect herself from the attack of an armed angel. The angel is looking at her and pointing at the Pope with one hand, while the other hand is about to strike her with a sword. The benign angel in Baldi's painting who points the Pope towards victory, is replaced in Procaccini's altarpiece with an angel who physically knocks the Turk down. He is in all evidence the Archangel Michael, the angel of judgment, who is normally the destroyer of Satan. The fact that Satan has been substituted with a representative of the Ottoman Empire creates a significant semantic overlap between Turks and Demons. The archangel is also a namesake of the Pope who, as a Dominican, had just taken the name of Michael. Therefore, the Pontiff with the crucifix is reflected in the archangel with the sword, who becomes his *alter ego*. In some sense, such a connection had already been promoted by Pius V himself when he was still alive. For the church of Santa Croce in his native village of Bosco, the Pontiff asked Giorgio Vasari in 1566 for a *Final Judgment*. This painting portrays St. Michael the Archangel striking the damned with his sword, which is next to a portrait of the commissioner of the same name (fig. 9)⁷². In a print of 1567 to celebrate the virtues of the Pope in office, St. Michael the Archangel appears at the bottom holding a sword and a scale, crushing a Hydra with seven heads, one of the traditional symbol of heresy. Around him are the words «heretici respicientes» and «hebrei convertiti» (fig. 10)⁷³. For the same church in Bosco, Pius V in 1568 commissioned his own mausoleum decorated with St. Michael defeating the

⁷¹ Psalms 109, 1-7. «Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion: dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum. Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum; ex utero, ante luciferum, genui te. Juravit Dominus, et non poenitebit eum: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Dominus a dextris tuis; confregit in die irae suae reges. Judicabit in nationibus; implebit ruinas, conquassabit capita in terra multorum, de torrente in via bibet; propterea exaltabit caput».

⁷² Ieni 1985a, pp. 49-62.

⁷³ Silli 1979, p. 63, tav. LXXXIX.

Devil⁷⁴. Then in 1570 the Pope commissioned Giorgio Vasari to decorate one of the three chapels of his apartment in the Vatican with the stories of St. Michael the Archangel, who, in the vault, leads the seven archangels against the seven deadly sins, while in the lunette St. Thomas Aquinas crushes the heretics⁷⁵. In all these cases, there is no representation of the Turks. However, the Archangel who is a namesake of the Pope, is shown triumphing directly or indirectly over the evil representation of heresy.

Procaccini's image reinvigorates this association between Pius V and St. Michael, which the Pope exploited in his war against heresy. The altarpiece is conceptually and figuratively very close to the iconography of the theological controversy, which usually has a saint as the protagonist, intent on humiliating the opponent who falls to the ground with his books. This iconographic tradition is also rich among Dominicans. In the Louvre hangs Benozzo Gozzoli's *The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas on Averroes*, which he made in the 1470s for the Duomo of Pisa. In the scene, the Arabic Aristotelian philosopher is lying at the feet of the saint in glory with a book in one hand, while the saint is in the act of showing other books⁷⁶. In Filippino Lippi's *Triumph of S. Thomas Aquinas over the heretics* (1493) in the Carafa chapel of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome, the saint pins down the personification of Evil at his feet, while heretics in oriental clothes take part in his triumph having thrown their books to the ground⁷⁷. There can also be political meaning within the iconography of the submission of the religious enemy. For example, in Mattia Preti's *Allegory of the Triumph of the Order of St. John* (1666), a personification of the Order is shown triumphal over three Turkish prisoners (fig. 11). The prisoners symbolise a religious enemy since they are unfaithful, but also a political-military threat as representatives of the Ottoman Empire⁷⁸. While in this series the political and religious enemy is always depicted as a male figure, in the painting by Procaccini there is a curious gender change. Melancholy female figures dressed in Turkish clothes had already appeared in the ephemeral apparatus of the sixteenth century in Spain and in the Spanish domains of Southern Italy, probably as a personification of those territories. These were sometimes accompanied by more easily identifiable personifications of Africa and India⁷⁹. In Procaccini's

⁷⁴ Ieni 1985b, pp. 31-48.

⁷⁵ Chiodo 2008; Aurigemma 2013; De Girolami Cheney 2013. More in general on the works commissioned by Pius V to Giorgio Vasari see Conforti 2012.

⁷⁶ See Guerrini 1993. In this case Benozzo most probably is inspired by the *Triumph of S. Thomas* in the church of Santa Caterina in Pisa, realised by Lippo Memmi and his helpers around 1323. See Romano 1999.

⁷⁷ For a correct identification of all the heretics present in among the crowd, who can be identified thanks to the writings, see Geiger 1986.

⁷⁸ Capriotti 2009.

⁷⁹ Franco Llopis (in press). The personification of Victory, between those of Asia and Africa, in a melancholic attitude, is also present in the map with the *Battle of Lepanto* by Francesco Tramezzino. See Scorza 2012a, p. 179.

image the woman might indeed represent a geographic area. Although Turkey was still not a modern state in the 18th century, and although the personification of Turkey is not present in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, expressions like "Turk", "Turkish", "Turkish army" or "Turkish nation" were widely used throughout the modern age. Given these considerations, and above all the comparison with the ephemeral apparatus of the 17th century that rarely reached the status of monumental art, we can hypothesize that the primary purpose of Procaccini's Turkish woman is to represent a personification of the Ottoman Empire. However, the fact that she is attacked by St. Michael the Archangel, the paladin against heresy, perhaps gives her a second-level, deeper meaning. In my opinion this is best understood in the context of the canonization of Pius V. Under the pontificate of Clement XI, the major European powers preferred to establish peaceful commercial agreements with the Ottoman Empire. The Turks were mainly a paradigmatic enemy that the Church needed to restate its supranational prestige. This prestige was lost primarily because of the political situation following the war of Spanish succession and the Church's inability to assert its own power against the Jansenist heresy. Pius V's bull of canonisation references the hard times the Church was going through, as its enemies brought their hatred of the Holy Cannon to attack the orthodoxy. These foes were reinvigorating false ideas long before condemned by the Church, presenting them as new⁸⁰. Therefore, it may be that Procaccini's Turkish woman represents something more than just the Ottoman Empire. She may also allude to the Jansenism that could barely be contained in an increasingly secular Europe that was growing more independent from the precepts of the Holy See. The victory against the Turks had become over time the emblem of the struggle of Pius V for the defence of Catholic religion against the attacks of the infidels and of the purification of Catholicism from any misinterpretation⁸¹. In the same way it is possible that the Turkish woman has also become a representation of Heresy, which was normally personified as a female figure⁸². If this is true, then there has been a shift since the frontispiece of Catena's book in 1586. In that image, there was a division between the fight against the Turks and the fight against heretics. Centuries later, Procaccini in his painting reunites these two battles in the single image of the Turkish woman. She has become a paradigmatic representation of all the enemies of the faith, for which Pius V had always been an unyielding guardian.

⁸⁰ Gasti 2012, p. 65.

⁸¹ Caffiero 1998, pp. 112-113.

⁸² The gender of personification obviously derives from the gender of the names. See Gombrich 1978. The personification of heresy that appears in an 18th century edition of the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa (Ripa 1765, II, pp. 350-351) is a woman with sagging breasts, a book, and snakes in her hands.

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Appendix

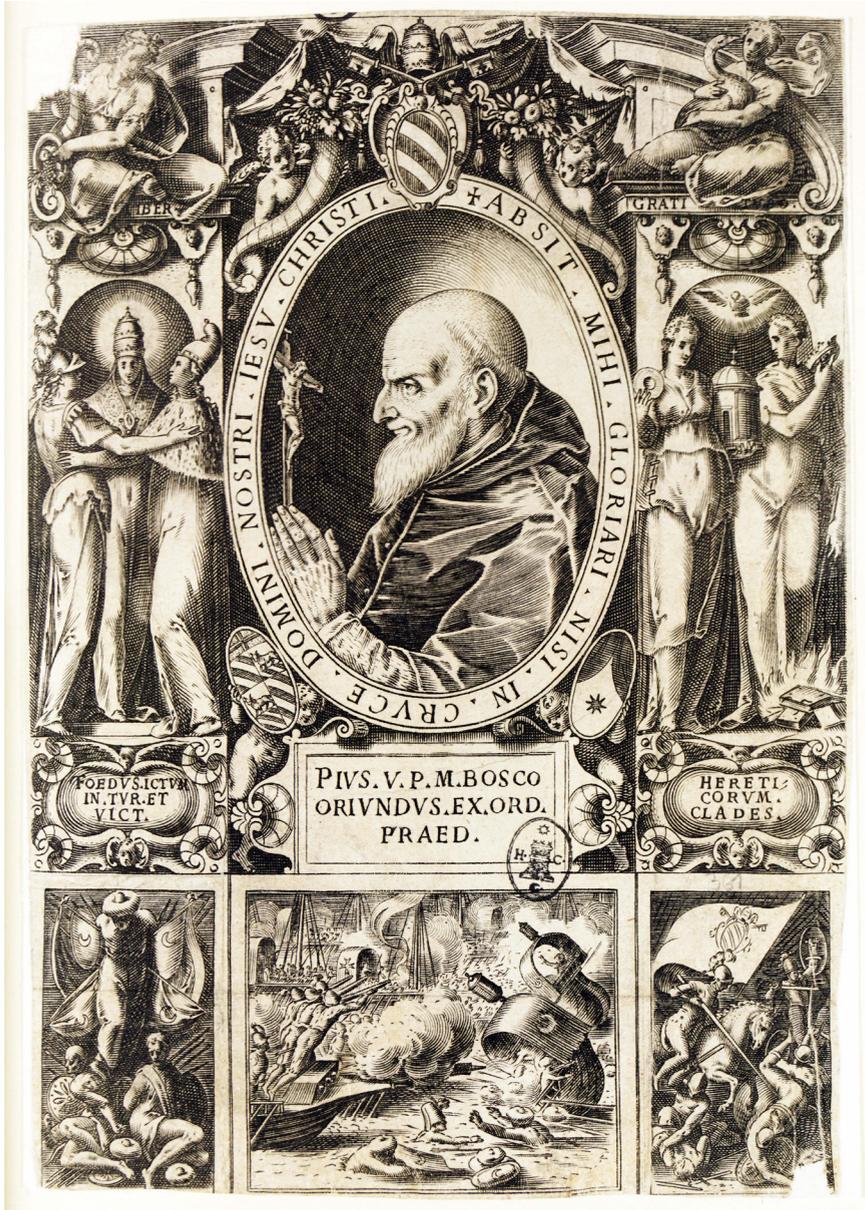


Fig. 1. Frontispiece of the *Vita del gloriosissimo papa Pio V* by Girolamo Catena, Roma 1586. Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense (20.B.I. 44/361). Su concessione del MIBACT. Biblioteca Casanatense



Fig. 2. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, *Medals of Pius V*, London, British Museum. Photo: © Warburg Institute, London



Fig. 3. Lazzaro Baldi, *Pius V and the vision of the victory of Lepanto*, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso



Fig. 4. Pius V and the vision of the victory of Lepanto, print, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense (20.B.I. 44/359). Su concessione del MIBACT. Biblioteca Casanatense



Fig. 5. Andrea Procaccini, *St. Pius V triumphing on the Turks*, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso

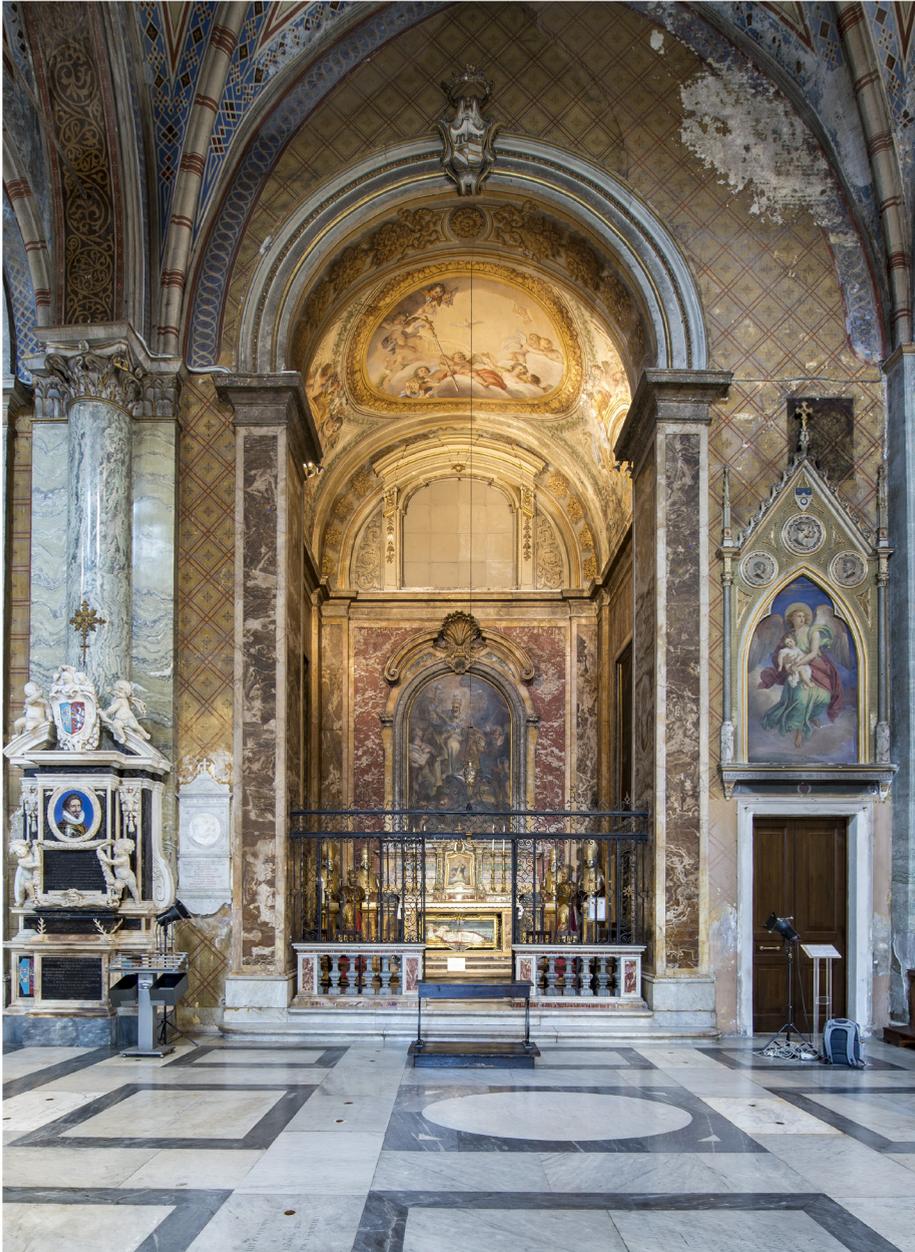


Fig. 6. Chapel of St. Pius V, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso

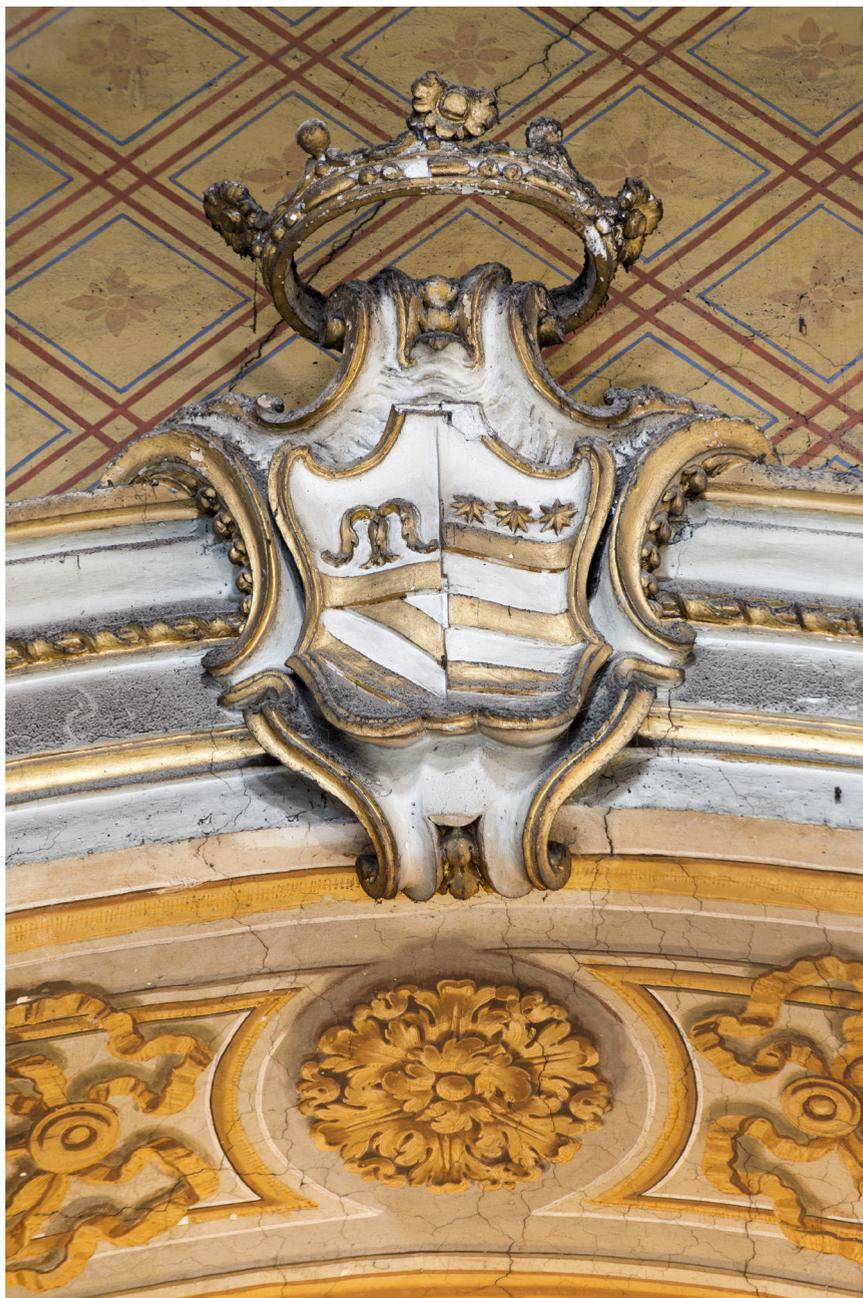


Fig. 7. Coat of arms of the Mellini and Cevoli family, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso



Fig. 8. Andrea Procaccini, *St. Pius V triumphing on the Turks*, drawing, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



Fig. 9. Giorgio Vasari, *Last Judgment*, Bosco, church of Santa Croce



Fig. 11. Mattia Preti, *Allegory of the Triumph of the Order of St. John*, La Valletta, co-cathedral of St. John the Baptist

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