

GLOBAL TURNS, LOCAL CIRCLES.

People, ideas and models
in flux in Medieval Europe

Maria João Branco
João Luís Fontes, eds



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PEOPLE, IDEAS AND
MODELS IN FLUX
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Editors

MARIA JOÃO BRANCO
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The Middle Ages as the “global time” of the Papacy: An examination of the papal image

*Claudia D'Alberto*¹

Abstract

We are currently facing an extraordinary situation: two Popes coexist, one of whom is emeritus, after having abdicated in 2013 (more than seven hundred years after the most famous of medieval abdications, that of Celestine V in 1294), and the other still holds office. We have also recently experienced the canonization of three Popes and the promulgation of two jubilees (2000 and 2015).

This rare situation has stimulated the artistic community that focuses on the figure of the Pope, who is undoubtedly the most important political personality and religious authority that the Middle Ages have handed down to contemporary times. In this regard, worthy of mention is the television series *The Young Pope*, written and directed by Paolo Sorrentino (2016), which highlights the attenuation of the papal identity. The pope is presented there as having difficulty in appearing in public and having his image reproduced, “because his image does not exist”.

The Italian director was inspired by a long-standing problem: the representation of the Pope, especially since Innocent III (1198-1216), has constituted a particular iconographic question owing to a semantic complexity determined by ecclesiological implications.

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From the images on the apses of Roman basilicas to modern portraits, taking in the medieval bust of Boniface VIII, the effigies of the French popes of Avignon and schismatic popes, we focus on the medieval tradition that hides behind the papal politics through images of real and imaginary Popes from both modern and contemporary times.

At the same time, we discuss the representation of the Church as a personification or symbol before considering the representation of the Church as a Pope. Finally, we conclude with the birth and figurative affirmation, starting from 1417, of a third iconographic subject: the Council that determined the end of the apical Pope/Church dualism.

Keywords

Pope; Papacy, Papal Iconography; Iconography of the Church.

Introduction: the Pope of Sorrentino

The pope is the Bishop of Rome, the *Vicarius Christi* (Vicar of Christ), the successor of the prince of the Apostles, the servant of the servants of God, the sovereign pontiff of the universal Church, and also the primate of Italy and sovereign of the Vatican City. These very titles themselves, as enumerated by the Papal Yearbook 2017,² reflect the results of years of consideration (not always pacific) on the dialectical relationship between spiritual and temporal power. From the Middle Ages to the present day, through their writings, images, political acts and liturgical gestures, the popes have expressed the meaning of their earthly mission which, between innovation and conservatism, has made them both political figures and religious authorities which have no equivalent in any other religion.

The current situation is an extraordinary one: two popes coexist, one Emeritus, who abdicated in 2013, and the other pope still at the helm. In 2013, the abdication of Benedict XVI was the first papal abdication in contemporary history, more than seven hundred years after the most famous medieval abdication – that of Celestine V in 1294. We have also witnessed the canonization of three contemporary popes (John XXIII and John Paul II in 2014 and Paul VI in 2018) and the promulgation of two jubilees (the ordinary jubilee of 2000 and an extraordinary jubilee in 2015 under the sign of Mercy). This extraordinary situation has stimulated artistic creativity, especially cinematographic, regarding the figure of the Pope who is, undoubtedly, the most important political figure and religious authority that the Middle Ages has

² *Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 2017*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2017, pp. 23-24. The title *Vicarius Christi* is written in capital letters and larger than the others.

bequeathed to our contemporary times. One example, in particular, is the television series *The Young Pope*, written and directed by Paolo Sorrentino (2016), which deals with the attenuation of the papal image.³ The pope is depicted as having difficulties appearing in public and concerned about the reproduction of his image, “because his image does not exist” (fig. 1). The Italian director was inspired by a longstanding matter, concerning the representation of the pope which, specifically since the time of Innocent III (1198-1216), constitutes a particular iconographic issue, due to semantic complexities determined by ecclesiological implications.



Fig. 1 – Paolo Sorrentino (*The Young Pope* TV series, 2016): Pius XIII affirms that the pope is nobody and that only Christ exists. For this reason, he does not want to appear in public or let his image to be reproduced. The only merchandising that Pius XIII can authorize is a white dish.

From the canonical representations on the apses of Roman basilicas to modern portraits passing through the bust of Boniface VIII, the effigies of the French popes of Avignon and the *Vaticinia Pontificum*, this paper will examine the medieval tradition concealed behind the political dimension through images of real and imaginary popes from modern and contemporary times.

³ The sequel *The new pope*, announced by Paolo Sorrentino, definitively stigmatizes the genre of provocative and irreverent “papal fantasy”. He continues to analyse the identity of the sovereign pontiff but this time, through the co-presence of two popes, with explicit reference to our historical moment.

The pope of the Middle Ages: his status as the Vicar of Christ. One pope, two persons

Among the titles enumerated in the Papal Yearbook 2017, Paolo Sorrentino primarily employed that of the “Vicar of Christ” in order to connote the reign of his pope. It is a title which, reserved for the emperor since the early Christian era, began to be attributed to the pope from the time of the Gregorian Reform.⁴ The progressive assimilation of the Pope to Christ is, most importantly, in accordance with the assertion of the pontifical *plenitudo potestatis* (plenitude of power), namely the idea that the pope is, at the same time, the custodian of both temporal and spiritual power.⁵

Peter Damien, one of the leading initiators of the Gregorian Reform was the first to attribute the title of *Vicarius Christi* to the pope in the treatise *De coelibatu sacerdotum*, dedicated to Nicholas II (1059-1061).⁶ By way of another *Opusculum* written in 1064 entitled *De brevitae vitae pontificum Romanorum et divina providentia*, Peter Damien developed (as research conducted by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani has indeed shown) a rhetorical discourse relating to the caducity of the pope in order to “résoudre symboliquement et rituellement la tension entre la fragilité corporelle et l'autorité institutionnelle du pape.”⁷ On the basis of this discourse, which summarised all the considerations expounded on the theme since the fifth century, a systematic separation of the “physical person” of the pope, transitory and mortal, and the institutional person of the pope – *persona papae* – was implemented, namely the Church,⁸ the body of Christ who never dies. In this way, since the second half of the eleventh century, it is impossible to understand any representation of the popes without taking into account that metaphorical and ideological concept.⁹ It becomes clear that from the time of Innocent III (1198-1216),¹⁰ the pope, alive and

⁴ Cf. MACCARRONE, Michele – *Vicarius Christi: storia del titolo papale*. Romae: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1952, pp. 85-107.

⁵ Regarding the theme of papal Christology cf. ANDREANI, Laura; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino (eds.) – *Cristo e il potere: teologia, antropologia e politica*. Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017. Here cf. in particular the articles of PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino (“Innocenzo III, Cristo e il potere del papa”, pp. 127-142), ROMANO, Serena (“Roma, il centro del potere e l'immagine di Cristo”, pp. 143-156), THÉRY, Julien (“*Negotium Christi*”. Guillaume de Nogaret et le christianisme capétien, de l'affaire Boniface VIII à l'affaire du Temple”, pp. 183-210) and BOCK, Nicolas (“La visione del potere. Cristo, il re e la corte angioina”, pp. 211-224).

⁶ Cf. MACCARRONE, Michele – *Vicarius Christi*, pp. 86-87.

⁷ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Art et autoreprésentation : la figure du pape entre le XI^e et le XIV^e siècle”. *Perspective 1* (2012), pp. 95-114 at 95-97. Available at <http://perspective.revues.org/557>. For an in-depth analysis of this cf. also PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il corpo del papa*. Torino: Einaudi, 1994, pp. 5-28.

⁸ On the different meanings of the concept of “Church” cf. IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge (v. 800-v. 1200)*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006.

⁹ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Boniface VIII en images. Vision d'Église et mémoire de soi”. In OLARIU, Dominic (ed.) – *Le portrait individuel. Réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation XIII^e-XV^e siècles*. Bern, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 65-82 at 133.

¹⁰ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il corpo del papa*, pp. 93-94; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Art et autoreprésentation”, p. 100; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Innocenzo III, Cristo e il potere del papa”.

in good health, combined the two persons. In almost identical passages taken from two different sermons, Innocent III asserted that "for the pope to be recognised as a living image of Christ on earth, and so that he might exercise the plenitude of his power, the institutional person of the pope (*persona papae*) must exist as a person in flesh and blood, in full possession of all his senses and one who can be touched, seen and smelt "scented".¹¹

In the former apse mosaic of Saint Peter in the Vatican (fig. 2),¹² Innocent III dressed in his red chasuble, pallium and wearing the tiara (for the first time in the history of the representation of apses in Roman basilicas)¹³ is depicted as the embodiment of the Church who holds in his right hand a banner with two parallel keys. They are presented at the head of a number of lambs (an allusion to the twelve Apostles) leaving the towns of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. At the centre of the scene the throne of Hetimasie associated with the Lamb of God appears in an axial position in relation to Christ seated on the throne at a superior level. The pope can no longer be represented merely as the patron of the mosaic,¹⁴ the physical person defined by the attribute of the square nimbus as in the past, but must be depicted as the Vicar of Christ.¹⁵ His new status is indicated by way of an exceptionally Christological context. Christ seated on the throne, the Lamb of God, the throne of Hetimasie, the tiara, the red chasuble (alluding to the sacrifice of Christ) establish the ideal

¹¹ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 100.

¹² The work, destroyed during the reconstruction of the Vatican basilica at the turn of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries is known primarily due to a kind of notarial register produced by the apostolic prothonotary Giacomo Grimaldi in 1605 (Vatican City, Vatican Library, Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, A 64 ter, f. 50r). Cf. IACOBINI, Antonio – "Est Haec sacra principis aedes: the Vatican Basilica from Innocent III to Gregory IX (1198 – 1241)". In TRONZO, William (ed.) – *St. Peter's in the Vatican*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 48-63; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara: immagini e simboli del papato medievale*. Roma: Viella, 2005, pp. 45-50; BALLARDINI, Antonella – "La distruzione dell'abside dell'antico San Pietro e la tradizione iconografica del mosaico innocenziano tra la fine del sec. XVI e il sec. XVII". *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 11 (2004), pp. 7-80; IACOBINI, Antonio – "La pittura e le Arte suntarie da Innocenzo III a Innocenzo IV (1198-1254)". In ROMANINI, Maria Angiola (ed.) – *Roma nel Duecento. L'arte nella città dei papi da Innocenzo III a Bonifacio VIII*. Torino: SEAT, 1991, pp. 1-71; IACOBINI, Antonio – "Il mosaico absidale di San Pietro in Vaticano". In ANDALORO, Maria, et al. (ed.) – *Fragmenta picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*. Roma: Argos, 1990, pp. 119-130; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*. Vol. 2. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1970, p. 62. Cf. also BÖLLING, Jörg – "Die zwei Körper des Apostelfürsten. Der heilige Petrus im Rom des Reformpapsttums". *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 106 (2011), pp. 155-192.

¹³ Cf. IACOBINI, Antonio – "Il mosaico absidale", p. 126; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "La papauté médiévale entre la norme et la légitimité implicite". In GENET, Jean-Philippe (ed.) – *La légitimité implicite. Actes des conférences organisées à Rome en 2010 et en 2011 par SAS en collaboration avec l'École Française de Rome*. Paris-Rome, Editions de la Sorbonne – École française de Rome, 2015, pp. 67-74 at 70-71.

¹⁴ On the figure of the patron Pope cf. D'ONOFRIO, Mario – "Per un profilo della committenza artistica dei papi a Roma nel Medioevo". In D'ONOFRIO, Mario (ed.) – *La committenza artistica dei Papi a Roma nel Medioevo*. Roma: Viella, 2016, pp. 7-49 at 27-35; GANDOLFO, Francesco – "Il ritratto di committenza". In ANDALORO, Maria; ROMANO Serena – *Arte e iconografia a Roma. Da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*. Milano: Jaca Book, 2000, pp. 175-192.

¹⁵ Cf. MACCARRONE, Michele – *Vicarius Christi*, pp. 109-124; PACAUT, Marcel – *La théocratie. L'Église et le pouvoir au Moyen-Âge*. Paris: Editions Montaigne, 1957, p. 255; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 45-50.

condition for the celebration of the mystical marriage between Innocent III and the Church,¹⁶ in accordance with a theological symbolism that the pope himself had described in sermon III *De diversis*¹⁷ given on the occasion of the first anniversary of his coronation.



Fig. 2 – Domenico Tasselli da Lugo, Vatican City, Vatican Library, Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, A 64 ter, f. 50r: Watercolor copy of the absidal mosaic in the St Peter Basilica commissioned by Innocent III (1198-1216), (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

¹⁶ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “La papauté médiévale” p. 71; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 46-47 (even if he is not convinced that it concerns the mystical marriage between the pope and the church); DORAN, John – *Pope Innocent III and the uses of spiritual marriage*. In ANDREWS, Frances; EGGER, Christoph; ROUSSEAU, Constance (eds.) – *Pope, church and city. Essays in honour of Brenda M. Bolton*. Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 101-114 at 111-112; IACOBINI, Antonio – “Il mosaico absidale”, p. 126.

¹⁷ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 47, 59, note 13; IMKAMP, Wilhelm – *Das Kirchenbild Innocenz' III (1198-1216)*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983, pp. 201-208.

The representation of the Church as personification or symbol: figurative visibility and invisibility

The metaphor of the Church as the bride of the bishop has been demonstrated since the early Middle Ages.¹⁸ It became considerably widespread during the first quarter of the ninth century due to the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and even more so during the Gregorian Reform which owes much to this canonical collation.¹⁹ Furthermore, the era of the Reform was a critical turning point. In order to assert the primacy of the pope, the Church also began to employ the name *sponsa Christi* (spouse of Christ) and therefore, due to a conceptual shift, *sponsa papae* (spouse of the pope) insofar as the pope is the living image of Christ on earth and thus the custodian of indirect temporal power.²⁰ This is the meaning of the mosaic of Innocent III (fig. 2), where the Church, in turn, has become "papalised", by considering itself, from the iconographic point of view, with the symbol of the keys, which for the first time have been dissociated from St Peter.²¹ Through this spiritual marriage, Innocent III celebrated the union between the body of the pope interpreted in its immortal dimension, and the body of the Church as he had implied²² in his treatise on *De sacro altaris mysterio*, by applying to the liturgical person of the pope and to the Church an identical division of their bodies into seven parts.²³ It should be pointed out, however, that the personification of the Innocentian Church-bride is one of the last representations of the Roman Church in monumental contexts.

With Boniface VIII (1294-1303), a new theological discourse was imposed in an innovative and decisive way, which was no longer based on the simple union

¹⁸ Cf. CONTE, Pietro – *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1971; CONTE, Pietro – *Regesto delle lettere papali del secolo VIII*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1984; ULLMANN, Walter – *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1. London: Methuen, 1962; MCLAUGHLIN, Megan – "The Church as Bride in Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England". In AURELL, Martin (ed.) – *Les stratégies matrimoniales (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 257-266; MACCARRONE, Michele – *Romana Ecclesia, cathedra Petri*. Roma: Herder, 1991.

¹⁹ FUHRMANN, Horst – *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1972-1974; IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – *La Maison Dieu*, pp. 365-366.

²⁰ TAWIL, Emmanuel (*Laïcité & liberté de l'Église: la doctrine des relations entre l'Église et l'État dans les documents magistériels de Pie IX à Benoît XVI*. Perpignan: Artège Éditions, 2013, pp. 29-32) considers the oldest historical source of the doctrine of indirect power (which differs from the doctrine of direct temporal power, the clearest expression of which was contained in the bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII) the *Novit Ille* of Innocent III published in the decrees of Gregory IX (1227-1241).

²¹ Cf. LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, p. 59; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 46-47; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "La papauté médiévale", p. 71. The personification of the Church also appears qualified by a crown-tiara which evokes it as *Imperatrix* cf. IACOBINI, Antonio – "Il mosaico absidale", pp. 126-128.

²² Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 99.

²³ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 99.

between the Pope Christ and the Church, but on the fusion between the two persons²⁴ in keeping with the theological notions articulated by Giles of Rome, according to which *papa potest dici Ecclesia*.²⁵ The Caetani pope tried for the first time a form of revoking papal caducity as his funereal monument clearly demonstrates. Serena Romano submits that the bust of Boniface-*alter Christus*²⁶ (fig. 3) and, more generally, his entire tomb had to remind those entering the Vatican Basilica that the pope was alive. This interpretation is confirmed by the physiognomic idealisation of the papal face, very different from the perpetually realistic ones of his predecessors and, as we will see, of his Avignon successors.²⁷ But this interpretation is also confirmed by the fact that the Church, which to some extent becomes figuratively invisible, appears through the face of the pope²⁸ and, at the same time, the pope and the Church begin to be symbolised by the large tiara.

²⁴ For a synthesis of this theological discourse cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Boniface VIII en images”, p. 81.

²⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 80-81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa: norme, riti e conflitti. 1: Il Medioevo*. Roma: Viella, 2013, pp. 145-146; D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere papale fra Roma e Avignone (1308-1362)”. In PROVASI, Matteo; VICENTINI, Cecilia (ed.) – *La Storia e le Immagini della Storia: Prospettive, metodi, ricerche*. Roma: Viella, 2015, pp. 37-60 at 37-39.

²⁶ Cf. ROMANO, Serena – “Visione e visibilità nella Roma papale: Niccolò III e Bonifacio VIII”. In BONINCONTRO, Ilaria (ed.) – *Bonifacio VIII. Ideologia e azione politica*. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2006, pp. 59-76; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Il busto di Bonifacio VIII: nuove testimonianze e una rilettura”. In *Il potere del papa. Corporeità, autorappresentazione, simboli*. Firenze: SISMELE – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009, pp. 137-151 at 148-149; but also RASH, Nancy – “Boniface VIII and Honorific Portraiture: observations on the half-length image in the Vatican”. *Gesta* 26 (1987), pp. 47-58 and D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “*Imago Papae*”. In D'ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae. Le pape en image du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine*. Roma: Campisano Editore, 2020. According to Serena Romano the bust of Boniface VIII is qualified not only by the *triregnum* but also by the blessing gesture which, as the scholar has shown, is connected to an iconographic tradition of a purely Christological and non-Petrine matrix. The thesis, recently put forward by BOLGIA, Claudia (“In the footsteps of St. Peter: New light on the half-length images of Benedict XII by Paolo da Siena and Boniface VIII by Arnolfo di Cambio in Old St. Peter's”. In BUENO, Irene (ed.) – *Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342): The Guardian of Orthodoxy*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018, pp. 131-165 at 157-158), that releases the bust of Boniface VIII from his tomb is not supported on the basis of convincing data but only on the basis of the similarity with the position of the bust of Benedict XII.

²⁷ Basically, the face of the bust of Boniface VIII is free from the principle of “resembling representation”, well illustrated by OLARIU, Dominic – *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIIIe siècle*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014 and, more recently, by BELTING, Hans – *Face and mask: a double history*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017.

²⁸ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 80-81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 144-46; D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere” p. 38 and note 3.



Fig. 3 – Arnolfo di Cambio (?), Vatican City, Vatican Palace:
Bust of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), (© Fototeca Musei Vaticani).

It is no coincidence therefore that a very significant change in this extra-liturgical papal headdress can be seen in the time of Boniface VIII. There has been a shift from the tiara-diadem at the time of Boniface VIII to the *triregnum*,²⁹ defined as a diadem with an additional two crowns. There exists no written source to explain this innovation, however Paravicini Bagliani,³⁰ studying in detail a line of research proposed by Schramm and Ladner,³¹ demonstrates that the Caetani pope wanted to reflect through this embellishment, which represented more than just the

²⁹ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 77-82.

³⁰ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 79-82.

³¹ SCHRAMM, Percy Erivst – “Zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Tiara”. *Historische Zeitschrift* 152 (1935), pp. 307-312; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, pp. 313-317; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – “Die Statue Bonifaz’ VII. in der Lateranbasilika und die Entstehung der dreifach gekrönten Tiara”. In *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*, I.1. Roma: Ed. Di Storia e Letteratura, 1983, pp. 393-426 (revised version of the article published in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 42:1-2 (1934), pp. 35-69); PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 77-82.

temporal power of the pope, his new ecclesiological concept based on the biblical allegory of Noah's Ark.³² In the letter announcing his election, Benedetto Caetani wrote that the Church was "an Ark which rises towards the influx of waters"³³ while Jacopo Stefaneschi in the *Opus Metricum* spoke of the tiara, which was used to crown Boniface VIII, as a headdress which had "the form of the sphere and the *cubitus*".³⁴ The *cubitus* was the unit of measurement used in the Bible to calculate the length, width and height of Noah's Ark. This word is repeated again in the *Unam Sanctam* papal bull (1302),³⁵ in which Boniface codified from a dogmatic point of view propositions theorised by his leading theologian: the Augustinian Giles of Rome, namely that the base of Noah's Ark is long and wide because it represents the Church of the faithful, and as the Ark extends upwards the finer it becomes until the summit is reduced to a *cubitus*, which represents the pope. Giles of Rome transferred to the pope, as Paravicini Bagliani has noted, that which more than one century earlier the theologian Hugh of Saint Victor, in his famous treatise on Noah's Ark (towards 1126-1127), had attributed to Christ.³⁶ This means that the symbolic identification of the base of Noah's Ark with the Church dates back to Hugh of Saint Victor, except that the Parisian theologian had identified the summit of the Ark with Christ. The transition from Christ to the pope, on the other hand, is the significant innovation of the Bonifacian era.³⁷

Historians,³⁸ by linking these sources relating to Noah's Ark and the tiara, have arrived at the conclusion that the similarity with the sphere used by Jacopo Stefaneschi to describe the papal headdress refers to the shape of its lower part, in other words, to the diadem which alludes to the sacerdotal authority of the pope and therefore the Church. The word *cubitus*, likewise used by Stefaneschi with regard to the symbolism of the Ark, emphasises the verticality of the tiara, referring to the summit (*cubitus*) which embodies the pope as the Vicar of Christ and head of the Church.

From a conceptual and visual point of view, the *triregnum* synthesises therefore the new ecclesiological notion of Boniface VIII, and his re-formulation of the papal *plenitudo potestatis*. It has been shown that the Caetani pope no longer accepted the supremacy of spiritual power over temporal power asserted by Innocent III

³² PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 77.

³³ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 79.

³⁴ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 79; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, 287.

³⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 80.

³⁶ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 80-81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 105.

³⁷ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione*, pp. 145-146.

³⁸ SCHRAMM, Percy Erivst – "Zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Tiara"; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, pp. 313-317; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – "Die Statue Bonifaz VII"; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 77-82.

in his sermons, whereas the latter had emphasised on a number of occasions the major importance of the mitre (*signum pontificis*) compared to the tiara (*signum imperii*), given that papal authority is more extensive and more dignified than imperial power.³⁹ In order to challenge this theological approach, Boniface VIII further enhanced the diadem, in the sense of a sacerdotal symbol, with two crowns. As suggested by Ladner,⁴⁰ one refers to royal sovereignty and the other to imperial sovereignty. Historical events would support this thesis. The antagonism of Boniface VIII against the crown of France and the imperial crown of Habsburg is common knowledge. As an example, it should not be forgotten that in 1303, during negotiations with Albert I of Habsburg, contender for the imperial throne,⁴¹ the Caetani pope welcomed the ambassadors to the Lateran Palace delivering his opening sermon where, starting with a passage from Genesis on the theme of the sun and the moon, he compared spiritual power to the light of the sun and temporal and imperial power to moonlight. In so doing, he assigned the derivation of earthly power from ecclesiastical power, unlike the moon which lives on reflected light from the sun. The emperor subject to the judgment of the pontiff *est super gentes et regna*, but his entire power comes from the pope and therefore he is reduced to a minister of the Church. So, the house of Habsburg needed to be very cautious because the Vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, had the power to transfer the title of the German Holy Roman Empire to another dynasty.

In addition to being an ecclesiological symbol, the Bonifacian *triregnum*, as explained above, also maintains its Innocentian nature of *signum imperii*, although from the perspective of the plenitude of power and not of the inferiority of temporal power compared to spiritual power.

This Bonifacian double meaning was received and accentuated by the Avignon papacy, during which time the tiara was newly transformed.⁴² The diadem of the lower part was replaced by a crown similar in workmanship and size to two others already existing from the time of Clement V (1305-1314) (fig. 4). But it is only with Clement VI (1342-1352) that the tiara with three crowns definitively replaced the use of the other two types (namely the diadem tiara and the Bonifacian *triregnum*) becoming the official extra-liturgical headdress of the pope until 1964, when Paul VI (1963-1978) officially renounced this sacred ornament. To date, there are no sources

³⁹ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 73.

⁴⁰ MÜNTZ, Eugene – “La tiare pontificale du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle”. *Mémoires de l’Institut national de France*, 36:1 (1898), pp. 235-324 at 255; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, p. 314; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p.77.

⁴¹ PIO, Berardo – “Bonifacio VIII e la corte tedesca”. In BONINCONTRO, Ilaria (ed.) – *Bonifacio VIII. Ideologia e azione politica*. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2006, pp. 199-219 at 213-214.

⁴² On this subject I allow myself to refer to my article D’ALBERTO, Claudia – “La tiare à trois couronnes: une invention de la papauté d’Avignon (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)”. *Rivista d’Arte. Periodico Internazionale di Storia dell’Arte Medievale e Moderna*, 5 s., 53:8 (2018), pp. 23-39.

available to explain clearly and unequivocally the reason why the diadem was replaced by the third crown. In order to attempt to clarify this point, it is necessary to start from the analysis of the ecclesiological conception and papal *auctoritas* adopted by the Avignon papacy.



Fig. 4 – Andrea Bonaiuti (?), Florence, Santa Maria Novella: Triumph of St Thomas Aquinas, Pope Clement V (*Enciclopedia dei Papi* 2000).

To contain overwhelming dynamics such as the conflict with the Empire, the all-consuming interference exerted by the Allied French crown and the distance with Rome (even though the Eternal City kept its elevated symbolic value unscathed), the popes in the south of France had no choice but to strengthen the theocratic base of their power. They followed in the steps of Innocent III, Nicholas III and more importantly Boniface VIII,⁴³ namely the traces of a pope who was – and this is the great historical paradox of the French popes – the protagonist of a posthumous trial which ended in 1313.

Research carried out by Paravicini Bagliani on the papal ceremonies in Avignon⁴⁴ have brought to light that in France, during the election of the popes, there were less gestures of self-humiliation compared to the formulas which imitated imperial type royalty.⁴⁵ In 1316, evidence shows there was for the first time a new coronation ritual at the time of the ceremony of the consecration of John XXII (1316-1334). Following his election, Jacques Duèze after having been handed the tiara from the Cardinal Protodeacon, and while seated on a wooden catafalque, was placed, to the cheers of the crowd, onto the altar of the church of Saint-Just of Lyon.⁴⁶ As explained by Paravicini Bagliani, this rite corresponded to Roman ecclesiology of the 13th century: the pope wearing the tiara as the sign of his election, was transported onto the altar which was a throne, the throne of Christ, of which the pope is the Vicar.⁴⁷ In this perspective it is very significant to note that, in the correspondence that Joseph Marie de Suarès (bishop of Vaison-la-Romaine from 1633 to 1666) entertains between the thirties and the fifties of the seventeenth century with his Roman patron, Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1623), he recalls to have seen in the sacristy of the cathedral of Avignon a red silk planet of John XXII⁴⁸

⁴³ Cf. D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere”, pp. 37-53.

⁴⁴ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 152-169. Regarding the papal ceremonies of Avignon cf. also ROLLO-KOSTER, Joëlle – “Failed Ritual? Medieval Papal Funerals and the Death of Clement VI (1352)?”. In LYNTERIS, Christos; EVANS, Nicholas (ed.) – *Histories of Post-Mortem Contagion: Infectious Corpses and Contested Burials*. London: Palgrave Macmillan 2017, pp. 27-53 and ROLLO-KOSTER, Joëlle – “Un ou deux corps ? La mort du pape dans un cérémonial de la fin du Moyen Âge”. In D'ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae*.

⁴⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il corpo del papa*, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁶ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁷ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁸ Vatican City, Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. 3051, fol. 65r: “Vi è ancor una pianeta di Giovanni 22 di seta rossa e nel mezzo vi sono in ricamo fatti attorno l'effigie di Christo nostro Signore suoi Re, che tengono qte ('queste') lettere parimte ('parimente') intessute”. The reliability of the source is very high, as it is stated when De Suares speaks of works still existing today, all correctly identified. Moreover, thanks to this correspondence DE NICOLA, Giacomo (“L'affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone”. *L'Arte* 9 (1906), pp. 336-344) discovered at the beginning of the last century the drawing of the lost fresco with *Saint George and the dragon* painted by Simone Martini in the portico of the cathedral of Avignon. CASTELNUOVO, Enrico (*Un pittore italiano alla corte di Avignone: Matteo Giovannetti e la pittura in Provenza nel secolo XIV*. Torino: Einaudi, 1991, p. 137, note 9) also used this source to confirm the identification of Innocent VI with the fragmented pope represented in the Chapel of St. John of the chartreuse du Val-de Bénédiction (Villeneuve-lès-Avignon) kneeling in front of the Virgin and Child. Finally, also see the article by VINGTAIN, Dominique; ANHEIM, Étienne – “Les fresques de la chapelle Saint-Martial

at the center of which was woven an image of Christ surrounded by “his Kings”. The kings could be identified with the ancestors according to the flesh (following the genealogy of Jesus Isaiah, Solomon etc.) who held letters in their hands. This is news that confirms, as well as through the use of certain iconographies and certain vestments, that the Avignon sovereign popes adhered strongly to the Bonifacian Christological ecclesiology.

Likewise the drawings of *Opicinus de Canistris* (1296-1351?), the scribe at the Apostolic Penitentiary active between the papacies of Benedict XII (1334-1342) and Clement VI, demonstrate that the Avignon popes placed themselves in a position whereby they both continued with and innovated the thirteenth century papal ecclesiology. The drawing on paper (Vat. Lat. 6435, f. 84v), dating back to the papacy of Benedict XII, depicts the words “Ark” and “Noah” inscribed on a highly stylised tiara.⁴⁹ It is clear therefore that the first Avignon popes, when they decided to review the structure of the tiara, continued to adhere to the symbolic complex synthesised by the Bonifacian metaphor of Noah’s Ark. However, at the same time due to the theocratic strengthening of the papal *auctoritas* (authority) the French popes no longer perceived their spiritual power through the diadem of the priesthood, but through a crown which probably emphasised with greater force the papal status of the Vicar of Christ. With the three-crowned tiara the Church, the symbol of the community of the faithful, no longer appears on the head of the Pope. The Avignonese pope of the *Opicinus* is therefore a Bonifacian pope, Vicar of Christ and successor of Peter. In this perspective, it is highly significant to note that the bust of the pontiff, that *Opicinus* represents within a sort of Petrine-Christological genealogical scheme in the parchment codex Pal. Lat. 1993 (f. 23r) dating back to the mid-fourteenth century⁵⁰ (fig. 5), alludes to the Arnolfian bust of pope Caetani (fig. 3) which, in turn, serves as the model, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁵¹ for the honorary bust made by Paolo da Siena for the substantial restoration works financed by Benedict XII in favour of the Vatican Basilica in 1341 (fig. 6).

(Palais des papes d’Avignon). Techniques picturales et mise en scène du pouvoir pontifical au milieu du XIVe siècle”. In D’ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae*, in which the source was used by Etienne Anheim to record some lost portraits of Clement VI in the Palace of the Popes of Avignon.

⁴⁹ Regarding the timeline of the codex Vat. Lat. 6435 cf. LAHARIE, Muriel – *Le journal singulier d’Opicinus de Canistris (1337-vers 1341): Vaticanus latinus 6435*. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008, 1: XLIII-XLVI, and more specifically for the drawing (fol. 84v) cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Opicinus de Canistris et la symbolique pontificale”. In *Il potere del papa. Corporeità, autorappresentazione, simboli*. Firenze: SISMEI – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009, pp. 227-236 at 232, ill. 15.

⁵⁰ SALOMON, Richard – *Opicinus De Canistris. Weltbild und Bekenntnisse eines avignonesischen Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Textband and Tafelband, 2 vols. London: Warburg Institute, 1936, *Textband*, pp. 286-292, *Tafelband*, XXXII.

⁵¹ D’ALBERTO, Claudia – *Roma al tempo di Avignone. Sculture nel contesto*. Roma: Campisano Editore, 2013, 42-47; D’ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere”, pp. 49-52. On the Vatican bust of Benedict XII see also the summary in BOLGIA, Claudia – “Il XIV secolo: da Benedetto XI (1303-1304) a Bonifacio IX (1389-1404)”. In D’ONOFRIO, Maria (ed.) – *La committenza artistica dei Papi a Roma nel Medioevo*. Roma: Viella, 2016, pp. 331-359 at pp. 340-341, and a broader discussion in BOLGIA, Claudia – “In the footsteps of St. Peter”



Fig. 5 – Opicinus de Canistris, Vatican City, Vatican Library, Pal. Lat. 1993, f. 23r: Bust of a blessing pope (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



Fig. 6 – Paolo da Siena, Vatican City, Vatican Grottoes: bust of Benedict XII (courtesy of the Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano).

The relationship between the pope Vicar of Christ with the *Ecclesia* (Church) also refers to thirteenth century ecclesiology. The plate of same parchment codex Pal. Lat. 1993 (f. 23r) is dominated by a large cross at the centre of which is an *imago clipeata* representing a pope, wearing this time a three-crowned tiara and holding two large keys in his hands. At the top of the cross, another *imago clipeata* echoes the papal one. It contains two figures embracing, which a written note identifies respectively with Christ and the Church. It is clear that the Pope-cross, wearing the three-crowned tiara is the Vicar of Christ. As a result of this position and of a subtle play of figurative connections, the Pope is also the bridegroom of the Church, in continuity with the figurative metaphor “staged” by Innocent III on the apse mosaic of St Peter in the Vatican. However, at the same time, for *Opicinus de Canistris* and probably for his creator, the pope is the incarnation of the Bonifacian Church. Without discussing the large number of inscriptions which define the pope as the “apostolic body of the Church” (p. e. Pal lat. 1993, n 18 and n 47),⁵² we want to focus our attention on a drawing on paper (Vat. Lat. 6435 f. 87r)⁵³ where the mystical couple *Ecclesia-Christus* (Church-Christ), represented in an anthropomorphic map of Europe are defined most significantly with the name *papia et papa*.⁵⁴ Now, however, it is the pope who figuratively speaking is invisible. He appears through the faces of Christ and the Church who are at the same time the pope and the pope woman.

Even the rite of papal coronation in Avignon which always took place inside the Palace of the Popes, after the papacy of John XXII and certainly starting from that of Innocent VI, epitomises a real isolation, a sort of invisibility of the pope with respect to the community of the faithful.⁵⁵ As said by Paravicini Bagliani⁵⁶ this liturgical-ritual practice represents the most important discerning feature between the Avignon papal ceremonies and those held in Rome. However, it must be emphasised that this sort of liturgical-ritual invisibility – which can be considered the source of inspiration for the depiction of the Sorrentine pope – did not in any way correspond to a sort of papal aniconism. On the contrary, certainly initiating with Clement VI, the French popes deployed a real campaign for images representing themselves primarily on the throne with their most important papal

⁵² Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Opicinus de Canistris”, p. 233.

⁵³ Cf. LAHARIE, Muriel – *Le journal singulier d’Opicinus*, 2: 910-914, fig. 46; WHITTINGTON, Karl – *Body-worlds. Opicinus de Canistris and the medieval cartographic imagination*. Toronto: PIMS, 2014, pp. 153, 160; BROCCHERI, Mariateresa Fumagalli Beonio; LIMONTA, Roberto – *Volando sul mondo. Opicinus de Canistris (1296-1352)*. Milano: Archinto, 2016, pp. 80-81.

⁵⁴ It is very interesting to highlight the play on words that *Opicinus* does in the drawings on paper (BAV, Vat. Lat. 6435) with the word ‘Papia’. It often identifies the hometown, Pavia, but also a sort of Pope’s wife, when it is precisely in connection with the Pope and especially when these two are connected, thanks to a ‘construction to chiasm’, with the couple Christ-Church.

⁵⁵ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 155-156.

⁵⁶ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, p.156.

insignia including the three-crowned tiara which contributed more than the other sacred ornaments, to assert the representation of the pope at the summit of his spiritual and temporal power, as Vicar of Christ, Incarnation of the Church and true emperor.

Little did it matter if it was a fictional representation. The principal objective was the message that had to be conveyed, to give an image of strength to the institution of the Church which, with its transfer to Avignon, was going through many changes and was seeking its identity. The past, even the most awkward, has not been refuted, however employed for the new requirements of propaganda.

The Great Western Schism. The representation of the pope as an instrument of legitimacy

The representation of the pope during the Great Western Schism⁵⁷ (at the peak of his spiritual and temporal power) becomes an instrument of legitimacy.

As Francesca Manzari demonstrated in different papers,⁵⁸ the popes and antipopes were systematically represented with the most important papal insignia, not only in official contexts, but also in works intended for their private use. The *Prayer Book of Clement VII* (Avignon, Bibl. mun., ms. 6733) is emblematic: the excessive heraldic pageantry undergoes constant transformations. The tiara with three crowns, just like the keys, in addition to triumphing over the papal coat of arms (f. 31r and 42r) can also be seen nearby, thus becoming an autonomous motif (f. 8v) integrating into the dense decorations of the margins. We are not looking at mere emblems, but a real exaltation of papal symbols, and therefore of the legitimacy of the papacy.

⁵⁷ Iconological research about Great Western Schism was only started more recently. The conference proceedings of an important conference organized by Serena Romano and Walter Angelelli (ANGELELLI, Walter; ROMANO, Serena (eds.) – *La linea d'ombra. Roma 1378-1420, Conference proceedings (Lausanne-Rome 2017-2018)*. Roma: Viella, 2019) are a real *viaticum* for all those who want to face the study of schismatic Rome. I can say that *Imago Papae* – the volume that is going to be published under my edition (cf. D'ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae. Le pape en image du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine*. Roma: Campisano Editore, 2020) – also contributes significantly to Roman research and is, in addition, a starting point for iconological questions relating to the Avignon antipapacy.

⁵⁸ MANZARI, Francesca – *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi (1310-1410)*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006, pp. 211-220 and finally and with previous bibliography cf. MANZARI, Francesca – “Committenza libraria a Roma durante lo scisma: codici miniati per papi, cardinali, vescovi e laici (1380-1410)”. In ANGELELLI, Walter; ROMANO, Serena (eds.) – *La linea d'ombra*, pp. 89-114; MANZARI, Francesca – “L'enluminure à Avignon et à Rome pendant le Grand Schisme d'Occident: images de Dieu en pape et représentations du vêtement du pontife”. In *Imago Papae* and MANZARI, Francesca – “Committenza libraria e legittimità tra Avignone e Roma. I codici liturgici prodotti per Benedetto XIII e per Bonifacio IX durante lo Scisma”. In JAMME, Armand (ed.) – *La Papauté et le Grand Schisme. Avignon/ Rome. Langages politiques, impacts institutionnels, postes sociales et culturelles*, (forthcoming).

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the Avignon curia, uses in a way that one could define rather systematically the procedure of iconographic “papalisation” especially in relation to the figure of St Peter in order to make a more or less direct allusion to the *Imago papae*.⁵⁹ Saint Peter the Pope will be widely used in Aragonese Spain from the beginning of the fifteenth century due to the action of Benedict XIII (1394-1423)⁶⁰ (fig. 7). In a certain manner, there is a return to the formula of the early medieval popes, Vicars of St Peter, perhaps because it more effectively conveyed the principle of papal legitimacy.



Fig. 7 – Cinctorres, Ayuntamiento, Altarpiece representing Saint Peter as Pope (crypto-portrait of Benedict XIII? 15th century), (Photo by Author).

⁵⁹ On this argument cf. the latest cf. MANZARI, Francesca – “L’enluminure à Avignon” and PLANAS, Josefina – “Au-delà d’Avignon. In *Imago Papae*.”

⁶⁰ PLANAS, Josefina – “Au-delà d’Avignon”.

The Great Western Schism. The representation of the personification of the Church takes on a “public” dimension: the Church as Pope

The legitimising function of the papal insignia and, in particular, of the tiara also begins to involve the personification of the *Ecclesia* which in these schismatic years regains its monumental dimension in particular in Rome and in the Angevin Kingdom, as far as is known.

A first demonstration, the date of which oscillates between the end of the Avignonese papacy and the beginning of the Great Western Schism, can be seen in the Neapolitan church of the Incoronata built from 1373 onwards by Queen Joan I of Anjou and entrusted together with the annexed care structure to the Carthusians.⁶¹ The vault of the first bay of the main nave offers a decorative program which, dedicated to the Seven Sacraments, concludes with the Triumph of the Church where the personification of *Ecclesia*, leaning against the figure of Christ, displays a Eucharistic chalice and wears a diadem tiara (fig. 8). The Church, represented here in its meaning of the body and bride of Christ, is papalised through the use of the tiara. I will leave it to a future study to conduct an in-depth examination of this interesting iconography⁶² which has never been thoroughly investigated which could be the defining key in order to fix the Neapolitan sacrament cycle to 1378, that is, at the time of the election of the antipope Clement VII (1378-1394) whom Queen Joan supported in opposition to her antagonist Charles of Durazzo, defender of the Roman cause of Urban VI (1378-1389).

An iconography, this Incoronata, which could relate in semantic terms to the *Coronation of the Virgin* represented in the upper part of the fragmentary tabernacle of the Roman church of Santa Maria del Popolo. Most likely related to an order from Boniface IX (1389-1404), the tabernacle housed the Marian icon *del Popolo* and the remarkable thing is that here Christ (or rather the Christ-Pope) consecrates the head of the Virgin Church (*sponsa Christi* and thus *sponsa pape*) with a tiara instead of a crown.⁶³

⁶¹ BOESPFLUG, François – “Dieu en pape. Une singularité de l’art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge”. *Revue Mabillon* 2/163 (1991), pp. 167-205 at 171. On the construction phase and for an overall analysis of the decorative programs inside the church of the Incoronata cf. VITOLO, Paola – *La chiesa della regina: l’Incoronata di Napoli, Giovanna I d’Angiò e Roberto di Oderisio*. Roma: Viella, 2008.

⁶² See on this iconographic subject ANGHEBEN, Marcello – “La Vierge à l’Enfant comme image du prêtre officiant. Les exemples des peintures romanes des Pyrénées et de Maderuelo”. *Codex aquilarensis* 28 (2012), pp. 29-74, and ANGHEBEN, Marcello – “L’image du pape dans la Rome des XIe-XIIe siècles et ses relations avec la réforme dite grégorienne”. In *Imago Papae*.

⁶³ Regarding the tabernacle of Santa Maria del Popolo see lastly BOLGIA, Claudia – “Strategie di riaffermazione dell’autorità papale: Bonifacio IX e il tabernacolo per l’icona di Santa Maria del Popolo”. In ANGELELLI, Walter; ROMANO, Serena (eds.) – *La linea d’ombra*, pp. 327-356 (with discussion of the previous bibliography), even if she speaks of a crown and not a tiara for the headdress of the Virgin (p. 330 note 12 and p. 346).



Fig. 8 – Roberto d'Oderisio (?), Naples, Santa Maria Incoronata, Sacraments, the Church officiates the Eucharistic rite (Photo by Author).

In the face of this public reappearance of the personification of the papalised Church, it is important to reexamine the concept of the papal body. From this perspective, the Great Western Schism is a privileged time because it has preserved the two oldest pontifical funeral ceremonies, that is the *Ordines* of Pierre Ameil written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century (between 1385 and 1390) for the Roman papacy and that of François Conzié which dating before 1395 were written in Avignon, in all probability in the time of Clement VII.⁶⁴ In fact, valuable information can be obtained from this analysis yet it fails to provide a univocal reading of the question. In the sense that it is not clear whether, as in the time of Innocent III, there is a return to two distinct papal persons, one corruptible and the other eternal (which guarantees the transmission of power). Or if the fusion of the two persons theorised by Boniface VIII increases to the point of continuing even after the Pope's divine passing. This, continuation of identifying with the institution, gains a sort of temporary immortality until the election of his successor.

⁶⁴ These are two *Ordines* one written by Pierre Ameil between 1385 and 1390 and the other by François Conzié before 1395 (for these dates cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 194-197 – Ameil – and 226 – Conzié).

In this regard, if part of the scientific community⁶⁵ in their analysis of the two pontifical funeral ceremonies paints a picture of continuity with the past (through the presence of rituals which explicitly refer to the temporality of the physical person of the Pope), another part⁶⁶ proposes a contrary theory. According to the latter, in order to face this historic moment, the schismatic papacies act on the concept of the spiritual and institutional vacancy created by the death of the pope. To curtail the increasing power of the College of Cardinals there is a return to a single papal body which, even in death, was the symbol of the institutional continuity of the Church. The change of perspective is illustrated by the “iconization” of the pope’s corpse which, once embalmed, becomes the icon of a body which is as much alive and transitory as it is dead and permanent.

This hypothetical codification of the replacing of the pope’s terrestrial caducity, already suggested and germinating in the tomb of Boniface VIII, could have resulted from a deeper reflection conducted since the time of the Avignon papacy. In reference to the best preserved tombs of this era, it can be seen that they were built as real macro-reliquaries of stone placed to protect the papal *gisants* which appear to enjoy the same status as icons and relics. Like these, they are subjected to a visual subtraction process testifying to their power. The *gisants*-icon-relics of Avignon, in addition to being an allusion to the Church-Institution, somehow transfigured creatures that were once alive. For this reason, the faces of the deceased popes were again represented with the greatest realism.⁶⁷

In the aftermath of the Great Western Schism: beyond the Pope and Ecclesia – the Council

At the time of the Council of Constance (1414-1417), the Council Fathers tried to liberate the Church-Institution from the papal personalisation to which it had been subjected from the time of Boniface VIII; a personalisation that ultimately made this division possible. The distinction between the corruptibility of the physical person of the pope and the sustainability of the *persona papae*, namely of the Church can be seen by analysing the *Vaticinia Pontificum*⁶⁸ – a prophetic work

⁶⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 240-249.

⁶⁶ ROLLO-KOSTER, Joëlle – “Un ou deux corps?”.

⁶⁷ In fact, by analysing the funeral monuments of the Provençal popes which, as GARDNER, Julian (*The tomb and the tiara: curial tomb sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 139-142) has demonstrated, are characterised by a structure deriving from real antecedents (Edmund Crouchback, – Westminster Abbey – and Edward II of England – Gloucester Cathedral), but quite innovative compared to the tombs of the Roman predecessors, it is possible to draw more convincing elements from the Rollo-Koster hypothesis.

⁶⁸ Bibliographical references to the *Vaticinia Pontificum* are numerous. Below is provided a limited synthesis: BARALE, Elisabetta – “Un testo sconosciuto di Jean Miélot: la traduzione dei ‘*Vaticinia de summis*”

on the popes of the past, present and future – considered by scientific literature an expression of propaganda of Council orthodoxy. The *Vaticinia Pontificum*, on the one hand, ridicules the pope as a man who has abused his power and, on the other, recounts between the lines the vicissitudes of the Church symbolised by several papal insignia and, in particular, by the tiara.⁶⁹ In addition to the symbolic representations, the Church, as at the time of the Great Western Schism, continues to be displayed also through the iconography of *l'Église en pape* that, despite not being widely disseminated in these years, will give rise at the time of the Counter-Reformation to the *typus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, a declaration of papal unity and absolutism (fig. 9).⁷⁰

At the same time, however, the pope appointed by the Council of Constance also needs to deploy effective figurative propaganda to relaunch the Roman primacy. The Colonna Pope, Martin V (1417-1431), employing the legacy of his Roman and Avignonese predecessors, had himself represented at the height of his spiritual and temporal power, as Vicar of Christ, Incarnation of the Church and true emperor.

It is therefore more than likely that in the aftermath of the Great Western Schism there is a return to a version of Innocentian institutional dualism that, reconsidered in some respects in the light of the Bonifacian and Avignonese tradition, had to act in a very different context than in the past due to the arrival on the scene of a powerful new subject: the Council. With the *Decreto Frequens* in fact, the periodic convocation of the Council was established and above all it sanctioned its superiority over the Council of Basel.

In papal papers and, in particular, in ceremonials, however, the concept of *plenitudo potestatis* of the pontiff remains the medieval one and, in particular, Bonifacian in that there is a balance between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* as can be seen (continuing to follow one of the main interpretations which is the analysis of the tiara) from the first known attestation of the meaning of the three-crowned tiara dating from the end of the 15th century. This subject on the papal ceremonial

pontificibus". *Studi Francesi* 175 (2015), pp. 63-74; GUERRINI, Paola – "Uso e riuso della profezia nel tardo Medioevo". In BARRALIS, Christine (ed.) – *Église et État, Église ou État. Les clercs et la genèse de l'État modern*. Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne – École française de Rome, 2014, pp. 391-415; BLUMENFELD-KOSINKI, Renate – *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the "Great Schism", 1378-1417*. State College: Penn State University Press, 2006; MILLET, Hélène – *Les successeurs du pape aux ours*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004; MILLET, Hélène – *Il libro delle immagini dei papi. Storia di un testo profetico medievale*. Roma: Viella, 2002; *Weissagungen über die Päpste. Vat. Ross. 374*. Ed. R. Lerner Robert and R. Moynihan, 2 vols. Zürich: Belsler, 1985; MCGINN, Bernard – "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist". *Church History* 47:2 (1978), pp. 155-173; REEVES, Marjorie E. – "Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century". *Studies in Church History* 8 (1972), 107-134.

⁶⁹ MILLET, Hélène – *Il libro delle immagini*, pp. 118-119.

⁷⁰ JURKOWLANIEC, Grażyna – "L'immagine della Chiesa nelle stampe di Tomasz Treter dedicate a Stanisław Hozjusz. Contributo polacco alla cultura artistica europea ai tempi della controriforma". *Atti dell'Accademia Polacca* 2 (2011), pp. 130-150; IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – *Cité de Dieu, cité des hommes. L'Église et l'architecture de la société*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2016.



Fig. 9 – Pasquale Cati, Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Altemps chapel: The Council of Trent and the Triumphant Church, 1588 (Photo by Author).

written by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, in cooperation with Jean Burchard of Strasbourg speaks of a “*thiara triplici corona ornata, quod regnum appellatur, per quam significatur sacerdotalis et imperialis suprema dignitas atque potestas.*”⁷¹ This concrete principle of universal sovereignty will remain in vogue until the age of the Counter-Reformation, when at the time of Clement VIII (1592-1605), a new concept concerning the coronation of the pope can be seen. The Cardinal Protodeacon, placing the crown on the head of the pope says the following words “*Accipe Tiaram tribus Coronis ornatam, et scias te esse Patrem Principum et Regum, Rectorem Orbis, in terra vicarium Salvatoris.*”⁷² The statement of the coronation declares that

⁷¹ Cf. DYKMANS, Marc – *Læuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini, ou le cérémonial papal de la première Renaissance*. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982, 2 pp. 521-522.

⁷² Ceremonies that referred only to the Pope were excluded from the *Pontificale Romanum* published in 1596 and were collected in the *Caeremoniale S. R. Ecclesiae*. Le *Pontificale* of 1596 to an *editio princeps* drafted by SODI, Manlio; TRIACCA, Achille Maria (*Pontificale Romanum. Editio Princeps (1595-1596)*). Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1997, ed. anastatica), unlike the *Caeremoniale S. R. Ecclesiae* for which research should be done with regard to the handwritten copies. The Clementine formula is, however, attested by

the three crowns allude to the different variations of the temporal power of the pope, designated as father of princes and kings, rector of the world and Vicar of Christ. It could be said that, as in the days of Innocent III, the tiara has once again become *signum imperii*. After the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church needed to strengthen the earthly symbols of the papacy.

Conclusions

The formula conceived at the time of Clement VIII remained valid until the pontificate of Paul VI,⁷³ who renounced, as mentioned previously, this papal headdress in 1964 and at the same time, abolished the use of *la sedia gestatoria* and the *flabellum* (fig. 10).⁷⁴ A century after the Pope's loss of temporal power (1870) and in the midst of Vatican Council II (1962-1965), the papacy had to free itself from all the symbols that it had displayed in times of greatest crisis, namely, of all the symbols which could allude to the political sovereignty that the papacy had exercised until the dissolution of the State of the Church.

The tiara of Paul VI, sold at auction in order to give the proceeds to the poor, was purchased by the Archbishop of New York Francis Spellman in 1968. This is why the tiara of Paul VI is kept in Washington, on display near the sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception. When Pius XIII, the pope of Paolo Sorrentino, has the tiara of Paul VI brought back from America and he appears at the College of Cardinals wearing this papal headdress with three crowns, as well as sitting on the *sedia gestatoria* and flanked by the *flabellum*, this pope, Pius XIII, reappropriates all their symbolic value. A symbolic value whose roots are to be sought, as we have tried to explain, in the Middle Ages, which is undoubtedly the 'global time' of the papacy, whether it be real or imaginary.

erudite historiography (cf. p.e. LETI, Gregorio – *Cerimoniale Historico e Politico di Gregorio Leti*. Amsterdamo: per Giovanni & Egidio Janssonio à Waesberge, 1685, pp. 105 and MORONI, Gaetano – *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*. Vol. 81. Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1856, p. 35).

⁷³ Cf. MIGLIO, Massimo – *Storiografia pontificia del Quattrocento* (Bologna: Patron Editore, 1975), 128, note 14; *La cérémonie solennelle du couronnement de Sa Sainteté Paul VI le 30 juin 1963*. Cité du Vatican: Imprimerie polyglotte vaticane, 1963, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁴ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il bestiario del papa*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2016, pp. 214-215, 310.



Fig. 10 – Rome, Istituto Luce-Cinecittà, Archivio Storico Luce: Pius XII transported in the *sedia gestatoria* to St. Peter's Square on the day of the proclamation of the Marian dogma of the Assumption (series name: *Reperto Attualità*, date: 01.11.1950).

"This volume is the product of a profound reworking of a substantial number of contributions and, whilst it aims not to be about the "Global Middle Ages", it does strive to contribute to the debate by suggesting different approaches to the theme through essays that hopefully will spark discussion and a reevaluation of the more traditional studies devoted to circulation, contact and exchange, and those dealing with cultural encounters and differing mental worlds. Here, possibilities may be activated by taking a view through the unsettling lens of global/local analysis and by aspiring to meet those challenges that thereby come into focus."

Maria João Branco and João Luís Fontes, *Introduction*.

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