Ovid, Antiquarianism, and Political Revival in Novidio Fracco's *Sacri Fasti*

Evan Brubaker

Midland, Michigan

B.A. Hillsdale College (2014)

M.A. Tulane University (2016)

M.A. University of Virginia (2019)

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Chair, Professor John F. Miller_____

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Committee Member, Anthony Corbeill_____

Committee Member, Daniel Kinney_____

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## Introduction

Calendars have always been connected to politics and power. The cycle of days and months is not only a measure of time, but a repository of memory. What is included, or excluded, from the calendar is often the product of choices, or even outright manipulation. In the age of Augustus, the complex system of festivals and anniversaries became a channel through which the Emperor could project his own privileged position and that of his family within Roman society. Traditional holidays were recontextualized to celebrate imperial monuments and anniversaries and were immortalized alongside the rise of the sun and the setting of constellations.

This novel system of time would also have a literary counterpart. In the waning years of the aged Augustus, the poet Ovid wrote a poetic calendar in six books, the *Fasti*, in which he unites the festivals of the Roman year with the *festa domestica* of the imperial family. The result is a work as novel as it is complex. Especially pronounced are questions of political relevance; how does the *princeps* insert himself into the fabric of traditional Roman religion and what is the effect of this imposition? Ovid's poem is an exploration of time, how it is perceived and how it is controlled.

In Renaissance Rome, it was the Catholic liturgical calendar that dominated society. Clergy and laity alike structured their lives around feasts, processions, and celebrations. Each of the countless churches within the city had its own traditions and rites which would come into focus throughout the year and bring together the residents of different *rioni.* As in the age of Augustus, this was also a calendar subject to political manipulation. Popes promoted their own agendas through the creation of new feasts and lavish processions. Victories over foreign enemies, diplomatic successes, and personal milestones could all be incorporated within the system of Catholic feasts.

At perhaps no time was this fusion between the calendar and the papacy more evident than during the era of Paul III (1534-1549). After the brutality suffered during the 1527 Sack of Rome, the Farnese Pope ushered in a rebirth of the city and reasserted its importance on the global stage. Paul spearheaded some of the most important diplomatic successes of the sixteenth century, including the Peace of Nice (1538) and the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Domestically, the children and grandchildren of the Pope were elevated to important curial positions and were made the heirs apparent of the Church State.[1] These achievements, both international or domestic, were often celebrated as part of Catholic feasts or as antiquarian festivities on the model of imperial Rome.

To memorialize this new age in verse was the aim of the poet Ambrogio "Novidio" Fracco. Taking Ovid as his namesake and model, Fracco published in 1547 his own poetic calendar. Entitled the *Sacri Fasti* after that of his predecessor, Fracco adopts the structure, form, and themes of Ovid's *Fasti*, but does so for sixteenth century Rome. Twelve books in Latin elegiacs recount the liturgical practices and local customs of life in the Renaissance city. At the center of his calendar is a story of politics; the hardships of Rome under Clement VII, the rise of the city under Paul III, and the tumultuous geopolitics of the Cinquecento all form a significant part of Fracco's examination of his own times.

The focus of this dissertation is how Fracco, drawing inspiration from Ovid, crafts his own political teleology and vision for the world. I begin with an overview of Renaissance *Fasti*, that is, of those calendars which preceded Fracco's own and the larger tradition from which they

[1] With his mistress Silvia Ruffin, a young Paul III had at least four children, two of whom would later be recognized as legitimate by Pope Julius II. Most notable were his daughter Costanza (1500-1545) and Pier Luigi (1503-1547), the latter of whom would be named as Duke of Parma and would himself have multiple children who would later receive important positions with the Church. Especially noteworthy would be his four sons, the future cardinals Alessandro (1520-1589) and Ranuccio (1530-1565), and Ottavio (1524-1586), Pier Luigi's successor as the Duke of Parma, and Orazio (1532-1553).

arose. Included here is a discussion which ranges from Medieval martyrologies and hagiographies to the influence of Ovid's *Fasti* on the intellectual culture of the Renaissance. My focus is on three calendars: 1) the *Fasti* of the astrologer and condottiero Lorenzo Bonincontri, 2) the *Fasti Christianae Religionis* of the hermeticist Lodovico Lazzarelli, 3) the *Fasti* of the Carmelite priest Baptista Mantuan. I ultimately demonstrate how the design of these calendars, and the adaptations they made on Ovid's original work, would go on to influence Fracco's work.

In Chapter Two I focus on the *Sacri Fasti* itself – its structure, themes, and development. Beginning with an overview of Fracco's life, I examine those ways in which he adopts or alters the tropes of calendrical poetry. Topics here include Fracco's deployment of Ovidian style and topoi, as well as his use of catasterisms or star myths. The centerpiece of the chapter is an analysis of a panel that showcases the distinctive nature of the *Sacri Fasti*, in particular, its widespread treatment of antiquarianism, its intertexts with Ovid, and its value as testament to lived religion in sixteenth century Rome.

In Chapter Three I turn to the politics of Fracco's calendar, specifically, the 1527 Sack of Rome and its role as the thematic nadir of the poem. This consists first of an overview of how the tragedy shaped Fracco's life and gave rise to his *Sacri Fasti*. Noteworthy in this section is the *De Adversis*, a group of elegies inspired by Ovid's *Tristia,* in which Fracco describes how he saved his nascent calendar from imperial invaders, while also outlining its larger architecture. The latter section centers upon how the Sack is framed within the *Sacri Fasti* itself. From the calendar's introductory epistle to the series of panels which comprise the *direptio* on 6 May, I argue that the event serves as Fracco's own version of Ovid's concept of the "black day" (*dies ater*) and is to be read as constituting the beginning of Paul III's restoration of the city.

Chapter Four examines the figure of Paul III, his outsized role within the calendar and his diplomatic and domestic program reflected therein. The most significant sections of the calendar which I analyze here are the anniversary of Paul's election and that of his coronation. Within this series of calendrical entries is found an unequivocal statement of Farnese familial supremacy within the Church State, itself modelled upon Ovid's treatment of Augustus and the imperial family within the *Fasti*.

The last chapter examines the other major political figure within the *Sacri Fasti*, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Major panels within the calendar including the Emperor's birthday, his capture of Tunis, and his 1536 Roman triumph form the basis for a discussion of the rapport between Charles V and Paul III, that is, of Fracco's understanding of how power should be rightfully distributed. While Fracco outwardly presents the two men as equal partners within a larger Christian *imperium*, he subtly undermines this claim in favor papal supremacy.

I conclude the dissertation by reflecting on those reasons for why Fracco chose to write a calendar poem. That is, what are those qualities which made the *Fasti* an effective model by which to convey political praise?

## Chapter I: The Renaissance *Fasti*

### Introduction

*Ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,*
*siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam* – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.878-879

It is unknown when, and in what circumstance, Ovid took his last breath. It was likely on the Black Sea coast, in Tomis, the city which had served as the poet's place of exile and as an ever-present reminder of the wrathful *princeps*. One might imagine the possessions Ovid left behind: mementos from Rome, letters from friends and glum responses, drafts of unfinished poems. Perhaps among them was a copy of the *Fasti*, its last six books merely sketched out – a token of gratitude to the Emperor for clemency never realized.

Whatever came of Ovid, his *Fasti* would survive, first arriving in Rome and then traveling to the far reaches of the empire. So too did his wish at the end of the *Metamorphoses* that his "fame endure through all ages" come true. This was, in part, due to his use in schools, where children would struggle through his (to them) obscure heroes and strange vocabulary and thus ensure that the memory of Rome and its calendar would survive.[2] From snowy Edinburgh in the far north, to the Gothic towers of Medieval Frankfurt, to the *scriptoria* of Paris, Ovid and his calendar would live on.

For a brief, albeit crucial, period in the thirteenth century, the city of Orleans would be the focal point of this study. The key figure here was Arnulf of Orleans. A teacher and scholar, he produced commentaries on nearly the entirety of the *Corpus Ovidianum* including the *Fasti*.[3]

[2] Ovid's status as part of the literary canon and a model for emulation begins almost as soon as his death. This was due in large part to his easily imitable verse, echoes of which could be felt from Martial until Claudian and the twilight of the empire. For more on this period see Dewar, 2002; Ovid's status in the Medieval period can also be seen by his frequent presence in florilegia, such as the *Florilegium Gallicum* – a twelfth century French anthology. Even pseudo-Ovidiana were popular, for instance, the *De Vetula* which is a thirteenth century account of the poet's supposed conversion to Christianity.
[3] Fritsen, 1995, 15. For an edition of Arnulf see that of Rieker, 2005.

Commentaries on the *Fasti* had been written before, notably by the erudite monk Sigebert of Gembloux whose notes are preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 5369 (G). Arnulf's commentary was of a simpler sort, modelled on Servius's grammatical notes to Vergil's *Aeneid* and intended primarily as a school text.[4] The result was to render the *Fasti* accessible, to offer the work a new level of diffusion and a new of degree of intelligibility in this *Aetas Ovidiana*.

` As the study of Ovid's *Fasti* gained traction, another Frenchman would experiment with a wholly different kind of project. Alexander of Villedieu was a poet and theologian who taught at the University of Paris. A contemporary and rival of Arnulf, Alexander was a gifted instructor and poet, achieving his most lasting fame for a versified Latin grammar known as the *Doctrinale puerorum*. More important for this study, however, is his own poetic calendar entitled the *Ecclesiale* which consists of two books on religious feasts. While certainly inspired by Ovid, Alexander was also a strict theologian and sought to avoid allusions to the pagan *Fasti*, opting instead to ground his poem in exclusively liturgical material. Although not a widely read work, the *Ecclesiale* would foreshadow the emergence of calendar poems as a popular genre in the Renaissance.

Ovid's influence would continue to spread in the ensuing generations. In a great twist of irony, it would be Rome, the city which had banished Ovid, that would spearhead his study in the Renaissance. Leading the effort was Pomponio Leto. A former student of the famous scholar Lorenzo Valla, Leto continued in the tradition of his master by creating an intellectual circle which would discuss, debate, and offer philological analysis of classical authors. Known as the "Roman Academy," the group developed a predilection for Ovid and for the *Fasti* which they used as a map to rediscover the ancient capital. Two different members, Antonio Costanzi and

[4] *Ibid.*, 28-29.

Paolo Marsi, were responsible for the first published commentaries on the calendar, while Leto himself wrote lengthy glosses on the poem and discussed it via correspondence with Angelo Poliziano, who would write his own commentary on the poem.[5]

As members of Leto's scholarly *sodalitas* met in his Esquiline house and revived the customs and study of the *Fasti*, a different collection of scholars took a novel approach to the text. These men recognized in Ovid's calendar not merely echoes of ancient Rome but the potential to memorialize a new year, a new series of feasts, and a new religion. This was to be the birth of the genre of Christian *Fasti* which would last into the 17th century. It would be roughly contemporaneous with the time of Leto and Valla that the first of these calendar poems would be written.

**The Life of Lodovico Lazzarelli**

Rising among the foothills of the Apennine Mountains, the town of San Severino in the Marche is perhaps an unusual place to begin the story of the first Renaissance *Fasti*. Yet it was here, in 1447, that the noblewoman Lorenza Tosti gave birth to one of the Quattrocento's most brilliant, if not most enigmatic, poets.[6] The early life of Lodovico Lazzarelli would be one of hardship and sorrow; his father, a physician named Alessandro, succumbed to a disease shortly after his son's birth, leaving it to Lorenza to see to the care of the family's six boys and one daughter.[7] She soon took her children back to her hometown, the nearby city of Campli, wherein she entrusted the education of the young Lodovico to the humanist Cristoforo da Montone.[8]

[5] For a modern edition of Poliziano's commentary see the edition of Lo Monaco, 1991.
[6] Most reconstructions of Lazzarelli's life are based on the *Vita Lodovicii*, a short biography published after his death in 1500 by his brother Filippo. For a text and translation of the *Vita* see Hanegraff and Bouthoorn, 284-309.
[7] Lazzarelli mentions the death of his father with melancholy in his entry on the 3 May feast of Pope Alexander (6.333-4): *Dum te ego nunc memoro, vix possum ferre dolorem,/ ecce patris nomen pectora maesta subit*.
[8] Unfortunately, nothing is known about Montone. For this period of Lazzarelli's's life see Hanegraff and Bouthoorn, 289.

By all accounts Lazzarelli excelled. He quickly developed an interest in poetry and experimented in writing different genres of verse including epigrams, eclogues, and an imitation of Ovid's *Heroides*.[9] After finishing his studies in Campli he travelled to Venice to further study philology under the humanist Giorgio Merula (ca. 1430-1494).[10] Stimulated by Merula's lectures and the nearby intellectual community of Padua, Lazzarelli wrote during this period some of his first poems including an imitation of Vergil's eclogues.[11] While only a summary survives of this work, it is enough to have a general idea of its character; Vergil's ten poems were transformed into an expression of Christian apologetics, with individual *carmina* on topics such as the Incarnation of the Word, Harrowing of Hell, and Ascension.[12]

This interest in classical imitation would achieve its fullest expression in the period to follow. Departing from Venice, the young Lazzarelli took up residence in Camerino as the tutor of Fabrizio Varano, the nephew of the *condottiero* and *mecenate* Giulio Cesare Varano. Here, at the foot of the Apennines, Lodovico began work on his life's most ambitious project: a sixteen-book calendar poem modelled on Ovid's *Fasti*, but taking as its subject the Catholic liturgical calendar. Entitled the *Fasti Christianae Religionis* (hereafter "*FCR*"), this project would occupy

[9] *Ibid.*, 288.
[10] Merula would also play a role in the early printing of Ovid's *Fasti*. His Venetian edition printed in 1497 included the commentaries of both Marsi and Costanzi. For more see Jean, 11.
[11] On the life of Giorgio Merula see Gabotto and Confalionieri, 1893; according to Rodolfo, 41 Baptista Mantuan would also study under Merula from 1460-1461. Given the inclination of both Lazzarelli and Mantuan to classical imitation (not to mention towards the *Fasti*), it is reasonable to assume that Merula may have played a role in nudging both poets in this direction.
[12] The sole surviving eclogue is found in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. V E 59. The only complete manuscript of his *Eclogues*, located in a library in Görlitz, disappeared at the end of the Second World War. Some lines are preserved by Geißler, 26. See also Kristeller, 1984, 217-218. We can thankfully get a sense of the work from a full list of titles transmitted by Filippo: *Eclogas decem composuit, quae quidem mystice, et allegorice praecipua Salvatoris Mysteria continent Adventum scilicet a Prophetis praedictum, Virginis nativitatem, et Verbi humanitatem, Christi natale, et ipsius passionem, et mortem, decensumque ad Infera, Resurrectionem, Ascensum ad astra, Sancti Spiritus missionem, Mariae Virginis Denique Assumptionem*.

Lodovico's attention for the remainder of his life, accompanying him around 1473 to Rome where he would continue the process of revision.[13]

**Origins and Hagiography**

What exactly led Lodovico to embark on such a monumental undertaking is something of a riddle. In a 1995 article Fritsen argues that the poem was intended for members of Pomponio Leto's Academy, with which Lodovico shared close ties.[14] Support for this theory comes from two places: dedicatory epigrams prefacing the work, some of which were written by members of the Academy, and a lengthy panel celebrating the Academy itself on Rome's birthday, the Palilia (21 April).[15] Given the interest in the *studia Ovidiana* by the Academy's members, not to mention their general fascination with ancient Roman religion, the hypothesis is that Lodovico wrote his calendar to conform with the ideas of the Academy and appeal to its members.[16]

This theory is complicated primarily by dating; we know neither when Lazzarelli began his calendar nor precisely for how long he worked on it. At the end of the *FCR* he informs us that work commenced in Camerino and finished in Rome.[17] This places the *terminus ante quem* of the calendar between 1469, when he entered the home of the Varano Family, and 1473 when he departed from Rome as the secretary of the Bishop of Trevizio, Lorenzo Zane.[18] Given that the second iteration of Pomponio Leto's Academy was not founded until 1478, it appears unlikely that the *FCR* was significantly influenced by the group until well into its composition.

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[13] This is confirmed at *FCR* 16.507-508: *Condit Roma meos, orditur Ploraca Fastos,/ cincta iugis, gemino terra rigata lacu*; for the text of the *Fasti Christianae Religionis*, I cite from the edition of Bertolini, 1991.
[14] Fritsen, 1995, 131 remarks "it is the Roman Academy which constituted both his very first and his ultimate audience."
[15] These epigrams can be found in Lancillotti, 20-46; for the entry on the Palilia see *FCR* 5.427-510.
[16] Looking to Fritsen, Hanegraff and Bouthoorn, 18 argue that the *FCR* "as a thoroughly Christian poem modeled upon Ovid, perfectly exemplifies the Roman Academy's perspective, which perceived no conflict between the classical and the Christian worlds."
[17] *FCR*, 16.507 *condit Roma meos, orditur Ploraca Fastos* (Rome publishes my *Fasti*, Pioraca gives rise to them).
[18] See Fritsen, 2000, 118.

A further complication is determining how much time Lazzarelli spent revising his poem. Bertolini speculates that its last dedication, addressed to the French King Charles VIII, came perhaps as late as 1494.[19] This leaves two decades of revisions, deletions, and additions which only compound the difficulty in discovering the original purpose or form of his calendar. Lazzarelli, however, does offer us some clues in the aforementioned dedication:

> *Cum saepenumero, Christianissime Rex Carole, considerarem ita homines natos esse, ut divinae participes rationis per omnem vitam in contemplatione versarentur, nullum mihi studium magis dignum homine visum est, quam de Deo aliquid cogitare et, pro viribus, loqui… Ea frequenti inductus consideratione, intermisso gentilium studio, me ad sacrarum rerum lectionem converti, ut divinos Christi actus saepius perlegendo, Deum perfectiori firmiorique cognitione intelligerem.*
>
> Since very often, most Christian King Charles, I was considering that men are born so that, as participants of the divine reason, they may pass their entire life in contemplation, no study seemed to me more worthy of man than to ponder something about God and to express it to the best of my abilities…Induced by that frequent consideration, with my study of the pagans put on hold, I turned to the reading of sacred matters, so that, frequently reading the divine acts of Christ, I might comprehend God with a more perfect and complete knowledge.

If we take him at his word, the idea for Lazzarelli's calendar came from two sources: his own reflection on God and the "divine reason" (*divina ratio*) and his "reading of sacred acts" (*res sacrae*).

What exactly Lodovico means by *res sacrae* is best understood by considering the hagiographic literature of his day. During the Quattrocento humanists turned with increasing interest to traditional Medieval literature on the saints. Herein the primary genre was the *leggendario* – a lengthy catalogue of hagiographic entries, written in prose and typically arranged according to the liturgical calendar. Its most important representative was the thirteenth century *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo da Voragine, which became something of a Medieval bestseller.[20] In the fifteenth century a new class of humanists would continue the tradition of the

[19] See Bertolini, 34.
[20] See Reames, 27.

*leggendario* in the highly polished Latin of the age, with the massive *Sanctuarium* of Bonino Mombrizo perhaps the highpoint of the genre.[21]

So too did the interest in *res sacrae* pass down into poetry. In the 1430s Maffeo Vegio wrote a short four-book Latin epic on Saint Anthony the hermit, while Mombrizio himself undertook a similar composition on St. Jerome.[22] Likewise, the Paduan scholar Girolamo dalle Valli wrote an epyllion on Christ's passion, copies of which would circulate as far away as Germany. Most prolific among these authors was undoubtedly the Carmelite monk Baptista Mantuan, who wrote no fewer than eleven hagiographic poems. Of these, the greatest accolades went to his *Parthenices*, a three-book epic on the life of the Virgin Mary.

It is in the context of this revival in hagiographic material, and of *leggendari* in particular, that the *FCR* originated. Of the nearly two hundred entries in Lazzarelli's calendar, roughly two-thirds correspond to the *vitae* found in the *Legenda Aurea*. We thus have a broad selection of elegiac entries on topics ranging from miracle to martyrologies, the majority of which conform to the aetiological structure of Ovid's *Fasti*, to which I shall return later. Among these subsections martyrologies and passion narratives (*passiones*) dominate, comprising over half of the entries in the *FCR*. These typically follow a common formula: a refusal by a saint to sacrifice or worship pagan divinities, followed by a gruesome murder and a tranquil repose in heaven. Feasts such as those of Felicianus and Primus (9 June), Timotheus (9 January), and the Forty Martyrs (9 March) are all structured in this way and emphasize similar themes.

This general uniformity in structure and content does not, however, preclude authorial creativity. Where permitted, Lazzarelli will give free rein to his inner *vates*. This is the case for

[21] For more on the *Sanctuarium* see Frazier, 101-168.
[22] Some authors would also write prose hagiographies as well. Vegio, for example, wrote a prose life of Saint Bernardino. The best overview of hagiographic poetry I have found remains Chiesa, 205-226.

the Feast of Saint Barnabas (11 June). An early convert to the new Christian movement, Barnabas is mentioned in *Acts* as a companion of St. Paul, with whom he preached in Antioch.[23] In the *Legenda Aurea,* an account itself based on that in Eusebius, the saint proceeds to Jerusalem and finally to Cyprus, becoming the island's first evangelist and spreading the faith to the local populace. His martyrdom comes in the city of Salamis at the instigation of a magician, who incites a Jewish mob to drag the saint by his neck outside the city walls and burn him.[24]

Lazzarelli's account is initially true to that in Acts; we see the meeting between Paul and Barnabas, their evangelization, and subsequent move to Antioch. This, however, is where Lodovico goes off script; instead of merely preaching to the city's Jews and gentiles, Barnabas becomes a philosopher whose teachings will supplant all pagan and Hebrew systems of belief:

*Cedant Socratici, concedat secta Platonis,*
*Cedat Aristotelis sectaque Pythagorae.*
*Vates Niliaci, Aethiopum quoque Gymnosophistae*
*Et quos Chaldaeos pagina sacra vocat,*
*Cumque suis cedant iam dogmata prisca magistris,*
*Verius hoc nullum dogmate dogma fuit.*
*Mecubales cedant Hebraei, namque magistro*
*Clarius a Christo Cabala aperta fuit:*
*Instruit hic homines in numina sancta referri*
*Miscerique choris nos docet angelicis.*
*O faustos homines quibus haec sors contigit, ut sint*
*Nomine signati quod tremit omne solum.*
*Gloria quanta homini est, qui Christi numen adorat!*
*Vincit enim cunctos cognitione Sophos.*
*Quantalibet fuerit ruditas, tamen omnibus ille*
*In summi praestat cognitione boni.*

Let the Socratics yield, let the sect of Plato yield,
Let the sect of Aristotle yield and that of Pythagoras.
The Egyptian priests too and also the Gymnosophistae of Ethiopia
and whom sacred scripture calls Chaldaeans.

[23] Acts 11.19-30.
[24] *Legenda Aurea*, 86.349: *extra portam eum traxerunt et ibidem eum protinus combusserunt*; I cite the text of the *Legenda* from that of Grässe, 1850.

And let now yield the ancient dogmas with their own teachers
No dogma is truer than this one.
Let the Hebrew experts yield, for in fact much more clearly
Was the Cabala revealed by Christ as the teacher.
He taught that men are inducted into the divine power
And he teaches that we are intermixed with angelic choruses.
O blessed men whom this fortune befalls, that they be
Denoted by the name at which the whole Earth trembles.
How much glory is to the man who worships the divinity of Christ!
For he conquers all the sages in understanding.
However much was his inexperience, that man nevertheless surpasses
All in the understanding of the highest good.[25]

The Christianity which Barnabas teaches is an all-encompassing creed to which Greek philosophy and the esoteric dogmas of the Orient yield. Lazzarelli even mentions the Kabballah which, perhaps as a reference to his own scholarship, he argues was revealed "more clearly" (*clarius*) by Christian theology.[26] Finally, as we shall see, Lodovico's emphasis on a godhood attainable through *cognitio* is an idea thoroughly grounded in his own interest in Hermetic philosophy.[27]

**A Christian *Fasti***

While to this point we have examined the influence of *res sacrae* upon the *FCR*, further inferences can be made via consideration of its structure. Sixteen books comprise this calendar poem; the first three are dedicated to the moveable feasts, a choice likely made to avoid conflict between the *Sanctorale* and *Temporale*.[28] The subsequent twelve books celebrate the fixed feasts of the twelve months, beginning with March. Although strange to modern readers, a 1 March

[25] *FCR* 7.269-284.
[26] From the *Vita Lodovicii* we know that Lazzarelli participated in a public debate held in Teramo with a Jewish expert on the Talmud and Kabballah named Vitale. Himself learned in Hebrew, Lazzarelli argued that Jewish thought pointed to the presence of "the Trinity in the Godhead" (*Trinitatem esse in Divinis*). For the incident see Hanegraff and Bouthoorn, 300-302.
[27] E.g. *Asclepius* 5.95-98: *Propter quod et prope deos accedit qui se mente, qua diis iunctus est, divina religione diis iunxerit, et daemonum* (*prope genus*) *qui his iunctus est Humani vero, qui medietate generis sui contenti sunt…*
[28] On the division between *Sanctorale* and *Temporale* see Harper, 49.

beginning to the year would not have been unusual in the Renaissance when individual cities and diocese used their own calendars.[29] This choice also has antiquarian resonance, given that the ancient Roman year began on the same date. Finally, the ultimate book of the collection is fittingly marked by Christ's Last Judgement – the true end of time.

Internally, the calendar appears to adopt structural divisions which slightly differ from those in modern editions of Ovid's *Fasti*. Individual elegiac "entries" are demarcated through headings in the margin and can be either a brief astrological notice (e.g. *Virgo des*[*init*] *or*[*iri*] "Virgo ceases to rise") or the title of a specific feast (e.g. *F*[*estum*] *S*S[*Sanctorum*] *Quadraginta Martyrum* "Feast of the Saints of the Forty Martyrs"). These opening are then followed by the entry in question – the first couplet usually announcing the day and the feast at hand. A typical example is the opening of the Feast of St. Vincent Ferrer (5 April): *Luce sonat quinta sacris Vincentius aris,/ qui tulit Hispani iussa verenda patris* (On the fifth day the name of Vincent resounds upon the sacred altars, who carried the venerable decrees of the Father to the Spaniards).[30]

This structure is at first glance rather unassuming, that is, feasts are arranged temporally and marked off by astronomical notices. Yet there is more to say here. When Lazzarelli began composing his calendar (ca. 1470), the text of Ovid's *Fasti* was presented in continuous form without headings for individual entries – changes which arrived first with Merkel's 1851 Teubner edition.[31] Lazzarelli must then have looked elsewhere. The most valuable clue comes

[29] The cities of Renaissance Italy employed a wide array of calendars and systems of time which began at different dates. In Venice, where Lazzarelli himself sojourned, there were no fewer than three calendars used: one for notaries beginning 25 March, one for public ceremonies and officials beginning 1 March, and a calendar used in the wider Venetian territorial possessions commencing 1 January. The years of the most common calendars can be found at Cappelli, 11.
[30] *FCR*, 5.83-84; The "Spanish father" likely refers to the antipope Benedict XIII.
[31] On this aspect of the *Fasti* see Pasco-Pranger, 117-25. Recent editions have reverted to the ancient form (e.g. Robinson, 2011; Heyworth, 2019).

from our surviving MSS, but curiously not from the actual poetic text. Rather, prefacing each month, or sometimes the entire collection, are calendars, written in tabular form, which list the poem's feasts and entries in different colors; the *festae minores* in black and the *maiores* in rubrics (i.e. red).[32]

While likely unfamiliar to modern readers, these calendars would have been immediately recognizable in Lazzarelli's epoch given that they prefaced the breviary and book of hours, portable forms of the Roman Office containing minor and major feasts.[33] As in the *FCR*, these *festae* are written in black or in rubrics and some *exempla* even incorporate astrological notices. Such is the breviary of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, wherein certain headings are even identical to what one finds in the *FCR* (e.g. *Sol in Geminis* [19 May]).[34]

That Lazzarelli drew upon the breviary and the book of hours is all but confirmed by his inclusion of Egyptian Days (*Dies Aegyptiacii*). Totaling twenty-four in number, these days occurred bimonthly at fixed times and were believed in the Middle Ages and Renaissance to be inauspicious.[35] Eager to avoid any ill omens, superstitious communities in the Quattrocento included them in their calendars. Most of these days are found in the *FCR*, although their presence is explained in a quasi-Ovidian way. In an invocation to the muse Clio, Lazzarelli devises a novel aetiology whereby the Ten Plagues of Egypt are historical precursors to the

[32] These can be found in Yale, Beinecke, MS 391 fols 231$^{r}$-242$^{v}$. In the autograph, Vatican City, BAV. Lat. 2853, they preface many of the individual months.
[33] On the history of the breviary see Battifol, 1898.
[34] Vatican City, BAV. Barb. Lat. 609. 8$^{r}$.
[35] On *Dies Aegyptiacii* Skemer, 77 notes, "In general, these days were considered unpropitious for human activity. One would be ill-advised to engage in worldly affairs, send armies into battle, set out on pilgrimage or other long journeys, get married, enter into business dealings, construct a building, plant vineyards, harvest grain, and …even eat goose."

Roman concept of the *Dies Ater*.[36] As such, the twenty-four days come to symbolize not only the canonical plagues of Egypt, but ancient calamities such as the battles of Cremera and Cannae.[37]

The breviary and book of hours were, thus, clearly in Lazzarelli's mind during his writing of the *FCR*. This choice was not, however, merely an aesthetic one. The breviary was the ubiquitous and central fulcrum around which the religious life of Renaissance Europe was structured. Its pages were an embodiment of Catholic lived religion, replete with instructions for the daily office, for personal worship and meditation upon Christianity and its mysteries. Lazzarelli too valued these elements and we may even be tempted to see the *FCR* as a companion piece to the book of hours itself and to accompany its daily readings.

**An Ovidian Poem?**

But what of Ovid in this first of the Renaissance *Fasti*? In deciding what kind of work to write, Lazzarelli notes that he was at a loss until the moment "when he remembered Ovidius Naso who wrote his books of the *Fasti*, so as to pass down the care and veneration towards the gods of his own time to posterity" (*Cum Ovidii Nasonis meminissem, qui Fastorum libros descripsit, ut suorum temporum erga deos curam et venerationem posteritati commendaret*). After circulating his poem, Lazzarelli was also recognized by members of the Roman Academy as a successor to Ovid. The papal historian Bartolomeo Platina, for instance, presents Lazzarelli as the reincarnation of the Augustan poet: "who could deny that Ovid had returned from the blessed fields if he reads the pleasing poems of Lazzarelli?" (*quis neget Ovidium Campis rediisse beatis/ si Lazzarelli carmina blanda legat?*).[38]

[36] I discuss this concept in further detail in Chapter Two.
[37] For the full entry see *FCR*, 4.243-304.
[38] For the text see Lancillotti, 27.

What earned Lazzarelli this reputation is his broad use of Ovidian stylistic and thematic elements. Most acutely felt is the structure of his entries, the cornerstone of which is the *aition*, or what Ovid calls the *causa* – the idea of verse as a means of explanation.[39] The poetic structure which results from this ebb and flow of explanations is remarkably standard. Elegiac entries typically open with a notice indicating the change of day, followed by the poet considering the reason(s) for a current religious custom. Acquisition of this information can come through divine inspiration, attained via invocation of a divinity or divinities, or is merely furnished by the poet himself. The subsequent *causa* is typically grounded in a mythological or historical narrative, before a conclusion which underscores the continued observance of the rite in the present. On the Lupercalia (15 February), for example, we see first a temporal notice, "The third day after the Ides sees the naked Luperci" (*Tertia post Idus nudos aurora Lupercos/ aspicit*) and an invocation by the poet to the muses, "speak Pierian Muses, what is the reason for the rites" (*dicite, Pierides, sacrorum quae sit origo*). Two aetiologies then follow: the first, a myth explaining the god Faunus's aversion to clothing, and a second relaying a story in which Romulus and Remus, naked while sacrificing to the hircine god, hastily rush off to stop their cattle being rustled – a deed now reenacted during the Lupercalia: "the form of the deed remains: once they have set aside their covering they run, and what went well has a lasting fame" (*forma manet facti: posito velamine currunt,/ et memorem famam quod bene cessit habet*).[40]

These aetiologies form the bedrock of Lazzarelli's poem. An example is the feast of Saint Apollinaris (20 July). As in the *Fasti*, this opens with an astronomical notice: "Tomorrow's light will be dedicated to the rites of Apollinaris, whom old Ravenna saw sent by Peter" (*Crastina*

[39] The influence of Callimachus's *Aetia* on Ovid was noted already by Wilkinson, 1955. For general bibliography see Miller, 1982, Idem, 1983, Harries, 1989, Wahlberg, 2008.
[40] Ov. *Fast*. 2.379-80.

*Apollinaris erit lux dedita sacris,/ quem missum a Petro cana Ravenna videt*).[41] After providing some cursory information on the saint, Lazzarelli invokes a Muse to explain why Apollinaris's church in Rome (today's Basilica di S. Apollinare) is near the site of the old Circus Flaminius:

> *Flaminio sunt structa illi sublimia circo*
> *Templa; precor causam dic mihi, Musa memor.*
> *Protinus effusis coepit per colla capillis,*
> *Auribus insonuit vox bene nota meis:*
> *"Inter tres circos, habuit quos Roma vetusta,*
> *Flaminius nulla laude secundus erat.*
> *Flaminium veteres dicebant nomine circum*
> *Qui nunc vulgato nomine fertur Agon.*
> *Euboico ludos monitu celebrabat Apollo*
> *Atque aedem posuit hoc tibi, Roma, loco.*
>
> High temples were constructed for him (Apollinaris) in
> The Circus Flaminius; I pray, tell me the cause, mindful Muse.
> Immediately she began (to speak), her hair let down over her shoulders,
> Her voice, known well to my ears, resounded:
> "Among the three circuses which ancient Rome held,
> The Flaminian was second in no one's praise.
> The ancients by the name Flaminian the circus which
> Is now referred to as the Agon by popular name.
> Apollo used to celebrate games with a Euboean reminder
> And also he established a temple for you, Rome, in this place.[42]

The appearance of the speaking muse, together with the questioning poet, mimics the same didactic relationship which we observe in Ovid's *Fasti*, while Lazzarelli's inquiry about the church and his request that the muse provide a *causa* begins the aetiological section of the panel.

The account centers upon Pope Hadrian I (772-795) who, faced with the enduring memory of the old temple of Apollo, devises a means by which to reconsecrate the structure as Christian. The pope thus dedicates the edifice to Saint Apollinaris, thereby taking advantage of the similarity in name (*simili cognomine*) between Apollo and Apollinaris; a solution which is at

[41] *FCR*, 8.495-496.
[42] *Ibid*, 8.521-529.

the same time Ovidian in its incorporation of an etymology as part of the *causa*.[43] Nevertheless, Lazzarelli's conclusion suggests that old habits are hard to excise:

> *Paulum igitur verso circi locus ille vetusti*
> *Nomine stat vera relligione sacer.*
> *At similes priscis nunc Carnisprivia ludos*
> *Luce Iovis servant; priscus abivit honor.*
> *Priscus abivit honor sacri, quid non valet usus?*
> *Non potuit ludi priscus abire calor*
>
> Therefore, by means of a slight change of name, that
> Location of the old circus is sacred to the true religion.
> But now the games of Carnival, similar to the ancient ones,
> They observe on Thursday; the ancient honor has departed.
> The ancient honor of the festival departed. What can habit not do?
> The ancient zeal for athletics could not depart.[44]

Although the pagan origins of the church of St. Apollinare have vanished, not all ancient traditions have died. The final two couplets suggest that the rowdy games held in the Piazza Navona during Carnival are a direct descendant of those in the Circus Flaminius.[45]

**An Italian Calendar**

As this last part of the entry shows, the *FCR*, like its Ovidian ancestor, is also a calendar about religious practices both in Rome and in Italy more broadly. More so than in any of the other Renaissance *Fasti*, the rites and traditions of the Italian cities are presented as a major theme within Lazzarelli's poem and imbue it with a more universal appeal. Our journey through the year is also one through the Italian peninsula: on the feast of St. John the Baptist we are

[43] Etymologizing abounds in the *Fasti* and was a common feature of Roman religion in general, as Pasco-Pranger, 4 explains: "etymologizing…is one of the many ways the participants in Roman religion adapted cult to changing social and historical circumstances." For more on the practice in the *Fasti* see Newlands, 51-86.
[44] *Ibid.*, 8.535-546. On the confusion in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance between the Piazza Navona and the Circus Flaminius see Cochrane, 39.
[45] This same observation is the basis for Mantuan's panel on the Carnival which I explore later in this chapter.

transported to Florence, for that of Saint Vitalis we see the beautiful mosaics of his church in Ravenna, during the feast of St. Cyriacus we witness the merriment in Ancona.

For his part, Lazzarelli's interest in Italian customs is most pronounced in those cities in which he sojourned. His hometown of San Severino and the city of Campli are given extensive and biographically rich panels, as are Padua and Rome. Sometimes these entries center around rituals of great civic importance. During the Feast of the Ascension of the Lord, Lazzarelli describes the Venetian tradition of the Sposalizio del Mare. This ceremony, one of the most important in the maritime republic, is presented in vivid detail: the ritual begins with the doge on his yacht, the Bucintoro, on which he is joined by the republic's senate (*purpureo incinctus circum dux ipse senatu*). After some suspense, the doge steps forward and tosses a golden ring into the lagoon (*auro in pelagus squalentem proicit orbem*) – a symbol of the marriage (sposalizio) between the city and the sea.[46] Lazzarelli subsequently offers an aetiology for the whole ceremony which consists of the capture of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181), his subsequent prayer and tossing of the first ring into the sea, and his ultimate divine salvation. Lazzarelli then closes in true aetiological fashion, attributing Venice's *aequoris imperium* (rule of the sea) and its lucrative trade empire to the continued observance of the rite.

A different ritual occurs during the Feast of the Blood of Saint Januarius.[47] The stage here is Naples, where every year the saint's congealed blood is shown to the eager faithful as part of a recurring miracle in which it liquifies. While it is unknown whether Lazzarelli travelled to Naples, his vivid account of the ritual, alongside his connections with Pontano's academy and overtures to the Aragonese royalty, suggest this to be the case. It is as if we are in the crowd. We see the festive decorations: branches of laurel (*lauri*), myrtle (*myrtus*), and ivy (*hederae*), painted

[46] A full description of the Sposalizio del Mare is found in Muir, 121-4.
[47] This feast occurs thrice annually. In the *FCR* Lazzarelli locates his panel on 3 May.

tapestries (*picta aulaea*) adorning the roads, and garlands (*serta florea*) which hang from the porticoes. Incense smokes as monks walk in lockstep, chanting pious songs and hymns (*pia carmina et hymnos*). The whole city resounds in song (*tota sacro resonat carmine Parthenope*).

The pious fervor and anticipation only continue to swell, until, at last, the blood itself is displayed:

> *Rex miti exspectans signa annua mente verendus*
> *Ingeminat tacitas clara per ora preces.*
> *Proximus ut capiti cruor obviat, ante gelatus*
> *Liquitur a capitis proximitate sui.*
> *Efficiturque recens tamquam de vulnere manat,*
> *Spondet et indigenis prospera fata viris.*
>
> As the venerable king with gentle mind awaits the annual signs,
> he repeats silent prayers among the beaming faces.
> When the nearby blood touches the head, formerly clotted
> it is liquified because of the proximity of his own head.
> And it is made fresh as if it drips from a wound,
> and it vouchsafes for the men of Naples prosperous fates.[48]

We at last see the miracle. The prayers which roll off the king's tongue culminate in the union between the blood of Januarius and the relic of his head. At once the holy *sanguen*, "before clotted" (*ante gelatus*), liquifies as if from the fresh wound of the martyred saint – a propitious sign for the people of Naples.[49]

We might expect that the entry would end on this high note: the people rejoice and the blood of Januarius continues to safeguard Naples. Yet so caught up is Lazzarelli with this miracle that he launches into an apostrophe:

> *O fidei manifesta piae miracula nostrae!*
> *Quid, Iudaee, manes? Quid bona certa fugis?*
> *Quid Mahumeteis gens ebria ritibus obstas?*
> *Curre, salutiferis ablue corpus aquis!*
> *Si non signa valent monumentis scripta vetustis*

[48] *FCR* 6.167-172.
[49] If the blood failed to liquify, then it was considered inauspicious or an indication of troubled times. According to Anna, 171 this occurred in 1527 – the year of the Sack of Rome.

*Duritiem infidis frangere pectoribus,*
*Annua marmoreas frangant miracula mentes!*
*Quidne umquam aut usquam clarius esse potest?*
*Cesserunt Christo simulacra vetusta Tonanti,*
*Cedite vos etiam, regnet ut una fides.*

O clear miracles of our pious faith!
Why Jew do you remain? Why do you flee certain goods?
Why do you oppose them, race drunk with the rites of Mohammad?
Make haste, cleanse your body in healing waters!
If the signs recorded in ancient documents are not able
to break the hardness of profane hearts,
let the annual miracles break their stony minds!
What anytime or anywhere could be clearer?
The ancient idols yielded to thundering Christ,
you too yield, that one faith may rule.[50]

With these final lines we can glimpse Lodovico's religious conviction and fervor, both fed by his preoccupation with contemporary enemies of the faith. The truths of Christianity are for him axiomatic and must ultimately be accepted by both Jew and Muslim alike. There will be but one faith (*una fides*) which rules at the end, its miracles shattering all disbelief.

**The Eastern Threat**

From this last reference to the enemies of the faith, another major theme emerges within the *FCR*: the growing threat posed by the Ottomans. During the latter half of the Quattrocento the European powers watched with angst as the Turkish empire swept over formerly Christian states of the Balkans and Peloponnese. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was followed by a series of attacks into Serbia, Bosnia, and the Aegean. This westward march culminated in August of 1480 when an Ottoman expeditionary force captured the Apulian port city of Otranto; all of Italy erupted in fear and all of its princes rushed to meet the threat.

[50] *Ibid.*, 6.177-86.

The growing danger of the Ottomans and the need to counter their advance is a major preoccupation within Lazzarelli's *Fasti*. Mention of the Turks is typically found in passages of political relevance or during feasts where a connection can easily be made. An example of the latter is the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June) which Lazzarelli uses as an occasion to offer an excursus on the successful defense of Rhodes by the Knights Hospitaller in 1480. The passage interweaves the macabre with the miraculous; the sudden apparition of John the Baptist (*hispidus et rigida veste adopertus homo*) together with a Minerva-like Virgin Mary (*hasta clipeoque accincta virago*) results in the slaughter of nine thousand Turks (*ter tria Turcarum milia caesa cadunt*) and a ground which "seeps with blood" (*sanguine manat humus*).[51]

The clearest expression of anti-Ottoman sentiment in the *FCR* is reserved for the Feast of Michael the Archangel (29 September). Addressing the saint in his role as the *aetherei defensor Olympi* (the defender of the aethereal Olympus), Lazzarelli asks Michael "do you see what great dangers threaten the Latins? Alas the Turk martials arms against the Latin peoples" (*Immineant Latiis quae magna pericula cernis?/ Heu Latiis Turcus gentibus arma movet*).[52] One by one he lists and lament the cities, islands, and regions brought under Ottoman control; first comes Constantinople and Hagia Sophia, now converted to a mosque (*foedantur ritu Sophiae pia templa profano*), then the Aegean islands of Naxos, Samos, and the Cyclades, the classical cities of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, Macedon, the Illyrian gulfs, and, at last, Italy itself:

*Fulmineis victor bombis evertit Hydruntum*
*Garganoque tuo praeparat arma iugo.*
*Mons tuus ecce caput nebula contexit opaca*
*Et prope suppositos maestus obumbrat agros.*
*En Metapontinos vicina pericula terrent,*
*Flent Diomedea moenia structa manu.*
*Flet grandaeva Croton, Sybaris gemit unda fluentis,*
*Aurea saxosi Crathidis unda timet.*

[51] *Ibid.*, 7.911-928.; on the defense of Rhodes see *Ibid*,, 7.839-972.
[52] *Ibid*., 10.973-4.

*Arma Salentini metuunt, haec arma Calabri,*
*Barbariem saevam Daunia tota timet.*

The victorious Turk overruns Otranto with bursting bombs
And he prepares war against your hill, Mt. Gargano.
Behold your mountain has shrouded its summit with a dark cloud
And sullen nearly casts in shadows the fields at its base.
Look! The nearby dangers terrify the Metapontinians,
The walls built by the hands of Diomedes lament.
Croton, grand in age, cries, the water of the flowing Sybaris groans,
The golden wave of rocky Crathis shudders.
These arms the Salentini fear as do the Calabrians,
All Daunia bristles at the savage barbarity.[53]

The sense is of a force engulfing the old world. The cities and regions of the former Greek East fall like dominoes until the appearance of Otranto (*Hydruntum*) at the end of the line shocks the reader. Hopelessness and dread accompany the seemingly unstoppable Ottoman march which Lazzarelli tells us has as its ultimate aim the subjugation of Rome herself (*sibi Romuleum subdere quaerit opus*).

**Politics and Dedicatees**

Against this threat Lazzarelli raises the banner of Italian unity and, in so doing, offers us a window into another critical aspect of his calendar – the contemporary political world. Having spent some two decades writing his calendar, Lazzarelli likewise considered a wide range of patrons. Some, such as Lorenzo Zane, he crossed out entirely while others would be emphasized in panels throughout the work. Nevertheless, in his panel on the Turkish seizure of Otranto, Lazzarelli calls for a united front to resist the Ottoman invader and, in so doing, provides what is the most comprehensive list of *politici* in the *FCR*. First is the Della Rovere patriarch, Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484), who recurs throughout the calendar as a focus of political praise,

[53] *Ibid*., 10.999-1008.

including in one of the poem's dedications and in panels such as that for the 1475 Jubilee.[54] Opposite the Turks he is refigured as a quasi-Augustus figure, the new Roman *pater patriae*, who is addressed in nearly identical manner to Ovid's *princeps* in the *Fasti*: *Tu quoque templorum positor reparator et urbis/* (*ut facis*) *hanc puppem dirige, Sixte pater!* (You also, builder and restorer of temples/ and of the city (as you do) direct this ship, Pope Sixtus!).[55]

That Sixtus is invoked in such a grand way comes as no accident. From a relatively early stage it seems that members of the Roman Academy had encouraged Lazzarelli to dedicate his calendar to the pope, who, as we see here, would parallel the role occupied by Augustus in Ovid's poem. While later versions attest to Lazzarelli's change of mind, or perhaps Sixtus's death, the pope still retains the most important presence of any political figure within the *FCR*. We thus have lengthy panels on the 1475 Jubilee, wherein Sixtus is celebrated for again making Rome the *caput orbis*, the papal election (9 August), in which his construction of churches, the Ponte Sisto, and Via Sistina (*templa, novas pontes sternis et ecce vias*) are singled out, and the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (21 November), itself a feast created by Sixtus.[56]

Next in line is the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1440-1493). Lazzarelli calls upon the Caesar to launch a crusade: "help us now in this pious war" (*ades bello nunc Frederice pio!*), but, if his old age hinders him, that he send his son Maximilian to "wage fierce wars" (*fera bella gerat*). Their entry, however, is short compared with those for the French rulers Louis XI and Charles VIII, both of whom were considered as potential dedicatees and are given multiple entries within the calendar. Most notable is Charles, whose alternate dedication at the opening of

[54] We find the dedication to Sixtus at the opening of Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 2853 fol. 2$^{r}$-4$^{r}$.
[55] Cf. *Ov. Fast.* 2.63 wherein Augustus is called the *templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor* (builder of temples, sacred restorer of temples).
[56] *FCR* 9.735-774 and 12.693-6. On Sixtus's addition of the *Presentatio Virginis* in 1472 see Berstein, 216.

the *FCR* is longer than that of any other prince. Accordingly, it is his power that will ultimately crush the Turkish forces:

> *Hic Turcas fidei contundere praeparat hostes,*
> *Vibrato hic Christi sustinet ense fidem.*
> *Ergo sua hunc Byzas Salomonque exspectat in urbe*
> *Gaudet et huic regni credita sceptra sui.*
> *Dicere longa mora est pugnata ex ordine bella,*
> *Illa mihi heroa forte canenda tuba.*
>
> This one prepares to crush the Turks, the enemies of the faith,
> This one holds up the Christian faith once he has shaken his sword.
> Therefore Byzas and Solomon await this one in their own cities
> And rejoice that the scepters of their own kingdoms have been entrusted to him.
> It would be a long delay to list in order the wars he fought,
> Perhaps to be sung by me with heroic horn.

Lazzarelli calls for nothing short of a holy war, a crusade which will sweep the enemy from the occupied cities of Constantinople and Jerusalem. His tone is simultaneously triumphant and apocalyptic, with Charles resembling the Christian emperor foretold in widely circulated millenarian prophecies during the Renaissance.[57] Indeed, in the last couplet Lazzarelli appears to suggest, as was common among the Roman poets of old, that he will memorialize Charles's victories in a future epic poem (*heroa…tuba*).

Other rulers too appear at the end of the panel; Federico da Montefeltro, Mattias Corvinus, and Alfonso II of Aragon, all of whom play a role within the calendar and were at some point considered potential patrons. The takeaway, however, is that Lazzarelli's calendar was, in many ways, a poem in search of a patron; a work less concerned with celebrating a specific benefactor and more with the broader political issues of the late Quattrocento. A truly Ovidian *Fasti*, unified around a singular political vision, would thus still have to wait.

**Hermeticism and the Apocalypse**

[57] Lazzarelli alludes to a similar eastern crusade in a passage on the inundation of the Nile at *FCR* 8.209-10.

Before concluding our examination of Lazzarelli, there remains one further area which must be discussed – his interest in Hermetic philosophy. This was briefly alluded to during the Feast of St. Barnabas and can be glimpsed even in the dedication to Charles VIII, wherein Lazzarelli cites nearly verbatim the Hermetic dialogue *Asclepius*.[58] Circumstantial evidence from Lazzarelli's life and additions made to the only autograph MS of the *FCR* support the idea that he became acquainted with hermeticism later in the composition of his poem.[59] His conversion seems to have been the result of his introduction to, and friendship with, the Hermetic mystic Giovanni Correggio, of whom he would fashion himself an acolyte. Indeed, from this moment on, Lazzarelli became obsessed with hermeticism, first crafting orations under the prophetic name "Enoch," then translating the last three dialogues of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and finally, around 1495, writing his own philosophical dialogue entitled the *Crater Hermetis*.[60]

This devotion to hermetic philosophy would likewise become an increasingly important part of the *FCR.* Although a notoriously mysterious doctrine, ideas of achieving godhood, emphasis on the divine creation through the logos, and supra-rational transcendence serve as

[58] Cf. *Asclepius*. 6b: *sensus…, quae quinta pars soli homini concessa est ex aethere,* [*sed*] *de animalibus cunctis humanos tantum sensus ad divinae rationis intellegentiam exornat, erigit, atque sustollit* (sense…which, as the fifth part, is conceded to man alone from the sky, [but] of all animals it adorns, establishes, and raises to the understanding of the divine reason) and *Cum saepenumero, Christianissime Rex Carole, considerarem ita homines natos esse, ut divinae participes rationis per omnem vitam in contemplatione versarentur*…(since very often, most Christian King Charles, I was considering that men are born that they might, as participants of the divine rationality, pass their whole lives in contemplation…); For an overview of Renaissance Hermeticism see Faivre, 2016.

[59] The issue is fundamentally one of dating. Hanegraff and Bouthoorn, 11 argue that it is unlikely Lazzarelli knew the *Corpus Hermeticum* while living in Teramo, even though he worked in the household of its bishop Giovanni Antonio Campano – a friend of Marsilio Ficino. Rather, they posit that Lazzarelli's meeting with Giovanni Coreggio in 1481 was the catalyst for his ultimate change. On the other hand, Saci, 23 hypothesizes that Lazzarelli may have been exposed to Hermetic ideas earlier. Evidence from Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat, 2853 suggests that the former hypothesis is correct. Fol. 244$^{v}$, for instance, includes Hermetic additions in the marginalia for the Feast of St. Damasus, while at fol. 278$^{v}$ Lazzarelli refers to himself as Enoch.

[60] Texts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus include the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a Latin dialogue known as the *Asclepius*, and a collection of aphorisms called the *Aesculapii definitiones*. On Lazzarelli's contribution to Renaissance Hermeticism two articles by Kristeller are foundational: Kristeller, 1938 established the importance of Lazzarelli as one of the primary translators of the *Corpus Hermeticum* while Kristeller, 1960 established him as a disciple of Giovanni da Correggio.

some of the most important tenets.[61] Three direct references to Hermetic thought are found in the *FCR*, with the most dramatic found during the Feast of Saint Damasus (11 December):

*Divinum, vates, patris comprehendite Verbum,*
*Comprehensum totis stringite pectoribus.*
*Est Logos et Verbum, mens et sapientia Iesus,*
*Qui prius Hermetis mente Pimander erat.*
*O nos felices, quos ultima protulit aetas,*
*Evigilans animus si bona tanta capit!*
*Celatum antiquis patuit sub corpore Verbum,*
*Ut nos terrigenas redderet esse deos.*
*…*
*Hunc Hermes voluit neglecto noscere regno,*
*Novit, ad haec igitur tempora nomen habet.*
*Nos fugimus miseri manifestum apprehendere, at ille*
*Occultum voluit condere mente Logon.*
*Hinc rerum occultas potuit praedicere causas,*
*Nomine ter dictus Maximus inde fuit.*
*Praemia si desint terris, non praemia caelo,*
*Vatum erit angelicis mixta caterva choris.*
*Dulcisonas dabimus meliori carmine voces,*
*In Christi laudes dulcior oda fluet.*
*Quidne aliud magis aethereis quam dicere laudes*
*Sedibus exercent, qui super astra sedent?*

Poets, understand the divine Word of the father,
Once comprehended secure it in your whole hearts.
Jesus is the Logos and the Word, the mind and wisdom,
Who was previously Pimander in the mind of Hermes.
O we are happy whom the final age has brought forth,
If our vigilant soul understands such great goods.
The Word hidden to the ancients, has come forth in bodily form,
That it might render us earthborn ones gods.
…
His own kingdom neglected, Hermes wanted to get to know this one,
He ended up knowing, therefore he enjoys renown down to our own day.
We, miserable, shun understanding what is manifest, but he
Desired to store away the hidden Logos within his mind.
Thereupon he could predict the hidden reasons for things;
Thence he was called by name Thrice Greatest.
If rewards should be lacking on earth, they are not in heaven;

[61] Hanegraff, 195 demonstrates that Lazzarelli had an expert knowledge of these texts and of the *Corpus Hermeticum* in particular, of which he possessed a Greek copy.

A throng of poets will be intermixed with the angelic choruses.
With better song shall we offer sweet sounding chants,
A sweeter ode will flow for the praises of Christ.
What else do they, who reside above the stars, busy themselves more with
In their aethereal homes than to sing praises?[62]

Christ is within Lazzarelli's interpretation of hermeticism the Logos, the embodiment of wisdom – the selfsame Pimander from the first dialogue of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Divine reflection revealed to Hermes *occultas causas*, a role which recalls Lazzarelli's own mastery of *causae* in his *Fasti*. Even more important is the end of the passage; Lazzarelli there unites Hermetic transcendentalism and Catholic theology. The choruses of poets and angels in heaven are those who have followed Hermes's precepts – who have eschewed earthly possessions and who now sing the praises of Christ in their "aethereal homes" (*aethereis sedibus*).

Similar examples of hermeticism abound in the *FCR*. During the Feast of the Trinity Hermes is invoked as a proto-Christian while during that of the Circumcision (1 January) Lazzarelli even cites in Greek the *Corpus Hermeticum*.[63] More often, though, it subtly informs the poem's philosophy; such is the case with the opening verse of the poem, wherein Lazzarelli emphasizes the liberation of the mind: *O bruta mens curis, vanos depone labores/ et tibi nunc subeant quae meliora vides!* (O mind heavy with cares, set aside your empty endeavors and let now those things which you see are better enter you).[64] This idea of the *mens*, both liberated from the material world and unified with God, is an important belief of Hermetic philosophy and is stressed elsewhere by Lazzarelli, including in the *Crater Hermetis*:

> *Verum contemplatio amorem prius excitat, amor deinceps humanam mentem ad Deum convertit, conversa vero a Deo ita formatur ut innatum sibi vigorem, quem per materialium rerum affectus amiserat, reassumens integra virtute sua mirabiliora et maiora quam ipsa Caeli natura opereretur.*

[62] *FCR*, 13.375-404.
[63] Cf. *FCR* 14.44 and 14.47.
[64] *FCR* 1.1-2.

> But contemplation first excites love, then love leads the human mind to God; once turned by the true God it is formed in such a way that reclaiming its own innate strength, which it had cast away through affection for material things, it accomplishes by its own wholesome virtue things more marvelous and greater than the nature of Heaven itself.[65]

These themes will subsequently reappear throughout *FCR*, informing the theology behind its martyrologies and transcendent spirituality.

The climax of these hermetic beliefs, and of the calendar itself, is the Last Judgement. The sixteenth book is a dramatic one: the abstract realm of philosophy is suddenly made manifest and brought into confrontation with the mundane. Strange signs and bouts of warfare portend the final days as the Antichrist attempts to deceive the faithful in a scene inspired by Lactantius's *Divinae Institutiones* and the Book of Revelation. Only the risen Christ can vanquish these forces, unifying in the process the kingdoms of man and God. The centerpiece of the scene is the reappearance of those saints whose martyrdom was commemorated during the *FCR*, radiant now in their ethereal glory, while their persecutors, most often Roman emperors, wallow in misery and torment. The saints, by contrast, reside in the Empyrean "where will be the greatest rewards of the innocent mind" (*Maxima ubi insontis praemia mentis erunt*). So great is their magnificence that Lazzarelli himself, in another parallel with the *Crater Hermetis*, expresses his hope that he too might "enter the throne of the mind" (*mentis adibo thronum*) and attain as a gift the "the light of divine cognition" (*divinae lumen cognitionis*).[66] Thus does the didactic journey of the *FCR* close, from the *bruta mens* of its opening line to an ultimate mental and spiritual unity with God.

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[65] *Crater Hermetis* 24.1.

[66] Cf. *Ibid*., 9.3 *vult …ut per quosdam paene gradus ad se mentis tandem nostrae fiat reflexio et in suae divinitatis consideratione humanus semper animus conquiescat*. (he [God] desires… that at last there is a reflection of our mind through certain steps per se to he himself and that the human soul always rests in consideration of its own divinity).

**Lorenzo Bonincontri**

While Lazzarelli was still revising his *FCR*, another poet had begun work on a different *Fasti*. Originally from the Tuscan *paesino* of San Miniato, Lorenzo Bonincontri (1410-1491) had not taken the traditional humanist path; he was originally a *condottiero* and, in 1432, had taken part in a conspiracy to overthrow the Florentine Signoria. The result was an exilic and itinerant life, one which would last over four decades.[67] As an outcast Bonincontri travelled widely throughout Italy and Europe, before arriving at the Milanese court of Francesco Sforza (1401-1466), in whose service he waged war – even receiving a headwound under the walls of Montefiascone.[68]

When not reviewing plans or bearing arms for the Sforza, Bonincontri cultivated a passion for astrology and poetry. These interests would eventually come into full focus after he moved to Naples to serve King Alfonso of Aragon. He there became close friends with the poet Giovanni Pontano and began work on a monumental history of the Sicilian Kings (*De Ortu Regum Neapolitanorum*). Despite the loss of Alfonso and of his own wife to plague in 1458, Bonincontri continued to remain in Naples even as his own thoughts turned increasingly to his native Tuscany. Thus, when Piero di Cosimo de'Medici died in 1469, Bonincontri took the opportunity to petition for his return which, due to the intercession of Filippo of Aragon, was granted by Lorenzo de'Medici in 1475.

So did Bonincontri return to Florence. He was there celebrated as an accomplished poet and astrologer, advising in this last capacity the city's Signoria and holding a prestigious post at its university.[69] In the city of "Il Magnifico," Bonincontri lectured specifically on the

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[67] Bonincontri gives the name of his *Fasti* as *Libri Quattuor Dierum Solennium Christianae Religionis* (hereafter *DSCR*). I cite from the digitized edition of his poem published in 1491 by Stephan Plannck found at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München. Bonincontri alludes to his exile and eventual return at *DSCR* fol. 24$^{r}$: *Hac ego luce procul patria domibusque fugatus/ te duce sum domui redditus atque meis* (On this day, routed from my fatherland and home, under your leadership, I was returned to my home and my own); For more on his exile see Soldati, 119.
[68] *Ibid*.
[69] *Ibid.*, 126.

*Astronomicon* of the poet Manilius and had begun to draft what would be its first commentary. He also participated there in Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic Academy and made friendships of its members, some of whom, including Poliziano, had increasingly turned their own scholarly efforts towards Ovid, including his *Fasti*.

**Origins of his *Fasti***

Bonincontri's return to Tuscany would end in 1478. On Easter Sunday of that year a group of conspirators succeeded in murdering Giuliano de'Medici and nearly doing the same for his brother Lorenzo. Bitter recriminations were to follow. All who were suspected of having a role in the *congiura* were either imprisoned, executed, or banished. Undoubtedly aware that his past transgression would cast suspicion on him, Bonincontri promptly left Florence for Pesaro at the invitation of Costanzo Sforza. The unexpected death of his host led him to depart again, this time to Rome, his final redoubt and one of the main intellectual centers of Italy.

He arrived in the last days of the papacy of Sixtus IV (1471-1484), under whose stewardship a humanist community – a group which included Ludovico Lazzarelli – had flourished in the city. Their intellectual leader was Pomponio Leto who, every year in honor of Rome's traditional birthday, the Parilia (21 April), held a poetic competition in his Esquiline home. This was to be Bonincontri's formal introduction as a leading humanist within the city, for, in that year, he was crowned as one of the competition's two winners.[70]

Although Bonincontri was likely known in humanist circles, this victory undoubtedly put him on the radar of Rome's community of patrons. Not only were the members of the Academy some of Italy's most noted *litterati*, but many of them held positions within the Roman Curia.

[70] The other winner was the wunderkind Domizio Palladio Sorano who wrote a genethliacon for Rome. This poem can be found in Martini, 273-283.

Moreover, the protector of the Academy was none other than Domenico della Rovere, the cardinal presbyter of San Clemente. Whatever the initial point of contact, Bonincontri first entered the service of the Della Rovere through Rafaelle Riario, the great-nephew of Sixtus IV, for whom he would produce yearly astrological *vaticinia*. Shortly thereafter he was appointed chair of astrology at the Sapienza by Sixtus, to whom he would also dedicate his *magnum opus*, the first commentary on Manilius's *Astronomicon*.[71]

It was during this window of four months, from his victory in Leto's competition to the death of Sixtus IV (12 August), that Bonincontri commenced work on his *Sacri Fasti*. For what provided his initial spark Bonincontri gives two different answers. The first comes during a moment of gratitude for the divine in the last verses of his *Fasti*: "but we give thanks to all and to mighty Sixtus who ordered that I remember your days" (*sed grates agimus cunctis Sixtoque potenti/ qui iussit vestros me memorare dies*).[72] In this version Sixtus IV either directly commissioned Bonincontri or perhaps suggested the topic to the poet – a claim not altogether unbelievable.[73] The Pope took a keen interest in literature and timekeeping, and even summoned to Rome the astronomer Regiomontanus to assist in a proposed revision of the Julian calendar.[74] He also added feasts to the existing calendar including the Presentation of Mary (21 May) and the Immaculate Conception of Mary.[75]

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[71] For more on Bonincontri's relationship with Manilius see Field, 1995.
[72] *DSCR* fol. 55ʳ.
[73] On the ambiguity of *iubeo* in the context of commissions and patronage see White, 266-268.
[74] Before becoming pope, Francesco Della Rovere taught logic and rhetoric at the Universities of Pavia and Perugia. He also maintained close ties with the erudite Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) who made Francesco his personal confessor. He later wrote three different Latin theological treatises, the most famous of which, *De Sanguine Christi*, was written in 1467 and took up the complicated issue of whether Christ's blood shed during the passion was still part of his divinity, thus justifying its worship. Such was his learning that Stinger, 147 labels him "the only true theologian among Renaissance popes." For more on Sixtus's early period see Lee, 11-45. On Regiomontanus see Weber, 411-413.
[75] For more on the inclusion of the feast see Calabuig, 296. The worship of Maria was championed first and foremost by the Franciscans, among whose members Sixtus could be numbered. On the history of the Immaculate Conception see Fastiggi 1-13.

A much different explanation for the origin of his *Fasti* is found in its preface. Here, the project is presented as a testament of faith from the now aged poet:

> *Marcus Varro, Iuliane Praesul dignissime omnium sententia Romanorum, doctissimus cum de re rustica scribere decrevisset et iam ageret annum aetatis octogesimum ad uxorem scribens: Tempus est inquit Fundania sarcinulas colligere priusquam e vita proficiscar. Quorum verborum pondere ego commotus quod eadem annorum summa gravatus, et si id mea sponte facere decrevissem, quattuor Fastorum libros quos Sixto Pontifici Maximo patruo tuo tradere staueram: immatura eius mors omnia mea consilia cogitationesque pervertit*.
>
> Marcus Varro, most worthy Cardinal Giuliano, by common consent the most learned of all Romans, when he had decided to write *De Re Rustica* and was already in the eightieth year of his life, writing to his wife, he said "It is time, Fundania, to gather up my bundles before I leave this life." Moved by the weight of these words, because I myself was weighed down by this same sum of years, even if I had decided of my own volition to write four books of the *Fasti*, which I had resolved to present to your uncle, the Great Pontiff Sixtus, his unexpected death overturned all my plans and thoughts.[76]

In this telling, Bonincontri drew inspiration from the *De Re Rustica*, wherein a reflective Varro reveals his intention to his wife Fundania to put his affairs together before his death. Moreover, Bonincontri reveals that, regardless of whether Sixtus had specifically commissioned the calendar, his pontificate and sudden death were motivating factors for the poet.

**Structure and Style**

How Bonincontri chose to proceed with his *Fasti* is at once radical and familiar. The traditional Ovidian division of books according to months is replaced by four separate books, each of which contains moveable and fixed feasts. As with Lazzarelli's calendar, that of Bonincontri also does not begin on 1 January; instead, the first day of the year is Christmas. This choice, as we recall (see n. 29), corresponds to one of the traditional openings found in many liturgical calendars.

The division of these four books does not appear to coincide with any recognizable patterns, although it generally maps on to the four seasons. The first book begins with Christmas

[76] *DSCR* fol. 3$^{r}$.

and ends with the Feast of the apostle Matthias (24 February). Book Two consequently begins with the Feast of Perpetua (7 March) and ends with that of St. Barnabas (11 June). Book Three opens with the Feast of Paulinus of Nola (22 June) and ends with the Birth of Mary (8 September). The last book starts with the Feast of Saint Matthew (21 September) before finishing with the Feast of Saint Thomas the Apostle (21 December).

Another major departure in Bonincontri's calendar is the structure of its entries. Whereas the *Fasti* of Ovid and Lazzarelli can be viewed as lengthy series of elegiac entries, that of Bonincontri separates every day into two parts. The first is similar to what we find in other *Sacri Fasti*, that is, an elegiac entry centered upon an aetiology and which adopts elements of Ovidian style. The second, however, is most often a hymn which largely restates the content of the elegiac panel. Herein a variety of meters are used, including sapphic strophe (the most prevalent), iambic senarius, and iambic dimeter catalectic among others.[77] The effect of this interplay between the elegiac and hymnic creates a rich literary dynamic and is also deeply personal, transforming feasts which could be viewed as dispassionate narratives into meditations on the divine.

The interplay between these two styles can be found in the Feast of Saint Bartholomew (24 August). To honor this one of the twelve Apostles and a major figure within the synoptic gospels, Bonincontri's account centers largely on Bartholomew's later travels, originally related by Eusebius and Jerome, as well as the resting place of his relics on Rome's Isola Tiberina. It is here, before the saint's church, that Bonincontri begins his entry:

*Iam duodena dies mensis fulgebat ab ortu*
*Phoebus habens denas Virginis orbe gradus.*
*Insolita est hominis facies mihi visa rubentis,*
*Cum sacer ante fores Bartholomeus erat.*

[77] For a breakdown of the different meters see Soldati, 417.

*Nudus erat pellisque sibi pendebat adempta*
*Quam nascens matris duxerat ille sinu.*
*Hic fuit e senis bis fratribus almus et hic est*
*Quem deus ad fuscos miserat Assirios:*
*Ut Christi nomen referat per pulpita cunctis,*
*Quas adeat partis, coeperat ire viam.*

Already for twelve days from the beginning of the month
Phoebus was shining, keeping ten steps from the path of Virgo.
The unaccustomed face of a reddened man appeared to me,
When holy Bartholomew was before the doors.
He was naked and his skin, as it was removed, hung down,
Which as a baby he had brought out of his mother's womb.[78]
This gentle man was one of the Twelve Brethren and this is the one
Whom God had sent to the dark-skinned Syrians.
He had set out upon the road that he might bring to all the name of Christ
From the pulpits wherever he went.[79]

After an initial astrological notice, we find ourselves before the Roman Church of San Bartolomeo. The saint then appears to our poet according to his iconography, flayed (*rubens*) and holding his own skin (*pellis*). This apparition of a divinity echoes Ovid's *Fasti*, in which gods such as Janus appear with their traditional attributes to converse with the poet.

Yet in a divergence from Ovid, Bonincontri does not actually pose a question to the saint. Rather, the entry now transitions into a tale of Bartholomew's miracles in the far east and his eventual martyrdom. Similar to what we saw in Lazzarelli, the story is likewise a condensed version of that in the *Legenda Aurea*. Bartholomew has journeyed to India where he encounters and defeats two different demons who have been tormenting the local populace. Impressed by his spiritual powers, the king, Polymius (*Polinius*), summons the saint to heal his sick daughter. By now, we are told, malice has grown among the "impious people" (*populus impius*), who martyr Bartholomew and subsequently remove his skin (*erepta postmodo pelle*).

[78] I.e. his original skin.
[79] *DSCR* fol. 39$^{v}$.

To this point there has been no real aetiology nor a current custom which needs explanation. This changes, however, with the end of the panel, wherein we return to Rome:

*Sic moritur corpusque sacrum tenet insula Romae*
*Ex Beneventana qua prius aede fuit.*
*Liberat infirmos corpus velut ante solebat.*
*Et meritis tantis lux veneranda datur.*

Thus he dies and the island of Rome holds his sacred body
From the church in Benevento where it was before.
His body liberates the sick just as it was accustomed before.
And a day is appointed to be celebrated for such meritorious deeds.[80]

The *causa* of the panel is at last revealed. The ultimate miracle performed by Bartholomew, to heal the sick, is reenacted through his relic (i.e. his skin) which is now in his church on Isola Tiberina.[81] Furthermore, the mention of the original location in Benevento is also found in the *Legenda Aurea*, once more pointing to Bonincontri's reliance on the *legendario*. Finally, the last couplet ends in one of the traditional Ovidian ways by noting the continued observance of the tradition in the here and now.[82]

In other *Sacri Fasti* we would now move on to a new entry, but in Bonincontri's calendar we have a lyrical counterpoint. This hymn keeps with the primary theme of Bartholomew's life, the endurance of pain for Christ. A better sense of this poem, and of other hymnic sections in the calendar, can be gathered by consideration of its first two strophes:

*Bartholus Christi comitator almus*
*Fecit insidiis iter ad salutem.*
*Veste detracta rubicundus altum*
*Scandit olympum.*

[80] *DSCR* fol. 40[r].
[81] Much has been said of this healing cult on Isola Tiberina, particularly that it was a continuity of the Temple of Asclepius which once stood on the same location. For an overview see Brandenburg, 2007.
[82] Walter, 626 notes that this phenomenon is also common in the *Metamorphoses* and that it is particularly stressed by Ovid who "more than anyone else explores the interplay of change and stability, of difference and sameness inherent in aetiological narratives."

*Quod fuit mirum rigidum subisse*
*Omne dum vitam sequitur beatam*
*Multa perpessum domino ut placeret*
*Qui regit orbem.*

Bartholomew, the kindly companion of Christ,
From treachery made his way to salvation
Ruddy with his covering removed he climbs to
High Olympus.

What a marvel it was that he endured every
Hardship while he followed the blessed life
And that he endured much so that he might please his lord
Who rules the world.[83]

Whereas the focus of the elegiac entry was on the story of Bartholomew's travels, here it is on his own faith in Christ and martyrdom. The saint's red complexion (*rubicundus*), the reminder of his gruesome martyrdom, is juxtaposed with his ultimate destination in heaven (*altum…Olympum*). This theme is virtually restated in the next strophe; Bartholomew "suffered that he might please Christi" (*perpessum domino ut placeret*), while in the last Bonincontri exhorts the people to honor his feast and keep it alive, that they too might enjoy the rewards of heaven: "Let all celebrate this venerable day/ who desire to inhabit seats on high" (*diem cuncti celebrent verendam*/ *Qui volunt celsas habitare sedes*).

**Signs and the Stars**

Another difference between Bonincontri and Lazzarelli is in their approach to astral myths. In Ovid's *Fasti* and in the *FCR* the traditional Greek mythologies behind the zodiac are retained. The Christian-minded Bonincontri turns this on its head, reimagining many of these signs so that

[83] *DSCR* fol. 40$^{v}$.

they reflect biblical stories. Thus, when the constellation Serpens arises on the Feast of the Innocents (28 December), it becomes something entirely new:

> *Hic est ille malus serpens qui compulit Evam*
> *In laqueos vitae perfragilesque vices.*
> *Hic est qui toto fallens dominatur in orbe*
> *Et rapit omne genus fraude dolisque potens.*
> *Protege nos pater omnipotens praestaque salutem*
> *Quam rapuit daemon subdolus atque malus.*
>
> This is that evil serpent which urged Eve
> Into the pitfalls of life and into tenuous vicissitudes.
> This is he who, through his deceptions, rules over the whole world
> And he snatches up all kinds, potent in his fraud and deceits.
> Protect us omnipotent Father and grant us the salvation
> Which the tricky and evil devil stole.

No longer is it the serpent that of the god Asclepius, but the deceptive snake which convinced Eve to taste of the forbidden fruit.[84] This is Satan, the manipulative evil of which all Christians must be vigilant. The unassuming rise and fall of stars thus become an opportunity for prayer; that an omnipresent God protect the world from the ever-present devil.

A similar switch occurs during the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist (28 December). The scene transpires on the seashore as Bonincontri looks upon white-crested waves which crash upon the rocks. From this restless scene he turns his eyes to the night sky where he sees "rise more radiantly the vigilant bird of Jupiter (*clarius exurgit…Iovis impiger ales*).[85] This eagle is not, however, the one which snatched away Ganymede, but the apostle John who "tells of the deeds of the Lord, writing monuments of the time to come" (*domini acta refert, scribens monumenta futuri temporis*).[86] Bonincontri thus concludes with a new meaning for the old sign by remarking, "And as the deeds of John are celebrated by the rise of the Eagle, thus let us pray

[84] Ov. *Fast.* 6.735-736 *surgit humo iuvenis telis adflatus avitis,/ et gemino nexas porrigit angue manus.*
[85] *DSCR* fol. 63$^{r}$.
[86] *Ibid.*

for your blessing on Earth after that [rise of the constellation] (*Utque Aquilae exortu celebrantur facta Ioannis,/ sic tua post illum sacra piemus humo*).[87]

**Politics and Sixtus IV**

Beyond its use of multiple meters, its four-book structure, and its poetry of personal reflection, Bonincontri's calendar is also unique in that it is the first unified political vision of a Renaissance *Fasti*. Lazzarelli had toyed with the idea and, in subsequent iterations of his *FCR*, had added or removed dedicatees and powerbrokers as he saw fit. For Bonincontri, Sixtus IV and the Della Rovere family were conceived of as dedicatees from the poem's inception. This is made clear in the introduction, where Bonincontri invites the pontiff to join him in singing the yearly feasts:

> *Sume vocalem citharam Beate*
> *Sixte qui polles patribus verendis :*
> *Et deus terris generique nostro*
> *Unicus orbe.*
> *Nam Dei tempus celebrare laudes:*
> *Voce qua quondam solitus referre*
> *Sacra cum pandis pia vota supplex*
> *Pronus ad aras.*
>
> Take up the sounding cithara, Blessed
> Sixtus, you who are powerful among reverend fathers.
> And (you are) the only god for our lands and race
> In the world.
> For it is time to celebrate the praises of God:
> With that voice with which you were formerly accustomed to utter them
> When you, as a suppliant, discharge pious prayers
> Prone at the altar.[88]

Where we might have expected an elegiac, if not highly programmatic opening, Bonincontri offers instead an invitation to celebrate. The first line, with its injunction "take up the … cithara"

[87] *Ibid*., fol. 6$^{v}$.
[88] *Ibid*., fol. 2$^{r}$.

(*sume…citharam*), recalls Isaiah 23, and perhaps even Psalm 150, both of which are exhortations that God be praised.[89] Sixtus, described in almost blasphemous terms as the *unicus deus*, is to offer prayers as if he was "prone at the altar," the sense being that reciting Bonincontri's *Fasti* is an almost liturgical experience.

Beyond the opening, the role of Sixtus in the *Fasti* is best reflected in its overall structure. One such example we have already seen – the inclusion of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception which the Pope added to the liturgical calendar. There are, however, plenty of others throughout the poem. One of the most apparent examples is Bonincontri's choice to include the feasts of the Pope's own predecessors, the relatively minor saints Sixtus I and Sixtus II. The feast of the former recurs on 6 April and heralds the Pope in grandiose terms: "After the sun had relinquished the cold, on the ides themselves/ we rightly offer bright incense to Sixtus./ The greatest of popes, he died having suffered brutal wounds/ and, after his blood was spilled, he flies to the stars" (*Nos postquam frixum Sol liquerat, idibus ipsis/ ex merito Sixto limpida thura damus./ Pontificum summus crudelia vulnera passus/ occidit et sparso sanguine ad astra volat*).[90]

Bonincontri's choice to make the feast of Sixtus I the first of April and to label him as *Pontificum summus* both represent a clear effort to elevate the current pontiff. This becomes even more transparent in the hymn which follows, wherein the papacy of Sixtus I is presented as the spiritual predecessor to that of Sixtus IV:

> *Sixte qui sedes regis alme Petri*
> *Et tenes altum solitum Quiritum*
> *Urbis et plebis populique custos*
> *Omnia curans.*
> *…*

[89] Isaiah 23:16: *sume citharam circui civitatem meretrix oblivioni tradita bene cane frequenta canticum ut memoria tui sit*; cf. also Psalm 150.3: *Laudate eum in sono tubae;/ laudate eum in psalterio et cithara.*
[90] *DSCR* fol. 23$^{r}$.

*Doctor et rerum scius ac supremus*
*Ad deum Christum superosque mentem*
*Flectis et quantis tenebris gravemur*
*Noscis aperte*.
*Saepe cum multos homines doceres*
*Inter hos Laurens venerandus aevo*
*Floruit prima nitidus iuventa*
*Omnia donans.*

Gentle Sixtus, you who rule the see of Peter
And hold the high throne of the Romans
Overseeing all things as the protector of the city
And the plebs and the people.
…
Teacher and knowledgeable of affairs as well as most supreme
You turn your mind to Christ, the God, and
The divine and you recognize clearly by how much darkness
We are oppressed.
Often when you were teaching numerous men,
Among them Lawrence, worthy to be revered in his old age,
Flourished shining in his early youth
Offering all sorts of gifts.[91]

The image of Sixtus I as the steward of Rome who cares for its people and affairs bears strong resemblance to the imagery promulgated by the Della Rovere pope. In the verses which follow emphasis is placed on Sixtus as a teacher and theologian, attributes which apply equally to Sixtus IV who taught at the university level and was famed for his theological treatises.

Even more curious is the group of men whom Sixtus I taught, among which Saint Lawrence (*Laurentius*) is singled out. The appearance of Lawrence here is rather puzzling, namely, because he was a deacon in Rome under an entirely different pope, Sixtus II. That Bonincontri has confused the two saints is confirmed later, when he mentions Lawrence's martyrdom at the orders of Emperor Decius, a date much too late for Sixtus I. This confusion aside, Bonincontri's focus on Lawrence is interesting for another reason – namely, as an allusion

[91] *Ibid.*, fols. 23$^{r}$-23$^{v}$.

to the namesake of Lorenzo de'Medici. The *de facto* Florentine ruler, Lorenzo had a notoriously fraught relationship with Sixtus IV which boiled over into outright hostility after the Medici *princeps* executed clergymen involved with the Pazzi Conspiracy. Sixtus responded in kind by excommunicating "Il Magnifico" and then waging war on the obstinate young leader and his fellow countrymen. After Lorenzo played a critical role in mustering the Italian response to the Turkish landing at Otranto in 1480, Sixtus would ultimately lift his interdict and relations between both men would attain a semblance of normalcy. That Bonincontri uses his passage to frame Sixtus as the spiritual teacher of Lawrence is perhaps a nod to this most important of diplomatic struggles – one perhaps even glossed by the verb *floruit* (i.e. *Florentia*, Florence).[92]

This manipulation of past and present is recurrent throughout Bonincontri's calendar and likely derives from Ovid, who encourages comparisons between Augustus and the mythical icons of Rome's early history (e.g. Numa or Romulus). The most memorable example of such historical *comparanda* is found during the feast of Saint Sylvester (31 December) – the Pope best known for baptizing the Emperor Constantine:

> *Hic vetuit priscos ritus, populosque reduxit*
> *Ad pia solvendum vota benigna deo.*
> *Hic pater est patriae decus et tutela sacrorum*
> *Qualia nunc alii regna beata tenent.*
> *Iam pater es senioque gravis vitaque beatus*
> *Sixte gradum quamvis celsius ire paras*
> *Sublimesque vias spectabis ab aethere puro*
> *Ut meritus quoniam te duce Roma viget.*
>
> This one forbade the ancient rites, and he led the people back
> To offering sacred vows pleasing to God.
> He is the father of his country, its ornament, and the protector of sacred rites
> What sort others now hold as their blessed possessions.
> Now you are a father both weighty with old age and blessed in life,

[92] Alternatively, it is possible that we may see a reference to Bonincontri himself, whose first name was also Lorenzo. In this case, the tutelary relationship between Sixtus II and Saint Lawrence could reflect that between Sixtus IV and his humble client, Bonincontri.

Sixtus, although you prepare to take a higher step
And you will look upon the exquisite roads from pure heaven
As one deserving since, under your leadership, Rome thrives.[93]

The entry opens with a parallel between Sixtus IV and Sylvester, highlighted via the emphatic repetition of *pater*. In comparing the two popes, Bonincontri draws our attention to Sylvester's role as a restorer of the faith – a role which balances nicely with Sixtus's own efforts to revitalize worship and counter the Ottoman threat in the East. He also chooses this point to include a subtle intertext; the presence of *sublimes vias* evoking none other than the opening of Manilius's *Astronomicon*.[94]

Yet Bonincontri will not linger on Sylvester, nor is he concerned principally with his miracles. Rather, the feast is an opportunity to tell the story of Constantine. He is heralded as the creator of the twelve diocese and as the emperor who "restored as new the walls of Byzantium" (*nova Bizanti moenia restituit*). His patronage of Constantiople, however, does not blind the emperor to the ancient capital which, as the *pontificale decus*, he desires to "glisten" (*niteat*).[95] To Rome he will bequeath a magnificent new church, St. Peter's, that religion be promoted:

*Et quia parva nimis visa est nec commoda cunctis*
*Diruit et magnis moenibus auxit opus.*
*Heroumque domos proprias quos duxerat una*
*Romanis similes condidit atque vias.*
*Non aliter nuper Sixtus renovavit et Urbem*
*Romanis, populo pulpita saepta domus.*

And because it (St. Peter's) appeared too small nor spacious for all,
He demolished it and enlarged its structure with great walls.
And he founded individual churches for saints whom he
Had brought together and roads similar to Roman ones.
Not otherwise did Sixtus recently, in fact, renovate the city

[93] *Ibid*., fol. 9$^{r.}$
[94] Man.1.33-34 *per te iam caelum interius, iam sidera nota/ sublimis aperire vias imumque sub orbem*.
[95] Bonincontri has taken these lines directly from the Donation of Constantine 14.3 *Et ut amplissime pontificale decus prefulgeat, decernimus et hoc…* For the text of the Donation I cite from the edition of Fried, 2012.

For the Romans: pulpits, districts, (and) temples for the people.[96]

The towering walls of the new basilica and the minor churches dedicated to saints, given the highly classical description *Heroum domos* (lit. "the homes of heroes"), together with a new network of roads, testify to Constantine's dedication to the city.[97]

These achievements subsequently mirror those of Sixtus – "not otherwise" (*non aliter*) did he "renovate the city" (*renovavit …urbem*). He too was a builder of roads, notably with his improvements to the *Via Papalis* and his creation of the *Via Sistina* which ran between St. Peter's and Santa Maria del Popolo.[98] Equally impressive were those efforts to renew or construct his own *heroum domos*, among which are counted Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria della Pace, and, on the Vatican, the Capella del Coro and Sistine Chapel.[99] Bonincontri likely found inspiration for his comparison from none other than Sixtus himself who had invited parallels between himself and the first Christian emperor. This is attested by a series of medals commissioned by the Pope which feature the obverse inscription *Urbis Renovator* – terminology almost identical to that of Bonincontri – and a reverse engraved with an image of Constantine.[100]

Other entries often take a more measured approach to papal laudations, as is the case with the feast of Saint Francis (4 October), the Pope's namesake (Francesco della Rovere), or the liberation of Saint Peter (1 August), which does little more than to pay homage to the Pope's titular church, San Pietro in Vincoli. Nevertheless, the culmination of these *laudes* for Sixtus is

[96] *DSCR* fol. 9$^{v}$.
[97] *Heroum domos* seems to have been taken from Catullus 64.384-385; I can find no reference to Constantine having expanded the system of roads in Rome. Accuracy, however, is not the point here.
[98] Sixtus's renovation of Rome's roads was one of the centerpieces of his larger program of urban renewal. For the Jubilee of 1475 he created a thoroughfare which ran from the Ponte Sant'Angelo to St. Peter's. The Via Sistina, on the other hand, went from the Piazza di Ponte to the Piazza Nicosia. An overview of these projects can be found in Lee, 126-130. A diagram of these streets can be found in Tafuri, plate 2.
[99] For an overview of Sixtus IV's architectural accomplishments see Von Pastor iv 452-462. Many of these churches were of importance to the Pope. Santa Maria del Popolo, for instance, he frequented every week.
[100] This medal was designed by Cristoforo di Geremia. For more see Weiss, 23.

undoubtedly the feast of Sixtus II (6 August), a date coinciding with his own papal coronation. In listing again accomplishments similar to what we saw during the Feast of Sylvester, Bonincontri summarizes the central position of the Della Rovere pope in his work:

> *Nos melius tibi Sixte damus solennia sacra*
> *Quod reficis Romae pulpita, saepta, domos:*
> *Et leges servare iubes ab origine sacras :*
> *Romanosque facis legibus esse pares.*
> *Utque fuit terris Sixtus venerabilis imis.*
> *Sic tibi nunc Sixto dent pia sacra patres.*
>
> We, Sixtus, give sacred solemnities to you in a better fashion
> Because you remake at Rome pulpits, districts, churches:
> And you order that we observe sacred laws as they were first laid down:
> And you make the Romans equal to the laws.
> And as Sixtus had been honored at the ends of the Earth
> Thus now let the fathers give pious rites to you, Sixtus.[101]

Sixtus IV is invoked by Bonincontri as if he is already a saint. "Sacred solemnities" are worthily given to the Pope who rebuilds Rome's "pulpits, districts, [and] churches" and makes "the Romans equal to the laws." Beyond once more championing the construction of churches, Bonincontri now adds Sixtus's revitalization of the city's "districts" and its system of laws, perhaps understood as a reference to his curial reforms and additions to Canon Law.[102] Sixtus's destiny will thus be that of his predecessor – to receive worship as a future saint.

**Baptista Mantuanus**

Two decades would pass before the next *Fasti* would be written. In the meantime, the Renaissance had entered a new century and with it a new stage of artistic exuberance and achievement. This was the era of Julius II and Leo X, of the grand compositions of Raphael and Michelangelo. Extravagant theatres were raised for ever more elaborate productions, while

[101] *DSCR* fol. 37$^{r}$.
[102] Consider, for example, Stinger, 128.

authors such as Sannazaro and Vida sought to capture the epoch's maturity and elegance in a refined Latin verse. Yet it was also in this fervor, at the center of which was the Church itself, that the first stirrings of fracture could be heard.

It is to one of the most influential minds of this period that we turn, the poet and Carmelite monk Baptista Spagnoli (1447-1516). Known simply as Mantuan, Baptista was one of the most renowned poets of the Renaissance.[103] As the son of a man of prominence, he studied under the humanists Gregorio da Città di Castello and Giorgio Merula, the latter of whom also assisted in the education of Lazzarelli.[104] Theology, however, was his calling and it would be to the Carmelite Order that he would devote his life and talents.[105]

As a member of the religious order, Mantuan would have a prolific literary career which saw him experiment in a variety of genres, ranging from his collection of Mariological verse, the *Parthenice*, to an exploration of the universal Christian journey in his *Adulescentia*, to even the apocalyptic with the tract *De Calamitatibus Temporum*. Yet his most famous work was also one of his earliest. This was an imitation of Vergil's collection of pastoral poems, the *Eclogues*, which he adapted to Christian themes and which would receive widespread accolades during the Renaissance and after.

Mantuan's *Fasti*, entitled *De Sacris Diebus* (On Holy Days), was the poet's last work. It dates to only a year before his death in 1516 and to a time when he was at the height of his poetic and international renown. In 1513 he was made prior general of the entire Carmelite Order, in which capacity he also held a seat at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517), and in 1515 he was

[103] A dismissive view can be found in Rohrbach, 115: "His literary style was the typical wordy, prolix presentation of that period of the Renaissance, and it soon went out of fashion. But for one brief moment in literary history this sincere Carmelite occupied the spotlight of European letters." For an overview of contemporary opinion see Mustard, 1909.
[104] On this period of Mantuan's life see Girardello, 41.
[105] Baptista justifies his decision in a letter to his father dated 1 April, 1464. On this *epistula* see Severi, 93.

appointed by Leo X as a mediator in the struggle between Massimiliano Sforza and Francis I. Mantuan's dual roles as a spiritual father and political broker would be reflected in this new calendar which, in some ways, could be viewed as the culmination of a life dedicated to the great humanist pursuit of marrying the Christian with the classical.

**Style and Structure**

In its structure and style Mantuan's *Fasti* recalls its predecessors, both ancient and contemporaneous, but retains its own unique character. Its structure is that of a twelve-book calendar, and so a return to the correspondence in Ovid's *Fasti* between books and months. Each book is further subdivided into discrete panels marked off by general headings, in that respect resembling the calendar of Bonincontri. Gone too is Lazzarelli's decision to separate the moveable from the immoveable feasts. Both are included in Mantuan's calendar, a choice which forces him to be more sparing with the days that he chooses to celebrate.

The feasts which he celebrates are those of the liturgical calendar as practiced by the Carmelite Order. This includes the traditional *festae maiores* in addition to minor feasts particular to the Carmelites. Thus, the feast of Saint Judas Cyriacus (4 May) is followed by the day of Saint Angelus of Jerusalem (5 May), a Carmelite priest and martyr. Prominent too are Saint Cyril of Constantinople, Saint Albert of Trapani, and, perhaps most importantly, one of the patron saint of the order, Elisha, who is addressed in a quasi-Augustan manner as *pater*, *princeps*, and *dux*.[106] Sometimes these references to Carmelite worthies are less explicit and are subsumed within larger feasts. For instance, the feast of the Transfiguration (6 August), is stressed, in part, due to the appearance of the Prophet Elijah who was regarded as the spiritual

[106] In Catholicism, worship of Elisha as a saint is particular to the Carmelite Order and has its origins in his role as an early follower of their patron saint Elijah.

progenitor of the order.[107] Where Mantuan deviates from this rule are those entries in which he shares a personal connection with a given saint, such as that of Saint Ptolemy (who shared his name with Mantuan's brother), or desires to make a political argument (e.g. the feast of the two Leos).

At the micro level Mantuan's calendar is *sui generis*. Most noteworthy is its meter, hexameter as opposed to the traditional elegiac couplets – a choice perhaps meant to elevate his Christian poem over its pagan predecessors. The poet announces in his opening verses that there is "no Jupiter here, no Saturnian Juno, no Venus; you will not read of foul rapes committed by the gods" (*Iuppiter hic nullus, nulla est Saturnia Iuno,/ Nulla Venus, non stupra, leges immundae Deorum*). These are, of course, references not only to the names of pagan divinities, but to some of the more lascivious content within the *Fasti*. For instance, the aforementioned *stupra* correspond to episodes of rape within the poem most notably involving the god Priapus, but also historical figures such as Lucretia.[108]

These differences also extend to how individual entries are structured. In all three calendars considered thus far, the day opens with an astronomical notice. These are remarkably regular in their structure, typically featuring the rising or setting of a constellation coupled with a more precise reference to the day in question. Mantuan too sometimes adopts this rubric; if we return to the feast of the Transfiguration, we see that it opens with the strikingly Ovidian formula *Lucifer Augustis octavus idibus ortu/ fert nova festa suo* (the eighth dawnstar from the Ides of August brings new feasts with its rise). The majority of feasts, however, begin merely with the

[107] The Transfiguration was held to be particularly significant to the Carmelites, in part, due to Christ's appearance with their most important prophet Elijah. For more see Monastery of Mount Carmel, 3-4.
[108] For an analysis of the two episodes involving the former see Frazel, 2003.

narrative at hand. Mantuan further removes Ovid's longer mythological entries (e.g. panels on Arion and Orion) and only makes occasional reference to the zodiac itself.

An even more important change is found in the structure of entries. In Ovid and the other writers of Renaissance *Fasti*, entries are composed of aetiologies, with a given phenomenon introduced at the opening of the passage and subsequently explained thereafter. Mantuan's feasts typically lack this first component and are therefore more linear. Nevertheless, this choice does not preclude the poet's virtuosity from shining through nor forbid highly creative aetiologies. To illustrate this point we might return to the feast of Saint Bartholomew, whose entry we explored earlier in Bonincontri:

> *Regia progenies priscis si credimus annis*
> *Bartholemaeus ubi socios discedere vidit*
> *Ab Syria in varias gentes peregrinaque regna*
> *Ivit et ipse fidem Christi laturus ad Indos,*
> *Transiit Euphratem…*
>
> A royal progeny, if we believe the olden times,
> Bartholomew when he saw his companions depart
> He too went from Syria to various races and foreign
> Kingdoms and crossed the Euphrates in order to
> Bring the Christian faith to the Indians…[109]

Devoid of any astronomical notice, Mantuan's panel launches *in medias res*. Bartholomew sets out to the east, and ultimately travels to India to spread the Christian faith. Hereupon follows a more detailed version of what is presented by Bonincontri; the saint performs miracles and casts outs demons before ultimately being brought to the Indian king Polemius.

The entry now takes a curious turn. Instead of following the *Legenda Aurea*, Mantuan devises his own story. After exorcising a demon Bartholomew is offered riches, but eschews such a worldly gift. Moved by his piety and powers, Polemius converts to Christianity and sends

[109] *De Sacris Diebus*, Aaiiii; for the text of Mantuan's *De Sacris Diebus* I cite from the 1520 Strasbourg printing of Matthias Hupfuff according to the printer's signatures.

Bartholomew to purify the inner sanctum of the Indian high temple. The saint expels the temple's *genius,* an owl-like creature (*Nyctimenes instar*) which then does the Lord's bidding:

> *Per delubra volat, spergitque per aera flammas*
> *Naribus et Divi imperio simulachra repente*
> *Contrivit prostrata solo, mox ire coactus*
> *Ad gelidas ultra capricornia sydera terras,*
> *Si quas forte videt terras Antarcticus axis.*
> *Nec mora de superis unus lucentior Astro*
> *Luciferi circumvolitans Crucis undique signum*
> *Scripsit…*
>
> It flies through the temples, and spread flames through the air
> With its nostrils and suddenly smashed on the ground idols
> On the order of God, (and) was then compelled to go
> To frigid lands beyond the stars of Capricorn
> If by chance the Antarctic pole looks upon any lands.
> And without delay, flying about on all sides as one
> From the divine brighter than the dawnstar it wrote the constellation
> Of the Cross…[110]

Cast from its pagan temple, the *genius loci* takes to the skies to carry out the will of God. Pagan idols are smashed and flames flicker in the air before the creature departs for the Southern Hemisphere (*Antarcticus axis*). Here commences a scene of Mantuan's creation; the *genius* blazes in the sky the "constellation of the Cross" (*Crucis…signum*) – a reference to the Southern Cross which Portuguese explorers had first noticed while traversing the coast of Africa ca. 1480 and upon which European sailors depended in the New World.[111] Mantuan has thus done more than merely create a new hagiography for Batholomew; he has devised a catasterism for an entirely new constellation.

**Ovidian Influence**

So far we have seen those areas in which Mantuan's calendar is unique among Renaissance calendrical poems and the ways in which it diverges from Ovid's *Fasti*. It is clear, though, that

[110] *Ibid*., Bb.
[111] On the discovery of the Southern Cross see Stein, 282.

Mantuan considered Ovid a major influence upon, and inspiration for, his calendar. This can be seen before the poem even begins. The introduction to the 1520 printing of the calendar includes an imitation of the famous autobiographical elegy, *Tristia* 4.10, which reframes Mantuan's life as echoing that of Ovid's. Included in this preface are also two different epigrams, similar to those found at the opening of Lazzarelli's calendar, one of which celebrates Mantuan as "a second Naso" (*Naso alter*) who, perhaps in a statement of competition with his pagan forerunner, "more sweetly sings his *Fasti*" (*fastos dulcius ore sonat*).[112]

Stylistically, Mantuan's *Fasti* borrows sporadically from Ovid. At a macro level, this includes elements such as correspondence between books and months, definable panels, and an Ovidian vocabulary. Heroes, interlocutors, and etymologies from the *Fasti* reappear at different times and in different contexts. Janus, for instance, is reinterpreted as Noah whose identification with the pagan divinity was the result of a linguistic corruption from the Assyrian word for wine *Iainus* [113]

Other intertextual responses to Ovid take on a different character and are sometimes outright hostile. This is the case for the panel on Carnival, which allows Mantuan to create a thematic link between debauchery past and present. The raucous frolicking and festivities are for the moralistic Carmelite a *grave crimen* handed down from antiquity. He remarks that the same month once celebrated the Lupercalia and featured similar wantonness; naked "Luperci" (*sine veste Luperci*) went through the city and hit with hide strips the palms of unmarried women (*nurus palmas*) – a practice founded upon fertility worship of the god Pan.

"This insanity," he laments, "has crossed over into our customs" (*haec insania nostros transiit in mores*), as Pan still "makes the youth rave on those days" and "run through all the

[112] This poem is attributed to Bernardus Vercellensis – a mutual friend of both Mantuan and Erasmus.
[113] For a good analysis of this passage see Miller, 2015, 84.

cities and cover over their faces by putting on masks" (*totasque per urbes/ currere et acceptis facies abscondere larvis*). As in antiquity, there are also theatrical productions, "Masked desire goes through the fora [and] the alleys" (*per fora, per vicos it personata libido*) and "sordid Comedy has produced forbidden diversions" (*Sordida produxit vetitos Comoedia ludos*). The dregs of society follow thereafter, "harlots, prostitutes, buffoons, and parasites" (*scorta, ambubaias, balatrones, et parasitos*). As such, perhaps to offer a new etymology for this modern Lupercalia, Mantuan concludes that "the entire city is now a brothel" (*Urbs est iam tota lupanar*).

**Politics and the Foreign Threat**

In keeping with the tradition of *Fasti* passed down from Ovid, Mantuan's calendar likewise incorporates political elements within its larger framework. At the start of the calendar we find two separate dedications to two different popes; the first is to Julius II and the second is to his successor Leo X. This discrepancy is explained by the death of the former in 1513, a circumstance which led Mantuan to subsequently rededicate his *Fasti* to Leo and to remove references to the Della Rovere pope.

Mantuan's praise is, on balance, measured. Absent are profuse lists of Leo's accomplishments or celebrations of anniversaries such as his coronation and election. In their stead are laudations of a more general nature. There are three references to the Medici pope in total, the first coming not unexpectedly during the feast of the doctors Cosmas and Damian:

> *O gemini fratres qui per discrimina vitae*
> *Mortalis veluti fluctus iactata per altos*
> *Navis ad astriferi portum venistis olympi*
> *Terrigenis precor este boni. Pacate furorem*
> *Armorum et tantum effundi prohibete cruorem.*
> *Vertite ad Etruscas etiam pia lumina gentes,*
> *Et servate lares Medicum, qui stirpe ferunt*
> *A vestra traxisse genus; servate Leonem*

*Pontificem summum, generis qui máxima tanti est*
*Gloria, qui terris Coelo demissus ab alto est,*
*Ut fuget aerumnas, totumque refrigeret orbem.*

O twin brothers, you who through the vicissitudes of mortal
Life, thrown about like a ship buffeted on the towering
Waves, have come to the harbor of star-bearing Olympus.
I pray, be favorable to mortals. Pacify the madness
Of arms and forbid such a spilling of blood.
Turn also your pious eyes to the Tuscan peoples,
And safeguard the Medici family, who claim to have derived
Their ancestry from your stock; safeguard Leo
Greatest of Pontiffs, who is the greatest glory of so great
A group, who has been sent to Earth from heaven on high,
That he might put to flight hardships and rejuvenate the world.[114]

The two saints are called upon first to end the *furor armorum*, likely a reference to the Italian Wars which continued to rage in the Italian peninsula. Mantuan's attention then turns to the Florentine people (*Etruscas…gentes*) and Leo X as the family's titular head. His intervention in the world is almost Christlike, "sent to Earth from heaven on high" (*terris Coelo demissus ab alto*) in language evocative of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue.[115] And, in keeping with Vergil, the age which he ushers in will be almost Saturnian, free of hardships and idyllic.

Another entry included for reasons of praise is that on the two different Saints Leo (*De Leonibus*), divided between two vignettes on Popes Leo I and Leo III. The first centers on Leo I's defense of Rome against Attila – a story promoted by the Medici Pope, as is attested by Raphael's contemporaneous fresco in the Stanza di Eliodoro.[116] In Mantuan's telling the Hunnic warlord is an unstoppable force in whose way stands Leo alone:

*Tum Leo pro Italiae Romanorumque salute*
*Sollicitus de more patris sine milite et armis*

[114] *De Sacris Diebus,* Hii.
[115] Cf. *Verg. Ecl.* 4.7 *iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto*.
[116] Preliminary sketches indicate that Raphael had completed an initial sketch around 1510. Once Leo X ascended the throne the painting took on added significance, with the face of Leo I even painted to resemble that of his Medici successor. On the painting see de Jong, 18-21.

*Affuit et contra tantam formidine pulsa*
*Barbariem fari est ausus: 'Compesce furorem*
*Attila, nec transire amnem (Deus imperat) aude.'*
*Hoc sermone ferox princeps mutare coactus*
*Propositum…*

Then Leo, concerned for the safety of Italy and
Of the Romans, in fatherly manner without an army and weapons
Was present to help and casting aside fear he made bold to speak
Against such barbarity: "Rein in your rage,
Attila, nor dare to cross the river (this is God's command)."
The fierce leader was compelled by this speech to change
His plan…[117]

Before an enemy of unbounded cruelty, Leo sets out with only his fearlessness and resolve. It is this combination which allows him to stare down Attila's "barbarity" (*barbaries*) and compel the chieftain to abandon his plans of conquest. His motivation is not merely preservation of the faith, but the "safety of Italy and of the Romans," a curious pairing that we perhaps ought to read in the light of Renaissance popes who were expected to unite the peninsula against foes Christian and Muslim.

Mantuan then recounts the history of Leo III. Like Leo I, he too is beset by a dangerous predicament: faced with Roman anger (*terrorem irae Romanae*), he must make an ally of Charlemagne, referred to here simply as *Gallorum regem* (king of the Gauls).[118] As with Attila, a political message almost certainly lies underneath this statement. In this case, the constant threat of French involvement within Italy and the perceived exigency of making an ally of their king. It thus appears that Mantuan's choice of words to label Charlemagne as specifically a French king attests to this aspect.

[117] *De Sacris Diebus*, Mii.
[118] *Ibid.*, Mii.

We thus come to Leo X. The first few verses are standard practice and highlight his noble lineage, his responsibility as the helmsman of Peter's bark, and his moral rectitude. There are, however, three pressing matters which must be addressed:

> *Sed tria praesertim restant cura atque labore*
> *Digna tuo. Bellum est primum, quo fessa laborat*
> *Italia et pleni humano iam sanguine Campi.*
> *Est aliud Romana gravi maculata veneno*
> *Curia, quae spargit terras contagia in omnes,*
> *Postremum est oppressa fides exposta rapinis*
> *Undique et in praedam populis proiecta cruentis.*
> *…*
> *Sancte Pater succurre Leo, respublica Christi*
> *Labitur, aegrotatque fides iam proxima morti.*
> *Si potes, ex nostris bella haec crudelia regnis*
> *Transfer in adversos divinis legibus hostes.*
>
> But three things remain especially worthy of your care
> And labor. War is the first, worn out by which Italy
> Struggles and its fields are already full of human blood.
> There is another thing; the Roman Curia has been tainted
> By a deadly poison, which spreads its infection among all the lands,
> The last is that the faith has been exposed to thievery
> And on all sides it has been thrown into devastation by cruel peoples.
> …
> Assist us Leo, holy father, Christendom
> Falters, and the faith, already sickened, is very close to death.
> If you are able, transfer these bloody wars from our kingdoms
> Upon our enemies standing against the divine laws.[119]

The keys of Saint Peter have passed through Leo's papal forebearers to his hands. Their lessons and virtues must now be heeded: wars rage in Italy and the peninsula is red with blood. The Roman Curia, the steward of the faith, is sick and spreads its illness throughout Europe – an eerily prescient warning from Mantuan on the Protestant Reformation. It rests upon the shoulders

[119]*Ibid.*, N.

of the next great Leo, Leo X, to restore Christendom (*respublica Christi*) and turn its internally destructive tendencies upon the true enemies of the faith (i.e. the Ottomans).

Other feasts too, while not rising to such a crescendo, are chosen for their proximity to the pope and the Medici. Such is the case for Saint Reparata, one of Florence's two patron saints (the other being John the Baptist). The panel is highly experimental, mimicking in its opening the style of funerary inscriptions: *Caesariensis eram, vivens post fata cadaver/ venit in arva meum Faesulis subiecta, cubatque/ Qua Tuscus decurrit aquis torrentibus Arnus* (I was from Caesarea; my body, living after my death,/ came into the fields stretched out beneath Fiesole, and it lies/ where the Tuscan Arno flows with its rushing waters).[120] Reparata is soon revealed as the narrator and she proceeds to recount her own martyrdom under Decius, a speech which she delivers to her "Tuscan farmers" (*Arnenses colonos*) while "sitting on the top of her church" (*sui residens in culmine templi*) perhaps a reference to her statue which once adorned the *facciata inaugurale* of Santa Maria dei Fiori.[121] Once her speech is at an end, Mantuan concludes by offering a prayer:

> *Sic precor ut fata est virgo Deus omnia servet,*
> *Sed te praesertim, quae fers insigne pilarum*
> *Sacra domus, decimum partu connixa Leonem.*
> *Ipse tenens Petri claves, vitaeque necisque*
> *Ius habet et missa totum ditione per orbem*
> *Et Stygis et coeli portas; aperitque seratque*.
>
> Thus I pray, as the virgin said, that God keep all things safe
> But you especially, sacred house bearing the
> Stemma of the balls, since you gave birth to Leo X.
> He himself, holding the keys of Peter, wields power
> Over life and death and, because his authority is sent through the whole world

[120] *Ibid*., Ffiiii.
[121] We may recall Bonincontri's entry on Saint Bartholomew which likewise featured a talking statue. Although I am unaware of a statue located on the *culmen* of the basilica, a famous sculpture by Adrea Pisano, dated between 1337 and 1340, was inset within the *luneta centrale* of the original façade, which was demolished in 1587.

He opens and locks the gates of Hell and heaven.[122]

From the Florentine *Contadini* we move to the city's ruling dynasty, the Medici, referenced by their famous insignia featuring the six *palle*. Our attention is drawn to their patriarch, Pope Leo X, who wields power over the whole world (*totum…per orbem*) and who alone can open and close the "gates of Hell and heaven" (*Stygis et coeli portas*).

Mantuan's interest in politics also extends abroad and is best characterized by a mixture of worry and optimism over the Ottoman advance. The starkest example comes during the feast of Saint Angelus the Carmelite. The opening of his entry is largely a summary of his life; we see praise for his virtues, his assistance to the poor, and finally his journey from the Middle East to Rome. We there witness his meeting in Saint John Lateran between the future saints Dominic and Francis, and ultimately a warning by Angelus to the Roman people about the future threats that they will face:

> *Hoc infame genus Turcus tunc temporis ultra*
> *Caucaseos montes positum trans Bosphoron esse*
> *Venturum excidio Grais, finesque aditurum*
> *Ausonios, quod nos hac tempestate dolentes*
> *Vidimus impletum, quando per lapidis agros,*
> *Atque per Hydruntis colles ea turba profusa est.*
> *Atque utinam veniat tua quem dixere futurum*
> *Rex novus ex Francis oracula, qui fuget istam*
> *Progeniem; peste hac totum qui liberet orbem.*
>
> (I pass over that) this cursed race, the Turk, formerly established beyond the
> Caucasus Mountains, would come across the Bosphorus
> To destroy the Greeks, and would invade
> Italian borders, (a prediction) which we, to our grief,
> Have seen fulfilled in our day, when through the fields of stone
> And the hills of Otranto that throng was unleashed.
> And may that new king come from the French, whom
> Your prophecies predicted, to rout
> That race, to free the whole world from this plague.[123]

[122] *De Sacris Diebus*, Gg.
[123] *Ibid*., Pii.

Where the traditional account of Saint Angelus does not include predictions of a Turkish threat, Mantuan refashions the saint as the equivalent of the doom-uttering Cassandra; his unheeded prophecy coming to fulfillment in the Ottoman conquest of Otranto and the Southern Italian coast. Finally, in another anachronism, he claims that Saint Angelus also predicted that a French King would triumph over the Eastern foe – an almost certain reference to a series of apocryphal prophecies attributed to the saint which circulated in the Renaissance.[124]

The Ottoman threat recurs throughout Mantuan's poem and is expressed in different ways. During the feast of Saint George he looks to antiquity and Horace in an appeal for assistance: *Neu sinito Ausonias Turcos equitare per urbes* (And do not allow the Turks to range free among the Italian cities).[125] The Feast of Saint Mark is an opportunity to mention another state, Venice, which leads the charge against the Turks, "so often under your leadership were the disturbances of the Turks put to flight" (*Te duce Turcorum toties fugere tumultus*), and to beseech the republic for aid "neither allow such splendor of Italy to suddenly fall into ruin, nor grant these joys to Arab kingdoms" (*Neu decus Italiae tantum patiare repente/ prolabi, neu des Arabis haec gaudia regnis*).[126] In sum, Mantuan's poem is also a visceral reminder of his turbulent epoch and a call to action for his papal *fautor*.

**Conclusion**

Three poets developed from Ovid three unique visions for a calendar poem, each treating the *Fasti* as a template upon which to experiment and innovate. They recognized in the calendar an instrument of unique cultural cachet and reach, but also one malleable to authorial manipulation.

[124] P. II. r-v; The prophecies of Saint Angelus were interpreted either as referring to the Reformation, the Turkish threat, or both. The most famous tract was published in 1530 and was entitled *Vita de santo Angelo carmelitano martyre con la prophetia data a lui per el nostro signor Jesu Christo de tutto quello che e advenuto e advegnira alla christianitade per infedeli et della setta et leze falsa luterina*. For more see Niccoli, 132-134.
[125] *De Sacris Diebus*, N. III. r. Cf. *Hor. Carm.* 1.2.51-52: *Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos/ te duce, Caesar.*
[126] *De Sacris Diebus*, N.III.

The year could begin with different days and include different feasts, from Lazzarelli's expansive list of martyrs to Mantuan's more tailored survey of Carmelite saints. The backbone of these almanacs is Ovidian aetiology, albeit adapted to Christian material derived from sources such as hagiographic lives of saints and local Italian traditions.

These poets also adopted from Ovid the idea of the calendar as a tool fundamentally implicated in the issues of power. Shaken by the constant warfare and sense of uncertainty which pervaded the Italian peninsula during the end of the fifteenth century, these first calendar poets used their verse to comment on the issues of the day. Topics such as Italian political disunity and the Turkish threat served as opportunities to praise local princes and to offer calls to action.

This newfound genre of Christian *Fasti* would pass into the mid-Cinquecento as a vibrant and versatile type of poetry, ready to be taken up by a new generation of eager humanists. It would take three decades for the first of these calendars to appear; the *Sacri Fasti* of Novidio Fracco would mark the most ambitious development in the genre – a poem aimed at creating a unilateral political and religious vision of the world. At its center would once more be an imperial *domus* and the altars of a new Caesar, while its focus would be nothing less than the fate of Christendom and of a resurgent Rome.

## Chapter II: Novidio Fracco and the *Sacri Fasti*

### Introduction

From the death of Baptista Mantuan in March of 1516, over three decades, and four different vicars of Christ, would pass before another *Fasti* was published. In the meantime, the culture of the Italian Renaissance had undergone significant changes. The Latin poetry of the age had matured, with authors such as Pietro Bembo and Marco Girolamo Vida writing elegant verses for an elegant audience. There was an artistic flourishing spearhead by names such as Michelangelo and Raphael. Popes such as Julius II and Leo X set out, once again, to make Rome a city of marble by building ever more elaborate and monumental structures.

What had taken generations to construct would take only a few years to plunge into chaos. Three different threats emerged over the European continent which would threaten the established peace and would go on to greatly influence the literature, art, and culture of the period. The first was the continued western advance of the Ottoman Empire. Since the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the European powers had looked with increasing consternation upon the territorial ambitions of the Islamic power. After the conquest of the Balkans during the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Italy seemed increasingly vulnerable to invasion – a fear exacerbated by the short-lived Ottoman capture of Otranto in 1480.[127] The pivotal moment, however, occurred in 1526 near the central European town of Mohács, where a pitched battle resulted in the fall of an entire historically Catholic kingdom, Hungary. With this defeat, a new era of military struggle had commenced – one which would not abate for generations.

[127] As discussed in Chapter One, Otranto is a major event in the *Fasti* of Mantuan and especially that of Lazzarelli.

The second threat, and the most immediately destructive, was the lengthy struggle for supremacy between the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of France. This jockeying for control, having begun with the 1494 invasion of Italy by the French King Charles VIII, would set in motion a chain of devastating Italian wars which would result in the 1527 Sack of Rome. In Fracco's day, the conflict was worsened by an intense personal rivalry between Francis I of Savoy and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. This enmity would make attaining peace not only a question of geopolitical difficulty but of overcoming bitter and petulant egos.

The final, and perhaps most perilous, threat was in the north. It was there, in 1517, that an Augustinian monk named Martin Luther initiated a new schism within Christianity. With the Protestant Reformation came renewed civil and religious strife throughout Europe, while also raising doubts about whether a unified Christendom could defend against its Eastern foes. For the belabored Papal States, this fracture increased calls for reform, specifically in the form of a general council, and required of the Pope a much more proactive role in defending the political and religious integrity of the Church.

**Novidio Fracco: A Poetic Life**

The life of Novidio Fracco overlaps with these chaotic times and his *Sacri Fasti* is best viewed as a response to them. He was born in the quiet hillside community of Ferentino, some eighty kilometers southeast of Rome. Although the exact date of his birth is unknown, Pignatti suggests a date of ca. 1480, which accords with information provided by Fracco himself that his parents had both passed by the 1527 Sack of Rome.[128]

[128] Pignatti, 566; Pecci, 1912, 466. That Fracco was at least middle-aged at the time of the Sack is suggested by *De Adversis* fol. 147$^{v}$ wherein Fracco mentions that he still had an aunt alive at the time: *Obvia fit misero mihi me et matertera prendit/ Atque rogat mecum, si quod edatur erat* (My aunt encounters me, miserable, and grabs me and asks if there was something which might be eaten).

On his early life facts are generally scant. Fracco mentions his home in Ferentino in two different poems, although these do not provide much detail.[129] In his youth he ventured to Rome to receive further education, a fact which he confirms in the *De Adversis*: *Roma quidem patria est studiorum et cura meorum* (Indeed Rome is my homeland and the charge of my studies).[130] At Rome, like many intellectuals of his day, Fracco pursued a career as a priest and was there in that capacity during the Sack. His later connection to a Roman school (*ludus*) is confirmed by a letter of recommendation for the bishopric of Ferentino written by Paolo Giovio, the historian and member of the inner circle of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.[131]

Fracco's passion for poetry seems to have developed from an early age and would occupy his attention for the rest of his life. On his first *opera* we have his testimony in the *De Adversis* that the invading Germans burned his juvenilia – a group which he claims included eclogues and bucolic poetry.[132] Two passages, which I discuss at length in the following chapter, also inform us that Fracco had possibly finished an early draft of his *Sacri Fasti* by this time – a point which he also confirms in the opening to the almanac.

The years after the Sack saw Fracco turn with ever more interest to Ovidian imitation. The most important witness to this period is found today in Rome's Biblioteca dei Lincei; MS Corsiniana 1327. This manuscript dates to circa 1534 and contains three different classical

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[129] This is in elegy 2.3 of the *De Adversis* (*De somno in patria sua viso*) and in Book Two of his *Hendecasyllabics*. Allusions to his home are also found at *Sacri Fasti* 45a where he describes the ritual sewing of a garment on the Feast of St. George: Recently those from Ferentino weave and on this day the girls interlace/ and also they sew a tunic in your name" (*Nempe Ferentini nent, hac texuntque puellae,/ atque suunt tunicam nomine luce tuo*)

[130] *De Adversis* fol. 139$^{v}$.

[131] Fracco later mentions this recommendation by Giovio in his *Epistula ad Alexandrum Farnesinum* 25: *Nota tibi, iam scis, signari voce libellos/ supplice quum posco, quae mihi laetus ais./ Verba quidem stabat Iovius Iove natus ad illa/ et Iovis ille Aquilae cui datur ara suae*. (Take note, you already know, that my books are marked out for you when, with suppliant voice, I seek those things which you happily affirm for me. Indeed Giovio, born from Jove, attended to those words and that one of Jove to whom is given the altar of his own Aquila). The last reference is perhaps to Bernardo Sancio, the Bishop of Aquila, and associate of Giovio. Fracco also alludes to his students *De* Adversis 144$^{v}$ where he describes how, on recalling how he hid during the Sack, he was mocked by "his children" (*meis pueris*).

[132] This incident I discuss later on in Chapter Three.

imitations, two of which are modelled on works in the Ovidian corpus. First is an imitation of the *Heroides* wherein Fracco provides responses to the epistles sent by Ovid's heroines – a collection that includes letters such as Aeneas to Dido, Theseus to Ariadne, in addition to those of Fracco's own creation, such as one by Collatinus to Virginia and another of Creusa to Aeneas.[133] Within this manuscript is also Fracco's *De Adversis* – a five-book imitation of Ovid's *Tristia* set during the 1527 Sack of Rome which I shall discuss further in the next chapter. Bookending the MS is an imitation of Martial's *Epigrams* which includes poems on topics ranging from statues in Rome (including one on the famous Laocoon) to casual poems addressed to friends. Roughly contemporaneous with this manuscript are two books of hendecasyllabics inspired by Catullus, within which we find occasional poems, as well as others of a more autobiographical nature.[134]

Until this point, Fracco had not actually published a poem. This, however, would change in 1538 when he wrote his *Consolatio ad Romam*. Dedicated to Cardinal Ennio Filonardi (1466-1549), whom Fracco likely knew from the former's ties to his hometown of Ferentino, the extended elegy fits into the genre popular at the time of *lamenti* and *consolationes* for the beleaguered city.[135] More importantly, the *Consolatio ad Romam* attempts to recontextualize the Sack and its aftermath in the context of Paul III's papacy, in this sense foreshadowing the political themes at the heart of the *Sacri Fasti*.

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[133] As far as I am aware, this would also be one of the earliest full imitations, perhaps the earliest, of Ovid's *Heroides* in the modern era. Other authors were certainly inspired by the poet; Lyne, 2021 points out that Michael Drayton took inspiration from the work in writing *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597). Shakespeare and Marlowe would likewise draw heavily on the poet. On the latter see MacFie, 2001; on the role of the *Heroides* in Renaissance France see White, 2021.

[134] For a brief analysis of Fracco's *Hendecasyllabics* see Sacré, 2013.

[135] Famous examples of *consolationes* include Eustachio Celebrino's *Presa di Roma* and Pietro Corsi's *In Urbis Romae Excidio*; for an overview of Filonardi see Becker, 819-826; According to Caspar, 354 Filonardi was involved in diplomatic overtures in Switzerland to counter the growing Lutheran movement and was also a passionate collector of books and humanist patron – two aspects to which Fracco draws attention in the *Consolatio ad Romam*.

Before putting the *summam manum* on his calendar, Fracco would publish one further poem – an elegiac epistle addressed to the grandson of Pope Paul III, the young cardinal and *mecenate* Alessandro Farnese. The impetus for this work, entitled simply the *Epistula ad Alexandrum Farnesinum*, was likely an opening for the bishopric of Ferentino, for which Fracco sought a recommendation from Paolo Giovio upon the death of the prior bishop, Antonio Boccabella, in 1545. Accordingly, the content of the poem is highly panegyrical; Fracco predicts for the young prince great achievements, including a papal future, while also requesting of him financial patronage.[136] The *Epistula* likely dates to the period either immediately before or after the publication of the *Sacri Fasti*, a hypothesis further strengthened by a prefatory epigram containing reference to the discovery of the *Fasti Consulares* in 1546/1547, adding a *terminus ante quem* to the work.[137] This date is also suggested by internal reference to the dedication of the *Sacri Fasti*: *Sex scripsi et totidem fastorum e more libellos,/ cum coelo et cecini numina nostra suo* (I wrote six books and as many again in the form of *Fasti*, and I sang our divinities together with their own heaven).[138]

After the publication of the *Sacri Fasti* in 1547, mention of Fracco is scant. His aspirations to the bishopric of Ferentino did not materialize nor does it appear that he entered the inner circle of Farnese patronage.[139] Beyond the second printing of his calendar at Amsterdam in 1559, Fracco's name reappears only in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Two epigrams in the poet's handwriting survive which connect Fracco to the powerful cardinal and patron Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584). Both take the form of short elegiac *vaticinia* that predict for the young

[136] *Epistula ad Alexandram Farnesinum* 26: *Cuncta ergo ut renuas, nostrae sit cura senectae,/ Musae et quod non vis tradere, trade seni*.
[137] Bauer, 51 notes that the *Fasti* were discovered during excavations in the Roman Forum.
[138] *Ibid*.; cf. Ov. *Trist.* 2. 549: *Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos*.
[139] For more on the cardinal's patronage see Robertson. According to Bauer, 44 in 1546 the Cardinal's inner circle included humanists such as Annibale Caro, Romolo Amaseo, Antonio Agustin, Lorenzo Gambara, Latino Latini, Girolamo Mercuriale, Fulvio Orsini, Ottavio Pantagato, and Paolo Giovio.

cleric a future papacy and both appear to have been written around the death of Pius IV (1559-1565), Borromeo's maternal uncle. Fracco, now in his words *pauper* and *senex*, fashions himself as the *clientulus* to Borromeo's *studii protector*, suggesting that the cardinal offered some level of financial assistance to Fracco and making it likely that other poems for his eminence could still exist.[140] It is possible that the rapport between the two men was established during the cardinal's Roman sojourn in the first years of the 1560s, when Pius appointed Borromeo Archbishop of Milan and Segretario dello Stato. It is likely that Fracco died around this time, ca. 1565.

**The Program of the *Sacri Fasti***

The *Sacri Fasti* was Fracco's *magnum opus*.[141] Its composition took some thirty years and overlapped with a period of massive political and religious upheaval; the 1527 Sack of Rome, the conquest of Hungary by the Ottoman Empire and its subsequent westward push, the rise of Charles V and the Protestant Reformation. Fracco's *Fasti* was the fourth imitation of Ovid's calendar, and his debt to Renaissance forerunners is felt throughout the work. Twelve months are celebrated in twelve books, each in elegiac couplets and with panels divided for individual feasts. As with his predecessors, Fracco takes as his subject matter the Catholic liturgical calendar, although, as his nickname "Novidio" suggests, he is highly Ovidian in both his stylistic and thematic choices.

What Fracco intended to do with his poem is best understood by considering his own words. In an introductory dedication to Pope Paul III Farnese, Fracco expounds upon his

[140] See Milan, Bi Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. D 343 inf. fols. 43$^{r}$ and 50$^{r}$.

[141] For the text of the *Sacri Fasti*, I cite according to the internal pagination from the original 1547 edition printed in Rome by Antonio Blado and digitized in 2016 by the Biblioteca Casanatense. While the calendar did undergo a further 1559 printing in Antwerp under Joannes Bellerus, the text between both versions remains the same.

inspiration for the calendar and its raison d'etre. As one might expect, the letter is largely panegyrical in tone, accentuating whenever possible the vital role of the Pope within the calendar. This can be glimpsed by considering the opening of the letter which I quote in full:

> *Cum superioribus annis, Paule beatissime, cultum illum Deorum apud priscos etiam a suis hominibus ea tempestate damnatum, cum fabulosus esset, vanis quibusdam solennitatibus, curisque sane tunc inutilibus celebratum mecum cogitassem, et ab Ovidio cum ingenio, tum doctrina poeta praestantissimo, de illo ritus quosdam populares fastis* [*or*]*d*[*i*]*natos*[142] *viderem: putavi maximo quidem et pudori, et damno hominibus nostri temporis esse, si similibus carerent: cum nec deorum cultu, nec rebus gestis, veteribus cedamus*.
>
> When in prior years, most blessed Paul, I pondered to myself that worship of the Gods among the ancients, condemned even by their own men in that time, since it was fantastical, and celebrated with certain hollow rites and exertions useless even at the time, and when I saw that certain of its popular rites were arranged in the *Fasti* by Ovid, most excellent both in ingenuity and in learning, I thought that it would indeed be the greatest shame and harm to the men of our age, if they were lacking a similar poem, since we yield to the ancients neither in the worship of the Gods nor in deeds.[143]

From Fracco's introductory remarks emerges a larger program for how he views his calendar and his own role as poet. The first few sentences are largely what we might expect in a letter addressed to the Pope and meant to justify an outwardly classicizing poem. We are told that the old pagan religion was "wretched" because of its "fantastical" (*fabulosus*) quality, not to mention replete with "certain hollow rites" (*vanis quibusdam solemnitatibus*). What the old religion did have was a great proponent – the poet Ovid, described as "most excellent both in skill and in learning" (*cum ingenio, tum doctrina… praestantissimo*).

The mention of Ovid is not in itself surprising. Lazzarelli, we may recall, mentions the poet in his opening. More significant is how Ovid is portrayed. He is the ballast for Roman religion, an ingenious advocate upon whose poetic bark rests the intellectual justification for an ultimately flawed system. On the basis of this statement, Fracco not only creates a link between

[142] Both editions read *donatos* here, which I have emended to *ordinatos*.
[143] *Sacri Fasti* iii.

himself and Ovid, but implies that his own *Fasti* will be theologically superior to that of his predecessor. His is a poem that will not be put into the service of mere *fabulae*, but will expound upon a calendar of feasts properly oriented towards the true religion.

Such a boast does not in itself fully justify the need for a *Sacri Fasti*. To make this case, Fracco does not equivocate; it would to the "shame" and "detriment" of the new Rome if its intellectuals, as well as its *Pontifex Maximus*, should fail to produce a poem that can respond to and surpass one produced in the pagan era. After all, the Rome of the Cinquecento yields to the ancients neither in "worship of the Gods" (*deorum cultus*) nor in "deeds" (*res gestae*). In justifying his calendar in this way, Fracco offers a first glimpse of what will be a recurrent theme throughout the *Sacri Fasti*, namely, an attempt to draw upon and supersede the pagan past. His is a competitive paradigm – one that governs not only the relationship between his own calendar and Ovid's *Fasti*, but between Renaissance Rome, replete with its festivals and accomplishments, and the Augustan era.

From this latter description we can also discern how Fracco envisions the composition of *Sacri Fasti*, namely, as broadly divided between *res gestae* and the *deorum cultus*. This dichotomy reflects Ovid's own choice to incorporate what we would call both secular and religious material and is refined by Fracco later in the epistle:

> *Ne tantum hoc antiquis liceret, et si non eadem linguae suavitate, tamen ea qua his temporibus potui, vulgares festorum consuetudines, a pontificibus olim ut populos in fide retinerent concessas, divisis in xii. menses xii Apostolorum tutelis, nec praetermissis aliquibus rebus gestis nostri temporis memoria dignis, cum ortu atque occasu siderum, suis cum causis, ac Christianis historiis, in duodecim libellos digessi. Sic tamen, ut omnia quae ad rem pertinerent, quaeque in figuris, aut fabulis veluti in tenebris involuta erant, ad ortum iam Solem, id est, Christum reduxerim.*
>
> Lest this be permitted to the ancients alone, and albeit not with the same sweetness of language, nevertheless with that which I could in these times, I arranged into twelve books the common customs of feasts, formerly vouchsafed by pontiffs that they might keep the people in faith, and divided into twelve months under the protection of the

> twelve Apostles, and passed over no deeds of our time worthy of memory, together with the rise and fall of the stars, along with their causes and with Christian history in such a way as to bring back to the risen Sun, that is, to Christ, everything which pertains to that subject, and which had been wrapped in representations or in tales, as if in shadows.[144]

Modestly conceding the possible superiority of the ancients in their *suavitas*, Fracco nevertheless lays out his vision for his calendar poem. He specifies that his primary focus will be the *vulgares festorum consuetudines* (the common traditions of feasts), united under the *tutelae Apostolorum* (the guidance of the Apostles) and informed by *Christianae historiae* (Christian history). In the *Sacri Fasti*, this means that each book corresponds to one of the twelve months and is dedicated to one of the twelve Apostles. In turn, the content of each book corresponds to "Christian history" – that is, the traditional hagiographies and martyrologies found most notably in the *Legenda Aurea*.

Furthermore, the poem consists of "some deeds of our time worthy of memory" (*aliquae res gestae nostri temporis memoria dignae*). This is our first indication that Fracco will include political events, particularly, those centered around Paul III and Charles V, and, to a lesser degree, King Francis I. This focus is confirmed elsewhere in the introduction, where, addressing Paul III, he remarks, "For although my books also give favor to Caesar and the King…they especially sing your famed creation so hastened by God that it might aid the world" (*Nam cum Caesari et Regi libelli mei etiam faveant…tuam illam a Deo tam festinatam, ut orbi succurreret, creationem potissimum canunt*).[145] By "creation" (*creatio*), Fracco means Paul III's appointment as Pope, which he confirms in the next sentence and which he treats as an act of divine providence in the purpose clause above.

[144] *Ibid.*
[145] *Ibid.*

Before proceeding to the calendar itself, we should briefly consider the implications of Fracco's last statement in the above quotation; his intent, we learn, is to return the feasts which "had been wrapped in representations or in tales, as if in shadows … to the already risen Sun, that is, to Christ." With this statement Fracco indicates that he will take an allegorical approach in his calendar – that within traditional, even pagan, myths are to be found allusions to the true faith, Christianity. As readers, we are thus conditioned to read passages in light of Christian allegory, including those which could potentially be deemed objectionable by any suspicious censors (e.g. pagan rites).

**Style**

Any analysis of Fracco's calendar must first begin with its style. Throughout his wider poetic corpus, and the *Sacri Fasti* in particular, Fracco looks to Ovid as his principal poetic model. This begins with meter. The Augustan elegists, but especially Ovid, exhibit a propensity to end pentameter lines with a disyllabic word. According to Kenney, Ovid's innovation upon this stylistic feature was sometimes to end his pentameters with an unemphatic disyllable, frequently the verb *esse* or a personal pronoun.[146] Fracco mimics this tendency with great faithfulness. His couplets frequently end with disyllables, particularly pronouns and, like Ovid, he often ends his pentameters with personal pronoun or verbs.

Another quality of Ovid's verse is its fluidity and speed, typically achieved by emphasizing certain noun and adjective endings.[147] For adjectives, this includes those in *-ilis* as well as *-is*, *-idis/os*, *-ide*, *-ides*, *-idas*, while in his pentameters it is common to find five syllable adjectives in *-osus* and four-syllable nouns in *-itas*. [148] To be sure, Fracco does not use these

[146] Kenney, 32.
[147] At *Ibid*., 36 Kenney remarks, "Ovid deploys his linguistic resources to secure metrical fluency and smoothness so deftly that it is easy to label his technique mechanical."
[148] *Ibid*., 68.

adjectives and noun endings to the same degree as Ovid, although some do appear with relative frequency. Adjectives in *-ilis* including *pontificalis, sculptilis, nobilis, invigilis, similis, persimilis, sterilis* all appear, as do nouns in *-itas* such as *utilitas, posteritas,* and *virginitas*.

Related to this interest is Ovid's coining of certain adjectives and nouns, as well as his penchant for Greek pronouns and adjectives. Fracco shares this predilection and will often use Ovid's own neologisms. Fracco's description of the Nile as *septemplex* (sevenfold) is taken directly from *Metamorphoses* 5.177,[149] while Ovidian adjectives such as *aliger*,[150] *claviger*,[151] *belliger*,[152] and *legifer*[153] are all present in Fracco's text. Greek names also appear with some regularity. A particularly striking example comes at *Sacri Fasti*, 52a where we find *Argus, Itys, Tereus,* and *Philomela* all in the space of two couplets.

Other areas too show Ovidian imitation. The relatively quotidian adverb *bene*, used only four times by Vergil in the *Aeneid*, is widely employed by Ovid and, accordingly, Fracco. For instance, during the Feast of San Sabas (5 December), the poet relates the Medieval legend in which the bones of the proto-Christians, the Emperors Vespasian and Titus, were transported to the convent of Mar Saba in Palestine.[154] At the end of the panel Fracco addresses Titus as a worthy champion of Christianity and, in doing so, uses *bene* twice: "Thus, as well as he (i.e. Titus) had taken up the aegis for our lofty divine,/ so well does he rest with our divine" (*Quam bene ut ob superos susceperat aegida nostros,/ cum superis nostris tam bene ut ille cubet*).[155] To this example we can add some twenty-four other instances which can be found within the poetic body of the *Sacri Fasti*.

[149] *Sacri Fasti* 129a.
[150] *Ibid*., 18a.
[151] *Ibid*., 22b.
[152] *Ibid*., 25a.
[153] *Ibid.*, 24b.
[154] For more on the legend see Zissos, 491.
[155] *Sacri Fasti.*, 157a.

Certain rhetorical devices are likewise imitated liberally. More frequent than any other is perhaps polyptoton, of which Fracco shows a particular fondness.[156] At *Fasti* 5.394, for example, Ovid remarks, "'both the man" he says 'worthy of these arms and arms worthy of this man'" ('*vir' que ait* '*his* armis, *armaque digna viro*!'). This line we might compare to Fracco's panel on Isaac and Abraham, where he notes, "And three times he binds him while loosening, and three times he loosens him while binding" (*terque ligat solvens, ter solvitque ligans*).[157] A similar passage can also be found in the introduction to Book One showing the approval of God: "And three times thundering it [the sky] flashed and three times he thundered flashing" (*Terque tonans micuit ter tonuitque micans*).[158] Often the device is found with a finite verb and its participle – the figure known as *declination* – as is the case during a prophecy of the Virgin Mary: "She had seen very many things in her dreams, she [then] reports what she saw" (*Viderat in somnis plurima, visa refert*).[159] Sometimes Fracco does this with great artistry. Such is the case with his panel on Janus, wherein he mimics the appearance of a door with his polyptoton: "he opens what is closed [thus it appeared to the son] he closes what is opened" (*clausa aperit* [*nato sic visum*] *claudit aperta*).[160]

To be sure, Fracco does not imitate his predecessor in all aspects. One of the devices most favored by Ovid, syllepsis, is rarely used by Fracco. Where the two are kindred souls, and where their style can appear similar, even if direct imitations are difficult to pinpoint, is in their penchant for abundant expression. Quintilian famously labeled Ovid as "an excessive lover of his own genius" (*nimium amator ingenii sui*), and one could fairly say the same of Fracco.[161] One of

[156] On Ovid's use of polyptoton see Wills, 213-216.
[157] *Sacri Fasti* 28a.
[158] *Ibid*., 6a.
[159] *Ibid.*, 33b.
[160] *Ibid*., 4b; cf. Ov. *Fast*. 6.102: *numine clausa aperit, claudit aperta suo*.
[161] Quint. *Inst*.10.1.88.

the areas where this quality is most apparent is in the use of anaphora. In Ovid, this can sometimes be the result of his hymnic style such as in his repetition of personal pronouns or conjunctions such as *sive*/*seu*.[162] Fracco too deploys and even innovates upon such constructions, for instance, in a repetition of *pars* within a rising tricolonic crescendo: (*pars fora, pars arces, pars sacras occupant aedes*).[163] Like Ovid's, his *ingenium* can push aesthetic bounds, such as in his fourfold recurrence of *ille* in a comparison between Christ and Augustus,[164] or in his fivefold repetition of the indefinite pronoun *quique*.[165]

Apart from general Ovidian stylistic borrowings, it is worth mentioning some of those ways in which Fracco specifically imitates the *Fasti*. One such area is in what Miller calls Ovid's "staccato" style, that is, the tendency to create a jarring effect in the line "via apostrophe, flashback, joking, and so forth."[166] The *Sacri Fasti* is full of such disruptions which give the calendar a more conversational quality. An example can be found during the Feast of Saint James. There, at the end of a speech, Fracco is surprised to find the saint standing before him:

> *Haec ego, quum pileo, peraque accinctus, et hasta,*
> *(Ire putes) oculos constitit ante meos.*
> *Et prior 'o' dixit, 'fastorum cura novorum,*
> *accipe iam monitu quod petis ipse meo.'*
>
> I (said) these things when, equipped with a cap, a satchel, and a staff,
> He stood before my eyes (you would think he was en route).
> And he spoke first, "O you who are the ward of the new *Fasti*,
> Accept now what you yourself seek from my counsel."[167]

The first thing to note is the lack of a verb (or participle) of speaking in the initial distich. Fracco frequently leaves out such verbs, although he typically retains the first-person pronoun and *haec*

[162] On this aspect of the *Fasti* see Miller, 2007, 202.
[163] *Sacri Fasti* 98b.
[164] *Ibid*., 166a.
[165] *Ibid*,, 154b-155a.
[166] Miller, 2002, 189.
[167] *Sacri Fasti* 86b.

(these words).[168] A series of brief clauses soon follows, while as is typical in the *Fasti*, the sense of the hexameter is completed by the pentameter below. We then see a parenthesis which provides the thoughts of the author and imbues the passage with a sense of vividness.[169] Finally, on display is the interplay between caesurae and the placement of adjective/noun pairs; in both pentameters the ancient word-patterning of a noun at the caesura agreeing with the noun at the end of the line is faithfully observed.

Another means by which this staccato style is achieved is through short clausulae. As is common in the *Fasti*, these are often found at the end of a panel. An example of this tendency in Ovid's *Fasti* comes at end of his entry for 24 January: "Let the ox come under the yoke, let seed come under the plowed lands;/ Peace nourishes Ceres, Ceres is the nursling of Peace" (*Sub iuga bos veniat, sub terras semen aratas;/ Pax Cererem nutrit, Pacis alumna Ceres*).[170] In Fracco's calendar, an illustration of this style can be found at the close of the Feast of Saint Theodore (9 November): "He dies, sick infants are brought to him: he performs miracles: he sees to it that word gets around, an altar is bestowed" (*Occidit, infantes aegri portantur ad illum,/ mira facit: facit fama sit, ara datur*).[171] The rapid succession of short verbs, only accelerated via asyndeton, creates a sense of speed; in only two lines we see the saint's death, the origin of his salutary cult, its subsequent fame, and the creation of his altar.

Before proceeding to the content of the calendar, a few other stylistic points bear mention. Especially common is Fracco's borrowing of Ovidian exhortations and syntagmata. Didactic expressions such as *accipe* in the context of dialogues (as was seen supra), *percipe*,

[168] Cf. e.g. Ov. *Her*. 10.36.
[169] Cf. e.g. Ov. *Fast*. 3.172 where Mars is described via a parenthesis "But nevertheless, there was a throwable spear in his right hand" (*sed tamen in dextra missilis hasta fuit*); for an overview of the rhetorical device in Ovid, the classic study remains von Albrecht, 1963.
[170] Ov. *Fast*. 1.703-704.
[171] *Sacri Fasti* 145b.

*pone metum* (do not fear), *quod petis, huc venit* (he/she/it came to this point), and *si fas est* (if it is right) are all found in the *Sacri Fasti*. Impersonal constructions are also a preferred mode of Fracco; Ovidian expressions with *mora* (e.g. *nec mora, fit mora, mora est,* etc..) and *fama* (e.g. *fama est* and *fama fit*) are widespread throughout the calendar.

**A Roman Calendar**

The most unique, and perhaps defining, aspect of Fracco's calendar is that it is set in Rome. Our journey through the year is a journey through the city – the feasts celebrated in its churches, the monuments of its urban landscape, and the politics of its leaders.[172] In this way does the *Sacri Fasti* mirror the content of Ovid's own poem and, at times, seeks to recreate it. At his core, Fracco is driven by an antiquarian impulse – a desire to create thematic parallels between his Rome and that of Augustus, between himself and Ovid.[173] Examples of this type are scattered throughout the poem and define its tone, although one stands out for its vivid descriptions of the city, historical significance, and sheer Ovidian imitation.

The Feast of the French Saint Giles (Lat. Aegidius) is held on the first of September and thus forms the first complete panel in that month. The account begins with Fracco calling upon mothers to come to the fountain on the Vatican, most likely that of Pope Innocent VIII in Old St. Peter's Square: "The Vatican Hill will summon mothers,/ in this spot where its own fountain sprinkles its fora with jets of water" (*matres iuga Vaticana vocabunt,/ hac fora qua expressis fons sua spargit aquis*).[174] This line places us in an Ovidian context; the use of the verb *vocare*

[172] There are some exceptions. Most notable is Fracco's panel on the Santa Casa of Loreto – that is, the purported remains of Jesus's Nazareth home brought by angels to Italy after the Muslim conquests.
[173] While antiquarian tendencies were present already in the Middle Ages, it was in the 14th century that it became a core component of Italian humanism. Jacks, 74 notes that this was likely the result of an "emergent sense of civic identity" which was present in the Italian city-states.
[174] *Sacri Fasti* 107b; according to Colasanti, XXV, the fountain was begun under Innocent VIII and completed some years later by Alexander VI. Its finished form included water which jetted forth from the mouths of oxen – a reference to the Borgia family crest.

with a place recalls a similar construction in Ovid's panel on the Lupercalia, while the description of the Vatican fountain recalls that of the *Appias fons* located before the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[175] Perhaps most noteworthy, though, are the similarities with Ovid's Matralia. Beyond his mention of *matres*, Fracco dons Ovid's guise of "Master of Ceremonies" to urge Rome's young mothers to worship: "Go forth, then, maidens, let your hearts be opened with prayer" (*ite igitur nuptae, solvantur pectora voto*).[176] If we compare this exhortation to Ovid's own, the similarities become clear: *ite, bonae matres (vestrum Matralia festum), flavaque Thebanae reddite liba deae* (Go forth, good mothers [your fest is the Matralia], and offer in return golden cakes to the Theban goddess).[177]

Whereas the Matralia served as an intertext for the opening of the panel, it is Ovid's Vestalia which is the inspiration for what follows.[178] The initial part of the entry is modelled on Ovid's first-person journey through Rome on the festival, during which he encounters an old matron (*matrona*) with whom he begins a conversation. What cues us to the intertext is that Fracco, likewise on a walk through Rome, encounters his own interlocutor – this time described as a "Vestal." From this exchange will emerge an idea: the Rome of the Popes is a mirror for that of the Caesars:

> *Dicebam, pariterque ibam quo templa subirem:*
> *Qua via nunc celebris Iulia nomen habet.*
> *Ventum erat ad ripam, comes it vestalis, ab amne*
> *Tollimur, hic placide dum vehit, illa refert,.*
> *'Estne hic Velabri regio? Si audita recordor:*
> *Nescio qua sese Roma vehebat aquis?'*

[175] Ov. *Fast.* 2.357-358: *veste deus lusus fallentes lumina vestes/ non amat, et nudos ad sua sacra vocat*; Ov. *AA.* 1.81-82: *Subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore templo/ Appias expressis aera pulsat aquis.*
[176] As one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, St. Giles is intimately connected to rites against disease. In the Renaissance, parishioners would gather at his small church in the Borgo to pray for the "poveri febbricitanti." Later in the Middle Ages a confraternity was formed around the cult of the saint. For more see Lumbroso and Martini, 136-137; For more on Ovid as "Master of Ceremonies" see Miller, 1980, esp. 204-205.
[177] Ov. *Fast*. 6.475-476.
[178] *Ibid*., 6.395-468.

*'Hoc quod ais,' dixi, 'vetus est pars proxima Circo,*
*Area qua prisco de bove nomen habet.*
*Tunc in Aventinum vectabant corpora lintres:*
*Ianiculi nunc est, quod petis amne, iugum.*
*Haec quae tecta vides ripa ulteriore nitere,*
*Ante leves salices, cannaque mollis, erant.*
*Quaque suburbanas veluti nunc cernimus aedes,*
*Frondebat Iani vinea culta iugo.*
*Causa loci nunc est, quem nullum deteret aevum,*
*Iulius: a facto nomen, honorque suo.*
*Mens erat hic ripas sublimi ponte ligare*
*Qua vehimur: fati sed rapit hora ducem.'*
*Haec ego, quum bibula linter nos ponit arena:*
*Aes damus, et templo continuamus iter.*

I spoke and I likewise set out to where I could enter the temple,
Where the celebrated Via Giulia now has its name
We came to the riverbank, a vestal accompanies me. We are taken up
By the river. While it carries us along, she speaks up,
"Is this the area of Velabro? If I remember what I've heard,
It was somewhere around here where Romans transported themselves on water?"
"It is as you say", I replied. "The old part is that closest to the Circus Maximus,
Where the area takes its name from the cattle of old.
Back then boats transported people into the Aventine.
Now it is the Janiculum Hill which you seek via the river.
These edifices which you see glisten on the further bank of the river,
were in an earlier time gentle willow trees and soft reeds.
And where we now observe houses, practically suburban,
The cultivated vineyard was bristling on the hill of Janus.
Now the cause of (this) location is Julius, whom no age could
Diminish, from his deeds it takes its name and honor.
He was of a mind to connect the banks with a lofty bridge here,
Where we are carried, his fated hour took our leader from us."
I said these things when the boat sets us in the thirsty sand.
We hand over our money and continue the journey to the church.[179]

Fracco's trip begins on the Via Giulia, a thoroughfare built by Pope Julius II on the east bank of the Tiber.[180] This first point of reference immediately opens an intertext with *Fasti* Book Six,

[179] *Sacri Fasti* 107b-108a.
[180] The road ran from the Ponte Sisto all the way to Church of San Giovanni Battista dei Fiorentini. For more on the road see Von Pastor, vi, 494-496

wherein Ovid tells us how he was walking on the "Via Nova adjacent to the Roman Forum" (*Nova Romano nunc Via iuncta foro*), while also establishing the panel's thematic parallel between Renaissance and Augustan Rome.[181] Fracco then continues north until he arrives at the riverbank (*ripa*) where he encounters a fittingly anachronistic "vestal" (*vestalis*) – presumably a religious sister – who will become his interlocutor.[182] This turn of events corresponds to Ovid's own meeting with a barefoot *matrona* who will go on to become his interlocutor.[183]

Geographically, Fracco's journey is at first difficult to trace. The whereabouts of the *ripa*, as well as the ferry that he takes with his new companion, is revealed only by reference to the proposed bridge of Julius II (*Mens erat hic ripas sublimi ponte ligare*), which the Pope had intended to build upon the ruins of the ancient *Pons Triumphalis*.[184] The location in question is adjacent to the church of San Giovanni Batista dei Fiorentini, where Clement VII had constructed a cable-attached ferry system.[185] The drop-off point for this *traghetto* was before the Porta Santo Spirito – a point confirmed later by Fracco himself, "we came to the gate, where Sassia stretches forth its altar" (*Venimus ad portam, qua saxia porrigit aram*).[186]

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[181] The Via Nova was one of Rome's most ancient streets. On its exact location, especially in relation to this passage, see Knox, 660.

[182] Fracco is notably loose with the term. At *De Adversis* elegy 1.9, fol. 100$^{r}$ he uses the term in reference to religious sisters avoiding weapons and wicked deeds: *Impia belliger tela et crudelia facta/ Vestales poterunt praeterisse nutu* and in the same elegy at *Ibid*., fol. 100$^{v}$ in the close of the elegy: *Vestales, utinam tantum versum ipse silebo*/ *Cum pudeat musas ulteriora loqui*.

[183] Ov. *Fast*.6.397.

[184] While today one could simply head north on the Via Giulia and take the Ponte Principe, this was not an option in the Renaissance. In Fracco's time there were only a few bridges and two traghetti fixed via cords (funi) which crossed the Tiber. Based on Fracco's reference to the bridge planned by Julius II (*Pons Iulius*), it seems that he disembarks at the imbarcazione opposite the river from the Church of San Giovanni dei Fiorenti. On the two fixed traghetti which existed during this period see Iadarola, 20-49; on the planned bridge of Julius II, itself a reconstruction of the *Pons Neronianus* (sometimes called the *Pons Triumphalis*) see Idem, 49 and Temple, 74-78; Von Pastor, vi, 494 notes that the ruins of the *Pons Neronianus* were referred to as the "Julian Bridge" in anticipation of the new project.

[185] Ladarola, 23 describes four different ferry systems constructed during the Renaissance. The first, established under Leo X, ran between San Biagio della Pagnotta and via della Longara, while that used by Fracco was the second.

[186] *Sacri Fasti* 108a.

Once onboard the ferry the two passengers strike up an aetiological conversation, much like that between Ovid and his *matrona*. Prompted by a rather simple question from the *vestalis,* "Is this the area of Velabro?" (*Estne hic Velabri regio?*), an enthusiastic Fracco takes the occasion to offer a disquisition on Roman geography; the new Velabro is the area immediately south of the Vatican, while the "old part is that closest to the Circus Maximus" and nearby the Forum Boarium, alluded to via its etymology as the area which "bears its name from the cattle of old" (*area…prisco de bove*).[187] Calling the area along the Via Giulia the "new Velabro" is itself telling; Fracco fundamentally conceives of his city as a successor to its imperial forerunner all the way down to its urban fabric.[188]

Continuing the Ovidian intertext, Fracco then raises the theme of Rome's grand destiny, that is, its trajectory from humble village to bustling metropolis. In the *Fasti,* Ovid is told that the area of Velabro, where now chariot races occur, was "nothing except willows and the hollow reed" (*nil praeter salices cassaque canna*) and "and a marsh not to be entered with covered foot" (*et pede velato non adeunda palus*).[189] Fracco's image mirrors its Ovidian counterpart, including in his choice of plants, and is similarly intended to highlight Rome's development.[190] What was once the rustic Janiculum is now a landscape dotted with suburban villas – a city which has reached a grandeur evocative of its Augustan past.[191]

[187] Cf. Ov. *Fast*. 1.582. *hic ubi pars Urbis de bove nomen est.* On Ovid's discussion with his *matrona*, Littlewood, 123 notes that it serves as "another instance where the poet overlays antiquarian information with literary topoi."
[188] For an overview of Velabro, including its appearances in early Roman literature and the uncertainty over its exact confines in the Renaissance see Cressedi, 249-256.
[189] *Ov. Fast.* 6.406 and 6.412.
[190] We might also see an echo of Propertius 4.1.1-2, where one finds similar language (*hoc, quodcumque, vides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,/ ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit*)
[191] Fracco likely has in mind a few structures, most notably the Villa Lante and, closer to the Tiber, the Villa Farnesina. Reference to this last structure would be especially fitting, given Paul III's status as the dedicatee of the poem. For more on the Villa Farnesina see Coffin, 87-91. On the Villa Lante see *Ibid*,, 257.

Fracco and his Vestal soon disembark and make their way to the Vatican from the south. They first pass through the Porta Santo Spirito and then past the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, before arriving at the Church of Sant'Egidio Abbate adjacent to Old St. Peter's. Here, Fracco and his interlocutor bear witness to a devotional ritual: on the saint's feast day, Romans venture to the church to ask for alms and the intercession of the saint on behalf of those suffering from fever. As a mark of *variatio*, before the church the roles of questioner and expert are inverted. Puzzled by the ritual, Fracco asks his vestal, "what is the reason for this [the ritual]?" (*quae sit causa rogo*). Her response is an aetiological narrative which, as (following Ovidian practice) is typical in the *Sacri Fasti*, conveys the traditional account as found in the *Legenda Aurea*:[192]

> *Ter sua farra Ceres, ter Bacchus ceperat uvas*
> *Stabat et in misero febris anhela viro.*
> *Advocat Aegidium precibus, venit ille vocatus*
> *Quodque hiemes dederant tres, fugat una dies.*
> *Fama manet facti ; subeunt data templa, roganti*
> *Quamque olim terris, aethere praebet opem.*
>
> Thrice Ceres had harvested her grain, thrice Bacchus his grapes
> And still breathless fever resided in a miserable man.
> He summons Giles with his prayer, once called he came
> And that which three winters had given, one day routs.
> The fame of the deed remains; people enter the temple gifted to the saint, and the
> Assistance he once offered on earth to the suppliant, he (now) offers from heaven.[193]

The religious sister with whom Fracco converses structures her answer according to the precepts of Ovidian aetiology and style. The story is condensed; three years pass and fever continues to afflict a man, prompting Giles to be summoned. There is also a numerical touch: one day undoes the pain of three years – a callback perhaps to the *una dies* found in Ovid's account of the

[192] *Legenda Aurea* 582-584.
[193] *Sacri Fasti* 108a.

Fabii.[194] Finally, a tag phrase from the *Fasti* is used to close the aetiological explanation, while we also observe the continuation of the ritual in the present.[195]

We might now expect the vestal to leave and a new constellation to arise, yet Fracco takes a different approach. Continuing Ovid's own tendency towards experimentation in his aetiologies, Fracco continues his discussion with the vestal by posing a different question:

> *Finierat; dixi, 'media deberet in urbe*
> *Ille coli,' quum sic tunc mihi casta refert*
> *'Ara fuit Febri, qua prisca palatia stabant:*
> *In Vaticano nunc manet illa iugo.*
> *Inque Dei matris gremio est morientis imago,*
> *Alligeri ex vero quae Michaelis opus.*
> *Supplicibus febri quod corpora numine soluit:*
> *Quodque illi Divus proxima templa tenet,*
> *Hic colitur, Febrisque arae Febri ara propinqua est*
> *Quodque illa, haec populo dat quoque munus idem.'*
>
> She had finished, I said, "he ought to be worshipped
> In the midst of the city," at which point the chaste woman replies in this way:
> "There was an altar to Febris, where the old Palatine stood.
> Now it is on the Vatican Hill.
> And there is an image of Christ dying in his mother's lap,
> Which is truly the work of an angelic Michael.
> And because it frees from fever the bodies of suppliants with its divine power,
> And because God holds the church nearest to it,
> Here it is worshiped, and an altar of Febris is next to an altar of Febris
> And this one too gives the same gift to the people which that one does.[196]

Whereas we earlier saw an aetiology for the worship of St. Giles, we now see Fracco's antiquarianism on display. The discussion turns from holy remedies for fever, to the Altar(s) of Fever in the present. Herein the vestal shows her knowledge of antiquity – in this case Valerius Maximus – by noting that there was an altar to Febris originally on the Palatine Hill.[197] This

[194] Ov. *Fast*. 2.235-236: *una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes,/ ad bellum missos perdidit una dies*.
[195] Cf. *Ibid*., 2.379: *forma manet facti*.
[196] *Sacri Fasti* 108a-b.
[197] Val. Max. 2, 5.2: *Et ceteros quidem ad benefaciendum uenerabantur, Febrem autem ad minus nocendum templis colebant, quorum adhuc unum in Palatio, alterum in area Marianorum monumentorum, tertium in summa parte uici longi extat, in eaque remedia, quae corporibus aegrorum adnexa fuerant, deferebantur*

altar, she tells us, now resides on the Vatican Hill – a revelation perhaps best read symbolically.[198] Where past generations worshipped this goddess Febris on the Palatine Hill, they now pray to an image of "Christ dying in his mother's lap" (*in Dei matris gremio est morientis*) at the Vatican, a work of none other than Michelangelo (*Alligeri …Michaelis opus*).

The artwork in question is the famous Pietà which had been originally located in the Church of St. Petronilla immediately south of that of St. Andreas.[199] The statue was later transferred to the Church of St. Andreas, which housed an earlier cult image of the Madonna and Child, which, in Fracco's day, was already believed to have some power against fever. From this icon the church was also referred to as Santa Maria della Febbre. At some point in the early sixteenth century the healing powers of the first image were likewise applied to Michelangelo's sculpture, which accordingly began to be referred to as the "Maria della Febbre." It would appear that the vestal's reference to two different *arae* is subsequently owed to this fact, namely, that the *ara Febris* (altar of Fever) is the original image, while the *Febri ara* (altar of Fever) is the Pietà. Fracco's account thus preserves an important historical testimony of one of the most famous western sculptures and its role in Rome's lived religion.

With the speech of the vestal at an end, Fracco returns to the Feast of St. Giles. We now see him inside the church and kneeling before an altar (*subii templum, procubuique focis*). Although easy to overlook, such personal touches are common in the *Sacri Fasti* and recapture

[198] Nowhere else do I find the Altar of Fever from Valerius Maximus connected to that on the Vatican. However, elsewhere in the *Sacri Fasti* Fracco does attempt to link the Palatine and Vatican Hills, one the ancient seat of the old imperial capital, the other its new power center.

[199] The church of St. Petronilla was originally a Roman funerary monument perhaps constructed by Theodosius I. It was later dedicated to St. Petronilla and, in the Middle Ages, came to house tombs of French Kings. As such it acquired the name of Capella dei re Franchi. The edifice was eventually demolished when work began on the new basilica of St. Peter's under Julius II; according to Wallace, 249, the Pietà was later moved into an adjacent mausoleum from the Severan period known as Santa Maria della Febbre. This structure, in turn, would go on to become the sacristy of Old St. Peter's and would survive until 1777. It is to this edifice that the vestal refers. For a more recent analysis see Rafanelli, 30-31.

the vividness at the core of Ovid's own calendar. During festivals such as the Parilia (4.725-728) and the Robigalia (4.905-942), Ovid describes his own participation in a way that brings to life aetiological narratives.[200] Within the temple, Fracco then strikes up another conversation, this time with a priest (*sacerdos*), wherein the ritual of handing out semi-burnt candles to the *matres* is recounted by a new interlocutor as part of a new aetiology.[201] In sum, the Feast of Saint Giles showcases some of the defining qualities of Fracco's poetic calendar: rich antiquarianism, Rome's lived religion, and a creative use of colloquy and aetiology evocative of that found in Ovid's *Fasti*.

**Roman Festivals and Catholic Feasts**

The antiquarian impulse underlying the Feast of St. Giles recurs throughout the *Sacri Fasti*. Monuments, institutions, and political figures are all treated as reflections of an earlier age, or even as outright competitors. One of the areas in which this is most pronounced is Fracco's treatment of ancient Roman festivals. To a degree unmatched among his predecessors, Fracco refigures the liturgical feasts of his own era so as to create dialogues with their Ovidian counterparts. Festivals from the *Fasti* such as the Parilia, Matralia, and Lupercalia reappear in modified form and create elaborate intertexts

The relationship between these celebrations is not always one-to-one; some elements are integrated while others are deemphasized or removed altogether. One example is the Tubilustria,

[200] For more on Ovid as ritual participant see Heyworth, 30; Fracco describes his own participation at numerous points in the *Sacri Fasti*. On the anniversary of the death of Fracco's namesake Saint Ambrose (4 April), he describes his participation in widespread celebrations on the Via Lombardia. Fracco then enters, at *Sacri Fasti* 39b, what is today's Basilica dei Santi Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso to offer a prayer that his poetry flourish (*Da pater ergo meos dixi florere libellos*).

[201] I can find no specific reference to the custom, although the late-sixteenth century scholar, Girolamo Franzini, appears to allude to it in the 1587 edition of his work, *Le Cose marauigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, 25: "Questa Chiesa è posta fuori della porta di S. Pietro in Vaticano la quale è molto in devotione al Popolo Romano che è il primo Settembre, ci vanno per essere advocato della febre, e vi è indulgenza plenaria."

which overlapped with the final day of the Quinquatrus (23 March), on which sacred trumpets (Lat. *tubae*) would be blown as part of a ceremony "to offer sacrifice to the strong goddess (i.e. Minerva)" (*forti sacrificare deae*).[202] This festival Fracco insets within the Feast of St. George (23 April), perhaps due to its falling on the same day within a different month. There, the saint in *propria persona* informs Fracco that the old ritual of purifying trumpets has been replaced by a new rite of purifying spoils taken from the defeated Turks (*Turca … ab hoste tropaea.*).[203] Instead of offering lustrations (*lustra*) to Minerva, the bones of the saint are now prayed over in San Giorgio in Velabro that "they might assign by fate victories" (*ut sint sortita triumphos*). The result is that an ancient festival and an ancient goddess have been subsumed within a new Catholic feast, which itself serves as a reminder of the Ottoman threat and the Christian aspirations to counter it.

Elsewhere, too, Roman festivals are transposed to an entirely new date. This is the case for the Vinalia, a celebration originally comprising two days: the Vinalia Priora (23 April) and the Vinalia Rustica (19 August). The former was centered around a ceremony for the goddess Venus, in which a libation would be poured from the prior year's vintage. In the *Fasti*, Ovid claims that the celebration was also significant for Jupiter and traces its origins to a mythological vow made to the god during a duel between Aeneas and the Etruscan warrior Mezentius.[204] The Trojan hero promises the King of the Gods an offering of wine, "Jupiter, you will bear wine from a Latin vine" (*Iuppiter, e Latio palmite musta feres*), after which Mezentius falls in single combat. Fracco reminds us of this vow: "moreover for the ancients there was the Vinalia when Aeneas handed over his own wine to highest Jupiter" (*Praeterea priscis fuerant Vinalia, summo/*

[202] Ov. *Fast.* 3.850.
[203] *Sacri Fasti* 45a. The exact purpose of blowing the trumpets is unclear. Heyworth, 258 argues persuasively that it had its origins in lunar ceremonies.
[204] Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.863-900. For a brief overview of the festival see Green, 2002, 97-97.

*tradidit Aeneas quum sua musta Iovi*).[205] However, what had been the Vinalia, he now refigures as the Martinalia – the feast of St. Martin (11 November) on which a ritual libation for the saint was made from the year's first vintage.[206]

Other examples abound within the *Sacri Fasti*. Festivals such as the Megalensia and the Pallilia are transformed into the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) and Pasquinalia (20 April) respectively.[207] The Parentalia, Ovid's festival in remembrance of bygone ancestors, is recalled during the Italian Giorno dei Morti, occurring regularly on 2 November. One of the more striking examples of this Christian reimagining is the Matralia (11 June). On this day Ovid encourages "good mothers" (*bonae matres*) to offer cakes to the goddess Mater Matuta at her temple in the Forum Boarium (*area, quae posito de bove nomen habet*).[208] The main focus of the panel is the identity of the goddess, as Ovid himself indicates by asking "who is the goddess" (*quae dea sit*). The answer – a story of his own creation – is that Mater Matuta was originally Ino, the sister of Bacchus's mother Semele and to whom the infant god was entrusted after the incineration of his mother.[209]

From here follows the traditional story: Juno, enraged that Bacchus escaped her clutches, exacts vengeance upon Ino and her husband Athamas. In her rage, she drives both to insanity in the thought that they will murder their two sons. The first, Learchus, ultimately perishes, while a grief-stricken and crazed Ino seizes their other son, Melicertes, and plunges with the boy into the

[205] *Sacri Fasti* 89a.
[206] Provenzal, 153 describes the history of the practice: pursued by his enemies, the Saint sought refuge in the house of a farmer who hid him in an empty wine cask. Although the other casks were also empty, they were miraculously filled with wine, leading the Saint's pursuers to become inebriated and allowing Saint Martin to escape.
[207] The Pasquinalia is one of the few festivals in the *Sacri Fasti* to receive scholarly attention, largely due to its celebration by Pomponio Leto's Academy. For an overview see Modigliani, 256-257 and Fritsen, 1995, 169-170.
[208] Ov. *Fast.* 6.478; Littlewood, 153 notes that the name of the Forum Boarium was thought to have come from a bronze statue of an ox placed there.
[209] For the story Ovid appears to be tapping into older material, although as Littlewood, 151 notes, "It is impossible to know how much of this tradition Ovid derived from his 'ancient chronicles'."

sea. Together they are miraculously swept away to Italy. Melicertes is nearly drowned, but is saved by Neptune and transformed into the sea-god Palaemon. Eventually, Ovid tells us, they take on the Latin names Mater Matuta and Portunus – the latter being the god of harbors.

For his own "Matralia," Fracco delays the traditional date from mid-June until 26 July – the Feast of Saint Anne, the mother of Mary and grandmother of Jesus. Picking up on Ovid's intergenerational myth, Fracco imagines a new Mater Matuta and a new Bacchus in the form of the Holy Family:

*Anna sacrum poscit festum. Est Matralia, si fas*
*Dicere, quod priscis matribus ante fuit.*
*Curque sit haec multo melior quam causa priorum est:*
*Anna quod est mater, filia mater erat.*
*Prisca Iovi Anna cibum, dat eundem nostra Tonanti*
*Anna cibum, multo qui Iove maior erat.*
*Igne parit Semele, virgo parit igne, parensque*
*Ficta fuit Baccho, vera sed ista Deo.*
*Bisque Ino geniti coepit sibi iura nepotis:*
*Istaque bis geniti iura nepotis habet.*
*Candida vixit anus, Matuta vocabitur Anna:*
*Portnusque Deus. Portus et aura puer.*
*Victa quidem festo est, causa et meliore vetustas.*
*Et perit historica fabula vana fide.*

Anne demands a sacred festival. It is the Matralia, if it is right
To call the (feast) which previously was for ancient mothers.
And the reason why this is so is much better than that of our ancestors:
Because Anne is a mother, her daughter was a mother.
The ancient Anne gave food to Jupiter, ours gives the same thing to the Thunderer,
Who was much greater than Jove.
Semele gives birth in fire, the virgin gives birth by means of a fire,[210] and the one was
Fabricated as a mother to Bacchus, but that one is a real parent to God.
And Ino took upon herself the responsibility of the twice-born nephew,
And that one of ours took care of her grandchild born twice.
Anne lived as a white-haired woman, Anne will be called Matuta:
And God is Portunus. The child is the port and the breeze.
Indeed antiquity is conquered by a better feast and a better cause
And the empty fable perishes under a faith grounded in history.[211]

[210] This is perhaps best construed as the *logos*. Cf. Hebrews 12:29: *Etenim Deus noster ignis consumens est*.
[211] *Sacri Fasti* 89a.

Fracco appropriates and reinterprets not merely the Matralia, but the identity of Semele, her sister Ino – the Mater Matuta – and her son Bacchus. They are now the Holy Family: the Anne who fed the infant Jupiter at *Fasti* 3.660 is refigured as the nourisher to Christ, a *Tonans* greater than Jove himself (*Iove maior*), while the Virgin, unlike Semele, was the real mother to God as opposed to the fictitious Bacchus.[212] Under the protection of Ino was her "twice-born nephew" (*bis…geniti…nepotis*) – a reference to Bacchus's birth from fire and his later genesis from the thigh of Jupiter. Anne's charge, however, was likewise born again in the Jordan River.[213] In this way, Anne is the new Mater Matuta and Christ is the new Portnus – the harbor in which we seek refuge (*portus*) and the breeze (*aura*) which guides us.[214]

**Month Openings**

While the inclusion of Roman festivals is a major element of Fracco's calendar, even more elaborate are the lengthy, and often programmatic, openings of each book. Beginning with his dedication to Germanicus and conversation with Janus, Ovid conditions us to expect an extended aetiology at the beginning of each month. Typically, these *aitia* are centered on month names and sometimes, although not always, include discussions between the poet and an interlocutor. March, for instance, features a discussion between Ovid and Mars while May includes a discussion with the Muses. Elsewhere Ovid himself is the source of the aetiology, showcasing his firsthand experience in rites and festivals and *bona fides* as a seeker of causes. This is the case in the opening of February:

[212] Anna as the nourisher of Jove comes from Ov.*Fast*.3.660 wherein the poet relays a mythological variety for Anna Perenna that she was originally the nymph Azanis "that gave Jupiter his first food" (*Iovi primos…dedisse cibos*). For more on the passage see Hejduk, 250.
[213] Conversely, we may also interpret this line referring to Jesus's double birth as referring to his status as both God and man.
[214] Fracco appears to have borrowed the image from Paulinus of Nola *Carm*. XXIV. 66-67: *sed aura, portus, et salus cunctis Deus/ manum paternam porrigit* (But God, the breeze, port, and salvation for all stretches forth his paternal hand).

*Februa Romani dixere piamina patres:*
*Nunc quoque dant verbo plurima signa fidem.*
*Pontifices ab rege petunt et flamine lanas,*
*Quis veterum lingua februa nomen erat;*
*Quaeque capit lictor domibus purgamina certis,*
*Torrida cum mica farra, vocantur idem;*
*Nomen idem ramo, qui caesus ab arbore pura*
*Casta sacerdotum tempora fronde tegit.*
*Ipse ego flaminicam poscentem februa vidi;*
*Februa poscenti pinea virga data est.*

"Februa" the Roman senators[215] called expiations.
Even now many signs give proof of (the meaning of) the word.
Priests seek from the king and the *flamen* pieces of wool
The name for which in the language of our elders was "februa":
And the expiations which a *lictor* takes from certain homes,
Spelt toasted with salt, are called the same thing;
This same name is used for a branch, which cut from a pure tree
covers the chaste temples of the priests with its frond.
I myself saw a female priestess requesting "februa";
To her requesting "februa" a branch of pine was given.[216]

Ovid starts with the definition of *februa*, glossed broadly as *piamina* (expiations). He then proceeds to narrow the meaning by offering variant uses of the term in different contexts: "wool" (*lana*) used by the *rex sacrorum* and *flamen dialis*, toasted spelt (*torrida farra*) used by a *lictor*, and twigs of pine (*pinea virga*) used in the headdress worn by the *flaminica*. Finally, he reassures any skeptical readers of his reliability by noting that he himself "saw" (*vidi*) the term *februa* used in this last context.[217]

By itself, this discussion does not yet provide a reason for why the month is named after the *februa.* In the ensuing lines, however, Ovid fills in the blanks. Two explanations are given. The first is that the month is so named because of the Lupercalia, during which the participants,

[215] While *Romani patres* can broadly suggest "ancestors," Robinson, 71 argues that it "more naturally suggests the senate" here.
[216] Ov. *Fast.* 2.19-28.
[217] The bolstering of an entry through a firsthand account is common in Ovid's *Fasti* and traceable to the larger tradition of didactic poetry (e.g. Lucr. 4.577 and Verg. *Georg*. 1.193).

or *Luperci,* purify the ground (*solum lustrant*) with strips of hide. The second is that it refers to purification rites associated with the Parentalia (13-21 February), wherein "pure times" (*tempora pura*) result once "the tombs have been pacified" (*placatis…sepulcris*). While it is not within the purview of this dissertation to analyze the entire opening to *Fasti* Book Two, the point is to show how Ovid uses the introduction to adumbrate the material to come. An initial discussion of the name of the month lays the groundwork for the theme of purity which will be explored in February's two main panels, the Lupercalia (267-474) and the Parentalia (533-638).

Given then the importance of introductions to the structure of the *Fasti,* it may come as a surprise that they were deemphasized by the authors of the earliest Renaissance imitations. In the Renaissance *Sacri Fasti* considered in the previous chapter, programmatic entries are typically reserved for individual festivals, while book openings are brief and have little to do with the rest of the month. In form, they resemble abridged versions of Ovid's own aetiologies at the start of each month. Consider Lazzarelli's opening for February compared with that quoted above:

> *Februa iam nomen tribuere piacula mensi,*
> *Hoc etenim varium mense piamen erat.*
> *Februa tunc veteres tribuebant liba sepultis,*
> *Tunc poteras celeres urbe videre crepos.*[218]
> *Hi steriles nuptas feriebant pellibus, inde*
> *Fecundo fieri credita ventre nurus.*
> *Mensis eo dictus, nomen tenet ecce vetustum*
> *At vanos ritus perdidit ille suos.*
>
> Now they offered expiations, "Februa" in name" for the month,
> But in fact there were various expiations in this month.
> Then the ancients were offering as *februa* sacrificial cakes to the dead,
> Then you were able to see swift Luperci in the city
> These were striking sterile maidens with strips of hide, thence
> She was believed to become a bride with a fecund womb.
> The month was called after that, behold it holds an old name

[218] For *crepos* see Fest. s. v.: *Crep*[*p*]*os, id est Lupercos, dicebant a crepitus pellicularum quem faciunt verberantes*. *Mos enim erat Romanis in Lupercalibus nudos discurrere et pellibus obvias quaeque feminas ferire*.

But it has lost its own vain rites. [219]

Whereas Ovid delves into a lengthy explanation for the divergent meanings of *februa* and aetiologies for how the month came to be named after the term, Lazzarelli is both concise and highly erudite. Following closely the *Fasti*, he first glosses *februa* as a kind of "expiation" (*piacula*), while he gives a mainly superficial treatment to the two festivals: the Lupercalia and Parentalia. Exhibiting the depth of his own knowledge, he uses the recherché term *crepos*, taken from the grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus, in place of the traditional *Luperci*. After the last couplet announcing that the old pagan rites have disappeared, Lazzarelli transitions into a completely unrelated panel on the feast of St. Ignatius

A similar approach holds for Baptista Mantuan who is equally terse and generic on the origins of the month:

*Tempore lustrabant animas antiquitus illo,*
*Atque ideo mensi fecerunt Februa nomen,*
*Februa nam prisci dixere piacula patres…*
*Hunc quoque feralem quidam dixere poetae.*
*Quod fierent illis Feralia sacra diebus.*
*Est autem ferale sacrum quod manibus olim*
*Caeca superstitio veterum perhibere solebat.*

At that time of the year in the old days they were purifying souls
And for that reason they coined the name "Februa" for the month,
For the ancient fathers called expiations "Februa."
Certain poets also called this period "funereal,"
Because the sacred Feralia was performed on those days,
Moreover there is a certain funerary rite which formerly the blind
Superstition of the ancients used to offer to the *manes*.[220]

As we have come to expect, February begins with the by-now familiar Ovidian etymology; the month is derived from *februa*, purificatory implements which Mantuan glosses with the perhaps

[219] *FCR*, XV.3-4.
[220] Mantuan, *Fasti* kiGii.

equally vague term *piacula* (expiations).[221] Where Lazzarelli had mentioned the Lupercalia in his overview of February, Mantuan acknowledges only the Feralia, an ancient festival which fell on 21 February and is used as a metonym for the Parentalia. Finally, Mantuan, like Lazzarelli before him, makes no effort to Christianize the month, but settles for a mere jab at the *caeca superstitio veterum* (blind superstition of the ancients).

Fracco's approach is qualitatively different; his examination of *februa*, and his accompanying aetologies, show a poet who engages at a deeper level with his Augustan predecessor:

*Februa dicebant, quaecumque piamina prisci*
*Purgabant illis corpora nostra prius.*
*Illa sed his laurus pinusque et lana fuerunt*
*Regis cum mica farraque tosta salis.*
*Quid facerent? Culpae nondum qui virgine causam*
*Tolleret, incestam caede piarat humum.*
*Ast ea quae nunc sunt: sint ut purgamina vera,*
*Dat Dea cras illis purificata fidem.*
*A Lare pontificum poscuntur februa mane:*
*Illaque poscenti candida cera datur.*
*Purior haec lauro est, lanaque beatior omni,*
*Sanctior et pinu, farreque vera magis.*
*Post primam ergo diem, nos ut distare patemur,*
*Haec datur et titulum mensis honoris habet.*

The ancients called all things which were expiations "februa."
With those they were earlier purifying our bodies.
But for them those things were laurel and pine and wool
Of the king and spelt toasted with a bit of salt.
What could they do? He who, from a virgin, would remove the cause of sin,
Had not yet expiated the foul land by his sacrifice.
But that those things which exist now, are true expiations.
Tomorrow the purified Goddess gives them faith.
In the morning from the home of the pontiffs they seek the "februa"
And to the one seeking them a shining candle is given.
This is purer than laurel, and it is more beautiful than any wool,
And more sacred than pine, and truer than spelt.

[221] This line also recalls Ov. *Fast.* 2.19: *Februa Romani dixere piamina patres*.

Therefore after the first day, as we allow there to be a difference,
This [candle] is given and it holds the title of the honor of the month.[222]

The first couplet initially corresponds to what we saw in earlier calendars; Fracco too provides the same definition for *februa* found in Ovid – that is, as purificatory elements (*piamina*). The next verses, however, are a departure. Foregoing a simple nod to his Augustan predecessor, Fracco addresses point-by-point Ovid's definition of *Februa*. All four elements are mentioned – laurel, pine, wool, and toasted spelt – and all four are equally dismissed in favor of a new holy object. This is none other than the candle (*candida cera*), presented as a symbol of the Virgin Mary. Given the classicizing title of *Dea* (goddess), her act of "distribut[ing] purified candles as a mark of faith" (*fidem*) rephrases in similar language how Ovid's priests "give many signs with a word as a mark of faith (*dant verbo plurima signa fidem fidem*).[223]

On its own, Fracco's supplanting of pagan rite and ritual presents a sharp contrast with what we saw in both Mantuan and Lazzarelli. Yet Fracco does not settle for merely redefining Ovid's "Februa," rather, he provides an entirely new religious context for the month of February. This is the so-called Candelora, a festival with murky origins stretching deep into the Middle Ages, perhaps even into Antiquity, and with divergent theories as to its original significance.[224] By the Cinquecento, it had become firmly attached to Mary and was connected to the "Purification of the Virgin," a feast which occurred on 2 February to coincide with Mary's ritual cleansing and entrance into the temple on the fortieth day after the birth of Jesus. It is thus to the Madonna, and her worship, that Fracco has reframed his introduction and the second month.

[222] *Sacri Fasti* 13b.
[223] Ov. *Fast.* 2.20.
[224] Lancellotti, 136 mentions numerous theories, including that it may have substituted the pagan *Amburbiale* which was celebrated on 1 February and saw processions of candles to propitiate the gods. Another version holds that the festival originated in the east and was only instituted in Rome under Pope Sergius I (687-701) when a candlelight procession was inaugurated in honor of the presentation of Jesus at the temple and Simeon's words at Luc. 2.32 that Christ will be "the light for the revelation of the peoples" (*lumen ad revelationem gentium*).

Fracco subsequently tells us how the festival would unfold. Individuals would gather at the "home of the pontiffs" (*a lare pontificum*) and candles would subsequently be distributed (*Illaque poscenti candida cera datur*). A more complete account of the feast Fracco reserves for the passage to follow. We there see a new etymology given for the *Candelora* and the ritual described in detail; first is a procession wherein the pope is carried on a litter. He is followed by the Roman Senate (*Sacro comitante Senato*) which is cheered on by crowds as it winds its way through the city to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. There, we are told that the candles are cleansed with "pure… water" (*pura…aqua*) and distributed by the pope to members of the Curia, as well as members of the Senate. Finally, for those downtrodden souls who did not receive a candle, Fracco remarks that all is not lost:

> *Saepe tamen nulla queritur vicinia taeda:*
> *Saepeque nobilibus non habuisse dolet.*
> *Ut careant voto, nec sint in tempore cerae,*
> *Dentur ut his, taedis non erit una dies.*
> *Mense sub extremo quaerentem munera vidi:*
> *Munera quaerenti debita cera data est.*
>
> Nevertheless often a neighborhood laments when there is no torch
> And often it grieves the nobles not to have held one.
> There will not be only one day for torches, so that they lack what they wish for,
> And there are no candles to be given them at the proper time.
> I have seen at the end of the month one requesting the gifts:
> To him requesting the gifts the owed candle was given.[225]

Just as Ovid had buttressed his own account through personal testimony, Fracco likewise employs a similar maneuver to attest to his own credibility. Moreover, we can even see that he has readapted Ovid's own testimony, with *flaminicam poscentem februa vidi* echoing *quaerentem munera vidi*.

[225] *Sacri Fasti* 14a.

In sum, Fracco's account of February adopts the Ovidian model only to turn it on its head. Ovid's language and structure is put into service of a new goddess and a new set of rituals which render February a fundamentally Christian month. Similar scenes unfold throughout the *Sacri Fasti*. January becomes Christian when Janus is refigured as the Holy Trinity. March loses its pagan force after Christ vanquishes Mars and appropriates his title.[226] April too comes to celebrate the opening of the tomb on Easter Sunday (Lat. *aprire* "to open").[227] Such Christianizing of the months is found even in those not included in Ovid's *Fasti*. October, for instance, is connected to the number eight and the fated "eighth day," that is, the Last Judgement when "the light earth will return our bodies" (*nostra levis corpora reddet humus*).[228] The result of these passages is the first Renaissance *Fasti* to engage intimately with and challenge Ovid – a calendar meant not merely to create a Christian *Fasti*, but to replace the original *Fasti*.

**Astral Myths**

A final aspect of the original *Fasti* that Fracco resurrects are astral myths.[229] A total of twenty are found in Ovid's calendar, of various lengths and each centered on a different constellation. These notices are typically aetiological and describe catasterisms, that is, the transformations of mythological figures into constellations. In February, for example, Ovid recounts the myth of the

[226] At *Sacri Fasti* 25a Christ exclaims after defeating Mars: *Mars mihi sit nomen* (let Mars be my name) and later explains why the month better suits him and demands that it be returned to him: *Mense hoc concipior, morior rediturus eodem:/ sit pudor, et mensem iam mihi redde meum* (I am conceived in this month, I die in order to return in this same (month): have a sense of shame, and return now my month to me). For more on the passage see Brubaker, 2023.

[227] We there see a debate between discordant Muses, each of whom proposes a different etymology for April, until Uranie and Clio win the day by arguing for a Christian orientation: *Sit sacer Aprilis ab aperto mane sepulcro* (let April be sacred from the tomb opened in the morning). For a detailed analysis of the panel see Miller, 2018.

[228] *Sacri Fasti* 123a; other examples including September, sacred because of the seven days to create the world, and November, which represents the nine circles of heaven.

[229] We may recall that the importance of the constellations is announced at the opening of the *Fasti* (*signa*); Ovid himself based most of his myths on the *Catasterismi* of Eratosthenes while also drawing significantly upon the *Phaenomena* of Aratus. A list of correspondences with this latter work can be found in Gee, 194-204; for a good overview of catasterisms in the calendar see Robinson, 2013 and Calzascia, 2014.

musician Arion who, upon being taken prisoner by pirates, jumps into the sea as a measure of last resort. Miraculously he is saved by a dolphin, whose good deed Jupiter enshrines in the stars as the new constellation Delphinus.[230]

The first Renaissance *Fasti* explored this aspect of Ovid's collection in a limited way. Lazzarelli largely passes over the mythology behind constellations, while Bonincontri and Mantuan show a greater willingness to experiment. Whether Fracco drew inspiration from these authors is unknown. What is certain is that within the *Sacri Fasti* astral myths regain their former prominence. Fracco not only includes panels on the constellations, but he reimagines those found in Ovid as Christian – a fulfillment of his promise in the introduction to "I will have brought back to Christ, everything … and which had been wrapped in representations or in tales, as if in shadows" (*omnia… quaeque in figuris aut fabulis veluti in tenebris involuta erant ad…Christum reduxerim*).

In practice, this means that Fracco usually looks to a specific trait or characteristic of a constellation that is easily transferable to a Christian context. The Pleiades, the seven sisters of Greek myth, he makes the seven joys (*septem gaudia*) of the Virgin Mary, while the constellation Gemini – the twin Dioscuri Castor and Pollux – are now the spiritual brothers John the Baptist and Jesus Christ. Serpentarius, the holder of the constellation *serpens*, is refigured as Saint Paul who was famously bitten by a snake hidden in a pile of sticks.[231]

At other times the constellations are for Fracco a place to experiment, as well as a topical, if not outright political, exercise. In this sense his calendar anticipates interpretations of Ovid's calendar in modern scholarship, particularly, the emphasis on reading the *Fasti* not as a series of

[230] *Ov. Fast.* 2.79-118.
[231] *Acts* 28.3.

disjointed panels, but as a collection of stories in dialogue with each other.[232] The most elaborate example from the *Sacri Fasti* is his creation of a catasterism for Scorpio, which I discuss at length in Chapter Four. Other examples are, however, scattered throughout the calendar. The minor constellation Sagitta serves as a template to introduce the martyrology of a saint, itself beginning with a highly political notice: "Then also, Parthian, fear at the first twilight of the night to come: the arrow has risen against your head" (*Tunc quoque venturae sub prima crepuscula noctis/ Parthe time: in caput est orta sagitta tuum*).[233] Mention of the Parthians, at first glance strange, is common within the *Sacri Fasti* as an antiquarian means by which to refer to the Ottomans.

At this point Fracco is pondering the origin of the constellation, when, suddenly, an as yet unnamed s*ideris auctor* appears and instructs Fracco as his poet to "learn both the cause and the constellation" (*et causam et sidus disce*).[234] What follows is the aetiology for none other than Saint Sebastian. Speaking in the first person, he tells us that he was first a "tribune under great Caesar" (*Caesare sub magno…tribunus*).[235] After denying sacrifice to Jupiter (*Iove contempto*), the saint is attached to a pole (*truncum*), and shot with arrows. We then move to the present which includes an aetiology; because the saint was wounded in his kidneys (*renes*), he forbids their consumption by present generations of Romans. Finally, Sebastian entreats God to heal him: *de plaga… suscipe tela Deus* (God…remove the arrows from my wound). This prayer ultimately responds to what we saw at the opening of the passage, Sebastian prays for the arrow to be removed from his body only for its to be raised against Rome's eastern foes. In short,

[232] This is a topic to which I return in the conclusion to this dissertation.
[233] *Orior* is here used in the context of the constellation. *Sacri Fasti* 60b.
[234] *Ibid.*
[235] *Ibid.*

Fracco embeds within a single catasterism an Ovidian aetiological discussion and a political message resonant to his contemporary audience.

**Conclusion**

Fracco's *Sacri Fasti* marked a major stage in the development of Renaissance calendar poetry. Although his source material would remain the same as that of his predecessors, the expansive tapestry of traditions and feasts which comprise the Catholic liturgical calendar, the style and scope of his almanac would be radically different. His would be a calendar written in the manner of Ovid and meant to rival, if not surpass, the original *Fasti*. Fracco had taken on the identity of "Novidio," a portmanteau of *novus* and *Ovidius* and, accordingly, he would seek to capture the spirit of his predecessor's work and recapture the grandeur of his literary achievement. The setting of Rome, the month openings, the catasterisms, the style and aetiological structure would all be resurrected and made to reflect a new Christian age.

There is, however, another story within Fracco's *Fasti*. This is the political dimension of the calendar, the Sack of Rome, the rejuvenation during the pontificate of Paul III Farnese, and the hopes placed in Charles V. This aspect of Fracco's calendar corresponds to Ovid's own preoccupation with politics in the *Fasti* and to the major thematic questions with which the *Sacri Fasti* grapples. It is these core issues which will be our focus throughout the rest of this dissertation.

## Chapter III: Rome's *Dies Ater*

### Introduction

On 18 April, 1527 – Holy Thursday – an apocalyptic preacher by the name of Brandano climbed a statue of St. Peter to announce that the end of Rome was nigh. Just as Pope Clement VII was about to bless the crowd a voice rang out from the crowd: "You sodomite bastard, because of your sins Rome will be destroyed. Confess and convert! Unless you are willing to believe, you will see it firsthand within fourteen days!"[236] Talk of doomsday scenarios, or for that matter wild-eyed soothsayers and handwaving prophets, was, itself, nothing new. Apocalyptic preaching was as much a staple of the city as its ornate *palazzi* and incense billowing churches.[237] Besides, Rome was viewed once again as it had been in antiquity, as the capital of Western Christendom, and as such, immune from the type of warfare common elsewhere in Europe.

In the end, Brandano's prediction was off by only four days. With the entrance of imperial forces into Rome on 6 May the city experienced the most brutal sack in its over two millennia of history. For an unprecedented nine months a multiethnic army of mercenaries from Germany, Spain, and even Italy looted, pillaged, and murdered. The city which had stood at the zenith of Renaissance culture was reduced to a shadow of its former glory, while what remained of its inhabitants were plagued by disease and famine. When imperial forces finally left in February of 1528, it was from the "cadaver of the city" – the ruins of the modern *caput mundi* juxtaposed against those of its grand ancestor.[238]

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[236] The Italian text and story is recorded in Maurano, 108: *Bastardo sodomita, pei tuoi peccati Roma sarà distrutta: confessati e convertiti. Se non lo vuoi credere, fra quattordici giorni lo vedrai!*

[237] Apocalyptic preaching was particularly common in association with millenarian thinking and during the turmoil at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. On the latter, Boxall, 216 notes that the rise of the Ottomans and the increasing warfare within Italy contributed to a belief in the impending Antichrist.

[238] For the phrase see Corsi, *In Urbis Romae Excidio*, 3$^{r}$.

The poetic identity of Novidio Fracco was formed in this calamity and its memory would go on to become a cornerstone of his poetry. A priest and teacher at the time, Fracco lived through the Colonna Raid, the initial breach of the city, and its subsequent occupation. He was an eyewitness to acts of war and sacrilege: the roar of cannons against Castel Sant'Angelo, the desecration of the papal insignia, the rampant pestilence and starvation. More importantly, Fracco was a survivor. Tortured, beaten, and robbed, he had experienced firsthand the cruelty inflicted upon the city and the desperation which pervaded its occupation. He was joined by only one companion, his calendar poem the *Sacri Fasti*. In the Sack, Fracco had found his personal nadir but also his muse, the event which would propel him from *magister* and *sacerdos* to *vates*.

In this chapter I consider how the Sack influenced Fracco's *Sacri Fasti* and shaped his vision of the world. I begin by offering background on the Sack and tracing its major events. Thereafter I consider two elegies found in Fracco's *De Adversis* which recount how he saved his nascent *Sacri Fasti* and how this event shaped his own mythos. In the third section I explore how the Sack fits into the larger architecture of the *Sacri Fasti*. Finally, I consider in a brief epilogue the flood of the Tiber on 8 October, 1530 – an event presented by Fracco in the *De Adversis*, *Consolatio ad Romam*, and *Sacri Fasti* as thematically linked with the 1527 Sack.

**The Sack of Rome**

Among the most important dates of the fifteenth century, the year 1494 does not immediately jump to mind. Yet it was in August of this year that the forces of the French King Charles VIII crossed the Alps and marched south towards Naples.[239] This ignited a series of dynastic struggles which would consume the Italian peninsula for the next half-century. The entrance on the stage of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1519) and his rival, the French King Francis I (1515),

[239] On the origin of the so-called "Italian Wars" see Mallett and Shaw, esp. 6-37.

only increased the scope and intensity of the conflict, locking the two rulers in a contest of wills propelled by dreams of domination and fueled by intense personal enmity.

This struggle would culminate over the city of Milan, a key juncture for traffic into the Italian peninsula. It was Francis who struck first. Having entered into a secret alliance with Pope Clement VII, Venice, and Florence, the French King decided to risk a pitched battle with the forces of the Holy Roman Empire in the city of Pavia.[240] On 24 February, 1525, the twenty-fifth birthday of Charles V, the two forces met. The fighting was some of the most brutal of the epoch, with Francis himself fighting on horseback. However, it was ultimately the heavily armed mercenary *Landsknechte* of the German commander Georg Von Frundsberg, that would prove victorious. At Pavia, the counterbalance to Habsburg power was removed and France's Italian allies were left to fend for themselves.

Panic soon spread among the city states of the peninsula. In haste, a new alliance was created, this time uniting Venice, the Papacy, Florence, Siena, Lucca, Milan, and Mantua. Known as the League of Cognac, each of its members sought to impede Charles V from extending his influence further south.[241] Optimism for this new pact was not entirely unfounded. The alliance could boast significant military forces and relations had not yet broken down completely with Charles who had become increasingly preoccupied with Turkish pressure from the East. This uneasy status quo, however, would break down once again over Milan, whose rulers, the Sforza, had refused to hand over power after Pavia and had barricaded themselves in their fortress.

So began a lengthy siege of Castello Sforzesco, conducted by Charles's primary Italian general, the Duke of Bourbon. Enraged by this turn of events, Charles also sent word to Pope

[240] See Hook, 43.
[241] On the creation of the League see Mallett and Shaw, 155-160.

Clement through his lieutenant Moncada, hoping to secure financial concessions from the high pontiff and, if the Pope proved obstinate, to secretly consult with his domestic rivals, the Colonna.[242] This would result in one of the more daring episodes prior to the Sack: the Colonna, together with Moncada and the Orsini stormed Rome on 20 September, 1526 in a surprise attack, pouring through the city's eastern defenses and continuing towards the Borgo. Looting and chaos followed, while Clement only just managed to escape to the Castel Sant'Angelo.[243]

The importance of this event did not escape Fracco who recalls it both in his *De Adversis* and in the *Sacri Fasti*. In the latter, it is presented in abridged form. We see the initial breach of the walls, the entrance of the *Pompeiana manus*, and the helpless state of Clement. More importantly, it is for Fracco the direct precursor to the Sack: "perchance this same day is a harbinger and bringer of evils" (*idem forte dies monitor vectorque malorum est*) and later, "indeed, that was the first appearance of future ruin" (*prima quidem damni facies fuit ille futuri*).[244] The raid also serves as the setting of elegy 5.5 (*De origine direptionis*) of the *De Adversis*, wherein Fracco dramatizes the entire incident: Pompeio Colonna, corrupted by *invidia* for the papal throne, decides to dispatch an army to Rome, itself woefully ignorant of any danger: "Rumor goes to the people, they laugh fearing no such thing" (*Rumor it ad cives, rident nil tale timentes*). This illusion is soon dispelled by the violent onset of marauders eager to seize Clement. An eyewitness, Fracco tells us that, "I myself saw the pontifical cloaks and the triple crown worn on a servile body, with Mars giving the orders" (*Vidi ego Pontificum palla triplicemque coronam/ corpore servili Marte iubente geri*).[245]

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[242] See Hook, 64.
[243] Fracco himself recounts the escape at *De Adversis* fol. 155$^{v}$. For more on the passage and the elegy see Brubaker, 2022, 296.
[244] *Sacri Fasti* 116b.
[245] *De Adversis* 170$^{r}$.

Although a tragedy, the Colonna Raid would pale in comparison with what was to follow. With the end of the siege of Milan, the imperial army became increasingly restless and eager for the monetary gain which had been promised upon participation in the war against the French. For their part, Bourbon and Frundsberg were largely beholden to the demands of the troops who sought to march south and attack the wealthy Medici-controlled areas of Florence and the Papal States. Despite assurances from the imperial envoy Charles de Lannoy that Rome would be left untouched, the forces of Bourbon had their own goals. Swelled with vindictive Lutherans and treasure-seekers, the army pushed south with its sights set on the capital city.

On 5 May, 1527 the massive contingent of imperial soldiers arrived before the western segment of the Aurelian Walls, with Bourbon's army camped on Monte Mario, the highest point of the Janiculum. From there they would have marveled at a forest of spires and ruins, *palazzi* and villas, medieval stone and Renaissance marble, joined together as a supreme statement of power and tradition.[246] What no one could have expected was that it would take but a day for the imperial army to breach the walls, bringing an end to the epoch upon which they gazed.

The weak point had been discovered in September, when the Colonna discovered a rise in elevation near the Porta Santo Spirito, making it an ideal location to mount a breach of the walls. There the imperial forces led by the Duke of Orange and Ferrante Gonzaga launched their attack. The fighting was desperate as the Swiss Guard struggled to keep the imperials at bay while a thick fog inhibited the papal cannons from firing in relief.[247] A momentary respite occurred when the Duke of Bourbon, the *de facto* leader of the imperials, was killed by an arquebus shot – a turn

[246] As Maurano, 120 colorfully remarks: *Dall'alto del Gianicolo non si vedeva di certo il pietoso, orrendo mucchio di marmo bianco dedicato a Vittorio Emanuele II, ma si vedevano ancor meglio il Colosseo e il Pantheon, l'Augusteum e l'Adrianeum e tutta la selva meravigliosa dei nuovi palazzi e delle nuove chiese dei rioni centrali, specialmente quelli della nuovissima via Giulia*.
[247] See Hook, 163.

of events which sparked widespread celebration through the papal forces. This ebullience lasted only a few hours. A critical section of the wall near the garden of one Cardinal Armellini, neglected by the papal commander Renzo da Ceri, was overrun by imperial troops who quickly established a foothold.[248] A general rout soon followed: papal forces along the walls retreated first into the Borgo and Trastevere and then across the Tiber. Among the most valiant were the Swiss Guard who fought to the death in the Campo Santo, securing for Pope Clement enough time to hobble across the Passetto Borgo to the safety of Castel Sant'Angelo.[249]

**The Saving of the *Sacri Fasti*: De *Adversis* Book III**

In the chaos of the Sack, Rome had returned to the age of banditry. Nothing was off limits to the bands of imperial soldiers who now ruled the beleaguered city. Anything of value was subject to rapacious hands while other necessities were fed into the bonfires which warmed the soldiers in the Campo dei Fiori. That the *Sacri Fasti* would survive this maelstrom was, for Fracco, nothing short of a miracle – an act of divine providence and a sign that his poem was fated to promulgate Rome's eventual revival. In this sense the Sack would be both the thematic nadir of the *Sacri Fasti* and the point from which the rebirth of the city would begin.

Two elegies of the *De Adversis*, Fracco's elaborate imitation of Ovid's *Tristia*, recount the survival of his calendar. The first comprises the collection's third book, a single, unified, elegy which serves as a response to Ovid's own extended elegiac epistle in *Tristia* Book Two. Unlike the other poems of the compendium, this elegy is entirely autobiographical. Fracco, like

[248] du Bellay, II, 50 notes that the assault occurred near the Church of Santo Spirito beneath the gardens of Cardinal Armellini or, perhaps, those owned by Cardinal Cesi.
[249] This episode is related by Buonaparte, 76: *Fu combattuto da una parte e dall'altra animosamente, con l'artiglieria piccola e da alcuni pochi soldati della guardia svizzera del papa erano stati valorosamente ributtati quelli che avevano dato l'assalto e salivano sulle mura in quella parte che guardava strada Giulia*.

Aeneas or even Ovid, relives his traumatic experiences during the first night of the Sack and his subsequent fight for survival.[250]

What makes the elegy of importance for this dissertation is its central topic: the survival of the *Sacri Fasti*. Fracco presents the episode as one of divine providence – a trial which he must undergo to safeguard his own Palladium for a future golden age. He is both epic poet and epic hero, whose personal trials, as is indicated in the programmatic opening of the elegy, are on par with those of the monuments of literary past:

> *Proelia troianus si non movisset adulter*
> *Et longo bello Pergama victa forent,*
> *Diruta Moeoniden non Troia vocasset Homerum*
> *Ilias et nulli carmine nota foret.*
> *Deme, Italis odium ducibus demantur et arma,*
> *Excidiis ortum nec mihi crescat opus*.
>
> If the Trojan adulterer had not incited battles
> And Pergamum had not been conquered in a long war,
> Destroyed Troy would not have called upon Moeonian Homer
> And the *Iliad* would be known to no one in song.
> Take away hatred and their arms from the Italian dukes,
> And my work, born from destruction, would not flower.[251]

For Fracco, the message is clear: great suffering begets great art. It was the destruction of Troy that led to the *Iliad* and that cemented Homer as part of the literary canon. In like manner, the *Sacri Fasti* will be a literary monument forged in tragedy, while its author will achieve a fame commensurate with Homer himself.[252]

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[250] This theme is itself derived from the *Tristia*. In 1.5 Ovid favorably compares his own journey to that of Ulysses, while echoes of Vergil's Aeneas are found throughout the collection, perhaps most notably at 1.3. On Ovid's self-fashioning as an epic hero the best study remains Wasyl, 2003.

[251] *De Adversis* fol. 136[r].

[252] Fracco makes the same comparison in the opening epigram to his *Epistula ad Alexandrum Farnesinum* i: *Quique modo Ambrosius sum tibi, Homerus ero* (And I, who am now Ambrogio to you, will be your Homer). We can also detect strong echoes of Propertius's own claims at 3.1.31-37, particularly in the use of *crescere* (e.g. *tu Troia bis Oetaei numine capta dei. Nec non ille tui casus memorator Homerus posteritate suum crescere sensit opus*).

The narrative section of the elegy presents a scene of chaos. The walls of Rome have been breached and enemy forces sweep through the city. Panic is widespread as each citizen looks to his own safety. At this point, the focus turns to Fracco himself who, at a loss for what to do, prays to Christ for the salvation of himself and his poem:

*Nunc quoque cum rapidi certent in gurgite venti*
*Et feriat cimbam fluctus et unda tuam,*
*Obvius occurras tumidas et turbine Syrtes,*
*Ne pereat, si fas, poscimus, ipse leves*
*Neve quod imperium peperisti sanguine nobis*
*Hostis ab hoc solo possit abesse dolo,*
*Quemque tibi sacro formasti iure senatum*
*Ne tibi inhumanus tollat ab urbe Getes.*
*Credibile non est nos ira ut perdere quaeras,*
*Iudice te, quando gens tibi lecta sumus.*

Now too, since the swift winds rage in a whirlpool
And both tide and surge strike your boat,
We ask, if it be right, that you help us and that you soothe
The Syrtes, elevated in the storm, lest (your boat) perish,
And that empire you produced for us with your own blood
Not be able to be destroyed by this one trick of the enemy,
And that the senate you made for yourself via a sacred law,
An inhuman Getae not excise it from your city.
It is beyond belief that you would seek to destroy us in anger,
Since, with you as our judge, we are your chosen people.[253]

In its hour of desperation, Rome has become like St. Peter's bark rolled and battered by storms on the Sea of Galilee. Christ must again brave turbulent waters to save His city and His church from ruination. He is the central axiom of Roman society and it is through His blood that the papal *imperium* was established. Rome is the capital of this empire and its citizens are Christ's "chosen people" (*lecta…gens*) – a flock incapable of destruction by barbarian Getae.

In the second part of his prayer, Fracco expands his supplication to include other members of the Trinity as well as the Virgin Mary:

*Sic tua quae gremio non cessat ferre, libenter*

[253] *De Adversis* fol. 137$^{v}$.

*Te ferat, est cunctis quae quoque facta parens.*
*Sic tuus est nobis qui te largitus ab alto*
*Non renuat quae iam tu quoque facta voles.*
*Denique sit tecum semper sic spiritus ille*
*Cum patre qui sceptrum trinus et unus habet*
*Parce tuo populo, quae et tecum condita Roma,*
*Da ferat illaesum sospes ab hoste caput.*

So may that parent who does not cease to bear you in her lap,
Gladly bear you, (she) who has also become a parent to all.
So may your (other) parent who bestowed you on us from heaven,
Not refuse the deeds which you too want done.
And finally, may always the Holy Spirit be with you
Who, three and one, hold the scepter together with the father.
Spare your people, and grant that Rome, which was founded together with you,
May raise its uninjured head, protected from its enemy.[254]

Fracco first emphasizes Mary who, as perhaps the most venerated figure in the Catholic tradition, was viewed not only as the *mater dei*, but also an embodiment of the Church itself.[255] The appearance of the Madonna serves a polemical role. As part of their reforms, the Protestant theologians challenged the traditional, as well as central, role that Mary occupied in Catholic thought. Her inclusion here can thus be viewed as a twofold rebuff to this system of thought: not only does Fracco call for unity by evoking her role as the Church personified, but he also challenges the idea that her importance in Catholicism is unbiblical.[256]

After invoking and reaffirming the trinitarian view of God, Fracco reveals the aim of his prayer: that Rome may once more raise "her head, unharmed" (*illaesum caput*). Yet Fracco is unsure of what he can offer in recompense for this divine favor. Leaning on the trope of the poverty-stricken *vates* (*cum non argentum mihi cum nec splendeat aurum*), he ultimately realizes that he can present to God his poetry and poetic talents as a *votum*:

*Ingenuas igitur quas das sacravimus artes*

[254] *De Adversis* fol. 138[r].
[255] This role of Mary as mother of the Church was a popular theme in the Counter-Reformation and was widely promoted by theologians and artists. On the former see Felici, 21 while, on the latter, see Verdon and Rossi, *passim*.
[256] For a brief overview of Mary in the thought of the Protestant reformers see Leith, 125-126.

*Et statui his pectus esset ut ara meum.*
*His ego te colui teque his veneratus amavi.*
*Paene liber nullus te sine noster erit.*

Therefore, we have dedicated our innate arts (to you) which you give (us)
And I have determined that my heart shall be an altar for them.
With them I worship you and, with these, I have loved and venerated you.
Scarcely will there be any book of ours without you.[257]

Fracco reveals through his prayer that his new poem will be both a work of literature and a profound expression of religious devotion. Fracco imagines his own heart as an altar (*ara*) and, by extension, his poetry as an extension of his worship. Indeed, the centrality of God within this new work is described in terms similar to how Ovid fashions the importance of the imperial household within his *Ex Ponto*: "Finally, which thing he does not desire,/ no book of ours is without the honor of Caesar" (*Denique Caesareo, quod non desiderat ipse,/ non caret e nostris ullus honore liber*).[258]

What poetry Fracco intends to dedicate, however, is not yet revealed. This changes at the end of the passage, wherein he reveals his *votum* to be none other than the *Sacri Fasti*:

*Tempora quae populis statuisti facta per aras*
*Te duce scripta sacris publica vota iuvant.*
*Cumque his digessi coelestia sidera factis*
*Percurrunt coelum quae tua cura tuum,*
*Quae lux thura daret vel quae sua vera profari*
*Debeat et quae sit mensa vel ara die.*
*Haec sed erunt tibi sex totidemque inscripta libellis*
*Fineque cumque suo mense libellus erit.*
*Illic et de te referent tua facta labores,*
*Occidis ut pro re qui deus ortus eras*
*Utque tui meritis ceciderunt casibus hostes*
*Irrita nec dictis verba fuere tuis.*

The seasons you established for your people, the actions done at your altars,
The things prescribed for rites at your direction, public vows, these please (me)
And together with these deeds I have arranged the celestial constellations,
Which rush across your heaven as your care,

[257] *De Adversis* fol. 138[r-v].
[258] Ov. *Pont*. 1.27-28.

Which day should give incense or which ought to confess
Its own truths[259] and which table or altar is on a day.
But all these things will be written in twelve books for you
And each book will end together with its month.
And therein my labors, on your behalf, will celebrate your deeds.
How you died, in very truth, you who had been as God.
And how your enemies fell by deserved misfortunes
Nor were the words of your decrees in vain.[260]

Fracco presents his calendar as a work of profound faith, an offering for the divine and an affirmation of the Catholic conception of time. These ideas he expresses in the first couplet where he summarizes his project, linking time as divinely established (*tempora quae … statuisti*) with religious practice as is represented by "altars" (*aras*) and "public vows" (*publica vota*). For this program Fracco has drawn inspiration from two statements at the opening of Ovid's *Fasti*: at 1.1 that he will sing *Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum* (days and weeks together with their causes arranged throughout the Latin year) as well as the more political sentiment expressed a few lines later at 1.13-14 *Caesaris arma canunt alii: nos Caesaris aras/ et quoscumque sacris addidit ille dies* (Let others sing the arms of Caesar: we will sing his altars/ and whatever days he added to the calendar). In his reconfiguration of Ovid, Fracco offers a provocative idea: time and its political dimension, as once embodied in Caesar Augustus, will be subsumed under a new theocratic order in accord with Catholic doctrine.

The specific structure of the poem is soon elaborated; Fracco will sing divine deeds (*facta*) as memorialized on the feast days, as well as the constellations (*coelestia sidera*) which mark the passage of time. Of the former, he distinguishes between days which are appropriate for the "table" (*mensa*) and those befitting the "altar" (*ara*) – a dichotomy which corresponds to the

[259] I here interpret Fracco to mean that while some days call for worship at a specific altar, some feasts are to be celebrated by virtue of recounting their own legends (*sua vera*). In the *Sacri Fasti*, this corresponds to days in which Fracco describes worship at a specific Roman church and those on which he relays only its traditional stories.
[260] Fol. 139$^{r}$.

division between feasts and solemnities in the liturgical calendar.[261] Lastly, Fracco also includes a look to the future, promising not only to sing of Jesus's crucifixion and resurrection, but also "how his enemies fell in deserved circumstances (*Utque tui meritis ceciderunt casibus hostes*). In the context of the *De Adversis*, this line is best read as foreshadowing the retribution to be wrought upon those who sacked Rome. Moreover, Fracco also indicates that his *Sacri Fasti* will concern itself with the enemies of Catholicism and, by extension, the geopolitics of his age.

Before turning to the rest of *De Adversis* Book Three, it is worth considering one final aspect of its opening – that the choice to present the calendar as a *votum* is itself a significant act. The intricate hierarchy of feasts and festivals of the liturgical calendar was, for many Protestant reformers, merely a millennium of errors compounded by the Church.[262] In this sense Fracco's prayer and the subsequent survival of his poem is a rebuttal. By emerging from the wreckage of Rome with his almanac intact, Fracco affirms the theological truth of his poem and his own role as a kind of divine messenger.

With his prayer at an end, Fracco returns to the grim realities of the Sack. The scene is evocative of *Aeneid* Book Two, as imperial soldiers perpetrate all forms of violence:

> *Quaque absunt praedae iactant incendia tectis*
> *Et passim facies plurima mortis erant.*
> *Perque aras perque ipsa*[263] *domos perque arcta viarum*
> *Corpora erant nullo crimine caesa locis.*
>
> And where loot is absent, they set fire to the homes
> And everywhere there was a vast scene of death,
> And through the altars and homes and the narrow streets
> Were the very corpses of those slaughtered in places for no crime.[264]

[261] Solemnities are those days on which mysteries of the faith are celebrated and would include, *inter alia*, Epiphany, Pentecost, and the Immaculate Conception. For more on this division see Harper, 49.
[262] The calendar was particularly targeted by the Protestant reformers. For example, Walsham, 317 notes that Henry VIII and his advisors eliminated 49 different feasts during a meeting in 1536.
[263] I understand *ipsa* to modify *corpora* in the line below – an example of hyperbaton perhaps meant to underscore the widespread presence of bodies.
[264] *Ibid*,, fol. 143$^{r}$.

To avoid what appears to be a certain death, Fracco narrates how he hid within his house. Watching through a slit, he describes how enemy soldiers pillaged and ransacked whatever they could find. However, when the door to his hiding place is jarred open, he is forced to beg for mercy: *quid facerem? Cogor. 'Ego sum, miserescite,' dixi/ quum foris ex ipso cardine vulsa cadit* (what could I do, my hand was forced. I said, "I'm right here, take pity!" when the door, once it was pulled, fell from the hinge).[265]

A series of indignities soon follows: the torture of Fracco and his friend in a makeshift jail, his harassment, and beatings, all of which culminate in whether the *Sacri Fasti* will be saved or burned. After interrogating the poet, an emptyhanded and angered *Landsknecht* forces Fracco to march home. There, after finding nothing of value in his humble *turgurium*, the frustrated imperial soldier turns in anger to Fracco's sole remaining possessions, his poetic *libelli*. One by one Fracco's "progeny" (*progeniem meam*) are fed into the fire. Works of love elegy (*scripta more, Venus, tuo*), bucolics (*cum rure Camaenas*), and *iuvenalia* (*quae cum canerem iuvenis*) are set ablaze until all that remains is his magnum opus, the *Sacri Fasti*:

> *Seu quod erat sacrum seu quod sic fata volebant*
> *Esset ut hinc toto nomen in orbe meum.*
> *Fastorum rude tunc opus et sex rite libelli*
> *Cum totidem hostilem praeteriere rogum.*
>
> Whether because it was sacred, or because the fates thus desired
> That from here my name would be known worldwide,
> My twelve books of the *Fasti*, even then an incomplete work,
> Fortunately escaped the enemy pyre.[266]

In the face of almost certain destruction, the *Sacri Fasti* somehow survives. Notwithstanding uncertainty about whether the preservation of the poem is owed to the fates (*fata*) or its sacred

[265] *Ibid*., fol. 144$^{v}$
[266] *Ibid*., fol. 144$^{v}$; on Fracco's description of his work as *Fastorum…sex…libelli totidem* cf. Ov. *Trist*. 2.549: *Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos*.

quality (*erat sacrum*), the survival of Fracco's *magnum opus* serves as the resolution of the elegy and as the fulfillment of his earlier prayer to Christ.

Intertextually, this last passage notably interacts with *Amores* 1.15.8, where Ovid predicts for himself universal fame: *mihi fama perennis quaeritur, in toto semper ut orbe canar* (perennial fame is sought by me so that I might always be sung in the whole world). This intertext, especially with Fracco's description of his poem which evokes that of the original *Fasti* in the *Tristia,* suggests that Fracco anticipates a literary immortality similar to that of Ovid himself.

Even more interesting, though, is how he borrows from Ovid's own autobiographical details. While it is unknown whether Fracco's poetic oeuvre was burned, it is certain that he has based his account on *Tristia* 1.7. There, a melancholic Ovid describes how he prepared to burn his unfinished *Metamorphoses*:[267]

> *Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,*
> *Infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus,*
> *Haec ego discedens, sicut bene multa meorum,*
> *Ipse mea posui maestus in igne manu.*
> *Utque cremasse suum fertur sub stipite natum*
> *Thestias et melior matre fuisse soror,*
> *Sic ego non meritos mecum peritura libellos*
> *Imposui rapidis viscera nostra rogis.*
>
> Songs describing the altered appearances of men,
> Because the flight of their unhappy master interrupted the work,
> This poetry I myself, overcome with grief and preparing to depart, set with my hand
> In the fire, along with a good number of my possessions.
> And just as Althaea, said to be a better sister than a mother,
> Is said to have set fire to her child in the form of a firebrand,
> So did I set my innocent books, those things about to perish with me,
> My offspring, into the raging pyre.[268]

[267] Ovid almost certainly based this action on Vergil's own desire to burn the *Aeneid*. Hinds, 430 argues that the burning alludes to the myth of Meleager – located in Book Eight, at the center of the *Metamorphoses*. In this way he argues that the whole episode heightens the existential struggle which Ovid's epic had to undergo.
[268] Ov. *Trist.* 1.7.13-20.

Comparison between the two passages reveals that Fracco's own experiences are extensively modelled on those of Ovid. Both poets face a situation thrust upon them and beyond their control, Ovid with his exile and Fracco with the Sack. The focus in each case is on the poet's *magnum opus*; for Ovid the *Metamorphoses* and for Fracco the *Sacri Fasti*. Even more striking is how each poet describes their poetry, equating it to their own progeny and its subsequent destruction to a funeral. The primary difference lies in the circumstances of the thwarted burnings. Ovid, of his volition, eventually chooses to save his *Metamorphoses*. In the case of Fracco, here, as well as later in the *De Adversis*, his work is fortuitously saved by others. When coupled with the actual loss of his other poetry, the sense is that the *Sacri Fasti* is a qualitatively unique work – potentially even divine.

Thus does Fracco perceive of his identity as the "New Ovid." Not only does he write Ovidian poetry, but he models his own experiences on those of his predecessor. These similarities also ought to make us pause, particularly when assessing the veracity of Fracco's biographical poetry. While certain details, particularly those dealing with highly specific incidents (e.g. his torture, hiding, etc…), add credence to Fracco's firsthand accounts, others appear artificial and constructed in light of literary models. In short, this adoption of biographical elements from Ovid serves to distinguish Fracco's poetry, as well as Fracco himself, within the wide expanse of sixteenth century classically modelled literature.

### ***De Adversis* 5.6**

While the third book of the *De Adversis* is the most comprehensive treatment of the Sack and its connection to the *Sacri Fasti*, it is not the only one. As one of the last biographical elegies of the collection, 5.6 offers another thematically complex, and similarly programmatic, account of Fracco's survival and that of his *Sacri Fasti*. Unlike his previous account, the scene takes place

at night and at an unspecified point during the occupation of Rome. Fracco is once more pursued by enemy troops and must again search for a hiding spot for his calendar poem.

The structure of the elegy is rife with elements of epic, particularly *Aeneid* Book Two; Fracco, stepping into the role of the hero, must flee through war-torn Rome with his children, that is, his *Sacri Fasti*. This endeavor ultimately culminates in the preservation of his work through divine epiphany – a scene mirroring Aeneas's own encounter with Venus.[269] In this way, the elegy can be read as a companion piece to *De Adversis* Book Three, as Fracco himself makes clear by referencing the earlier salvation of his calendar in an opening taunt to an imperial invader: *Barbare, sacra licet quaeras mea carmina ut uras/ illa tamen votis verba dedere tuis* (Barbarian, although you seek to burn my sacred poems,/ they have nevertheless disappointed your vows).[270]

The centerpiece of the elegy is again a prayer. The recipient, however, is no longer God, but the Muses whom Fracco implores to save his *Sacri Fasti*: '*Pierides,' dixi, 'dubio succurrite vati/ Vosque dei cecinit quos meus ille labor.'* "Muses," I said, "give aid to your wavering poet, along with you, those gods whom that labor of mine has sung." Whereas the prayer in Book Three transitioned into scenes of torture and survival, now follows a divine apparition:

> *Vix ea sublatis ceu stabam ad sidera palmis*
> *Quum fax ante oculos visa nitere meos.*
> *Arcus ab antiquo, sic credit fama, Camillo est*
> *Hic ubi vestales cui rata diva tenet.*
> *Fax latuit. Templo doctis favet illa poetis*
> *Tunc 'operis,' dixi, 'sit tibi cura mei.*
> *Hic tibi creduntur bis sena volumina fasti,*
> *Non decet hoc alias' prorsus*[271] *'habere manus.'*

Scarcely had I said these things when, as if I was standing as if with my palms to heaven,

[269] Comparisons with Aeneas permeate the *De Adversis* most notably in elegy 4.1, wherein Fracco compares his own travails to that of the hero.
[270] *De Adversis* fol. 166ʳ.
[271] I have adopted from Pecci, 1912, 234 the reading of *prorsus* in place of *pronus* in the MS.

A torch appeared to shine before my eyes.
There is an arch constructed by Camillus of old, so the story goes,
Here where there are vestals whom the one thought to be a goddess holds [Vesta].
The torch lay hidden in the temple. She gives favor to learned poets.
Then I said, "let my work be under your care.
Here my *Fasti*, twelve volumes of them, are entrusted to you,
Nor is it at all fitting for other hands to hold them."[272]

Taking inspiration from the appearance of Venus to Aeneas during fall of Troy, Fracco describes a nighttime epiphany in which his prayer is met with a radiant divine glow.[273] His hands, like those of Aeneas during the storm in Book One, are raised towards the sky in an appeal to the gods.[274] The location, described via the classical formula *sic credit fama* (so the story goes), is the Arch of Camillus – a misattribution originating in the Middle Ages for a third or fourth century triumphal arch once located on the modern Via Corso and which was commonly known as the Camigliano.[275]

Perhaps even more puzzling is the reference to the *vestales* (vestal virgins). As with the Arch of Camillus, the presence of a temple to Vesta is owed to Medieval legend. The Church of Santa Maria in Via Lata (also referred to as the Church of San Ciriaco), adjacent to the Camigliano, was held by some to have been constructed over a temple of Vesta.[276] That Fracco relies on this relatively obscure tradition once again showcases his antiquarian tendency and his

[272] *Ibid*., fol. 166[r].
[273] Verg. *Aen*. 2.589-91 *Se…obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit/ alma parens, confessa deam…* (She approached and glistened, in the midst of the night, in a pure light, my nourishing mother, admitting that she was a goddess). We could also add the appearance of the goddess to Ovid at *Fast.* 6.251-2 *In prece totus eram: caelestia numina sensi, lactaque purpurea luce refulsit humus* (I was entirely in prayer: I felt the celestial divinity, and the white ground gleamed in a purple light).
[274] *Aeneid* 1.93 *duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas*.
[275] The structure is described by Marliani, 228 as a kind of rough and unadorned arch and in the *Osservationes* of Johann Fichard, 154 as the *instar veteris portae* (the appearance of an old gate). Richardson, 212 notes that it likely belonged to an ancient temple to the god Serapis.
[276] The name San Ciriaco is owed to the presence of the martyr's head in an adjacent monastery constructed during the Middle Ages. This structure was later demolished at the end of the Quattrocento although the name Ciriaco continued to be connected to the church. For more see Cavazzi, 243-266. The only connection of San Ciriaco to a temple of Vesta seems to be found in a thirteenth century *Mirabilia Romae* 58 in which the author notes: *In Camillano, ubi est S. Cyriacus, fuit templum Vestae* (In the Camigliano, where there is the Church of San Ciriaco, was a temple of Vesta).

efforts to fulfill Ovid's promise from *Fasti* 1.7 that his readers will recognize "rites …unearthed from ancient annals" (*sacra … annalibus eruta priscis*). To return then to the narrative, it appears that Fracco is at, or near, the Church of Santa Maria in Via Lata, although, as we shall see, the end of the passage further complicates this interpretation.

Beyond Fracco's location, the narrative portion of the passage carries with it significance at the symbolic level. The "torch" (*fax*) which illuminates the night is evocative of Vesta's fire, the eternal flame and symbol of hope. Likewise, the presence of vestals to whom the *Sacri Fasti* is entrusted suggests that the poem is a kind of cult object – a symbol, like the fire itself, of a future for Rome and Catholicism. Once he has given his calendar to its new keepers, an emotional Fracco asks for directions. Upon receiving them, he departs.

Later on, the immediate dangers having passed, the poet returns to collect his work. There follows a scene of reunion as well as a reference that forces us to reconsider the meaning of the elegy:

> *Iam sua sol cursu semel alta peregerat astra*
> *Area farra semel et semel uva merum,*
> *Incolumes nati quum dulcia ad oscula versi*
> *Haeserunt collo pendula turba meo.*
> *Gratia, diva, tibi et vobis quas illa dicavit.*
> *Illa mihi Pallas, vos helicone chorus.*
> *Sit Rutule et coniunx felix sit natus uterque*
> *Illorum et videas pignora factus avus.*
> *Interea ut gratus fiam nuribusque tibique.*
> *Nostra quidem munus carmina maius erunt,*
> *Non sine nam vobis* (*per vos res salva*) *libelli*
> *A sera poterunt posteritate legi*.
>
> Now at once the sun had led forth in its course its high stars
> At the field had brought forth wheat and the graves wine,
> When my children, unharmed, returned to the sweet kisses of their returning (father),
> Clung to my neck, hanging there en masse as a suspended group.
> Thanks to you, goddess, and to you whom that one consecrated.
> That one is my Pallas, you are my chorus on Mt. Helicon.
> Rutulus, would that your wife and each of your children be blessed,

And would that you, having become a grandfather, see their own children.
In the meantime, so that I may be as one pleasing to your daughters-in-law,
Indeed, my poem will be a greater gift for you,
For not without you (as my whole work was saved through you)
Will my poems be able to be read by late posterity.[277]

Drawing again on the Ovidian motif of poetry as "offspring" (*nati*), Fracco gleefully announces his reunion with the *Sacri Fasti*, which he now hangs as a pendant around his neck. From this point, however, the elegy takes an unexpected turn. The "goddess" (*diva*) who appeared earlier does so again now in the guise of Minerva, while the *vestales* emerge as the chorus of Muses on Mt. Helicon – the symbol of poetic inspiration and a parallel with the Pierides at the beginning of the elegy.

By itself, this could simply be attributed to common classical tropes. Yet what follows forces us to reconsider this interpretation; Fracco now offers thanks to a Rutulus, as well as to his wife and to her "daughters-in-law" (*nuribus*). As Fracco goes on to explain, it is to the family of Rutulus that the survival of the *Sacri Fasti* is owed (*non sine vobis…per vos*). In reevaluating the poem, then, we are perhaps to view the entire earlier scene, the *diva*, her *vestales*, and the *templum* in light of these revelations: that perhaps Rutulus's wife and his daughters-in-law were the *diva* and *vestales*. How then ought we to recreate what happened in the elegy? One possible explanation is that Fracco has arrived at a house located near the Camigliano and illuminated by a torch. Here, the wife and extended family of one Rutulus agreed to hold Fracco's poem in safekeeping until he could retrieve it the following day.

But who was this Rutulus and what was his relationship with Fracco? This question also vexed Benedetto Pecci who, in his partial transcription of elegy 5.3, remarks "*Ma chi è questo Rutulo, a cui il poeta augura di vedere i figli dei figli?*"[278] Unfortunately, Fracco leaves us few

[277] *De Adversis* fols. 167$^{r}$.
[278] Pecci, 1912, 235.

clues. Despite his promise that the *Sacri Fasti* will be a "greater gift" (*maius munus*) for Rutulus and his descendants, his name is curiously absent from the published calendar. Moreover, he also fails to appear both in Fracco's collection of epigrams and in his two books of hendecasyllabics. Thus does Fracco leave us and his poem under a shroud of mystery.

**The *Direptio Urbis***

While the *Sacri Fasti* emerged from the Sack unscathed, the memory of the tragedy would become a thematic centerpiece of his calendar. This is established in the dedicatory letter at the opening of the poem, where, writing to Pope Paul III, Fracco presents his own *adversa* and the long path to finish his calendar poem as part of a teleological journey – one which culminates in a new Roman golden age. Beginning with the genesis and writing of his poem under three popes (*sub Leone, Adriano et Clemente*), Fracco describes how it emerged from the Sack (*vi miserorum temporum, calamitatumque concursu*) before ultimately reaching a state of completion under Paul.

This journey, from Rome's nadir to its Farnese revival, can be viewed as a – if not *the* – central theme within the calendar. The Sack appears throughout the work as an ever-present reminder of the city's past misfortune. Examples are numerous and widespread: at the end of a retelling of the romance between Venus and Mars, Fracco laments that if the peace ushered in by their union had been observed, Rome "would not suffer hardships under a violent enemy" (*Non Roma infesti damna sub hoste ferat*).[279] So too does he allude to the Sack in political contexts, as when he celebrates the victory of Charles V at Tunis, "And, after so many hardships under a cruel enemy,/ I (Rome) boast that under your leadership I have lifted my head from weeping"

[279] *Sacri Fasti* 36b.

(*Glorior et, post tot crudeli damna sub hoste,/ te duce de lacrymis exeruisse caput*).[280] It even appears in panels where one would not expect it. During the Feast of Barbara (4 December) – the patron saint of artillery – Fracco decries the awesome destruction wrought by the new weapons of war against Rome and how past heroes, such as Horatius Cocles, would have been helpless against their power.[281]

The primary entry for the Sack is found on its anniversary, 6 May. It is there thematically bookended by two panels: the Feast of Saint Catherine (4 May) and a "procession on behalf of peace" (7 May). This series of days forms the core of Book Five and is one of the most complex sections of the entire calendar. How these differing panels work together is best understood by first considering the 6 May entry. Fracco begins his account of this day of infamy on an appropriately dire note:

> *Qua licet et fas est, moneo, Romane, caveto,*
> *Sensit enim iratos tunc sibi Roma deos.*
> *Forte petis cur sit sibi sic subnubilus aer ;*
> *Vultus ab eventu est : lucifer ater erat.*
> *Scorpius ardentes tollebat ab aethere chelas.*
> *Quanta tibi heu Mavors ille venena dedit.*
> *Scilicet instabat non evitabile tempus*
> *Ferreque non poterant impia fata moram.*
>
> Beware, I urge you, Roman, while yet you can and may,
> For then Rome knew the gods were angry with her.
> Perchance you ask why the sky is so gloomy;
> The appearance reflects the event: the day was dark.
> Scorpio raised from the aether its flaming claws.
> Alas, how much venom it gave to you, Mars.
> For a Time, impossible to avoid, was pressing down
> And the impious fates were unable to brook delay.[282]

[280] *Ibid*., 90b.
[281] For the entry see *Ibid.*, 155a-156b. We can compare Fracco's shock at the new weapons, *Audiat hoc Cocles et pontem deserat hosti/ longa decennalis Troia nec arma ferat* (Let Cocles hear this and let him cede the bridge to the enemy/ nor could Troy at war for ten years endure a long war [against it]) with his personal horror at seeing the cannons fire on Castel Sant'Angelo at *De Adversis* fols. 185$^{v}$-187$^{r}$.
[282] *Sacri Fasti* 53b-54a.

The anniversary of the Sack opens in apocalyptic fashion. Evoking Horace's admonition to the unnamed "Roman" at *Odes* 3.6.2, Fracco likewise offers a warning to his fellow citizens: Rome has run afoul of "enraged" (*iratos*) gods. As with Vergil's Troy, Rome is doomed by "impious fates" (*impia fata*), while Time itself "threatens" (*instabat*) the city.[283] The constellation Scorpio, relatively docile in Ovid's *Fasti*, raises its "flaming claws" as if prepared to strike, while its venom supplies the god of war.[284] The weather is gloomy (*subnubilus*) in a reflection of the real conditions of the day, while the ominous alliteration of "s" (*forte petis cur sit sibi sic subnubilus* aer) mimics the hissing of a snake or scorpion.[285]

Fracco has also included a subtle reference to Ovid's diurnal classifications. The outcome of the day (*eventus*) has given it a black appearance (*ater*) – a clear evocation of *Fasti* 1.58-59 wherein Ovid describes the Roman custom of the "black day" (*dies ater*):[286]

> *Nonarum tutela deo caret, omnibus istis*
> (*ne fallare cave*) *proximus ater erit.*
> *Omen ab eventu est; illis nam Roma diebus*
> *Damna sub averso tristia Marte tulit.*
>
> The protection of the nones lacks a god, the day nearest
> To all those days (take care not to error) will be black.
> The omen derives from history; for on those days Rome
> Endured sad defeats under a military disaster.

By noting the "black" quality of the day, Fracco evokes the Ovidian *dies ater* and its subtext as what occurs during military defeats (*damna sub averso tristia Marte*). Indeed, that Fracco has Ovid's diurnal classification in mind is further suggested by his evocation of the phrase *omen ab eventu est* by noting that the "appearance reflects the event" (*vultus ab eventu est*). Furthermore,

[283] Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 2.34: *sive dolo seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant*.
[284] Cf. e.g., Ov. *Fast*. 5.417-418.
[285] As Pecci, 1912, 308 notes "nell'alba del 6 maggio, il lunedi dopo la prima Domenica di Pasqua una nebbia copriva le umide bassure del Tevere."
[286] Green, 57 speculates that the days were considered *ater* for their "connotations of death and ill-fortune."

this allusion also prepares us for the intertext to come; in Ovid's *Fasti* the only *dies ater* is the tragic slaughter of the Fabii which, as we shall see, becomes the model for Fracco's *direptio*.[287]

From the celestial world of fates and astronomical notices we zoom in on events in Rome. Fear and panic set in as the imperial troops arrive and begin to encircle the capital:

> *Vox erat, 'adveniunt, cinguntur moenia signis!'*
> *Turba fit, in longa est obsidione timor.*
> *Quid lustrare iuvat? Properabant sydera casum;*
> *Militiae ignarae tela tulere manus.*
> *Quo ruitis generosa cohors? Monuisse sub hoste*
> *Iam poterant Fabii quum cecidere?*
>
> There was a voice, "they are here, the walls are encircled by standards!"
> A mob forms, there is fear that it could be a long siege.
> What benefit is it to expiate? The stars hastened the disaster;
> Inexperienced bands of soldiers carried weapons.
> Where are you rushing noble cohort? Could not the Fabii
> Have warned you when they fell to the enemy?[288]

The arrival of the imperial forces on 5 May and the encirclement of the city walls is encapsulated in a single statement: the enemy is at the gates and the walls are surrounded.[289] A mob (*turba*) is hastily formed as a last-ditch effort to muster a defense. Accompanying it is the fear (*timor*) over a long siege, itself deeply ironic given that the imperials would enter the city the next day but would not depart until February of 1528.

Amid this tumult and alarm Fracco addresses a group of youthful soldiers (*militia*), the inexperienced (*ignarae*) yet brave sons of Roman families (*generosa*).[290] Fracco asks them "where are you rushing" (*quo ruitis*) and, to signpost the primary intertext of the passage,

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[287] The Fabii myth is mentioned in the *De Adversis* – notably at fol. 113[r]: *Sic etiam Fabii decepti fraude perempti/ Utque illos istos abstulit una dies* (So too were the Fabii, deceived by fraud, killed/ and one day destroyed them as it did those ones [Roman youth]).
[288] *Sacri Fasti* 54a.
[289] On the rapidity with which the siege unfolded see Hook, 161.
[290] Maurano, 127 relays the story of the youths of Parione, one of the traditional *rioni* of Rome, who were slaughtered during the Sack. It is possible that Fracco has based his account on these *iuvenes*.

whether they learned anything from the Fabii, that is, the noble Roman *gens* slaughtered during the Battle of Cremera. In fact, Fracco's Roman youth have become the spiritual successors of their Roman ancestors, as a look at Ovid's passage reveals:

> *Quo ruitis, generosa domus? Male creditis hosti;*
> *Simplex nobilitas, perfida tela cave.*
> *Fraude perit virtus; in apertos undique campos*
> *Prosiliunt hostes et latus omne tenent.*
> *Quid faciant pauci contra tot milia fortes?*
>
> Where are you rushing, noble house? You trust the enemy at your own peril;
> Ingenuous nobility, watch out for their perfidious spears.
> Virtue perishes by fraud; on all sides the enemy rushes
> Into the open fields and they hold every side.
> What can a few brave men do against so many thousands?[291]

Repeated is Ovid's question "where are you rushing?" as well as the adjective *generosa* (noble), now used to describe a new generation of Roman soldiers. Fracco, in what amounts to a kind of metapoetic moment, has also picked up on Ovid's rather ambiguous warning to the Fabii to "watch out for their untrusty spears" (*perfida tela cave*), an admonition unheeded by the young *cohors.*

Echoes of the Ovidian episode further reverberate throughout the remainder of the entry. Particularly noteworthy is the topic of space. Two examples stand out from the *Fasti*: the first is the gate through which the doomed Fabii passed on their way to the Battle of Cremera, the Porta Carmentalis, located southwest of the capitol and which Ovid describes as adjacent to a temple of Janus (*proxima via Iano*). As is common in mythologies within the *Fasti*, this gate serves an aetiological function in Ovid's account of the Fabii, connecting the near extermination of a particular Roman *gens* with the infamy of a specific Roman landmark, a quality clarified in his

[291] Ov. *Fast.* 6.225-229.

claim that the gate "has an omen" (*omen habet*). Nevertheless, Ovid offers an exoneration, by noting that the "gate is not at fault" (*porta vacat culpa*).

This description of the *porta Carmentalis* segues into the narrative for the Battle of Cremera. We accompany the Fabii as they initially put to flight the Veian soldiers as "Libyan lions" would "scatter flocks of sheep" (209-210). Their enemies are routed (*diffugiunt hostes*) and "the soil reddens with Etruscan blood" (*Tusco sanguine terra rubet*). Overconfident in their abilities and exultant in their success, the noble youth commit the error of hubris, proceeding to enter a valley wherein they will meet with their demise – a place described by Ovid in starkly epic language: "there was a plain, hills enclosed the edges of the plain" (215).

This formula of linking the history and legends of a place with a military defeat appealed to Fracco. In describing the massacre of his young Romans, he recreates the circumstances and the geography of the Battle of Cremera:

> *Collis erat. Collem cingebant moenia partum:*
> *Me miserum, cinctus quam fuit ille patrum.*
> *Porta quid in culpa est quae tollitur aurea Iano?*
> *Ille viam casus, illeque crimen habet.*
> *Ilicet, hinc via fit : capiuntur limina templi*
> *Araque iam nostri plena cruoris erat.*
>
> There was a hill. Paternal walls surrounded it.
> Miserable me! How insufficiently guarded was that hill!
> Why is that gate at fault which is taken from Janus?
> To it belongs the path of the calamity, and to it the fault.
> Forthwith from here arose the path; the thresholds of our temples are seized
> And now the altar was full of our blood.[292]

Mirroring Ovid's geography, Fracco has offered his own description of an enclosed battlefield. Occupying the position of the *campus* is the "hill" (*collis*), namely, the Gianicolo, while the "paternal walls" (*moenia patrum*) include the section of the Aurelian Walls encompassing

[292] *Sacri Fasti* 54a.

Trastevere as well as the Leonine Walls. It was here, on the highest point of the Gianicolo, Monte Mario, that the Duke of Bourbon encamped on 5 May in anticipation of a full assault.

Following Ovid's lead, Fracco creates his own version of an accursed *porta* – likewise at fault (*in culpa*) on account of its role during the siege. The identity of this gate is revealed in the next half-line through the adjective "golden" (*aurea*): it is the Porta Aurea known more commonly as the Porta San Pancrazio.[293] This attribution is confirmed both by marginalia in the *Sacri Fasti* and by elegy 1.3 of the *De Adversis* (*De Caeso Iuventute*) which presents an alternative version of the military defeat and gives further information on the location: *hic ubi habet titulos aurea porta suos*/ *dictaque de divo nunc fortis creditur illa* (Here where the Porta Aurea has its titles and, named after a saint, is now thought to be strong).[294] It was through this gate, after German forces had seized the Porta Torrione and the Leonine City, that the breach into Trastevere was made and where some of the most intense fighting occurred, as is recalled by the chronicler Jacopo Bonaparte:

> *In questi borghi era già con furibondo e crudele impeto entrato quasi tutto l'esercito per ripari e per le mura più basse abbandonate, per la porta a S. Pancrazio stata subito spezzata e fracassata da loro.*[295]

In narrating the ensuing slaughter, Fracco keeps an eye on his Ovidian intertext. Whereas in the *Fasti* the doomed rush of the Fabii into the plain of Cremera is compared to a torrent swelled by the spring melt (*velut torrens undis pluvialibus auctus aut nive*),[296] now, in an ironic twist, the imperial forces (*barbara turba*) sweep through the city like the "Tiber swelled by its

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[293] The name Porta Aurea is potentially a corruption of Porta Aurelia, through which ran the eponymous Roman road. Mazio, 313 cites a *Topografia di Roma* published in 1508 where one finds written *ad sanctum Pancratium per portam auream extra muros* (at the Basilica of San Pancrazio through the Porta Aurea outside the walls).
[294] *De Adversis* fol. 112$^{r}$.The phrase *suos titulos* is a reference to the Basilica di San Pancrazio which was adjacent to the gate and which, as Fracco notes, shares its name with the gate.
[295] While the logistics of the Sack can be difficult to follow, a clear diagram can be found in Roberto, 228-220; Although the initial breach of the city occurred at a low point north of the Gianicolo, the subsequent entrance of imperial troops through the Porta San Pancrazio is confirmed, as is noted above, by Bonaparte, 68.
[296] Ov. *Fast*. 2.219-220.

winter waters" (*hybernis Tybris…aquis*).[297] Fracco then dramatically introduces three new metaphors to describe the action: the enemy troops "spread out" (*diffunditur*) like "fire upon dry crops" (*in arentes…ignis aristas*), they chase the inhabitants as mountain wolves do "dispersed flocks" (*fusas…oves*), and they "pour out through piazze, through homes, through churches, and through atriums" (*per fora, perque domos, per templa, per atria…funduntur*).

The imperial victory is thus meant to be totalizing; the religious, civic, and domestic life of the city has been shattered. However, given the lengthy duration of the Sack, Fracco now moves forward in time to narrate the occupation of Rome. Here, in abridged form, he summarizes many of the atrocities which comprise the subject matter of the *De Adversis*. Of these, most notable is the culture shock which comes from interaction with Rome's new German and Spanish overlords. As if writing from Tomis, Fracco tells us that "if you wanted to respond to the Getae, you were forced to speak words using gestures" (*Getis si respondere volebas*/ *ipse loqui gestu verba coactus eras*).[298]

To add a sense of vividness and to further bring these horrors to life, Fracco continues to draw on his firsthand experience. In particular, he establishes himself as an eyewitness:

*Vidimus hinc nostros subisse opprobria patres*
*Perque aras sacros occubuisse senes.*
*Vidimus* (*infandum*) *divum sacraria ferri*
*Perque forum cineres, ossaque sancta iaci.*
*Vidimus et superos, nomen cui*[299] *porta latina est*;
*Ille suo festo numina laesa gemit.*

Here I saw our clerics endure shameful treatments
And old clergymen left for dead among their altars.

[297] The irony, of course, comes from the fact the flood of the Tiber on 8 October, 1530 is later compared by Fracco to the Sack.
[298] This theme is popular in the exile poetry (e.g. Ov. *Trist.* 5.10.35-42) and is further exploited by Fracco in the *De Adversis* e.g. fol.160$^{v}$ *Verba bona ut dicas credebant iurgia dici,/ gestu alio cum iam significanda foret* (they [the Germans] believed that you had intended an insult even though you spoke nice words,/ although they were already to be expressed by some gesture). On using hand gestures in the *Tristia* see Stevens, 2009.
[299] The use of *cui* in place of the plural *quibus* is likely explained by *superos* as a poetic plural or by attraction into the singular through *nomen*.

I saw (truly unspeakable) the relics of the divine carried off
And the ashes and bones of the saints scattered through the forum.
I saw even that saint, whose name is attached to the Porta Latina;
That one lamented his own sainthood defiled on his own feast.[300]

Through the triple anaphora of *vidimus* Fracco underscores his own status as a survivor of the Sack and a reliable authority on its history. Each atrocity is worse than the last, culminating in an affront to the divine itself. The murder of clergymen is surpassed by the opening of tombs and the scattering of saintly relics.[301] Most shameful, though, is the fact that the Sack occurred on the Feast of Saint John – referenced obliquely by his church of San Giovanni at Porta Latina.[302]

On this sorrowful note does Fracco end his panel. The city of Rome has hit its nadir; its civic and religious institutions have been ruined, while her divine protectors have seemingly failed to defend her. Thematically, the primary intertext with Ovid's account of the Fabii fits into the larger parallels between the two calendars; just as the slaughter of youths during the Roman Republic is the primary *dies ater* in Ovid's almanac, so too is the Sack a new "dark day" for the Renaissance city. Like the Fabii, however, the real story is not one of defeat, but rather survival. It is through this message of rebirth, of survival in the face of adversity, that Fracco will use the tragedy as part of the larger religious and political framework of his poem.

**The Feast of Saint Catherine and the *Pompa Pro Pace***

[300] *Sacri Fasti* 54b.
[301] The most notorious relics defiled during the Sack were the Veil of Veronica – the cloth used to wipe Christ's face on the Via Dolorosa – and the head of Saint Andrew. Both of these episodes receive discrete elegies as part of the *De Adversis*. Guicciardini, 88 also lists the heads of Saints Peter and Paul and "of many other saints" (*e di molti altri* Santi), as well as pieces of the True Cross, the Crown of Thorns, and the Sacred Oil. For an overview of the topic see Chastel, 100-108.
[302] Catholic accounts of the Sack frequently emphasize the sacrilegious nature of the invaders. E.g. Guicciardini, 187-188: *Quanti Prelati, quante devote Monache, quante Vergini, quante pudiche Matrone con li loro piccolo figliuoli vennero miseranda preda di tanto credli nazioni*!; poetic accounts of the Sack likewise stress its religious aspects. For example, Romei, 52 contains an anonymous *lamento* which bears strong similarities to Guicciardini: *quell'uccidendo questo e questo quello*; *ma soprattutto in chiese e cimiteri de preti e frati fu crudel macello. Delle Monache sacre i monasteri per forza aperti foro, e brute belle a sacco andorno con gran vituperi*.

To make this larger political argument, Fracco brackets the Sack with two panels: the first the feast of Saint Catherine of Siena on 4 May (53b) and the second a "march for peace" (*pompa pro pace*) on 7 May (54b-55a). The relevance of Saint Catherine to our passage is best understood if we offer a brief sketch of her life and significance within the Church. Born in Siena in 1347, Catherine received a vision of Christ as a child – a profound event which led her to a life of chastity and religious devotion. Other mystical experiences would eventually bring her to the attention of the Dominican community of Florence who viewed her as a living saint and prophetess. It was in this capacity that she began to take an active role in contemporary politics. Her main advocacy was to oppose the creation of a Tuscan league against the Papal States – an alliance which she viewed as a threat to Church unity – and to favor a crusade against the encroaching Turkish forces.[303] Her involvement in matters of geopolitical and religious interest again became relevant in 1378 when a schism arose, the result of French cardinals opting to elect their own antipope, Clement VII. As a result of her advocacy, Catherine was summoned to Rome by Urban VI to advocate for the unification of the Church, wherein she would live the rest of her life fasting and praying.[304]

Following her death on 29 April 1380, a cult sprang up among Rome's Sienese and Dominican communities. Two churches in particular were associated with her veneration: that of Santa Caterina da Siena in Via Giulia, constructed in the early sixteenth century by Leo X, and Santa Maria sopra Minerva, containing the eponymous Oratorio di Santa Caterina, where she died, and the Cappella Capranica, where her body was entombed and a shrine built.[305] In the *Sacri Fasti* her feast is found curiously on 4 May – a date later than the traditional anniversary of

[303] Parsons, 7.
[304] *Ibid.*, 25.
[305] *Ibid.*, 33. Her head was later taken to Siena; on the church see Zeppegno and Mattonelli, 102-104.

29 April, but nevertheless attested by some Roman calendars of the period.[306] This choice to delay her feast to the panel preceding that of the Sack, as well as to pair it with the entry which follows, suggests an effort by Fracco to thematically unite the two events. This is done largely through reference to Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which serves as the common bond between the 4 and 7 May entries.

Fracco presents the Feast of Saint Catherine as an occasion for a celebration. This begins with a gathering of nobles at the church of the saint on the Via Giulia (*Tunc quoque qua tangit laevam via Iulia ripam/ Nobilibus virgo visitur orta Senis*) and is followed by a procession through the city (*perque urbem coetus deductus*), perhaps led by members of the Compagnia della Nazione Senese.[307] The goal of the procession is Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where we see the veneration of Catherine's tomb and bones (*ossa colit tumulum numinis ante sui*). This reference to the worship of the saint's relics, while certainly a part of her historical worship, also fulfills another role. As we saw earlier, Fracco is careful to highlight the desecration of *ossa* during the panel on the Sack; it thus seems that he has seeded the presence of bones here to render even more egregious the crimes committed during the *direptio*.

The conclusion of the brief entry is a priestly benediction. There, standing before the crowd, the *vates* chants a prayer (*cecinit pia verba*), while Fracco informs us that the procession is at an end (*finis et est pompae*). Before he turns to the next entry, however, we witness one final act: the same priest offers the sign of the cross and the members of Catherine's confraternity engage in self-flagellation: "and his [the priest's] finger blesses alike those wearers of linen/ whose backs the piety of the sharp whip renders wounded" (*linigeris digitus pariter benedicit et*

[306] Kaasik, 204 lists three different manuscripts which date the festival to 4 May including Vatican City, BAV, ACSP, A9,B88, and F23.
[307] Parsons, 33 notes that this was also referred to as the *Compagnia di Santa Caterina presso la tomba*.

*illis/ terga quibus pietas saucia reddit acus*).[308] As with the reference to *ossa*, this reference foreshadows one of the primary themes of the Sack, that is, piety through pain and hardship.

The day which follows the Sack, 7 May, is centered upon a procession identified by Fracco simply as the *pompa pro pace* (procession on behalf of peace). This *pompa*, corresponding thematically with that for Saint Catherine, refers not to a feast, but to a historical Mass and procession held by Paul III shortly after the visit of Charles V to Rome in April of 1536. The context for this special event was a potential renewal of war between the Emperor and his longtime rival, French King Francis I of Savoy – a concern so grave that Paul dispatched Cardinal Lorena to see if a peace could be brokered.[309] In the meantime, on 7 May, Paul III, mounted on horseback, led a procession along the Via Papale to Santa Maria sopra Minerva where a prayer vigil was held.[310] Looking at Fracco's entry, we see allusions to the event:

> *Quae sequitur superos placida pro pace salutat.*
> *Hei mihi, quam sero, si venit, illa venit.*
> *Pacis et armorum dea quondam credita Pallas,*
> *Nunc est sub cuius haec pede victa iacet.*
> *Ergo ter hanc fuso veneratus thure sacerdos*
> *Talibus assurgens plebis in ora canit.*
>
> The day which follows offers thanks to the powers above for a tranquil peace.
> Oh me, how late it comes, if it has come at all.
> Formerly Pallas was held to be the goddess of peace and war;
> Now it is she, under whose foot Pallas lies conquered.
> Therefore, the priest having blessed her three times with his incense,
> Stands to sing as follows before the faces of the people….[311]

[308] Self-flagellation was widespread in the Renaissance, particularly in the context of confraternities and in times of hardship. As King, 177 notes, "Flagellant processions were especially frequent in times of crisis such as epidemic or war. The participants believed that by inflicting pain on themselves, they atoned for their sins, removing from themselves and their city the punishments inflicted for their collective misdeeds." Artistic depictions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also mirror what Fracco describes. Brown, 146 points out that "*confrateli* were [often] depicted in these scenes wearing white hooded robes with backs exposed for self-flagellation."
[309] On the episode see Capasso, 180.
[310] *Ibid*., 181. Details for the procession are to be found in the *Diarii* of the Papal Master of Ceremonies Biagio da Cesena.
[311] *Sacri Fasti* 54b.

As the reference to Pallas (Minerva) suggest, we are still in the context of the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva – a point confirmed by Fracco's clever glossing of its name in the fourth line: "Now it is she [Mary], under whose foot Pallas [Minerva] lies conquered" (*nunc est cuius haec pede victa iacet*). The context, as we noted above, is a ceremony held before Paul III's departure to Bologna, where he would attempt to create an accord between Charles V and Francis I that, as Fracco notes, had unfortunately not yet materialized (*si venit*).

Thematically, the presence of Santa Maria sopra Minerva unites the two passages bordering the Sack. Whereas the first considers Saint Catherine, famous for her role as a unifier of the Church, we see here praise of the Virgin Mary as the harbinger of peace. Like Saint Catherine, Mary is a figure rich in geopolitical symbolism – a point underscored by her subsuming the role of Minerva as the goddess of both peace and war (*pacis et armorum dea quondam credita Pallas*). She is the Church militant, the symbolic embodiment of the city of Rome and its destiny as the arbiter of military and spiritual affairs.

Whereas at the end of the panel on St. Catherine we saw a cessation of religious activities, the presence of a new *pompa* suggests a symbolic resumption of Roman civic and religious life. Indeed, the Feast of St. Catherine ends with a *sacerdos* finishing his speech and the religious *pompa* dispersing (i.e. *finis et pompae est*) – a potential symbolic acknowledgement of the religious disruption caused by the *dies ater*. Now a new procession marches under the banner of peace, while the *sacerdos* returns to offer a prayer for *pax*:

'*Prospicis humanis dea quae placidissima rebus.*
*Quaeque patrocinium mite rogantis habes.*
*Pace deum populis peperisti, paceque digna*
*Templa tibi, pacis nomina sola meres.*
*Pace tuus natus duce te tot subiicit urbes*
*Et duce te pacem praecipit ille suis.*
*Dat, precor, hanc patribus, plebi, populoque Quirini*
*Et fac concordes pacificosque duces.'*

*Talia dicebat, laevum tonat aethere coelum;*
*'Ite' ait; a dicto splenduit igne focus*.

"You, goddess most placid, who look out upon human affairs
And hold the gentle protection of the suppliant.
In peace you bore a god for the people and you merit temples
Worthy of peace, you alone merit the name of peace.
Your son, born in peace, subjected so many cities under your leadership
And under your leadership she enjoins peace to his followers.
Give, I pray, this to the clergy, to the laity, and to the people of Quirinus
And make concordant and pacified the leaders."
Such things he said, the left side of the sky thunders in the aether;
"Go forth" he says; after he spoke the hearth shone forth with its fire.[312]

Employing the hymnic technique of *du-Stil*, that is the emphatic use of second person pronouns and verbs, the priest invokes all those areas where Mary has purview over peace: she gave birth to Jesus in peace, she merits temples and the name of peace.[313] Her son, himself born in peace, "subjected cities" (*subiicit urbes*) and orders (note here the shift to the indicative with *praecipit*) that the present inhabitants of Europe observe peace. Finally, the solemn tone of the entire prayer is underscored by Fracco's language; for example, the significant alliteration of "p" in lines such as ***P**ace deum **po**pulis **pe**peristi, **p**aceque digna* and *Dat, **p**recor, hanc **p**atribus, **p**lebi, **po**puloque Quirini* recalls the language of an actual sermon.

The last two verses focus on the content of the prayer and the divine response. The *sacerdos* asks Mary to create *pax* for the "clergy, plebs, and people of Quirinus," that is, the same groups affected by the Sack and a reworking of Ovid's plea to Germanicus at *Fasti* 1.69: "be favorable to your senators and to the people of Quirinus" (*dexter ades patribusque tuis populoque Quirini*). This political subtext is made explicit by the next line – a call for Mary to "make concordant and pacified the leaders," a pentameter which ought to be read in reference to

[312] *Sacri Fasti* 54b.
[313] *Nomina* here applies to one of the many titles of Mary, including that of pace, in which capacity she had a church within the city (i.e. Santa Maria della Pace).

the principal actors of the Italian Wars, namely Charles V and Francis I.[314] The catalyst for this peace will be Paul III, whose efforts during the following years (1538) would result in the Treaty of Nice and a tenuous peace brokered between the French and Imperial rulers. With this context in mind, the favorable omen at the end of the prayer, a lightning bolt striking the left sphere of the sky, represents the promise of a prayer already fulfilled. Thus does Fracco bracket the Sack; the peaceful and religiously observant life of Rome, represented by St. Catherine and subsequently disrupted by the imperial invaders, has been rekindled by a new fire symbolic of the era of Pope Paul III.[315]

**The *Apparitio* of Saint Michael the Archangel**

While those panels bracketing the Sack are undoubtedly the most important for understanding its role within the *Sacri* Fasti, there is a further entry which also sheds light on the topic. The panel following the *pompa pro pace* is a further story of Roman resilience in the face of hardship. This is the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, whose worship was based on two apparitions during the Middle Ages, each occurring typically during times of crisis, for which the saint is famous. The first, and perhaps most famous, occurred near Monte Gargano and the city of Siponto in Apulia. There, according to legend, the forces of the barbarian king Odoacer besieged the city in 492 – its inhabitants spared only by the appearance St. Michael who appeared on the horizon to relieve the city.

This popular Apulian legend, the basis for entries in the calendars of Lazzarelli and Mantuan, is nevertheless largely passed over by Fracco who emphasizes a different myth: the

[314] The theme is already announced in Fracco's opening letter to Paul where he specifies *tuas ob pacem res gestas* and in the proem of Book One we see Paul as the one who "has made peace" (*pacem ille paravit*). Only a few lines later, also in the prologue, we see *tempore dat pacem bellaque iusta gerit*.
[315] Xinyue, 10 rightly, I think, views the kindling of the altar fire as symbolic of the "revival of Rome." The crucial point, however, is that it symbolizes the abatement of the divine anger witnessed at the opening of the Sack.

appearance of the Archangel Michael during the Roman plague of 590. This begins with Fracco calling upon the saint to "give to us signs of peace" (*signa…nobis pacis et ipse dare*) – a natural transition from the end of the previous panel and its larger preoccupation with *pax*.[316] This request initiates a didactic exchange between the poet and the archangel; Fracco asks his interlocutor about the significance of 8 May and why the Castel Sant'Angelo bears his name. St. Michael obliges our author and recounts briefly the aforementioned myth of Monte Gargano. Yet he soon turns to the plague that had stricken Rome. The setting is the Dark Ages, the Tiber is "swelled with muddy waters" (*auctus arenosis…undis*) and its levies can no longer restrain the torrent. Deluges sweep through Rome (*redundatis Roma natabat aquis*), setting the stage for the outbreak of disease. The ground swells with noxious fumes, tainting the air with plague (*tabuit aura lue*). Desperate, the Romans turn to an icon of the Madonna and Child kept in the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli which they bear in procession to Castel Sant'Angelo. There, Pope Gregory, the leader of the group, utters a prayer: "If the keys are my duty, and if my hands are noted for their piety, God, cast out the sickness and sheathe again your drawn spear" (*Sunt si mihi munera claves/ sique meae notae sunt pietate manus./ Pelle Deus morbum, nudataque tela repone*).[317]

With Gregory's prayer at an end, the crowd falls quiet. Suddenly, the Archangel Michael arises before the astonished faces to drive out the deadly plague:

*Dixerat, attollor* (*perstant vestigia mole*)
*Constitit attonito cum duce turba suo.*
*Ut quoque adhuc spector, vagina condere ferrum*
*Visus eram, cum sic cinctus ab igne loquor.*
*'Ira dei cessit, gaude regina polorum.'*
*Hactenus, et vox haec carmina nota fuit.*
*Desieram, subito cessit quum noxius aer*
*Quaque ibat virgo parte, saluber erat.*

[316] *Sacri Fasti* 55a.
[317] *Ibid*,, 55b.

*Tunc pater hic ubi sum solido me marmore finxit*
*Et pons et moles nomina nostra tulit.*

He [Gregory] had spoken, I [Michael] rise up (my footprints remain on the fortress)
The throng stood with their leader in shock.
And, as I am seen to this day, I appeared to put my sword
In its scabbard, when, surrounded by fire, I speak in this way:
"The anger of God has ceased, rejoice queen of heaven,
(Even at this point this saying was known in song)."[318]
No sooner I had ceased, than suddenly the toxic air departed
And wherever the Virgin went, it was healthful.
Then the Pope, here where I am, fashioned me in marble
And both the bridge and fortress bear my name.[319]

The explanation provided by the saint for his *apparitio* comprises an aetiology. Fracco is careful to tell us that the archangel left behind his footprints (*vestigia*) and his name upon the Castel Sant'Angelo, while the icon of the Virgin Mary found in Santa Maria in Aracoeli similarly receives its own explanation.[320]

It is perhaps this final element that is most important for the Sack of Rome. Fracco explains that the statue[s] placed on the summit by the Pope were in commemoration of this miracle. Although the precise date is unknown, a statue of St. Michael had been erected on the summit of Castel Sant'Angelo sometime in the late Middle Ages, with a second installed in 1453 which was destroyed by a lightning strike on 29 October, 1497. Alexander VI subsequently installed a new bronze statue placed on the summit, although this too vanished during the Sack. On his return to Rome from Orvieto, Clement VII made plans to replace the missing statue, commissioning the sculptor Baccio Bandinelli. This composition, however, never saw completion and it was only upon the election of Paul III that the new statue was erected. From

[318] I have found various attestations of the phrase *regina polorum*, *polorum regina*, and *gaude regina polorum* from medieval hymns. Fracco appears to suggest that the phrase was in use during the Renaissance and was perhaps employed during the procession of the Aracoeli icon.
[319] *Sacri Fasti* 55b.
[320] The "footprints" of St. Michael the Archangel were traditionally held in Santa Maria dell'Aracoeli but can today be found in the Capitoline Museums. Bolgia, 96 argues that this relic was originally a votive offering to the goddess Isis.

the *Observationes* of Johann Fichard we know that two statues of the archangel were in place in 1536: one of "terracotta" (*alter humi*) and another "gilded" (*deauratus*).[321] A letter dated 1537 subsequently confirms that even this statue was toppled by a strong wind in 1537, again leaving the summit without its angel.[322] It was only in 1544 that another statue, designed by the Florentine Raffaello da Montelupo, would crown the castello.

This was by no means an act in isolation. Paul III, perhaps more than any of his immediate predecessors, took great interest in the Castel Sant'Angelo and its symbolism. During his pontificate a series of major architectural improvement were commissioned for the fortress, supervised by the Cardinal and castellano Tibero Crispo.[323] Paul's aim was to repair the considerable damage left by the Sack. There was first the construction of a loggia on the north side of the structure, meant to rival that completed under Julius II and to provide an ornate corridor for newly constructed papal apartments. These latter rooms were constructed both for personal use by Paul and for hosting state functions. The *Sala di Apollo*, for instance, features some of Rome's most exquisite decorations *alla grottesca*, while the extravagant *Sala Paolina* – a grand reception hall – contains magnificent frescoes of Alexander the Great as well as a large fresco of Michael the Archangel sheathing his sword in remembrance of the plague.

To crown the refurbished fortress, Paul commissioned a statue of Saint Michael finally to replace that lost during the Sack. Sculpted entirely in marble and wielding a bronze sword, the angel would look out over Rome with a confident, yet calming, expression. Together with the rising St. Peter's, this would be the most visible symbol of the new Roman resurgence ushered in

[321] *In suprema parte angeli stant* duo, *strictis gladiis, alter humi, alter deauratus.* Fantozzi, 140-142.
[322] From a letter of Paolo Gualtieri dated 12 December, 1537 and cited in Gatteschi, 76 we read that because of the wind "*l'Angelo di bronzo cadde e non fu possible ritrovarlo*."
[323] Firpo and Biferali, 152.

by Paul III. Indeed the *esprit du temps* made manifest in this new statue is expressed at the end of the panel, where the exchange between Fracco and St. Michael reaches its conclusion:

> *Sed tibi cum pax sit, fulmen cur mittis ab arce?*
> *Cumque illo tibi cur tibia longa sonat?*
> *Finieram. 'Tecum fastorum tempora,' dixit,*
> *'Fulmine demisso sacra diesque cano.*[324]
> *Additur et missis animata his tibia cantu*
> *Illa quod aethereis fertur amica choris.*
> *Praeterea strepitu missaque ex aethere flamma*
> *Ipse Siponti etiam terror in hoste fui.*
> *Hinc quoties laetis venerunt tempora rebus,*
> *Cum non et belli tempore dextra vacet,*
> *Mole tono summa, iaciuntque tonitrua flammae,*
> *Deque polo patribus credor adesse meis.*
>
> But since there is peace for you, why do you cast a thunderbolt from the citadel?
> And why does your flute resound with it?
> I had finished. He replied "I sing, together with you, the sacred times
> Of the calendar and the days when I cast down my lightning.
> And once it is cast down my trumpet is added with its song,
> Because it is held to be friendly for heavenly choruses.
> Moreover by sending my trumpeting and flame from heaven
> I was also a terror against the enemy at Siponto.
> Hence whenever times of happy events arrive,
> And in time of war, when my right hand is not idle,
> I resound on the highest citadel and the flames discharge thunder
> And from heaven I am believed to be present for my Popes."[325]

In his speech, Saint Michael explains that a new era of *pax* is at hand. Nevertheless, Fracco is surprised. After all, he has been traumatized by warfare and associates the roar of guns from Castel Sant'Angelo with the famous siege during the Sack.

Michael's response is to explain that festive times have returned and even to strike a tone of comradery with Fracco; like a poet, he too "sing[s] the sacred times of the calendar," but does so through the fireworks shot from Castel Sant'Angelo. The subtle significance of this comment is that the new era of *pax* has allowed a return to religious normalcy and celebration in Rome.

[324] Prop. 4.1.
[325] *Sacri Fasti* 55b-56a.

This applies particularly to the reign of Paul III, who made frequent use of artillery barrages and fireworks from the castello as a symbol of restored Roman happiness.[326] This spectacle, however, is not merely for entertainment. Rather, it is a reminder of Michael's defense of the faithful against foreign enemies and as a symbol of his promise to safeguard the Popes.

Taken *in toto*, the Feast of Saint Michael continues, and expands upon, themes in the *pompa pro pace*. The new era of peace and return to religious normality, exemplified in the procession to Santa Maria sopra Minerva, is now emblematized by Castel Sant'Angelo and the restored statue on its summit. At the center of this *felicium temporum reparatio* is Paul III, whose pontificate has transformed the structure most symbolic of the helplessness and suffering of the Church State into a statement of peace and theological revival.

**The 1530 *alluvione***

While the title of this chapter is "Rome's *dies ater*," it is, in a sense, a misnomer. The Sack was undoubtedly an event which had profoundly damaged Roman morale, yet it was only the first in a series of hardships to befall the city. First came the occupation, which lasted nine months, only to be followed by famine and the outbreak of disease.[327] Compounding matters was the breakdown in the vital infrastructure systems of transportation and food supply from the *campagna*, with the result being widespread starvation and depopulation.

Then, when the city had seemingly found its footing again, the flood of 8 October 1530 plunged Rome again into a state of ruin. Although the swelling of the Tiber, and even minor floods, were a common occurrence during the Renaissance, the *alluvione* of 1530 was

[326] Fireworks have a long tradition at Castel Sant'Angelo and, according to Borgatti, 204, can possibly be traced back to even before the papacy of Sixtus IV (1471-1484).
[327] On these hardships see Partner, 68.

particularly destructive.[328] The autumn downpours, so common in Lazio, brought the level of the Tiber to a height of over 23.5 feet. The city, still struggling in the aftermath of the Sack, was inundated; churches and palaces were submerged, while the streets became canals, navigable all the way to the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli.[329] Meanwhile the Roman population looked on helplessly from high points such as Monte Giordano and Monte Ciborio. Three thousand lives were lost in the torrent, while countless homes were ripped from their foundations and carried away by the surge.

For Fracco, it was as if the tragedy of 1527 had happened again. The forces of nature had conspired to complete the destruction the imperial troops had initiated. Perhaps nowhere is the connection between the two events better exemplified than in the *De Adversis*. Fracco chooses to end that collection of poems on a dour note by recounting the flood: "Therefore, Tiber, so much only Mars himself fatigue us/ another page is added to my *De Adversis*" (*Ergo, Tybris, ne nos Mavors tantum ipse fatiget/ additur adversis altera charta meis*).[330]

In the *Sacri Fasti*, it marks another *dies ater* – a day when the gleam of the sun no longer shines, and the winds gather force:

*Ast ubi iam plenis veniet lux ultima Nonis*
*Idibus et nondum fulserit orta dies.*
*Mane deum matris coelo exoriente corona*
*Cuncta quibus subsunt agminibusque petunt*
*Flatibus aeolii mutant sua limina venti*
*Quisquis es, in portum qui mare findis, abi.*
*Illi ut mutantur, sic mutant aequora fluctus.*
*Nec facies horum est una, nec una maris.*
*Qui capit a Nonis venientes lucifer idus,*
*Hunc, Romane, cave, fluctibus ater erat.*

[328] Other notable floods during the sixteenth century occurred in 1513, 1547, 1557, 1571, and 1598. For more see Pecchiai, 420.
[329] The flooding left a lasting impression on the collective Roman memory. The still extant Via Leccosa (lit. the silt road) and the Via Fiumara (little river) demolished in 1887 testify to the impact. For more see Lanciani, 1903, 90; inscriptions from the 1530 flood can still be found. Forcella, 1879, 205 notes that a plaque marking the level of the water is found today outside of the Palazzo Ruspoli.
[330] *De Adversis* fol. 175$^{v}$.

But when now the last day of the completed Nones comes,
And the risen day has not yet shone upon the Ides.
In the morning, while the crown of the mother of the gods rises in the sky,
To which battlelines all things are subject and (with which) they seek (all things).
The Aeolian winds leave their home with gusts,
Whoever you are, you who cleave the sea [heading] into port, go away.
As those winds change, so the sea changes its waves.
Neither they nor the sea maintain a stable aspect.
The day that falls on the Ides following the Nones,
Beware of this day, Roman, it was dark with waves.[331]

As in the Sack of Rome, we see that the date is ushered in by ominous circumstances. The day will "no longer glisten" as winds gather force and seek all which lies in their path. They are martialed in "battlelines" (*agminibus*), mirroring not only Vergil's description of Aeolus's winds in *Aeneid* Book Two, but establishing the military metaphor which will remain active through the remainder of the entry.[332] So too does Fracco create a thematic link with the Sack panel, even adopting the same second person apostrophe: "fear this, Roman" (*hunc, Romane, cave*).

The force of the river is presented as a kind of salutary rage – a violent purification of the indignities suffered during the Sack. The scene is one which draws upon epic or even quasi-apocalyptic literary models; we may think, for instance, of the Scamander rising in rage against Achilles or even the enraged Tiber from Horace *Odes* 1.2. Fracco's innovation upon the image is that he creates a thematic link between the actions of the *flumen* and those of the imperial soldiers. The "enraged" (*furens*) river sweeps through the city just like the imperial invaders: "And while it cast down homes it rushed through temples and altars/ pernicious in its battleline and fierce in its rapids" (*Tectaque deiiciens, per templa ruebat, et aras/ agmine damnosus fluminibusque ferox*).[333] Like the imperial invaders, the river spares neither church nor altar. It is

[331] *Sacri Fasti* 126b.
[332] Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 1.82-83: *ac venti, velut agmine facto, qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant*.
[333] *Sacri Fasti* 127a.

sacrilegious, "enraged at both heaven and the city" (*coeloque iratus et urbi*).[334] Moreover, the destructive force of the *flumen* mimics that of an army (*agmen*) which, as Fracco later explains, "terrifies and puts to flight" (*terrensque fugansque*) and evens besieges the buildings of the city (*aedibus obsessis*).[335]

If doubts were still to remain about the thematic connection between the two events, these are laid to rest at the end of the passage when the similarities become explicit:

> *Interea, superante suis incursibus amne,*
> *Gurgide ab iniecto diripiuntur opes.*
> *Alta quidem quondam vix duro victa sub hoste*
> *Roma, per excidium tam fera damna tulit.*
> *Talibus Aeacides, conversa viribus hasta,*
> *Oppressit Phrygias ad Simoenta manus.*
> *Denique diffusas sibi ripa coercuit undas*
> *Additus et fastis lucifer ater erat.*
>
> Meanwhile, as the river rises in its flows,
> Wealth is seized by the whirlpool that descends upon it.
> Lofty Rome, at one time conquered by a stout
> Enemy, bore in the sack hardships scarcely as terrible.
> With such great strength did Achilles, once he turned his spear,
> Drive Trojan bands to the Simois.
> Finally, the riverbank coerced its flooding waters
> And a dark day was added to the *Fasti*.[336]

In keeping with the solder-like behavior of the Tiber, we see that it takes for itself Rome's wealth (*opes*) – a clear parallel with the looting commonly undertaken by the imperial army. In the following couplet the Sack enters explicitly into the fray: the capital which had been "conquered under a harsh enemy" has endured another *excidium* and a second "dark day" (*lucifer ater*) becomes part of his *Fasti*.

**Conclusion**

[334] *Ibid.*
[335] *Ibid.*
[336] *Ibid.*

For Fracco, the Sack of Rome was more than simply a terrible, even life-changing, event. It was a *dies ater* – a day of tragedy and despair always to be remembered. It was Rome's passion. The city's sacred sites had been desecrated and its inhabitants had been made to undergo countless and unimaginable sufferings. The idea of Rome as the capital of Catholicism, the spiritual *caput mundi* established by Christ and helmed by his pontiffs, had been shattered. This was the city's nadir, a determinative inflection point in the history of the Church.

Like its author, however, the *Sacri Fasti* was a survivor – a testament, divinely authorized, to the resilience of the city and its inhabitants. Just as the *Aeneid* would recount not only the Fall of Troy, but the rise of Roman Latium, so too would Fracco's calendar bear witness to the flowering of a new Rome and a new Pope – Paul III Farnese. The Sack would give way to an era of peace, a *pompa pro pace*, which would once more elevate the city to its previous grandeur.

## Chapter IV: Paul III and the *Renovatio Urbis*

### The Life and Times of Paul III

When Clement VII finally succumbed to fever on 25 September, 1534, there followed a rush of euphoria and relief. Such a reaction would have been unthinkable only a decade earlier when humanists thought that the nephew of Lorenzo de Medici would return Rome to the lavish grandeur of Leo X.[337] This belief, whether justified or not, would not last long. The Sack of Rome ushered in a period of miseries and despair; the violent incursion of imperial troops gave way to a lengthy occupation in which disease and famine ran rampant, while the flood of 1530 destroyed much of what the invaders had not.

The election of Paul III on 11 October, 1534 was viewed as the beginning of a new era in Roman history. Joyous throngs welcomed the news with celebrations which lasted throughout the night at the nascent Palazzo Farnese.[338] There were many reasons to be optimistic about the new pontiff; apart from being a humanist and patron of the arts, Paul was also a Roman – the first to serve as the Vicar of Christ since Martin V (1417-1431) one hundred years prior. Born Alessandro Farnese, Paul was truly a product of the Renaissance. He had studied Latin and Greek under the famous scholar Pomponio Leto and had later lived in the court of Lorenzo de'Medici.[339] It was perhaps via a letter of recommendation from the latter that he received his first ecclesiastical position as an Apostolic Notary in 1491.[340]

From here Alessandro began a meteoric rise within the Curia; in 1493 he became Cardinal Deacon, in 1494 Cardinal Legate, while in 1499 he was appointed as Bishop of

[337] On the excitement experienced by the humanists see Gouwens, 39. Such was the parsimony of Clement's predecessor Adrian that he boasted of living on a stipend of only 3000 ducats, half that of the minimum 6000 usually allotted to cardinals. For more see Partner, 134.
[338] On these celebrations see Rebecchini, 2008, 158.
[339] On the early education of Alessandro see Pecchiai, 53-54.
[340] On his relationship and time with Lorenzo see Rocca, 50.

Montefiascone and Corneto. His climb within the Church was due in part to his affability, which brought him into the good graces of not only Alexander VI, but his successor Julius II, who would appoint Alessandro in 1509 as Bishop of Parma. Upon the accession of his childhood friend Leo X, Alessandro attained the office of Cardinal Bishop, at which point he was among those considered *papabili* and even nearly attained the purple on the death of Adrian VI.[341]

The reign of Clement VII saw Alessandro further consolidate his position within the Curia. In 1524 he was awarded the Cardinal Bishopric of Porta, soon to be followed by that of Ostia. He also emerged as a close confidant of the Pope, remaining with him during the Sack inside Castel Sant'Angelo. He would later take a leading role in international politics and would contribute to the thawing of diplomatic relations between the Papal States and Emperor Charles V. Such was the trust in the Farnese Cardinal, that Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici spread the rumor that Clement had hand-selected him as his successor.[342]

In this way, after Clement's death and a brief conclave, Cardinal Cibo hung from a window a great processional cross and announced that the new Pope, Paul III, had been chosen.[343] Beyond the general fanfare, the humanist community had special reason to rejoice. While the Sack had left "so deep an impression that a complete resuscitation of the former days of aesthetic enjoyment was impossible," Paul III was an accomplished scholar and a patron of the arts. Even more importantly, as a Roman, he understood the symbolic importance of the city as *urbs aeterna* – a point perhaps suggested by his choice of motto: *confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis* (Confirm this, God, which thing you have accomplished in us).[344]

[341] Indeed, Von Pastor, xi, 22 recounts the story that Alessandro "complained [that] Clement VII had deprived him of ten years of the Papacy."
[342] On the story see Pozzi, 23.
[343] *Ibid*,, 28.
[344] The motto itself is derived from Psalm 67: *confirma Deus hoc quod operatus es nobis*.

Although meeting the expectations of humanists was a Sisyphean exercise, Paul did much to revive the patronage of a generation earlier. The antiquarian Giovanele Manetti was appointed to conduct new archaeological excavations in the Roman Forum, while the city once more sponsored philosophers, mathematicians, and astrologers including Ubaldini Bandinelli, Alfano Alfani, and Pomponio Guarico.[345] Paul was especially motivated by a desire to restore Rome's domestic grandeur and to counter pressing international threats, particularly the Protestant Reformation and the westward push of the Ottomans. Artists and poets alike would promote this vision, with perhaps the most vivid expression being Vasari's Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, whose frescoes celebrate Paul as the new Solomon, the bringer of peace at Nice, and as the defender of justice and eloquence among nations.[346]

In many respects, the *Sacri Fasti* can be viewed as the poetic counterpart to Vasari's masterpiece. This chapter focuses on the central role that Paul III occupies within Fracco's calendar. Beginning with the lengthy introduction of the collection and continuing with passages such as the papal *electio* and *coronatio*, I demonstrate that Paul is, for Fracco, the uniter of the diverse European factions, the savior of Catholicism, and the main bulwark against the enemies of the faith. Furthermore, we shall see that Fracco draws on Ovid's treatment of Augustus and the imperial *domus* in the *Fasti* to refigure the Farnese as Rome's new leading dynasty.

**The Dedication of the *Sacri Fasti***

Although Fracco had begun his calendar under Leo X (1513-1521), the Sack of Rome had forced him to reevaluate the project. The Roman religious and cultural life which Fracco had hoped to celebrate was shattered, replaced by an era of uncertainty. In Paul III, Fracco identified a new source for optimism as well as a patron whose stature would be worthy of his calendar. This is

[345] For a general overview of some of the humanists who wrote under Paul III see Renazzi, 115-116.
[346] On the room and its frescoes see Robertson, 60.

best glimpsed through an ode dedicated to the new pontiff in the second book of his *Epigrams*. Dated to the *nonas decembris* (5 December), only one month after Paul's coronation on 5 November, 1534, the poem salutes the Farnese Pope as the harbinger of a new golden era: "As God, the begetter of the universe/ quietly rules the heavens,/ so does that upright one [Paul] now govern territories pacified with peace, as that just one does" (*Ut polum rerum genitor quiete/ temperat, terras bonus iste sic iam/ pace pacatas placida gubernat/ aequus ut ille*).[347] At the end of this same ode, Fracco explains the place of prominence which Paul occupies in his poem:

> *Acta ne longum celebranda in aevum*
> *In situm haec labi patiatur aetas*
> *Scripsit, aeternis ea suntque nostris*
> *Edita fastis.*
>
> This age of ours has written down your acts lest
> It allow them, worthy to be celebrated for a long time,
> To fall into neglect, and they are published in
> Our immortal *Fasti*.[348]

Fracco frames his relationship with Paul III as fundamentally symbiotic. While the Pope accomplishes great deeds, it is through his poet that they will be recorded by posterity. Moreover, the Pope and his deeds are framed as the major focus of his calendar.

This central role of Paul within *Sacri Fasti* is likewise expressed in its dedicatory epistle. Here, Fracco stresses Paul's role in bringing about renewed prosperity for Rome after its previous hardships:

> *Puto sic ut inter tua coelestia lilia quibus haec nostra aetas floret, conquiescerent, tuaque iuvenilia sydera, quorum splendore iam miseriarum nobis tenebras expulisti, sequerentur, teque potissimum lustrati adorarent. Qui tot praestanti ingenio viros, ut tibi et adessent et te circumstarent, atque ut his a te auctus Senatus, de te palam gloriaretur summis dignitatibus exornasti*.
>
> Thus I think that (the *Sacri Fasti*) may rest amid your celestial lilies in which this age of ours flowers and follow your young stars, through whose splendor you have already

[347] *Epigrams* fols. 237$^{v}$-238$^{r}$.
[348] *Ibid*., fol. 238$^{r}$.

> expelled the shadows of our miseries, and, illuminated, worship you in particular, who have honored so many men of outstanding genius, so that they may be present and attend you, and so that the Senate, increased by you with these men, may openly glorify you with the highest dignities.[349]

Fracco's image is that of a new golden age – a restoration of Rome and its fortunes. His *Fasti,* buffeted like the eternal city on a sea of miseries, can at last "rest" (*conquiscerent*) together with Paul's lilies (*lilia*), the symbol of the Farnese family.[350] Paul lights up the world through his own "splendor" (*splendore*) and has "expelled the shadows" (*tenebras expulisti*) which had lingered on since the Sack. His rule has facilitated the return of patronage to the city, while the Senate, the symbol of Rome's civic power and continuity with antiquity, he has "increased" (*auctus*).

The subsequent portion of the epistle continues the theme of restoration, but focuses on Paul's accomplishments abroad. Events which will serve as major panels within the poem are included:

> *Nam cum Caesari, et Regi, libelli mei etiam faveant (tres enim in terris quas regitis trinae superioris Maiestatis imaginem geritis) tuam illam a deo tam festinatam, ut orbi succurreret, creationem potissimum canunt, triplicemque coronam a Senatu tibi impositam supplices, ut debent, adorant. Totque tuas ob pacem res gestas, cum triumpho illo praeclarissimo ab utraque curia ad radices Capitolii acto, tibi felicissimo principi gratulantes, mirifice contemplantur. Tuorum ac tuas laudes ad coelum pro viribus attollunt*.
>
> For, since also my books favor Caesar and the King (for you three, in the lands which you rule, bear the image of a greater tripartite Majesty), they sing in particular that undertaking of yours, hastened so much by god, in order that it might aid the world, and they, as your suppliants, worship, as they ought to, the triple tiara set on your head by the Senate. And they, admirably, contemplate so many of your accomplishments on behalf of peace, with that most noteworthy triumph led by each court to the base of the Capitol, giving congratulations to you, the most blessed *princeps*. And they raise up, in accord with all your might, your praises and those of your kin to the sky.[351]

[349] *Sacri Fasti* IV.
[350] The Farnese lilies are most notably featured on the family stemma.
[351] *Sacri Fasti* V.

Paul is presented as the harbinger of happy times, as well as the begetter of peace and the unifier of Europe. Two events are specified: the first is his coronation (*triplicem coronam*), on 5 November and, the second, his triumph after returning from the Council of Nice – the accord which established peace between Charles V and Francis I.

These two events, together with Paul's domestic accomplishments seen earlier in the introductory epistle, set the stage for the programmatic centrality of the Pope within the calendar. Fracco foreshadows what will be major panels within the poem: the *coronatio*, the Peace of Nice, the 1538 triumphal procession, and the rise to power of the larger Farnese family. Finally, we learn that two other figures, Charles V and Francis I – that is, *Caesar* and *Rex* – will figure into the larger architecture of the calendar as part of a new triumvirate.

**The Introduction of the *Sacri Fasti* and the Myth of Janus**

Thus far we have examined the life of Paul III and how Fracco envisions his position within the *Sacri Fasti*. These themes are subsequently repeated in January, the first month and fittingly that dedicated to the apostle Paul – the namesake of the new Pope. Here the principal theme is rebirth – not only of Ovid's calendar, but also of the city of Rome:

> *Tempora sacra cano Latium renovata per annum*
> *Summaque cum causis imaque signa suis.*
> *Sancte pater, cuius nutu pia quaeque coluntur*
> *Accipe lustratae relligionis opus.*
>
> I sing sacred time made new again through the Latin year,
> And both the highest and lowest signs with their causes.
> Sacred father, at whose nod whatever is pious is cultivated,
> Accept this work of purified religion.[352]

In a reformulation of Ovid's opening phrase *tempora cum causis*, Fracco opens his calendar by noting that he will sing *tempora sacra* (sacred times) which are "renewed through the Latin

[352] *Sacri Fasti* 1a.

year" – an indication that his collection will focus on the Catholic liturgical calendar and that it will take as its model the Ovidian *Fasti*. Key to this opening is the adjective *renovata*, a term which suggests the calendar's continual renewal, the resuscitation of Ovid's *Fasti* and the ancient calendar, and the restoration of Roman religious and civic life under Paul III.

The third line is reserved for the dedicatee, Paul III; described solely as *Sancte Pater*, his identity will not be revealed until later in the introduction. On comparison with the proem of Ovid's *Fasti*, we find that Paul occupies the same position as Germanicus, likewise introduced in the poem's third verse: *excipe pacato, Caesar Germanice, voltu* (take up [this work] Caesar Germanicus, with a tranquil face).[353] These similarities serve as the first indication that Fracco's treatment of the Pope and the Farnese family will mirror that of the Augustan *domus*. Indeed, the verses which follow make this political centrality of Paul all but explicit:

> *Adde quod et venies quoque tu persaepe legendus*
> *Inveniesque sacros quos facis ipse, dies.*
> *Es tu etenim terris, deus est quod in aethere nobis*
> *Cumque sedes divis Tertius ipse tuis*.
>
> And add the fact that you too will often appears as the subject of the work
> And you will find the days which you yourself make sacred.
> For in fact, you are to us on Earth, what God is to us in heaven
> And you yourself will sit as the Third with your own divinities.[354]

Through targeted allusions, Fracco creates thematic parallels between the Roman imperial family and the Farnese. The Ovidian couplet (1.9-10) *invenies illic et festa domestica vobis;/ saepe tibi pater est, saepe legendus avus* (and there you will find your own domestic celebrations: often you will read about your father, often your grandfather) is now adapted to the Pope – the effect being to condition the reader to expect familial and political dynamics comparable to those in the *Fasti*.

[353] Ov. *Fast.* 1.3.
[354] *Sacri Fasti* 1a; n.b. how Fracco fashions his earthly trinity as similarly comprised of *divi*.

Like his imperial predecessors, Fracco's Paul seems almost godlike. He sits as the "third" (*Tertius*) together with his "own divinities" (*cum divis tuis*), as if part of his own Holy Trinity. It is in the remainder of the passage that these other *divi* are introduced:

> *Tu quoque tranquillo Caesar me réspice vultu*
> *Atque tua e coelo syderea pande rati.*
> *Inspicies et tu tibi tradita festa per aras*
> *Aequaque cum sancto munera patre feres.*
> *Hanc tu nam sedem bello, pace ille paravit*
> *Tutaque relligio est inter utrumque patrem.*
> *Praeterea vestra signantur imagine fratres ;*
> *Dum tu ensem, claves exerit ille suas.*
> *Utque duces illi rerum, patresque sacrorum,*
> *Sic patres, sic vos estis uterque duces.*
>
> You also, Caesar, look upon me with tranquil face
> And from heaven above reveal your stars to my bark.
> You will also find feasts handed down through your altars
> And you will receive tributes equal with those of the sacred father.
> For you earned this place by war, as that one did in peace
> And between these two fathers all religion is safe.
> Moreover the brothers are signified by your image;
> While you unsheathed your sword, that one did his keys.
> And as those two are leaders and fathers of sacred things,
> So you two are leaders and fathers also.[355]

To his trinity Fracco now introduces the rather surprising addition of Caesar, the title given throughout the poem to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. While the role of the Emperor is the focus of the next chapter, it is worthwhile to consider his relationship here with Paul.

The two leaders are presented as the spiritual equivalent of Saints Paul and Peter, as is made clear by their respective symbols – the sword (St. Paul) and the key (St. Peter). It is through their partnership that the Catholic faith is safeguarded: *Tutaque relligio est inter utrumque patrem* (between these two fathers all religion is safe). While the emphasis on *relligio* should come as no surprise, that it is deemed "safe" (*tuta*) deserves clarification. Two

[355] *Ibid.*

developments are here in the background: first is the Protestant Reformation, to which Fracco alludes in the calendar, albeit without ever naming Luther. The second is the Ottoman threat, which had grown in severity through the first part of the Cinquecento. Against these challenges the two leaders stand, Paul as the embodiment of religious power (*claves*) and Charles that of military might (*ensis*).

For the third member of this trinity we are forced to wait. Fracco instead commences with the first major panel of the calendar, a lengthy dialogue between the poet and Janus as modelled on Ovid's interaction with the *biceps* divinity at *Fasti* 1.53-294.[356] Beyond its stark intertextual connections with the episode from the *Fasti*, this panel is also programmatically significant in that it outlines a coherent religious and political structure for the world. At the center of this order is the aforementioned trinity from the proem, now given a mythological background.

Curiously, the panel does not begin with Janus, but rather the festival of *Capodanno* as celebrated in Rome. The focus is on the annual renewal of Rome's civic and religious offices as is manifested by two processions, one on the Vatican Hill and the other on the Campidoglio.[357] Each carries images of their respective avatars, namely, the Pope and Charles V: *sed iam culta suos subit utraque curia colles/ Haecque patris faciem, Caesaris illa gerit* (But now each cultivated curia enters its own hills/ and the one carries the image of the father, the other that of Caesar).[358] Together, the representations of the two *duces* suggests that their power arrangement has led to an era of peace and stability, while foreshadowing the central importance which the relationship between the two will have later in the calendar.

[356] For a more detailed analysis of the similarities between this dialogue and that in the *Fasti* see Miller, 2015, 86.
[357] The reference to the different *facies* is a puzzling one. The best solution is to perhaps read *facies* as meaning "symbol," such that it would refer to the respective symbols of the papal and civic *curiae*, the *claves* of St. Peter and the acronym S.P.Q.R.
[358] *Sacri Fasti* 2b.

It is as a spectator of this civic ceremony that Fracco begins the primary section of the panel.[359] Standing before the Church of Aracoeli, he invokes the liminal deity Janus "because you guard over the thresholds of heaven and you first hold for me the path to the divine" (*aeternus quia coeli limina servas/ ad superosque adytum tu mihi primus habes*).[360] Shortly after this address to the god, Janus appears before Fracco, albeit in a modified form. No longer is this the *bifrons* Janus from the *Fasti*, but a god who is called the *trine parens rerum* (the threefold parent of things).

Much like the dialogue in the opening of *Fasti* Book One, the unusual appearance of Janus necessitates explanation and initiates a Callimachean dialogue.[361] Appearing before the poet, Janus describes his origins and purview over the world. We discover that he is no longer Chaos of *Fasti* Book One, but the abstract idea of three. For this reason the primordial state of nature in Genesis was trifold, comprised of the sea, land, and stars. Further echoes can be ascertained from the sets of three which exist in mythology: in "three-furrowed lightning," in the three sisters of Hecate, in the three Fates, in the threefold division of the Earth.

Understandably confused, Fracco asks the god how he received his name: how was it that the Trinity came to be associated with a pagan god? The answer which he receives comes from apocryphal histories popularized in the Renaissance. Specifically, Fracco evokes the forged *Antiquities* of Annius of Viterbo in which the scholar famously claimed to have unearthed evidence that Noah had visited Tuscany and had become the precursor to the Popes.[362]

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[359] This includes, or alludes to, figures such as the *tribuni*, *senatore*, collaterali, and the *Giudice de'Malefici*. For more on these offices see Spizzichino, 150.
[360] *Sacri Fasti* 6a.
[361] Both in the *Fasti* and the *Sacri Fasti* this begins with the poet entering a kind of trance. For more see Miller, 2002, 175.
[362] For more on Annius of Viterbo see Stephens, 2004.

After discussing other ways in which ancient religious customs prefigured Christian theology, Fracco at last returns to the topic of the Holy Trinity. Janus, we learn, is an ancient reflection of this tripartite divine structure. Further echoes are to be found in the natural phenomena such as the three prongs of a lightning strike or the threefold division of the world. Most crucial, however, is that the Trinity is manifested in the political world. Janus informs us that Paul III (*pater*) and Charles V (*Caesar*) are two pillars of this order, while their third member, the king (*rex*), now also appears:

*Tunc ego sic 'verbo pater o qui cuncta creasti,*
*Rex, Pater, et Caesar, très tua regna tenent.*
*Aethere très unus vos sydera pace tenetis*
*'Da' rogo 'pace hi tres inferiora regant*.'
*Haec ego quum subito nutu tremefecit Olympum*
*Terque tonans micuit ter tonuitque micans.*
*Cumque sono in liquidum se sustulit aethera nubes*
*Igneaque a tergo visa columna sequi.*
*Pax et erat, Pauli munus, quaesita per orbem.*
*Hoc duce per terras ambulat illa suas*.

I then spoke in this way "O father, you who created everything through the word,
The King, the Father, and Caesar hold your threefold kingdoms.
In heaven you three, who are one, hold the stars in the sky in peace.
Grant, "I beg you" that these three might rule the lower realms in peace."
I had said these things when suddenly he made the heavens shake with a nod
And thrice it thundered while flashing and flashed while thundering
And with a roar a cloud raised itself up into the clear sky
And a column of fire appeared to follow from behind.
And there was peace, the gift of Paul, sought throughout the world.
Under his leadership it walks among his lands.[363]

With the culmination of the panel Fracco juxtaposes the earthly trinity with its heavenly counterpart. Peace (*pax*) serves as the unifying theme. Fracco prays that, just as the Holy Trinity rules the celestial spheres in peace, the Pope, the Emperor and the King may peacefully govern the world. The identity of this *rex* is likely Francis I, the Savoy King of France, whose struggle

[363] *Sacri Fasti* 6a.

with Charles V remained the most important geopolitical issue for the Italian peninsula. His inclusion here accords largely with the larger political program of Paul III which sought to attain a lasting truce between the two men – an effort already alluded to in the *Pompa pro pace* and notably manifested in events such the Peace of Nice in 1538 and later that of Crepy in 1544.[364]

This prayer is acknowledged by the divine in a show of lightning and thunder. Clouds rise into the sky and a "column of fire" appears to "follow from behind" – an image derived from the pillars of cloud and fire which guided the Hebrews out of Egypt.[365] Fracco then announces that "there was peace," the "gift of Paul." This new *pax*, like the Israelites freed from Egypt, "walks through the land," led by the Farnese Pope as if a new Moses. This biblical *comparandum* is replete with overtones of a salvation promised after years of hardship. We shall see Fracco explore it more fully later in this chapter.

With his prayer at an end, Fracco summarizes the themes from the introduction of Book One and also reaffirms the programmatic importance of the tripartite political alliance:

> *Di servate igitur Patrem et cum Caesare Regem*
> *Qui terram, ut coelum trinus et unus, habent.*
> *Nate paterque etiam sancto cum flamine, nobis*
> *Unum qui facitis, tergeminumque deum.*
> *Ut tribus annuitis iam in pace regentibus orbem*
> *Annuite huic operi, carminibusque meis.*
>
> Therefore, gods, watch over the Father and the King with Caesar
> Who control the Earth as you, three and one, do heaven.
> You Son and Father together also with the Holy Spirit, you
> Who make for us a one and threefold god.
> As you already give favor to those three ruling the world in peace
> Give favor to this undertaking and to my poetry.[366]

[364] The latter peace, although not receiving as much attention from Fracco as Nice, nevertheless is celebrated on its anniversary of 18 September. For more see Elton, 392.
[365] *Exodus* 13:21-22: *Dominus autem praecedebat eos ad ostendendam viam per diem in columna nubis et per noctem in columna ignis ut dux esset itineris utroque tempore*.
[366] *Sacri Fasti* 6a.

Whereas at the opening of Book One Fracco called upon Caesar and Paul to approve of his work, he now beseechs the Holy Trinity to protect his earthly triumvirate. The language of this request is adapted from a pivotal section of *Aeneid* Book Two, the prayer of Anchises for the future of Troy and its lineage: *di patrii; servate domum, servate nepotem*/ *vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numina Troia est* (Paternal gods; preserve the house, preserve my grandson. This is your augury, and Troy is in your power).[367] In Fracco's reformulation, the position occupied by the *domus* of Aeneas and his son Iulus, the progenitor of the Julian line, is now held by Charles V, Paul III, and Francis I. The message is clear: as the Roman era emerged from the fall of Troy, so now a new period of prosperity has supplanted the previous hardships of the city.

**Election and Coronation**

Beyond the introduction of the *Sacri Fasti*, the most complete examination of Paul is the anniversary of his election (11 October) and that of his coronation (5 November). There Fracco celebrates the new Pope and the *gens Farnesina* by expounding upon themes from the introduction. Descriptions of people, places, and events are deftly intertwined and united under a larger programmatic aegis. As with the Janus panel, myth also plays an important role, with Fracco creating an Ovidian style catasterism as an allegory for the new pontificate.

Upon the death of Clement VII on 25 September, 1534 there commenced nine days of mourning which were, in turn, followed by a brief conclave and the announcement on 11 October that a new Pope had been chosen – Alessandro Farnese, who would take as his name Paul III. Optimism ran high for Rome's humanists. In a letter to the new pontiff, Jacopo Sadoleto, then bishop of Carpentras, describes the air of excitement which permeated the city: *sed hoc certe scribo, quod intellego, et sentio, numquam animos hominum laetiores, numquam*

[367] Verg. *Aen.* 2.702-3.

*praedicationes magis honorificas, nec crebriores laudes de ullo Romae Pontifice extitisse* (but I certainly write and feel this which I know, never were the spirits of men happier, never were there sermons more honorific, nor were there praises more frequent about any Bishop of Rome).[368] Similar recollections are found in the letters of Henry VIII's ambassador to the papal court, Gregorio Casali, who describes the *laetitia totius urbis* and how Paul was "carried on Roman shoulders into St. Peter's Basilica with the greatest celebration and mass of people" (*maximaque celebritate et populi frequentia in aedem Divi Petri Romanorum humeris delatus*).[369]

Fracco's account of the election offers insight into this zeal and is one of the few contemporary poetic accounts of the event. In his retelling of the day, Fracco heralds the Pope as the savior of Rome, as well as the patriarch of the larger Farnese *gens*:

> *Quam bene Roma tuus ceu missus ab aethere pastor*
> *Tunc et commissas sanctus habebit oves.*
> *Scilicet ut lassis posset succurrere rebus*
> *Pro grege iam pridem numine lectus erat.*
> *Nam vix grande senex penetrale intraverat inde*
> *Reddita quum vox est, 'urbs habet alma patrem.'*
>
> How well, Rome, will your sacred shepherd tend the sheep entrusted
> To him, as if he has been sent from heaven.
> Doubtless so that he could aid our tired affairs,
> For some time now he had already been divinely chosen for his flock.
> For scarcely had that elder entered the grand inner sanctum when
> A voice resounded, "the nourishing city has its father."[370]

The election of Paul is presented from the point of view of Rome. He is her leader and his elevation to the triple crown is to her benefit. He has been "chosen by god" (*numine lectus*) and

[368] Sadoleto, 198.
[369] Letter of Giorgio Casali on 15 October in the State-Papers of Henry VIII, vol VII, 572-573.
[370] *Sacri Fasti* 127b.

sent from heaven (*missus ab aethere*) to be the savior of the city and its people.[371] He is the *pastor* who will shepherd the faithful – a description evocative of Christ himself who, in Fracco's entry for Epiphany, is given the title *maximus pastor*.[372]

First to be confronted by the new papacy are those ills which had beset Rome. Paul will "aid [its] tired affairs": the Sack, the flood of 1530, as well as famines and other hardships.[373] The phrase *lassis rebus* (tired affairs), found at numerous points throughout the *Ex Ponto*, carries with it the sense that the city is in a kind of malaise, the kind which only a figure like Paul can alleviate.[374] Indeed, the adverbial syntagma *iam pridem* (now for a long time) suggests that Paul has been fated – that his ascension to the throne is part of a larger divine plan.

The events of the night and the next morning continue the prophetic tone. The scene takes place immediately after the conclusion of the conclave. We hear a voice ring out with a message of gnomic brevity: *urbs habet alma patrem* (the nourishing city has its father). Meanwhile, the dawn reveals that a new era for Rome is about to begin:

*Atque mora optatis nocte est non amplius una,*
*Amplius amissas ne quereremur opes.*
*Ergo suos currus Phoebus properantius egit*
*Gaudiaque ad rerum praecipitavit equos.*
*Cernite iam dignis quam nunc tribuantur honores*
*Paceque Maiestas quam quoque magna redit.*
*Nempe tuus titulus rerum est mensura tuarum*
*Ocia dum terris, ocia reddis aquis.*

And the wait for our wishes was no more than a single night,
Lest we further lament the prosperity we have lost.
Therefore, Phoebus more swiftly drove his chariots
And he hastened his horses towards the rejoicing.
Observe how honors are already now being distributed to the worthy

[371] This theme of a divinely sent Paul III is seen in other poetry of the time, perhaps most notably in some occasional verse of Angelo Colocci e.g. Vatican City, BAV.Vat.Lat.3388, fol. 95$^{r}$: *Di Romana ad sceptra vocarint*/ *Romanum Regem, Romano e sanguine cretem*;/ *Qui regat imperio terras, Populosque labantes.*/ *Tertius e Coelo est demissus Paulus in Urbem*/ *Aeneadum*.
[372] *Sacri Fasti* 9a.
[373] On the famines which followed the Sack see Rebecchini, 2008, 149.
[374] Cf. Ov. *Pont*. 2.2.47; 2.3.93.

And how great Majesty also returns with peace.
Of course your title is the measure of your affairs
While you restore tranquility to the lands, tranquility to the seas.[375]

Upon the nascent papacy rest the hopes of the Roman people, expressed through the substantive adjective *optatis*. As elsewhere, these desires are immediately contrasted with the grandeur of the city prior to the Sack (*amissas…opes*). Contributing to the suspense is that Paul's name remains hidden, although Fracco offers hints by invoking a common etymology in the Renaissance; according to the lexographer Ambrogio Calepio (1435-1511), the meaning of Paulus in Greek is *quietus* (the quiet one).[376] It is in light of this etymology that we can make sense of the following pentameter, that is, the presence of *ocia* (tranquility) and *pax* are features of a new golden age characterized by *quies*.

Thematically, the opening is crafted to create links between Paul and Augustus. The primary intertext in the background is Ovid's anniversary of Augustus's first *salutatio* as *imperator* on 21 April during the Battle of Mutina in 43 BC: *Hanc quondam Cytherea diem properantius ire/ iussit et admissos praeciptavit equos, ut titulum imperii cum primum luce sequenti/ Augusto iuveni prospera bella darent* (Cytherea formerly ordered this day to more hastily rush forth and she hastened her horses, so that as soon as possible on the next day prosperous wars might offer the title of *imperium* to the young Augustus).[377] From Ovid, Fracco adopts feelings of anticipation and grandeur. The shared use of the verb *praecipitare* and of the comparative adverb *properantius* suggest that the celestial realm is as eager as the spectators who will throng St. Peter's. Even more important is the surrounding context. By drawing on the beginning of Augustus's career, Fracco suggests that the *electio* marks a similar milestone in

[375] *Sacri Fasti* 127b.
[376] Calepio, 234; this etymology can also be found in the margin of *Sacri Fasti* 127b: *Paulus graece quietus dicitur*.
[377] Ov. *Fast*. 4.673-676.

Paul's rise to greatness, or, rather, that the Pope even surpasses his imperial predecessor. His title confers not simply *imperium*, but promises a new dawn of peace and tranquility.

This stress placed on destiny, on the Pope restoring Rome to a position commensurate with her stature, is the focus of the latter section of the panel. Fracco situates Paul within a lineage of important figures within church history and as the patriarch of a new ruling dynasty:

> *Fratribus e geminis hinc, Paule, es Tertius idem*
> *Nomen et hic, claves tradidit ille suas.*
> *Nullus enim poterat moderantius aequore tanto*
> *Ad portum Cymbae tradere vela tuae.*
> *Te penes imperii divini cura manebit*
> *Haec tua digna domus frena tenere manu.*
> *Coelesti interea mente haec dum sancta gubernas;*
> *Et te Roma decus sanguinis esse putat.*
> *Felix terra diu, serum te cernat Olympus*
> *Natalemque tuum nunciet ara frequens.*
>
> Paul, you are also the Third from your twin brothers
> And the one gave you his name, the other his keys.
> For no one could more moderately guide the sails of
> Your bark to port in so great a sea.
> The care of the divine empire will remain under your power:
> This family of yours is worthy of holding the reins in its hand.
> Meanwhile, while you steer these sacred matters with your heavenly mind;
> Rome too thinks you an ornament to your lineage.
> Let the happy earth long look upon you,, let Olympus receive you only after long delay.
> And let the crowded altar herald your birthday.[378]

Paul III is an amalgamation of his predecessors – his keys are derived from Paul II and his title is taken from his saintly namesake. These qualities, we learn, are necessary for the geopolitical and domestic peril in which the Church finds itself; the bark of St. Peter sails on a "great sea" (*aequore tanto*) and must be steered into port. Where Fracco places the most emphasis, though, is on Paul as the patriarch of the Farnese dynasty. Here again does he look to the *Fasti*, albeit this time to Ovid's portrayal of the imperial dynasty.

[378] *Sacri Fasti* 127b.

The source of Fracco's inspiration is the Carmentalia (11 January and 15 January), a festival dedicated to Carmentis – the prophetess mother of the Arcadian King Evander and a traditional goddess of prophecy. Her panel in the *Fasti* is divided into two parts: the first a narration of how Evander journeyed from Arcadia to the shores of Italy, and a second which takes the form of a prophecy. It is from this latter section that our intertext is derived. There, once at the mouth of the Tiber River, Carmentis leaps ashore and begins to sing of the future struggles and greatness of Rome – a history which will culminate in Augustus and the imperial house:[379]

*Tempus erit cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,*
*Et fient ipso sacra colente deo,*
*Et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit*
*Hanc fas imperio frena tenere domum.*
*Inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,*
*Pondera caelesti mente paterna feret,*
*Utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris,*
*Sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.*

There will be a time when this same one will look upon you and the world,
And rituals will be performed by a god in person.
And the protection of the country will remain under the descendants of Augustus.
It is right for this house to hold the reins of rule.
Then the grandson and the son of god, although he himself refuses,
Will bear his father's burdens with his celestial mind,
And just as I will someday be honored at perpetual altars,
So will Livia Augusta be a new divinity.[380]

The nature of Carmentis's prophecy is fundamentally teleological; the threads of Roman civilization converge in Augustus and his successors. Key is the verb *tueor* (to safeguard) and its derivative *tutela*, both of which suggest a domesticizing of the *res publica*; that is, the Emperor has become not only the *paterfamilias* of his own dynasty, but that of the state. Beyond this

[379] For more on the political reading of the passage see Pasco-Pranger, 192; an overview of the festival can be found at Green, 235 and Frazer, 177-181.
[380] Ov. *Fast.* 1.529-536.

fusion of public and domestic, Carmentis further indicates that there will be a union between man and the divine – the inevitable accession of the Augustus, Livia, and their descendants into the ranks of the Roman pantheon.

Within the *electio*, Fracco echoes Ovid's treatment of the Augustan *domus* in how he frames Paul III and the Farnese. The couplet promising Augustan hegemony – *et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit/ Hanc fas imperio frena tenere domum* – is clearly the inspiration for Fracco's: *Te penes imperii divini cura manebit/ Haec tua digna domus frena tenere manu*. In each case a dynasty is worthy to hold the reins of power. Here, however, it is a "divine empire" (*imperium divinum*) which the Pope and the Farnese safeguard.[381] Shared between the two passages is also how each *gens* will rule; the ablative *caelesti mente*, a suggestion of the divine power wielded by Augustus and Tiberius, is repeated for Paul. He too is destined for a kind of apotheosis – an eventual elevation into the ranks of a new Mount Olympus.

Perhaps the most important similarity between the two passages is the role of family. Fracco reimagines the Ovidian panel, not only to herald the Pope, but to situate the Farnese as the preeminent Roman dynasty. It is now Paul III's son Pier Luigi and his two grandsons, Alessandro and Ottavio, who step into the roles of Germanicus and Tiberius. While his grandchildren are celebrated in further detail in the coronation, Pier Luigi receives his own panel on 2 February – the anniversary of his appointment as *Gonfaloniere della* Chiesa in 1537.[382] In this panel too Fracco emphasize a comparable dynastic role, as is seen in its conclusion: *Di servate igitur nobis natumque patremque/ augeat hic aras ut ducis, ille duces* (Gods, therefore,

[381] Comparisons between the Catholic Church and Roman Empire are common within the *Sacri Fasti* and in other literature of the time. The origin of the idea was the apocryphal Donation of Constantine

[382] On Pier Luigi's elevation to the position see Pecchiai, 70. The role was one of those connected with papal nepotism, most notably being held by none other than Cesare Borgia. This scene is further featured among the frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola.

safeguard for us the son and the father, so that this one can expand the altars of the leader, [and] that one [might exalt] the leaders).[383] Indeed, in his language, Fracco appears, even here, to connect Paul and Augustus via an implied etymology through the verb *augere* for the latter's name.

The *electio* thus marks an important step in how Paul III and the Farnese are portrayed within the poem. Whereas Fracco establishes in the proem the political and theological significance of the Pope, he here incorporates a dynastic component – the destined retention of power by Paul's children and grandchildren. As we shall see, Fracco further explores this theme in his panel on the *coronatio*, where he will also bring Charles V into the dynamic.

***Dies Ater Aegyptiacus***

Adjoining the anniversary of Paul's *electio* is the rather unexpected introduction of a *dies Aegyptiacus*. Twenty-four in number and with their origins in late antiquity, these "Egyptian days" occurred twice monthly and were considered inauspicious. Although dates for the *dies Aegyptiaci* vary, the two for the month of October traditionally fell on the third and twenty-second as is confirmed by contemporary calendars and even by the *Fasti Christianae Religionis*.

While the precise origin of the name "Egyptian day" is unknown, a biblical aetiology arose in the Middle Ages; they were said to be those days on which Moses had visited plagues upon Pharaoh.[384] Drawing on this traditional attribution, Fracco devises his own myth set during this struggle between Moses and Pharaoh. In so doing, he creates an allegory for the new Rome of Paul III and a statement on the supremacy of theological power:

> *Idibus e toto restant tres ordine luces*
> *Scorpius et media de tribus optat iter.*

[383] *Sacri Fasti* 15b; Fracco appears to use *augeo* in two senses here: 1) to increase (i.e. the borders of the Papal States through the generalship of Pier Luigi 2) the exaltation of existing leaders by the Pope.
[384] On this origin see Skemer, 82.

*Tristia deflebat Pharios Iudaea per agros;*
*Vera canam, dictis fabula nulla meis.*
*Fas ut erat magnos deducere monte capellas*
*Atque humiles reges tunc habitare casas,*
*Forte greges viridi pascebat gramine Moses*
*Rureque mulcebat carmine doctus oves.*

The Ides have three days left from the whole sequence
And Scorpio desires a path on the midmost of the three.
Judea was lamenting her ills among the fields of Pharoah:
I will sing true things, there is no fable in my words.
As it was right for great kings to lead goats down from the mountain
And also to then inhabit humble cottages.
By chance Moses was grazing his flocks in the verdant grassland
And he was skillfully soothing his sheep with song in the country.[385]

The myth opens with Scorpio blazing across the sky – the first time since the panel on the Sack of Rome that the constellation has appeared. This feeling of unease is amplified in the following verses. A gloomy Judea laments her own *tristia* in Egypt in a story which Fracco assures us is true (*dictis fabula nulla meis*).

Hope, though, is not lost. Moses is now introduced in the guise of both a shepherd and, as Fracco implies, a king. This dual identity is itself significant and accords with the Renaissance conception of the Pope as both *rex* and *pastor*. The belief that Moses is a type of "protopope" has its foundations in 1 Corinthians and in the "Life of Moses" of Gregory of Nyssa, the latter being especially popular among intellectuals of the papal court.[386] This group, eager to ground papal authority in the beginnings of the Judeo-Christian tradition, gravitated towards the symbolic richness of Moses. The popularity of this attribution, especially in the Renaissance, can be seen in a host of works from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries including Botticelli's fresco cycle on

[385] *Sacri Fasti* 127b.
[386] On the importance of 1 *Corinthians* to the development of Moses see Foster, 398-399. For Moses as *typus papae* see Stinger, 212.

the south wall of the Sistine Chapel and Michelangelo's Moses for the tomb of Julius II.[387] On the literary front, already at the start of the quattrocento there is a motet written under Martin V which celebrates the Pope as the *verus pastor* under whom the *lex Moysi* (law of Moses) is upheld.[388]

With this background in mind, we can examine the panel which follows. Fracco centers the scene on a struggle between Moses and Pharaoh – the clash between divine and secular power. This begins with an injunction to Moses by the burning bush: "My people wander in the fields of the Nile; that they might be safe through you, come before the face of Pharaoh" (*mea plebs Nili errat in agris;/ tuta sit ut per te regis ad ora veni*).[389] Furthermore, Moses is instructed to confront Pharaoh so that the latter will "fear God" (*deum timeat*) and "honor [His] altars" (*nostris consulat aris*).[390] It is God's will, we learn, that Pharaoh spare his people.

Yet Moses remains timid. How will he authoritatively deliver God's message? He thus asks heaven for a sign. This comes in the form of a staff which can transform into a snake when thrown. It is with this new power in hand that he now confronts Pharaoh:

> *Iecit ut hic geminas virgas, riguere dracones;*
> *Iecerat hic unam, devorat una duas.*
> *Ira ducem tetigit, rubuitque hoc omine vinci;*
> *Vota negat; Moses 'sit Deus ultor' ait.*
>
> When the one threw his twin staves, they became erect as serpents;
> The other threw a single staff, the one devours the two.
> Anger struck the leader, and he was embarrassed that he was conquered by this omen;
> Pharaoh reneges on his promises; Moses says "let God be the avenger."[391]

[387] For more on the frescoes see Foster, 394-395. We can also add the statue of Moses commissioned by Paul III and modelled by Raffaello da Montelupo and Lorenzetto for the parapets of Castel Sant'Angelo. This work accompanied seven other statues of biblical figures including the four evangelists, Noah, Adam, and Abraham to decorate the Castello for Charles's 1536 triumph. For more see Pimpinella, 26.
[388] Sherr, 33.
[389] *Sacri Fasti* 128a.
[390] *Ibid.*
[391] *Ibid.*, 128b.

Retold is the scene of *Exodus* 7.8-13; the staff of Moses is transformed into a serpent which devours the two other staves cast by Pharaoh's magician. Emphasis is placed on Pharaoh's indignation and rejection of his vow (*vota*) that, upon the appearance of a sign, he would free the people of Israel. This indignation is underscored by reference to other famous moments in Roman history. For instance, in an echo of the phrase which Constantine envisioned before the Battle of Milvian Bridge, *in hoc signo vinces* (in this sign you will conquer), we see the embarrassment of Pharoah as he has "been overcome by this omen" (*hoc omine vinci*). Finally, Fracco has added an Ovidian touch: *sit Deus ultor* (let God be the avenger) serves to evoke Mars the Avenger and the promise of divine retribution upon the enemies of Rome.[392]

Moses's pronouncement is soon followed by a series of plagues which descend upon Egypt. The swelling of the Nile and torrential rains serve as the prelude to infestations of beasts and locusts. Yet Pharaoh remains unfazed. This prompts God to unleash one final *monstrum*:

*Quum subito diri sinuosis orbibus angues*
*Attolluntur humo, regis et ora petunt.*
*Spectat, et heus cedens 'vos dudum vidimus,' inquit.*
*Rursus humus nixa est ; Scorpius ortus erat.*
*Prosilit in regem letalis acumine caudae,*
*Ille timet, motus iussa timore facit.*
*Tunc deus 'en regem commovit Scorpius,' inquit*
*'Parvit et tellus, monsque fit ara mihi.*
*Fas ut erit, rerum fieri monumenta iubemus.'*
*Vix ea, quum coelo transtulit ille feram.*
*Atque ut erat regi metuendus Scorpius, illic*
*Sic sibi bis stellas quinque novemque tulit.*

When suddenly serpents, dreadful with their twisting coils,
Arise from the earth, and they seek out the face of the king.
He looks and, backing away, says "Ah! At last do I pay regard to you!"[393]
Again the ground gave birth; a scorpion arose.
It lunged at the king, lethal with the point of its tail.
He is afraid, moved by fear he does what he is ordered.
Then God says "Look, the scorpion rouses the king to action.

[392] Cf. Ov. *Fast*. 5.577 *templa feres et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor*.
[393] For this use of *video*, particularly in exclamations, *OLD* s.v. 16b.

And the land has given birth, and the mountain becomes my altar.
And as will be appropriate, I order that he become a monument of the events."
Scarcely had he said these things when he took up the creature into the sky.
And as the scorpion was feared by the king, so there in the sky
Did he bear nineteen stars for himself.[394]

What stands out about Fracco's story is how it deviates from the biblical account. In *Exodus*, Aaron is the one to cast the staff, while in the *Sacri Fasti* it is Moses alone who confronts Pharaoh. Perhaps even more curious is that scorpions do not appear in the Old Testament account; instead, the closest creatures are perhaps the *sciniphes*, usually translated as "gnats" and which similarly arise out of the earth (*omnis pulvis terrae versus est in sciniphes*).[395] Moreover, in *Exodus*, Pharaoh is ultimately unswayed by the pests and beasts, and only concedes to the demands of the Israelites upon the death of his firstborn.[396]

The motive for these changes is literary rathern than theological. The appearance first of "snakes dreadful with their twisting coils" (*diri sinuosis orbibus angues*) recalls the twin sea serpents from the *Aeneid*: "(I shudder to recall) snakes with immense coils" ([*horresco referens*] *immensis orbibus angues*).[397] They, like the sea monsters dispatched by Minerva, are catalysts of divine power. Continuing the intertext, Pharaoh takes on the role of the helpless Laocoon, against whom the serpents aim their ire (*regis et ora petunt*).[398]

Where the entry is most unusual, however, is in the presence of the scorpion. While at the beginning of the myth it appeared as though we were entering a *dies Aegyptiacus*, Fracco now refigures the entire panel as an Ovidian catasterism, that is, a star myth. Our first hint to this context comes perhaps from the description of the scorpion as *letalis acumine caudae*, wording

[394] *Sacri Fasti* 129a.
[395] *Sciniphes* is a direct rendering of the Septuagint σκνῖφες. The sixteenth century biblical lexographer, Andreas Placus, fol. 28$^{r}$ describes the creatures as *vermiculi…permolesti, culicibus similes* (they are very annoying little worms, similar to gnats).
[396] Exodus 12:31.
[397] Verg. *Aen*. 2.204.
[398] *Ibid*., 2.212-213 *illi agmine certo Laocoonta petunt* (they seek Laocoon in a fixed battleline).

nearly identical to that used for the creature at *Fasti* 4.163 (*metuendus acumine caudae*). Terrified by the beast, Pharaoh at last concedes to the demands of Moses. In recompense for his service, God transforms the scorpion into a constellation, forever to be a reminder (*rerum…monumenta*) that even kings must obey divine commands.

The question is why Fracco has chosen this moment to create a novel myth, unbiblical and absent from other Renaissance calendars?[399] Some clues we have already seen: the juxtaposition with the election panel, the depiction of Paul III as a *pastor* tending over the Roman flock (*oves*), together with the appearance of the proto-pope Moses in the guise of *pastor* and *rex*, suggests an allegorical reading centered upon the new pontificate.[400] Even more significant is that Fracco has entirely reframed the meaning of Scorpio. Earlier in the calendar, the constellation rises ominously to mark the anniversary of the Sack (6 May). Now after the election of Paul III, Scorpio is transformed; the creature which had brought about Rome's *dies ater*, has become a symbol of divine supremacy and rightful obedience before God.

We can, however, be more specific still. Fracco's emphasis on religious over political supremacy can be read as a commentary on the debate over papal power which raged during the Middle Ages and Protestant Reformation. That Fracco singles out the refusal of Pharaoh to uphold his vow (*votum*) and mythologizes Scorpio to commemorate this failure is salient, especially when considered against the Sack of Rome. In doing so, Fracco offers a rebuke to the sacrilegious attack of Charles V and his imperial army against the professed supremacy of the

[399] One can note, however, that Scorpio as the humbler of the haughty goes back to the classical myth of his killing Orion. In the Renaissance, Scorpio was also associated with war, malfeasance, and deception – a point which makes the absence of these associations in Fracco even more jarring. For more see Aurigemma, esp. 137-187.
[400] The supremacy of the Pope over secular rulers has a long history. Testament to the popularity of this theme in the era of Paul III can be seen, for instance, in a medallion of Alessandro Cesati dating from 1545-1546 with the obverse containing a bust of Paul III and the reverse with Alexander the Great kneeling before the high priest of the Temple of Jerusalem with the legend *Omnes reges servient ei* (all kings will serve him). For more see Firpo and Biferali, 117.

Pope. As such, the myth takes on an allegorical significance: Moses, representing the Pope, confronts and bends to his will Pharaoh, emblematic of misguided and impudent political power.

**The Coronation**

The lead-up to the coronation of Paul III must have been a sight to behold. Excitement filled the air and was amplified by a regime eager to showcase a renewed Roman grandeur. On 29 October, a magnificent torchlight procession was organized by Ascanio Colonna to usher in the new pontiff. The aim was to synthesize religious and classical cultures. Three triumphal chariots were accompanied through the streets by classically attired youth, "Scipiones, Marcelli, and Torquati," set against symbols of Roman and Church grandeur.[401] The first included personifications of Scipio, Brutus, and Hannibal, each of whom recited praises of Rome and of the new Pope. The second featured the three Christian virtues: faith (*fides*), hope (*spes*), and charity (*caritas*), between which stood the great defenders of the Church, including the Emperor Constantine. The final chariot was laden with musicians and singers to add a triumphant note to the whole event. For his own part, Paul III watched the panoply from a window in St. Peter's.[402]

This was to be only the prelude for the main coronation. Set for 5 November, here was planned a ceremony, the basic form of which had changed little since the Middle Ages. First, the cardinal-electors hailed the Pope by his new name. Then, robed in white garb and donning the triple crown, he was carried out of St. Peter's on a litter to great fanfare.[403] Then followed the *possessio*, "a solemn cavalcade" which made its way from St. Peter's to the Basilica of Saint John Lateran – the Pope's episcopal seat in the city of Rome.[404]

[401] On this triumphal procession see Rebecchini, 2008, 159.
[402] According to Forcella, 1885, 14, this was one of the first festivals held after the Sack of Rome. A brief description of the event is offered by Martinelli in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat.12278 fol.19$^{r}$.
[403] On the *possessio* see Fosi, 35.
[404] *Ibid.*

By all accounts the *coronatio* and *possessio* of Paul III were impressive and were later recalled as pivotal events in the history of the Farnese.[405] For his own part, Fracco captures the events of the day in a highly stylized account. This begins in truly cosmic fashion, with sun, moon, and stars vying to look upon the new Pope's crown (*cernere…certant coelestia signa coronam*). The centerpiece of the day is a makeshift *baldacchino* constructed before the rising St. Peter's: "before the doors of the temple the stage rises with its own columns" (*Ante fores templi tollit se scena columnis*).[406] The presence of the *scaena* carries with it a sense of theatricality; the new Pope is ready, so to speak, to step on to the global stage. Historically, Fracco refers to a literal pavilion which was temporarily erected before St. Peter's. This structure was inspired by the Temple of Solomon and featured a stage, gilded columns, and paintings depicting the history of the Church. Crowning its top were five statues, two historical – featuring Saints Peter and Paul – and three representations of virtues: temperance, abundance, and justice.[407]

The Pope, however, does not yet appear. To laud the new Pope, especially one upon whose shoulders rests the future of the Church, is a task beyond the abilities of mere mortals. Our poet must first enlist the help of the Muses, who will elevate his verse:

*Pergite castalides, vestra est hic cura, sorores,*
*Lux licet haeroum postulet ista pedem.*
*Scilicet hic rerum moderamina sera recepit,*
*Urbis iam pridem cum pater ipse foret.*
*Curia convenit, tollunturque ordine signa,*

[405] For example, a painting of the coronation by Taddeo Zuccaro serves as one of the artistic centerpieces of the Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola.
[406] *Sacri Fasti* 143a.
[407] On the description of the temple see the letter of Girolamo Fantini cited in E. Narducci "Feste fatte dal populo romano per la elezione di papa Paolo III." A lengthy description of the coronation, including the temple, is found in the *Formularium Terminorum, seu registrorum, secundum stylum Romanae Curiae*, 97 published under Julius III: *Deinde in quodam eminenti loco ad hoc aptato ante porticum et introitum videlicet supra scalam marmoream dictae ecclesiae sive basilicae sancti Petri in quo quidem extiterat factum ac constructum quoddam tabernaculum sive aedificium elevatum pro dicti domini nostri domini Pauli Papae tertii coronatione perpetranda et agenda* (Then in a certain place fit for this [i.e. the coronation] before the portico and entrance he stood visible to all upon a marble staircase of the aforementioned church, as if the Basilica of Saint Peter's, in which indeed a certain tabernacle appeared to have been made and constructed as though a structure raised up for hosting and conducting the coronation of the lord of our lord, Pope Paul III).

*Sic velut in media pompa stat ipsa via.*

Proceed, Castalian sisters, the object of your care is here,
Although the day requires the meter of heroes.
For he has been placed in charge of things, long overdue,
Since already for a long time has he been the father of the city.
The Curia assembles and standards are raised up in order;
The procession stands as if in the middle of the road.[408]

Such is the grandeur of Paul III that his stature exposes the inadequacy of elegiac couplets for a subject better suited to hexameters, the weighty "meter of heroes" (*haeroum…pedem*). Here again Fracco looks to the *Fasti* and the model of Augustus, whose monumental grandeur likewise places strain on the meter:

*Quid volui demens elegis imponere tantum*
*Ponderis? Heroi res erat ista pedis.*
*Sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen*
*Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, eques*.

Why have I, clueless, tried to impose such strain
On my elegiacs? That was an affair for the heroic meter.
Sacred father of the country, the plebs, the curia gave
This name to you, we equestrians gave this name to you.[409]

In keeping with Paul as an Augustus-like figure, Fracco depicts the Pope at the helm of a united Church State. Both *principes* are fathers of Rome and both are accompanied by the civic institutions of the city: Augustus by the plebeian, equestrian, and senatorial classes, and Paul by (again) the Roman Curia and nobility. A sense of unity pervades each account. The civil strife which had plagued pre-Augustan and pre-Farnese Rome has given way to a new golden age.

This renewed flowering of the eternal city subsequently becomes the focus of the *coronatio* itself. Paul first takes his place on the papal throne and is crowned as *pater patriae* (*patriae patri sacra corona datur*).[410] Laity and clergy alike worship at the feet of the new

[408] *Sacri Fasti* 143a.
[409] Ov. *Fast*. 2.125-128.
[410] *Sacri Fasti* 143b.

pontiff, while a personified Roma is at last happy: "After all this Rome greeted her parent, but now a happy Rome,/ because after so many hardships she had attained joy" (*Roma salutabat post haec sed laeta parentem,/ gaudia quod post tot tristia nacta foret*).[411] Much as he had done during the *electio*, Fracco juxtaposes the previous tribulations of Rome – the *tristia* suffered during the Sack and its aftermath – with the joyous nature of the new era (*gaudia*).

The scene which follows elevates this mirth and optimism to an even more figurative level. Looking again to the gods and goddesses who speak in the *Fasti*, Fracco now addresses Flora and Iris – literal embodiments of Rome's future blossoming as well as allusions to the lilies of the Farnese crest:[412]

> *Interea accumbit, splendent convivia luxu;*
> *Funde coronato proxima Flora rosas.*
> *Felici et tecum coelestia lilia dextra*
> *Spargat in hunc Iris, multiplicetque manu.*
> *Diciteque 'Ut flos hic sic illi floreat aetas,*
> *Nullaque quae noceant, sentiat illa seni.'*
>
> Meanwhile she reclines, banquets shine with luxury;
> Standing next to him, Flora, pour forth your roses on the crowned (pope)
> And let Iris scatter with her gladsome right hand, together with you, heavenly
> Lilies on him, and let her multiply them with her hand.
> And say, "as this flower blooms, so let his age bloom
> And let it experience nothing that could harm him when he is old."[413]

The accession of Paul III is a turning point in the history of Rome. The city so stricken by ills can at last recline (*accumbit*) at luxurious feasts. Embodying this promised restoration are Flora

[411] *Ibid.*
[412] Flora most notably appears during the Floralia at Ov. *Fast.* 5.159-376.
[413] *Ibid.*

and Iris, goddesses both appropriated by the Farnese.[414] These deities promise that the new age will not only flower (*floreat*), but that it will be marked by peace (*nullaque quae noceant*).[415]

As witnessed already in the introduction and the *electio*, the defining characteristic of the *aetas Farnesina* will be *pax* – the long-awaited return of the Saturnian golden age to the people of Italy.[416] Fracco announces that sea (Nereus) and land (*terra*) will be fruitful; war (*Mars*) and the enemy (*hostis*) will be absent.[417] The gravitational center of this order is peace (*pax*), the concept around which all the policies of the new pontiff orbit. The virtues seen earlier in Paul's procession also reappear as emblems of the new pontiff: justice, represented by the goddess Astrea, strides forth with material abundance (*copia*).[418] Temperance, while not explicitly named, is suggested by Fracco's description of Paul's governance as the *rerum moderamina*, that is, the moderation of affairs. From this new order will eventually emerge love (*amor*), not merely of the city, but of the world – a sign that the strife of the Mediterranean has been favorably resolved.

The promise that such *tempora felicia* will continue is the larger Farnese house. As he had done in the *electio*, Fracco again introduces the Pope's wider family as an extension of his beneficence and just rule. Ovid's praise for the Augustan *domus* is again the model:

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[414] Iris was connected to the Farnese through the family crest, which features six irises. Naturally, the goddess Iris was appropriated by the family in its imagery. For instance, Perino del Vaga included in Raphael's *logge* Paul's crest which featured the rainbow (lat. Iris) and the Greek motto δίκης κρίνον (lily of justice). For more see Palliser, 100 and Lee and Fraser, 66; Flora too was symbolically connected to the family. Most noteworthy is the so-called "Farnese Flora" – a colossal statue discovered during the beginning of Paul's reign in the Baths of Caracalla and exhibited in the cortile of the Palazzo Farnese. It is today found today in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. For more on the statue see M. Soles, "Farnese Flora," 429-430.

[415] *Sacri Fasti* 143b.

[416] The theme of a new golden age was a popular one among Renaissance humanists and was associated with political figures such as Lorenzo de'Medici and Pope Leo X. For an overview see Jacks, 175-204.

[417] *Sacri Fasti* 143b.

[418] The choice of Astrea, as opposed to simply *Iustitia* is noteworthy. Anderson, 166 points out that the goddess first appears in Ovid, specifically, when the poet describes the final devolution of man at the end of the Iron Age at Ov. *Met*. 149-150: *et virgo caede madentis ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit* (And the virgin Astrea, last of the divinities, abandoned the lands dripping with slaughter). That the goddess has now returned underscores Fracco's image of the new *aetas aurea*.

*Sorte tuos auctet, videat florere nepotes*
*Quoque aluit pueros, spectet adesse senes:*
*Quique decus belli, iuvenileque sydus in hostes*
*Successor patris, numine fretus avi,*
*Bella gerit, quique arae astat caput Iride cinctus*
*Ut taceam coeli signa minora sui.*
*Sospite avo vivant, domito hic sed victor ab hoste*
*Illeque adorandae gloria sedis eat.*
*Perque genus crescant, sed dant en vota gemellos.*
*Addite uterque senex cum sene vivat avo.*
*Addite et hac quoniam* (*nisi fallor*) *luce lavantur*
*Apta haec imperio, sit domus apta pedo.*

Let him bolster his own by good fortune, let him see his grandchildren flower
And let him see as old men the boys he raised:
Both he who as the honor of war and a youthful star against his enemies,
The successor of his father, relying on the divine power of his grandfather,
Who wages wars and he who stands at the altar garlanded with Iris,
To say nothing of the lesser constellations of his sky.
Let them live with a living grandfather, but let the one return from conquering the foe
And the other serve as the glory of the worshipful see.
And let them extend their lineage – but, lo, my prayers yield twins.
Grant too that both may live with an elderly grandfather.
And grant, since (if I am not mistaken) they are baptized on this day,
That this family be fitted for empire, fitted for the pastoral staff.[419]

With the inclusion of Paul's grandsons, Fracco evokes the trigenerational praise in the *Fasti* for Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius. Clearly in hope for the new dynasty, Fracco also continues to emphasize the theme of flowering (*florere*); the two boys will emerge as the successors to their father and grandfather respectively.

In its details, Fracco's account reflects the contemporary historical situation. Ottavio Farnese, much like his father Pier Luigi Farnese, had emerged as a *condottiero* and local Italian duke. In Fracco's telling, he, like his father before him, will be the military enforcer of the Church – a future *gonfaloniere* in waiting. Conversely, Alessando Farnese, the younger son of Pier Luigi and the elder brother of Ottavio, was named a cardinal together with his cousin Giulio

[419] *Sacri Fasti* 144a.

Ascanio Sforza on 18 December, 1543. He will follow in the footsteps of Paul III as the embodiment of Farnese power within the Church. Together, the two represent the religious and spiritual power exerted by the Church.

There is, however, even another generation beyond the children of Pier Luigi. This is the recent progeny of Ottavio Farnese and Princess Margherita, the latter of whom was the illegitimate daughter of Charles V and was betrothed to Ottavio in 1538. Expectations for this marriage were high. The prospect of uniting through blood the Farnese and Habsburg families fit into Paul's larger objective of allying himself to Charles, and of ending the feud between the Emperor and the Papal States.

While the couple remained distant at first, the marriage eventually led to the birth of twin boys on 27 August, 1545. By all accounts Paul III was overjoyed. Here at last was the dynastic security long sought by the Pope. In anticipation of their bright future, the two *gemelli* were named Alessandro and Carlo in honor of their great grandfather Paul III and grandfather Charles V.[420] They are, in Fracco's telling, the *vota* of the *gens Farnesina* – the prayers on which rest the aspirations of the family and the Church.

The inclusion of Alessandro and Carlo in the panel also coincides with another significant moment in Rome's Renaissance history. As Fracco mentions, Paul III chose to have the twins baptized (*hac die lavantur*) on the anniversary of his coronation in 1545.[421] The choice to overlay the baptism with the anniversary of the *coronatio* was intentional and politically resonant. Paul III, ever adept at manipulating time and ritual to further his own dynastic ambitions, aimed to symbolically unite the present and future of his Roman family – an elaborate

[420] While the young Alessandro would eventually become the third Duke of Parma, Carlo was sickly and would die only a few years later in 1549. A portrait of the two princes likely survives today in the *Collezione Corsini*. For more on the *ritratto* see Giusto, 221.
[421] This is also the last dateable event within the calendar.

introduction of the future helmsmen of Peter's bark.[422] In a letter to Pier Luigi Farnese, the Calabrese intellectual Francesco Franchino describes the event as one of grandeur; Rome's most prominent cardinals and dignitaries, after the customary banquet held yearly in honor of Paul's coronation, marched in procession to the Church of Saint Eustachio where a lavish baptism was staged. This event was itself rich in symbolism. Two ambassadors, one imperial and another French, held the twins during the ceremony – a suggestion that a lasting peace between the two adversarial powers could be achieved through the Farnese family.[423]

From the future of the Farnese *gens*, the last verses of the *coronatio* return us to the present glories of Rome's *pontifex maximus*. Paul is described as the *custos hominum* (custodian of mankind) and the one who shares in God's divine power (*grande numen*) – language clearly evocative of Vergil's Jupiter who is similarly the *rex hominum* and the one who "turns the world with his divine power" (*terras qui numine torquet*).[424] It is on this note of supreme, bordering on divine, power that Fracco offers a final salute to the Farnese Pope:

> *Sisque tuae felix patriae, populoque Quiritum*
> *Cum pueris terris et data iura regas.*
> *Urbs et ut ipsa tibi, sic totus supplicet orbis*
> *Osculaque adiungat, congeminetque pedi.*
> *Illa sed ob cultum et spatia instaurata viarum*
> *Det signum, templis te colat iste tuis*.
>
> And may you be a blessing for your country and the Roman people
> And adjudicate with your children the laws bestowed upon the earth.
> As the city itself does, so let the whole world offer supplication to you
> And let it offer kisses and then redouble them upon your foot.
> But let it offer a statue on behalf of your worship and the boulevards
> You have restored, let it (the world) worship you in your temples.[425]

[422] For more on the staging of the baptism and its relationship with the *coronatio* see Bertini, 40.
[423] *Ibid*,, 43.
[424] Verg. *Aen*. 4.269.
[425] *Sacri Fasti* 144a.

For a final time Fracco looks to Ovid for inspiration, paraphrasing the poet's appeal to Germanicus that he be "favorable to the senate and people of Rome" (*dexter ades patribusque tuis populoque Quirini*).[426] Paul is the leader of a new imperial city and the patriarch of a new imperial *domus*, administering alongside his children (*pueris*) the laws bequeathed to the nations of the Earth. As an example of ring composition, Rome and the whole world kiss the foot of the Pope – an act of obeisance mirroring on a grander scale that of the cardinals at the beginning of the panel. Rome is once again the *caput mundi*; what transpires in the city is a microcosm for the happenings of the world. Indeed, Fracco includes within his description reference to a physical testament to this fealty owed to Paul – that is, a statue (*signum*) dedicated to the Pope in 1543 by the Roman Senate and subsequently erected in the Palazzo del Senatore.[427]

This renewed grandeur of the capital city is owned largely to the munificence of its Pope. What the Sack of Rome devastated, Paul has restored or improved. Fracco specifies two areas: "worship" (*cultum*) and "boulevards" (*spatia viarum*). These terms, although seemingly vague, carry with them a significance specific to the Farnese Pope, one best understood by comparing a similar list of achievements found in Fracco's contemporaneous elegy to Alessandro Farnese:

> *Rettulit et fracti formam, cultumque senatus*
> *Pulchrior ut fieret te subeunte chorus.*
> *Turribus excelsae munivit moenia Romae*
> *In faciem priscam restituitque domos.*
> *Perque suum spatium revocavit iura viarum,*
> *Unde illi medio tradita signa foro.*
> *Concordes taceam ut reges, pacisque triumphum,*
> *Et data tot dignis munera digna viris.*
> *Hoc patre tam vasti coelo miracula templi*
> *Crevere, aetherias mole aditura domos.*
> *Esset ut in terris geminorum forma polorum,*
> *In quibus alterne, ceu deus, ipse foret,*
> *Vaticana novo pinxit fastigia cultu*
> *Iunctaque tarpeio limina, Marce, tua.*

[426] Ov. *Fast.* 1.6.
[427] On the statue see De Michelis, 36.

And he (Paul) restored the form and appearance of the shattered senate,
So that there might be a more beautiful multitude as you enter.
He fortified the walls of lofty Rome with towers
And he restored homes to their ancient appearance.
And throughout its own space he restored the rights of the streets,
Whence statues were offered to him in the midst of the forum.
Not to mention the reconciled kings and the triumph of peace,
And so many worthy gifts bestowed to worthy men.
With him as pope, the miracle of a temple grew
To such a height on the verge of reaching heavenly dwelling with its structure,
That the form of the twin poles existed on Earth,
In which he himself would alternately spend time, as if a god,
He beautified the heights of the Vatican with a new beauty
And your thresholds, Mark, were joined to the Campidoglio.[428]

Among the accomplishments of the Farnese Pope – the reconstruction of the Aurelian walls, the peace of Nice, and the tower which abutted the Campidolgio – we see *cultus* appear in two distinct contexts. The first is civic, the expansion of the Roman Senate already mentioned in the poem's introduction (*fracti formam cultumque senatus*). The second is religious, that is, "he (Paul) beautified the heights of the Vatican with new beauty" (*Vaticana novo pinxit fastigia cultu*). Included here could be projects such as Michelangelo's painting of the Last Judgement (1536-1541) and Sangallo's construction of the Cappella Paolina (1540).

More concrete is the reference to the *spatia instaurata viarum*, a phrase almost identical to that in the *epistula* (*Perque suum spatium revocavit iura viarum*). Keeping within the tradition of his papal forebearers, Paul made the construction – and reconstruction – of Rome's roads a priority during his first years. Most notable was his creation of a triumphal path for Charles V in the *Forum Romanum* for which Rabelais claimed that three hundred homes were demolished.[429] To this project can be added Paul's 1538 widening of the Via Corso (Medieval Via Lata) and the

[428] *Epistula ad Alexandrum Farnesinum* 11. For the text I cite from the copy found at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.
[429] On this claim by Rabelais see Lanciani, 1903, 61.

Via di S. Maria in Monticelli, as well as his completion of the Via Babuino (subsequently named the Via Paolina) which formed part of a trivium around the Piazza del Popolo.[430] In 1543 Paul constructed two additional roads which branched off of the Ponte San Angelo: the Via Paolo and the Via di Panico. In short, Paul's attention to, and modernization of, the Roman road network was a major priority and one of the defining achievements of his papacy.

The final couplets of the panel synthesize the divergent themes of the *coronatio* into a statement of Roman restoration. His address to Flora and Iris at an end, Fracco prays that God safeguard Paul for the "people and the Church" (*populis temploque*). The triple tiara (*trina tiara*), symbolizing the power of the Pope as priest, prophet, and king is set upon his head.[431] The result, Fracco tells us, is that Rome is once more the head of the world (*caput est orbis*) – a clear reference to the popular notion that the city had lost its capital status after the Sack.

The *coronatio* is thus a panel which, like the god Janus, looks both forward and backwards chronologically. Fracco takes us from the inception of the new papacy before St. Peter's to the achievements of Paul III and his restoration of Roman prestige. Concurrent with this return of political and domestic achievement is also the expansion and growth of the Farnese family. Taking inspiration from the familial dynamics in Ovid's *Fasti*, Fracco depicts the younger generations of the family and their coming of age as part of Rome's newfound rise. In this way, the *coronatio* not only praises the accomplishments of Paul, but establishes his family as the dominant political force in the Church State.

### *Pax* and the Triumph of Paul III

[430] The Via Paolina has today reverted back to its original name of Babuino, itself derived from the eponymous *statua parlante*. For an overview of the roads constructed under Paul III see Von Pastor, xii, 567. For more on the philosophy behind Paul's urban planning, including his trivium, see Ackerman, 11-13; Lanciani, 1903, 10 also notes that the Via de'Baullari, begun in 1531 under Clement VII, was extended in 1535 by Paul III from the Campo dei Fiori to his residence, the Palazzo Farnese

[431] This crown was commonly known as the *triregno*.

As we have seen thus far, *pax* (peace) serves as one of the unifying themes in the *Sacri Fasti*. It is invoked in the introduction as a defining quality of Paul's papacy (*Pax et erat: Pauli munus*), in the election (*Paceque Maiestas quam quoque magna redit*), and in the coronation (*huius opus pax sit*). The procession which closes the Sack of Rome is held in the name of *pax*, while the birth of Jesus ushers in the *tempora pacis*.[432]

*Pax* is not, though, exclusively figurative within the poem; rather, it is connected to specific geopolitical accomplishments and ambitions of the Farnese Pope. In the mid-Cinquecento, peace was anchored to two overarching objectives: the first was to resolve the conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and France, while the second involved the religious division which had raged since Martin Luther had nailed his 95 theses on the door of the Wittenberg cathedral. Under Leo X and Clement VII the Church had been slow to react to the upstart Lutheran movement, resulting in pressure on Paul III to address the problem. Influenced by the *spirituali*, a group of advisors which included influential figures such as the Venetian noble Gasparo Contarini and the English Cardinal Reginald Pole, Paul called the first general council on 2 June, 1536 which was to meet in Mantova on 23 May of the following year.[433]

**The *Concilium***

The primary entry in the *Sacri Fasti* on the general council is 4 June (2 June as discussed in the footnote below), the anniversary of Paul III's initial call to meet at Mantova.[434] The goal of this

[432] *Sacri Fasti* 165b.
[433] According to Cussen, 105 the name *spirituali* comes from the fact that the group "bonded in their pursuit of an understanding of justification by faith that would be faithful to Church teaching but provide a bridge to the Protestants and a means for their irenic reintegration into the Church."
[434] The date of 4 June is likely due to confusion, despite being given by scholars such as Rohrbacher, 609. The papal bull announcing the council, entitled *Ad dominici gregis curam*, provides the following date: *Quingentesimo trigesimosexto, quarto non. Iunii, Pontificatus nostri anno secondo*. The confusion originates from *quarto non.* – an

council was to reform practices which were deeply entrenched within the Curia and upon which it relied for its revenue. This included a byzantine system of benefices and favors that attracted increasing criticism had grown during the first part of the Cinquecento.[435]

The success of this effort relied on the cooperation of Charles V and Francis I – a hope which would ultimately prove overly ambitious. Both leaders vied to expand their empires and teetered on the precipice of conflict – a situation summarized curtly by the exasperated Paolo Giovio as simply "those two great princes have gone insane!" (*isti duo magni principes insanierunt!*).[436] While Charles V had remained a proponent of a general council, efforts to secure the participation of the French failed.[437] Paul III was thus forced to prorogue the gathering, now set for 8 October, 1537 in the city of Vicenza. When the tense geopolitical situation rendered even this *concilium* untenable, Paul III changed his strategy. If there was to be reform of the Church, then *pax* between Charles V and Francis I had to first be attained.

Fracco's entry on the *concilium* accords largely with the situation in early 1537 and is presented as part of a larger strategy for attaining *pax*. Beginning with the propitious rise of Dawn, Fracco announces that a positive development has been made:

> *Altera ab hac fuerat, referebat Lucifer ora*
> *Dictaque concilio venerat orta dies.*
> *Deposito clypeo venias et casside, Pallas;*
> *Sat rigido Marti, criminibusque datum,*
> *Vivat, io, felix legum tutela sacrarum*
> *Pax quibus, expulso crimine, iura dabit*.
>
> It was the next dawn after this one, the sun restored its face
> And the risen day announced for the council had come.
> Come forth, Pallas, with shield and armor set aside;

abbreviation for *quarto nonas* – which, given the idiosyncrasies of the Roman calendrical system would correspond to the fourth of the month only in March, May, July, and October, while for other months it is the second.

[435] Cussen, 109-112.

[436] Paolo Giovio, Letter 72 dated 22 February. For more on the historical background see Mallett and Shaw, 232-236.

[437] These failed efforts were spearheaded by the Duke of Mantua. For more see Capasso, 185.

Enough has been given to fierce Mars and his crimes.
Long live the blessed guardian of the sacred laws,
To which Peace will grant their rights, with crime expelled.[438]

Fracco imagines the call for a general council as part of a larger program of peace. This is done by reworking, or perhaps inverting, the opening of *Fasti* Book Three, where Ovid, citing the more cultured goddess Minerva, calls upon Mars, the namesake of March and god of war, to "gently set down his shield and spear" (*depositis clipeo paulisper et hasta*).[439] While Ovid urges Mars to disarm for poetic reasons – the elegiac meter is unfit for war – Fracco does so to make a programmatic connection between Paul III and peace, that is, between the efforts of the Pope towards reform and the future cooperation of European princes.

War is the antithesis of these efforts. It is defined by the keyword *crimen*; "crime" not only meant to evoke wars fought on the Italian peninsula, but the religious heresy and transgressions most notably represented by the Protestant reformers. For this reason *crimen* is juxtaposed with "law" as is suggested by "sacred laws" (*sacrae leges*), a syntagma evocative of Church dogma, and *iura* (rights). That *Pax* will prescribe these *iura* implies the need for homogeneity and uniformity: the notion that peace can only come through submission to the Church.

This, however, is not all that Fracco has in mind by peace. Rather, he proceeds to expound upon the diverse areas in which it will flourish on the Earth:

*Illa deum primum fecit de stipite vultus,*
*Inque sua factos praecipit aede coli.*
*Illa dedit leges, moresque vocavit in urbes*
*Et prima ante deos exta litavit ovis.*
*Haec nostri coget Parthos in numinis aras*
*Thura dare aversas subiicietque manus.*
*Scilicet ut perdat nova fulmine monstra, gigantes,*
*Iuppiter hanc optat, conciliumque vocat,*

[438] *Sacri Fasti* 64b.
[439] Ov. *Fast.* 3.1.

*Iureque Maiestas permansit tuta deorum,*
*Nunc fit idem, ut nostro tuta sit illa deo.*
*Abluere ergo caput, Parthe, o genus acre gigantum,*
*Ut possis, oriens dat sacer amnis aquas.*

She (Peace) first made statues of gods from wood,
And she orders that, once made, they be worshipped in her temple.
She gave laws and introduced civilized customs into the cities,
And she first offered the entrails of a sheep before the gods.
She will compel the Parthians to offer incense upon
The altars of our God, and she will make subject their routed bands.
So that Jupiter might destroy a new class of monsters, the giants,
With his lightning, he seeks her and he calls a council,
And rightfully the Majesty of the gods remained secure,
Now this same thing happens, that she is safe for our God.
Therefore, Parthian, o fierce race of giants, that you can purify your
Head, the sacred river of the East gives its waters.[440]

Modelling her treatment on that of Venus in *Fasti* Book Four, who appears in her Lucretian guise as a manifestation of nature and similarly in the context of a quasi-hymn, Fracco offers a view of *Pax* as a kind of *sine qua non*. Emphatically introduced by the demonstrative *illa*, she is the driving force behind civilization, the one who establishes laws (*leges*) and civilization (*mores*), while diffusing religious worship.

Yet *Pax* is not merely relegated to the past, but is an objective necessary for solving the pressing issues of the Cinquecento. First among these is her ability to check the advance of Catholicism's eastern foes. Specifically named are the "Parthian[s]," a classical anachronism found at different points throughout the *Sacri Fasti* to refer to the Ottomans.[441] While the inclusion of the Turks is somewhat sudden, the choice becomes clearer when contextualized. In the spring of 1537, Ottoman forces stood at the gates of Italy and central Europe, threatening

[440] *Sacri Fasti* 64b.
[441] E.g. *Ibid*., 45a, 64b, 79b, *et al.*

Vienna on land and the trade of Southern Europe.[442] As such, a council was viewed by Fracco and intellectuals within the Church as part of a larger strategic vision: to halt the Ottoman advance by uniting the major European powers. This perception can be glimpsed in a letter by Paolo Giovio, in which he summarizes the perception at the time: *El Papa per tuto Aprile passarà ad Bologna, e aspetta resoluzione da questi Re, a quali ha mandato novi nuncii per pace, che Dio il voglia, aliter le cose anderebeno al voto del Turco* (The Pope will spend all of April in Bologna, and he awaits resolutions from those kings, to whom he has sent messengers for peace: let God will it, otherwise affairs should be for the benefit of the Turk).[443] An almost identical argument is advanced by Fracco in his 1538 elegy *Consolatio ad Romam*: *In te collectae venient, Othomane, cohortes/ et magna haec magnum pax tibi vulnus erit* (Ottoman, mustered cohorts will come against you and this great peace will be a great wound for you).[444]

In this context we can better understand how Fracco conceives of the council and its relationship with peace. Much like Giovio, Fracco regards concord among the European princes, as represented by the council, as a necessary step in countering the Ottoman threat. Moreover, the *concilium* is not only a means of ending intra-European religious strife, but a prelude to an eventual Christianization of the East – a point clearly suggested by Fracco's boast that peace (*illa*) "will compel the Parthians to offer incense upon the altars of our God" and his admonition to a generalized "Parthian" (*Parthe*) that he be baptized in a "sacred river" (*sacer amnis*), presumably the River Jordan.

[442] In a letter dated February, 1537 Paolo Giovio describes the Turkish threat as threefold: an invasion through Hungary into Austria with the ultimate objective of Vienna, the reinforcement by the sanjaks of Nicopolis, Smederevo, and Belgrade, and the continued naval threat of the Ottoman admiral Barbarossa.
[443] See Giovio, 194.
[444] *Consolatio ad Romam* 21.

The catalyst for this "peace" will, rather surprisingly, be "Jupiter" (*Iuppiter*) who will smite with his lightning the Parthians, given the mythological title "giants" (*gigantes*). As with other passages focusing on Paul III, here too, the primary intertexts are those involving Ovid's Augustus. The comparison between Jupiter and the Emperor is found most notably at *Tristia* 2.179-180 and 4.1.69-70, while Ovid includes his own Gigantomachy (featuring Maiestas) at the opening of *Fasti* Book Five. The message is clear: Paul III will, like Augustus, adopt the role of Jupiter, rendering justice upon a new race of Parthians. Fracco draws on other passages too, most notably that relating to Mars Ultor. There, like his Renaissance successor, Ovid addresses in the vocative an unnamed Parthian: "Parthian, returning the eagles, you also stretch force your conquered bows" (*Parthe, refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus*).[445] Thus is the *concilium* framed as an event akin to one of the primary diplomatic successes of the Augustan Age – the return of Crassus's Roman standards.

**The Triumph of Paul and the Peace of Nice**

With the breakdown of the Council of Mantua, Paul's priorities turned towards obtaining peace between Charles V and Francis I. The was a tall order. After all, the two rulers were mortal enemies whose objectives were diametrically opposed, while previous efforts to reach a peace accord had fallen short. Still, if the Protestant Reformation was to be quelled and a united front was to be marshalled against the Ottomans, then a peace resolution had to be achieved.

The culmination of Paul's efforts would come in May and June of 1538 in the city of Nice. There Charles and Francis were summoned by the Pope to reach an agreement which could end the bloodshed that had plagued Europe. The result was a clear, albeit tentative, truce between the two rulers; the Peace of Nice, as it would be called, served as the greatest diplomatic

[445] Ov. *Fast*. 5.593.

achievement of the new Pope. The privileged position given to the peace can be seen in the poem's dedicatory letter to Paul III, where Fracco alludes to it among Paul's noteworthy deeds.[446] Rome was ebullient; here at last had the Pope accomplished what his predecessors could not, bridging the division between the two main European rulers. The situation thus called for a triumph, albeit of an inverted sort – of triumph of *pax* over the forces of war.

The event, set for 25 July, was one of great pomp and extravagance. Forcella notes that all Rome came together: "*Il Senatore, li Signori Conservatori, li Caporioni, e tutto il Senato Romano*" greeted Paul at the symbolic Ponte Milvio, from where the entourage headed south towards the Piazza del Popolo.[447] This is the point at which Fracco's entry begins:

> *Rumor erat parta magna de Caesare pace,*
> *Flaminia ad patriae templa redire patrem.*
> *Aurea tollebat pro re fastigia porta*
> *Et via erat spatio reddita tota suo.*
> *Cultior et pompam expectabat Caesaris arcus,*
> *Inferior multo sed tamen illa fuit.*
> *Hinc atque inde aderat studio pia Roma videndi,*
> *Atque morae impatiens, dum cupit ora ducis.*
>
> There was a rumor that, since a great peace had been produced by Caesar,
> The Pope was returning on the Via Flaminia to the temples of his fatherland.
> The gate elevated its golden heights for the occasion
> And the whole street was given over to its own space.
> A more elegant arch awaited the procession of Caesar,
> But nevertheless it was much smaller.
> On all sides pious Rome was at hand, eager to look on,
> And it was also impatient of delay, while it desires [to see] the face of its leader.[448]

From the north of the city, Paul III takes the ancient Via Flaminia into Rome and arrives at the Porta del Popolo, now converted into a triumphal arch.[449] This type of Roman-inspired

[446] *Sacri Fasti* IV.
[447] Forcella, 1885, 58-59.
[448] *Sacri Fasti* 87a-b.
[449] On *aurea fastigia* (golden heights) cf. Ovid's description of the temple of Aesculapius at *Met.*15.672: *marmaroeumque solum fastigiaque aurea movit* (he shakes the marble floor and the golden heights).

transformation was not uncommon in the Renaissance and, as we shall see in the panel on the 1536 triumph of Charles V, was especially common in Rome. Upon this arch were further appended Latin plaques which clearly announced the reason for the festivities; as Forcella recalls, these contained messages such as: *pace inter christianos confirmata* (peace ratified among the Christians) as well as a *spem futurae victoriae* (hope of future victory), presumably over the Ottomans – a theme most notably explored in Fracco's panel on the *concilium*.[450]

Perhaps even more interesting, however, is the agonistic relationship between Paul III's triumph and that of the unnamed "Caesar." Fracco is careful to note that, although the triumphal arch of Caesar was *cultior* (more adorned), his procession (*pompa*) was "much smaller" (*inferior*) in comparison with Paul's grand celebration. This subtle elevation of the Pope against his supposed partner, as we shall see, is one of the main themes of the following chapter.

As the triumph slowly parades through the city, it at last arrives under a different triumphal arch which further heralds Paul's accomplishments:

> *In solio pictus quum utroque adeunte Senatu,*
> *It Capitolinum vectus in ora iugum.*
> *Curritur, argentum felix spargebat et aurum,*
> *Quaque ibat, festus per loca plausus erat.*
> *Candida numen equo niveo super hostia Nostrum*
> *Praecedebat, ab hac tradita signa dabat.*
> *Parcite caesaribus veteres donare triumphos,*
> *Non fuit hac nostra laetior urbe dies.*
>
> When he, with each senate accompanying, in embroidered garments upon his throne
> Goes forth to the Capitoline Hill, carried before the faces.
> People came running. He, blessed, was scattering silver and gold
> And, wherever he went, there was festive applause through the places.
> The white host preceded our divinity upon a
> White horse; he [Paul] was offering the signs handed down from this [the host].[451]
> Do not grant ancient triumphs to the Caesars.

[450] Forcella, 1885, 58 notes that the inscription was surrounded by golden festoons – a likely explanation for *aurea* above – and included further classicizing phrases, including that the "Gate of warlike Janus is closed" (*clauditur et Iani Ianua belligeri*).
[451] This presumably refers to the liturgical adoration and benediction accompanying worship of the host.

No day was happier than this in our city.[452]

Paul III enters Rome to great fanfare and accompanied by the civic representatives of Rome, the Senate and Curia. From contemporary sources, we know that the celebration was particularly elaborate, involving the use of two *baldacchini* and a litter on which Paul III was carried. The first *baldacchino* was adorned with classical themes, such as the abbreviation S.P.Q.R and was carried by the *Conservatori*. This was followed by another *baldacchino* for the *corpus domini*, that is, the eucharist displayed within a monstrance.[453] As the procession moved forth, Paul threw pieces of gold and silver – an act confirmed by contemporary sources: "*Sommo Pastore andava sempre gettando danari d'oro e d'argento*."[454]

The classical appearance of Paul's triumph is accentuated by its intertexts, in particular, *Tristia* 4.2. Comparison with this elegy, structured on a hypothetical German triumph by Tiberius, reveals similar language to that used by Fracco, particularly in his description of a sacrifice: "and let the white sacrificial victim, stricken in the neck by the swung axe, hit the ground with its red blood" (*candidaque adducta collum percussa securi*/ *victima purpureo sanguine pulset humum*).[455] In place of the *victima* used in ancient sacrifice is the Christian host (*hostia*), a term similarly used for offerings in the context of triumphs. However, that this new triumph is meant to supplant its ancient counterpart, is suggested by its ultimate objective – the Capitoline Hill (*Capitolium*). Like the triumphator of Republican and Imperial Roman who ascended the steps of the Capitoline to offer sacrifice at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus,

[452] *Sacri Fasti* 91a.
[453] Forcella, 1885, 56.
[454] Guazzo, 260b.
[455] Ov. *Trist*. 4.2.5-6.

so too does Paul lead the way to the Basilica of San Marco Evangelista at the base of the Campidoglio.[456]

The last couplet of the entry captures this idea of a Christian Rome appropriating for itself the grandeur of the Pagan world. The Roman people are called upon to "not grant ancient triumphs to the Caesars," the idea being that the papal triumph is fundamentally superior. The last pentameter reflects this idea and perhaps even contains within it a barb at Paul's professed partner – the Emperor Charles V. The pronouncement that "No day was happier than this in our city" (*Non fuit hac nostra laetior urbe dies*) implies that Paul's triumph outmatched even that of Charles only two years prior. The balance, or perhaps imbalance, of power between the two leaders will, however, be a subject for the next chapter.

**Conclusion**

The ascendancy of Paul III brought to Rome a new sense of optimism and a belief that the challenges of the Cinquecento could be met. Set against the backdrop of the Sack and the myriad of hardships that it engendered, his papacy was welcomed as a return to an earlier age. Once more could the arts be cultivated and the Papal States marshal respect on the international stage. The continued rise of St. Peter's and the restoration of Castel Sant'Angelo were but outward representations of a renewed self-confidence in the Eternal City.

For Novidio Fracco, Paul occupies the central role in his calendar. He is a new Augustus and his family is an imperial dynasty. Like Ovid's Emperor, the papacy of Paul is the beginning of a golden era – the teleological endpoint of years of disasters and shortcomings. Interspersed throughout the *Sacri Fasti* are panels which indicate that the Pope has ushered in a new epoch.

[456] Connected to the Basilica was also the Palazzo Venezia and the Torre di Paolo III – one of the Pope's residences within the city. As such, the Campidoglio came to be associated with the Pope. For more see Forcella, 1885, 62.

The *electio* and *coronatio*, the *pompa pro pace* and the Triumph of Peace, the beginning of the year and the rise of the constellation Scorpio, all orient time and power towards the Vicar of Christ. Paul is the keystone for the future of Europe and Christendom itself, the one figure who can guide the bark of Peter through turbulent seas.

In the next chapter, we shall turn to the other primary figure within the *Sacri Fasti*, the Emperor Charles V. The complex relationship between Charles and Paul, already witnessed in panels such as the introduction and Triumph of Peace, will be a given a full treatment. We will there see how Fracco navigates the challenge of praising the supreme powerbroker of sixteenth century Europe, while also establishing his fealty to the Catholic Faith and its leader.

## Chapter V: The New Caesar Charles V

### Background

Among those leaders who shaped the cultural, political, and religious fabric of the Renaissance, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) is unparalleled. For four decades, the Habsburg ruler occupied a central place in European politics and in global affairs. His rule and his name are associated with some of the pivotal events of the sixteenth century: the Italian Wars, the Protestant Reformation, the Age of Exploration, the titanic struggle with the Ottoman Empire. Not since the age of Charlemagne had such power been vested in a single European ruler and it was with glances of hope and fear that the eyes of the continent looked towards the young prince.

The effect that Charles was to have upon the Italian peninsula was profound. The turning point came in 1525, when the young Emperor achieved a decisive victory over his French rival, Francis I of Savoy, at Pavia. The implications of this victory were seismic; cities and duchies rushed to appease the peninsula's new powerbroker, while Francis himself was taken prisoner in the action. For the papacy, Pavia was to have dire consequences. Only two years after the battle, Rome was to suffer the worst sack in its history, leaving its finances, population, and urban landscape decimated. Even more important were the diplomatic ramifications. With the Savoy counterweight to the Habsburgs removed, all eyes turned to the Holy Roman Emperor.

During the pontificates of Clement VII and Paul III, cooperation with the Holy Roman Empire became viewed as the sole means by which papal objectives could be accomplished. These were threefold: first, and perhaps most pressing, was the need to counter the growing Protestant movement. This reached a crescendo during the pontificate of Paul III, particularly with the creation of the Anglican Church in 1534. Second was the mustering of a defense against the Ottoman Empire. Worry over Christendom's eastern nemesis was widespread after the brief

capture of Otranto in 1480 and had reached a new level of urgency after the collapse of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1526. Last was the issue of peace. Although decisively bested at Pavia, Francis I still threatened to renew conflict on the Italian peninsula. Only Charles V had the sufficient forces to vouchsafe security and to halt the seemingly endless wars which had raged in Italy.

These goals are a central component of Novidio Fracco's political program and made explicit in nearly all his *opera*. In his first published poem, the 1538 *Consolatio ad Romam*, these three objectives are expressed in a remarkable prosopopoeia, Fracco speaks in the personage of Charles V to exculpate the emperor from responsibility for the 1527 Sack and to allign his objectives with those of Paul III:[457]

*'Roma per hanc iuro, mihi quam duplicabis honore,*
*Perque meum nomen consiliumque meum.*
*Perque tuum imperium, perque hunc quo glorior ensem,*
*Perque tuum excidium quo gemuisse feror*
*Me summissurum Romanis legibus orbem,*
*Ausoniae tecum dummodo pace fruar.*
*Vesper et Eous Romamque aquilasque sequentur,*
*Pontificum faciam solis utrumque latus.*
*Nempe iterum felix toti dominaberis orbi,*
*Ibit et ante tuos Parthia victa pedes.'*

'Rome, I swear by this (crown) which you will double for me in
Honor, and by my name and my counsel,
And by your empire, and by this sword in which I take pride,
And by your fall, because of which I am said to have lamented,
That I will make the world submit to Roman laws,
So that I might enjoy with you the peace of Ausonia.
West and East will follow Rome and its eagles,
Each of the sun's flanks I will make belong to the Popes.
Blessed once more, you will dominate the whole world,
And Parthia will go, conquered before your feet.'[458]

[457] This is not to say that some of these objectives were not shared by the emperor himself. On the topic of the Ottomans, for example, Parker, 246 notes that Charles envisioned a grand crusade that could liberate Constantinople from Muslim control.
[458] *Consolatio ad Romam* 15.

On display in Charles's oath are the three papal objectives, themselves filtered through Fracco's prism of antiquarianism: Italy is Ausonia (as in Vergil), her Eastern foes are Parthians, and Rome is the center of the geopolitical landscape. The words of the Emperor are seemingly those of a Roman Caesar and mirror the language found to describe Augustan Rome in the *Fasti*.[459]

Fracco returns to and expands upon these themes in the *Sacri Fasti*. In particular, the Emperor and his relationship with Paul III comprise one of the more complex dynamics in Fracco's calendar. This chapter centers on Charles as the other primary axis within the poem. Through an analysis of some of the calendar's most programmatic entries, I argue that Fracco manipulates his portrayal of the Emperor to advance the geopolitical and religious objectives of Paul III. Finally, I suggest that Fracco, while superficially heralding the partnership between the Pope and the Emperor, subtly undermines this claim by arguing for ultimate papal authority.

**The Invocation to Charles V**

Formally introduced as part of the triumvirate in the opening of Book One, as well as in the introductory epistle to Paul III, Charles becomes the sole focus of a second invocation found at the opening of Book Two. The choice to include a second dedicatee for the calendar is in imitation of the *Fasti* and Ovid's inclusion of proems to both Germanicus and Augustus.[460] For Fracco, this passage serves as a model to herald his own Caesar and to expand upon those themes found in his initial proem:

> *Primus habet finem cum primo mense libellus*
> *Este duces elegi cura secunda mei.*
> *Iam te alii Caesar, nos sacra canamus et aras,*

[459] Cf. Ov. *Fast*. 2.135-136: *Te Tatius parvique Cures Caeninaque sensit/ Hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latus*.

[460] Most scholars accept that the reason for the two dedications is that Augustus died while Ovid was revising the poem, leading to its rededication to Germanicus; for more see Herbert-Brown, 1994, 32 and Frazer ii. 227; For the opposing view see Fantham, 1985, 257-258.

*Res licet haec brevibus sit quoque magna rotis.*

The first book has its end with the first month
Let the leaders be the second care of my elegy.
Others already sing of you Caesar, let me sing of rites and altars,
Even though this a great task for my small wheels.[461]

Fracco begins his Second Book in distinctly Ovidian terms by referring to both the *libellus* and the preceding month.[462] His second hexameter reflects, in nearly identical language, that from Book One of the *Fasti*: "Let others sing the arms of Caesar, let us sing the altars of Caesar" (*Caesaris arma canant alii: nos Caesaris aras*).[463] Fracco's excises *arma* and instead emphasizes the religious character of Charles, his "rites and altars." While Fracco devotes considerable time to Charles's military campaigns later in the calendar, his choice to highlight the Emperor as a religious figure accords with his general emphasis throughout the calendar on peace.

These similarities with the proem(s) to the original *Fasti* also further provide insight into how Fracco conceives of Charles within the calendar. The Emperor will be one of the major political dedicatees of the poem – a figure on par with Augustus or Germanicus. Like his imperial counterpart, who likewise placed "so much weight" (*tantum ponderis*) on the poet's elegiac couplets, Charles too strains the meter with his greatness.[464] The relationship between the two openings is further clarified if we compare Ovid's pronouncement to Augustus at *Fasti* 2.15-16 that "we follow your names, Caesar, with zealous heart,/ and we make our way through your titles" (*tua prosequimur studioso pectore, Caesar,/ nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos*) with how Fracco proceeds in his own second dedication: "As best I can, I bear and give those trophies

[461] *Sacri Fasti*13a.
[462] Cf. Ov. *Fast*. 2.2: *alter ut hic mensis, sic liber alter eat*.
[463] *Ibid*., 1.13; Hinds, 114 points to this line, quite rightly, as setting up a programmatic dichotomy between two different kinds of poetry, hexameter represented by *arma* and aetiological elegy as represented by *arae*).
[464] Ov. *Fast*. 2.125-126.

to you/ and sacred rites with your titles and your divinity" (*Quod licet, ista tibi gerimusque damusque tropaia/ sacraque cum titulis, numinibusque tuis*).

The repetition of *titulus* and the similarity between *numen* and *nomen* demonstrate a clear reliance upon Ovid's invocation to Augustus, while Fracco's use of the verb *gero* recalls the trope of poetry as military service likewise found in the opening to *Fasti* Book Two.[465] Two additions are noteworthy, however: *tropaea* (trophies) and *numina* (divinity). The first ought to be read proleptically as an allusion to what will be the main panel on Charles V in the poem – his 1536 Roman triumph.[466] *Numina*, in contrast, is more difficult to pinpoint, but is best read in the context of the Emperor as defender of Christendom and as the spiritual successor to Saint Paul – as we shall see later in this chapter. To reflect, then, the second invocation creates a thematic parallel with Ovid's *Fasti* and foreshadows the importance of Charles later in the calendar.

**Crowning as Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna and the Victory at Pavia**

The dedication to Charles also sets the stage for a later entry in Book Two. This is the 24th of the month – an anniversary coinciding with the Emperor's 1530 coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, his birthday, and his victory over Francis I of Savoy at Pavia.[467] These three events, as well as the great hopes invested in Charles, are expressed at the beginning of the panel:

> *Hac nam sorte tua Caesar tibi traditur ortus*
> *Hacque manus victrix, hacque corona die.*
> *Hinc ducis ara tuo tibi facta domestica thure,*
> *Sustinet invicta parta tropaea manu.*
> *Vel modo quae nostras victoria venit ad aures?*

[465] *Ibid*., 2.9: *haec mea militia est; ferimus quae possumus arma*.
[466] Other imperial victories mentioned by Fracco include Pavia (discussed later in this chapter) and the Emperor's relief of Vienna in 1529 (*Sacri Fasti* 102a).
[467] On the ceremonial entrances of Clement VII and Charles V see Schimmelpfennig, 142-147; The coronation can also be viewed as the outcome of diplomatic efforts stretching back months. Clement himself arrived in the city at the end of 1529, in time to welcome Charles and to formalize a peace between the Papal States on Epiphany of 1530. Embroiled in the siege of Florence and facing continued threats from the Ottomans, Charles was eager to establish peace in Italy so that he could turn his attention elsewhere; on the political challenges in this period see Parker, 181-202.

*Saxoniae illustrem te superasse ducem ?*
*Angliaque effusis quod supplex facta capellis,*
*Ante pedes dicta est procubuisse tuos?*

For on this day, Caesar, as fate would have it, was birth bestowed upon you
And on this day victory in battle and on this day your crown.
For this reason, the altar of the duke, made domestic to you by your incense,
Raises up trophies won by your unconquered hand.
Or what victory now has come to our ears?
That you have overcome the famous Duke of Saxony?
The fact that England, made a suppliant with her hair let down,
Is said to have prostrated herself before your feet?[468]

February 24 is for Charles a confluence of events: his birthday (*ortus*), victory at Pavia (*manus victrix*), and coronation (*corona*). Even the altar of the city has been made "domestic" for the Emperor – a clear imitation of Ovid's use of *festa domestica* at *Fasti* 1.9 in the context of the Augustan *domus* and a likely reference to papal possession of Bologna, specifically, the marriage in 1538 of Charles's daughter Margherita of Austria to Paul III's grandson Ottavio Farnese. What Fracco emphasizes most is Charles as the great champion of Catholicism. This is done by referencing the two most bitter foes of the Pope intra-Christendom; the first is the "Duke of Saxony" (*Saxoniae…ducem*), likely a reference to Henry IV who was a dedicated Lutheran and was placed under the Ban of the Empire.[469] Second is England (*Anglia*), which under Henry VIII had broken from the Catholic Church in 1534. She now appears as a conquered foe from triumphal imagery, her hair let down and brought before the feet of a new leader.[470] Conversely, Charles is victorious – a quality underscored by the adjectives *victrix* and *invicta*, along with the noun *victoria*.

[468] *Sacri Fasti* 23a.
[469] The death of Duke George of Saxony in April of 1539 resulted in the ascension of his brother, Henry IV, to the throne. Henry was a devout Lutheran and promoted the nascent religion often to the ire of Charles V. For instance, he invited Luther himself to Leipzig and forbade in Saxony the celebration of the traditional Catholic rites. For more see Robertson, 355 and Haberkern, 252-253.
[470] Cf. Ov. *Trist*. 4.2.43: *crinibus en etiam fertur Germania passis*.

Fracco then turns to the subject of Rome. After naming the Protestant enemies of the city, he remarks that "she (Rome) believed those were her enemies who had been (enemies) to you [i.e. Charles]" (*tibi qui fuerant, illos sibi credidit hostes*).[471] To demonstrate this partnership between the two powers, Fracco cites Charles's 1536 triumphal entrance into the capital, discussed later in this chapter: "Rome deservedly applauded you through its own fires/ and from here ordered that its hills resound" (*suos merito plausit tibi Roma per ignes/ iussit et hinc colles intonuisse suos*).[472] He here describes the cannon fire with which Rome celebrated Charles's triumphal entry – the sense being that the city welcomes the Emperor as if she were his capital. The reason for this triumph, so we learn, is the capture of Tunis, itself presented as the ultimate fruit of the imperial/papal alliance (*communi haec gaudia parta manu*).[473]

The end of the passage takes the form of a closural Ovidian prayer. Fracco first announces "therefore let neither iron nor jaundiced cups harm you,/which could not harm your divinity" (*nec te igitur ferrum, nec pallida pocula laedant,/ laedere quae numen non potuere tuum*).[474] Charles is for Fracco divinely protected; neither defeat in the field (*ferrum*) nor machinations by his enemies (*pallida pocula*) can hinder his destiny as a protector of the Church. Included here is also a final prayer which makes mention of Charles's brother, Ferdinand I: "But holy one, there are two. May you favor Caesar's brother along with Caesar,/ in order that Caesar along with his brother might give incense to you for a long time" (*Sed sunt, Sancte, duo. Faveas cum Caesare fratrem,/ cum fratre ut Caesar det tibi thura diu*).[475] Thus does Fracco anchor the

[471] *Sacri Fasti* 23a.
[472] *Ibid.*
[473] *Ibid.*
[474] *Ibid.*
[475] *Ibid.*

success of the Emperor and his family to his faithfulness. All of Charles's accomplishments are done for the service of the Church and, importantly, result from the Church.

**The Campaign against Tunis and the Triumph of Charles V**

The central event to involve Charles V within the *Sacri Fasti* is his 1536 Roman triumph, already alluded to in the panel on the Emperor's birthday and in the calendar's introductory epistle. Held on 5 April, the procession celebrated the Emperor's capture of Tunis in May of 1535. The event is commemorated in two discrete, yet interconnected, panels: the first is on 28 July (90a-b) and commemorates the capture of Tunis and its port of Guletta, while the second falls on 5 April (40b-41a) and details the Emperor's Roman-inspired triumph.

Fracco's choice to single out this campaign and its aftermath reflects his larger prerogatives within the *Sacri Fasti*. Nowhere else is the partnership between Paul III and Charles V so manifest and nowhere else are Fracco's political ideals more transparent. To understand why this is the case, it is useful to first consider the background of each event. During the first part of the sixteenth century, the Western Mediterranean was under constant threat from naval attacks originating among the Muslim states of North Africa; Spanish possessions were particularly vulnerable, including those in Southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia.[476] In response, Charles spearheaded to gain control of the North African coast – a slow and methodical endeavor that required a series of naval operations. The first major action towards this end was the seizure of the Algerian base of Honaine in July of 1531 – a campaign which set the stage for further offensive operations in the following years.[477]

[476] Sorgia, 5 notes that in the early 1500s the threat had become so grave that an entire system of maritime communication was created to offer some line of defense.
[477] *Ibid.*, 37.

This incursion led the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman II to dispatch his admiral Barbarossa to launch further attacks in the western Mediterranean, while in Constantinople another fleet was readied with the objectives of attacking Malta, Sicily, and Calabria.[478] From 1533-1534 the Turks launched a series of violent attacks along the Italian coast, while in Tunis, the hostile Turkish commander Kheir-Eddin seized the city – a move which threatened, as Sorgia notes, "il controllo della navigazione del canale di Sicilia e del traffico commerciale tra il bacino occidentale del Mediterraneo e quello oriente."[479] Tunis, with its strategic port of Guletta, would thus be the choice for a major counterattack by Charles V.

From its inception, this expedition was framed as a religious struggle, with Charles even petitioning Paul III to classify the campaign as a crusade – a request that the Pope was only too happy to grant.[480] In fact, Paul III took the opportunity to contribute his own naval forces, in what was a clear effort to promote a new era of diplomatic relations with the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, on the 20th of November 1534, the newly elected Pope placed his armada of twelve ships under the command of Gentil Virginia Orsini.[481] These ships departed on the 18th of April, 1535 after being personally blessed by the Pope in Civitavecchia, while the combined Christian armada set sail for Sicily on 13 June, 1535.[482] Under the banner of the crucified Christ, the forces laid siege to the fortified port of Tunis, Guletta, which soon surrendered on 14 July, 1535.[483] Finally, on 21 July, Tunis itself fell after the gates of the helpless city were opened to

[478] *Ibid.*, 39.
[479] *Ibid.*, 41.
[480] Parker, 237 appears to suggest that this classification was the doing of Paul III, although Sorgia, 49 claims that this was done at the insistence of Charles V.
[481] Von Pastor, xi, 224 notes that such an undertaking was highly significant, given the penurious state of the papal coffers left by Clement VII. This, however, was viewed as the prelude to a grander crusade against the Ottoman Empire.
[482] The value of this event as propaganda can be seen today in a fresco depicting the blessing in the Farnese palazzo in Caprarola. For more see de Jong, 98-99.
[483] Sorgia, 67.

Charles's invading force, immediately after which a letter dated 27 July was sent to Paul III announcing the good news.[484]

Fracco's account of the conquest coincides with the date of this letter. His panel begins outside of Tunis; there, drawing heavily on both Ovid and Vergil, he imagines the expedition as that of a Roman general against the forces of a new Carthage:

> *I nunc et contra te, Caesar, tela ferantur;*
> *Ipsa tua e caelo numina bella gerunt.*
> *Ergo suis saltus Libicos penetrarat ab oris,*
> *Ipse sua Mavors qualis ab arce solet,*
> *Quum ducis est hosti subito pallorque pavorque,*
> *Atque suum excidium visa Guleta timet.*
>
> Go now and let spears be brought against you, Caesar;
> Your Divine power, itself originating from heaven, wages your wars for you.
> Therefore he had invaded the Libyan marshes from his own shores,
> (Arrayed) as Mars himself is accustomed to be from his own citadel,
> When suddenly dread and fear of the general struck the enemy,
> And Guleta, once spotted, feared its own downfall.[485]

Charles V and his army are led not merely by arms but by the divine (*numina*). To underscore the antiquarian nature of the panel, the area around Tunis is described as "Libyan marshes" (*Libicos saltus*), while Charles is himself akin to the god of war, Mars (*Mavors*). Guletta is another Carthage to be destroyed by another Caesar. Behind this opening is also an intertext with *Aeneid* Book One, specifically, where Juno fears the coming Trojan threat:

> *Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci*
> *Audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces*;
> *Hinc populum late regem belloque superbum*
> *Venturum excidio Libyae; sic volvere Parcas.*
>
> But she had heard that offspring descended from Trojan blood
> Would one day overthrow the Tyrian citadels;
> That hence a people widely ruling and proud in war

[484] *Ibid*., 71-72.
[485] *Sacri Fasti* 90a.

Would come for the destruction of Libya; so the Fates decreed.[486]

Among other shared features, such as the presence of *Libya* to describe the area around Carthage and the fated nature of each downfall (cf. *numina* and *Parcas*), particularly notable is the use in each passage of *excidium* (destruction). The effect is that the prophecy which Juno had heard about the overthrow of Troy is fulfilled not only by the Romans of antiquity, but by their Renaissance descendants. As we shall see later in this chapter, that Fracco emphasizes the Trojan lineage of both Paul and Charles further accords with Vergil's description of the *eversor* as "one born of Trojan blood" (*progeniem…Troiano a sanguine*).

This antiquarian framing of the battle continues in the second part of the panel. Two personifications now appear with the Emperor: Victory (*Victoria*), described as following the imperial standards (*signa*), and Fame (*Fama*) "painted gold in its wings" (*pennis aurea picta suis*) and which "appeared to frolick among twin eagles" (*geminas aquilas et ludere visa*).[487] This last description evokes the eagles fixed atop ancient Roman standards, while also alluding to the two-headed eagle symbolic of the Holy Roman Empire. In the climax of the scene, Charles arrives as the leader of a unified Italy: "Since he, who is carried upon horses, is accompanied by the Italian world,/ the battleline and empire belong to Caesar" (*Quum qui invectus equis Italo comitatus ab orbe;/ Caesaris est acies, imperiumque sui*).[488] Fracco portrays the Emperor as the incarnation of Vergil's Augustus who likewise leads the Italians during the Battle of Actium on the Sield of Aeneas: "From here Caesar Augustus leads the Italians into battle/ joined by the Senate, people, household gods and great deities" (*hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar/ cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis*).[489] Like Augustus, Charles is the embodiment

[486] Verg. *Aen*. 1.19-22.
[487] *Sacri Fasti* 90a.
[488] *Ibid*., 90b.
[489] Verg. *Aen*. 8.678-679.

of a people and its destiny, while his victory comes similarly against exotic enemies who challenge the established order.

His conquest of the city now complete, the Emperor dispatches Fame (*Fama*) with the news. The presence of the goddess again continues the allusions to the Aeneid and its storylines about Carthage, from which *Fama* similarly sets out to spread the news of Dido's illicit love for Aeneas: *Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,/ Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum* (Immediately through the great cities of Libya does Fame go,/ than whom no other evil is swifter).[490] Whereas Fame is an "evil" (malum) in her Vergilian rendition, she is here called "a happy messenger of your leader to my people" (*ducis populo nuntia laeta meo*). For Fracco, the conquest of Tunis fundamentally transforms the personification; what was once *Fama*, the envious harbinger of rumor, is now *Fama*, the joyous news of long-awaited victory.

Fame accordingly sets out to provide the people of Charles (*populo…meo*) with glad tidings. Her ultimate destination, we soon learn, is Rome itself – a revelation which, continuing the antiquarian themes, fashions Charles as an agent of the imperial city. There she arrives before the throne of the Pope and a personified *Roma*. At this point, the city expresses her joy to Pope Paul about her newfound resurgence:

> *'A te, sancte, regor, nec sub te poenitet esse:*
> *Cerno etenim auspiciis omnia laeta tuis.*
> *Glorior et post tot crudeli damna sub hoste,*
> *Te duce de lacrymis exeruisse caput.*
> *Inque tamen nostro spes est quoque Caesare rerum.*
> *Coget is errantes in tua saepta greges.'*
>
> "Sacred one, I am ruled by you, nor it is shameful to be under your power:
> For I see that all things are happy by your auspices.
> And I take pride that after so many hardships under a cruel enemy,
> With you as my leader I can raise up my head from its tears.
> And nevertheless there is hope of things in our Caesar;

[490] Ibid., 4. 173-174.

He will compel the straying herds into your folds."[491]

In the form of a prosopopoeia Rome announces that she is proud to be "ruled" by the Pope and that a new era of happiness has been ushered in under his auspices. Gone are the *damna* of the past – a clear reference to the Sack of Rome and a reminder of how the pain of the tragedy remained fresh, but was also dulled by Tunisian victory. Indeed, her mention of the *crudelis hostis* carries with it a sense of irony, and perhaps subversion, given that the "enemy" who had wreaked havoc upon the city was none other than Charles's own imperial troops. In her language, Rome recalls Livia in the Pseudo-Ovidian *Consolatio ad Romam*, who was able to "have raised her head higher than vices" (*altius et vitiis exeruisse caput*).[492] Even more important than remedying the past is what Charles brings to the future; he will do the bidding of the Pope, bringing the heretical and wayward forces of the world back into the Catholic fold. The result of the panel is thus to reframe the entire conquest of Tunis as part of Catholic expansion and the objectives of Charles and Paul as perfectly aligned.

**The Imperial Triumph**

Upon his conquest of Tunis, Charles set sail for Italy. The return voyage was carefully orchestrated – each port of call was meant to welcome the Emperor as the defender of Europe and Christendom. His first major destination would be Sicily and its capital of Palermo, which he entered on the 12th of September. This "triumph" was to be the first in a series of celebratory processions which would culminate in his Roman entrance the following year. In its structure it would foreshadow themes which were to reappear in its Roman counterpart. The Emperor met

[491] *Sacri Fasti* 95a.
[492] Ps. Ov. *Cons*.46.

first with an envoy of nobles outside of the walls.[493] Mounted on a steed, Charles processed towards the Palazzo dei Normani, passing by buildings draped with rich tapestries and under mock triumphal arches spanning the streets.[494]

Similar imperial triumphs and festivities were held elsewhere: at Messina on the 21st of October, at Cosenza on the 7th of November, at Bisignano on the 8th, and finally at Naples on the 23rd.[495] Here Charles would pass the winter, before departing in March to make his way slowly up the Italian peninsula. Paul III, of course, knew the significance of the imperial victory. He had dispatched his son Pier Luigi, at the head of other dignitaries from the Roman Curia, to personally invite the Emperor to celebrate his grand victory in the imperial city.[496] Nevertheless, it would not be until 22 March, 1536 that Charles would finally depart for Rome.[497]

This importance of this event was not lost on the Pope, who ensured that preparations for the imperial entrance were extensive. Tasked with organizing the works and laying out the triumphal route was the Pope's Master of Antiquities and Streets, Latino Giovenale Manetti.[498] Assisting him would be some of the city's finest artists and architects including Antonio da Sangallo the younger, Battista Franco, and Raffael da Montelupo.[499] Manetti's plan was as provocative as it was ambitious: with Paul's blessing, he would lay out a route that would reconstruct what was perceived to be the ancient *Via Triumphalis*. This would take the Emperor

[493] Visceglia, 2001, 139 remarks that the coterie included the city's magistrates, nobles, barons, and one hundred chosen youths who, in turn, offered the Emperor "un cavallo belissimo" as a gift.
[494] *Ibid*,, 140.
[495] On the route see *Ibid.*, 143-146.
[496] Von Pastor, xi, 233-234 notes that this mission also included a number of other diplomatic overtures – the better part of which were rebuffed by the Emperor.
[497] Mitchell, 159 remarks that he made his way first to Capua – a fitting choice given its importance during the Punic Wars.
[498] For more on Manetti and his approach to designing the triumphal architecture see Scott, 84-86.
[499] Von Pastor, xi, 243.

from the Porta San Sebastiano, to the Arch of Constantine, through the Roman Forum, and finally west past the Castel Sant'Angelo to the Vatican.[500]

For his own account of the triumph, Fracco begins not with the event itself, but rather the end of the Feast of St. Vincent Ferrer (5 April) – the Spanish saint whose name is evocative of victory (Lat. *vincere*). In an Ovidian apostrophe (see below), Fracco asks "Here also, Caesar, a domestic interest touches you./ Is it because you conquer in this [sign]? Or is it that he was an Iberian?" (*Hic quoque te, Caesar, iam cura domestica tangit./ Num quod in hoc vincis? An quod Iberus erat?*).[501] Fracco's remark showcases his characteristic subtlety – the phrase *in hoc vincis* evokes the famous moment when Constantine saw emblazoned in the sky the Greek words τούτῳ νίκα (Lat. *in hoc vince*) before his victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. This allusion conditions us for one of the major themes of the triumph – Charles as a Constantine-like restorer of the Church and its fortunes.[502] This idea of victory through faith is also underlined in the last distich before the triumph. There, Fracco remarks "While you follow the Divine, he bravely follows you;/ he returns you as a victor to your own people from the Tyrian city" (*Dum sequeris Divum, sequitur te fortiter ille;/ Victorem Tyria reddit ab urbe tuis*).[503]

Mention of the *Tyria urbs* is our first indication that the triumph will continue the antiquarian theme found during the capture of Tunis. Indeed, this is made even more explicit in the opening of the panel:

*Vox erat, 'ecce venit'; crepuerunt omnia plausu:*
*Teque capit gremio culta Capena suo.*
*Visus et es, positis laeva, dextraque figuris,*
*Inter Scipiadas tertius ire tuos.*
*Talis erat Libycis ludos quum Caesar ab oris*

[500] On the path taken see Mitchell, 161.
[501] *Sacri Fasti* 40b.
[502] Visceglia, 2001, 162-163 notes that the image of Constantine was used in the triumphal decorations and was connected to Charles.
[503] *Ibid.*

*Rettulit et victo parta tropaea Iuba.*

There was a voice, "behold he has come"; all resounded with applause;
And Capena, adorned, takes you in its embrace.
And you appeared, with figures placed on the right and left,
To proceed as the third among your Scipios.
Such was Caesar when he brought back (to Rome) games
From Libyan shores and trophies procured when Juba was conquered.[504]

Fracco immediately sets us in the events of the day. The syntagma *vox erat*, attested elsewhere Ovid, seen also in his panel on the Sack, creates a feeling of intrigue and suspense which is soon punctuated by applause.[505] The Emperor enters through the Porta Capena, the ancient name for the Porta San Sebastiano in the south of city and a choice which sets the stage for the ancient-inspired triumph to follow.[506] Addressed in the second-person, Charles passes among his "Scipios" (*Scipiadas*) as the "third" (*tertius*) – an allusion to the decorative conversion of the Porta San Sebastiano into a triumphal arch, on each side of which were painted frescos: the first showing the triumph of Scipio Africanus and the second that of Scipio Aemilianus,[507] Above the gate was inscribed an address to "Charles V, Emperor of the Romans, Augustus, the Third Africanus" (*CAROLO.V.RO.IMP.AVG.TERTIO AFRICANO*) and an elegiac distich bearing remarkably close resemblance to what we see in the *Sacri Fasti*: "[The gate] of Scipio ushers you, in its midst, within the walls, Caesar, whom, now that Libya has been conquered, the third palm awaits" (*Scipiadis medium Caesar te moenibus infert,/ quem Lybe devicto tertia palma manet*).[508]

[504] *Ibid*., 45a-b.
[505] Cf. Ov. *Fast*. 4.488 and 5.245.
[506] The choice of Porta Capena was intentional, given that it was thought that ancient triumphs had originated from this part of the city. This is confirmed by the 1536 *Ordine, pompe, apparati, et cerimone delle solenne intrate di Carlo V*, 6 in which it is written that the location was chosen "perche S.Santita ha voluta che venga per la via trionfale antica."; Forcella, 1885, 44 records that on the gate was inscribed a line referring to the entrance of Quintus Flaccus through the *porta* in order to relieve Rome from Hannibal: *Q. Flaccus capena ingressus Afros depulit*.
[507] For a full description of the gate see Forcella, 1885, 42-44.
[508] *Ibid*. The "third palm" is likely in reference to Charles's victory as the third after those of Scipio Africanus and Scipio Aemilianus.

Beyond allusions to the triumphal adornment of the Porta San Sebastiano, Fracco further creates an antiquarian atmosphere by drawing on Ovidian descriptions of Rome. Continuing the triumphal route, Fracco mentions the Velia and the *parva regia* of Numa joined with the temple of Vesta. These references place us in the context of the Roman Forum, through which the Emperor processed along a newly renovated *Via Sacra* where he would have seen the circular ruins of the temple of Vesta after passing under the arch of Titus and before arriving at that of Septimius Severus.[509]

From the ruins of the Forum, Charles arrived at another makeshift arch constructed in front of Palazzo Venezia and the Campidoglio. This structure, like the Porta San Sebastiano, featured frescoes – this time, of the campaign and victory over Tunis. These paintings Fracco summarizes like a scene from epic: "battlelines thrown into disarray by war and conquered marshes/ seas and towns captured with their defenders killed" (*Confusasque acies bello, victasque paludes,/ aequoraque et caesis oppida capta viris*).[510] Along with these achievements in battle, he makes sure to keep the focus on Charles's service to Christendom by mentioning "our men freed from chains who had recently been booty for barbarian deities" (*homines exutos vincula nostros,/barbaricis fuerant qui modo praeda Deis*." The crowning achievement is Guletta itself:

> *Sub pede lugebat quondam defensa Corone,*
> *Maestaque contusis igne Guleta genis.*
> *Reddita Poenorum splendebant moenia regi,*
> *Addita sed titulis, nominibusque tuis.*

Corona, formerly defended, was grieving under his foot

[509] In describing the *parva regia Numae*, Fracco appears to combine two passages, namely, *Tristia*.3.1.302 (*Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae*) and *Fasti*.6.263-264 (*hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet Atria Vestae,/ tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae*); the initial route of the triumph went from the Porta San Sebastiano, past the Colosseum, under the Arch of Constantine, through a newly renovated Via Sacra, and then past the Basilica of Maxentius; The result of this was as Gamrath, 76 notes, the first restoration in 1000 years of "ancient imperial Rome between the Porta S. Sebastiano, the Colosseum and the Capitol."

[510] *Sacri Fasti* 41a.

And grief-stricken Guleta, her cheeks marred by fire.
The walls of Carthage were glistening once they had been returned to the king[511]
But they were augmented by your titles and names.[512]

The port of Tunis, saddened and with scratched cheeks, resembles the downtrodden *Germania* from *Tristia* 4.2. She is joined by another city – Koroni (*Corona*) in the Morea, which had been captured by Charles's admiral, Andrea Doria, in 1532.[513] The combination of the two cities offers insight into those hopes placed in Charles. He is the Emperor who will once more unite East and West – a crusader poised to restore the territories of the Roman and Byzantine Empires.

To this point the Pope has remained curiously absent. This now changes as the triumph moves towards the Vatican:

*Hinc tibi pons aditus fratrum, patrumque sigillis,*
*Sacraque erat moles plausibus aucta tuis.*
*Sistere equos faciunt demissa tonitrua flammis:*
*Terruerant animos non tamen illa tuos.*
*Contigeras templum: victricia signa secutus*
*Duceris exceptus patris ad ora choro.*
*Oscula iunguntur, iunguntur colla duorum:*
*Qualia, qui clavi, qui valet ense, solent.*

From here you approached the bridge and the sacred fortress was augmented
By statues of your brothers and fathers and by your praises.
Thunder cast down with flames made the horses rear,
Nevertheless those (shots) did not terrify your spirits.
You reached the temple; having followed victorious standards
You are ushered in by a chorus, led up to the face of the Father.
Kisses are exchanged, the two embrace
As he who bears the key and he who bears the sword are wont to do.[514]

Fracco's account of the procession resumes at the Ponte Sant'Angelo, which contemporary testimonies note was covered with two statuary groups covering its ten pilasters. The first featured Saint Peter and the four Evangelists, while the second included Saint Paul and the four

[511] This is likely a reference to Muley Hassan, a client king who was installed by Charles upon the throne.
[512] *Ibid.*
[513] For an overview of the conquest and its significance see Tracy, 142-143.
[514] *Sacri Fasti* 45b.

church patriarchs.[515] Fracco's description of these statues as those of "brothers and fathers" further contextualizes Charles as a religious leader and anticipates the comparison of Peter and Paul to Charles and the Pope at the end of the panel.

After passing by the Castel Sant'Angelo, unfazed by its volley of gunshots, the Emperor at last arrives at Saint Peter's which is denoted simply as a *templum* – a word used throughout the *Sacri Fasti* for churches, but undoubtedly evocative here of the temple at which the triumphator would make sacrifice.[516] At the end of this new triumph is the Pope, to whom Charles is personally "led" (*duceris*). These elements, the placement of the Pope as the finale of the procession and the use of the verb *ducere*, are tinged with a slight hint of subordination – especially given the frequency with which Fracco refers to Charles as "the leader" (*dux*). It is the *dux* who is now led to none other than his spiritual father (*pater*).

Outwardly, the message of the imperial/papal meeting is clear: the two leaders are equal partners. This relationship is reflected in the chiastic structure of the last hexameter, particularly in the repetition of the verb *iunguntur* and the balancing of *colla* and *oscula*. Moreover, in the pentameter they are compared to Saints Peter and Paul – represented respectively by the key (Peter) and the sword (Paul). The result of the campaign, of the triumph, and of the final meeting is a message: Charles and the Pope are equals, whose partnership, manifested in campaigns and conquests, has brought celebrations to Rome and the Vatican.

Although the triumph is at an end, Fracco's interest in Charles's visit to Rome is not. For weeks afterwards the Emperor remained in the capital as a guest of Paul III, touring the city's ancient monuments and praying at its most famous churches. From the Pope's Master of Ceremonies Biagio da Cesena, we know that on 9 April 1536, Palm Sunday, the Pope celebrated

[515] This is recounted in the *Ordine, pompe, et apparati*, op. cit.
[516] For more on this part of the triumphal procession see Beard, 2009, 249.

mass in the presence of the Emperor in the Aula Regia: "On Sunday, 9 April, which is said to be of the palms, a solemn mass was performed in the Cappella Maggiore, in which the Pope together with the cross and the cardinals, as is the custom, processed and the Emperor met him in the Aula Regia" (*Die dominica 9 Aprilis, quae Palmarum dicitur, et solemnitas in Cappella Maiore, in qua Pontifex cum Cruce, et Cardinalibus, ut moris est processit, et in Aula Regia Imperator obviam venit, et facta debita reverentia*).[517] While Charles would remain in the Aula to pray with some close associates, Paul emerged and "cast forth olive branches to the people" (*proiecit populo ramos olivarum*), in what was a symbolic act of peace.[518]

The events of this Palm Sunday are retold in the *Sacri Fasti* and form part of the greater "triumph" narrative. Fracco begins his account with the entrance of the Emperor into the Aula Regia: "There was a voice "the Augustus in full dress approaches a solemn altar/ with the Father in order to place incense upon the fires" (*Vox erat: 'Augustus solemnem cultior aram/ Cum patre thura focis impositurus adit'*).[519] For the first time in the *Sacri Fasti*, Charles V is referred to explicitly as Augustus – a title which, as we saw in the opening to Book Two, accords with how Fracco imagines the Emperor in the calendar. We then witness his meeting with the Pope:

> *Venerat et tantum distabat sorte tiarae,*
> *Caetera nam cultus pontificalis erant.*
> *Talis ab Océano radiis redimitus Apollo*
> *Chrysolithis summo Reddit ab orbe diem.*
> *Magnus ab Aenea pater hic deductus, et ille*
> *Hicque hominum dux est, dux tamen ille ducum.*
>
> He had come and he was differing only by the lot of the tiara,
> For all other things were of the papal fashion.
> So does Apollo, crowned by chrysolite rays from the ocean,
> Return the day from the highest sphere.
> This one is a great father descended from Aeneas, as is the other

[517] Biagio's account can be found at Podestà, 332.
[518] *Ibid*., 333.
[519] *Sacri Fasti* 42a.

And this one is the leader of men, but that one of leaders.[520]

The summit between the two leaders is underscored by a sense of majesty. Although Charles is the new Augustus, Fracco makes sure that the context is explicitly of the Church by noting that "all other things were of the papal worship" (*caetera…cultus pontificalis erant*).[521] The register of the passage is epic in tone and hints at the ultimate supremacy of the Pope. Paul is like the god Apollo ready to usher in a new day and both men are portrayed as the hereditary rulers of Rome – the descendants of Aeneas. Nevertheless, although Charles is the ruler of men, the Pope is the ruler of rulers.[522]

In the passage to follow, Fracco maintains his focus on the two sovereigns as restorers of the new Rome. This theme is brought into dramatic focus on the Palilia (21 April). As the traditional birthday of Rome, the festival serves as an opportunity to reflect on the current state of the city and its historical pedigree. Accordingly, the panel begins by placing us in an ancient context: "Tomorrow, Rome, the ancient festival, the Palilia, will be at hand for you,/ worthy to be watched from the Capitoline Hill" (*Cras aderunt priscum tibi Roma, Palilia festum,/ De Capitolino conspicienda iugo*).[523] This antiquarian context is further bolstered by the fact that the agricultural god Pales, and namesake of the festival, will be present (*Sancta Pales aderit*), while Fracco also mentions the original founders of the city, Romulus and Remus, as the dutiful "shepherds" of Rome.

In the Rome of the sixteenth century, these founding brothers have been replaced by a new pair of shepherds – the saints Peter and Paul: "lest these ones [i.e. Peter and Paul] are absent

[520] *Ibid.*
[521] *Ibid.*
[522] This idea – that the Emperor and the Pope occupy positions of different stature levels of power – is something that I will examine later in this chapter; for the phrase *dux ducum* cf. Ov. *Her.* 8.46 *dux erat ille ducum.*
[523] *Sacri Fasti* 42b.

to you, he who bears the sword and his brother, each your shepherd, will festoon the sheepfolds with garlands (*Hi tibi ne desint, praecinget ovilia sertis/ Ensifer et frater, pastor uterque tuus*). Given that the two saints are described throughout the calendar, and even during Charles's triumph, as the spiritual forbearers of Paul III and Charles, Fracco's resurrected version of the festival carries with it political significance. This is especially clear if we consider the final distich: "Therefore, Rome, with these men as your leaders you are reborn and/ with these (leaders) you cross over heaps of burning straw when the altar orders you" (*His igitur ducibus tibi Roma renasceris hisque/ de stipula transis quum iubet ara focos*).[524] Under this new alliance, that is, between the two powerful European hegemons, Rome is to undergo a renaissance. The city left for dead after the Sack can be born again under a Pope and a Caesar. Indeed, that Fracco intends here a contemporary significance is suggested by an analogous passage from the *Consolatio ad Romam*, wherein he likewise uses the verb *renascor* in describing Paul III's reconstruction of the Campidoglio and of Rome's walls: "we witness the walls and the high Capitoline Hill reborn" (*Moenia conspicimus Capitoliaque alta renasci*).[525]

The second part of the distich makes this argument in explicitly Ovidian terms. Consider how the ancient poet describes his own participation in the festivities during the Palilia:

> *Certe ego de vitulo cinerem stipulasque fabales*
> *Saepe tuli plena, februa tosta, manu;*
> *Certe ego transilui positas ter in ordine flammas,*
> *Udaque roratas laurea misit aquas.*
>
> Certainly I often brought the ash of a calf and bean stalks,
> The toasted *februa*, in my full hand.
> Certainly I leaped across the arranged flames three times in a row,
> And a wet laurel branch cast forth dewy waters.[526]

[524] *Ibid.*
[525] *Consolatio ad Romam* 16.
[526] Ov. *Fast.* 4.725-728.

In Fracco's new Palilia we again see the "bean stalks" (*stipulae*) and the bonfires (*flammae*); now, however, it will be Rome herself who can jump over the fires. The presence of these ritual implements further underscores the sense of continuity between the ancient and Renaissance cities and suggests that Rome has returned to its former zenith.

The series of panels which comprise the triumph thus presents a window into how Fracco viewed the accomplishments of Charles and how he imagined the expectations placed in the Emperor. The cooperation between Charles and Paul is a rebirth in the military, civic, and religious power of Catholic Europe. From the shores of Tunis to the streets of Rome, the interests of Charles and Paul are framed as perfectly aligned, while past disagreements are either absent or deemphasized. The partnership between the two has ushered in a new imperial era which not only captures the spirit of the Roman past, but surpasses it.

**Papal Partner or Papal Subject?**

This chapter has thus far centered upon how Fracco promotes his own version of Charles. The Emperor's victories, his goals, and even his words are all viewed through this lens. What emerges is a central theme: the Pope and the Emperor are an alliance of equals – the twin pillars upon which the Church and Europe rest. This was made clear in the introductory epistle and reaffirmed throughout the passages that we have so far considered.

This dichotomy between *pater* and *princeps* is, however, more subtle than initially seems. There are indications in the *Sacri Fasti* that Fracco does not conceive of Charles and Paul as equal partners, but the former as ultimately subservient to the latter. We have already seen faint suggestions to this effect; the 1536 Triumph and the Pope as the *Dux ducum*. Perhaps inspired by Ovid's own, at times, tepid approach to Augustus – a reading that one scholar characterizes as

"suspicious" – Fracco suggests in different ways and in various panels that the Emperor is inferior to the Pope in power and stature.[527]

**The Opening of July**

Numerous passages can be viewed in this light, although a few stand out for their ingenuity. One of the best examples comes in the introduction to the Seventh Book, the month of July. As in the other book openings, Fracco envisions here a new aetiology for the month by recounting and manipulating its traditional association with Julius Caesar. Nevertheless, the panel opens on a traditional note: "We now sing the month of Julius, divine in name, whence Mars-begotten Rome elevated its head" (*iam canimus mensem divini nomen Iuli,/ sustulit unde suum Martia Roma caput*).[528]

Fracco's praise of Julius Caesar, described as a *divus* due to his deification in antiquity, is initially somewhat surprising. His calendar, after all, is a Christian one. Yet all is not as it seems. Mirroring Ovid's own tendency for trickery, Fracco misdirects us with his language. This begins with an address to Paul III:

> *Ergo, Sancte Pater, cuius virtute valemus,*
> *Hic quoque propenso numine mitis ades.*
> *Praecipue sed tu, mensem quia iungimus anno*
> *Illius imperii quo duce frena regis.*
> *Quod locus ipse petit, venias pro Caesare Caesar*
> *Hic tibi nam titulos eius et acta canam.*
>
> Therefore, Sacred Father, by whose virtue we thrive,
> Be here also, gentle with your favorable divine will.
> But you especially (be at hand), because we unite his month with his year,

[527] For the idea of the "suspicious" reader see Robinson, 9-10; the idea that Ovid uses his calendar to cast doubt upon the Augustan regime is found already in Beard, 1987, 9 who notes on the comparison between Augustus and Romulus "Ovid's readers could find a tension between the practice of their own day and their, perhaps quaint, primitive antecedents – a tension whose comic effects served only to deflate Augustus' paraded links with the Romulean past."
[528] *Sacri Fasti* 76a.

With whom as leader you control the reins of his empire.
Come forth as a Caesar in place of a Caesar, which thing the very subject requests,
For I will here sing his titles and deeds to you.[529]

Addressing Paul in the language of an invocation, Fracco turns to the subject of the system of time and empire created by Julius Caesar. These, we learn, are now under the control of the Pope, that is, the *Sancte Pater*. This revelation comes as a surprise; while the idea of the Pope as the inheritor of the Roman Empire originates with the Donation of Constantine, his purview over July and the Julian Calendar is unusual. Fracco, however, explains this choice by invoking the Pope as Caesar: "Come forth Caesar in place of Caesar,/ for I will here sing to you of his titles and deeds" (*Venias pro Caesare Caesar:/ Hic tibi nam titulos eius, et acta canam*). In the passage that follows, Fracco further stresses the continuity between the realm of Julius Caesar and that now ruled by Paul: "clearly Julius created the first empire,/ which is now yours from ancient nobility" (*Scilicet imperium primum formavit Iulus,/ nunc quod ab antiqua est nobilitate tuum*).[530] That the Pope is the rightful heir to the Caesars will subsequently be the primary theme of the passage and will, as we shall see, undermine the idea that the Holy Roman Emperor is the legitimate successor of the Roman *imperatores*.[531]

To make this argument, Fracco offers an abridged retelling of Roman history. This begins with Caesar's pivotal decision to cross the Rubicon; appearing prideful and vainglorious, he boasts "If I am of the progeny of the Gods,/ let my power have lain hidden long enough" (*Si sum de stirpe Deorum/ sat mea sit virtus dissimulata mihi*).[532] Caesar then reveals his aim to be none other than supreme power: "I do not want any equal, I refuse to endure someone greater than

[529] *Ibid.*, 76a-b.
[530] *Ibid.*, 76b.
[531] This view, however, was not shared by all curial humanists. For instance, Zimmerman, 95 notes that Paolo Giovio "probably considered the Church, not the emperor, the true successor of the Caesars."
[532] *Sacri Fasti* 76b.

me,/ the gods owe me a sceptre and I want my sceptre" (*Esse parem nolo, maiorem ferre recuso,/ sceptra mihi debent numina, sceptra volo*).[533] What follows is a condensed version of Julius's rise, his "spite" (*invidia*) ushering in a new era of obeisance to the dictator. The world (*orbs*) is now under the power of Caesar, but it is an age of fear (*metus*). Having already achieved supremacy in Rome, triumphs, and religious control, Caesar ultimately desires his own month. With the help of a vestal virgin this wish becomes a reality, albeit at a cost. Caesar's pursuit of power runs afoul of the Roman Senate, resulting in his murder. But, as in Ovid, he is rescued by his protectress Vesta: "He was giving laws to the people, they fix their swords in the leader./ Vesta spirited away the man, it is but the shadow of Caesar that perishes" (*Iura dabat populo, gladios in principe figunt./ Vesta virum rapuit, Caesaris umbra cadit*).[534]

From here we see the rise of Augustus, who fulfills the wish of his adoptive father by ratifying through the Senate the name of the new month: "let the fifth month go forth by the name of Julius" (*Quintus Iuleo nomine mensis eat*).[535] However, we now witness an unexpected development – the birth of Christ. Fracco tells us that, with the advent of the new divinity, "he himself subjected the months to his laws, in order that the ancient religion might depart from our year" (*Priscus ut e nostro ritus discederet anno,/ supposuit menses legibus ipse suis*).[536] Nevertheless, there remains a problem: how can this newly Christianized year simultaneously retain its traditional, pagan, names?

Fracco's answer is one that he has employed before; in January with Janus, in March with Mars, in June with Juno. This is to simply transfer the identity of the traditional god, in this case, the divinized Julius Caesar, to a member of the new Christian pantheon:

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[533] *Ibid.*
[534] *Ibid.*, 77a.
[535] *Ibid.*, 78a.
[536] *Ibid.*

*Iulius imperium, imperium hic dedit ordine primus.*
*Fas erat, ut res haec, illaque imago foret.*
*Nomen idem fert hic – ne fabula forte putetur*
*(condere me sacro carmine vera decet).*
*Graius enim florem vocat illum doctus Iulum,*
*De foliis nondum qui solet ire suis.*

Julius bestowed the empire, but this one [Christ] bestowed it first.
It was right, that this be the real thing and that an image.
This one bears the same name – let it not perchance be thought a myth
(it is right that I memorialize true things in my sacred song)
For the learned Greek calls that flower Iulus,
Which is not yet accustomed to come forth from its leaves.[537]

It was Christ who first gave the true *imperium*, of which the Roman Empire was merely an image. More important is that Christ has taken the name of Julius. Fracco makes this point in true Ovidian fashion through an etymology – a strategy seen in panels such as the invocation to Venus at the opening of *Fasti* Book Four.[538] Here, as Pecci notes, Fracco refers to the Greek noun οὖλος – a rare term meaning "kernel" of wheat.[539] In this sense, Julius is better understood not as a reference to Julius Caesar, but to the eternal nature of Christ, or, as Pecci further explains, a flower which, although extant, has not yet bloomed ("non sbocciato").[540] That is, the real *imperium* fundamentally predates that of the Roman Empire and always existed, even before the birth of Jesus. This novel etymology also appears to have a parallel in scripture itself, specifically, John 12.24, where Christ notes: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

Fracco now proceeds to expand upon this idea that the real Julius Caesar wields power from heaven:

*Quae nova sint quamvis, pietas servabit in annos,*
*Et data laudabit munera nostra fides*

[537] *Ibid*., 78a.
[538] For an overview of Ovid's etymologizing see Pasco-Pranger, 98.
[539] Pecci, 1912, 330; See LSJ, A.ii s.v. οὖλος.
[540] *Ibid*.

*Ergo tibi hinc Caesar, quo regnes, vera requiras:*
*Iste tibi verus Iulius iste fuit.*
*Iste dat imperium, triplicem dat et iste coronam,*
*Pontificis nam huius traditur illa manu.*

Although these things are new, piety will preserve them down through the years,
And our faith will praise the gifts we have been given.
From this source, then, Caesar, you should seek for yourself the truth by which you rule:
He – He! – was the true Julius to you.
He who bestows the empire, and the threefold crown,
For it is handed down by the hand of His priest.[541]

In Fracco's telling, Christ was the first Julius Caesar and is thus the real dedicatee of the month. Addressing now the Pope, Fracco instructs him to seek the truth – that is, that Christ is the real Julius. The effect of this transferal is multifold; on one hand, the appropriation of the month fits into the larger pattern observed throughout the calendar of displacing pagan with Christian. More significant, however, is the subtext. The name Caesar, connected throughout the *Sacri Fasti* to Charles V and used almost exclusively in that capacity, is refigured as a religious title. It is the true Caesar, Jesus, who confers the *imperium* and the "triple crown" (*triplicem coronam*) – to be understood, respectively, as the Pope's inheritance of the Roman Empire conferred by the Donation of Constantine and his symbolic tripartite tiara.

The logical conclusion of this passage is to challenge the union of equals between Charles V and Paul III. Whereas, before Caesar and the Pope are presented as partners who wield the same power, this relationship is now thrown into doubt. The identity of Caesar has been subsumed by Christ, who ultimately wields his authority through the Popes. The effect is a jarring one: to render Charles ultimately subservient to the religious power of Paul and to undermine the weight which his title carries.

**The Birth of Christ**

[541] *Sacri Fasti* 78a-b.

This ultimate triumph of religious over secular power, of papal over imperial, is further explored elsewhere. Passages such as that on the Donation of Constantine and the opening of August are explicitly structured around this theme. In the latter, Fracco even appropriates the name of the month for Saint Peter and reframes the title Augustus as better suiting the Pope: "They call sacred things august, the father himself of sacred matters/ is he who bears the key, let him go forth as the one worthy of the time of Augustus" (*Sacra augusta vocant, fuerat pater ipse sacrorum*/ *Claviger, Augusti tempore dignus eat*).[542] Nevertheless, one of the more interesting examples of this dichotomy is also one of the last entries in the calendar: the panel on Christmas Day. There, set within a nativity scene, is a lengthy comparison between Jesus Christ and the Emperor Augustus.

The passage begins with a pronouncement by none other than the Cumaean Sibyl – the prophetess of Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue* – who, upon the birth of Christ, announces "behold God" (*Ecce deus*).[543] She then addresses Augustus himself: "He, much greater than you, Caesar, will hold all things" (*is multo maior te, Caesar, cuncta tenebit*).[544] Although Caesar had "coerced the world to proceed under his laws" (*ire suum Caesar sub iura coegerat orbem*), we nevertheless learn that he "feared the coming Christ" (*timuisti, Caesar, euntem*).[545] Why Caesar is driven by such anxieties is the focus of a syncrisis between the two figures. Modelling his discussion on the comparison between Romulus and Augustus in *Fasti* Book Two, in which Ovid systematically elevates the latter at the expense of the former, Fracco now, in a twist of irony, describes those areas in which Christ supersedes Caesar Augustus:

[542] *Ibid*,, 92a.
[543] *Ibid*,, 162a; Christian interpretations of the Fourth *Eclogue* were popular throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. For an overview see Bourne, 1916 and Houghton, esp. 252-285.
[544] *Sacri Fasti* 162a.
[545] *Ibid*., 166a.

*Ille Deus terris te dignior ille vocari,*
*Dux hominum cum sit, cum pater ipse Deum.*
*Semine nam humano natus tua sceptra tulisti,*
*Regnat ab aeterno natus in orbe patre.*
*Ipse colis fastus, pietatem Christus amavit*
*Tuque probas, falsos destruit ille Deos.*
*In populos geris arma ferox, cruce militat ille:*
*Tu ferro gentes, vocibus ille domat.*
*Templa facis, facit ille suis sed numina templis,*
*Tu lege, hic pura crimina tollit aqua.*
*Ultus es infestum, tibi qui patrem enecat, hostem,*
*Hic veniam, qui ipsi fata dedere, dedit.*

He was more worthy than you to be called a God upon Earth,
Since he himself is the leader of men, since he is the father of the gods.
For you wielded your scepters as one born from human seed,
While he rules the world as one born from the eternal father.
You cultivate arrogance, while Christ loved piety,
And the false gods you approve, he destroyed.
You fiercely take up arms against peoples, he wages war with the cross
You conquer races with the sword, he does so with words.
You make temples, but he makes the divine presence in his;
You absolve men of crimes with laws, he with pure water.
You avenged the hostile enemy who killed your father,
He gave forgiveness to those who brought about his own death.[546]

Each elegiac couplet introduces an area in which theological power trumps its worldly counterpart; piety surpasses arrogance, the cross transcends the sword, forgiveness overcomes vengeance. Whereas in the *Fasti* these were all areas in which Augustus was superior to Romulus – in his military prowess, in his control of the laws, in his cultivation of religion – they are now shown to be most truly manifested in Christ.

As with the introduction to July, this critique of Augustus can also be viewed as directed against Charles V. Once more the title of "Caesar" is debased, while a religiously centered worldview is placed in its stead. In the verses which follow, Fracco returns us to the sixteenth

[546] *Ibid.*

century and continues to expound upon this idea. Having already offered "paternal laws" (*iura paterna*) and pacified the world (*gente…pacata*), Christ will continue to rule the world through the Pope: "but after you there will be another Tiphys who steers the bark with his key" (*at a te/ clave ratem Tiphis qui regat alter erit*).[547] The bark of St. Peter, that is, control of the world created by Christ, will continue to be helmed by his Popes.

It is not just religious power that Christ has seized for himself. His hegemony extends in all directions. Appearing to Fracco as his interlocutor, he remarks: "the empire of Caesar is ours and the whole globe is ours./ I give laws to the people and I cultivate justice" (*Caesaris imperium nostrum est, est totus et orbis/ Iuraque do populis, iustitiamque colo*).[548] The dominion of Christ and, by extension, that of the Church, is, for Fracco, all-encompassing; temporal rule over peoples and lands, the kind embodied by Charles V, is but a projection of the real source of power – Christ and His Church. The result of this panel is, once more, to undermine the traditional claims to authority of temporal rulers, chief among whom is Charles V. According to Christ, it is the Pope alone who reigns supreme.

**The Presentation of the Chinea**

Fracco explores the previous examples of the relationship between Emperor and Pope via etymology and history. Elsewhere he surveys it in a different, yet still highly Ovidian, manner: through juxtaposition. The idea that the poet carefully arranges panels, sometimes of seemingly unrelated material, to evoke broader themes was popularized by Carole Newlands's 1995 monograph *Playing with Time*. There, she contends that Ovid uses "savage juxtapositions" to

[547] This line is likely derived from Verg. *Ecl*. 4.34-35: *alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo delectos heroas*.
[548] *Sacri Fasti* 167b.

undermine passages ostensibly favorable to Augustus.[549] This approach is not without precedent, however. Renaissance humanists also read and studied the *Fasti* as a unified text – not merely as discrete panels. In his *Sacri Fasti*, Fracco shows a keen awareness of this feature of Ovid's text and makes connections between entries a central feature of his poem. We have already witnessed this phenomenon in multiple instances, including in the strategic placement of the catasterism of Scorpio after the *Electio* of Paul III, or in the bracketing of the Sack of Rome by the Feast of Saint Catherine and the *Pompa Pro Pace*. A similar dynamic is deployed in the case of Charles V, whose position and powers as Emperor are questioned through the juxtaposition of panels.

One of the clearest examples of these tensions comes during the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul. Held on the 29th of June, this was an important day in the liturgical life of Rome; the residents of the city, along with the Pope, would hold festivities and a vigil on the night prior. On the day of the festival, there were elaborate ceremonies replete with fireworks. In the *Sacri Fasti*, Fracco makes both the vigil and the subsequent feast to reaffirm the spiritual and temporal mastery of Rome. As part of this program, he continues the theme found elsewhere, including in the proem to Book One and during Charles's Roman triumph, of the two saints as the avatars for Pope and Emperor.

> *Officio quorum caput urbs nunc dicitur orbis,*
> *Ensifer et pariter claviger aede litant,*
> *Quodque refert quoties laetum tenet aurea vultum*
> *Quumque est successu thureve festa dies.*
> *Turres nocte micant, crepitant per compita flammae*
> *Et iuvat ardentes transiliisse focos.*
>
> As equals the sword-bearer and key-bearer make offerings in the church,
> Because of whose service the city is now called the "head of the world,"
> Because she both notes how often she, golden, has a happy face
> And because the day is festive in its outcome or offering.
> The towers flicker at night, the flames crackle at intersections

[549] Newlands, 17; a similar argument is also advanced by Barchiesi, esp. 79-104 who refers to such juxtapositions as "syntagmatic tensions."

And people enjoy jumping across the flaming hearths.[550]

Fracco sets the scene in a Rome restored to its former glory; the city is once again the *caput mundi* and is full of festivities. As in Charles's imperial triumph, there are towers and hearths, over which residents leap once more in evocation of the Parilia. Most important, though, is that *claviger* and *ensifer* are harmoniously joined together.

This scene of festivity continues through the rest of the passage. Fireworks, described dramatically as "fire-vomiting comets" (*ignivomi…cometae*) are launched from Castel Sant'Angelo and proceed to illuminate the sky. In his typical guise of "seeker of causes," Fracco ponders the reason for this lightshow. The answer, he learns, is that the two great explosions of fireworks represent the "two brothers" (*duo fratres*) – that is, Saints Peter and Paul. The first is "notable in his piety and in the honor of his rites" (*alter enim insignis pietate et honore sacrorum*), a "father boundless in religion and in the [power] of his key" (*claveque et immensus relligione pater*). Paul, the *ensifer*, is, on the other hand, the embodiment of "eloquence" (*eloquium*), a patron of the poetic arts, and unmatched in his military prowess. In the last pentameter, Fracco notes that the two are "leaders" (*duces*) who "hold the tutelage of both the city and the globe" (*tutelamque…urbis et orbis habent*).[551] The subtext of the passage is clear: just as Peter and Paul spiritually safeguard the Church and the Earth, so do Paul III and Charles V control the political world of the Renaissance.

If the passage were to end on this note, the message would unequivocally be one of equal partnership. Yet Fracco casts doubt on this union in the subsequent part of the panel, wherein he describes the presentation of the Chinea. With origins stretching back to the papacy of Clement IV (1265-1268) and his investiture of Charles I of Anjou as King of Sicily, this was a white

[550] *Sacri Fasti* 74a.
[551] *Ibid*,, 74b.

horse gifted every year to the Pope by the Kingdom of Naples in a show of fealty.[552] Over time, the presentation of the Chinea became part of the annual celebration in Rome for the feast day of Saints Peter and Paul. This part of the feast was typically held before Saint Peter's Basilica, wherein a temporary baldacchino was often constructed for the purpose. At this point, the Chinea, opulently adorned, would trot forth and be presented to the Pope in a lavish ceremony. The central theme of the offering was that of obeisance; the Kingdom of Naples showed fealty to the Pope as supreme powerbroker.

This political symbolism was not lost on either party. Following the Sack of Rome, Charles V, who could count Naples among his many domains, suspended the annual bequest due to the inimical relations that existed between himself and Clement VII. Only in 1529 was the presentation of the Chinea resumed, as part of a larger peace negotiation between the Pope and the Emperor.[553] In the era of Paul III the ceremony was maintained and carried out with renewed vigor. Many of these iterations are recounted by the papal ceremonialist Biagio Martinelli, who held organizational responsibility for the festivities. In 1537 he records that "the Pope, carried down together with his crown, received the Chinea."[554] In 1539 a similar ceremony took place: "once mass was finished, he [the Pope] went to the opening of the basilica where, underneath the portico, he received from the messenger of Caesar the Chinea and the *foeudum* (land fee) owed to him" (*completa missa ivit ad portam basilicae ubi sub porticu recepit ab oratore Caesaris Chineam et foeudum debitum ei*).[555]

[552] On the origin of the Chinea see M. Schipa s.v. "Chinea" in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani. The ceremony would continue until 1788 when it was finally abolished. For more on this latter stage of the Chinea see Lioy, 1882.
[553] Parisi, 168.
[554] Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 12278 fol.70$^{r}$.
[555] Vat. lat. 12278 fol.89$^{r}$; On the *foeudum*, Giannone, 344 remarks that the ceremony involved the payment of an honorary sum. During the reign of Sixtus IV, he specifies that this was "ottomila oncie d'oro."

While it does not appear that Fracco alludes to a specific iteration of the ceremony, his description is a more detailed version of Martinelli's account. Fracco presents the scene as one of great festivity and anticipation; a volley of fireworks from Castel Sant'Angelo precedes the revelation of the Chinea itself:

> *Signa dedit moles, properat data signa secutus*
> *Candidus a Chionis nomine dictus equus.*
> *Cernite ut auspiciis it patrum saeptus, et armis :*
> *Seque sui ut novit muneris esse decus.*
> *Scilicet acceptum imperium fert legibus area:*
> *Nostraque quod fuerit Sicelis ora docet.*
>
> The Castel gave the signals, and there hastens forth, having followed the signals,
> A white horse called by the name of Chion.
> Look at how it proceeds enclosed by the well-wishes and arms of the fathers
> And how it understands that it is the ornament of its gift.
> It bears to the altar the imperium accepted by law
> And it teaches that the Sicilian shore is ours.[556]

The lack of a subject for *secutus* in the opening hexameter contributes to a building of suspense for the pentameter to follow. It is there that we finally see the Chinea, described as "white" (*candidus*) in a reflection of a hypothetical etymology of the name from the Greek word for snow (χιών). The whole event is rendered personal by the imperative *cernite* (look!) – which almost implies that we are members of the crowd. The Chinea itself takes center stage as a symbol of papal might, while Fracco alludes to the origins of the ceremony in the transferal of Sicilian territory.

The next scene continues the suspense. We see the Chinea approach the Pope, at which moment Fracco is even more explicit about the power dynamics on display in the ceremony:

> *'Caesar ave, quando luce haec tibi cuncta quiescunt,*
> *Quo minor es, summo redde tributa patri.'*
> *Vix ea, sit tamquam domini mandata secutus,*
> *Acris quum ille hinnit, venit et ante fores.*
> *Ante fores hinnit, proceres salvete, sedentem*

[556] *Sacri Fasti* 74b.

*Aspice cui dandus spectat ut ille ducem.*

"Hail Caesar, when on this day all these things fall silent for you,
Offer forth tribute to the highest father, to whom you are inferior."
Scarcely was this said, when, as if having followed the orders of its master,
That fierce horse neighs and comes before the doors.
Before the doors it neighs; give salutations lords, look at how
It observes its seated ruler, to whom it is to be given.[557]

The relationship between Caesar and Pope, idealized as that between Saints Peter and Paul, has been refigured again. Casting aside the sense of equality, Fracco remarks that Paul III is the "highest father" (*summus pater*) – a title clearly meant to contrast with the description of Charles as *minor*. The Chinea itself, as if the avatar of the Emperor, manifests this subservience in its movements. Although "fierce" (*acris*), it diligently follows orders and proceeds before its seated master. Afterwards, Fracco compares the horse, adorned with gems and gold, to a "bride to be carried to her husband" (*nupta suo…vehenda viro*). The relationship between Paul and Charles is thus best understood as a union, holy and unbreakable, but unequal in its distribution of power. In this way the Chinea is the embodiment of Fracco's Charles – an Emperor who, although fierce and magnificent, ultimately remains at the behest of the Pope.

**Conclusion**

In the *Sacri Fasti* Fracco was faced with a difficult task: to balance the partnership between Paul and Charles, outwardly an alliance between equals, with his own view that the Pope ruled supreme. To this end, Ovid's *Fasti* provided a roadmap; juxtaposition of panels could simultaneously praise the Emperor while casting doubt on his status as supreme European hegemon. The manipulation of names could similarly prove effective. The name of "Caesar," connected throughout the calendar to the Emperor, could be refigured as a papal title or even

[557] *Sacri Fasti* 74b.

outright undermined. Those accomplishments which are the direct result of imperial efforts, most notably the capture of Tunis, are likewise reframed as extensions of Church power.

Fracco's Charles thus emerges as a figure far removed from the historical Emperor. He is no longer the sacker of Rome or the petulant arbiter of European affairs, but the faithful defender of Catholicism. It is only under Paul that Charles can achieve his aims and it is for the Pope alone that he pursues his objectives.

## Conclusion

The *Sacri Fasti* contains within its pages Fracco's vision for the world. The Sack of Rome, the papacy of Paul III, and the military force of Charles V are all part of a larger teleology which culminates in the Church triumphant. For Fracco, the Pope is an Augustus-like reformer, the central point around whom society, politics, and time orbit. His Rome is a city that has regained, and even exceeded, its ancient splendor. The Campidoglio is once more visited by conquering generals who ride under reconstructed triumphal arches. Even more important, though, is the rebirth in religious life. Ancient festivals such as the Parilia are once again celebrated, but this time in the name of a Christian Rome and its Pope.

A question remains, though: why the *Fasti*? What attracted Fracco to the calendar and Ovid's version of it? One answer I have discussed in prior chapters, that is, the ability to create tension, or even recontextualize, panels through juxtaposition. No other genre offers such as latitude. Consider an event such as the *direptio*. The bracketing of a *dies ater* with the feast of St. Catherine of Siena – the patron saint of Christian unity – and a procession led by Paul III in the name of European peace forces us to reconsider its original meaning.

Beyond juxtaposition, there is also the recurrent nature of the constellations. To remain with the 6 May entry, the day is characterized by the ominous rise of Scorpio which looms over Rome with its blazing claws. After the election of Paul III (October), the meaning of the constellation is refigured; whereas before Scorpio marked Rome's nadir, after the election of the Farnese Pope, it is transformed into a symbol of how papal authority trumps secular power. Such versatility is a feature of the calendar, one which certainly appealed to Fracco in his choice to write the *Sacri Fasti*.

Importantly, Fracco's use of interconnected panels reveals that he understood the structural dynamic of Ovid's *Fasti*. The impression that Ovid's calendar was read in the Renaissance with little interpretation and with even less nuance is belied by Fracco's use of juxtaposition and subtleties in language to recontextualize or even challenge political authority. That Fracco also encourages us to read his star myths (catasterisms) in an allegorical way, further suggests that he understood a similar dynamic to be at play within Ovid. As such, further consideration of Renaissance *Fasti* can offer insight into modern Ovidian studies.

The choice of a versified almanac is also a product of the religious turbulence which had spread with the rise of Martin Luther and which had culminated in the 1527 Sack of Rome. Among the primary targets of the Protestant Reformers was the Catholic liturgical calendar and its arcane system of feast days. The first Lutheran calendars excised the majority of these traditional days (e.g. the feasts of St. Stephen and Saint Anthony) in favor of a year which emphasized the twelve apostles and the periods of Advent and the Paschal season.[558] These changes, so it was thought, would remove centuries of mythological, or even outright heretical, accretions from the calendar and would bring it into a state of harmony with scripture.

For Fracco and traditional Catholics, these developments represented a frontal assault on the faith. The worship of saints and their days was not simply a pious practice, but a *sine qua non* upon which the wellbeing of society rested. The observation of the liturgical calendar was an assurance that the divine would continue to render their blessings. Equally important to this equation was Italian identity. The cities of the peninsula were inextricably linked with the veneration of their patron saint, whose relics were often the basis around which civic and

[558] For an overview of the first Lutheran calendars see Senn, 342-346.

religious participation was structured. The Lutheran challenge to this system thus threatened to undermine the social cohesion at the center of Italian communities.

Fracco's choice to set his *Fasti* in Rome undoubtedly grew out of these concerns. Whereas feasts within other Renaissance *Fasti* are primarily discrete panels more akin to the stories which form the *Legenda Aurea*, they are presented in the *Sacri Fasti* as part of the lived religion of a single city. In Fracco's Rome, the worship of Saint Sebastian or of Saint Barbara are not detached events, but vibrant and unified celebrations within Roman religious life. To strengthen this point, Fracco connects the veneration of individual saints to specific locations; the feast of Saint James (25 July) is not merely another day on which to recount a martyrology, but an opportunity to describe the ongoing miracle of how the sick are healed at the Hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili.[559] The vision of the *Sacri Fasti* is one in which the power of the saints is not only real, but tangible and witnessed by a faithful people.

Finally, there is the antiquarian dimension. Perhaps no other ancient Roman poetic text concerns itself so much with the physical layout of the capital and the religious life of its residents than does Ovid's *Fasti*. In the Renaissance, poets and scholars eager to rediscover the imperial city looked to Ovid's calendar. Amazing archaeological finds such as the Belvedere Torso, the Laocoon, and the *Fasti Consulares* all testified to the grandeur which now lay meters underground. More importantly, they confirmed to the city's intellectual class that they were the rightful descendants of the old *res publica*. The result was a culture which sought to strive with the past, to recreate or even outdo the monumental achievements of an earlier civilization.

This competitive impulse manifested itself in figures such as Pomponio Leto, who sought to recreate the Ancient Roman Parilia, or in the triumphs held by Popes including Julius II and

[559] *Sacri Fasti* 86a-87a.

Paul III. Fracco's choice to produce a new version of the *Fasti* conforms to this idea. The festivals of ancient Rome are not dead, but live on in the Renaissance city in a truer form. Each element of Ovid's city is present in Fracco's poem, whether it be an imperial family, civic institutions such as the Senate, or the soaring temples and fora of a cosmopolis. The template provided by Ovid's *Fasti* thus allows Fracco to make a political argument, that is, that the Church State is the true successor to imperial Rome and that it derives much of its authority therefrom.

To return, then, to the question posed at the opening of this conclusion: why the *Fasti*? The answer is that only through a calendrical poem, and especially the model provided by Ovid, could Fracco outline his vision for a comprehensive Catholic worldview. In no other genre could be so effectively unite the threads of time, place, and destiny, while also bringing to life the civilization in which he lived. Only by means of a new sacred calendar could a New Ovid memorialize a new Rome.

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