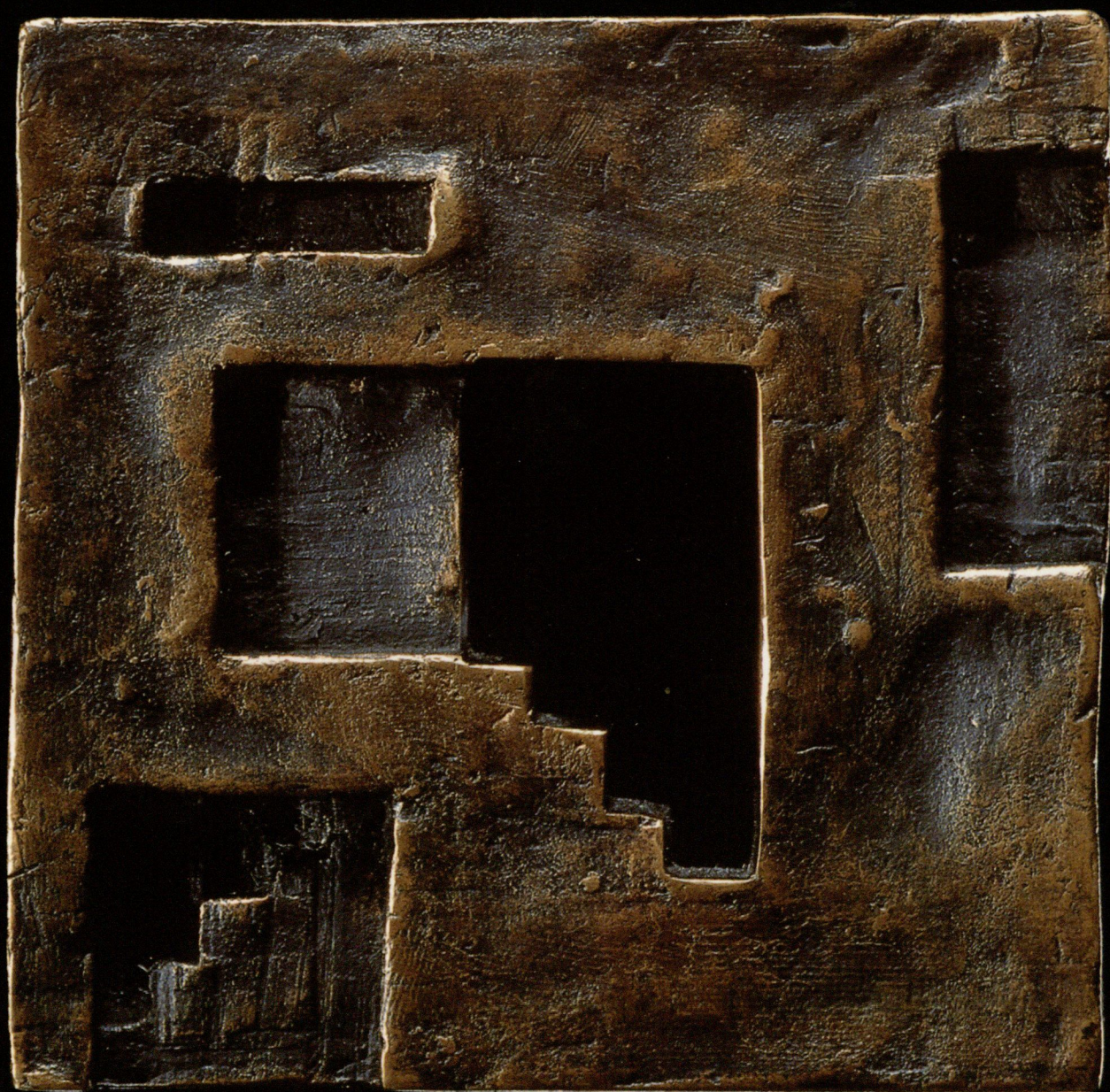


THE MEDAL



Spring 2002

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MEDALS AND THE ROMAN PROJECTS OF POPE PAUL V

Lauren Jacobi

Camillo Borghese was elected to the papal throne on 16 May 1605, at the age of fifty-two. He took his papal name - Paul V - in honour of Paul III (1534-49), who had promoted his father after the Borghese family had moved from Siena to Rome.¹ Medals, issued throughout his nineteen-year pontificate, were a means of deliberately fashioning his papal identity.² While some of these medals have been considered individually, they have not in recent times been examined as a group.

The records of the papal mint and papal monetary accounts indicate that by the time of Paul's pontificate it had become standard practice to issue medals regularly for certain designated rituals and special events. Medals were produced for annual devotions, such as the feast day of Sts Peter and Paul on 29 June, when the so-called *annuale* was distributed. Other devotional medals celebrated rituals such as Christ washing the apostles' feet, a ceremony that was ritually re-enacted. Special events included such occurrences as architectural foundation ceremonies, the completion of projects, alterations to major buildings, military victories, important ambassadorial visits, and canonisations.

Compared with previous medals issued to celebrate papal coronations or *possessi*, the iconography of the medal that seems to have been issued to commemorate Paul's assumption of the papal tiara is unusual (fig. 1). The medal, by Giorgio Rancetti, was struck, a technique that during the sixteenth century had come to be preferred over casting, as it was more economical and efficient for producing medals in quantity.³ After the Council of Trent most papal medals celebrating the *possesto*, such as those of popes Sixtus V, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX, carried an allegorical representation of the coronation act. The reverse of Paul's medal carries instead a representation of the Holy Spirit as a dove, a device that the pope chose as his own, as he did the accompanying text, VBI VULT SPIRAT (It blows where it wishes).⁴ The style of the portrait also seems to be without precedent within the body of medals made for *possessi*; unlike other post-Tridentine medals celebrating a new papacy, in which the pope is shown dressed in a formal cope with an elaborate morse, Paul is shown in simple garb.

Because of the time lapse between Paul's coronation and his *possesto*, determining exactly when and why this medal was issued is complex and demonstrates how



1. Rancetti: Paul V / The Holy Spirit, 1605, bronze, 32mm., British Museum.

imprecise the medallic literature on papal medals can be. Paul's coronation ceremony took place on 29 May 1605, but his *possesto* was celebrated some months later, on 6 November, that is, well after 29 June, when the year's *annuale* would have been issued. A payment made to Rancetti shows that a medal was issued for the *possesto*: '1605 ... Adì 3 di settembre scudi 300 + 50 per le medaglie da farsi il giorno del possesto.'⁵ But a separate record from the Depositeria Generale shows that Rancetti had already been paid for a medal within weeks of the feast day of Sts Peter and Paul: '1605 giugno 14 ... scudi 1000 d'oro et scudi 200 di moneta a Giorgio Rancetti a buon conto delle medaglie da farsi.'⁶ The only medal known from the pope's first year that can have fulfilled either of these functions is the medal with the dove reverse. Filippo Bonanni, whose publication of 1699 on papal medals has generally been regarded as the foundation for other books on the subject, does not specify when this medal was issued, but he selects it as the first medal of Paul's pontificate and discusses it immediately after an account of Paul's election, indicating perhaps that he thought it was distributed on the day of the *possesto*. However, in his recent 'definitive' study of *annuali* Franco Bartolotti claims that this medal was the *annuale* for Paul's first regnal year.⁷ The answer may be that a *possesto* medal could also serve as an *annuale*.

The medal describes Paul as PAVLVS. V. PONT. M. A I (Pope Paul V, in his first year). Significantly, however, the inscriptions of many other medals identify him specifically as a Roman. While technically true, for he was born in Rome, Paul in this way aligned himself with his mother's heritage, overlooking his father's Sienese background. One of the temporary arches erected for his *possesto* was also inscribed thus, while the arch of



3. Caradosso: Julius II / Bramante's design for St. Peter's (reverse), 1506, bronze, 56mm., British Museum.

Giovanni Fontana, submitted designs for the new nave and façade. In March 1607 work began on the nave, following Maderno's designs, and in the following September work on the façade was commenced on papal orders. On 10 February 1608 a foundation medal (fig. 2) was put in place and the first stone of the façade was laid.¹³ This activity seems to have been at Paul's urging, rather than as a result of any negotiated agreement between the advisory congregation and the Curia, for an *avviso* issued on 16 April 1608 reports: 'Stando sin hora irresoluti: se voglino [*sic*] continuare nel principiato modo ... che è di Michelangelo Bonarota.'¹⁴ After further debates, the congregation finally agreed to accept Maderno's design on 16 June 1608.¹⁵

It has been argued that Paolo Sanquirico's foundation medal, issued early in 1608, is a valid record of the architectural intentions for the façade.¹⁶ Yet it appears to have been cast several months before Maderno's design for the façade was accepted, when numerous other options - not only for the nave, but also for the façade - were still being debated. Rather than a statement of conviction about a specific design, distributing the medal as part of the foundation ceremony would appear rather to have been an official declaration of the pope's determination to proceed with the work and complete St Peter's. Sanquirico must have known the earlier foundation medal of 1506 that commemorated Julius II's project of renovating the old basilica: the work of Cristoforo Caradosso, it celebrated Bramante's architectural design, with the facade reproduced on the reverse (fig. 3).¹⁷ Sanquirico's medal also shows the facade, is the same size, and, further associating his design with Caradosso's, is cast, a relatively expensive type of production that was not often used by this time. The medal's design, in paralleling Paul's project with Julius II's early sixteenth-century work on the basilica, asserted the pope's desire to finish what Julius had begun.

The 'completion' of the façade was celebrated on two somewhat dissimilar medals by Giacomo Antonio

Moro. On the reverse of one, issued between 1 January and 15 May 1613, the medallist focussed almost exclusively on the façade: the drum, dome, and side apses are dwarfed by the façade, which covers most of the field.¹⁸ The other shows the two *campanili* that Paul planned to add, a decision announced in 1611 (fig. 4).¹⁹

While most of old St Peter's was destroyed during Paul's papacy, the edifice providing access to the Vatican palace was left standing.²⁰ This was probably saved because of its ceremonial importance, for it was used during papal processions, when the pope and his entourage returned to the Vatican after passing through the Borgo Nuovo. As the area in front of the new basilica was cleared, the old edifice served as the entrance to the palace from the Piazza S. Pietro.



4. Moro: Paul V / St Peter's, 1613/14, bronze, 37mm., British Museum.



5. Moro: Paul V / Vatican entrance, 1617, bronze, 56mm., British Museum.



6. Moro: Paul V / Vatican entrance, 1618/19, silver, 40mm., British Museum.



7. Rancetti: Paul V / Christ stilling the storm, 1610/11, bronze, 32 mm., British Museum.



8. Moro: Paul V / The confessor of St. Peter's, 1617/18, silver, 38 mm., British Museum.

Between 1617 and 1618 a loggia and clock-tower were added to it, and the wall connecting the entrance to the basilica was also embellished: the *Navicella*, the celebrated mosaic by Giotto depicting Christ calming the storm, a symbol of the protection offered by the Church, had been painstakingly dismantled when the Constantinian atrium was destroyed in 1610, but now, restored, it was attached to the wall to the left of the entrance.

Between 16 May and 31 December 1617 a medal with an image of the entrance was produced, and another medal showing the restoration and embellishments was issued a year or so later. While the medal of 1617 does not situate the entrance (fig. 5), the medal from Paul's fourteenth regnal year (16 May 1618 to 15 May 1619) shows the entrance in context (fig. 6). However, the medallist, Giacomo Antonio Moro, has used liberal artistic licence in rendering the scene. The entrance is depicted frontally in the centre of the medal, whilst several parts of the complex are compressed or realigned: one of the columns on the new portico is included, and the wall connecting the entrance to the basilica is angled so as to show the *Navicella*, which would not be visible if the perspective were 'truthful'.

While the *Navicella* may at first seem to be unimportant in this context, it is a key to understanding how the papacy characterised itself. It can hardly be a coincidence that around the time that the mosaic was dismantled a medal was issued that showed Christ calming the storm, the very scene rendered by Giotto (fig. 7). In depicting this story, Rancetti was glorifying Paul's vigilance in preserving sacred objects from the old complex, efforts which Jacopo Grimaldi was to document in the text and engravings of his publication of 1619.²¹ The appearance of the scene on the medal extolled Paul's work on the entrance, providing a broad allusion to his restoration projects on the basilica, the piazza, and the palace. This is somewhat paradoxical given that so many old structures were destroyed in the 'restoration' process.

As the ancient buildings in front of the new basilica were demolished in the early years of Paul's reign, numerous monuments to popes, cardinals and bishops, and tombs, relics, and altars were unearthed and transported with great pomp and ceremony, usually to the *grotte* beneath the new basilica, as recorded by Grimaldi. The Roman Catholic authorities were eager to stress the physical evidence, including the bodies of deceased saints and other relics, that they felt proved the superiority of their tradition over its northern nemesis, Protestantism, and several such translations took place between 1606 and 1613.²²

Between 1606 and 1617 Paul replaced the temporary structure built under Clement VIII to protect the high altar and the shrine of St Peter's tomb, which was located slightly to the west of the central crossing. In doing so, he opened up access to the basilica's *grotte* by means of two symmetrical curving stairways.²³ A medal showing the different floor levels of the resulting



9. Detail of fig. 4.

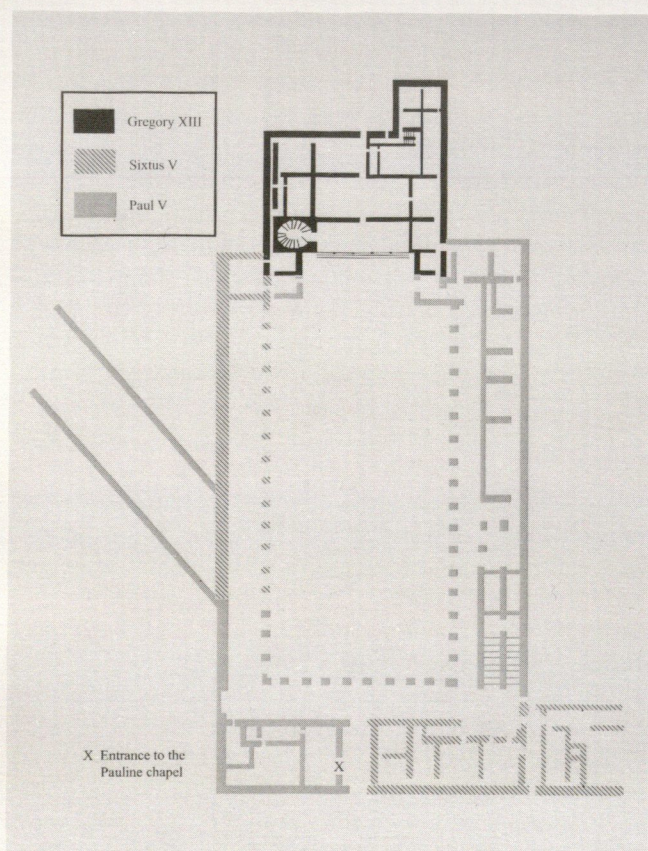
structure was issued between 16 May 1617 and 15 May 1618, to celebrate the achievement (fig. 8). The text on the reverse of the medal celebrates the subterranean part of the project, the *confessio*, or confessional of the apostles Peter and Paul: SACRA PETRI CONFESSIO EXORNATA (The sacred confessional of Peter beautified). However, the image created by the medallist, Giacomo Antonio Moro, includes not only the stairs leading down to the *grotte* and the *confessio* but also the high altar and baldachin. The baldachin design was novel: a flat, tasselled canopy resting on poles held by angels, it replaced a more permanent stone structure with a cupola resting on four columns. This was a progressive step away from the traditional type, and the design was later to inspire Bernini when he came to make his more permanent baldachin in bronze. Its form derives directly from the portable canopy held above the pope during formal processions, and also over the Holy Sacrament and the relics of the Passion. Just such a baldachin appears on the obverse of Moro's medal celebrating the completion of the façade of St. Peter's (fig. 9): a non-specific procession winds around Paul's cope with a canopied baldachin appearing directly below the pope's head.

Just as work at St Peter's began shortly after Paul assumed the papal throne, work began at the Quirinal within thirty-seven days of his coronation, and architectural modifications and artistic embellishment to the papal palace and its gardens were constant projects throughout his reign.²⁴ The extensive additions and construction he initiated can be broken down into three phases: Flaminio Ponzio's long wing to the east (1605-12); the datary wing that ran to the north-west and the renovation of the palace's rooms overlooking the courtyard (1609-13); and Carlo Maderno's work on the Salone Corrazzieri, the Cappella Paolina, and the monumental entrance to the palace from the Piazza del Quirinale on the west façade (1613-15) (fig. 10).

Paul much preferred to stay at the Quirinal Palace rather than in the Vatican, which was the customary papal residence. Since 1583 popes, who used the palace as a summer retreat, had made architectural

improvements to what had been a modest villa. Paul, however, made the palace suitable for year-round habitation, with four west-facing rooms overlooking the datary courtyard among the additions that made the palace more hospitable. He also planned a new processional route between the Quirinal and the Vatican, which was never realised. This would have begun at a garden gateway at the Quirinal, made use of a new street connecting the palace to the Piazza di Spagna, travelled along the Via dei Condotti, passed the Piazza Borghese, and ended at the Vatican.²⁵

The Quirinal was increasingly an area of private development for the Borghese throughout Paul's reign. Between 1606 and 1608 his brothers added smaller *vigne* to the Vigna Vecchia, land that the pope had inherited from his father in 1574, and which was eventually consolidated to form the park of Scipione's Villa Borghese.²⁶ Paul and Scipione, both jointly and independently, purchased other *vigne* during the same period, increasing the Borghese land holdings between the Via Pinciana, the Via delle Tre Madonne, the Via Trasversa, and the Muro Torto. Work on Scipione's Villa Borghese casino, close to the Quirinal palace, began in 1613, and the shell of the building was largely completed by the time the papal medals of the Quirinal Palace were issued.



10. Ground floor plan of the Quirinal Palace showing successive work by Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, and Paul V. From Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuovi disegni dell'architetture, e piante de' palazzi di Roma...* (Rome, 1655), adapted by the author.



11. Moro: Paul V / Quirinal Palace, 1616, silver, 39mm., British Museum.

An unsigned medal from 1615 has an orthogonal representation of the palace,²⁷ as does a medal, signed by Giacomo Antonio Moro, issued the following year (fig. 11). On both medals, the palace exterior, rather than being depicted 'truthfully', is rearranged and compressed in order to stress the work undertaken by Paul: the west side is shown frontally and the east façade tilts upwards to display his early work on the palace. The bird's-eye perspective shows the building comprehensively, with only the datary missing, perhaps because it would have compromised the symmetry of the building, or because it housed mundane records. The entrances constructed under Paul, which gave onto public spaces, are highly visible: one opens out onto the Piazza del Quirinale and the other borders the Via Pia. The grandeur of the building is, however, toned down by the rows of uniform windows and the roughly incised roofs. With the exception of the nondescript plinth-like structure below the palace, the site is contextualised on neither medal; no reference is made to other buildings, to the extensive private gardens, or to the Quirinal hill, with its expanses of Borghese land.

Curiously, the earlier unsigned medal, although depicting the palace's exterior, bears an inscription alluding to concurrent interior projects: the construction of Marian chapels.²⁸ Under Paul, three such chapels were built or embellished: Guido Reni decorated the Cappella dell'Annunziata with Marian frescoes for the pope's personal use in 1609-10; the Cappella del Presepio was built between 1605 and 1612; and the Cappella Paolina was constructed to accommodate relatively large crowds in 1615-18.²⁹ Rather than being presented as a residence, the principal legend on the reverse refers to the palace as a house of worship: SACELLVM IN PALATIO QVIRIN (The chapel in the Quirinal Palace). A secondary inscription in the exergue, PONTIFICVM COMMUNITATI (For the convenience of the popes), which recurs as the principal legend on Moro's medal, suggests that the building has been constructed for the convenience of the popes. The obverses also emphasise Paul's devotion, for religious iconography is included on his clothing. On the unsigned medal a figure of St Paul appears on the cope, with a head of Christ on the morse. The cope on Rancetti's medal has two panels, one of which contains

an angel, whilst the other has a shepherd and lamb; the Virgin and Child are depicted in the morse, whilst an eagle peeks out below the cope, thus associating one of the pope's heraldic symbols with the ecclesiastical images.

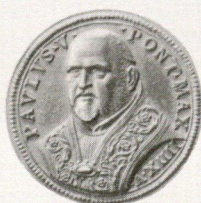
A medal depicting the entrance to the large public Marian chapel in the south-west wing of the palace first appeared as the subject of a medal issued during Paul's thirteenth regnal year (fig. 12). The chapel, built purposely to have the same dimensions as Sixtus IV's Cappella Sistina at the Vatican, was consecrated in honour of the Virgin in 1617.³⁰ A different version of this medal was produced by Moro between 16 May and 31 December 1619 (fig. 13), possibly to coincide with the marriage on 20 October 1619 of Marcantonio Borghese and Camilla Orsini, which was presided over by Paul and celebrated in the chapel. Part of the scrolled decoration that appears on the cope on the earlier medal is replaced on the later version with a representation of Peter receiving the keys from Christ. This oft-repeated scene signifies Christ's recognition of Peter as his vicar and protector of Catholicism, and, by extension, points to the contemporary pope as his direct heir. The reverses of both medals portray the double doors leading into the Pauline chapel, which support Taddeo Landini's sixteenth-century marble relief. This relief, which depicts Christ washing the apostles' feet before the Last Supper, was removed from the Cappella Gregoriana during Paul's work on St Peter's and placed in the Quirinal palace.³¹ The medallionic depiction of the relief is 'truthful'; however, the inscription below it, just above the door (PAVLVS), is contrived.³² Although it has been argued that the medallist chose to represent the chapel by showing the doorway because it was artistically easy, I believe that the decision rested not on this technical aspect, but rather on the importance of including appropriate imagery.³³ It appears that by the time of Paul's pontificate it was customary for the pope to re-enact Christ's washing of the apostles' feet on Maundy Thursdays by ceremonially washing the feet of thirteen 'apostles' and distributing medals to each participant.³⁴ A medal by Gaspare Mola, with Paul's portrait on the obverse and a reverse image of Christ washing the apostles' feet, was issued between 16 May 1618 and 15 May 1619 (fig. 14); this was possibly distributed at the ceremony of 1619.



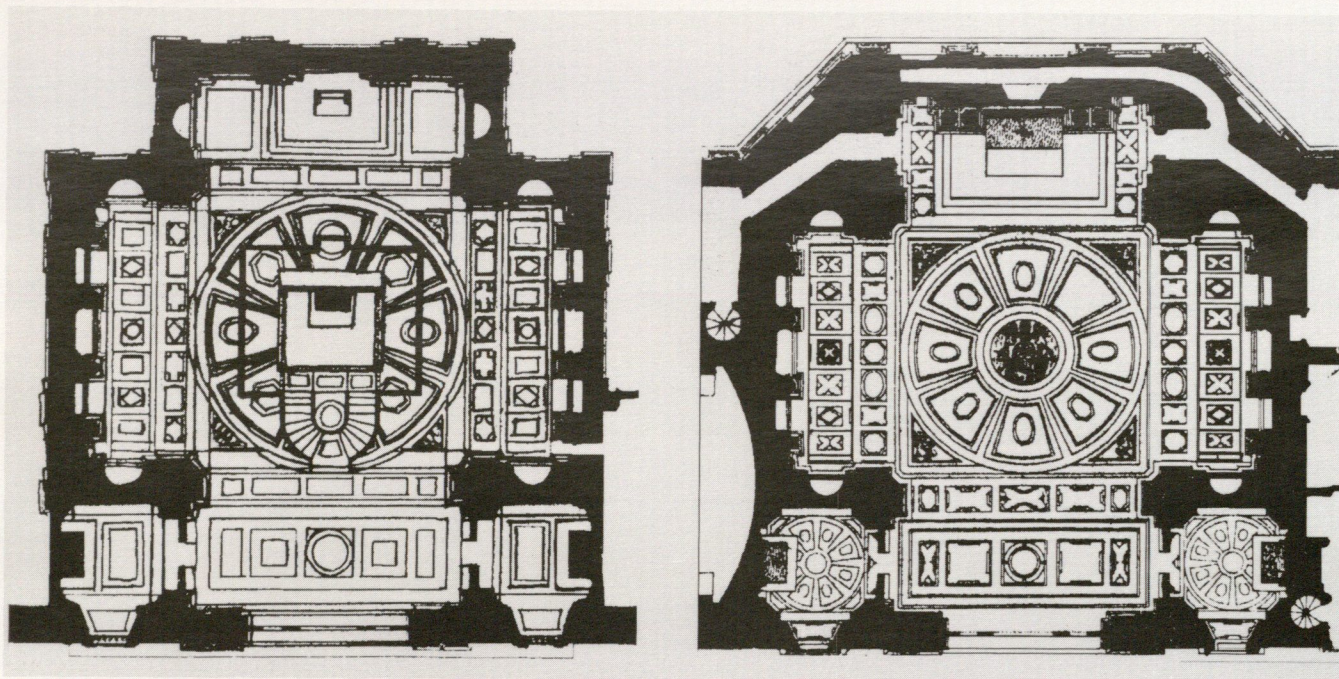
12. Unknown artist: *Cappella Paolina of the Quirinal Palace*, 1617/18, lead, 48mm., British Museum.



13. Moro: *Cappella Paolina of the Quirinal Palace*, 1619, bronze, 49mm., British Museum.



14. Mola: *Paul V / Christ washing the apostles' feet*, 1618/19, bronze, 26mm., British Museum.



15. De' Rossi: Plans of the Cappella Sistina (left) and Cappella Paolina (right) of S. Maria Maggiore, engraving, 1713.

Paul's devotion to the Virgin was also expressed at Rome's pre-eminent Marian shrine, S. Maria Maggiore, which was the subject of several Pauline medals. His official involvement with the church began well before his papacy, for he had been made its vicar on 9 August 1577, a position he held until 1588.³⁵ His tenure at the church, which he later selected as the site of the Borghese family tomb and his own burial chapel, was extremely important in terms of both his religious development and his career: his devotion to the Virgin was formalised, and his position placed him in contact with Sixtus V (1585-90). Both Sixtus and his cardinal nephew, Alessandro Peretti Montalto, soon noticed Borghese's apparent devotion to the Virgin, and his interest in the church was made manifest by both his routine Friday visits to the basilica and his artistic patronage. As vicar, he commissioned Jacopo Zucchi to paint representations of the miracle of the snow and the procession of Gregory the Great; these were to flank the tabernacle in the nave, which housed the basilica's prized Hodedetria icon of the Virgin and Child, believed either to have been painted by St Luke or to be a sketch by Luke finished by angels.³⁶ In 1588 Cardinal Montalto began to take a close interest in Borghese, making him vice-legate to Bologna and his personal deputy.

The future pope's vicariate of S. Maria Maggiore coincided with the building there of the Sistine burial chapel, designed by Domenico Fontana and built between 1585 and 1589. He would also have witnessed the construction of new and improved roads under Sixtus and the work on the cardinal nephew's Villa Montalto nearby. Paul's interventions at the church are remarkably similar to those undertaken by Sixtus: both popes altered the church's architectural fabric, its

piazza, and the streets nearby, and both incorporated the devotional objects housed in the church - the icon of the Virgin, the *presepio* (Christ's manger), the body of St Jerome, and the relics of the Holy Innocents - into their building programmes. Sixtus's major projects at the site included moving an obelisk to the north piazza, building new tombs for Nicholas IV and Pius V, constructing his own burial chapel, and transferring the remains of St Jerome and the *presepio* into it.³⁷ Paul's projects almost mirror these:³⁸ he improved what became the via Paolina, moved an antique column from the Basilica of Maxentius to the south piazza, built a funeral chapel for himself and Clement VIII, translated a miraculous icon of the Virgin into it, constructed a burial crypt for the Borghese, and completed work on the baptistery and sacristy. On the Pauline medals, the Borghese pope's projects were subtly differentiated from those of the Peretti pope.

As pope, Paul consciously placed himself in relation to Sixtus. An *avviso* of 25 June 1605 states that, 'Nostro Signore rissolve far la cappella nella S. Maria Maggiore ricontra a quella di Sisto, ove vuol essere sepellito' indicating Paul's desire to build his burial chapel as a pendant to that of Sixtus.³⁹ In contrast to the work at St Peter's, for which Paul blessed the foundation stone at the Quirinal and had it set in place by Cardinal Palotta, he personally placed the foundation stone (and possibly a foundation medal) on 9 August 1605.⁴⁰ By 1608 the architectural body of the chapel was completed up to the cupola; the dome and most of the internal decoration was finished by 1610, and a papal bull naming Scipione Borghese as its protector and patron was issued in 1615.⁴¹ Sixtus's chapel provided the model for the floor plan (fig. 15), and also initially for the elevation, as can be seen in a Pauline



16. Bosio(?): Paul V / Cappella Paolina of S. Maria Maggiore, 1605, bronze, 56mm., British Museum.

medal of 1605, thought to be by Ambrosio Bosio, which may have served as a foundation medal (fig. 16).⁴² A comparison between Flaminio Ponzio's design for the Pauline chapel, as depicted on the medal, and Fontana's engraving of the Sistine chapel shows the architectural similarities between their elevations.⁴³ It almost seems as though the engraving was transcribed onto the medal: the chapel has the same number of stories and bays as its Sistine counterpart; a dome and balustrade embellished with decorative sculptures appear on both; the arrangement of the windows is the same, with similar niches, pediments, and frames; even the representations correspond, with both showing the chapel raised on a plinth, and with the structure spilling over the border on the medal, and in the engraving overlapping the beaded frame and extending to the edge of the embossing. Neither building is depicted in context.

The design for the Pauline chapel, however, evolved significantly, as can be seen from two slightly later medals, which, although they have been considered independently, have not previously been looked at as a pair.⁴⁴ One, issued between 16 May 1606 and 15 May 1607, bears Rancetti's signature (fig. 17). A payment was made to Rancetti in 1606 two days before the feast of Sts Peter and Paul, indicating that he provided the annual medal for Paul's second regnal year: 'Adí 27 Giugno 1606 ... ho visto pesare medaglie d'oro centodoi fatte da Giorgio Rancetti per la distributione da farse questo presente anno 1606.'⁴⁵ The fact that the S. Maria Maggiore medal is struck,⁴⁶ small in size, and dated to the regnal year suggests that this was the *annuale*. The image on the reverse depicts the chapel under construction, with *muratori* or *scarpellini* busily working on the walls. This is probably a realistic reflection of the stage construction had reached around the time the medal was issued, on 29 June 1606. The other medal, which seems to be the work of Leonardo Benvenuti and was issued between 16 May and 31 December 1606 (fig. 18), is similar to Rancetti's: it is struck and of the same size, and, as on Rancetti's medal,

the chapel is depicted under construction. The workers, however, are more numerous and positioned differently, and the building is also altered, though it is difficult to determine if it is rendered in a more or less advanced state.

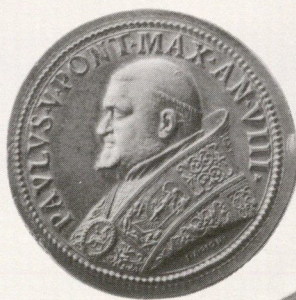
Both medals show a change from the earlier foundation medal: whereas the earlier medal showed five bays in a rectangular structure, these have seven, with two wings flanking a trapezoidal projection. They record the Pauline chapel's design moving away from its Sistine neighbour, so that it no longer mimics Sixtus's work, but instead engages in a dialogue of difference - perhaps even competition. Because the medals actively show the changes being made, with construction



17. Rancetti: Paul V / Cappella Paolina of S. Maria Maggiore, 1606, bronze, 32mm., British Museum.



18. Benvenuti(?): Cappella Paolina of S. Maria Maggiore, 1606, bronze, 32mm., British Museum.



19. Moro: Paul V / Cappella Paolina of S. Maria Maggiore, 1612, bronze, 39mm., British Museum.



20. Moro: Paul V / Column in front of S. Maria Maggiore, 1614, silver, 39mm., British Museum

workers caught literally in mid-hammer strike or half way up a ladder, they assert the independence (and, perhaps, superiority) of the Pauline burial chapel from its Sistine counterpart. They are also eloquent expressions of Paul's desire to complete the chapel quickly, and suggest the rapid pace of building that he demanded. Equally, the portrayal of building activity may allude to his concurrent work on the basilica's sacristy and baptistery. However, an *avviso* issued on 13 February 1608 indicated that Paul disliked the way work had progressed on the sacristy, which perhaps explains why it was not included among the Pauline additions to the basilica commemorated by medals.⁴⁷

Paul's burial chapel was celebrated in its completed state on a medal distributed as the *annuale* for his eighth regnal year (fig. 19). Also during this year, on 27 January 1613, the miraculous image of the Virgin was translated from the left side of the nave to the altar in the pope's burial chapel.⁴⁸ During the translation ceremony, the Virgin was linked with two saints, St Francesca Romana and St Carlo Borromeo, whose recent canonisations under Paul had been celebrated on papal medals issued in 1608 and 1610:⁴⁹ a *macchina* holding the icon and the saints' relics was carried through Rome, before returning to the church where Paul waited, kneeling, in a side chapel dedicated to S. Carlo.⁵⁰ By incorporating the two saints into the programme, Paul subtly extended the scope of Marian devotion.

Later Pauline projects at the basilica continued to parallel Sixtus's work. Just as Sixtus had moved an obelisk to the church's northern piazza, Paul moved the last monolithic column from the Basilica of Maxentius to the southern piazza, exorcised and blessed it, and crowned it with a statue of the Virgin.⁵¹ As a Sistine medal celebrated the transposition of the obelisk,⁵² so a

Pauline medal portrayed the column in front of S. Maria Maggiore (fig. 20). On both the obelisk is placed centrally on the medal, extending vertically across the entire field. On the later medal an inscription on the massive pedestal reads PAVLVVS V, a much shorter text than that on the actual pedestal. The Pauline chapel's drum and dome are depicted to the left, but the Sistine chapel is almost entirely excluded from view, just managing to peek from behind the Romanesque campanile. Were the representation a realistic view, the Sistine chapel would be much more visible than it appears in Moro's contrived depiction.

The Pauline allusion to Sixtus continued as a theme in papal medals of public works, particularly those celebrating the Acqua Paola and its fountain on the Janiculum.⁵³ Two Pauline medals of the aqueduct and one of the fountain, all by different medallists, were produced. Issued in rapid succession between 16 May 1609 and 31 December 1610, they were conceived in relation to one another, all sharing an inscription indicating that the work was carried out 'for the convenience of the public'. As a group, they associate contemporary Rome with the engineering triumphs of the ancient city, while projecting a message of Paul's interest in the welfare of the people. The project did, indeed, satisfy a pressing public need, but it also enhanced the Vatican palace gardens, an area used to impress papal visitors, by providing them with several fountains. Rather than drawing attention to these benefits, however, it is the connection between Paul and the public good that is emphasised in the medals.

Work on the Acqua Paola officially began in 1607, though *avvisi* show papal interest in the project as early as November 1605.⁵⁴ Lack of an adequate water supply in the Vatican, Borgo, and Trastevere was a pressing issue from the start of Paul's pontificate. In 1599 a



21. Benvenuti: Paul V / Acqua Paola, 1609/10, bronze, 33mm., British Museum.



22. Rancetti: Paul V / Acqua Paola, 1609, white metal, 35mm., British Museum.

flood had disrupted the supply brought from the Acqua Felice across the Ponte Rotto, and work on the piazza S. Pietro had also destroyed a public fountain.⁵⁵ In August 1608 Paul purchased from Virginio Orsini the rights to the springs near Bracciano, where the Aqua Triana originated, for twenty-five thousand scudi.⁵⁶ Giovanni Fontana and Pompeo Targone subsequently embarked on making functional the ancient aqueduct, which had been built under Trajan to carry water from Bracciano to Trastevere.

It is likely that one of the two medals issued to celebrate this accomplishment, a medal by Benvenuti, served as the *annuale* for Paul's fifth regnal year, since it is struck and bears no calendar date (fig. 21). The obverse shows Paul in a ceremonial cope, with the morse turned towards the viewer, so that its crucifixion image is visible. On the reverse the fifty-eight kilometre Acqua Paola is shown traversing the *campagna*. The artist has made full use of the available space, with the aqueduct winding back and forth, fitting neatly within the medal's circular frame. This compositional device stresses the length of the aqueduct, which surpassed that of Sixtus V's Acqua Felice.⁵⁷ Though the *campagna* is depicted in a generalised way, Benvenuti ensures that the viewer understands that the aqueduct leads to Rome, for a gate, probably the Porta S. Pancrazio, appears at the lower left.

Rancetti's medal of the same subject (fig. 22) focusses on the sharp curve of the aqueduct that appears close to the centre on Benvenuti's medal. A line in a contemporary inscription placed on the aqueduct just outside Porta S. Pancrazio draws attention to one particular feature of its engineering: FLEXVOSO CVRSV XXXV. MILLIARIVM (Over a sinuous course of 35 miles).⁵⁸ A large part of Fontana and Targone's engineering work involved controlling the force of the

water as it flowed from Bracciano to Rome, and the Z-shaped segment shown on the medal was one of the devices used to regulate the flow.⁵⁹ The medal reminds the viewer of the incredible gush of water coursing along the aqueduct, the abundance of water brought to Rome, and the pope's role in accomplishing it.

The inclusion of the word RESTITVIT (He restored it) in the reverse inscriptions of both medals suggests that the Acqua Paola drew heavily on the pre-existing, antique aqueduct, and that Fontana and Targone headed a restoration rather than a new building project. This interpretation would probably have appealed to Paul, stressing as it does the project's Roman lineage and casting him, in effect, in the role of a modern Roman emperor. In fact, the inscription is somewhat misleading, for little of Trajan's aqueduct was of any constructional value by the seventeenth century.

The funding of the project was a potential source of acrimony between the Camera Apostolica and the municipality of Rome. Not only were the Vatican gardens to be supplied with water, but *avvisi* indicate that there were plans for a mill that would have generated income for the papacy, and perhaps even for the Borghese and other noble families.⁶⁰ According to Pastor, Paul contributed four hundred thousand scudi to the project, but 'demanded the co-operation' (that is, financial support) of the Roman municipality, which he eventually received.⁶¹ The medals, which present the work unequivocally as a public service, were perhaps also partly intended to point out to the Roman municipality the value of its investment.

The Acqua Paola fountain, the ornamental *mostra* at the end of the aqueduct, was designed by Flaminio Ponzio, finished in 1611, and named after Paul. Perched on a bluff, Ponzio's structure is grandiose, and highly visible throughout Rome even today (fig. 23).



23. Ponzio: *Acqua Paola fountain, Rome, 1607-11. (Photo: the author)*

The mammoth attic and aedicule give the impression that the single-storey work is far more massive than it actually is. Attached Ionic columns and arched recesses draw the eye up to the inscription on the upper, false façade. The fountain was celebrated in a medal executed by Sanquirico and issued in 1610 (fig. 24). Both the papal portrait on the obverse and the depiction of the fountain on the reverse play down any notion of splendour, instead crafting an image of the papacy that is appropriately modest for celebrating its beneficence. Paul is shown in humble garb, his hooded cloak and simple cap contrasting markedly with the embroidered copes he usually wears in medallion portraits. The fountain is not embellished, but water flows abundantly, stressing the structure's functionality. The minimal inscription (PAVLVS. P.M.), which is different from that on the actual fountain, asserts that the project is Paul's.

After the completion of the Acqua Paola, Paul commissioned Carlo Maderno to build three new fountains for the Vatican gardens, which would use water from the aqueduct: the Fontana degli Specchi, the Fontana delle Torri, and the Fontana dello Scoglio.⁶² A seven-and-a-half metre high pyramid also spouted Acqua Paola water in the Piazza S. Pietro,⁶³ and was described enthusiastically by Domenico Fontana: 'the waters rise in thick masses into the air; then they rush down like rivers from the shells into the basins, with such a roar that they call forth the greatest admiration.'⁶⁴

The Acqua Paola and its fountain clearly parallel Sixtus V's Acqua Felice and Moses fountain (figs. 25, 26), but Paul made his project appear more monumental than that of Sixtus.⁶⁵ The highly visible position and massive inscription of the Acqua Paola fountain provided a grander display than its predecessor. Moreover, some of the water from the aqueduct, which was originally intended to terminate on the Trastevere side of the Tiber, was channelled across the Ponte Sisto and emerged in a fountain placed prominently on the wall of Sixtus's Ospedale dei Mendicanti. This fountain, designed by Giovanni Fontana and Jan van Santen and erected in 1613, included dragons, which spouted the water, and a large decorative surround supporting an inscription bearing Paul's name. The ensemble towered over Sixtus's nearby, seemingly diminutive inscription over the entrance to the Ospedale. Strategically placed at the terminus of the via Giulia, it provided a visual connection between Paul's works on both banks of the Tiber, which would have been even more effective if the pope's plans for the road connecting the Ponte Sisto with the Acqua Paola had been carried out.

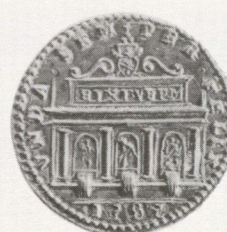
In exploring Paul's relationship to Sixtus, Matteo Greuter's 1618 map of Rome is a useful tool, for - perhaps at Paul's urging, since there was papal approval for the map's publication - Greuter deliberately compares Pauline and Sistine projects (fig. 27). The projects of the two popes are aligned horizontally.



24. Unknown artist: *Paul V / Acqua Paola, 1610, bronze, 56mm., British Museum.*



25. Poggini: Sixtus V / Acqua Felice, 1588/9, bronze, 35mm., British Museum.



26. Unknown artist: Sixtus V / Acqua Felice, 1588, bronze, 30mm., British Museum.

Paul's are on the left-hand side: antique columns capped by sculptures, the Cappella Paola in S. Maria Maggiore, a cross-section of St Peter's, two images of the Quirinal Palace, one of the Acqua Paola, another showing its fountain, and an overview of the Vatican complex that places the site in an urban context. Depictions of Sixtus' projects are placed on the right-hand side: the antique obelisks moved by the pope, his burial chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, the Campidoglio, a bird's-eye view of the Quirinal Palace, the Acqua Felice fountain, the Scala Santa, and a plan of St Peter's and its *confessio*. Paul's association with Sixtus had a propagandistic value, but it also promoted a comparison, with Paul's projects surpassing those of

Sixtus in their scale and impact. It is significant that the images on the map emphasise the same projects that appear on Pauline medals.

Deliberate comparisons between Pauline and Sixtine projects were made on the medals. Those of the Acqua Felice and Acqua Paola are strikingly similar, and yet subtly differentiated. Both show their respective aqueducts snaking through the *campagna*, but on the Sistine medal an allegorical female figure stands on the Peretti heraldic *monte* with the aqueduct in the background. By contrast, the Pauline medal focusses exclusively on the aqueduct, leaving allegory aside. Prior to Paul's pontificate, the reverses of post-Tridentine papal medals often included biblical figures and



27. Greuter: Map of Rome, 1618.

allegories, or consisted solely of inscriptions. With the exception of a medal of Christ calming the storm and two showing him washing the apostles' feet, no such Pauline medals were produced. Absent, too, are medals bearing abstractions of papal munificence and wealth: there are no equivalents of, for example, Sixtus's medals of the heraldic Peretti lion guarding a symbolic treasure chest or a medal produced under Gregory XIV of an allegorical female figure holding a wheat-filled cornucopia. Instead, most of Paul's medals depict images of actual projects. In showing his work in a tangible, 'real' manner, they celebrate his achievements through an idiom that stresses a direct connection between the pontiff and the project. But, if the reverses of Paul's medals generally eschew allegorical or ecclesiastical symbols, the images on the obverses, specifically on the panels of the copes he wears, act as a vessels for theological messages. Religious iconography on the same side of the medal as the papal portrait, literally clothing Paul, created a psychological association between the pope and pontifical authority.

Rather than celebrating a diverse body of papal works, the Pauline medals centre on a limited number of projects: St. Peter's and the Vatican, the Quirinal, S. Maria Maggiore, and civic improvements. These same projects are highlighted on Matteo Greuter's map, as well as in the Pauline fresco cycles in the halls of the Vatican palace. The Pauline medals, together with these other artistic programmes, aimed to construct an image of the papacy that was as contrived as it was persuasive, highlighting papal projects that were central to Rome and the Church; they illustrated papal beneficence, and yet asserted papal authority.

NOTES

1. This article is based on my dissertation, *The Medals of Paul V: an exploration of papal identity*, M.A., Courtauld Institute, London, 2001. A catalogue of Paul V's papal medals is included in the dissertation. I am indebted to Dr Georgia Clarke for her continuing assistance as my thesis advisor. For biographical information on the Borghese family, see Aloisio Antinori, *Scipione Borghese e l'architettura* (Rome, 1995), p. 3; Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the popes*, edited and translated by Ernst Graf, xxv-vi (London, 1937), and particularly xxv, p. 55; Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the age of Bernini*, 2 vols (Stockholm, 1982-6), i, pp. 101-214, at pp. 105-6.

2. For papal medals, including those of Paul V, see Claude du Molinet, *Historia summorum pontificum a Martino V ad Innocentium XI per eorum numismata* (Paris, 1679); Filippo Bonanni, *Numismata pontificum romanorum quae a tempore Martino V ad Innocentium XI...*, (Rome, 1699); Ridolfino Venuti, *Numismata romanorum pontificum praestantiora a Martino V ad Benedictum XIV* (Rome, 1744); Franco Bartolotti, *La medaglia annuale dei romani pontefici* (Rimini, 1967); Nathan Whitman with John Varriano, *Roma resurgens: papal medals from the age of the Baroque* (Ann Arbor, 1983); John Varriano, 'Alexander VII, Bernini, and the Baroque papal medal', *Studies in the History of Art*, xxi (1987), pp. 249-60. Information on Paul's medals is also included in Edoardo Martinori, *Annali della zecca di Roma: Clemente VIII, Leone XI, Paolo V* (Rome, 1919), pp. 73-133.

3. For technical information on the production of medals, see Jennifer Montagu, *Gold, silver and bronze* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 73, 293; Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, p. 53. The *possemo* medal illustrated here is a cast example taken from a struck original.

4. Pastor, *History*, xxv, p. 37.

5. Bartolotti, *La medaglia annuale*, p. 404.

6. Johannes Albertus Franciscus Orbaan, *Documenti sul barocco in Roma* (Rome, 1920), p. 295.

7. Bartolotti, *La medaglia annuale*, p. 2.

8. Giovanni Orlandi, *Relazione della solenne cavalcata fatta dalla Santità di Nostro Signore Paolo Papa Quinto...* (Rome, 1605), p. 7.

9. Antinori, *Scipione Borghese*, p. 4.

10. Pastor, *History*, xxv, pp. 55-6; Magnuson, *Rome in the age of Bernini*, i, p. 105. Scipione's Villa Borghese was only one of his properties in the area; see Howard Hibbard, 'Scipione Borghese's garden palace on the Quirinal', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, xxiii (1964), pp. 163-89.

11. Several *avvisi* issued in the first years of Paul's pontificate demonstrate his involvement in the project. For examples, see Orbaan, *Documenti*, pp. 3, 7, 10, 47-9.

12. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 37; for the *avviso* issued to report the creation of the congregation, see Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 33.

13. Howard Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman architecture 1580-1630* (London, 1971), p. 160.

14. Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 67.

15. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, pp. 385-6; Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 57; Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, p. 169.

16. Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, p. 53: 'by its very nature the medal issued in connection with the foundation ceremony provides no information on the plan of the nave, but it is a valuable document on the architect's intentions for the facade.'

17. Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, p. 53. For a discussion of the 1506 medal, see Meg Licht, 'I Ragionamenti: visualizing St Peter's', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, xlv (1985), pp. 111-28.

18. Bartolotti, *La medaglia annuale*, p. 10; Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, p. 53.

19. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 393; Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, pp. 161, 174; Varriano, 'Alexander VII', p. 70. Hibbard dates Paul's order to 2 September 1612, but Varriano claims his decision was announced on 2 September 1611.

20. For more on the entrance to the Vatican, see Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 378; Rudolf Wittkower, 'A counter-project to Bernini's "Piazza di San Pietro"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, iii (1930-49), pp. 88-106; Tod Marder, *Bernini's Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 56-81.

21. Jacopo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Rome, 1619; reissue edited by R. Niggel, Rome, 1972).

22. Simon Ditchfield, 'Martyrs on the move: relics as vindicators of local diversity in the Tridentine Church', in Diana Wood (editor), *Martyrs and martyrologies* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 283-94, at pp. 293-4.

23. For more on the baldachin, see Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the crossing of St Peter's* (New York, 1968), pp. 4-6, and William Chandler Kirwin, *Powers matchless: the pontificate of Urban VIII, the baldachin, and Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (New York, 1997), pp. 80-81.

24. For Paul and the Quirinal Palace, see Franco Borsi *et al.*, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale* (Rome, 1973), pp. 76-79, 244; Jack Wasserman, 'The Quirinal Palace in Rome', *Art Bulletin*, xlv (1963), pp. 205-44; Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, p. 163.

25. For a description of the intended route, see Joseph Connors, 'Alliance and enmity in Baroque Roman urbanism', *Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, xxv (1989), pp. 207-94, at p. 224.

26. For more on the family investments on the Quirinal during Paul's pontificate, see David Coffin, *Gardens and gardening in papal Rome* (Princeton, 1991), p. 146. For the transfer of the Vigna Vecchia to Camillo Borghese, see Beata Di Gaddo, *Villa Borghese: il giardino e le architetture* (Rome, 1985), p. 18.

27. Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, p. 60.

28. I would like to thank Georgia Clarke for drawing my attention to this.

29. Wasserman, 'The Quirinal Palace', p. 232.

30. Bartolotti, *La medaglia annuale*, p. 18.

31. Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, pp. 61-62; Montagu, *Gold, silver and bronze*, p. 74.

32. For photographic images of the door, see Borsi, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale*, figs. 28, 30.

33. For the complete argument, see Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, p. 61. Its essence is that, 'the medallist avoids the complex problems of perspective that such an interior view would present.'

34. Montagu, *Gold, silver and bronze*, p. 74. Unfortunately, Montagu does not explain the ceremony in detail, nor does she give a citation.

35. For interpretations of Paul's involvement at S. Maria Maggiore, see Anna Maria Panzera, 'La basilica dalla fine del secolo XI alla fine del secolo XVI', in U. Poletti (editor), *Santa Maria*

Maggiore e Roma (Rome, 1996), p. 172, and Steven Ostrow, *Art and spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 133-8.

36. For more on the miraculous icon and Paul's interest in it, see Ostrow, *Art and spirituality*, pp. 120-26.

37. For Sixtus V and his architectural projects, see Pastor, *History*, xxi-xxii. For his work at S. Maria Maggiore, see Panzera, 'La basilica', pp. 160-71.

38. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, p. 52.

39. Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 49.

40. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 403; also Orbaan, *Documenti*, pp. 57-8: '1605 agosto 10 Lunedì mattina [Paul] si ridusse in S. Maria Maggiore di sue mano butto la prima pietra nella capella...'

41. Ostrow, *Art and spirituality*, pp. 138-9.

42. Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, p. 59. Although the two chapels are often paired, a study concentrating specifically on the architecture of the two structures has yet to be made.

43. For Fontana's engraving, see Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, *Disegni di vari altari e cappelle* (Rome, 1713), figs. 40-42.

44. They have, though, been mistaken for the same medal issued with different signatures. See Whitman with Varriano, *Roma resurgens*, pp. 57-9.

45. Bartolotti, *La medaglia annuale*, p. 403.

46. The examples illustrated here of both this medal and the S. Maria Maggiore medal of 1606 are cast copies of struck originals.

47. Liliana Barroero, 'La basilica dal cinquecento all'ottocento', in C. Pietrangeli (editor), *La basilica romana di Santa Maria Maggiore* (Rome, 1987), pp. 215-59, at p. 226: 'Quando andò Sua Santità a vedere la fabbrica et dell sue capella et della sacrestia vogliono non restasse punto sodisfatto, almeno della sacrestia, che 6 molto più avanti nella fabbrica; la cause: perche riesce oscura et con le stanze alquanto storte e non 6 maraviglia...'

48. Ostrow, *Art and spirituality*, p. 119.

49. For Borromeo's canonisation, see Neils Rasmussen, 'Liturgy and iconography at the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, 1 November 1610', in J. Headley and J. Tomaro (editors), *San Carlo Borromeo* (London, 1988), pp. 264-76, at pp. 264-6. For the canonisation of Francesca Romana, see Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, *S. Francesca Romana: un episodio di religiosità femminile nella Roma del quattrocento* (Monte Oliveto, 1983), pp. 3-4, 24-25.

50. Ostrow, *Art and spirituality*, p. 119.

51. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, p. 52. For the Commissario delle Antichità and the column, see Ronald T. Ridley, 'To protect the monuments', *Xenia antiqua*, i (1992), pp. 117-54, at p. 128.

52. Bonanni, *Numismata pontificum romanorum*, p. 381, no.

XXXI.

53. It should be noted that papal medals of the fortress of Ferrara and bridge at Ceprano were issued, but are not dealt with here because of space constraints.

54. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 428.

55. Carlo Fea, *Esame storico-legale-idraulico dei sifoni impiegati nei condotti dell'Acqua Paola* (Rome, 1830), p. 5.

56. Fea, *Esame*, p. 13.

57. For details on the scale of the project, see Christoph H. Heilmann, 'Acqua Paola and the urban planning of Paul V', *Burlington Magazine*, cxii (1970), pp. 656-63.

58. The full inscription is given in Molinet, *Historia summorum pontificum*, p. 148, as: FORMIS AQVAE ALSIETINAE OLIM AB AVGVSTO CAESARE EXTRVCTIS, MOX COLLAPSI, AB ADRIANO PONTIFICE MOX INSTAVRATIS, IISDEM RVRSVS VETVSTATE DIRVTIS, OPERE SVBTERRANEO ET ARCVATO RESTITVTIS, AQVAM EX AGRO BRACCIANENSI DITIONIS VRSINORVM, SALVBRIORIBUS FONTIBVS DERIVATAM, FLEXVOSO CVRSV XXXV. MILLIARIVM IN VRBEM PERDVXIT ANNO SALVTIS M. DC. XI. (He restored the fabric of the Aqua Alsietina, once built by Caesar Augustus and then collapsed, then restored by Pope Hadrian, and again collapsed through old age, in its subterranean parts and its arches; he also brought to the city water from the area of Bracciano in the sway of the Orsini, derived from healthier springs, over a sinuous course of 35 miles, in the year of our Salvation 1611). I would like to thank Jonathan Williams, Lee Burnett and Xavier Salomon for their assistance with translating the Latin texts in this article.

59. Contemporary *avvisi* that mention the aqueduct often discuss the volume of the water flow. See Orbaan, *Documenti*, pp. 212, 215, 243.

60. Orbaan, *Documenti*, pp. 78, 79, 105. *Avvisi* dated 7 April 1607, 5 May 1607 and 23 April 1608 specify plans for a mill.

61. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 428.

62. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 427.

63. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, p. 164.

64. Pastor, *History*, xxvi, p. 431.

65. Heilmann, 'Acqua Paola', p. 659.

66. This observation is based on a study of the papal medals in the British Museum. For Sixtus V, see also Corinne Mandel, 'Golden age and the good works of Sixtus V: classical and Christian typology in the art of a Counter-Reformation pope,' *Storia dell'arte*, lxii (1988), pp. 29-52, at pp. 34-7. For his medals, see Giancarlo Alteri in *Roma di Sisto V: le arte e la cultura*, exhibition catalogue (Rome, 1993), pp. 447-60.



1. Mosca: Sigismund Augustus, 1532, silver, 67mm., National Museum, Poznan.



2. Schilling: Seweryn Boner, 1533, silver, 34mm., National Museum, Poznan.



3. Unknown artist: Jan Laski, 1557, lead, 64 mm, National Museum, Poznan.