Patronage and Dynasty

Habent sua fata libelli

Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series

General Editor
Michael Wolfe
Pennsylvania State University–Altoona

Editorial Board of Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies

Elaine Beilin
Framingham State College

Miriam U. Chrisman
University of Massachusetts, Emerita

Barbara B. Diefendorf
Boston University

Paula Findlen
Stanford University

Scott H. Hendrix
Princeton Theological Seminary

Jane Campbell Hutchison
University of Wisconsin–Madison

Robert M. Kingdon
University of Wisconsin, Emeritus

Mary B. McKinley
University of Virginia

Helen Nader
University of Arizona

Charles G. Nauert
University of Missouri, Emeritus

Max Reinhart
University of Georgia

Sheryl E. Reiss
Cornell University

Robert V. Schnucker
Truman State University, Emeritus

Nicholas Terpstra
University of Toronto

Margo Todd
University of Pennsylvania

Merry Wiesner-Hanks
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Patronage and Dynasty

The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy

Edited by
Ian F. Verstegen

Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 77
Truman State University Press

Copyright 2007 by Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri
All rights reserved. Published 2007.
Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series, volume 77
tsup.truman.edu

Cover illustration: Melozzo da Forlì, *The Founding of the Vatican Library: Sixtus IV and Members of His Family with Bartolomeo Platina, 1477–78*. Formerly in the Vatican Library, now Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana. Photo courtesy of the Pinacoteca Vaticana.

Cover and title page design: Shaun Hoffeditz
Type: Perpetua, Adobe Systems Inc, The Monotype Corp.
Printed by Thomson-Shore, Dexter, Michigan USA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Patronage and dynasty : the rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy / edited by Ian F. Verstegen.
p. cm. — (Sixteenth century essays & studies ; v. 77)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-1-931112-60-4 (alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 1-931112-60-6 (alk. paper)
1. Della Rovere family. 2. Nobility—Italy—History—15th century. 3. Nobility—Italy—History—16th century. 4. Della Rovere family—Art patronage. 5. Art, Renaissance—Italy. 6. Papacy—History—1447–1565. I. Verstegen, Ian. II. Title. III. Series.
DG463.8.D45P38 2007
945'.060922—dc22

2007002818

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any format by any means without written permission from the publisher.

♾ The paper in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.

CONTENTS

Illustrations vii

Acknowledgments xi

Introduction xiii
Ian Verstegen

PART I THE BEGINNING—SIXTUS IV

The Sistine Chapel, Dynastic Ambition, and the Cultural Patronage of Sixtus IV 3
Andrew C. Blume

Pope Sixtus IV at Assisi: The Promotion of Papal Power 19
Jill Elizabeth Blondin

PART II ECCLESIASTICS

Piety and Public Consumption: Domenico, Girolamo, and Julius II della Rovere at Santa Maria del Popolo 39
Lisa Passaglia Bauman

Avignon to Rome: The Making of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere as a Patron of Architecture 63
Henry Dietrich Fernández

Reform and Renewed Ambition: Cardinal Giulio Feltrio della Rovere 89
Ian Verstegen

PART III SIGNORE

Felice della Rovere and the Castello at Palo 111
Caroline P. Murphy

The Ecclesiastical Patronage of Isabella Feltria della Rovere: Bricks, Bones, and Brocades 123
Maria Ann Conelli

PART IV THE DUCAL EXPERIENCE

Francesco Maria and the Duchy of Urbino, between Rome and Venice 141
Ian Verstegen

Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Federico Barocci, and the Taste for Titian at the Court of Urbino 161
Jeffrey Fontana

Francesco Maria della Rovere and Federico Barocci: Some Notes on Distinctive Strategies in Patronage and the Position of the Artist at Court 179
Stuart Lingo

Appendix—della Rovere Family Tree 201

Contributors 205

Index 207

ILLUSTRATIONS

The Sistine Chapel, Dynastic Ambition, and the Cultural Patronage of Sixtus IV

Figure 1. Unknown artist, *Sixtus IV and Platina in the Vatican Library*, 1477–78 6

Figure 2. Melozzo da Forlì, *The Founding of the Vatican Library: Sixtus IV and Members of His Family with Bartolomeo Platina*, 1477–78 8

Figure 3. Sandro Botticelli, *Temptation of Christ* (Temptatio Iesu Christi latoris evangelice legis), 1481–82 14

Figure 4. Sandro Botticelli, *Temptation of Moses* (Temptatio Moisi legis scripte latoris), 1481–82 15

Pope Sixtus IV at Assisi

Figure 1. Statue of Sixtus IV, Sacro Convento della Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi 20

Figure 2. Cloister of Sixtus IV, Sacro Convento della Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi 25

Figure 3. *Paliotto of Sixtus IV*, 1473–78. Tapestry, Museo-Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi 27

Figure 4. Duns Scotus, Detail of *Commentarius in librum Sententiarum*, 1471–84 32

Piety and Public Consumption

Figure 1. Chapel of Domenico della Rovere, 1478–80 43

Figure 2. Pinturicchio, *Nativity*, 1478–80 44

Figure 3. Detail of marble frames. Chapel of Domenico della Rovere, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome 46

Figure 4. Tomb of Cristoforo della Rovere. Chapel of Domenico della Rovere, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome 49

Figure 5. Chapel of Girolamo Basso della Rovere, 1483–84 52

Avignon to Rome

Figure 1. Melozzo da Forlì, detail of *Platina Appointed Vatican Librarian*, 1475 65

Figure 2A. Plan of the Petit Palais. Avignon; B. Façade of the Petit Palais. Avignon 68

Figure 3. Piero di Cosimo, *Giuliano da Sangallo*, ca. 1480 70

Figure 4. Foppa Vincenzo Foppa and Ludovico Brea, detail of *Della Rovere Polyptych*, 1490 73

Figure 5. Plan of the City of Savona and Palazzo Rovere 75

Figure 6. Nineteenth-century view of harbor front of Savona, view towards south 76

Figure 7. Plan and façade of Palazzo Rovere on Via Pia 77

Figure 8. Façade of Palazzo Rovere 78

Figure 9. Façade of Palazzo Rovere, view towards north, and detail of entrance 79

Figure 10. Entrance to Palazzo Rovere 81

Figure 11. Colosseum, viewed from Via San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome; and Leonardo Bufalini, *Pianta di Roma, Rome*, 1551, detail with Colosseum 82

Figure 12. View of Palazzo Rovere from harbor 84

Figure 13. View of Palazzo Rovere from harbor 85

Reform and Renewed Ambition

Figure 1. Medal of Giulio Feltrio della Rovere, 1570–73 90

Figure 2. Reconstruction of the Palazzo della Rovere in Via Lata 91

Figure 3. Federico Barocci, *Head Study for St. Jude*, c. 1566, Doria-Pamphilj, Rome 102

Felice della Rovere and the Castello at Palo

Figure 1. View of Castello of Palo 112

The Ecclesiastical Patronage of Isabella Feltria della Rovere

Figure 1. Largo S. Trinità Maggiore with Gesù Nuovo. Naples 124

Figure 2. Interior, San Vitale. Rome 125

Figure 3. Catafalque for Isabella Feltria della Rovere 131

Figure 4. Chapel of Saint Anne (now S. Francesco Geronimo) Gesù Nuovo, Naples 135

Figure 5. Chapel of Saint Anne (now S. Francesco Geronimo) 135

Figure 6. Interior, Gesù Nuovo, Naples 136

Francesco Maria and the Duchy of Urbino, between Rome and Venice

Figure 1. Carpaccio, *Portrait of aYoung Knight (Francesco Maria della Rovere*), ca. 1510. 143

Figure 2. Titian, *Portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere*, Duke of Urbino, 1536–68 144

Figure 3. Girolamo Genga, Villa Imperiale, Pesaro 154

Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Federico Barocci, and the Taste for Titian at the Court of Urbino

Figure 1. Federico Barocci, *St. Cecilia with Four Other Saints*, ca. 1555–56 167

Figure 2. Federico Barocci, *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, ca. 1557–58 168

Figure 3. Titian, *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Blaise, and Alvise Gozzi as Donor*, 1520 169

Figure 4. Federico Barocci, *Antonio Galli*, ca. 1557–60 171

Figure 5. Federico Barocci, *Crucifixion with Mourners*, ca. 1566–67 173

Figure 6. Titian, *Crucifixion with Mourners*, 1558 174

Francesco Maria della Rovere and Federico Barocci

Figure 1. Federico Barocci, *Portrait of Duke Francesco Maria II* 186

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The following volume found its beginning in two sessions held at the April 2003 Renaissance Society of America meeting in Toronto. The original authors, in addition to Lisa Passaglia Bauman and Stuart Lingo, who joined the project later, began by presenting research on their respective della Rovere family members. The interaction provoked by the conference panel and continued by the publication project has produced a very cohesive group of essays that look at the della Rovere family as a whole, facing distinct but not uncommon issues at any given time. In the way that the book offers a perspective on the identity of various ecclesiastics, dukes, and *signore* of the della Rovere, we believe it will be complementary to the two recent publications: *I della Rovere nell'Italia delle corti,* 3 volumes, by Bonita Cleri, Sabine Eiche, John Law and Feliciano and *I della Rovere: Piero della Francesca, Raffaello, Tiziano* by Paolo Dal Poggetto.

From the very beginning Raymond Mentzer was very encouraging about the project, and two anonymous referees helped sharpen the focus of the book. For all the authors, I would like to thank them for their help, patience, and professionalism. We would have liked to include in this volume a work by the dean of della Rovere studies, Sabine Eiche, who could not take time away from other long-standing projects to provide a contribution. However, the bibliography shows that her work was everywhere a point of departure for almost all the authors. For the model of scholarship she has provided and the personal encouragement and help she has given us, we gratefully dedicate this book to her.

Ian Verstegen
Cortona, Italy

INTRODUCTION

IAN VERSTEGEN

The della Rovere family, from the ambitious Pope Sixtus IV, Francesco della Rovere (1414–84), to the solitary Francesco Maria II, last Duke of Urbino (1549–1631), present a varied and disparate group. Spanning two centuries, the family includes bootstrap ecclesiastics like Sixtus IV, wildly nepotistic and scandalous *creati* like Cardinal Raffaelle Riario, to established Dukes of Urbino like Francesco Maria and Guidobaldo II, leading into the Counter-Reformation and Francesco Maria II's final act of piety in the devolution of his duchy to the Holy See. To be a della Rovere meant different things at different times. Yet, due to certain constants like fairly recent ennoblement and ecclesiastical origins, the various family members shared something in common: different family members had to observe a similar strategy of self-fashioning that complemented their realities and maximized their success.

Since the publication of Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning,* the notion that early moderns improvised their identities has become commonplace.[1] But the specific implication of Greenblatt's views that selves were mere cultural artifacts, imposed by society as a fiction, has been more controversial. If identity was provisional and sincerity dissembled, individual agendas provided the anchor against which skillful manipulation of intentions and desires could be measured.[2] So what was the agenda of the della Rovere? How did they negotiate the economy of nobility in the Renaissance?[3]

As Richard Goldthwaite has argued, concepts of nobility were extremely fluid in Italy, especially when compared to the land-based aristocracy of northern Europe.[4] With no sense of divine right, nobility oftentimes equaled power. Dynasties came and went, and with the nonhereditary papacy as the model of statehood, there was a resignation to vast political hiccups. Nevertheless, the northern model and the memory of feudal times in the medieval Italian past provided a powerful and resilient model.

[1]Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning.*

[2]Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence."

[3]For an expansive discussion of nobility in the Italian Renaissance, see Donati, *L'idea di nobiltà in Italia*: Posner, *Performance of Nobility.*

[4]Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art,* 150–76.

The various essays collected here together chart the ways these realities found their individual instantiation in different historical moments with different historical agents. What each shares in different proportions is a unique recognition of Scholastic-Franciscan origins as providing a more authoritative claim to sacramental nobility than an ancient family; in the Sistine and Julian era, a sort of cultural capital competed with noble capital, and later in the sixteenth century, an enlightened nobility competed with a more ancient nobility.[5] In fact, the notion of *sprezzatura* that surfaced in Urbino was precisely useful for the della Rovere in demonstrating a mode of behavior that made bloodline superfluous.[6] This issue of identity and its maintenance, of carving a unique niche for a family name in a rapidly changing atmosphere, is the central issue.

By taking a synoptic view, this collection attempts to produce different conclusions than can be reached by examining isolated patrons. There are many mature studies of individuals from the della Rovere family. Although studies of the papacies of Sixtus IV and Julius II abound, rarely do familial considerations surface, or when they do, because they are examined through papal monuments, the result can be forced. Furthermore, both Sixtus and Julius had an unusual respect for the autonomy of the pope, which means they are least amenable to a family-inspired model of patronage. This book may be considered an interpretive addendum to recent work by Italian scholars on the della Rovere.[7] It is less concerned with exhaustive coverage of the monuments of patronage than with the role of patronage in negotiating identity.

THE BEGINNING—SIXTUS IV

There would be no della Rovere popes, cardinals, or dukes without Francesco della Rovere (1414–84), who rose up through the ranks of the Conventual Franciscans to become pope.[8] He was minister general of the Franciscans in 1464, became a cardinal with the titular church of San Pietro in Vincoli, was made cardinal protector of the Franciscans, and finally, in 1471, became pope. Although Sixtus quickly fabricated a family origin in the noble house of the della Rovere counts of Vinovo near Turin, making two of its sons cardinals (Cristoforo della Rovere, d. 1478, and Domenico della Rovere, d. 1501), the harsh reality for Sixtus was that his family were humble merchants.[9] His theological training became his most important distinguishing feature, for he could lay great claim to Peter's throne not through ancient privilege but through individual study, sacrifice, and devotion.

Understanding his background puts a new spin on Sixtus's various projects, for many scholars have debated whether his papal projects can be traced to his beginnings as an Observant Friar. Indeed, Franciscanism was always close to his heart and actions.

[5]The phrase, "cultural capital," is derived from the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. For its use in the early modern period, see MacHardy, "Cultural Capital, Family Strategies and Noble Identity."

[6]On *sprezzatura,* see Saccone, "Grazia, Sprezzatura, and Affettazione."

[7]Cleri, Eiche, Law, and Paoli, *I della Rovere nell'Italia delle corti;* and Dal Poggetto, *I Della Rovere*.

[8]For full references on the life of Francesco della Rovere, Sixtus IV, see the chapters by Blume and Blondin.

[9]See Blume's discussion of della Rovere family origins.

In 1472, he made St. Francis's feast day into a double feast and in 1477, he raised the Immaculate Conception to a feast, where it remained until becoming dogma in the nineteenth century. In 1482, he canonized Bonaventure. In 1483, he pulled the Franciscans from Venice to protest their war with Ferrara. But as Andrew Blume shows, it is difficult to discern dynastic ambitions in the works of Sixtus IV, for the simple reason that he was raised in the church and took its universalistic aims quite seriously and more often acted as pope than as della Rovere.

The resolution to this quandary may be that, in spite of his success as pope, Sixtus's Franciscan affiliations served not to monopolize the content of the various programs, but as a feature of the pope's identity as theologian and thinker. This is certainly the case in the most important papal portrait, Melozzo da Forlì's fresco from the Vatican Library, featuring the *Appointment of Platina as Papal Librarian,* where dynasty and theology are indissolubly linked. Jill Blondin's essay shows how Sixtus's Franciscan commitments continue into his reign in his patronage of the ancient site of Assisi. This nonpapal locale indicates the way the pope could divide his commitments between personal patronage and his own papal projects.

Sixtus's nepotism was notorious and he elevated no less than six nephews to the college of cardinals. He elevated Pietro Riario (1445–74) and Giuliano della Rovere (1443–1513) in 1471, Raffaelle Riario (1460–1521) and Girolamo Basso della Rovere (1434–1507) in 1477, and the two Piedmont della Rovere previously mentioned. The older view was certainly that Sixtus was not a very holy man, and his nepotism is proof of this. Furthermore, Sixtus's nepotism led to conflict when nephews like Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere openly quarreled. On the other hand, as a Roman outsider with none of the connections available to him to effectively administer the papacy, nepotism helped a difficult situation.[10] Blume goes further to suggest that Sixtus effectively expanded his "church family" through these elevations.

An important fact is that many of these nephews raised to the cardinalate had also received training with the Franciscans, especially Pietro Riario, Giuliano (later Julius II), his brother Bartolomeo (1447–94), and Clemente Grosso (d. 1504).[11] Numerous della Rovere daughters were sent to the Poor Clares.[12] As early as 1471, Sixtus IV made his nephew Pietro Riario cardinal protector of the Franciscans. When Riario died in 1474, Giuliano della Rovere, the future Julius II, took on this honor.

Franciscan commitments most importantly included Marian devotion and this extended to the Holy House of Loreto, which was under the jurisdiction of Girolamo Basso della Rovere's bishopric of Recanati. This was furthermore located near Sixtus's most important strategic placement: his nephew Giovanni della Rovere's (1457–1501) lordship of Senigallia. Sixtus IV had made Loreto a parish in 1482, placed it under

[10]Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 95–96.

[11]It is significant that the Franciscan Marco Vigerio of Savona (1446–18 July 1516) was allowed to use the della Rovere name and was, like Sixtus IV, a famous theologian. Confusingly, Vigerio had already abdicated his post as bishop of Senigallia in 1513 in favor of his nephew of the same name. He served as bishop until his death in 1560. His family intermarried with the Cibo of Genoa and continued to live in the Marche.

[12]Deodata della Rovere, sister to Duke Francesco Maria, was a Poor Clare.

papal protection in 1484, and begun the church for the Holy House, completed by Girolamo Basso in 1500.[13]

Sixtus was the greatest papal patron of the fifteenth century and single-handedly responsible for making Rome the papal capital it became; in the words of Raffaello Maffei (1451–1537) he "made Rome from a city of brick into stone just as Augustus of old had turned the stone city into marble."[14] He built several churches, many devoted to the Virgin, Sant'Agostino, Santa Maria della Pace, San Pietro in Montorio, and Santa Maria del Popolo. He built the Ponte Sistina leading to his Genoese district in Trastevere and cleared the Via Pellegrini, the processional route from St. Peter's to St. John the Lateran during the *possesso*.

ECCLESIASTICS

After Sixtus's death in 1484, his family continued to have unprecedented influence under the friendly and pliable papacy of Innocent VIII. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere is known to have been an antiquarian and collected many statues in the courtyard of his palace at SS. Apostoli, some of which he would transport to the Belvedere when he became pope.[15] He not only decorated his palace, but also had Baccio Pontelli build the fort of Ostia, his suburbicarian see.[16] Cardinal Giuliano's influence on the weak Pope Innocent VIII may have also resulted in the building of the Belvedere, again with Pontelli.[17]

Things changed with the 1492 election of Alexander VI, Rodrigo Borgia, testing the newly ennobled family. As Dietrich Fernández points out, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere retreated to Savona and showed himself to be already a great patron even while he was estranged from Rome after his uncle's death. Embellishing the family stronghold in Savona, he built on a massive scale with the intention of fortifying family strength that might outlive the finite terms of the papacy. Ironically, the native line of della Rovere in Savona would turn out to be the least powerful.[18] However, the noble della Rovere, counts of Vinovo (in Torino), with whom Sixtus had ingratiated himself

[13]On Sixtus in Loreto, see Goffen, "Friar Sixtus IV and the Sistine Chapel," esp. 229. On Girolamo Basso in Loreto, see Frapiccini, "Il Cardinale Girolamo Basso della Rovere"; and Partridge and Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness,* 99–101.

[14]Partridge, *Art of Renaissance Rome,* 21; Maffei is echoing Seutonius on Augustus.

[15]Frank, "Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere"; and Brown, "The Apollo Belvedere."

[16]On Ostia, see Danesi-Squarzina and Borghini, *Il Borgo di Ostia*.

[17]On the Belvedere and Pontelli's possible authorship (rather than Pollaiuolo, as Vasari indicated), see Fiore and Tafuri, *Francesco di Giorgio,* 272.

[18]The main later inhabitants of Savona were the family of Julius's sister, Luchina, who married Gabriele Gara (d. 1479) and then Giovanni Francesco Franciotti, a member of Sixtus IV's court. They maintained the della Rovere name; however, none of Luchina's children remained in Savona. The dates of death are not known for either Luchina or her husband, Gabriele Gara, but it is probable that they lived in the della Rovere palace in Savona until their deaths. The della Rovere did maintain a presence in Liguria, however, through the line known as the Grosso della Rovere. They were descended from Simone, who was the son of another Luchina, the sister of Sixtus IV. Simone died fighting in the Sack of Rome, but established a line resident in Genoa, of whom the last, who died in the eighteenth century, was the doge of Genoa, Francesco Maria di Clemente. I am grateful to Henry Dietrich-Fernández for supplying this information.

with the nomination to cardinal of the brothers Cristoforo and Domenico della Rovere had a real foothold. Domenico paid for the building of Turin Cathedral, the family Castello della Rovere, and also owned the Palazzo della Rovere in Rome in the Borgo (now Palazzo dei Penitenzieri), the palace in the style of the apostolic palace he hopefully emulated.[19] The Vinovo-Turin della Rovere continued to hold power well into the sixteenth century, producing several archbishops beyond Domenico (Giovanni Francesco della Rovere, 1509–15 and Girolamo della Rovere, 1564–92).[20]

Clearly, Julius II (1443–1513) had one of the most spectacular papacies of the Renaissance. His patronage is a small library in itself.[21] His projects include the Belvedere (Bramante) connecting the Vatican to the papal villa, new apartments by Raphael, the vault decoration of the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo, a monumental tomb (Michelangelo), numerous civic works including the Via Giulia, a projected prison, improved Roman churches (most notably the new choir for Santa Maria del Popolo by Bramante, and *ex novo* churches like Santa Maria di Loreto), and finally additions to the Holy House and apostolic palace of Loreto itself.[22]

Similarly, Marian churches, like Santa Maria del Popolo, which housed the remains of his relatives Cristoforo and Domenico della Rovere (of the Torino branch) and Girolamo Basso of the Savona branch, received attention from Julius II. Lisa Passaglia Bauman shows how this della Rovere mausoleum greeted visitors to the city at the northern gate of the city (Porta del Popolo) and, through its conservative monumental tombs and decoration (Pinturicchio frescoes), announced the della Rovere as already established even as they were erected.

The prototypical papal portrait by Raphael (National Gallery, London), for instance, debuted in Santa Maria del Popolo.[23] As noted, Bramante's new choir for the Popolo made the church a frequent stop on Julius's itinerary. For that matter, Raphael's work for Agostini Chigi, the adopted son of Julius II, who permitted him to incorporate the oak into his arms, can be related to della Rovere Franciscan themes. Chigi's chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo (again, Sixtus's and Julius's church) included a change of dedication to the Virgin of Loreto,[24] of course a direct reference to Sixtus's and Julius's various works on behalf of its cult. In this way, Marian themes were underscored in this Augustinian church.

Julius in turn continued to populate the college of cardinals with relations. Julius elevated Clemente Grosso (1503; d. 1504), Galeotto Franciotto della Rovere (1504, d. 1507), Leonardo Grosso della Rovere (1505, d. 1520), and Sisto Gara della Rovere

[19]On Domenico and Cristoforo della Rovere, see Tuninetti and D'Antino, *Il Cardinal Domenico della Rovere*." On the Palazzo della Rovere in Borgo, see Aurigemma and Cavallaro, *Il Palazzo di Domenico della Rovere in Borgo*.

[20]See the genealogical table in Grosso and Mellano, *La controriforma nella arcidiocesi di Torino*.

[21]For a useful overview of Julius II's patronage, see Shaw, *Julius II: Warrior Pope*; and Bottaro, Dagnino, and Terminiello, *Sisto IV e Giulio II: Mecenati e promotori di cultura*.

[22]The year of Girolamo Basso's death (1507), Julius transferred the authority for the Holy House of Loreto from the bishop of Recanati to the church.

[23]Partridge and Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness,* 75–80.

[24]Rowland, "Render unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's," 694.

CONTRIBUTORS

Lisa Passaglia Bauman received her PhD in art history from Northwestern University with a dissertation on the artistic patronage of the della Rovere in Rome. She currently teaches at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia.

Jill Elizabeth Blondin received her doctorate in art history from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her research focuses on the art and architectural patronage of Pope Sixtus IV. She is assistant professor of art history at the University of Texas at Tyler.

Andrew Charles Blume, an Episcopal priest and independent scholar, received his PhD in history of art and architecture from Harvard University. He has published on aspects of art, religion, and culture in fifteenth-century Florence and Rome.

Maria Ann Conelli received her doctorate in art history from Columbia University and has written on architecture and patronage in Renaissance Naples. At present, she is the director of the American Folk Art Museum in New York City.

Henry Dietrich Fernández received his PhD in history of art from University of Cambridge. He has published on aspects of architecture and politics of the Vatican during the Renaissance. He is currently senior lecturer in architecture and architectural history at the Rhode Island School of Design.

Jeffrey Fontana received his PhD in art history from Boston University, and has written on the career of Federico Barocci and on sixteenth-century painting and drawing. He teaches at Austin College in Sherman, Texas.

Stuart Lingo obtained his doctorate in art history from Harvard University and recently completed a book on the altarpieces of Federico Barocci. He is assistant professor of Renaissance art at University of Washington–Seattle.

Caroline P. Murphy received her doctorate in art history from University College London. She has written books on Lavinia Fontana and Felice della Rovere,

two prominent women of the Italian Renaissance. Currently she is associate professor of art history at University of California, Riverside.

Ian Verstegen received his PhD in art history from Temple University. He has previously published articles on Federico Barocci and linear perspective in the Renaissance. He is an independant scholar living in Philadelphia.

INDEX

Notes:
d. = died
r. - reigned
m. = married to
bold numerals = illustrations

Adrian VI, and Orsini properties, 119
Alberici, Jacopo, *Compendio* (1600), 40
Alberti, Leon Battista, 67
Aldobrandini, Ippolito, xix
Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia; 1431–1503), xvi
  decoration of papal apartments, 56–57
  self-aggrandizement of, 55
Alidosi, Francesco, 146
altarpieces. *See also* artworks
  Albano diocese, 97
  Annunciation (Barocci), 188–89
  Deposition (Barocci), 175, 184–85
  Perugino's fresco, 16
  at San Francesco Basilica, 26
Animuccia, Paolo, 103
Araldo, G. F., *Cronica della Compagnia …,* 126, 130, 132–33
architecture. *See also* artworks
  all'antica, 74–77
  Colosseum (Rome), **82**
  fictive and real, 16, 45, 50*n,* 51
  Gesù Nuovo, **135**–**36**
  Guelf windows, 65–66
  Julius II/Giuliano's commission of, 63–64, 66–67
  Largo S. Trinità Maggiore with Gesù Nova, **124**
  of Leon Battista Alberti, 67
  Ligurian-Genoese tradition, 77–78
  military fortifications, 150
  oak leaf, acorn motif, 78–79
  Palazzo della Rovere, 72
  Palazzo Rovere, **84**–**85**
  at Palo, 117
  of Petit Palais, Avignon, 67, **68**
  Pianta di Roma (Bufalini), **82**
  by Sangallo, 74–83
  Santa Marie delle Carceri (Prato), 78
  San Vitale interior, **125**
  Urbino (Barocci), 192–93
  Villa Imperiale, 151–52
  Villa Madama (Rome), 151
Aretino, Pietro, 161, 163
artworks. *See also* altarpieces; architecture
  Annunciation altarpiece (Barocci), 188–89
  Antonio Galli (Barocci), **171**
  chapel of Domenico della Rovere, 42–50
  chapel of Girolamo Basso della Rovere, **52**
  chapel of Saint Anne, Gesù Nuovo, **135**
  Chastisement of Rome by Good Charles V, 155
  Crucifixion with Mourners (Barocci), **173**
  Crucifixion with Mourners (Titian), **174**
  Della Rovere Polyptych (Foppa/Brea), **73**
  The Fall of Florence, 155
  frescoes: Casino of Pius IV (Barocci), 100–101; Santo Spirito Hospital, 5, **6**, 22; *Miracle of Savona,* 111; Sistine Chapel, 10–17
  Giuliano da Sangalli (Cosimo), **70**
  Head Study for St. Jude (Barocci), **102**
  Madonna and Child with Saints … (Titian), **169**
  Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Barocci), **168**
  medals: Candida portrait, 71; Giulio Feltrio, **90**; Sixtus IV's coronation, 22
  Paliotto of Sixtus IV tapestry, 26, **27**
  plans for Isabella Feltria's catafalque, **131**
  Portrait of a Young Knight (Carpaccio), **143**
  Portrait of Duke Francesco Maria II (Barocci), **186**
  Portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere (Titian), **144**
  Sixtus IV and Platina in the Vatican Library (anon.), 5, **6**, 9
  statue of Sixtus IV, Sacro Convento, **20**
  tapestries: Flemish, in San Francesco Basilica, 28; *Paliotto of Sixtus IV,* 26, **27**
  Temptation of Christ (Botticelli), 13, **14**
  Temptation of Moses (Botticelli), 13, **15**
  tombs: of Cristoforo della Rovere, 42–50; of Domenico della Rovere, 50–58; of Giovanni de Castro, 42; of Girolamo Basso della Rovere, 56; of Pietro Riario, 22
Assisi, 19ff.
Astarita, Tommaso, 129
Atanagi, Dionigi, 101
Augustinians, 41
Avialos d'Aquino, Alfonso Felice, 127
Avignon renovations, 64–69, **68**

Bailey, Gauvin, 133
Barocci family
  Alberto Francesco, 100

Andrea Lazzari, 100
Federico: *Annunciation* altarpiece, 188–89; *Antonio Galli,* **171**; *Calling of St. Andrew,* 189; *Crucifixion with Mourners,* **173**; *Deposition* altarpiece, 175, 184–85; engravings of, 188–89; frescoes of, 90, 100–101; *Head Study for St. Jude,* **102**; illness and recovery, 181*n,* 184, 193; loyalty to Francesco Maria II, 181, 190–91, 193–96; *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,* **168**; patronage: of Francesco Maria II, 179–96; of Giulio della Rovere, 184–85; of Guidobaldo II, 162–76; of others, 187–88, 195–96; *Portrait of Duke Francesco Maria II,* **186**; *St. Cecilia with Four Other Saints,* **167**; Titianesque style of, 170, 183–84
Giovanni Battista (clock maker), 100
Barocci family, continued
Giovanni Maria, 100
Bellini, Giovanni, 152
Bellori, Gian Pietro, 179, 181n, 184, 189–90, 195
Benedict XII, 67
Berruguete, Pedro, 142
Biondo, Flavio, 12
Bonaventura, Federico, 90, 101
Borgia, Rodrigo. *See* Alexander VI
Borromeo family
Carlo, 94–95
Federico, 90
Botticelli, Sandro
Temptation of Christ, 13, **14**
Temptation of Moses, 13, **15**
Bramante, Donato, 81–83
decoration of Santa Maria del Popolo, 56
stone veneer masking, 67
Brandani, Federico, 100
Bravo, Giovanni Andrea, 145n, 149
Brea, Ludovico, *Della Rovere Polyptych,* 72, **73**
Bregno, Andrea, 48n
Bronzino, Agnolo, 161, 187
Brucioli, Antonio, 151
Burckhardt, Jacob, 117

Cagli, Bernardino Pino da, 90, 96, 103
Candida, Giovanni, 71
Cappella Magna. *See* Sistine Chapel
Caracciolo, Isabella, 130
Carafa family
Giovantommaso and Isabella, 130
Marzia, 130, 132
Roberta, 128
Silvia, 130, 132
Carvajal, Bernard, 13
Casa del Carmine, Naples 123
Castiglione, Baldessare
Discorsi Militari, 149
Il Cortegiano, 114, 149, 154
Castriotto, Giacomo, 150
Castro, Giovanni de, 42
Ceri, Renzo da, 119
Christ. *See* Jesus Christ
Christianity, salvation history in biographical narrative, 11–12
Clemente, Francesco Maria di, xvi *n*
Clement VI (1343–52), 67–69
Clement VIII (1536–1605), xix
Colonna, Marcantonio (d. 1522), xvi*n,* xix, xx
Como, Antonio da, 24
Cosimo, Piero di, **70**
Counter-Reformation, 89–91, 103–4
Cupis, Bernardino de, 113

della Rovere characteristics
architectural tastes of, 72–83
artistic tastes of, 55–56
coat of arms, **20**, 24, 31
compared with Medici, xxiv
ecclesiastical, 89–91, 144–45
emblems, 26, 78–79
end of influence of, xxiii, xxv, xxvi
marriage alliances, xx, 92–96, 114, 126–27, 129, 162
military service, 92, 141–49; of Francesco Maria, 148–51; of Giuliano (Pope Julius II), 45; of Guidobaldo II, 162–63
patronage (*See* patronage)
political/cultural identity of, 142–43, 150–56, 192–96
as powerful and enlightened, 143–56
refined sensibilities, 100–105
as reformers, 89–105, 129
sea iconography of, 113, 115–16
self-aggrandizement by: Francesco Maria, 141–43; Francesco Maria II, 188–96; Girolamo Basso, 53–55; Giuliano/Julius II, 39–40, 42, 72–83, 145–46; Sixtus IV, 39–40, 42
self-preservation, 114, 129–32
della Rovere family. *See also* Lante, Orsini, Riario, Sanseverino, and Vigerio families
family tree, 201–2
Antonio Basso, 7
Bartolomeo (1447–94), xv
Carlo Emanuele, xix
Clemente, 71
Clemente Grosso (1462–1504), xv, **xvii**
Cristoforo, xvii, xviii, 42, 45, 48, **49**
Domenico, xvii, xviii; commissioned works, 42–50, **49**
Emanuele Filiberto, xix
Federico Ubaldo (1605–23), xxv
Felice (daughter of Julius II), xx, 4, 113–21
Francesco (*See* Sixtus IV)
Francesco Maria (1490–1538), xviii, xxi–xxiv, 89, 91; art patronage of, 148–56; Carpaccio portrait of, **143**; correspondence with Felice, 119; *Discorsi Militari,* 155; as Duke of Urbino, 96, 119, 141–56; literary/musical depictions of, 149, 162; military service, 92, 141–45; murderer of: Alidosi, 146, 149; Bravo, 145, 149; reconfirmed by Leo X and Hadrian VI, 146–47

Francesco Maria II (son of Guidobaldo II), xiii, xxi, xxv, 101, 141; friendship with Barocci, 181, 190–91, 193–96; patronage strategy of, 179–96; relationship with Spain, 189–90
Francesco Teodoro [Bisignano] (son of Isabella Feltria), 123
Galeotto Franciotto (1504?–8), xvii–xviii, 92
Giovanni, 7, **8**
Giovanni Francesco (1509–15), xvii
Giovanni (1457–1501), xv–xvi, xxii, 141, 143–44
Girolamo Basso (1434–1507), xv, xvi, xvii, 50–58
Girolamo (1533–92), xvii, xviii–xx
Giulia (m. Don Alfonso d'Este), 93n
Giuliano (1443–1513) (*See* Julius II)
Giuliano (1560-1621), 93, 96
Giulio Feltrio (1533–78), xviii, xx; aka Cardinal d'Urbino, 89, 92–93; birthright property of, 92; career of, 94–96; children legitimized, 96; *Constitutiones almae Domus, 90*; as pioneer reformer, 89–91; residences of, 98–99; works/patronage of, 97–105; as "worldly" cardinal, 93
Grosso della Rovere line, xvi *n*
Guidobaldo II (1514–74): allied with Spain, 93*n*; civil and military service, 92, 162–63; father of Isabella Feltria, 126; as harsh ruler, 96; m.: Giulia Varana, 162; Vittoria Farnese, 92; patronage, 101; of Titian, 161, 163–76; ties to Venice, 162–63
Ippolito (1554-1620), 93, 96
Isabella Feltria (1552/4–1619), xx, xxi; marriage and family, 126–29; as saintly patron, 127–36
Lavinia Feltria (1558–1632), xx, xxi, 127
Leonardo (brother of Girolamo), m. Giovanna Giraldi, xix
Leonardo (father of Sixtus IV), 3–4
Leonardo Grosso (1464–1520), xviii, xxii, xxiii, 92
Luchina [1] (sister of Pope Sixtus IV), xvi n
Luchina [2] (sister of Pope Julius II), xvi n
Lucrezia, xviii, xx
Lucrezia (1533–92), m. Marcantonio Colonna, xx
Lucrezia (1589-1652), m. Lante family, 96
Niccolò Franciotti, m. Laura Orsini, xx
Pietro Bonarelli, 96
Simone (nephew of Sixtus IV), xvi *n*
Sisto Gara (Franciotti; d. 1517), xviii, xxiii, 92
Virginia (daughter of Guidobaldo II), m. Federico Borromeo, xix, 93
Vittoria Feltria (daughter of Federico Ubaldo), m. Ferdinand II de' Medici, xxv, 95–96
del Monte family
Francesco Maria, xxiv
Montino, xxiv
Duns Scotus, John, *Commentarius in librum Sententiarum,* illuminated manuscript, **32**

Eiche, Sabine, 151, 196
Este family
Alfonso (m. Giulia della Rovere), 93n
Ippolito II, 93
Isabella, as art patron, 182
Lucrezia, xxv, 185, 188
Eustachio, Bartolomeo, 90
Opusculo anatomica and *Tabulae anatomicae,* 99–100

Fanzago, Cosimo, 134
Farnese family
Odoardo, 133
Vittoria: m. Guidobaldo II, xviii, 92–93; mother of Isabella Feltria, 126
Feltrio family
Ippolito, xxv
Livia (m. Francesco Maria II), xxv
Fernández, Dietrich, xvi
Fiesole, Mino da, 48n
Filelfo, Francesco, *De sacerdotio Christi,* 12–13
Finlay, Robert, 149
Foppa, Vincenzo, *Della Rovere Polyptych,* 72, **73**
Fossombrone, architecture at, 151–52, 184, 187
Franciotti, Giovanni Francesco, m. Luchina della Rovere, xvi *n*
Franciscanism
of Giulio Feltrio, 91, 94–95
as seen in Sistine Chapel frescoes, 16–17
of Sixtus IV, xv, 4, 19–23, 19*n*
Franciscans
patronage of Barocci, 187–88
patronage of Giulio Feltrio, 94
sale of legacies/testaments, 23
Franco, Battista, 161
Fregoso, Federico, 151

Gara family
Gabriele (d. 1479), xvi *n*
Luchina, m. Gabriele Gara (*See under* della Rovere family)
Genga family
Bartolomeo, 161, 165n, 185
Girolamo, 150–51, 161, 185
George of Trebizond, 12
Germanio, Anastasio, xix
Gesù Nuovoa, 123–38, **135**–**36**
Giorgio, Francesco di, 145
Giovane, Palma. *See* Palma il Giovane (Jacopo Negreti)
Giraldi, Giovanna, xix
Giuicciardini, Francesco, 149
Goldthwaite, Richard, xiii, 133
Gonzaga family
Eleonora (1493–1550), xxiii
Maria, 91, 98, 142, 145, 151
Elisabetta, 145–46
Federico, 194
as protectors of della Rovere, 147
Greenblatt, Stephen, xiii
Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses,* 12

Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni), friend of Giulio Feltrio, 99
grotteschi, 47, 50–51, 55

Hadrian VI, 147
Haskell, Francis, 132
Hay, Sebastiano, 104
Henninger-Voss, Cathleen, 149
Hermits of Fonte Avellana, 94
Heydenreich, Ludwig, 77
historical narrative, in sacred biography, 10–12
Holy Roman Empire, and war against Venice, 146
Hufton, Olwen, 127
humanism, in chapel of Domenico della Rovere, 42–50

iconography, of classical antiquity, in Santa Maria del Popolo, 39–58 *passim*
illness/disease, of Isabella Feltria, 127–28, 127n

Jesuits, 123, 132–34
Jesus Christ
  in Franciscan theology, 21
  in San Francesco windows, 24
  in Sistine Chapel frescoes, 10
  typified by Moses, 10–15
Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere, 1443–1513), xv, xvi, xvii
  as cardinal archbishop, 42; architectural projects of, 113, 116; Avignon architectural projects, 64–69; campaign against Naples, 71; design of Palazzo della Rovere, 72–83; distancing from Alexander VI, 57, 69; exile from Rome, 69, 71–72; painting of, **65**; patronage of Barocci, 184; personal characteristics, 69; protection of family soldiers, 145; trained patron of architecture, 63, 74–76
  family background, 111–12
  Last Judgment, 16
  as pope: architectural projects, 113; confirmation of Montefeltro and della Rovere, 145; distanced from Sixtus IV, 4; and Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, xxii; as military leader, 145; painting of, 7, **8**; Santi Apostoli palace, 55; Vatican Palace architecture, 81–83

Lante family, adopted della Rovere name, 96
League of Cambrai, 146
Lee, Egmont, 4–5
Leno, Giuliano, 116–17
Lenten spectacles, of Giulio Feltrio, 93
Leonardi, Gian Giacomo, 150–51
Leo X, xxii–xxiii, 116–'8
literature, poem inscription in *Founding of the Vatican Library,* **8**, 9
Litta, Pompeo, 129
Lombardo, Ambrogio, 24
Long, Pamela, 142
Loreto
  Basilica of, 180, 188–89
  Holy House of, xv, xvi, xviii, xxii, 90–91, 94, 97

Machiavelli, 155
Maggi, Girolamo, 150
Maggio, Vincenzo, 123, 126–30
Maius Sacrarium. *See* Sistine Chapel
Manetti, Gianozzo, 11
marriage contracts, 128
Mary (blessed virgin), depicted in San Francesco windows, 24
Medici family
  Claudia de' (m. Federico Ubaldo), xxv
  Cosimo de (r. 1537–74), xxiv
  and della Rovere family, xxiv, 89
  exiled from Florence, 69
  Ferdinand II de' (m. Vittoria Feltria), xxv
  Giuliano de' (d. 1516), xxiii, 146
  Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492), 69
  Lorenzo (1492–1519), xxiii, 147
  papal relations of, 146–47
Meldert, Leonard, 103
Melozzo da Forlì
  chapel of, 45
  Founding of the Vatican Library (1477), 7, **8**
  Platina Appointed Vatican Librarian detail, **65**
Michelangelo, xvii, 11, 182–83
Monte, Pietro da, 11
Montefeltro family
  Federico da, xxi, xxii, 141–42, 144–45
  Giovanna (m. Giovanni della Rovere), xxii
  Guidobaldo (son of Federico), xxii, 142, 145, 155
  relationship with della Rovere, 141, 145–46
Moses, in Sistine Chapel frescoes, 10–17
murals, 50*n*
music, regulated by Cardinal Giulio Feltrio, 90, 98, 103–4

Negreti, Jacopo. *See* Palma il Giovane (Jacopo Negreti)
Neri, Saint Filippo, 99
nobility, Italian concepts of, xiii
Nomentano, Paolo, 117

Oratorian order, 191, 193n
Orsini family
  Clarice, 120
  Gian Giordano, xx, 114
  Napoleone, 119–20
  sale of Palo castello, 115
  self-presentation of, 118

Palazzo della Rovere 72–83, **91**
Palma il Giovane (Jacopo Negreti), 90, 100–101, 162, 175–76, 185
Palo castle, Ladispoli, 111–21, **112**
papacy
  affirmation of: in chapel of Domenico della Rovere, 42–50; in San Francesco in Assisi, 22–33; in Santo Spirito frescoes, 5, **6**, 22; in Sistine Chapel frescoes, 10–12, 16–17

depicted in sculpture, **20**, 28–33
hunting lodges of, 117
Papal States, 23, 146,147
Paschal II (pope), 40
Pastor, Ludwig von, 4, 93
patronage
of art and science, 89, 97–105, 161–76, 179–96
of culture, 7, 150–56
decline of, in Italy, 181–82
of Francesco Maria, 141–56
of Francesco Maria II, 179–96
of Giulio Feltrio, 99–105
of Guidobaldo II, 101, 161–76
of Isabella Feltria, 128–36
material gifts, 132–33
opportunistic, 120–21, 188–96
relics, 133
by religious groups, 180
socioreligious motives, 48*n*; of Domenico della Rovere, 42–50; of Girolamo Basso della Rovere, 50–58; of Giulio Feltrio della Rovere, 89–91; of Sixtus IV, 5–7, 9–10, 17, 23, 42, 53
Paul II, 92
Paul III, 92
Perugino, Pietro, frescoed altarpiece, 16
Pesaro, 146, 148
Petrucci, Alfonso, 118
Pini, Pier Matteo, 100
Pinturicchio, Bernardino di Betto
abandonment of, by Julius II, 57
architectural illusionism, 45, 55
Costa and Cybo chapels of, 56
della Rovere chapel, 51n
Nativity at Santa Maria del Popolo, 42, **44**, 45, **46**
papal apartments, 56–57
sociocultural influence, 55–58
various commissions, 45n
Piperno, Franco, 162
Pius V (Michele Ghislieri), 94
Platina, Bartolomeo
biographer of Sixtus IV, 3–4
depiction of, 6, 7, 8
Lives of the Popes, 11
poetry, in praise of Orsini, 117
Pollaiuolo, Antonio, 26
Pontelli, Baccio, xvi, 63
Popes. *See under* individual names
Porta, Costanzo , *Missarum liber primus,* 103
Protestantism, of Eleonora Gonzaga, 151

Raphael, xvii, 151, 182–83
Ravenna, under patronage of Giulio Feltrio, 97–98
relics, cult of, 133–34
rhetoric, 13, 39–47
Riario family.
Girolamo, xviii, xxi, xxii, 7, **8**, 42
Pietro (1445–74), xv, 4, 7, **8**, 22, 74
Raffaelle (1460–1521), xiii, 42, 72, 74
Rome. *See also* Santa Maria del Popolo church
and pictorial language of della Rovere, 39–40
renovation of, by Sixtus IV, 7, 9, 40, 111
Rossi, Girolamo, 95
Ruysschaert, José, 7

S. Francesco Geronimo, Naples, **135**
S. Pietro in Vinvoli, 92
Saint Anthony of Padua, 22, 111
Saint Augustine, 47–48, 51
Saint Francis of Assisi, 22, 24, 111
Saint Jerome, 47–48
Saint Peter's Basilica, Cappella de Canonici frescoes, 22
San Francesco Basilica
buttress effigy of Sixtus IV, 28–31, 33
renovations under Sixtus IV, 19–28
Sangallo, Giuliano da
painting of, **70**
Palazzo della Rovere (Savona), 64, 72, 74–83
reputation of, 69
Sanmicheli, Michele, 150
Sanseverino family, 126–29
Sansovino (Jacopo d'Antonio Tatti), tomb of Girolamo Basso della Rovere, 56
Santagata (Jesuit historian), 123
Santa Maria del Popolo church
chapel of Domenico della Rovere, 42, **43**–**44**, 45, **46**, 47–50
chapel of Girolamo Basso della Rovere, 50–51, **52**, 53–58
as della Rovere family monument, 39–40, 42–50, 57–58
myths/legends surrounding, 40
Santo Spirito Hospital, frescoes of Sixtus IV, 5, **6**, 22
San Vitale, endowed by Isabella Feltria, 123
Satriano, Porzia Cigala di, 133
Sauli, Cardinal, 118
Savona
architecture commissioned by Giuliano, 72
city plan and Palazzo della Rovere, **75**
Giuliano's exile there, 69, 71–72
harbor front, **76**
as harbor town, 111
plan of Palazzo della Rovere, **77**
Schinosi (Jesuit historian), 123
sculpture, **20**, 28–33, 100
self-fashioning
defined by Greenblatt, xiii
effigy of Sixtus IV, 29
by Felice della Rovere, 111–21
and patronage, 53
as self-aggrandizement, 39–40, 42, 53–55, 72–83, 114, 129–32, 141–46, 188–96
Senigallia, 145
Sherr, Richard, 104
Sistine Chapel, patronage of Sixtus IV, 9–10, 9n

Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere; 1414–84)
background, xiv–xvi, 3–4, 19–20
bull (Franciscan sale of legacies/testaments), 13
cultural patronage, 5–7, 57–58
De futuris contingentibus, 21
De potentia Dei, 21
De sanguine Christi, 21
effigy of, at San Francesco Sacro Convento, 28–31, 33
family aggrandizement of, 39–40
and Federico da Montefeltro, xxi–xxii
frescoes of, in Santo Spirito Hospital, 5, **6**
and Julius II, 4–5
nepotism and cultural patronage of, 3
Savona property of, 74
tomb of, 5
Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
Speroni, Sperone, 163
Stinger, Charles, 11

tapestries. *See under* artworks
Tasso, Bernardo, 161
Terranova, Francesco da, 24
Titian, *152*
artworks collected by della Rovere, 148–49 152, 163
Crucifixion with Mourners, **174**
fame and prestige of, 183
Madonna and Child with Saints …, **169**
patrons: Alfonso d'Este, 182–83; Guidobaldo II, 161–76
of Sixtus IV, 5
Traversari, Ambrogio, 12

Ubaldo, Federico, 141
Urbino
connection with Venice, 147–48
della Rovere *vs.* Borgia rule of, 145
under Francesco Maria II, 191–92, 196
Francesco Maria's duchy, 143–48
as metropolitan see, 94

Vagnoli, Virginia, 161
Varana, Giulia (m. Guidobaldo II), 162
Vatican Library, Sixtus IV's patronage of, 5, **6,** 7
Vatican Palace, precedents for architecture of, 65–69, 79–83
Venice
della Rovere relations with, 162
"myth" of, 152
war against, 146, 149
Vigerio, Marco (the elder), xv n, 93, 93n

warfare fortifications, 150
Whol, Helmut, 53
Wilde, Johannes, 17
Wittkower, Rudolf, 132
women
of della Rovere family, xx–xxi
as depicted by Titian, 154
Felice della Rovere, as independent *maeceni,* 111–21
Isabella Feltria della Rovere, 123–36
marriage contracts, 128
martyrdom of unhappy wives, 127n
as patrons of Jesuits, 126
religious guidance of, 130
as religious patrons: Costanza del Carretto, 129; Maria Lorenza Longho, 128; Roberta Carafa, 128
stereotype of holiness, 128
Woollcombe, Kenneth, 11

Zampeti, Pietro, 101
Zuccari, Federico, patronage of della Rovere, 180
Zuccaro, Taddeo, 100, 161