

Byzantium in the City of the Dragon. Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, the Cappella Gregoriana, and the Establishment of a Basilian Liturgy in Late Cinquecento Rome

On 29 March 1582, the painter Girolamo Muziano was commissioned to execute two altar paintings for the recently finished Cappella Gregoriana in New St Peter's Basilica to be installed in the two corresponding altars dedicated to the Church Fathers St Jerome and St Basil the Great. About four years ago, Muziano had painted the figures of the Church Fathers Jerome, Basil the Great, St Gregory of Nazianzus and St Gregory the Great in the four lunette caps of the chapel in St Peter's. The two altar paintings, on the other hand, were to

demonstrate narrative paintings showing *St Jerome Preaching with Hermits* and the *Mass of St Basil the Great*. While the first of these two large oil paintings still remains extant in Santa Maria degli Angeli, the latter altarpiece that was to be finished by Muziano's associate Cesare Nebbia only after the painter's death in 1592 remains only accessible through an incision plate in Jacques Callot's *Les Tableaux de Rome*, published between 1609 and 1612 (figs 1a-b)¹.

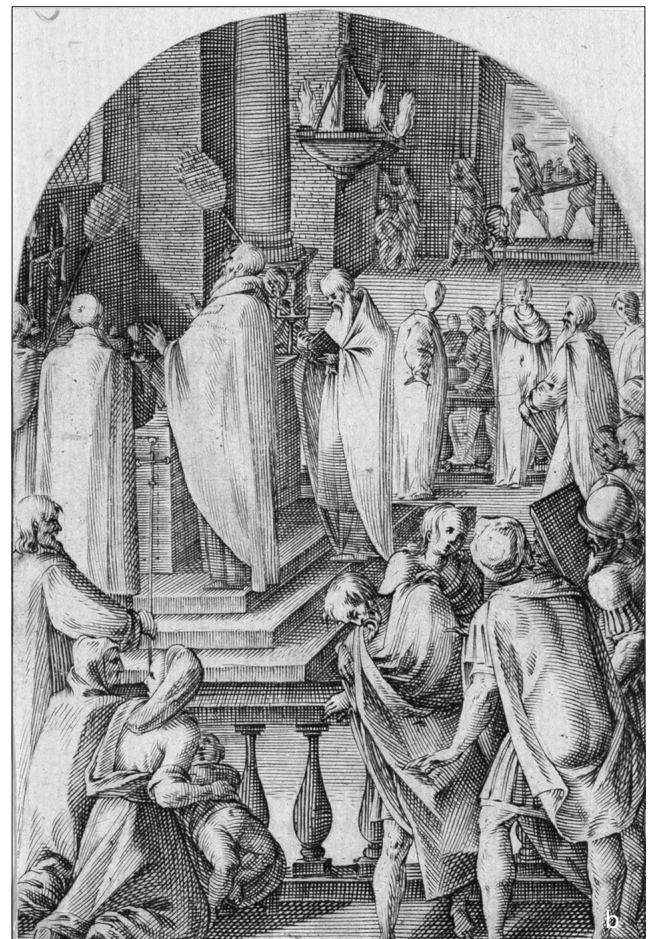


Fig. 1 a St. Jerome Preaching with Hermits. b Mass of St. Basil the Great – (After J. Callot, *Les Tableaux de Rome*, Les Eglises Jubilaires, pls 11-12).

¹ In 1708 the painting is still recorded decorating the Altar of St Basil the Great in St Peter's by Filippo Titi, but thirteen years later the painting is no longer mentioned, and in 1763 it is considered »perished«: Titi, *Descrizione* 12. Regarding a

discussion of Muziano's painting, see Vannugli, Giacomo Boncompagni 62-63; Savettieri, *Le pale d'altare*; Marciari, *Girolamo Muziano* 454. 484-485; Tosini, *Girolamo Muziano* 470-471; Zollikofer, *Cappella Gregoriana* 60-66.

The engraving that reproduces Muziano's original pictorial solution for the *Mass of St Basil the Great* shows a church interior, wherein the figure of St Basil of Caesarea is celebrating Mass with his hands held above an altar that is placed within a column framed niche, ultimately reproducing the position of the altar dedicated to St Basil in the *navi piccole* of the Cappella Gregoriana inside New St Peter's Basilica. Behind the officiating figure of St Basil is a large crowd gathered within the sacred space attending the solemn celebration. A man rubbing his eyes with his garments is leaning upfront in the foreground of the pictorial space. According to St Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oratio in laudem Basilii*, which the Cappadocian Church Father whose relics were transferred to the Cappella Gregoriana a year before Muziano would receive the commission of decorating the altars had delivered upon St Basil the Great's death in 379, and which was included in the Paris edition of St Gregory of Nazianzus's *opera omnia* from 1580, allows to identify this figure with the Roman Emperor Valens². When St Basil the Great had celebrated Mass on the solemn feast day of the Epiphany in 371, the Emperor also visited this ceremonial occasion and was supposedly moved by the Church Father's charm as well as by the solemnity of the celebration. Although Emperor Valens had favored Arianism, he nevertheless wished to bring his gifts to the altar while St Basil was officiating the liturgy, although no participant at the celebration knew, whether the Church Father would even accept the Emperor's gifts, considering St Basil's orthodox observance of the Nicene decrees. Muziano's pictorial solution for the altarpiece that was commissioned for the Altar of St Basil the Great in the Cappella Gregoriana nonetheless demonstrates how the Emperor's gifts are brought to St Basil, who is officiating the solemn liturgical celebration with other priests, in the upper right corner of the background. Several participants are gathering alongside the balustrade, highlighting the celebration of Mass as a solemn occasion that is initiated by the community of believers. The painted architecture of the church interior, as depicted in Callot's etching, demonstrates a strong resemblance with the altars of the Cappella Gregoriana. The altar in Girolamo Muziano's pictorial solution was therefore painted on an elevated pedestal and inserted into a fictive niche that is divided by a balustrade from the rest of the sacred space, just as Pope Gregory XIII's altar chapels in New St Peter's Basilica.

2 The translation of the relics of St Gregory of Nazianzus from Santa Maria in Campo Marzio to St Peter's Basilica had already been planned for 1578. Its postponement was conditioned by the still incomplete Cappella Gregoriana, but especially by the heavy rainfalls that hindered the solemn procession to take place, as Tiberio Alfarano reports: »Stupenda cosa fu quel giorno della Domenica de Passione che essendo la stazione di S[an] P[ietro] concorse tanto populo che non se poteva passare ne per le strade de borgo ne per il ponte S[ant'] Angelo che andavano dove era il corpo a S[anta] M[aria] de Campo Marzo et sebene tutto quel giorno piobbe grandemente, per la qual cagione non si possente far la processione ne transferire detto corpo santo [...]. Ma detto ostaculo delle acque quel giorno hanno cagionato che il detto sommo pontefice con magior amore et zelo si desse tutto a far più presto adornare et finire detta Cappella gregoriana et con maggior ornamenti et bellezze [...]«. (BAV, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro.H.85, c.

The description of the painter and biographer Giovanni Baglione of Muziano's altarpiece for the Cappella Gregoriana is particularly remarkable, since it proposes an association between Muziano's pictorial language in his altarpiece of *St Basil celebrating the Mass* and the ritual celebration of the liturgy in the setting of St Peter's Basilica and especially that of Pope Gregory XIII's chapel:

»Servì il Pontefice Gregorio XIII, & era soprintendente delle sue opere. E dalle bella, e ricca cappella fatta fare in s. Pietro Nuovo, dal nome di s. Gregorio Nazianzeno ivi riposto dal Papa; e dal nome anche del Pontefice Gregorio, detta Gregoriana, a proprie spese del Papa edificata, il Mutiano hebbe la cura: e fece li disegni, e cartoni delli belli mosaici della cappella, e non solo contentossi de' cartoni ma volle con le sue proprie mani formare molte reste, & altre cose importanti di mosaico, si come hoggi di veggonsi, con ogni esquisita diligenza, e perfetta bontà lavorate; e questo è il più bel mosaico, che sia stato fatto da gli antichi infin' al nostro tempo. Per entro la medesima cappella vi sono due suoi lavori quadri grandi di tela a olio. In uno evvi s. Girolamo con diversi Romiti assai divoti [...] felicissimamente terminato: e l'altro è, quando s. Basilio celebra la messa *alla Greca*, ma non fu comito affatto dal Mutiani per mancamento di vita [...]«³.

Baglione's description thus appears to demonstrate that Muziano's pictorial solution employed for his altarpiece in the Cappella Gregoriana manifested the ritual celebration of the Mass as prescribed by a Greek-Byzantine rite. However, Muziano's composition of his lost altarpiece showing *St Basil celebrating Mass* at the Altar of St Basil in the Cappella Gregoriana, as deduced from Callot's etching, appears to be derived from the pictorial tradition established by the Mass of St Gregory the Great, which became a recurrent model in various decoration campaigns inside the Apostolic Palace as well as in private commissions, the most prominent being Jacopo Zucchi's oil painting for Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (fig. 2)⁴. Considering this background of monumental pictorial production in Pope Gregory XIII's Rome, Muziano's second altarpiece for the Cappella Gregoriana rather demonstrates an organic incorporation of a Byzantine liturgy into the larger fabric of Curial Ceremony as it was being

136) Regarding the translation, see most recently Zollikofer, Cappella Gregoriana 114-138; Malešević, Kardinal Cesare Baronio 407-417.

3 Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori* 51.

4 On the Mass of St Gregory the Great as an established pictorial tradition since the fifteenth century, see esp. Meier, *Gregorsmesse*. Concerning Jacopo Zucchi's famous altarpiece for Cardinal de' Medici from 1576, see Vannugli, Jacopo Zucchi 163, 170; Hochmann, *Villa Medici* 270. The pictorial model of the Gregorian Mass also figured prominently in the two Sale dei Foconi inside the Vatican Apostolic Palace, which decoration the Boncompagni Pope Gregory XIII commissioned to Muziano's associate Cesare Nebbia shortly after the superintendent Lorenzo Sabbatini died in 1576: Eitel Porter, *Cesare Nebbia*; Di Marco, *Sale dei Foconi*; Malešević, *Cesare Baronio* 388-399.

developed in the particular setting of the Cappella Gregoriana in New St Peter's Basilica. Kaspar Zollikofer has recently argued that the pictorial decoration of Gregory XIII's chapel presents an »oecumenical assemblance« of Latin Roman and Greek Byzantine Church Fathers, but without exploring the possible curial prelates who were likely to be involved in the design of the pictorial program for the vault of the Cappella Gregoriana that presents the four most prominent Church Fathers as well as in the commission for Girolamo Muziano's decoration of the altars dedicated to St Jerome and St Basil the Great⁵. The present paper argues that by including a circle of distinguished curial prelates and members of Gregory XIII's Sacred College of Cardinals in designing the pictorial arrangement of the Cappella Gregoriana in St Peter's Basilica according to the directives prescribed by Curial Ceremony, which were ultimately manifested in the solemn translation of the relics of St Gregory of Nazianzenus, the Boncompagni Pope sought to gradually create a Roman liturgy, wherein the traditions of the Latin Roman rite were compatible and to be regarded as equally significant as those ritual elements derived from a Byzantine liturgy as conveyed in the treasure of Greek patristic texts.

The principal protagonist in this papal curial program of including a Greek Byzantine liturgy into the grand structure of the *Caeremoniale Romanae Curia* as exhibited by the pictorial organization of the Cappella Gregoriana was the eminent Cardinal Librarian and Prefect of the powerful Congregation of the Index, Guglielmo Sirleto. Before demonstrating Sirleto's own enterprise of administering Greek patristics during Gregory XIII's Boncompagni pontificate in relationship with the development of Roman liturgy, it will be essential to explain the resurgent interest for the Church Fathers of the Byzantine East in late Cinquecento Rome that resulted in the establishment of a curial congregation confided with the control of the Basilian monasteries in Southern Italy, which eventually became the so-called Congregazione dei Greci, as well as in the establishment of a Jesuit Collegio Greco at Sant'Atanasio in the Roman rione of Campo Marzio, presided by Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori and particularly preoccupied with ascertaining a canon of Byzantine liturgy as approved by the Roman Curia and the papacy. The paper then concludes with an assessment of Cardinal Sirleto's endeavors in preserving a proper Byzantine liturgy that was compatible with the Roman rite as outlined by the *Caeremoniale Romanae Curiae*. The paper thus argues that by establishing a conformal unity between the Roman and Greek liturgies, which eventually represented Gregory XIII's own program of manifesting a universal perception of the Roman Church and of Roman ecclesiastical government, the Gregorian Curia of the late sixteenth century largely manufactured an image of a Byzantine



Fig. 2 Jacopo Zucchi, Ritratto del cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, c. 1573-1575, Accademia di Francia. – (After Carlo, Ritratto fig. 1).

ceremonial aesthetics, which correspondingly demonstrated the ritual elements of a unified Eastern liturgy.

The scope of Pope Gregory XIII's ecclesiastical policies for reuniting the Greek as well as other churches, such as the Maronite as well as Coptic Churches, in the East with the Roman Church was the result of a general effort in reorganizing the non-Italian communities in the south of the peninsula, the so-called Italogreci, according to the Tridentine decrees⁶. The social mobility of these communities in the southern hemisphere of the Italian peninsula still remains to be explored in more precise terms, especially since their settlement can be traced back to the Byzantine rulership in Italy that appears to have been preserved despite the Norman invasion. Since the fourteenth century, and especially after the Fall of Constantinople during the following Quattrocento, Albanian as well as Greek communities came along which were subordinated to the jurisdiction of the local bishoprics, but which were supported by clerics who had received their ordination by Greek bishops. Only after the pronouncement of the Tridentine decree regarding the residence of bishops was the Roman

⁵ See esp. Zollikofer, *Praeclarissima lumina*.

⁶ These »Italo Greek« communities in Southern Italy spoke Greek and celebrated the Byzantine liturgy, as affirmed in Barri, *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* 173: *Hi pagi graeci sunt, & rem divina[m] graeca latina & graeca lingua utuntur*. See

also the passage in *ibid.* 228: *A Leucopetra villa huc usque incolae in familiari sermone latina & graeca lingua utuntur, sacra vero graeca lingua, graecove ritu faciunt*. See also Galatei, *Liber de sity lapygiae* 94-95. 101-103.

Curia enabled to introduce an appropriate organization of these population groups that conformed to the proper administration of the remaining Basilian monasteries during the Ghislieri pontificate of Pius V⁷.

A year after the election of Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni as Gregory XIII in 1572, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori requested the pontiff to convene a cardinal commission to be responsible for the Albanian and Greek communities in southern Italy. The main task of this Congregation of the Greeks (Congregazione dei Greci) would be to establish a normative set of regulations as well as a general decree of reform that complied with the Tridentine decrees of administering the clergy on the one hand, while on the other the same congregation was to prevent that the time-worn and irregular liturgical customs were to be condemned by the local bishops, because of their differences with the Roman liturgical models that were developed and standardized through the revision of the liturgical books of the Breviarium and Missale Romanum. In a consistory held on 10 June 1573, the Boncompagni Pope appointed the Cardinals Guglielmo Sirleto, Antonio Carafa and Giacomo Savelli as members of the Congregation of the Greeks alongside Cardinal Santori⁸. Although the activities of this cardinal commission would considerably be diminished by Gregory XIII's successor, Pope Sixtus V, Cardinal Santori's own prefecture would nevertheless allow the Cardinal Inquisitor to advance to become the »Protector of the Oriental Nation« (*Protector nationum orientalium*) during the last decade of the sixteenth century. Eventually, the revival of the Congregation of the Greeks during Clement VIII's pontificate, which

essentially motivated the Aldobrandini Pope in reintegrating the Ruthenian bishops into the Roman Church in 1595, enabled the Cardinal of Santa Severina to administer it as his own personal enterprise, ultimately forcing Clement VIII to transform the Congregation of the Greeks into a *Congregatio de Fide Catholica propaganda*, even though he left the choice to Santori to select an appropriate denomination for the new cardinal commission⁹. Prior to these alterations of the cardinal commission that Pope Gregory XIII had first instituted, the members of the Congregation of the Greeks actively pursued a reunification with the Greek Church according to the brief unification established between the Roman and the Eastern Church at the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1439 by the papal constitution *Laetentur coeli*¹⁰.

Apart from these programs that were implemented within the administration of the Roman Curia through the creation of specific cardinal congregations that were entrusted with the issues concerning the formation of a sustainable interrelationship with the Greek Church in the east, and more specifically with the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremias II Tranos, the Boncompagni Pope also established a Jesuit seminar in 1577 that was endowed with the training of Jesuit priests to be sent out to Constantinople and other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Collegio Greco, as the seminar came to be named, was established upon an initiative that the Jesuits had already proposed to Pope Gregory XIII during the Jubilee Year of 1575, and to which the pontiff finally complied with a constitution that assigned several buildings on the Via del Babuino to the newly erected College¹¹. A year

7 Pope Pius IV had already issued the constitution *Romanus Pontifex* on 16 February 1564 that submitted all the Greek monks and regular canons to the administration of the bishops, whereas it had been Pius V Ghislieri who established the liturgical demarcations between the Greek and Latin clergy: BDR, VII, 271-273. 473-475. See also Peri, *Chiesa latina* 340. 351; Peri, *Chiesa romana* 50-51; Herklotz, *Academia Basiliana* 15-19. The first Basilian monks that were reorganized were those Calabrian monks in Reggio Calabria, who appealed to the Congregation of the Council to incur the local bishop, Gaspare Ricciullo Del Fosso, to cease his canonical visits. For these local conflicts between episcopal governors and the Basilian monks, see esp. Peri, *Documenti* 424-428. Regarding the Basilian monasteries during the Middle Ages, see esp. Hofmann, *Monaci* 348-349.

8 See Peri, *Chiesa latina* 300-301; Peri, *Chiesa romana* 78-79. – Concerning Santori's suggestion to the Boncompagni Pope, see also Cugnoni, *Autobiografia* 356. In 1579, Gregory XIII issued the papal constitution *Benedictus Dominus*, upon a proposal presented by Cardinal Sirleto, by which he instituted the Italian and Spanish Congregation of Basilian Monks: Lacava Ziparo, *Dominazione bizantina*. – Already during Pius V's pontificate, Cardinal Sirleto was aware of the state of the Basilian monasteries, having himself been appointed to as Bishop of San Marco in Calabria on 6 September 1566. See also a letter by Paolo Marullo from 24 October 1568, enumerating some Basilian convents in Grottaferrata: BAV, Vat. lat. 6184, II, fol. 398^r.

9 AAV, Arm. LI, 20, fols. 185^v; AAV, Arm. LI, 20, fols. 120^v; Peri, *Chiesa latina* 294-295; Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro* 153. A particularly significant event for this new congregation was the reunion between the Coptic Churches with the Holy See, solemnly celebrated on 15 January 1595 in the presence of twenty-four members of the Sacred College of Cardinals in the Sala degli Apostoli of Pope Pius V's private apartments inside the Apostolic Palace: BAV, Urb. lat. 1063, fol. 29^r.

10 Around 1580, the eminent Cardinal Librarian, Prefect of the Congregation of the Index and member of the Congregation of the Greeks, Guglielmo Sirleto, composed an *Exhortatio ad Graecos* that also included the decrees issued during the Council of Ferrara/Florence, and which found a wide dissemination in southern Italy: BAV, Vat. lat. 6792, fols. 8^v-31^v; Peri, *Chiesa romana* 80-81; Malešević, *Cesare Baronio* 407. Sirleto's transcription of the Exhortation to the Greeks will be included in the forthcoming edited series: *Monumenta Sirletana*

Romanae Curiae, Epistulae, vol. 4. – The most significant attempts at establishing a reunification with the Greek Church, however, were undoubtedly the efforts made at issuing a new calendar that would supersede the imprecise Julian Calendar, for which Cardinal Sirleto was again consulted as one of the members of the papal congregation regarding the issues of accomplishing a calendar reform. See a letter by Leonardo Donà, writing from Constantinople to Rome on 12 February 1583 about the promotion of the reformed calendar before the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias II Tranos: »Questi [Michael Esparchus and Giovanni Buonafé] sono stati chiamati da Sua Santità per servirsi dell'opera loro in Constantinopoli appresso il Patriarca dei greci, per disporlo ad accettare et a far accettare dalla Chiesa sua la correzione dell'anno [...]«. As quoted in Mutinelli, *Storia arcana* 133. – Cardinal Sirleto's agent in Constantinople, Lelio Cellini, also directly reported to the Cardinal Librarian about the negotiations with the Patriarch of the Greek Church: BAV, 6194, I, fol. 140^r; BAV, Vat. lat. 6194, II, fols. 373^r, 400^r, 430^r, 434^r, 507^r, 553^r.

11 BDR, 8: 159-162. See also Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* 9: 179-180. 737. See also the passage in Maffei, *Degli Annali* 1: 206-207, where the foundation of the Greek College is ascribed to the desolate state of the Greek clergy in the Ottoman Empire: »Di più essendo egli informato, che i Cristiani di Pera Borgo (se dir si può) di Costantinopoli ricevevano continuamente mali esempi, e disgusti da chi doveva in quelle remote parti dar loro consolazione, e cibo spirituale, ordinò ai Generali di S. Domenico, e di S. Francesco Conventuali, ed Osservanti, che di tanta copia di virtuosi, ed eruditi soggetti andassero facendo scelta, e rinnovando con fresco supplemento quei Monasteri. In oltre destinò tre Gesuiti a Ragusi, ed altri e tanti a Cattaro transmarine Città, e poste in molto bisogno per la troppa vicinanza de' Turchi«. Another passage then records the foundation as follows: »Pari sollecitudine, ma in generale, mostrò Gregorio questo anno verso la Greca Nazione, mandando in quelle parti ben dodici mila Catechismi tradotti a posta in lingua greca moderna, e gran numero di volumi del Concilio Tridentino con somma cura stampato di commissione, ed a spese di lui. E per ridurre col tempo la misera Grecia alla unione della Chiesa Cattolica fondò nella Città di Roma un Collegio, o vogliamo dire Seminario, di giovanetti scelti di quelle Provincie con molti privilegi, e con assegnamento sino a migliore occasione di scudi cento il mese, e con applicazione dell'entrate di una Chiesa derelitta nel Regno di Candia. Il sito fu in aria salubre, ed amena sotto il monte Pincio: l'abitazione fu buone, e capace, ed ornata

later, the members of the Collegio Greco acquired a neighboring property for erecting their church in commemoration of St Athanasius. But due to an initial financial deficiency of the College, the construction of the church of Sant'Atanasio dei Greci could only begin in November 1580, when the Cardinal Protector of the College, Giulio Antonio Santori, lay the ground stone. In a report from the papal consistory that was held on 3 November 1580, Santori remarked that he also examined the building plans proposed to the College by the architect Giacomo della Porta, and also explained the choice for consecrating the church edifice of the Collegio Greco to Saint Athanasius:

»Del disegno nuovo della chiesa del Collegio greco – lo viddimo insieme, che si seguiti. Dell'invocatione di S. Atanasio da imporsi alla chiesa nuova – gli piace et che è ben fatto per le ragioni dette e che di questo anno santo non vi è chiesa, ma de altri dottori greci vi è S. Basilio, la Cappella Gregoriana sua di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno e di S. Giov[anni] Crisostomo vi sarà l'altra all'incontro di S. Pietro«¹².

The construction of the church of Sant'Atanasio dei Greci was thus to constitute an expansion of what Pope Gregory XIII and the Roman Curia were aiming with the arrangement of the Cappella Gregoriana in New St Peter's Basilica¹³. However, immediately after Cardinal Santori laid the keystone of Sant'Atanasio, an issue concerning the architecture of the church space was addressed in a papal consistory on 17 December of the same year as the consecration of the

church of the Collegio Greco. Either the church interior was to be divided into two spaces, one Latin and the other Greek, or two separate church building were to be constructed¹⁴. Still, according to the recorded payments disbursed to the architect Giacomo della Porta as well as another report of a papal audience held on 20 April 1581, this issue appears to have been resolved swiftly, for the work on constructing the church proceeded without interruptions. Regarding the arrangement of the church space for the celebration of liturgical offices inside Sant'Atanasio, the interior was originally planned to have only one High Altar, installed for the offices *all'uso de' Greci* («for the use of the Greeks») and flanked by two minor altars, a *diakonikon* on the right for the clerical vestments and with a *prothesis* on the left for the preparation of the Eucharist. Ideally, the organization of the church interior of Sant'Atanasio dei Greci was eventually to demonstrate a sacred space which established a balance between the Greek and Roman rite¹⁵. Nevertheless, Leone Allacci, a former member of the Collegio dei Greci and librarian working in the services of Cardinal Francesco Barberini until he was appointed Librarian of the Vatican Library in 1661, commented in his 1645 published discourse *De templis graecorum recentioribus* that the church of Sant'Atanasio had nothing in common with a Greek church edifice, for the traditional arrangement of the *narthex*, *naos* and *bema* was not observed. The overall organization of the church interior was therefore still indebted to the celebration of the liturgy according to a Roman ritual¹⁶.

The realization of a church interior, wherein a coexistence between a Greek Byzantine and Latin Roman liturgy could be

di vaghi acquedotti, e giardini«. (ibid. 249-250) See also a written Relazione by Giacomo Siranzo from 1578 in BAV, Urb. lat. 382°-392°, that correspond with other official notizie from the city on the Bosphorus: BAV, Urb. lat. 1044, fols. 412°, 425°, 433°, 627°, 647°, 669°, 674°, 701°; BAV, Urb. lat. 1045, fols. 11°, 30°, 44°, 94°, 112°; BAV, Urb. lat. 1046, fols. 123°-405°. Concerning the foundation of the Greek College in Rome, see also Porfyriou, *Presenza greca* 22-28.

- 12 AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fols. 26°-; Krajcar, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro 36; Pastor, *Geschichte* 9: 878. However, in another report from a papal audience Cardinal Santori was given by Gregory XIII on 24 March 1580, the Cardinal of Santa Severina explained that the construction of the church edifice was to start when «other works» were completed: »Di applicatione per far la chiesa del Collegio Greco – Quod aliis completis reminiscetur«. (AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fol. 6°) By these «other works,» Santori must have likely meant those carried out for the Cappella Gregoriana in New St Peter's. The Boncompagni Pope is reported twice of having visited the church during its construction: BAV, Urb. lat. 1046, fol. 303° (3 September 1578); BAV, Urb. lat. 1050, fol. 145° (5 May 1582). Regarding the progress of construction of Sant'Atanasio dei Greci, see esp. Tancredi, *Costruzione*; Tancredi, Giacomo della Porta; Fiore, Gregorio XIII.
- 13 This is also confirmed by Cardinal Santori's prior consecration of the High Altar in the Cappella Gregoriana, which was celebrated on 11 June 1580, one day before the solemn translation of the relics of St Gregory of Nazianzus. See for this the account in the diary of the Master of Ceremonies Mucanzio, in BAV, Vat. lat. 12286, fol. 352°; BAV, Chig. L.II.31, fols. 687°-688°. See also NiGrimaldi, *Descrizione* 407; Zollikofer, *Cappella Gregoriana* 118.
- 14 AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fol. 35°: »[...] che pare che la chiesa si divida o se ne facciano due, una greca e una latina«. Regarding Santori's laying of the foundation stone, see the extensive description in the diary of the Master of Ceremonies, Francesco Mucanzio, in BAV, Chig. L.II.31, fols. 720°-722°, at 720°-721°: *Die 23. Eiusdem feri[la] 4.a in festo s[anc]ti Clementis Pap[ae] Ill[ust]r[is] mus D. Julius Ant[oni]us Sanctiorius Cardinalis s[an]ctae Severinae, summo mane de mandato s[an]cti D. N. accessit ad Collegium Graecorum ad effectum imponendi p[er]m[ission]em lapidem in fundam[en]tis Ecclesiae ibi aedificatione, sub Invocatione s[an]cti Athanasij Epi[s]copij, et Confessoris, ubi iam p[er] diem antea erigi fecerat Cruce ligneam, et ap[er]tam Altari ligneu[m], ordinari ergo prius quatuor, seu quinq[ue] ex illis*

*pueris Graecis ad prima[m] Tonsura[m] [...] et Cappella, venit ad locum designatum pro Ecclesia instruenda ubi paratus amictus, alba, cingulo, stola et Pluviali aureo cum mitre, et baculo ministrantibus sibi Diacono, et subdiacono etia[m] Tunicella, et Dalmatica paratis incepit benedicere Aqua[m], [...] prout habet in libro Pontificali sub Rubrica de benedictione, et impositione primarij lapidis ad unquem [...] pluribus Caeremonijs, quia primo benedixit lapidem Turbulum [...]». See also Martinelli, *Roma* 73-74; Malešević, *Cesare Baronio* 405-406.*

- 15 Bedon, *Uniatismo* 50-52; Tancredi, *La costruzione* 16-20; Fortino, *Liturgia greca* 1920. Regarding the mentioned papal audience as well as the documented payments to Giacomo Della Porta, see AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fol. 67°; ASR, *Camerale* I. Tesoreria segreta, b. 1309, fols. 33°, 53°, 59°, 80°, 84°, 88°, 90°, 94°-.
- 16 See Allatius, *De templis graecorum* 36-37: *Et primum, ante alia illud observo, Templum D. Athanasio sacrum, quod Romae est, non ita ex nationis illius more extructum esse, ut ad constituendas Graecorum hodiernas Ecclesias in exemplum, adduci possit & debeat: cum potius Latinae Ecclesiae modum, eumque non ita antiquum, referat, & non nisi Bemate à Latinis distinguatur. Quod si excipias spatium, inter muros sub fornice excurrens, nihil habet cum Graecorum Ecclesiis commune; quando & ingressus ipse diversus, nec Embolum nec Narthecum habeat, neque Templum aliis partibus separetur, altariibus utriusque excavatis, nec mulieres à viris secludat cancellis. Templum tamen est, & pro juvenum ibidem Deum colentium usu satis accommodatum. Aliunde itaque Templorum recentiorum imagines petendae sunt. Quae, ut alias diximus, tribus praecipuis partibus constituuntur, Narthecus, Nao, & Bemate: & in spatio inter Naon & Bema, Cantores Lectoresque sibi locum habent, non qui aliquo novo Tabulato, ab eo, quod Bematis est, distinguatur, sed qui una cum templi spatiis excurrat, vel cum Bematis rotunditate continuetur. Et haec mens fuerat verborum meorum, nescio an bene expressa; quod optime observatum in Clementis & Athanasij Templis, [...] et sic nulla chori perturbatione, sanctuarii fores, nullo moram aut impedimentum inferente, apertae, & imagines, quae in tabulato Bematis sunt, oculis omnium obijciuntur, ac thure, nullo obstante, perfunduntur. Regarding the icons in Sant'Atanasio and their installment within the sacred space of the church edifice, see Nesi, *Dipinti*.*

produced, was thus only limited to the aims of the members of the Collegio dei Greci, whereas the cardinals Santori and Sirleto from the Curial Congregation of the Greeks specifically intended to integrate a Byzantine liturgy organically into the larger aesthetic construction of the Roman rite shaped by Curial Ceremony. Moreover, this sophisticated interlacing of a Byzantine liturgy into the aesthetic conditions of the *Caeremoniale Romanae Curiae*, in turn, generated an appearance of various Eastern rites that became virtually unified within the Roman Curia's perception of a Byzantine liturgy, which had primarily been designed through a vigorous effort in administering the heritage of Greek patristic texts as Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto had been pursuing since his early years, when he arrived in Rome, or as Cardinal Santori aimed at demonstrating by his likely suggestion made to Pope Gregory XIII of transferring the recently discovered relics of St John Chrysostom to the corner chapel of New St Peter's located directly opposite the Cappella Gregoriana¹⁷. The development of the curial *Congregatio Graecorum* appears to have majorly been involved in the initial conceptualization of Pope Gregory XIII's plans for the Cappella Gregoriana, and for New St Peter's Basilica in general. Initially, the church interior of St Peter's was to be designed as a liturgical space that incorporated not only the Latin Church Fathers but also provided an appropriate setting for integrating the heritage of the Great Fathers from the Greek Byzantine Church. While Cardinal Santori was primarily occupied in administering a proper cooperation between the Collegio dei Greci and the Congregation of the Greeks, the Prefect of the Index Congregation and Cardinal Librarian Guglielmo Sirleto was concerned with the ritual issues that a Byzantine liturgy presented regarding the ceremonial construction of Roman ecclesiastical government.

In its first phase of activities during Gregory XIII's Boncompagni pontificate, the Congregation of the Greeks was principally concerned with the administration of the Basilian clergy, located not only in southern Italy, but also »in the Levant and in the West,« as a 1578 printed compendium of the rules of St Basil the Great also explicitly stated in respect to the reform of the Basilian *italogreci*¹⁸. A fundamental component in the curial supervision of the Basilian clergy was the proper administration of their liturgical services. Between 1577 and 1579, three discourses appeared in Rome that were addressed to the members of the Congregation of the Greeks, and which the Archbishop of Otranto, Antonio Arcudi di Soleto, procured for Cardinal Santori, since these dispatches were particularly addressing the errors and abuses in celebrating the Byzantine liturgy amongst the Basilian communities¹⁹. From these liturgical concerns, it soon became evident that a proper celebration of the Byzantine Greek rituals as the Congregation of the Greeks aimed at prescribing, was to be achieved by a meticulous administration of the patristic heritage of the Greek Church Fathers in the manuscript collections of the Vatican Apostolic Library, which the eminent Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto had been overseeing since his employment in the household of Cardinal Marcello Cervini, for whose private library the later Cardinal Librarian and Prefect of the Congregation of the Index was put in charge²⁰. The most extensive results of Sirleto's patristic endeavors were realized during his activities regarding the revisions concerning the *Breviarium* and *Missale Romanum* for Pope Pius V, as well as concerning the publication of a revised *Martyrologium Romanum* under Gregory XIII in collaboration with the Oratorian Cesare Baronio²¹. As for Sirleto's contributions to the activities of Gregory XIII's Congregation of the Greeks, scholarship has largely disregarded the influence of the eminent Cardinal

17 In 1567, Cardinal Santori consecrated the altar dedicated to the Greek Church Father in the old sacristy of St Peter's Basilica. See the record in Giulio Antonio Santori, *Autobiografia* 344: »Nello anno seguente 1567 dedimai l'altare del ss. Crocifisso per ordine di Sua Beatitudine nella sacrestia di S. Pietro, ove riposa il corpo di san Giovanni Crisostomo mio avvocato, con le reliquie de' santi Sebastiano e Cristofano, sotto il titolo di detto S. Giovanni Crisostomo, S. Lamberto e S. Gervasio, come er prima innanti che detto altare fosse violato«. See also the description in Alpharantus, *Structura* 140-141: *In hoc item sacello nostris temporibus, ut supra retulimus, Corpus sancti Joannis Chrisostomi sub Altare honorifice collocatum est in nobili marmoreo labio aegyptiaco, cuius etiam honori dictum Altare fuit consecratum a Julia Antonio Sanctorio Cardinali sancti Bartolomei in Insula, tunc S. Severinae Archiepiscopo ad praeces Antonij Caraffae Cardinalis, tunc hunc, Basilicae Canonici, anno Domini 1566. Fuit etiam in hoc sacello magna crux argentea ducentarum librarum pondo quae aliquando ad Altare sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi in mediana Basilicae navi stetisse putatur. Item multae Reliquiae sanctorum in theca hic supra Altare posita honorifice conservantur. It appears that originally the intention was to transfer the relics of St. John Chrysostom to the Cappella Gregoriana instead of the remains of St. Gregory of Nazianzenus, as Fortunio Lelio also noticed. See the passage in Lelio, *Pompa* c. 4^a: »Haveva animo N[ostro] S[ignore] di collocare in quella Cappella (come si diceva) il corpo di S. Giovanni Crisostomo, che sta nella Sacrestia di S. Pietro; ma l'anno poi seguente [...] adì 25. di Gennaio andando messer Achille Statio Portuguese huomo litteratissimo (come affettionato di Santi Greci) in S. Pietro per visitar il corpo del detto san Giovan Crisostomo, essendo quel giorno la festa di esso Santo, entrato in Sacrestia fatta la sua oratione si maravigliò assai con uno di quegli curati, che lo tenessero così racchiuso dicendo loro far il medesimo di questo, che fanno le Monache di Sa[n]ta Maria di campo Marzo del corpo si S. Gregorio Nanzianzeno [...].« This also confers with the entry in the diary of the Master of Ceremonies in BAV, Vat. lat. 12286, fols. 322^{r-v}.*

18 Breve raccolto n. p. [internal frontispiece]: »Il presente compendio delle Constitutioni Monastiche di S. Basilio magno, già per opera & studio del Reverendissimo, & sapientissimo Cardinale Bessarione raccolto, nè fin qui stampato giamai, hora à co[m]mune utilità di tutti li. Monaci, li quali nelle parti di levante, & in ponente vivono sotto l'osservanza di quelle [...]«. A year later, the Privilegia monachorum divi Basilii Magni was also printed by Antonio Blado's printing press and that of the Impressores Camerales.

19 For a discussion of these missives, see esp. Peri, *Chiesa latina* 315-316. 374. 450-453; Peri, *Congregazione* 239-242. – In 1579, however, a more concise compendium regarding the proper celebration of the Byzantine Greek rites was published by the Augustinian friar Antonio Castronovo, entitled *De ritibus et opinionibus Graecorum epilogus*: Minuti, *Trattato*. See also Gennadius Scholarus, *Defensio* c. b1^{r-v}. – A considerable collection of *errores et abusii Graecorum* is preserved in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, which also includes a *Discorso sopra il Breviario Greco* (BVR, K 17, fols. 17^r-20^r), as well as an *Encomnium* by St. Methodus, together with fragments concerning the lectionaries to be delivered for the celebration of the martyrs, both appearing to have been composed by Cardinal Sirleto: BVR, K 17, fols. 1^r-6^r.

20 Sirleto's major preoccupation in Cardinal Cervini's household was reserved to bringing to print the manuscript works in the cardinal's private library, thus chiefly being responsible for having established an association between the administration of a private library collection and a cardinalate curial enterprise of printing in Cinquecento Rome. See for Sirleto's activities for Marcello Cervini esp. Piacentini, *Marcello Cervini* 105-145; Sachet, *Guglielmo il Greco*. – Guglielmo Sirleto's activities and endeavors for Marcello Cervini in respect to the changing shape of Roman ecclesiastical government will be thoroughly investigated in Malešević, *Holy Family*.

21 See on these revisions as well as the use of patristic excerpts, most recently Malešević, *Cesare Baronio* 134-142. 417-429.

Librarian, especially in relationship with the development of manufacturing a distinctively Roman Curial image of the Byzantine Greek Church, which demonstrated a conformity between the liturgical regulations of the Byzantine rite as prescribed for the *italogreci* of the Basilian communities and the visual ceremonial aesthetics of an ecclesiological concord established between the Latin and Greek Church Fathers as developed in the pictorial arrangement of the Cappella Gregoriana in New St Peter's Basilica.

While Sirleto's correspondence with the agent of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople in Venice, Michael Eparchus, as well as that with his own envoy to the Patriarch Jeremias II Tranos, Livio Cellini, allows a reconstruction of Sirleto's partial involvement in Pope Gregory XIII's ecclesiastical affair concerning a possible reunion with the Greek Church, the contents of these letters nevertheless omit the cardinal's predominantly liturgical interests in this crucial curial enterprise. Sirleto's 1583 published *Divine Liturgia Sancti Apostoli et Evangelistae Marci*, in which the erudite Cardinal Librarian also included a Latin translation of the rite of the Mass as conveyed through the *Apostolic Constitutions* that were believed to be the work of Pope Clement I, on the other hand, discloses the cardinal's specific concerns for transferring vital elements of a Greek Byzantine ritual ecclesiology into the conditions of the Roman liturgy that were determined by its aesthetic configurations within Curial Ceremony. The dedicatory epistles preceding the translations of the *Liturgy of St Marc* and the *Rite of Mass from Clement I's Apostolic Constitutions* demonstrate that Cardinal Sirleto's intentions in composing this work were especially concerned with the appropriateness of the adminis-

tration of the image of the ὁδηγητρία, the iconographic depiction of the Virgin Mary holding the Child Jesus, within the Basilian Order²². Although Sirleto's work was principally addressing the Basilian monastery of Santa Maria Odigitria in Reggio Calabria, the explanation of the liturgical significance of the *Theotokos* as the monastery's precious iconic relic in association with the ritual administration of Mass appears to have likely been stimulated by the solemn transfer of the so-called *Madonna del Soccorso* from its original location on the *muro divisorio* of Old St Peter's to the High Altar of the new Cappella Gregoriana on 12 February 1578.

Sirleto's work for the Canon of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris can therefore equally be considered as part of a literary tradition that addressed the theological controversy regarding the aesthetic importance of the *Dei genetrix* which had first started to be outlined by the Jesuit theologian Petrus Canisius in his 1577 published discourse *De Maria virgine incomparabili et dei genetrici sacrosancta*, where Canisius presented a compilation of testimonies made by the Church Fathers concerning the virginity of Mary²³. Indeed, Sirleto's *Divina Liturgia* from 1583 demonstrated how the particular veneration of the image of the ὁδηγητρία, as explained by the patristic texts of the Greek Church Fathers, endowed a ceremonial fashioning of an image of a Greek Byzantine Church as well as of the Greek Church Fathers St Basil the Great and St John Chrysostom, which the pictorial decoration of the Cappella Gregoriana and the solemn consecration of its altars in New St Peter's Basilica demonstrated as essential elements in the universal claims concerning the significance of the Roman liturgy and its administration within ecclesiastical government.

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Abbreviations: AAV = Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Città del Vaticano; ASR = Archivio di Stato, Roma; BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano; BVR = Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Roma; BDR = Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio: locupletior facta collectione novissima plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis a S. Leone M. usque ad praesens, 24 vols. (Augustae Taurinorum 1857-1872).

AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fol. 6^r.

AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fols. 26^{rv}.

AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fol. 35^r.

AAV, Arm. LII, 18, fol. 67^r.

AAV, Arm. LII, 20, fols. 120^{rv}.

AAV, Arm. LII, 20, fols. 185^{rv}.

22 Sirleto appears to have completed his work in 1582, the year the Canon of Notre Dame in Paris, Jean de Saint-André, gave the work to the printing press of Ambrosius Drovard. For the printing of Sirleto's *Divina Liturgia* from 1583, see the two letters by the Canon of Notre Dame Cathedral to Sirleto in BAV, Vat. lat. 6194, II, fol. 349^r (6 May 1582); BAV, 6195, I, fol. 180^r (4 June 1583). Regarding Sirleto's concerns for the proper ritual significance as well as liturgical administration of the mystery of the ὁδηγητρία see Sirleto, H ΘΕΙΑ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ a iij^o: *Agamus gratias, ut diximus Deo ipsi, quod tela nobis suggerat praesentiu[m] temporu[m] vexationi opportuna, & operarios optimos in vinea[m] suam mittat [...] verum etia[m] antiqua Ecclesiae Catholicae monumenta atque orthodoxorum patrum libros, quibus profanae vocum novitates redargui possint. Ex horum numero esse arbitramur Beati Marci Evangelistae sacra[m] Liturgiam, paucis ante annis inventa in Abbatia Beatae Mariae ὁδηγητρία, quae vulgo dicitur, De lo patire, antiquissimo monachorum Sancti Basilii monasterio [...]*. The original intent in composing this collection

of translated liturgical texts was therefore stimulated by recovering the collection of manuscripts in the Basilian monastery of Santa Maria Odigitria in Rossano, particularly one specific codex that is now preserved in BAV, Vat. gr. 1970 (apograph in BAV, Ott. gr. 189, fols. 1^r-29^v). See on this twelfth-century manuscript esp. Cavallo, *La cultura italo-greca* 556.

23 Canisius, *De Maria virgine incomparabili* 124. 183. 234-235. Although Canisius presented a controversial theological argument in defense of the veneration of the *Theotokos*, Sirleto himself had already addressed this particular issue in a discourse concerning the patriarchal basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore that he had dedicated to Cardinal Carlo Borromeo around 1564. For an edition of this discourse by Sirleto, see Malešević, *Heritage*. – Concerning the solemn transfer of the *Madonna del Soccorso* to the Cappella Gregoriana see Tiberio Alfarano's contemporary account in BAV, Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.G5, fols. 28^r-29^r; BAV, Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.H85, fols. 34^r-36^r.

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Byzantium in the City of the Dragon. Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, the Cappella Gregoriana, and the Fashioning of Basilian Liturgy inside the Roman Curia in Late Sixteenth Century Rome

Towards the end of Gregory XIII's thirteen-year pontificate, the painter Girolamo Muziano executed an altarpiece, showing the Mass of St. Basil the Great, for one of the patronage altars dedicated to the Greek Church Father inside the recently completed Cappella Gregoriana in New St. Peter's Basilica. Muziano's altarpiece contributed decisively to the ceremonial arrangement of Gregory XIII's chapel in St. Peter's Basilica, which manifested a patristic tradition of the Roman liturgy that had been shaped by the Greek Church Fathers Basil the Great and St. Gregory of Nazianzenus, the other Greek patron commemorated in the Cappella Gregoriana. The paper aims at demonstrating how the administration of Greek patristics inside the Roman Curia, for which the Cardinal Librarian and Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Index Guglielmo Sirleto was primarily responsible, influenced the liturgical amplification of Curial Ceremony. Furthermore, Cardinal Sirleto's rich correspondence exhibits, as the following study will also attempt at showing, his energetic efforts in integrating the importance of a Greek body of patristic texts into the liturgical understanding of Curial Ceremony, which eventually established the authority of Byzantine liturgical thought amongst a select group of intellectuals and erudite cardinals working in the orbits of Gregory XIII's Roman Curia.

Byzanz in der Stadt des Drachen. Kardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, die Cappella Gregoriana und die Ausgestaltung der basilianischen Liturgie in der römischen Kurie im Rom des späten 16. Jahrhunderts

Gegen Ende des dreizehnjährigen Pontifikats von Gregor XIII. schuf der Maler Girolamo Muziano ein Altarbild, das die Messe des heiligen Basilius des Großen zeigt, für einen der Patronatsaltäre, die dem griechischen Kirchenvater in der kürzlich fertiggestellten Cappella Gregoriana im Neuen Petersdom gewidmet sind. Muzianos Altarbild trug entscheidend zur zeremoniellen Gestaltung der Kapelle Gregors XIII. im Petersdom bei, die eine patristische Tradition der römischen Liturgie manifestierte, die von den griechischen Kirchenvätern Basilius dem Großen und dem heiligen Gregor von Nazianz geprägt worden war, dem anderen griechischen

Schutzpatron, der in der Cappella Gregoriana verehrt wird. In der Studie soll gezeigt werden, wie die Pflege der griechischen Kirchenväter innerhalb der römischen Kurie, für die in erster Linie der Kardinalbibliothekar und Präfekt der Indexkongregation Guglielmo Sirleto verantwortlich war, die liturgische Erweiterung der kurialen Zeremonien beeinflusste. Darüber hinaus offenbart die umfangreiche Korrespondenz von Kardinal Sirleto, wie die folgende Studie ebenfalls zu zeigen versucht, seine energischen Bemühungen, die Bedeutung eines griechischen Korpus patristischer Texte in das liturgische Verständnis der kurialen Zeremonie zu integrieren, wodurch schließlich die Autorität des byzantinischen liturgischen Denkens bei einer ausgewählten Gruppe von Intellektuellen und gelehrten Kardinälen, die zur Zeit Gregors XIII. im Umfeld der römischen Kurie tätig waren, etabliert wurde.

Byzance dans la Cité du Dragon. Le cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, la chapelle grégorienne et la mise en forme de la liturgie basilienne au sein de la Curie romaine dans la Rome de la fin du XVI^e siècle

Vers la fin des treize années de pontificat de Grégoire XIII, le peintre Girolamo Muziano réalisa un retable représentant la messe de saint Basile le Grand pour l'un des autels de patronage dédiés au Père de l'Église grecque dans la chapelle grégorienne récemment achevée de la nouvelle basilique Saint-Pierre. Le retable de Muziano a contribué de manière décisive à l'aménagement cérémoniel de la chapelle de Grégoire XIII dans la basilique Saint-Pierre, qui manifestait une tradition patristique de la liturgie romaine façonnée par les Pères de l'Église grecque Basile le Grand et saint Grégoire de Nazianze, l'autre saint grec commémoré dans la chapelle grégorienne. L'article vise à démontrer comment l'administration de la pensée patristique grecque au sein de la Curie romaine, dont le cardinal bibliothécaire et préfet de la Congrégation de l'Index Guglielmo Sirleto était le principal responsable, a influencé l'amplification liturgique de la cérémonie curiale. En outre, la riche correspondance du cardinal Sirleto témoigne, comme l'étude suivante tentera également de le montrer, de ses efforts énergiques pour intégrer l'importance d'un corpus grec de textes patristiques dans la compréhension liturgique de la cérémonie curiale, qui a finalement établi l'autorité de la pensée liturgique byzantine parmi un groupe restreint d'intellectuels et de cardinaux érudits travaillant dans les sphères de la curie romaine de Grégoire XIII.