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Inquisitions, Iconography, and Memory

(13th-19th century)

edited by Irene Bueno, Vincenzo Lavenia,
José Pedro Paiva, Nicole Reinhardt

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VINCENZO LAVENIA

Iconography and Memory: Inquisitorial Courtrooms in Early Modern Italy

1. *Portraits of inquisitors: an introduction*

Father Guglielmo Fuochi, born in Moncalvo in Piedmont, died on 5 September 1660. He had been the inquisitor of Bologna since 1652 and was such an esteemed judge that the Dominicans staged a solemn funeral in their convent, which not only housed the tomb of the Order's founder but was also one of the oldest and most important seats of the Tribunal of the Faith. They also promoted the printing of a eulogy to remember the deceased confrere and the event organized to honour him. The small book was written by the jurist and poet Andrea Bianchini, who dedicated it to Carlo Emanuele Vizzani, assessor of the Holy Office.¹ Like other booklets of this kind,² Fuochi's obituary was accompanied by a sober engraving of the friar, created by Francesco Curti and drawn by Elisabetta Sirani, a well-known 17th-century painter from Bologna (FIG. 1). The fact that a woman produced a portrait of an inquisitor may perhaps come as a surprise;³ but the Sirani family's relationship with the local Friars Preachers was so close

1. Andrea Bianchini, *Sentimenti dogliosi di Felsina ne' funerali celebrati per la morte del reverendissimo padre Guglielmo Fochi, maestro di teologia e inquisitore generale di Bologna*, Bologna, presso Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1660.

2. I have analysed this genre in Vincenzo Lavenia, "Morte dell'inquisitore. Prestigio sociale e celebrazione di alcune 'vite per l'ufficio'", in *Il mite maestro. Studi per John Tedeschi*, ed. by Giorgio Caravale, Vincenzo Lavenia, and Pierroberto Scaramella, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2025, pp. 61-97.

3. On Sirani and the traditional iconography of justice, see also Ottavia Niccoli, "La Giustizia assistita dalla Carità e dalla Prudenza: a proposito di un quadro di Elisabetta Sirani", *Visual History*, 4 (2018), pp. 11-26.

that, after her death, Elisabetta was buried in the basilica of San Domenico, next to the acclaimed Guido Reni (FIG. 2).

One of Sirani's admirers was Carlo Cesare Malvasia, the first historian of artistic production in Bologna, who, a few years after Fuochi's funeral, went on to publish a list of her works in which he noted that she had also painted the portrait of the inquisitor displayed in the church during his funeral. Moreover, he recalled that in 1662 Fuochi's successor, friar Giovanni Vincenzo Paolini, had commissioned Sirani to paint a Cupid pointing to some books. The art historian detailed further artistic commissions of 17th-century inquisitors, not only those active in Bologna, and he published a letter by the painter Francesco Albani to his pupil Girolamo Bonini recounting how Fuochi had come to collect a portrait of himself, which, as the document makes clear, he had painted only reluctantly (6 January 1654). Malvasia's volumes reveal a number of other inquisitorial commissions: Guercino produced a painting of St. Jerome, a carving depicting the Nativity, and a small altarpiece for other inquisitors in Bologna, while Reni dedicated a carving depicting St. Peter receiving the keys to the judge Paolo Vicari da Garesio. More significant is the fact that Malvasia informed his readers that Agostino Metelli and Giacomo Alboresi – at a date the author does not report – had made decorations for some of the rooms that housed the Inquisition in the city's Dominican convent.⁴

Part of this essay will be dedicated to the Holy Office in Bologna, the only one among the local offices of the Roman Inquisition that has preserved a high number of iconographical testimonies and still survives in the Italian Peninsula. But the purpose here is broader. I intend to sketch out how, from the late Middle Ages onwards, the dwellings of the inquisitors in the convents of the mendicant orders in which the local tribunals resided were transformed, at least in part, into "places of memory", all the while that the first chronicles and documentary collections dedicated to their deeds were being compiled. The aim is to reflect on the way in which certain inquisitorial offices – in close relation to the first historiographical production of the religious orders – were configured as useful spaces for

4. Carlo C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, Bologna, per l'erede di Domenico Barbieri, 1678, vol. II, pp. 469, 472 and 271 (for Sirani and Albani); 375 and 382 (for Guercino); 394 and 430 (for Metelli and Alboresi). See also Carlo C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice: Lives of the Bolognese Painters. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, ed. by Elizabeth Cropper, Lorenzo Pericolo *et al.*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012.

administering justice, but also as finely decorated caskets to celebrate the prestige of the tribunal and tell the timeless story of the effort undertaken by the guardians against heresy to safeguard the righteous faith. The following pages examine how the Inquisition's outlying houses became not only the headquarters that included the judges' private flats, prisons, the archives, and the rooms in which the *crucesignati* or members of the court met, but also monuments to represent and convey the image that the Holy Office wanted to pass on of itself to its future officers as well as to other members of the clergy, and sometimes even to the common faithful. The essay will also cast a glance at the Roman convent of Minerva, which, while not the seat of a local tribunal, was of special importance for the leadership of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index and, above all, for the history of the Dominican friars.

Among the inquisitor cardinals, only Giulio Antonio Santoro – who directed and shaped the Roman Holy Office from 1587 to 1602 – composed an autobiographical account detailing his activity as a zealous persecutor of heretics;⁵ but he did not commission any images portraying him as a judge of faith. His choice is by no means unusual, and it would indeed be a gamble to suggest, based on portrayals of the cardinals as inquisitors or on the use of iconography and historical-celebratory writings, that the members of the Holy Office in Rome entertained any conscious project to enhance their prestige and memory-building. From the 17th century onwards, some members of the Congregation, like other cardinals of the Roman Curia, were great collectors and purchasers of works of art. One example is Desiderio Scaglia, who, in addition to collecting works by Bernardino Luini, Moretto, Giovanni Savoldo, Parmigianino, Ludovico Carracci, Bronzino, Guercino, and Giovanni Lanfranco, commissioned two portraits: one for the sacristy of the church of Santi Ambrogio e Carlo in Rome, where Scaglia was buried, while the other (probably by Chiaveghino) is now kept in the Cremona Civic Museum.⁶ However, like other cardinals enlisted to

5. Giuseppe Cugnoni, "Autobiografia di Monsignor G. Antonio Santori, Cardinale di S. Severina", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, pt I, 12 (1889), pp. 329-372; pt II, 13 (1890), pp. 151-205. See also Saverio Ricci, *Il sommo Inquisitore. Giulio Antonio Santori tra autobiografia e storia (1532-1602)*, Rome, Salerno editrice, 2002.

6. Fiorenza Rangoni Gàl, *Fra' Desiderio Scaglia cardinale di Cremona. Un collezionista inquisitore nella Roma del Seicento*, Cernobbio, Still Grafix, 2008. See also Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013; Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inqui-*

direct the Papal Inquisition, Scaglia wanted to be remembered first and foremost as a prince of the Church and as a patron, not as a scourge of heretics. In short, given that the leadership of the Roman Holy Office was composed of cardinals, conducting research into the iconography of the inquisitors from the men who ruled the papal Congregation would be fruitless. Rather, we must ask ourselves from what point in time the inquisitors of the peripheral offices who did not participate in the splendour of the Baroque papal Curia began to exalt themselves as magistrates and to boost their social prestige by commissioning works of art and cycles of images, and the cloisters of the mendicant orders began to be populated with grave-stones carved to commemorate certain friars who had fulfilled the role of judges of heresy. Without claiming to be exhaustive, this essay will attempt to provide some answers and to suggest some avenues for further research. However, before focusing on the 17th century, the following pages will start from afar and briefly retrace the history of the visual memory of judges and inquisitions both in the Middle Ages and in the Iberian Peninsula. On this foundation, it is possible to improve our understanding of the Italian case where, within the space of a few decades after its foundation in 1542, the papal tribunal managed effectively to coordinate the activities of over forty peripheral branches located in the centre-north of the peninsula.

2. *The medieval legacy: Martyrdom, preaching, and the fight against heresy in the convents*

As we know, and as Donald S. Prudlo's contribution in this volume recalls,⁷ from the late Middle Ages onwards judge Peter of Verona, who

sition on the Stage of Italy, c. 1590-1640, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, *ad indicem*.

7. See Venturino Alce, "Iconografia di S. Pietro da Verona Martire Domenicano", *Memorie Domenicane*, 70 (1953), pp. 100-114; Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1996; Christine Caldwell, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint", *Comitatus*, 31 (2000), pp. 137-173; Marina Benedetti, *Inquisitori lombardi del Duecento*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008; Donald S. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (†1252)*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; Andrea Improta, "Dal pulpito al sepolcro. Contributo per l'iconografia di san Pietro Martire da Verona tra XIII e XIV secolo", *Porticum. Revista d'Estudis Medievalls*, 1 (2011), pp. 105-119.

had lost his life fighting heresy, ended up representing not only a shining example of Christian sacrifice and Dominican heroism, but eventually also became the most recognizable martyr and inquisitorial icon. Yet, while the famous frescoes of his life in the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence cannot be linked to the convent ever being the seat of the inquisition, as in Tuscany the Friars Minor were in charge of its courts since the 13th century, it is still highly likely that they were nonetheless motivated by the local Dominicans' attempt to assert their primacy in the anti-heretical struggle even in a city where they did not operate as judges. In any event, over time the figure of Peter became ever more explicitly associated with the mission of extirpating heresy, to the point that all the three new and centralized inquisitions of Spain, Portugal, and Rome, which were founded between the 15th and 16th centuries, went on to adopt that medieval icon to exalt the task of their magistrates. The image of Peter also appeared on the title page of the most popular manual for inquisitors in the early modern period, the *Sacred Arsenal* by the Dominican Eliseo Masini, first published in the vernacular in 1621 (FIG. 3).⁸ At the end of the 15th century, the Spanish Inquisition developed a second icon of a martyr judge, almost an ideal successor to Peter of Verona, in the person of the Augustinian friar and inquisitor Pedro de Arbués. He was killed in 1485 in Zaragoza cathedral at the hands of assassins whom inquisitorial propaganda identified as emissaries of the *conversos*. Educated at the College of Spain in Bologna, the theologian from Épila was portrayed as another Peter Martyr even before his beatification (1664) and late canonization (1867).⁹

Returning to the Italian Peninsula, no direct relationship can be established before the 15th century between the depiction of Peter Martyr and the need for prestige of individual judges or the Italian offices of the

8. Eliseo Masini, *Sacro arsenale, ouero prattica dell'officio della Santa Inquisitione*, Genoa, appresso Giuseppe Pavoni, 1621. See Genoveffa Palumbo, "Modelli antichi di eresia e santità nel frontespizio del *Sacro Arsenale* di Eliseo Masini: l'immagine di Pietro Martire", in *I linguaggi del potere nell'età barocca*, vol. I, *Politica e religione*, ed. by Francesca Cantù, Rome, Viella, 2011, pp. 457-491.

9. For the celebration of his memory in Zaragoza cathedral and for the works of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Francisco Jiménez Maza, and others before them, see Michael Scholz-Hänsel, "Arte e Inquisición: Pedro Arbués y el poder de las imágenes", *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 6 (1994), pp. 205-212; Daniel Rico Camps, "El sepulcro de Pedro de Arbués y su contexto", *Boletín de Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*, 59-60 (1995), pp. 169-203.

Inquisition. Indeed, while the relationship between inquisition, memory, and iconography has hardly been touched upon for the Dominican offices of the Holy Office throughout the medieval and early modern period, it is even more complicated to trace for the places where the Inquisition was entrusted to the Friars Minor, as was the case since the 16th century both in the Republic of Venice and in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Allegedly, in the 18th century in the Franciscans' first Florentine cloister of Santa Croce, there was a plaque bearing the following words: "Here those who do not believe in God are punished, and the true faith is defended".¹⁰ But of the fate of this admonition in stone after the abolition of the Florentine tribunal (1782) we have no information. Thanks to an inventory kept in the Archive of the Congregation (now Dicastery) for the Doctrine of the Faith, we know that in 1701 the city's inquisitor lamented the state of neglect of the torture chamber. Nonetheless, when informing the cardinals of the Holy Office of the completion of the construction of the new prisons, Father Ludovico Petroni da Lodi said he was proud to work in a room equipped with furniture, carpets, crucifixes, alabaster statuettes, clocks, maps, and paintings, among which there was even a well-framed canvas depicting "Justice Driving Out Heresy".¹¹ The source does not reveal who the author of the painting was, but it is certain that no ordinary worshipper – unless he or she was a defendant – could have seen it. Some exceptions aside, scholars who have also dealt with the Florentine tribunal in the early modern period have not paid much attention to the history of Santa Croce as a local seat of the Inquisition and its officers.¹²

10. "Qui si punisce quel che in Dio non crede, e s'assicura nella vera fede", as is stated in Francesco Moisé, *Santa Croce di Firenze. Illustrazione storico-artistica con note e copiosi documenti inediti*, Florence, a spese dell'autore, 1845, p. 403. On the cloister of the Friars Minor, see *Santa Croce nel solco della storia*, ed. by Massimiliano Rosito, Florence, Città di Vita, 1996; *Santa Croce. Oltre le apparenze*, ed. by Andrea De Marchi and Giacomo Piraz, Pistoia, Gli Ori, 2011 (in particular: Adriano Prosperi, "L'età dell'Inquisizione romana", pp. 151-170; and Mina Gregori, "Il Seicento e il Settecento a Santa Croce", pp. 273-284).

11. Archivio del Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede, Stanza Storica, II 1-h, "Inventario dei beni delle Inquisizioni (1701)", "Firenze", fol. 271r ff.

12. See, among others, Adriano Prosperi, "Vicari dell'Inquisizione fiorentina alla metà del Seicento. Note d'archivio" (1982), and "L'inquisizione fiorentina al tempo di Galileo" (1983), now in Adriano Prosperi, *L'Inquisizione romana. Letture e ricerche*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003; Adriano Prosperi, "L'Inquisizione fiorentina dopo il Concilio di Trento" (1985-1986), now in Adriano Prosperi, *Eresie e devozioni. La religione italiana in età moderna*, vol. II, *Inquisitori, ebrei e streghe*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia

In comparison to the Dominicans, who were able early on to establish the veneration of their martyr saint, the Friars Minor, not only in Florence, struggled to do the same with their heroes of the fight against heresy in the 13th-15th centuries. For instance, the figure of Giovanni da Capestrano (1385-1456) immediately imposed itself as that of a crusader saint, and later as a military chaplain, but was not in the inquisitorial bracket.¹³ For Giacomo della Marca (c. 1393-1476), the story is even more complex. He was depicted in the first *Trittico di Valle Castellana* by Carlo Crivelli (c. 1472), now in the Pinacoteca Civica of Ascoli Piceno, when he was still alive (!) as a blessed man next to Peter Martyr while praying to the Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus seated on a throne (FIG. 4).¹⁴ Was this meant to allude to his role as an inquisitor aspiring to martyrdom, like another Peter of Verona? One cannot be certain. What seems quite evident, however, is that the Dominicans were much better than the Franciscans at developing a policy of memory that simultaneously celebrated their role as magistrates in matters of heresy, enhanced the reputation of the Order, and lent prestige to the headquarters of the Inquisition.

3. Milan and the Portinari Chapel

In Milan, the seat of the Inquisition was housed in the Dominican convent of Sant'Eustorgio until the mid-16th century, when it was moved to another cloister of the Order – that of Santa Maria delle Grazie, where

e Letteratura, 2010, pp. 41-63; Massimo Firpo, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo. Eresia, politica e cultura nella Firenze di Cosimo I*, Turin, Einaudi, 1997; Lucio Biasiori, *Rinascimento sotterraneo. Inquisizione e popolo nella Firenze del Cinquecento*, Rome, Officina Libraria, 2023.

13. See Luca Pezzuto, *Giovanni da Capestrano. Iconografia di un predicatore osservante dalle origini alla canonizzazione (1456-1690)*, preface by Chiara Frugoni, Rome, UniversItalia, 2016.

14. See *Il culto e l'immagine. San Giacomo della Marca (1393-1476) nell'iconografia marchigiana*, ed. by Silvano Bracci, Milan, Motta, 1998; Ronald W. Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 305-312; *Opere d'arte dalle collezioni di Ascoli Piceno. La Pinacoteca civica e il Museo diocesano: scoperte, ricerche e nuove proposte*, ed. by Stefano Papetti, Rome, Bozzi, 2012, pp. 76-83. For the iconography of Giacomo della Marca and the fight against heresy in the chapel that houses his remains, frescoed in the early modern age, see Silvestro Candela, *S. Giacomo della Marca e Santa Maria la Nova di Napoli*, Naples, Cenacolo Serafico, 1972.

Leonardo da Vinci had frescoed the *Ultima cena*. It is not clear whether the spaces of Sant'Eustorgio still preserve evidence of the presence of the medieval tribunal, but the close relationship that bound the Dominican church to the Inquisition is established in the 15th-century Portinari Chapel, which stands out for its extraordinary beauty. It was frescoed by the workshop and hand of Vincenzo Foppa (c. 1427-1516), one of the most refined Lombard artists of the time. Later, in 1737, in addition to the relic of Peter of Verona's head, the chapel also housed the ark sculpted in the 14th century by Giovanni di Balduccio to preserve the rest of the saint's body.

Between 1462 and 1468, on the sub-arches of the chapel, Foppa painted episodes from the life of the martyred saint. Il *Miracolo della Nuvola* and the *Miracolo di Narni* have no reference to the fight against heresy; indeed, the latter depicts the story of a boy who, after an argument, had kicked his mother, then cut off his foot out of shame for having hit her. Forgiving the young man's guilt thanks to the woman's intercession, the saint had worked a miracle by reattaching his limb. The third scene, the *Miracolo dell'Ostia* (FIG. 5), centres on the deceptions of heresy. It depicts two Cathars who had conjured up the Devil appearing – to confuse the faithful – in the guise of Our Lady holding a child (the horns are a symbol of Mary's false presence). By exhibiting the body of Christ, Peter unmasks the demonic fiction and performs a miraculous exorcism in the presence of a small audience of devotees. More relevant is the fourth fresco (FIG. 6) of the saint's martyrdom. Here, Foppa repropose the well-established iconography of Peter writing the first words of the Creed with his own blood against the backdrop of a stylized landscape in which two tree trunks stand out, which allude to the inquisitor and the second victim of the attack, the friar *socius*, who, according to legend, died later.

Although the work is well known, it is useful to recall the context in which it was created. The commissioners of the fresco were not the inquisitors, nor were they the Dominican friars of the convent that housed the headquarters of the Holy Office (one of the most important in Latin Europe). Nor was it a Milanese nobleman who enlisted Foppa, but rather the Florentine banker Pigello Portinari who, after having served Cosimo de' Medici as a diplomat, had made his fortune as a tax collector for the Sforza family, the lords of the Duchy of Milan. Perhaps Portinari, who was buried in the chapel in 1468, wanted to finance a monument dedicated to the memory of a saint to whom he was personally devoted and who was also widely venerated in Florence, not only in Santa Maria Novella. Or maybe the

banker wanted to be forgiven for exercising the trade of money-lending, which was likened to usury and exposed the soul to the risk of mortal sin. We cannot be sure what precisely drove him to that investment, only that some sources suggested that a vision of the saint inspired him.

In any event, Peter's remains were given a more sumptuous location thanks to the direct commitment of a lay tax collector, and not of the friars who continued the mission of the martyred judge in that cloister. Yet, beyond the intentions of the commissioner, who sought to gain eternal life, the frescoes in the chapel undoubtedly emphasized the role of the church and cloister of Sant'Eustorgio as a place that drew prestige from hosting the tribunal and the remains of an inquisitor raised to the honour of the altars. As for the Holy Office in Milan, it did not intervene directly before 1651-1652. At that time, Friar Francesco Cuccini – the magistrate on duty – ordered Foppa's images to be covered with a new cycle of frescoes dedicated to Peter Martyr and St. Dominic, painted by Johann Christoph Storer, Melchiorre Gherardini, and Ercole Procaccini the Younger (these paintings would be erased in 1871 to bring Foppa's to light). A plaque commemorated the work of the judge who, although residing in Santa Maria delle Grazie, with the redecoration of Sant'Eustorgio had sought to emulate other local inquisitors similarly engaged in those years in honouring the history and memory of the tribunal by means of artistic patronage. This was especially visible in the convents where the presence of the Inquisition was most ancient.¹⁵

4. *A Spanish model?*

A decade after Portinari's death and his dignified burial in Milan, the Spanish Inquisition emerged as a new tribunal. It became the model for the foundation of the Portuguese Holy Office (1536-1547) and for the re-foundation of the local tribunals dependent on Rome, which were placed under

15. The plaque, published in 1737 by Serviliano Lattuada, is reported in *Vincenzo Foppa. La cappella Portinari*, ed. by Laura Mattioli Rossi, Milan, Motta, 1999, pp. 123-124. On the chapel, see also *Vincenzo Foppa. Un protagonista del Rinascimento*, ed. by Giovanni Agosti, Mauro Natale, and Giovanni Romano, Milan, Skira, 2002; Rita Capurro, "Vincenzo Foppa nella Cappella Portinari in Sant'Eustorgio: dall'*exemplum* nella predicazione e nella letteratura domenicana alla narrazione per immagini", *Cahiers d'études italiennes*, 29 (2019), <http://journals.openedition.org/cei/5997>, accessed on 22 June 2025.

the supervision of a Congregation of the papal Curia in 1542. As can be deduced by leafing through the catalogue of an exhibition on the history of the Inquisition held in Madrid in 1982, which also contains Pedro Berugueté's early painting depicting a spectacular condemnation of heretics by St. Dominic (c. 1495), Isabella and Ferdinand's Inquisition wasted no time in celebrating its harsh justice and alleged seniority through images.¹⁶ What is more, the periodically staged spectacle of the defeat of apostates and heretics in the *autos de fe* inspired celebratory works on the one hand as well as the writings and images of the *leyenda nera* on the other.¹⁷

In the Italian Peninsula the papal Holy Office, after the first years in which it engaged in a ferocious hunt against dissidents, eventually discouraged the exhibition of the "splendour of torment", aiming, if anything, at exalting its function as an ecclesiastical tribunal. As a tool of penitence and punishment, it was meant to support the reconciliation and conversion of heretics and thus allegedly temper justice with mercy. As the Spanish Inquisition came into being before its Roman and Portuguese counterparts, it had the "privilege" of inventing a policy of memory and setting the pace for adequate iconographical solutions. The extent to which these influenced the inquisitors of the Italian Peninsula is difficult to assess, but there can be no doubt that some of the Iberian celebratory strategies did inspire them, even if only to distance themselves from it. It is therefore worthwhile briefly to mention some of the possibly significant models here.

As studies have shown, several Dominican convents, such as the one in Ávila, and the seats of the Spanish tribunals in the colonies as well as in the mother country, abounded with images, and for over three centuries the judges of faith of the Catholic monarchy were great patrons of art.¹⁸ Moreover, in 1598 a Spanish magistrate serving in Sicily, Luis de Páramo, drew up the first documented history of the origins, progress, and eternal mission of the *officium fidei*, establishing prosopographies of the local judges.

16. *La Inquisición. Catálogo de la exposición*, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 1982.

17. Francisco Bethencourt, "The *auto da fe*: Ritual and Imagery", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992), pp. 155-168.

18. Sonia Caballero Escamilla, "Los santos dominicos y la propaganda inquisitorial en el convento de Santo Tomás de Ávila", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39 (2009), pp. 357-387; Michael Scholz-Hänsel, *Inquisition und Kunst. Convivencia in Zeiten der Intoleranz*, Berlin, Frank & Timme, 2009.

He even made God the prototype of the inquisitor for having interrogated Adam and Eve before expelling them from Eden.¹⁹

The first local judge who thought of eternalizing his memory was also Spanish. He was Antonio del Corro, an inquisitor from Seville, who before his death (1556) commissioned Juan Bautista Vázquez el Viejo to create a remarkably fine funeral monument for the church of San Vicente de la Barquera in the Cantabrian region, the parish where he was born (FIG. 7). An epitaph²⁰ reminded visitors of Corro's noble origins and his role as an inquisitor – without mentioning specific episodes of repression – while reporting a useful lie to enhance the prestige of the deceased magistrate. In fact, in the epitaph, his appointment as judge of Seville was attributed to Ferdinand and Isabella, the founders of the tribunal, although it took place after their death in 1525. Crucially, Corro was immortalized not in the act of punishing heretics, but lying on his side reading one of the books in his personal library, later inherited by his nephew of the same name (paradoxically, infamous as a heretic). In short, the judge – who had prosecuted cases against Juan de Ávila and Dr Egidio (Juan Gil) and also participated in the censorship of Erasmus's writings – tried to project an ideal self-image, most likely to silence his critics, some of whom accused him of being conceited and greedy, while others thought his investigations lacked vigour and thoroughness. Corro, in any event, preferred to be remembered as a reader and man of letters rather than a harsh judge.²¹ This choice was not so different from the one later adopted by Italian local judges.

As for leading inquisitors and royal council members, portraits abound for both the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. Sometimes the works were made many years after the death of the powerful judges in order to celebrate particular institutions through memorializing the protagonists who fought against heresy, as happened with the portrait of Diego de Deza (d.

19. See Kimberly Lynn Hossain, "Was Adam the First Heretic? Diego de Simancas, Luis de Páramo, and the Origins of Inquisitorial Practice", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 97 (2006), pp. 184-210.

20. "Hic iacet licenciatus Antonius del Corro, vir praeclarus moribus et nobilitate, ac perpetuae memoriae dignus. Canonicus Hispalensis ac ibidem contra haereticam pravitatem a Catholicis regibus Ferdinando et Elisabeth usque ad suum obitum apostolicus inquisitor".

21. See Julio Caro Baroja, *El señor inquisidor y otras vidas por oficio*, Madrid, Alianza, 1968, ch. 3; Carlos Gilly, "Corro, Antonio del, il Vecchio", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John Tedeschi, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2010, vol. I, pp. 419-420.

1523), made in 1631 for the Colegio de Santo Tomás in Seville, the city of which he was archbishop. It was painted by Francisco de Zurbarán in two slightly different versions, one preserved in New York by Knoedler & Company and the other in the Museo del Prado in Madrid. The list could go on by mentioning the portraits of Juan Pardo de Tavera and Fernando Niño de Guevara by El Greco; the one of Diego de Arce y Reinoso, made from a drawing by Francesco Ricci (Francisco Rizzi); the bust of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros for the Universidad Complutense; the canvases made to celebrate Jerónimo Manrique de Lara, Juan de Zúñiga, or Juan E. Nithard. However, in the works dedicated to the general inquisitors, their role as judges was hardly ever emphasized because the artists celebrated them first and foremost as powerful members of the court or as cardinals, when they had the title.

As mentioned above, the Italian cardinals of the Holy Office too chose to be remembered primarily as princes of the Church. In Rome, after the death of Pope Paul IV in 1559, the papal Congregation acquired a palace for its meetings, archives, and prisons;²² but the austere building – remodelled several times – was not intended to celebrate the *officium fidei* in an ostentatious manner. In addition to the central headquarters of the Papal Inquisition, from the 17th century onwards the basilica and convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva emerged as another venue linked to the Dominicans for their censorship pursuits and for the celebration of solemn abjurations. It was here that the Spaniard and priest Miguel de Molinos was forced to recant his beliefs in 1687. His condemnation, in the presence of many nobles and members of the papal Curia, was immortalized in an engraving commissioned from Arnold van Westerhout by Cardinal Flavio Chigi, in which the influence of 17th-century Iberian prints propagating *autos de fe* is evident (FIG. 8). The Molinos case was meant to state an example, and it provided the judges with an opportunity to warn the clergy not to follow the dangerous paths of mysticism and lust. But it is worth reiterating that depictions of the sentences of the Holy Office – which took place in court rooms or churches, rather than in the squares – are rare. Marking the dif-

22. See Peter Schmidt, “De Sancto Officio Urbis. Aspekte der Verflechtung des Heiligen Offiziums mit der Stadt Rom im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert”, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 82 (2002), pp. 404-489; Daniel Ponziani, “Interessi architettonici: i palazzi dell’Inquisizione / Architectures: The Palaces of the Inquisition”, in *Rari e preziosi. Documenti dell’età moderna e contemporanea dall’Archivio del Sant’Uffizio*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres and Marco Pizzo, Rome, Gangemi, 2009, pp. 86-105.

ference between the Roman judicial style and that of the Iberian tribunals, from the 16th century onwards the Congregation discouraged the circulation of any such images. But it had not always been so. In 1498, before the foundation of the Holy Office, the Valencian Pope Alexander VI sought to establish an inquisition based on the Spanish model, at least in the Papal States, and organized a solemn *auto de fe* to condemn over two hundred *conversos* who had taken refuge in Rome. Without imposing the death penalty, he had them parade with candle in hand to the Piazza della Minerva to abjure in public on a stage. Their *sambenitos*, as in Spain, were hung from the church ceiling.²³

5. *The centre: Rome and the Minerva convent between images and writing*

It may come as a surprise that a *local* office of the Papal Inquisition for the city of Rome never existed. Santa Maria sopra Minerva – where the consultors often met and from 1628 also the cardinals of the Holy Office who had Galileo abjured there – was a Dominican convent since the 13th century. From 1577, it housed the *Collegium Divii Thomae*, which trained inquisitors, *commissarii*, and consultors of the tribunal, as well as the apartments of the Master of the Sacred Palace. The latter was the Pope's theologian and a member of the Order. He was in charge of the censorship of books in the city of Rome, and as such was also a member of the Congregation of the Index. The secretary of this new institution, founded in 1572, was almost always a Dominican friar and he too resided at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Due to their presence, the convent almost became a second seat of the Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index in the early modern period. The fact that the abjurations and death sentences of important trials, like those of Pomponio Algieri, Gian Luigi Pascale, Pompeo Delli Monti, Marcantonio De Dominis, or Giuseppe Francesco Borri, were pronounced in the superb church adjoining the Minerva convent underscores its significance.

23. Anna Foa, "Un vescovo marrano: il processo a Pedro de Aranda (Roma 1498)", *Quaderni Storici*, 99 (1998), pp. 533-551; on this case, see also Francisco Bethencourt's essay in chapter 8 of this volume.

Over the course of its history, the basilica also came to house several tombs of popes and members of the Holy Office, such as Tommaso Badia and Michele Bonelli, not to mention the bodies of Cardinal Giovanni Morone, who had been investigated by Pope Paul IV, or of the archbishop of Toledo Bartolomé de Carranza, the Dominican theologian persecuted by Spanish judges who died in Rome after his abjuration in 1576. Already in the 13th century, Latino Malabranca Orsini, the first cardinal to receive the early title of Inquisitor General, was buried in the church; then, slowly, its walls were covered with images glorifying saints Dominic and Ramon de Penyafort. In the 15th century, on the right wall of the chapel dedicated to the Carafa family, Filippino Lippi painted a fresco with Thomas Aquinas that had a clear anti-heretical meaning.²⁴ A century later, Pope Pius V, the former Dominican inquisitor Michele Ghislieri, commissioned Pirro Ligorio to design a marble funerary monument crowned with a statue to celebrate Paul IV (Carafa), his patron and zealous predecessor. Ghislieri himself dictated the epitaph praising the stern hunter of heretics (“*catholicae fidei acerrimo propugnatori*”). He had his remains placed in that chapel not only because the real founder of the Holy Office was a Carafa, but because of the significance of Lippi’s fresco, which already existed (FIG. 9).²⁵

There is no need to dwell on other details of the basilica because it is the convent that deserves more attention here. Today it is divided between the Library of the Senate, a part of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Republic, and the Casanatense Library.²⁶ The latter, as is well known, is a

24. Lorenzo Mainini, “Eresia e cultura umanistica. Idee per una rilettura degli affreschi di Filippino Lippi alla Minerva”, *Storia dell’Arte*, n.s., 31 (2012), pp. 9-26. See also the essay by Alessia Trivellone in chapter 2 of this volume.

25. On the Minerva church, see Joachim J. Bertier, *L’Église de la Minerve à Rome*, Rome, Manuzio, 1910; Giancarlo Palmerio and Gabriella Villetti, *Storia edilizia di S. Maria sopra Minerva in Roma 1275-1870*, Rome, Viella, 1989; Maria Grazia Chiosi, “Santa Maria sopra Minerva”, in *Restauri d’arte e Giubileo*, ed. by Angelo Negro, Milan, Electa, 2001, pp. 207-219. On the Carafa Chapel, see Gale L. Geiger, *Filippino Lippi’s Carafa Chapel: Renaissance Art in Rome*, Kirksville, Truman State University Press, 1986; Maria Vitiello, *Le architetture dipinte di Filippino Lippi. La cappella Carafa a S. Maria sopra Minerva in Roma*, Rome, Gangemi, 2003; Massimo Firpo and Fabrizio Biferali, “*Navicula Petri*”. *L’arte dei papi nel Cinquecento*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2009, p. 325 ff.

26. On the dismemberment of Santa Maria sopra Minerva after the unification of Italy in the 19th century, see Francesco Quinterio, “Il caso dell’*insula* della Minerva in Roma capitale, divisa fra i domenicani, l’Inquisizione e tre ministeri in condominio (1870-1929)”, *Città & Storia*, 4 (2009), pp. 163-181.

treasure trove of books and manuscripts of the Inquisition, and was named after the friar and cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700), former judge of Malta, assessor of the Holy Office and member of the Congregation of the Index.²⁷ What today still belongs to the Dominican Order is a smaller portion of the ancient building that also houses its archive, but not that of the Master of the Sacred Palace, which may have been lost. The Room of the Inquisition or of Galileo – a part of three spaces renovated in 1649 – is now part of the Library of the Chamber of Deputies (the so-called Palace of Via del Seminario). Around 1660, it was embellished with three frescoes painted by Francesco Allegrini celebrating the history of the tribunal and the Order of Preachers, and which have been studied with acumen by Federico Zeri. The first showed the Battle of Muret, won by Simon de Montfort during the crusade against the Albigensians, before the emergence of the inquisition (1213); the second depicted the martyrdom of St. Peter of Verona; the third portrayed Thomas Aquinas triumphant over the heresy and impiety of the philosophers.²⁸ The series of paintings hence established a link and continuity from the theological and judicial struggle against doctrinal and political dissent during the late Middle Ages to the early modern activities of the Holy Office and the Index.

Of greater significance is the cloister named after its architect Guidetto Guidetti. It was rebuilt before 1569 at the behest of the Master General of the Order of Preachers, Vincenzo Giustiniani, who was an eminent member of the Holy Office. The decision entailed the loss of the previous 15th-century structures conceived by the theologian Juan de Torquemada and Beato Angelico's frescoes, known today only thanks to a precious illustrated incunabulum.²⁹ In the 17th century, the Guidetti Cloister was en-

27. See the catalogue *Inquisizione e Indice nei secoli XVI-XVIII. Controversie teologiche dalle raccolte casanatensi*, Vigevano, Diakronia, 1998; and Margherita Palumbo, "Casanate, Girolamo", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. I, p. 289.

28. Federico Zeri, "Francesco Allegrini: gli affreschi del Sant'Uffizio", *Antologia di belle arti*, 3 (1977), pp. 125-127. See also *Le sedi della Camera dei Deputati. Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, Rome, Editalia, 1990, in particular Giuseppina Magnanimi, "Le antiche pitture nella Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati", pp. 171-182 (who points out the presence in the room of another image of Peter Martyr made in the 18th century); "*Insula Sapientiae*". *La Camera dei Deputati nel complesso di Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, ed. by Renata Cristina Mazzantini, Milan, Electa, 2012 (which contains many images).

29. See Gerardo de Simone, "L'ultimo Angelico. Le *Meditationes* del cardinal Torquemada e il ciclo perduto nel chiostro di S. Maria sopra Minerva", *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 76 (2002), pp. 41-87.

tirely re-frescoed and decorated by a group of artists some of whom were linked to the Bolognese Carracci school and included, among others, Francesco Nappi, Giovanni Battista Ruggeri, Cesare Torelli, Giovanni Valesio, and Giuseppe Puglia.

Scholars have largely failed to consider the relationship between that space and the Inquisition's need for auto-celebration in the Baroque age. But one only has to look closely at the images painted on the walls and vaults to grasp the significance that the new cloister must have held for the memory of the Dominican friars and the *officium fidei*. In addition to the main cycles of frescoes dedicated to the Rosary and the sanctity of Thomas Aquinas, and an isolated icon of justice (FIG. 10), the figure of Pius V appears, although he is memorialized here as the promoter of the Lepanto enterprise and not as an inquisitor (FIG. 11). More relevant is the fact that the walls and naves of the cloister were covered with depictions of medieval judges of the faith. There are no less than three images of Peter of Verona (FIG. 12a-c), together with a succession of other martyrs of the tribunal who were never canonized (Pagan of Lecco, Poncius de Planedis, Johannes de Hungaria, FIG. 13a-c), among them the inquisitors of Avignonet, who died at the hands of the Cathars in the Toulouse region on 29 May 1242 (three of the eleven murdered judges were Dominicans: Guillaume Arnaud, Bernard de Roquefort, and García d'Aure) (FIG. 14a-c).³⁰

If the Guidetti cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva preserves so many images of the inquisitors, it is because in those very years the Dominicans of the convent, active as judges, consultants, and members of the Holy Office, were elaborating the first collections of historical records documenting the deeds of its members not only as theologians and preachers, but also as promoters of the Inquisition in Europe and around the world. The cartouches and the cycle of frescoes in the cloister was probably inspired by the work of Luis de Páramo, the first historian of the tribunal;³¹ but from the end of the 16th century onwards, Dominican writings glorify-

30. Yves Dossat, "Le massacre d'Avignonet", in *Le credo, la morale, et l'Inquisition*, Toulouse, Privat, 1971, pp. 343-359.

31. Ludovicus a Páramo, *De origine et progressu officii Sanctae Inquisitionis [...] libri tres*, Matriti, ex Typographia Regia, 1598, pp. 107-111, with a list of Dominican inquisitors who died as martyrs in the Middle Ages ("Inquisitores ex Ordine Divi Dominici pro fide tuenda trucidantur").

ing the Order's past as well as that of the Inquisition flourished.³² A case in point is the "Table of inquisitors" (1586) by the judge of Vercelli Cipriano Uberti, who was in continuous contact with the censors residing at Santa Maria sopra Minerva.³³

The enterprise of historicizing the battle against heresy as the supreme endeavour of the Dominican friars culminated in the writings of Father Vincenzo Maria Fontana, who resided in the convent from 1628. Next to his *Syllabus magistrorum Sacri Palatii Apostolici* (1663), *De Romana Provincia Ordinis Praedicatorum*, and *Monumenta Dominicana* (1675), his *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum* (1666) is probably most noteworthy (FIG. 15a-b). In the third part of that enormous volume, commissioned by Friar Vincenzo Preti, *commissarius* of the Roman Holy Office between 1650 and 1664, Fontana drew on numerous sources to reconstruct the prosopographies of the Dominican inquisitors across the many branches of the tribunal from the Middle Ages onwards. He traced a genealogy that placed St. Dominic, the founder of the Order, as the first judge in charge of opposing heresy.³⁴ One paragraph was specifically dedicated to the Dominicans martyred since the 13th century for their service as inquisitors. Their ideal icons were now also visible on the walls of the cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.³⁵

Even the Friars Minor, competing with the Dominicans, began to work on a history of their men engaged in the anti-heretical struggle,³⁶ and from

32. See Vincenzo Lavenia, "Centre and Peripheries of the Inquisition in Prosopographical Research", in *L'Inquisizione romana e i suoi archivi. A vent'anni dall'apertura dell'ACDF*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres, Rome, Gangemi, 2018, pp. 357-370. More generally, see Adriano Prosperi, "L'Inquisizione nella storia: i caratteri originali di una controversia secolare", now in Prosperi, *L'Inquisizione romana*, pp. 69-98.

33. Cipriano Uberti, *Tavola delli inquisitori*, Novara, appresso Francesco Sesalli, 1586. See Giorgio Tibaldeschi, "Un inquisitore in biblioteca: Cipriano Uberti e l'inchiesta libraria del 1599-1600 a Vercelli", *Bollettino Storico Vercellese*, 34 (1990), pp. 43-103.

34. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, Romae, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, 1666, pars III: "De Ministris S. Inquisitionis Ordinis Praedicatorum", pp. 497-616. On the author, see at least Margherita Palumbo, "Fontana, Vincenzo Maria", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. II, p. 610.

35. Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, pp. 503-509.

36. Antonius Tognocchi, *Genealogicum et honorificum theatrum Etrusco-minoriticum*, Florentiae, ex typographia sub signo Stellae, 1682, pars II, tit. II: here the author lists the Conventual Franciscans who had exercised the office of inquisitor in the Tuscan seats (Florence, Pisa, Siena) since the Middle Ages. See also Biblioteca Antoniana, Padua, MS 698, Francesco Maria Benoffi, *Series Inquisitorum Tusciae*.

the end of the 17th century the Holy Office itself too promoted the collection of data on the magistrates who had worked in the tribunal's peripheral offices since the Middle Ages. But it was not until 1707 that the Congregation launched the establishment of an archive of names and information to preserve a capillary memory of its activities in the Italian Peninsula. With a letter addressed to all offices and drafted by the Dominican Friar Pio Felice Cappasanta, *commissarius* of the Holy Office, the cardinals ordered the judges to transmit to Rome the prosopographies of their predecessors from every single seat in central and northern Italy.³⁷ Cappasanta had been an inquisitor in Bologna until 1705, and in response to his request, his brother Ermenegildo Todeschini is said to have compiled a catalogue of judges that is still preserved in the archives of the convent in Bologna.³⁸

The fact that the Bologna convent, together with the Roman Minerva, played a primary role in the construction of the memory of the Holy Office and the Order of Preachers is not surprising. Already in 1517, Leandro Alberti – historian, geographer, and inquisitor – had compiled a first collection of biographies in Latin that included those of several judges of the faith.³⁹ A century later, another Dominican from the city, Giovanni Michele Piò (1573-1644),⁴⁰ vicar of the inquisitor of Bologna Paolo Vicari, then titular judge of the sees of Faenza (1623-1625) and Milan (1625-1644), drew up two enormous works of apologetics and antiquarian erudition in the vernacular that would provide the model for Fontana's books and those of other Dominicans intent on reconstructing the past of the Order and the Inquisition.⁴¹ It is highly likely that Piò's pages inspired a long-last-

37. See Herman H. Schwedt, "La prosopografia delle Inquisizioni negli Stati italiani", in *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2011, pp. 356-392: 366-370.

38. Archivio Storico Domenicano di Bologna, Convento patriarcale di S. Domenico, *Series I*, MS 17500, Ermenegildo Todeschini, *Catalogus inquisitorum* (1723).

39. Leander Albertus, *De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum libri sex*, Bononiae, in aedibus Hieronymi Platonis, 1517. On the author, see *L'Italia dell'inquisitore. Storia e geografia dell'Italia del Cinquecento nella "Descrittione" di Leandro Alberti*, ed. by Massimo Donattini, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2007.

40. The young scholar Francesco Reale is working on the biography of this inquisitor friar.

41. Giovanni Michele Piò, *Delle vite de gli huomini illustri di S. Domenico [...]*, 2 vols, Bologna, Bellagamba, 1607; Pavia, Ardizzoni e Rossi, 1613; Giovanni Michele Piò,

ing iconographical enterprise that made the inquisitorial seat of Bologna a place of memorial celebration to which we turn now.

6. *The periphery. The seat of Bologna and its visual prosopography*

The convent church in Bologna houses the ark of Dominic of Gúzman, the saint and founder of the Order of Preachers. In one of its frontal reliefs made by the workshop of Nicola Pisano (13th century), the saint is depicted in the act of burning books infected by the poison of Catharism in 1216. It sent a clear message that was certainly not lost on the friars and faithful who prayed and kneeled in front of the sarcophagus (FIG. 16), especially after the creation of the Roman Holy Office in 1542, when the Bolognese outpost began to repress the doctrinal dissent that had taken root in the city with considerable harshness. But it was with the arrival of judge Antonio Balducci (1560-1572), a man Pope Pius V particularly trusted and who was also cautiously supported by bishop Gabriele Paleotti, that the Bolognese tribunal was able to liquidate the heretical circles and to impose many death sentences.⁴² Father Balducci himself, with the proceeds of confiscations and fines, launched the construction of the spaces used by the Inquisition, an L-shaped building with one arm destined for men's prisons, and separated from those of the convent and confraternities, including that of the *crucesignati*. The project was realized by the architectural workshop of the Morandi family (the Terribilia).⁴³ A few years later, an altar with a fresco depicting the Crucifixion was also set up to celebrate the religious rites that prisoners could attend.

Della nobile et generosa progenie del Padre San Domenico in Italia libri due [...], Bologna, Cochi, 1615.

42. See Guido Dall'Olio, *Eretici e inquisitori nella Bologna del Cinquecento*, Bologna, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1999.

43. The first study on the *Domus Inquisitionis* was that of Venturino Alce, "Due chiostrî cinquecenteschi in San Domenico di Bologna. Parte I", *Memorie Domenicane*, 85 (1968), pp. 1-13. See also Alfonso D'Amato, *I domenicani a Bologna*, Bologna, ESD, 1987, vol. II, pp. 731-744. A list of works dedicated to Peter Martyr and realized in Bologna in the early modern period is in Venturino Alce, "Iconografia di S. Pietro da Verona Martire Domenicano", *Memorie Domenicane*, 70 (1953), pp. 100-114, 150-168, now in *Martire per la fede: San Pietro da Verona domenicano e inquisitore*, ed. by Gianni Festa, Bologna, ESD, 2007, pp. 307-329.

During the 17th century, the well-preserved *Domus Inquisitionis* took on the appearance it still has today. The door of the judges' headquarters, on one side of the convent, was surmounted by an already existing bust of the Dominican Pope Pius V (Ghislieri), the infamous persecutor of heretics. On the ground floor, the judicial business took place and rooms for the vicar and notary were set up. On the first floor, the inquisitor's apartment was renovated and various artists began decorating the walls with paintings which were, however, never visible to the defendants. According to the account books of the tribunal,⁴⁴ in 1663-1664 Giacomo Alboresi (1632-1677) painted the ceiling of the room and the upper part of two walls with symbolic frescoes mirroring each other: the first, once again, depicted the martyrdom of Peter from Verona, while the second showed the court receiving the abjuration of a condemned man (FIG. 17). This is a very rare subject in Italy, even more so in the marble style in which it was executed here. The third fresco, placed in the panel above the fireplace, was the work of Girolamo Bonini and bucolically symbolizes the mission of the inquisitors. In fact, a dog (aka the *Domini canes*) placidly guards a flock of sheep at the foot of a tree, protecting them against the assaults of a wolf and a lion, symbols of heresy. An angel holds a scroll with the motto "Nec spe nec metu", evoking the firm and inflexible justice of ecclesiastical judges (FIG. 18). In the same room, Giacomo Maria Negri painted a landscape on the fireplace door (1671); another painter – Carlo Cignani and maybe his son Felice – painted the chapel of St. Thomas (1681).

More impressive than the inquisitor's flat are the corridors covered with the frescoed busts of the judges of the Bolognese tribunal wearing the habit of the Dominican Order. It amounts to a visual prosopography, albeit incomplete, which stands alone among the other Italian premises of

44. Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Demaniale 4/7592, "Giornale della Santa Inquisizione", vol. I, "Uscita del S. Ufficio di Bologna dal 1660 sino al 1686", year 1664, fol. n.n. Payment "al signor Giacomo Alboresi Pittore Bolognese per aver dipinto tutta la soffitta della sala nella quale si fanno le consulte del Santo Ufficio, col suo freggio attorno con la vita et i miracoli del glorioso San Pietro Martire conforme all'accordo" and "al signor Gerolamo Bonino Pittore Anconitano per haver dipinto il camino della medesima sala con figure et imprese, che alludono alla retta giustitia del Sacro Tribunale". No reference is made to the panel with the fresco of the court judging, but to another payment of six benches decorated by a painter named Simone "con l'arme dell'Inquisitore". The document also mentions the existence of a statue of Father Fuochi. Later, in 1671, the payment of Giacomo Maria Negri is recorded.

the Holy Office. One of the artists who worked on it from 1674 – when the judge was Sisto Cerchi – was a painter named Viviani, who is not even mentioned by Malvasia.⁴⁵ That very year, every single judge who had fought heresy in Bologna over the course of four centuries was portrayed with a rod or wand in his hands signifying the magistrate's authority, with added captions of their name and that of the reigning pontiff while on duty displayed in elegant cartouches underneath the ovals of the portraits. The faces of the inquisitors are rendered more and more realistically as one gets closer to the judges active from the 17th century onwards (FIGS 19-23). Court sources indicate that the series was continued in the following years by the inquisitor fathers Cappasanta (1695) and Paolo Girolamo Gallarate (1728).⁴⁶

Although inspired by the works of Piò, the vicar of the tribunal of Bologna at the beginning of his career, and Fontana, the series clearly was only produced from the 1670s onwards.⁴⁷ The idealized portraits of the inquisitors active since 1273 (when Aldobrandino da Reggio was a judge) are depicted in groups of frames. After a gap between 1310 and 1356 (the years of the Avignon papacy), the series resumes discontinuously with the friars in service until 1466, with many lacunae concerning the time when the Latin Church was shaken by schisms. Curiously, the inquisitors active during the Renaissance, including the judges enlisted after the founding of

45. *Ibid.*, year 1674, October: to have five arches painted, the judge paid “il pittore Viviani” [possibly a misspelling of Cignani], also from his own savings, to “far le memorie di tutti li padri inquisitori passati”.

46. Archivio Storico Domenicano di Bologna, Convento patriarcale di S. Domenico, *Series III*, MS 39010, “Uscita o spese della Inquisizione di Bologna”, 1687-1750, fols n.n., year 1695, November, expenses “per avere il Padre Vicario fatto dipingere li due ritratti del fu padre [Tommaso] Mazza Inquisitore [1679-1681] and Padre Inquisitore [Paolo Girolamo] Giacconi [1681-1695] nelli ovali dove sono dipinti gl'altri Inquisitori nell'ingresso del Santo Officio, sì come un altro in pittura [probably the late Cerchi, who had undertaken the work]”. The name of the painter is not mentioned in the document. See also *ibid.*, year 1728, January, payment for “due ritratti di monsignor [Vincenzo] Mazzoleni Arcivescovo di Corfù, uno in tela, l'altro a fresco nell'ordine delli altri inquisitori”. Again, it is not clear who was the artist or who had painted the three previous inquisitors: Cappasanta himself, Antonio Leoni, and Giordano Vignali. The ovals by Vignali and Mazzoleni are lost to me. Mazzoleni, while still alive, had been promoted to archbishop. See also Alce, *Due chiostrì*, p. 8, who, however, has summarized the first payment note inaccurately.

47. On the Bolognese tribunal in the 17th century, see Gian Luca D'Errico, *L'Inquisizione di Bologna e la Congregazione del Sant'Uffizio alla fine del XVII secolo. Analisi e ricerche*, Rome, Aracne, 2012 (with some images of the Domus Inquisitionis).

the Congregation of the Holy Office, are also missing; as is, paradoxically, the face of Leandro Alberti, inquisitor from 1550 to 1552, who contributed to the establishment of the first Dominican prosopographies by working on *De viris illustribus* (1517) in the convent. For the early modern period, the series begins with the portrait of Eustachio Locatelli (inquisitor from 1554 to 1560), followed by Balducci and all the judges in service until 1710 (the end of Father Antonio Leoni's term of office).

The attention to the memory of judges and the *officium fidei* that characterized the Bolognese inquisitorial court and which from the 17th century onwards also led to the staging of sumptuous funerals and the drafting of librettos praising the deceased magistrates,⁴⁸ may even have had an impact on the nearby College of Spain, where members of the Iberian elite enrolled in courses (mostly law) at the ancient *Studium* lived. In fact, in 1736 Archbishop Prospero Lambertini, later Pope Benedict XIV, commissioned Giuseppe Maria Crespi to paint an ideal portrait, which is still preserved at the college, of the martyr of the Spanish Inquisition, the Dominican Pedro de Arbués, who at the end of the 15th century had trained at the College (FIG. 24).⁴⁹

As for the Dominican convent, as Guido Dall'Olio's studies show,⁵⁰ it was by mere chance that the portraits of the inquisitors survived the Revolutionary period. After Napoleon's advance in northern Italy, which brought about the Cisalpine Republic and put a temporary end to the papal dominion over Bologna, in November 1797 the Reno Department ordered the demolition of the city prisons of the Inquisition as a symbol of intolerance and legal barbarism. There were even plans to convert them into housing for the farmer who tended the convent's vegetable garden. Furthermore, after an inspection by the deputies of the town hall, the prior Gondisalvo Donati was ordered to remove the portraits of the inquisitors and the scene of the abjuration frescoed in the rooms of the Holy Office. Yet, this removal did not take place. The reasons are unclear, as the history

48. See Lavenia, "Morte dell'inquisitore". For the purchase of small images and art objects by the inquisitors in Bologna, see Denny Solera, "Putting Things in Order: Inventories and Materiality of the Roman Inquisition", *Giornale di Storia*, 43 (2023), pp. 1-19.

49. Scholz-Hänsel, "Arte e Inquisición", p. 209.

50. See Guido Dall'Olio, "L'attività dell'Inquisizione a Bologna dal XVI al XVIII secolo", in *Storia di Bologna*, vol. III, *Bologna nell'età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, 2 vols, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2008, vol. II, pp. 1097-1176: 1146.

of the abolition of the tribunal in the Italian Peninsula in the 18th century as well as the policy of memory destruction that affected the buildings, images, and documents of the Inquisition in the localities have not yet been studied.

7. Tombstones and memory. A conclusion

The memory of deceased inquisitors was also delivered to the engraved tomb stones which, from the 17th century onwards, became ever more numerous in the cloisters of Italian convents. In 1628 the heirs of Girolamo Muzzarelli (judge from 1548 to 1549) had a plaque carved in the cloister of Bologna to commemorate the magistrate's activities many years after his death. In some convents, which did not house a peripheral office but sometimes functioned as vicariates of the tribunal, the display of links with an inquisitor friar seems to have been regarded as a prestigious addition, as happened in the small Dominican convent of San Severino Marche. Here, a 17th-century plaque honoured Pietro Maria Dolcetti, who was born in that town but had been a judge in Piedmont (FIG. 25). Also in the Marches, the authorities in Mogliano extolled their fellow-citizen Giuliano Causi – first inquisitor in Siena and then Master General of the Friars Minor Conventual – with a portrait, a printed engraving, and a plaque carved in the 18th century, more than one hundred years after his death (FIGS 26-27). Later, after the unification of Italy (1870), liberal governments would have opposing plaques affixed on the public façades of convents that in the past had welcomed the inquisitors or their vicars to commemorate the “horrors” of the Holy Office and the names of the “martyrs of free thought” (Giordano Bruno, Galileo, or lesser-known victims). A case in point is Treia, where the priest Pomponio Rustici, sentenced to death in 1587, came to be commemorated (FIG. 28). The secular authorities of the Kingdom of Italy reacted to the strategy of remembrance of the inquisitors – on the decline even before the revolutions and political changes that led to the end of the temporal power of the popes – with an opposite policy of remembrance that consigned the Holy Office to the tribunal of history.

This essay has attempted to show that from the late Middle Ages onwards the prestige and memory of the tribunal relied heavily on the visual representation of inquisitorial justice and its men. In the early modern period, when prosopographies of the martyrs and judges who had been fighting

heresy since the 13th century were elaborated, albeit following a different model from the more spectacular one adopted by the Spanish Inquisition, the peripheral Italian branches of the Holy Office (Milan, Bologna), but also the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, were transformed into well-decorated monuments. Their abundant imagery, including the less heroic examples of the 17th and 18th centuries, were meant to instil the friars with a sense of belonging to the institution, to exalt their prestige and reputation, and to eternalize their religious mission as inquisitors without insisting on the “splendour of torment”.



Fig. 1. Elisabetta Sirani (designer) and Francesco Curti (engraver), *Portrait of Guglielmo Fochi*, engraving, in Andrea Bianchini, *Sentimenti dogliosi di Felsina ne' funerali celebrati per la morte del reverendissimo padre Guglielmo Fochi*, Bologna, Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1660.

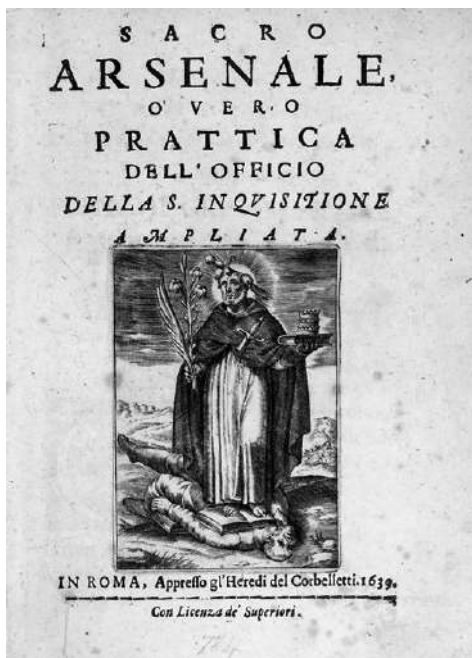


Fig. 2. Anonymous, Tombstone of Elisabetta Sirani and Guido Reni, 1650, Basilica di San Domenico, Bologna.

Fig. 3. Anonymous, *Portrait of Saint Peter Martyr*, engraved frontispiece in Eliseo Masini, *Sacro arsenale*, Rome, Corbellotti, 1639.

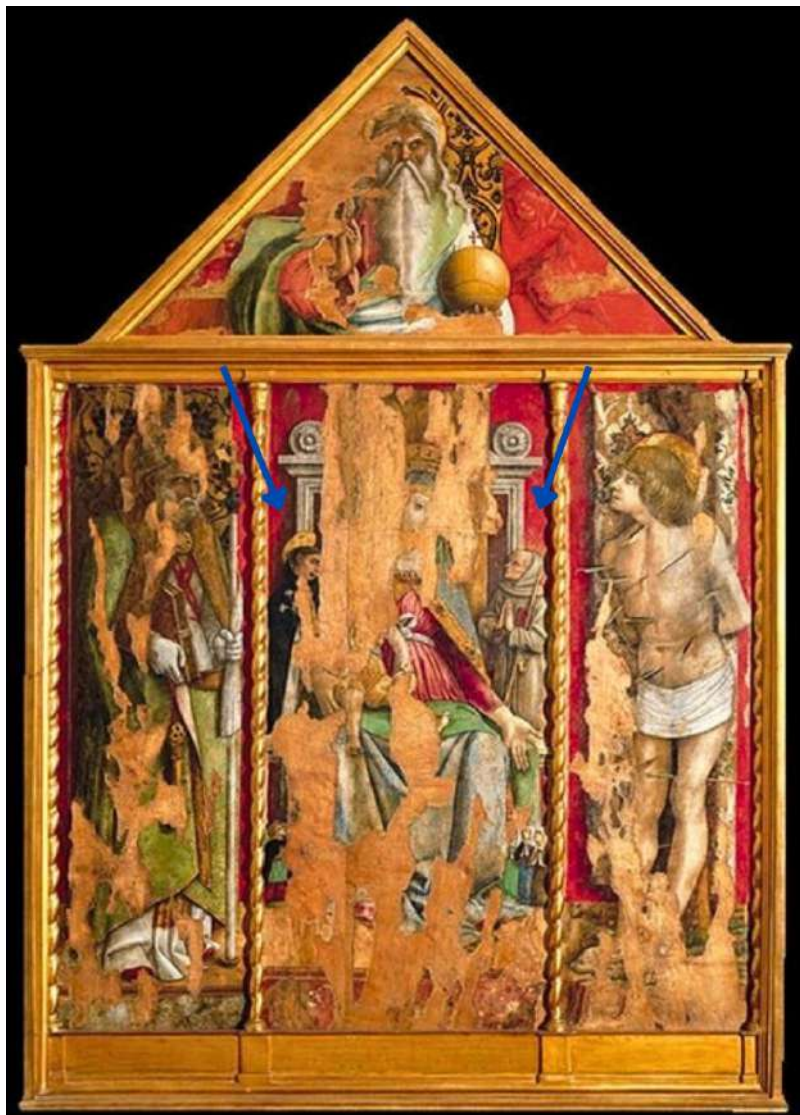


Fig. 4. Carlo Crivelli, *Primo trittico di Valle Castellana*, c. 1472, tempera on panel, Pinacoteca Civica, Ascoli Piceno.



Fig. 5. Vincenzo Foppa, *Miracolo dell'Ostia*, 1462-1468, fresco, Sant'Eustorgio, Portinari Chapel, Milan.



Fig. 6. Vincenzo Foppa, *Martirio di San Pietro da Verona*, 1462-1468, fresco, Sant'Eustorgio, Portinari Chapel, Milan.



Fig. 7. Juan Bautista Vázquez el Viejo, alabaster funerary monument of the inquisitor Antonio del Corro, 1564, Iglesia de Santa María de los Ángeles, San Vicente de la Barquera.

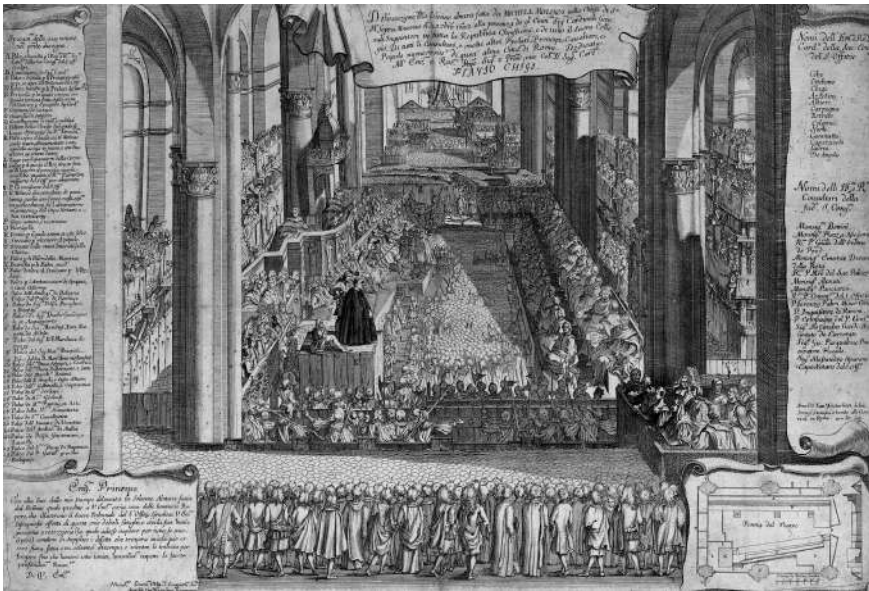


Fig. 8. Arnold van Westerhout, *Delineazione della solenne abiura fatta da Michele Molinos, 1687*, etching.



Fig. 9. After a project by Pirro Ligorio, marble funerary monument of Pope Paul IV, 1566-1567, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, Rome.



Fig. 10. Figure of Justice, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.



Fig. 11. Pius V promoting the enterprise of Lepanto, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.



Figs 12a-b. San Pietro Martire, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.



Fig. 12c. San Pietro Martire, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.



Fig. 13a. Martyred inquisitors, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.



Figs 13b-c. Martyred inquisitors, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.





Figs 14a-c. Martyred inquisitors of Avignonet, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.



Fig. 15a. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, 1666, engraved opening image, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, Rome.

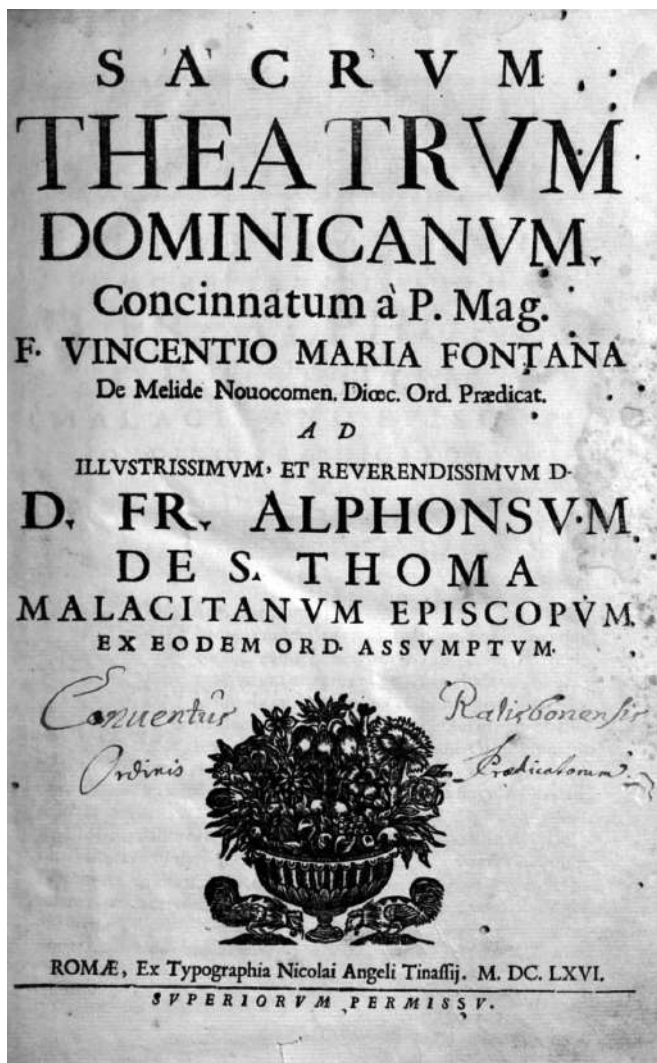


Fig. 15b. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, 1666, frontispiece, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, Rome.



Fig. 16. Nicola Pisano (workshop of), *Arca di San Domenico* (detail with St. Dominic burning heretical books), 1216, Basilica di San Domenico, Bologna.

Fig. 17. Giacomo Alboresi, abjuration of a condemned man, 1663-1664, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.



Fig. 18. Girolamo Bonini, Emblem of the Holy Office, 1663-1664, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.



Figs 19-23. Viviani (possibly Cignani) and others, oval portraits of the Bolognese inquisitors, 1674-1728, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.



Fig. 24. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *Martirio di Pedro d'Arbues*, oil on panel, 1736, Collegio di Spagna, Bologna.



Fig. 25. Anonymous, plaque honouring the inquisitor Pietro Maria Dolcetti, 1666, Convento di San Domenico, San Severino Marche.
 Fig. 26. Anonymous, plaque honouring the inquisitor Giuliano Causi, 1739, Convento di San Francesco, Mogliano.



Fig. 27. Anonymous, portrait of Giuliano Causi (detail), date unknown, oil on panel, Palazzo Comunale, Mogliano.

Fig. 28. Anonymous, plaque honouring Pomponio Rustici, victim of the Inquisition, 1910, Treia.