

Cataloguing the gold and silver papal medals at the Bargello Museum (16th-18th centuries)

Methods, perspectives and acquisitions

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The project called MeB, an acronym for the Italian *Conoscere e conservare i piccoli metalli del Bargello: nuove indagini storico-artistiche e scientifiche su medaglie e placchette d'età moderna* ('Knowing and preserving the small metals at the Bargello: new art-historical and scientific analysis on medals and plaquettes of the Early Modern period'), developed in collaboration between the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa and the Bargello Museum in Florence, and aimed at sharing an applied research finalized at the modernization and enhancement of the methods of investigation, both in the fields of Humanities and Science, with a specific focus on medals.¹

The huge and unique artistic patrimony of the Bargello, which hosts one of the world's richest, most historically

relevant, and internationally renowned collections of medallic and numismatic objects, provided the great opportunity to deal with these amazing pieces and therefore offered a privileged point of view not only to promote an in-depth knowledge of their history and technical components, but also to solicit the improvement of their conservation through the use of new technologies: an aspect which can also be relevant for other similar contexts, where the same methods could be applied. Science and Humanities then actively merged within MeB, achieving joint results by integrating historical investigations with the use of technical instrumentations (for example, optical microscopes, infrared spectroscopy, etc.),² both *in situ* (fig. 1) and bringing some of the specimens from the Bargello to the Scuola Normale's NEST laboratory in Pisa. In two years, the project made possible the art-historical cataloguing of around 400 medals (for which an online dissemination is planned), as well as the analysis and study of the material and the technical components of some of them, reaching new important awareness, particularly for what concerns the 16th century production in Rome.³ Moreover, it laid the groundwork for a continued collaboration between the Scuola Normale and the Bargello, which resulted in the funding of a new research grant, specifically aimed at supporting the preparation of the new display of the Museum's Medal and Baroque Rooms.⁴

MeB involved three fellows⁵ and had several purposes. Firstly, an educational one, since it included an intensive training and direct work on the objects, which are rarely analysed inside the museums, thus expanding the researchers' skills and operational knowledge. Another not secondary objective was to promote an interdisciplinary collaboration. In this sense, during the second year – which was when I entered the project – a shared topic was assigned to me, as an art historian, and to my colleague as a conservation specialist, to favour a joint study of the same medals, although with different approaches and instrumentation. We then devoted our attention to the gold and silver papal medals ranging between the pontificates of Paul III Farnese (1534–1549)



Fig 1. Researchers at work at the Bargello Museum during the MeB Project, 2022



Fig 2. *Pope Paul III and Alexander the Great kneeling at the feet of the High Priest of Jerusalem*, 1545-1546
Alessandro Cesati, called 'Grechetto'

Lead thin strikings, pasted on a central metal core and silvered on surface, 51.7 mm

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 6262

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Fig 4. *Pope Pius IV and the Medici coat of arms*, 1560

Gian Federico Bonzagni

Gold, struck, 33.5 mm

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 7098

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and Clement XI Albani (1700–1721). Such a focus ended to be particularly appropriate, both for the high quality of the pieces, which due to their precious materials were less likely to run into problems of authenticity, and for the stable qualities of these metals, not much analysed in the field of conservation studies. The shared work made it then possible to reach relevant new conclusions, formulating for example new historical hypotheses about the original function of some very rare thin uniface strikings by 16th century goldsmith and medallist Alessandro Cesati, called 'Grechetto' (Cyprus, early 16th century – before 1574).⁶

Within the framework of the operational and methodological premises outlined so far, the present essay will provide a brief insight into the research undertaken in the art-historical field.

The study of medals, not only understood as status symbols, political tools or collector's pieces, but also as vehicles of historical and iconographic contents, strictly connected to the broader unravelling of the so considered 'major' arts, has recently seen a marked increase in the critical debate.⁷ Nevertheless, there still persists in the art-historical discipline a dichotomy between the investigations devoted to paintings and graphics and those related to the coeval developments of the art of medal making, which in the last century has remained quite marginal and almost always, even today, the subject of interest of few specialists. After all, the serialization of such artifacts, commonly confined in medal rooms (*medaglieri*) and often reproduced and displayed as part of specific metal histories (*storie metalliche*), has inevitably led to focusing attention on typologies and canons, or on the represented figures, instead of their aesthetic and iconographic implications, giving rise to the perception of a genre in itself sufficient



Fig 3. *Alexander the Great kneeling at the feet of the High Priest of Jerusalem*, c. 1545

Anonymous artist

Print, 249 x 195 mm

London, British Museum (example reproduced here), inv. 1859,0806.310

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Fig 5. *St Paul's sermon to the Athenians*, c. 1545

Perino del Vaga

Drawing, 240 x 160 mm

Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. 487F

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Fig 6. *Pope Pius V and the miraculous fishing*, 1568
Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi

Silver, Ø 31.8 mm

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 6453

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and concluded. In this direction, the research conducted for the MeB project gave me the opportunity to apply my knowledge and my attitudes of scholar mainly used to working on painting to a focused analysis of medals, highlighting through the emblematic case of the pontifical production how these objects incorporated and integrated the prototypes of the coeval figurative arts, mixing them into a different language. This is a pivotal aspect, since a glimpse into such connections not only facilitates a better understanding of the meaning of the analysed medals, but also provides new data and insights that can be useful to all, especially for what concerns the circulation of models and the exchanges of ideas and contacts among artists. The proof of that is given by some examples.

The first one comes from the already mentioned Alessandro Cesati, born in Cyprus at the beginning of the 16th century and arrived in Rome at a very young age. He worked for the nephew of the reigning pontiff Paul III (1534–1549), cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), who in 1540 supported his employment at the Papal Mint.⁸ Cesati was an exceptionally skilled artist, with an autonomous inventive, and was in direct contact with Perino del Vaga (1501–1547), who was Pope Farnese's main painter in Rome until his death in 1547. The existence of a constant and personal bond between Cesati and Perino, along with other artists active in the Farnese circle, can be linked to one of Grechetto's most elaborate medals, recalled by Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives* as a proof of its author's rare abilities. It is a medal made in the twelfth year of the Farnese pontificate (November 1545–November 1546), bearing on its obverse the portrait of the Pope 'which has all the appearance of life', Vasari wrote, while on the reverse it had Alexander the Great thrown at the feet of the High-Priest of Jerusalem.⁹ The prototype of this medal, now otherwise known only in rare cast samples, is recognizable in the test model preserved



Fig 7. *The miraculous fishing*, c. 1515

Raffaello Sanzio

Cartoon for a tapestry, 322 x 401 cm

London, Victoria & Albert Museum

©Victoria and Albert Museum; courtesy Royal Collection Trust

in the Bargello collections (inv. 6262, fig. 2), consisting of two uniface lead strikings, plated in silver and applied to a central supporting roundel.¹⁰ The obverse, signed in Greek ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, bears the portrait bust of the Pope in profile, very well characterized in the expressive physiognomic, with the uncovered head, the long beard and the decorated cope, fastened on the chest by an oval pin with a risen Christ, on which the half-bust of St Paul and the full figure of a Christ carrying the cross can be distinguished. The figures on the reverse reappear in an anonymous engraving (fig. 3), referred by Adam Bartsch to the school of Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–1534) but in fact connected to a drawing by Francesco Salviati (1510–1563). Actually, as I tried to elucidate in a previous essay on this subject,¹¹ it more likely derives from a prototype by Perino del Vaga.



Fig 8. Pope Gregory XIII and St Paul's sermon to the Athenians, 1574

Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi

Silver, 36.2 mm

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 6458

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The iconographic fortune of Perino's inventions did not remain an isolated case within the medallion production of the Pontifical State. In fact, exactly like the painters, the medallists of the Roman Mint drew references from multiple sources, making use of them in new ways according to different representational needs. An interesting case relates to a medal made by Gian Federico Bonzagni (*post* 1507–1588 c.) in the first year of the pontificate of Pius IV Medici di Marignano (1559–1565), of which the Bargello holds a valuable and very rare gold version (fig. 4). As this was an early striking, the usual half-bust of the Pope was replaced on the obverse by the coat of arms of the Medici family, the official portrait of the newly elected being evidently not yet available. For the reverse Bonzagni instead reused a die already adopted for the medals of the previous pontiff, Paul IV Carafa (1555–1559).¹² Modern studies agree in identifying its subject with the Gospel episode of *Christ healing the sick man at the pool of Bethesda* (John 5:14), to which the outline inscription refers.¹³ The scene depicted on the medal, however, finds a prototype in a drawing by Perino with *St Paul's sermon to the Athenians*,¹⁴ part of a famous series of eight stories of St Peter and St Paul made by Bonaccorsi around 1545 as models for the embroidery of a lost cope commissioned by Pope Farnese (fig. 5).¹⁵ The choice of a history of St Paul appears, moreover, to be in line with the programmatic intentions of Pope Carafa, who was the first to adopt it, given his devotion to the saint and to his predecessor Paul III, who had created him a cardinal. Ridolfino Venuti (1744) recalls in fact that Paul IV had the medal minted shortly before the end of the Anglican schism, when England renewed its submission to the Roman Church, as a warning to the English people not to relapse into Protestantism.¹⁶ The reuse of the die was thus probably linked to the reaffirmation of the Roman Catholicism in the face of the spread of heresy, and the fact that it was also later adopted by Pius V



Fig 9. S. Paul's sermon to the Athenians, c. 1515

Raffaello Sanzio

Cartoon for a tapestry, 343 x 443 cm

London, Victoria & Albert Museum

©Victoria and Albert Museum; courtesy Royal Collection Trust

(1566–1572), who in 1570 excommunicated the queen, declaring her heretic, confirm the programmatic and highly symbolic significance of such an image, readopted as part of an already codified iconographic tradition: in fact, this medal, as with many others, did not just reiterate a given model, but generated a new, peculiar, expressive language, which through the union of textual and iconographic sources developed into an autonomous instrument of communication, also functional in making articulated messages clearer.¹⁷

Among the most characteristic aspects of the pontifical medals, especially during the 16th century, there was the recurring reference to prototypes connected to papal patronage, also because the medallists of the Roman Mint could enjoy more than other colleagues the closeness, and sometimes the direct dialogue, with the artists who



Fig 10. *Roman Charity* (Cimon and Pero), c. 1672
Anonymous artist
Drawing, 349 x 262 mm
Athens, National Gallery, inv. II.2730
©2023 National Gallery - Alexandros Soutsos Museum



Fig 11. *Pope Clement X and the Roman Charity*, c. 1672
Giovanni Martino Hamerani
Silver, struck, 34.2 mm, with suspension loop
Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 10356
©MiC - Musei del Bargello - photo by the author

gravitated to the papal court – as seen, for example, in Perino del Vaga's case.¹⁸ As well as for the painters, an atlas of models to draw on was represented by the Apostolic Palaces, whose interiors were characterized by decorations stratified over the centuries, easily becoming the most immediate and authoritative point of reference for the die engravers, who created from that a sort of iconographic tradition for the papal medal. Emblematic in this sense is the famous series of tapestries with *The Stories of St Peter and St Paul* taken from the cartoons commissioned around 1515 by Pope Leo X Medici to Raphael (1483–1520) for the Sistine Chapel.¹⁹ At least two episodes of this cycle were translated into metal by Lombard Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi (1517–*post* 1575),

active in the Papal Mint between the 1540s and 1560s.²⁰ The first reference concerns a series of medals of Pope Pius V Ghislieri relating to the second, third and fourth years of his pontificate (January 1567–January 1570) and bearing the miraculous episode of the *Calmed storm*, in which Jesus calmed a sea storm, while pronouncing the famous warning: 'Why are you afraid, men of little faith?' (fig. 6).²¹ The iconographic reference for this scene was the *Miraculous fishing* seen on one of Sanzio's tapestries (fig. 7).²² The medal was probably produced for the feast of the two patrons of Rome, St Peter and St Paul, celebrated each year on June 29th,²³ and the miracle of the storm, associated to the inscription IMPERA. D[omi]NE. ET. FAC. TRANQVILITATEM. ('Command Lord and Bring Peace') invoked the divine protection against the Turkish invasions, that the Pope and the whole of Christianity were facing at the time.

Analogous is the case of *St Paul's sermon to the Athenians*, derived from the corresponding tapestry and adapted on the reverse of a medal²⁴ for Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (fig. 8), where, once again, the figurative model is declined by the medallist according to his own representational needs (fig. 9). Indeed, although studies have mostly identified the scene with *St Paul's sermon*,²⁵ Filippo Bonanni (1699) correctly recognized in it *St Peter before the Temple of Jerusalem*, in accordance with the text of the inscription.²⁶ The fact that the episode on the medal referred both to a story of St Peter and to a composition connected with St Paul could also be motivated by a double level of interpretation, which might have included the deliberate allusion to both saints through the fusion of two episodes into a single image.

Just to consider at this point some cases from the 17th and 18th centuries, the first thing I would like to stress is the very high quality of the gold and silver papal medals of that period, which can easily be defined a real 'golden age' for the art of medal making. If compared to the 16th century production, the 17th and 18th centuries have already been the subject of in-depth scholarships, which have put into dialogue the medals and the contemporary sculpture, painting, and graphics. Nonetheless, the study and cataloguing of the pieces considered for the MeB project led to the finding of something new. It is, for instance, the case of an interesting, anonymous drawing, of oval format, kept at the National Gallery of Athens (fig. 10),²⁷ which resulted to be related to a medal made in 1672 by Giovanni Martino Hamerani (1646–1705) for Pope Clement X Altieri (1670–1676), bearing on the reverse a *Roman Charity* (Cimon and Pero) (fig. 11).²⁸ Moreover, the inevitable link between medals and sculptural portraiture opened to some cautious considerations toward a rare gold specimen by Giacomo Antonio Moro (c. 1575–1624) in the Bargello's collection (fig. 12), struck during Pope Borghese's 13th year of pontificate (1617–1618), possibly for the annual celebrations of St Peter and St Paul (June 29th, 1617), or as a foundation medal.²⁹ It bears on the reverse a view of architect Carlo Maderno's Confession Chapel in St Peter's, while on the obverse is an impressive high-quality portrait of the pontiff. His face is in profile,



Fig. 12. *Pope Paul V and the Confession Chapel in St Peter's*, 1617-1618
Giacomo Antonio Moro

Gold, struck, Ø 38 mm, with suspension loop
Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 7133
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just like in Moro's previous production,³⁰ but his bust appears semi-rotated and more dynamic than usual, with a newly conceived Baroque cartouche-like brooch closing his decorated stolon, his frowning gaze directed into the distance, with the eye's iris well outlined, adding vitality and intensity to the effigy. The qualitative difference in the naturalistic rendering of the figure, when comparing this specimen to the earlier works by Giorgio Rancetti (c. 1550–1610) or Paolo Sanquirico (1565–1630), dating from the beginning of Borghese's pontificate (fig. 13), as well as to those made before by Moro himself, calls for reflection on the reasons for this turn. The new profile, pose and brooch seem, in fact, to find a stringent typological correspondence in the marble bust of the Pope by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) now at the Getty Museum, Los Angeles, whose chronology is still discussed (fig. 14). Some scholars date it around 1620,³¹ also according to a note by the sculptor's son, Domenico, who documented how the Pope personally commissioned his portrait from the (at the time very young) artist,³² while others identify it with the posthumous bust paid to Bernini in 1621 by cardinal Scipione Borghese (1577–1633) to commemorate his uncle pontiff, who had died on January 28th, 1621.³³ The similarities between the bust and what is seen on the medal (fig. 15), where Paul V is characterized by the dynamism of the pose, by an unprecedented intensity in the facial expression and by the new, articulated brooch on his chest,³⁴ perhaps opens a new scenario, which may confirm the opinion of those who considered the American exemplar an official portrait



Fig. 13. *Pope Paul V and Ferrara's fortress*, 1610
Paolo Sanquirico

Silver, struck, 36.8 mm
Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 7124
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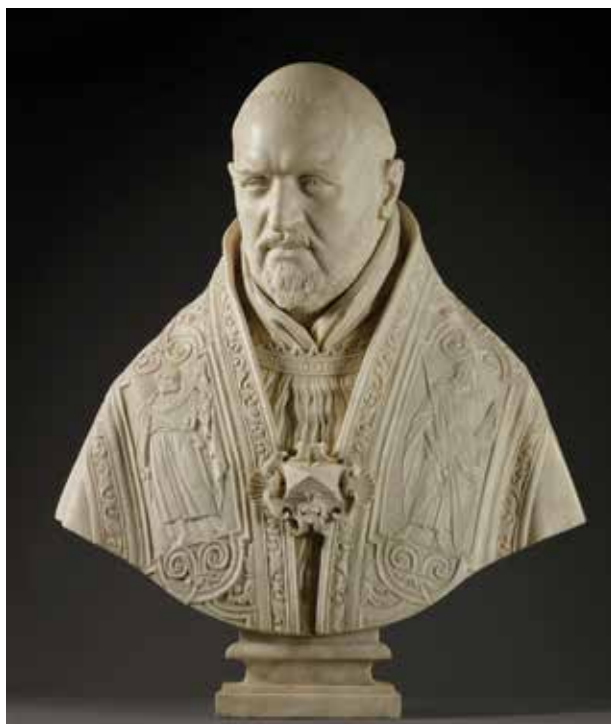


Fig. 14. *Bust of Pope Paul V*, c. 1617-1620?

Gian Lorenzo Bernini

Marble, 78 cm

Los Angeles, The Getty Museum, inv. 2015.22

Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program

requested by the Pope himself – after all, he has in it all the appearance of an alive body –,³⁵ further anticipating to mid-1617 its possible creation, or at least that of its plausible (but lost) terracotta model.³⁶

In conclusion, the examples selected and presented here only represent a small section of a potentially much broader discourse, which places medals at the center of the art debate. In contrast to what happened in many cases with prints, which became a vehicle for disseminating models, these objects instead drew from their inherent seriality the strength of a genre, without bending to any instrumental use. The medallion production drew, in fact, inspiration from the most disparate sources, reworking and adapting them according to its own communicative needs, also replicating and making some models a 'classic', within a typological standardization of some canons. If then in the first half of the century the relationship between medallists and painters still fitted into the dynamics of a direct authorial exchange, this dialogue later became



Fig. 15. *Bust of Pope Paul V*, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, detail – *Pope Paul V*, Giacomo Antonio Moro, detail.

less stringent, returning in vogue, instead, the use of formalized models.

Certainly, the obviousness of some iconographic references and the fact that scholarships have not dwelt on them so far, are the clearest proof that much work still remains to be done and that the path to the accreditation of the medal as a resource, as a tool of analysis and as an integral part of the broader art system, is in many respects, and for the 16th century especially, still to be travelled.

NOTES

1. The project was coordinated and supervised by Professor Lucia Simonato and co-financed by European Union, Italian Republic, Regione Toscana and Scuola Normale Superiore. The work was carried out by three research fellows: two in the field of humanities and one in the field of science. In this latter case, it also joined an active collaboration with the NEST laboratory (National Enterprise for nanoScience and nanoTechnology) at the Scuola Normale Superiore. The fellowships in the field of cultural heritage were funded by POR FSE TOSCANA 2014–2020 within the ‘GiovaniSi’ project (www.giovanisi.it), promoted by Regione Toscana to grant autonomy to young people and scholars. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Simonato, for her constant presence and precious help, and to Vittoria Brunetti, Francesca Di Turo, Giandonato Tartarelli, and the Director of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Dr. Paola D’Agostino.

2. See on this Francesca Di Turo’s essay in this volume.

3. The achieved results have been published in scientific journals of national and international relevance. See Daniele, G.: Da Raffaello a Vasari: note iconografiche sulla medagliistica pontificia nel Cinquecento, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa – Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, no. 14/2, 2022 (2023), pp. 719–736, 803–809; Daniele, G.: A 1550 ‘double Jubilee’ medal by Alessandro Cesati, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 165, no. 1448, November 2023, pp. 1190–1195; Di Turo, F., et al.: Disclosing the composition of the Renaissance thin uniface metallic strikings by Alessandro Cesati (mid-16th century) from the Bargello Museum using non-invasive analyses, *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, no. 62, 2023, pp. 422–429.

4. The work has been conducted by the present author under the scientific supervision of Prof. Lucia Simonato (Scuola Normale Superiore), who curated the medals’ selection, and of the Museum’s Director, Dr. Paola D’Agostino. The new rooms opened to the public on November 30th, 2023.

5. Two in the field of Humanities, since the one appointed for the first year left in advance, and one in the field of Science.

6. See above, footnote no. 3.

7. See for example Simonato, L. (ed.): *Le arti a dialogo. Medaglie e medaglisti tra Quattro e Settecento*, Pisa, 2014; *Wettstreit in Erz: Porträtmedaillen der deutschen Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue, Munich-Berlin, 2013; Simonato, L. (ed.): *La collezione di medaglie Mario Scaglia. I, Esercizi di lettura*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020.

8. On Cesati’s career see Ronchini, A.: Il Grechetto, *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le province modenesi e parmensi*, vol. 2, Modena, 1864, pp. 251–261; *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Cesati Alessandro, detto il Greco, o il Grechetto, XXIV, Roma, 1980, pp. 229–231; Attwood, P.: *Italian Medals in the British Public Collections (c. 1530–1600)*, vol. 2, London, 2003, pp. 379–383.

9. Vasari, G.: *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori*, Florence, 1568 [Eng. trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere, 10 vols., London, 1912–1915, vol. 6 (1913), p. 85].

10. The medal, displayed in the new Medal Room at the Bargello, has

recently been cleaned and restored. On this piece see at least Bonanni, F.: *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum quae a tempore Martini V usque ad annum MDCXCLX*, vol. I, Romae, ex Typographia Dominici Antonii Herculis, 1699, pp. 231–232, no. XXXIII; Supino, I. B.: *Il medagliere mediceo nel R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze (secoli XV–XVI)*, Florence, 1899, p. 113, no. 302; Pollard, J. G.: *Medaglie italiane del Rinascimento nel Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, 3 vols., Florence, 1984–1985, vol. 2, 1985, no. 524; Toderi, G. and Vannel, F.: *Le medaglie del XVI secolo*, 3 vols., Florence, 2000, vol. 2, no. 2052; Modesti, A.: *Corpus Numismatum Omnium Romanorum Pontificum*, 6 vols., Rome, 2002–2018, vol. 2, 2003, no. 313; Vannel, F. and Toderi, G.: *Medaglie italiane del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, 4 vols., Florence, 2003–2007, vol. 1, 2003, no. 1111; Firpo, M. and Biferali, F.: *‘Navicula Petri’. L’arte dei papi nel Cinquecento (1527–1571)*, Roma-Bari, 2009, p. 162. For the scientific analysis on this specimen see Francesca Di Turo’s essay in the present volume.

11. Daniele, 2022 (2023).

12. See Modesti, 2002–2018, vol. 2, 2003, no. 468 (as Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi); vol. 3, 2004, no. 496 (as Giovan Federico Bonzagni).

13. Chacón, A.: *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Clementem IX P. O. M.*, 2 vols., Romae, typis Vaticanis, 1630, vol. 1, col. 1018 (Pius V); Du Molinet, C.: *Historia summorum pontificum a Martino V ad Innocentium XI per eorum numismata ab anno MCCCCXVII ad annum MDCLXXVIII*, Lutetiae, apud Ludovicum Billaine Bibliopolam Parisiensem, 1679, p. 84 (Pius V); Bonanni, 1699, vol. 1, pp. 269 (Paul IV), 294 (Pius V); Venuti, R.: *Numismata romanorum pontificum praestantiora a Martino V ad Benedictum XIV*, Romae, ex Typographia Jo. Baptistae Bernabò, 1744, pp. 106 (Paul IV), 122 (Pius IV), 129 (Pius V); Pollard, 1984–1985, vol. 2, 1985, no. 573; Toderi and Vannel, 2000, vol. 2, no. 2152; Vannel and Toderi, 2003–2007, vol. 1, 2003, no. 1165; Modesti, 2002–2018, vol. 3, 2004, no. 496; Firpo and Biferali, 2009, p. 260.

14. Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. 487F. For this identification see Daniele, 2022 (2023).

15. See on this Davidson, B.: The cope embroideries designed for Paul III by Perino del Vaga, *Master Drawings*, 28, 1990, pp. 123–141.

16. Venuti, 1744, p. 106.

17. The figure of St Paul from Perino’s drawing was later adopted by Bonzagni in a second die bearing a *Delivery of the keys to St Peter* (see Vannel and Toderi, 2003–2007, vol. 1, 2003, nn. 1184–1187).

18. For the development of such links in the following centuries see in particular Simonato, L.: *Impronta di Sua Santità: Urbano VIII e le medaglie*, Pisa, 2008.

19. See on this De Strobel, A. M. (ed.): *Leone X e Raffaello in Sistina: gli arazzi degli Atti degli Apostoli*, 2 vols., Vatican City, 2020. The seven surviving cartoons are today preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

20. For the artist’s biography see Cupperi, W.: Tra glittica e antiquaria: Giovannantonio de’ Rossi, Domenico Compagni e le vicende della medaglia fusa a Roma (1561–1575), in *Scultura a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: protagonisti e problemi* (ed. W. Cupperi, G. Extermann and G. Ioele), Rome, 2021, pp. 113–150.

21. Matthew 8, 23–27; Marc 4, 35–41; Luke 8, 22–25.

22. For this medal see Pollard, 1984–1985, vol. 2, 1985, no. 598; Toderi and Vannel, 2000, no. 2256; Vannel and Toderi, 2003–2007, vol. 1, 2003, no. 1226; Modesti, 2002–2018, vol. 3, 2004, no. 600.

23. Modesti, 2002–2018, vol. 3, 2004, no. 600; Modesti, A.: *La medaglia ‘annuale’ dei romani pontefici*, 2 vols., Rome, 2007–2009, vol. 1, 2007, nn. 21–22.

24. See Bäurle, C., in *Die silberne Stadt: Rom im Spiegel seiner Medaillen. Von Papst Paul II bis Alexander VII* (ed. M. Burioni and M. Hirsch), Munich, 2021, pp. 212-213.

25. Venuti, 1744, p. 137, no. VIII; Armand, 1883–1887, vol. 3, 1887, p. 132, E; Supino, 1899, p. 145, no. 431; Pollard, 1984–1985, vol. 2, 1985, no. 620; Toderi and Vannel, 2000, vol. 2, no. 2268; Vannel and Toderi, 2003–2007, vol. 1, 2003, no. 1235.

26. Bonanni, 1699, vol. 1, p. 338, no. XXX; Modesti, 2002–2018, vol. 3, 2004, no. 706; Modesti, 2007–2009, vol. 1, 2007, no. 31.

27. Sanguine, brush and pigment on coloured paper, inv. II.2730. On the Museum's official website, the drawing is attributed to an anonymous imitator of Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722), but it has more likely been sketched, possibly upon a direct request, by one of the many artists who were close to Hamerani in Rome. It will be the subject of further studies by the present author.

28. See the silver specimen preserved in Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 10356, ø 38,6 mm with suspension loop.

29. See Modesti, 2002–2018, vol. 4, 2006, no. 1085, with previous bibliography. The scholar identifies it with the annual medal, although the pontiffs portrayed on the obverse of such exemplars usually had their stolon decorated with the two (or at least one of the) Roman patrons, which is not the case here. A similar specimen was also bricked into the walls of the Confession Chapel, on July 29th, 1617 (see Casassayas, D.: *Fedele guida delle sagre grotte vaticane cavata da una preziosa edizione del secolo 17*, Roma, 1867, p. 28).

30. See for example the Bargello's gold specimens inv. 7129, struck in 1615 for the translation of relics in the Roman church of Sant'Agnese fuori le mura, and inv. 7132, issued for the washing of the feet ceremony, in the spring of 1617. In the example considered here the Pope's face seems in any case taken from a different, newly realized punch.

31. Petrucci, F.: Un Bernini riscoperto: il busto in marmo di Paolo V, *Studi di storia dell'arte*, no. 26, 2015, pp. 201-214; Bernardini, M. G.: *Bernini: catalogo delle sculture*, Turin, 2021, pp. 110-111.

32. Bernini, D.: *Vita del cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino, descritta da Domenico Bernino suo figlio*, in Roma, a spese di Rocco Bernabò, l'anno 1713, p. 17.

33. See Desmas, A. L., in *Bernini* (ed. A. Bacchi and A. Coliva), exhibition catalogue (Rome, Galleria Borghese, 2017–2018), Milan, 2017, pp. 100-103; 118-121, cat. IV.5, with previous bibliography.

34. A similar brooch is also seen on Paul V's small marble bust by Nicolas Cordier (Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, inv. 98ZR00007), dated to c. 1610–1612, but Bernini's central gem has a pyramidal aspect, whose tridimensionality seems replicated in the medallic version.

35. Petrucci, 2015; Bernardini, 2021, pp. 110-111. In these scholars' opinion, the posthumous portrait can instead be identified with the one today preserved at the Galleria Borghese, Rome (inv. CCXLVIII).

36. Bernini's production in the second decade of the 17th century is quite varied in quality and chronologically uncertain, although it also includes early masterpieces like the *St Sebastian* (1617; Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, inv. K35) and the group of *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius* (1618–1619; Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. CLXXXII). What is proposed here aims, therefore, just at being a suggestion.