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The Allegory of Alexander the Great and Pope Alexander VII (1666):

Making and Mountains in Early Modern Roman Thesis Print Imagery

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Art History

by

Emily Ann Ostlander

2024

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Allegory of Alexander the Great and Pope Alexander VII (1666):

Making and Mountains in Early Modern Roman Thesis Print Imagery

by

Emily Ann Ostlander

Master of Arts in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2024

Professor Bronwen Wilson, Chair

This thesis explores the engraving known as *The Allegory of Alexander the Great and Pope Alexander VII* (1666). The image was designed by the Italian artist Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669) and engraved by François Spierre (1639-1681), a printmaker from Lorraine. It was commissioned by the Spanish theologian, Cristoforo Lozano, for his thesis defenses at the Sapienza in Rome. Using the classical story of Mount Athos, the artists elaborated a panegyrical allegory in honor of Pope Alexander VII Chigi (1599-1667) and his building projects in Rome. Easily mass-produced and distributed, print facilitated the circulation of images publicly at the event and privately as a souvenir. The academic context of Lozano's thesis defense and the subject matter, which was intended to promote the Chigi family, prompts questions about papal and familial power. The image of Mount Athos produced for the defense, and following it, has been tied to the heraldic *monti* and the star of the Chigi family in past scholarship; this thesis argues that the engraving is a reproducible image that can be appropriated by various figures of power.

The thesis of Emily Ann Ostlander is approved.

Lamia Balafrej

Hui-Shu Lee

Bronwen Wilson, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2024

To Professor Bronwen Wilson. I thank you endlessly for your faith and support.

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Introduction

[...] the Greeks came to call him a Mikrokosmos that is in himself a little world.

- Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501)[1]

A large engraving, printed in 1666, presents viewers with a mountain from which a colossal figure of a man is being sculpted (368 x 268 mm: Fig. 1).[2] *Putti* float in the foreground and raise a banderole inscribed with the phrase, *Nomen idem, at maior virtus, facit ausibus artem*, or "His name is the same but [his] greater virtue turns bold ideas into art." This text alludes to the lower right foreground of the image, where a figure dressed in papal regalia commands the attention of several attendants. A young man raises an umbraculum to shade the pope, while another youth at the center of the page kneels at his feet. An older man genuflects between the two attendants, gesturing with his left hand towards the mountain. The foreground is set into relief by bold lines, in contrast with the delicate cross-hatching of a distant landscape. Light filters through clouds, highlighting the stepped forms of the mountain. Looking closer reveals that the windswept hair of this large and naturalistic human form is made of trees. The colossal figure supports a city with a church surmounted by a large cupola in one hand, with a vessel in the other hand from which water cascades down the mountain into the river below. A sailboat traverses a body of water in the midground, navigating away from the mountain back towards the pope.

A detail in the foreground takes precedence in the image: the kneeling youth places a composition — likely a drawing or a print, in the hands of the pope (Fig. 2). The lines are thin and imperfect, taking the form of a sketch, possibly in reference to the preparatory drawing for the

[1]Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare* (Military Architecture, Engineering and Art Treatises), ed. C. Maltese (Milan, 1967 [1476]), 69. Quoted in Veronica Della Dora, "Alexander the Great's Mountain," *Geographical Review* 95 (2005): 500.

[2] Cristoforo Lozano, "Orandriansis hoc est Montium in Statuam Transformatio qua ex gentilitio stemmate S.D.N. Alexandri VII Pont. Max. patrocinium felici auspicio capit iuris utriusque thesibus propugnandis Christophorus Lozanus Hispanus Academiae Intrecciatorum Princeps," Rome, 1666.

engraving or to the thesis print. A reclining figure, six rocky hills, and an eight-pointed star can be seen in the detail. These elements echo the spatial organization and content of the larger image of which it is a part. By copying the image within itself, the detail becomes a *mise en abîme* motif that accentuates the mountainscape and its process of replication through print.[3] The pope and his attendants are not included in the detail. In the engraving, these figures face away from the landscape, with the pope fixated on the composition in his hands and the rest of the party occupied by his presence. This thesis explores this engraving through the mountain and its making in order to emphasize the design as a reproducible image of power in print.

The print is known today as *The Allegory of Pope Alexander VII and Alexander the Great (1666)*. The image was designed by the Italian artist Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669) and engraved by François Spierre (1639-1681), a printmaker from Lorraine. It was commissioned by the Spanish theologian, Cristoforo Lozano, for his thesis defenses at the Sapienza in Rome. The subject matter of the thesis print was inspired by the meeting between Alexander the Great and the architect Deinokrates when the latter proposed carving Mount Athos into his king's likeness. Using the classical story of Mount Athos, Cortona created a drawing dedicated to Pope Alexander VII Chigi (1599-1667) and his building projects in Rome (Fig. 3).

The Lozano thesis print has been mentioned by several scholars. Louise Rice discusses the composition in reference to the drawings of Pietro da Cortona and the object's function as an early modern thesis print.[4] Focusing on how Cortona's designs were constructed and their function in an academic context, she demonstrates his ingenuity in interpreting complex literary conceits.[5] Antonia

[3] See Louis Marin, "The King's Geometer," also Denis Ribouillault, "De la pratique au mythe: la figure du dessinateur dans les paysages de Claude Lorrain." In *Flâneurs et regardeurs dans la peinture de la Renaissance, actes du colloque* Publications de la Carbone (2009).

[4] Louise Rice. "Pietro Da Cortona and the Roman Baroque Thesis Print." *Pietro Da Cortona 1597-1669*. Atti Del Convegno Internazionale (12-15 November 1997), Rome and Milan: Electa, 1998: 189.

[5] Ibid.

Pampalone includes the print as part of her research detailing various parts of the Roman academic defense, told through the specific contexts of the Lozano and Altemps thesis ceremonies.[6] Benedetta Ciuffa includes the engraving in her recent monograph on François Spierre, which traces the printmaker's biography from his roots in Lorraine to his practice in Rome.[7] She provides insights into the engraving's production and the details of collaboration between Cortona and Spierre.[8] Veronica della Dora discusses Cortona's drawing in relation to the subject matter's circulation in different historical and geographical contexts.[9] Looking at later variations on the theme, she demonstrates how Mount Athos becomes a metaphor of power and desire, reflecting the relationship between the microcosm of the human body and the natural macrocosm.[10] Building on these studies, I develop a framework for understanding the mechanisms that are operating in this print and how they are significant for the papal family and relevant stakeholders.

This essay emphasizes Spierre's translation of the design for Lozano's thesis print from Cortona's drawing into an engraving. I make a case for how Spierre embellished the original composition with details that elaborate on the relationship between the two mediums and making worlds. I also interrogate Cortona and Spierre's print of Athos through ideas of human artifice and artistic experimentation. The engraving references the architectural projects of Pope Alexander VII Chigi (1599-1667) by emphasizing acts of making and interventions in the landscape within its composition.

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[6] Antonia Pampalone. *Cerimonie di Laurea nella Roma barocca. Pietro da Cortona e i frontespizi ermetici di tesi*, Gangemi Press (2014), 9.

[7] Benedetta Ciuffa. *François Spierre: Un incisore lorenese nella Roma barocca*. Artemide Press, (2021), 97. See Frauke van der Wall, 1987.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Veronica Della Dora. "Alexander the Great's Mountain." In *Geographical Review* Vol. 95, no. 4, (2005): 489.

[10] Ibid.

This thesis is composed of four sections which highlight different aspects of the design, the print, and its operations. The first section considers the thesis print, as well as the historical and visual materials which informed images produced under the Chigi campaign. The following section questions the socio-political importance of the mountain and discusses the role of print in the production of images for ceremonial events. The third section connects the Lozano print to sculpture by considering it in relation to Giambologna's (1528-1608) *Appennine Colossus*. The final section discusses how early modern voice is applied to ancient myth in light of the engraving.

The Thesis Print and Chigi Campaign

The Lozano Print and Ceremony

On the morning of July 26th, 1666, attendees of Cristoforo Lozano's graduation ceremony approached Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza from the street, now the Corso del Rinascimento.[11] The Cartari-Febei records provide a vivid testimony of the defense.[12] The street was covered with aromatics and greenery.[13] Spectators would have seen silk sashes strung along the façade of the church and doors decorated with bushels of yellow and red taffeta.[14] They would have entered the courtyard of the Sapienza, where the arcade was lined with velvet damasks and the piers on the second story were wrapped in ornate tapestries (Fig. 4).[15] Guests were seated beneath awnings to help shield them from the harsh sunlight.[16] As one chronicler reports, several hundred attendees

[11] ASR, Cartari-Febei, vol. 80, f. 256-57v. Antonia Pampalone describes the Cartari-Febei chronicle of the thesis defense of two thesis defenses: Cristoforo Lozano and Giovanni Angelo Altemps. Pampalone, *Cerimonie*. 26.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Rice. "Pietro Da Cortona": 199.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Pampalone, *Cerimonie*, 27.

[16] Rice. "Pietro Da Cortona": 199.

were present at the event, including academics, prelates, and a cardinal.[17] Odes of song could be heard from the choir.[18] Booklets made of various formats and materials — 360 of them according to the report — were distributed according to the rank of the receiver.[19] The Cardinal, Flavio Chigi (1631-1693), received a booklet made of pale yellow taffeta guillochéd with gold, while the majority of the audience received copies made from light pink paper.[20] The frontispiece, which was commissioned by Lozano for these booklets, was the engraving produced by Cortona and Spierre. Above the entrance to the Sapienza, there was a painting which reproduced the thesis print on a larger scale.[21] In addition to the booklets, the engraving was distributed in loose sheets after the ceremony.[22]

During the early modern period, when students successfully completed the course of their studies, and if their professors deemed them to be presentable and accomplished, they became eligible to undergo a public thesis defense.[23] These events allowed for accomplished young men to showcase their talent and erudition before an invited audience.[24] The defense was a formal rhetorical exercise during which the student defender presented a series of theses, or brief topics which were Aristotelian and Scholastic in nature, before a panel of three examiners.[25] The defense was an

[17] Pampalone, *Cerimonie*, 25.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Louise Rice. "Jesuit Thesis Prints and the Festive Academic Defence at the Collegio Romano" In *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* edited by John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1999): 148.

[24] Louise Rice. "'Pomis Sua Nomina Servant': The Emblematic Thesis Prints of the Roman Seminary." In *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70, (2007): 203.

[25] Rice, "Jesuit Thesis Prints": 149.

important occasion in the life of young men as their first opportunity to demonstrate their intellect to the public and establish their credentials for those who would soon determine their career after graduation.[26] Students aspired to organize a lavish event which would attract potential employers, such as cardinals, princes, and ambassadors, into attendance.[27] Lozano, a Spanish theologian who came to study law at the Sapienza, is said to have anxiously defended his conclusions for an hour and a half in the presence of Cardinal Chigi, the nephew of Pope Alexander VII.[28]

Thesis prints were typically used to decorate the broadsheets that were distributed during a student's academic defense.[29] The broadsheet would have listed the theses (which were also known as conclusions, propositions, or assertions) that the student was prepared to develop and defend in response to questions proposed by their examiners; it also would have named the student and specified the time and place of defense.[30] The earliest thesis prints date to the first half of the

[26] Ibid, 158.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Pampalone, *Cerimonie*, 23.

[29] On thesis prints in general, see Wolfgang Seitz, 'Die graphischen Thesenblätter des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 11 (1984): 105-14; Gregor Lechner, *Das barocke Thesenblatt: Entstehung, Verbreitung,* Wirkung (Furth, 1985), exhib. cat.; Anette Michels, *Philosophic und Herrscherlob als Bild: Anfänge und Entwicklung des süddeutschen Thesenblattes im Werk des Augsburger Kupferstechers Wolfgang Kilian* (1583-1663) (Miinster, 1987); Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, *Das Thesenblatt im Hochbarock: Studien zu einer graphischen Gattung am Beispiel der Werke Bartholomäus Kilians* (Weißenhorn, 1988); Véronique Meyer, "Les thèses, leur soutenance, et leurs illustrations dans les universités françaises sous 1'Ancien Régime," In *Melanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* 12 (1993): 45-109; Werner Telesko, *Thesenblätter österreichischer Universitäten* (Salzburg, 1996), exhib. Cat.; Veronique Meyer, "Les frontispieces de thèses: Un exemple de collaboration entre peintres italiens et graveurs français," In *Seicento: La peinture italienne du XVIIe siècle et la France* (Paris, 1990), pp. 105-23; Louise Rice, 'Pietro da Cortona and the Roman Baroque Thesis Print,' In *Pietro da Cortona: Atti del Convegno Internationale* (Roma e Firenze, 12-15 Novembre 1997) (Rome, 1998), pp. 189-200; Antonia Pampalone, *Cerimonie di Laurea nella Roma barocca. Pietro da Cortona e i frontespizi ermetici di tesi*, Gangemi Press (Rome, 2014); Gwendoline de Mûelenaere, *Early Modern Thesis Prints in the Southern Netherlands*, Ed. Walter Melion (Boston, 2021).

[30] Rice, "Jesuit Thesis Prints": 154.

sixteenth century and were only composed of text.[31] During the middle of the century, simple woodcut devices were introduced as decorative motifs, usually the arms of the nobleman or prelate to which the student dedicated their conclusions.[32] The heraldry decorating thesis broadsheets became more elaborate in design and it became common to include allegorical figures, such as personifications of virtue, in the compositions.[33] Thesis prints became popularized as a genre in the seventeenth century when static heraldic images became intertwined with narrative.[34] Heraldic elements became more subtle, yet they remained as essential features.[35] As thesis prints became more elaborate in design, they became larger and more luxurious in medium.[36] The two parts of a thesis broadsheet — the image and text — were often printed separately and glued together to make the conclusions.[37] Print collectors often disassembled thesis prints, saving only the image and discarding the accompanying text.[38] Therefore, the engraving is usually all that survives and the information disclosing the names of the students, their sponsors, their schools, and their defense dates is lost.[39] Information about Lozano's defense survives because the print was also published as the frontispiece of a slim folio volume.[40]

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[31] Ibid, 149.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid, 148.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Rice. "Pietro Da Cortona": 199.

Wealthy students such as Lozano spent extravagant sums of money to hire leading painters and printmakers to produce images and publications for their theses.[41] Often the designs were so ambitious that preparations began a year or more in advance of the event.[42] Accounts of thesis defenses give the impression that students were more interested in the engraving than the disputation itself.[43] One professor laments the extent to which his students were distracted by the process of producing a print:

> You cannot imagine how much time these students waste [in the preparation of their thesis sheets], and how many opportunities they seize to run hither and thither, checking up on the drawing, the plate, and the engraver, urging speed, making changes, making corrections, checking the proofs, and so on. There is no end to it! And while they are attending to these things, they think about nothing else but how to improve the outward show of their defense, and thus two or three months pass during which they completely neglect their studies.[44]

The author expresses his vexation over how his students prioritized preparations for their thesis defenses, especially the thesis print, over their studies. The author goes on to propose that students should no longer be allowed to commission individual thesis prints to impress audiences; instead there should be a common system of production shared by the whole college. The professor's proposition was evidently not successful. Thesis prints continued to be a focus of attention in part because they were tangible components of ephemeral events that spectators could bring home.[45]

The Subject of Mount Athos

In the Lozano print, the colossus, which supports a city in one hand and a waterfall in the other, is also a work in progress. Moving closer to the figure, viewers can see scaffolding leaning against its

[41] Rice, "Jesuit Thesis Prints": 155.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] ARSI Rom. 157 II fol. 284. Quoted Rice, "Jesuit Thesis Prints": 155.

[45] Rice, "Jesuit Thesis Prints": 159.

cheek and workmen sculpting the form. This subject matter is inspired by Strabo's (64 BCE - 24 AD) record of Deinokrates proposing to carve Mount Athos into a monumental likeness of Alexander the Great:

> After the completion of the temple, which, he says, was the work of Cheirocrates (the same man who built Alexandreia and the same man who proposed to Alexander to fashion Mt. Athos into his likeness, representing him as pouring a libation from a kind of ewer into a broad bowl, and to make two cities, one on the right of the mountain and the other on the left, and a river flowing from one to the other) — after the completion of the temple, he says, the great number of dedications in general were secured by means of the high honor they paid their artists, but the whole of the altar was filled, one might say, with the works of Praxiteles.[46]

Strabo's narrative of Mount Athos was elaborated on by Vitruvius (80 BC - 15 BC) and Plutarch (46 - 126 AD).[47] Each historian described how the colossus cradles the spacious and fortified city of Alexandria in its left hand, while the right supports a vessel to receive mountain streams, so that water may flow from the hands of the colossus into the sea.

Vitruvius' account of the myth demonstrates his interest in the guise of the young Dinocrates, who had approached Alexander in the nude, his body anointed in oil, a poplar leaf wreath resting on his head, and a lion's skin slung across his left shoulder.[48] Vitruvius describes how the seductive appearance of Dinocrates intrigued witnesses and Alexander the Great himself, prompting the latter to demand the stranger to state his name and purpose.[49] Dinocrates identifies himself and details his proposal to sculpt Mount Athos into the likeness of his king, with the colossus playing an essential role in the mountain's operations, such as directing water towards the

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[46] Strabo, [7 BCE] *The Geography of Strabo*, London: New York, Heinemann Press (1917), 23.

[47] Plutarch, John Dryden, and Arthur Hugh Clough. [1683] *Plutarch's Lives* Trans., Ed. Arthur Hugh Clough; Introduction by James Atlas. Modern Library paperback ed. New York: Modern Library (2001): 72.

[48] Pollio, Marcus Vitruvius, [20-30 BCE] *Ten Books on Architecture,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (1914): Book II, 1:3.

[49] Ibid.

city.[50] Though Alexander was taken by the audacity of the project, he did not overlook its weaknesses.[51] For example, the king questioned if there was an adequate supply of corn to feed a city of ten thousand people.[52] Dinocrates acknowledged that Mount Athos lacked the terrain needed to cultivate an extensive agricultural system, while noting that food could be shipped into the city instead. Alexander remained skeptical:

> When, however, he found that all its supplies must be furnished by sea, he thus addressed Dinocrates: "I admire the grand outline of your scheme, and am well pleased with it: but I am of opinion he would be much to blame who planted a colony on such a spot. For as an infant is nourished by the milk of its mother, depending thereon for its progress to maturity, so a city depends on the fertility of the country surrounding it for its riches, its strength in population, and not less for its defense against an enemy.[53]

Alexander was delighted with the Mount Athos scheme, according to Vitruvius, but he rejected the project on account of its location.[54] Instead, he hired Dinocrates to survey and design the city of Alexandria.[55] Since the colossus was never physically realized, the myth of Mount Athos became terrain for artistic exploration and experimentation. Following Vitruvius, Cortona's imaginative design for the Lozano print attests to the potential of aligning a human body with architectural and natural forms.[56]

Vitruvius' account of Dinocrates' mountain project is in concert with the prominence of the body as a model and a metaphor for architecture and urban design in his influential *De architectura*.[57]

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Della Dora. "Alexander": 497.

[57] Vitruvius, *Ten Books*, 1:3.

He rehearses how the architectural orders are based on the proportions of the human body, male or female, and describes how architectural forms and ornamentation are derived from nature.[58] He also reports that Alexander the Great compared the city to an infant and the surrounding territory to its nourishing mother.[59] Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), in his treatise on architecture, provides an important textual reinterpretation of Vitruvius.[60] Emphasizing the body as a metaphor for architecture, he aligns its physical and theoretical dimensions with the state.[61] For Alberti, the myth of Mount Athos serves to alert overly ambitious architects of the dangers that await those who test nature in their projects.[62]

Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501) develops the bodily metaphor further in his manuscript treatise by comparing a building to a living being in physiological terms.[63] Creating one of two extant visual images of Mount Athos, Martini renders the colossus in isolation (Fig. 6).[64] Martini employs the myth to demonstrate the necessity of anthropomorphism in urban planning and to exalt the virtues associated with the classical body. He includes the illustration of a languid, well-proportioned nude male youth wearing a lion's skin on his shoulders, while holding a bowl in his right hand and a fortress in his left. The figure is represented in isolation, lacking any association with the natural elements of the mountain. This implies that this is not a representation of the

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Leon Battista Alberti, 1404-1472. [1450] *De re aedificatoria*. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Translated by J. Rykwert, N. Leich, and R. Tavernor. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press (1988): 6:4.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Martini, *Trattati*, 126.

[64] Ibid. The second example is a sketch in the Fossombrone Sketchbook (1520). The composition has been identified with Athos because the human figure holds the objects described in the myth; however, he resembles an ancient river god more than a mountain.

sculpted colossus, rather an image of the young architect presenting himself to Alexander. Cortona's design is the first instance of the colossus being represented as part of the mountain and complete landscape — as if it had existed. The arresting view of Athos takes precedence in the image, yet it is pushed into the background in favor of highlighting the pope and his attendants. In contrast to the representation of Dinocrates as an alluring nude male in Martini's illustration, he becomes aged, bearded, and clothed in Cortona's design.

Alexander VII and the Circulation of His Image

The classical subject of Athos was chosen for the engraving due to Lozano's fondness of ancient culture.[65] Their iconography is not related to the conclusions of his thesis, and therefore not related to the academic substance of the disputation.[66] Instead, thesis prints are images of praise. In this case, the content of the print establishes a parallel between the glory of Alexander the Great and the reigning pope. The insertion of heraldic emblems ensure the parallel is clearly understood.

Aside from the thesis print, other ephemeral forms of entertainment were prepared as part of the defense.[67] These included poetry readings, trumpet processionals, and performances of polychoral music.[68] For Lozano, panegyrical odes were set to music by Nicola Stamigna and sung throughout the event.[69] They described the urban projects of Pope Alexander VII and implicitly likened the carving of Athos to the construction of Saint Peter's square.[70] The following is a segment of the first quatrain:

[65] Rice. "Pietro Da Cortona": 199

[66] Rice. "Jesuit Thesis Prints": 158.

[67] Pampalone, *Cerimonie*, 25.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Rice. "Roman Baroque Thesis": 195.

> The noble colossus rises towards the summit
> of heaven between the wandering stars;
> who with dazzling splendor of light
> dominates the plains to the subdued waves.[71]

European rulers often employed heraldry to develop intricate personal imagery during the seventeenth century, and this ode refers to the established use of the mountain by the Chigi family for heraldry, and to a colossus. Family arms were used to decorate not only palaces and public buildings, but also items intended for daily-use, such as bookbinding, fabrics, silver, and costumes.[72] Popular emblem books, such as Natale Conti's (1520-1582) *Mythologiae* (1567) and Cesare Ripa's (1555-1622) *Iconologia* (1593) served as visual sources for the design of family crests.[73]

The Chigi arms consist of six *monti* stacked to form a larger rocky mass surmounted by an eight-pointed star; this imagery is inspired by the family expression: "*Micat in Vertice*," or "It shines at the summit." The Chigi association with mountains stems from the family's origins as wealthy bankers in Siena; in Italian, *monte* is a term for a bank.[74] The term "papal monti" was associated with Alexander VII in relation to the economic system of the papacy upheld during his reign.[75] The Vatican sold *monti* as a type of investment similar to bonds.[76] The money raised was used to defend papal states from attacks from dukes eager to expand their territory.[77] The heraldic star likely also emphasizes the Chigi family's fortune.

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[71] Author's translation. Quoted Pampalone, *Cerimonie*: 26.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Rice. "Roman Baroque Thesis": 195.

[74] Dorothy Metzger Habel. *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (2002), 6.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

The arrangement of geometric forms in the drawing held by the figure of Alexander VII emphasizes how the mountainscape in the background is an assemblage of the Chigi monti and star (Fig. 2). Ciuffa notes how the classical content of Mount Athos was inspired by Lozano's enthusiasm for antiquity and became a vehicle in creating a parallel between Alexander the Great and Alexander VII as supreme builders due to the artistic treatment of Chigi heraldry.[78] This thesis interrogates this phenomenon by exploring Cortona's design as a reproducible image of papal power.

The Lozano print is the last evidence of collaboration between Cortona and Spierre.[79] However, a design by Cortona that was printed by Spierre the previous year, for the thesis defense of Giovanni Angelo Altemps in 1665 provides a point of comparison (Fig. 5). An angel flying in the foreground throws a curtain into the air which reveals a slain dragon sprawled across the foot of the image. In the middle ground, angels spiral around a man stepping towards the center as he is crowned with a wreath of laurels. In the background, through an arch inscribed with the namesake of Alexander VII, is a landscape of several monti surmounted by the eight-pointed star. Similar to the Lozano print, the Altemps composition is a panegyrical ode dedicated to the pope.[80] The student is aligned with the triumphant Hercules in the Garden of Hesperides, while Alexander VII is identified with the moral beauty, sapiential virtue, and spiritual love that perpetuates this allegory of Christian virtue.[81] Compared to the other collaborations between Cortona and Spierre, the Lozano print had a distinct effect on the reception of Alexandrian imagery. Unlike the distant motif in the Altemps engraving, the Lozano print materializes the Chigi arms in a way that expresses Alexander VII's imperial aspirations and distinctive relationship with stone.[82] The Chigi arms' association with

[78] Ciuffa, *François Spierre*, 97.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Pampalone, *Cerimonie*, 9.

[82] Della Dora, "Alexander": 504.

the mountain led Alexander VII to fashion his papal imagery around this form, yet the Lozano print drew a specific connection between Alexander VII and Mount Athos.

Born in 1599 in Siena, Fabio Chigi was a collateral descendent of Agostino Chigi (1466-1520), the personal banker of Pope Julius II Della Rovere (1443-1513) and an avid patron of the arts in early modern Rome.[83] Agostino Chigi was adopted by Julius II and the Della Rovere oak tree was added to the Chigi mountains and star.[84] The addition was an important reminder to mid-seventeenth century viewers of the historic association between the two families.[85] As a student of theology, Fabio Chigi began his academic work in his native city where he was also intrigued by the disciplines of art and architecture.[86] He graduated with three doctorates in philosophy, law, and theology from the University of Siena.[87] After moving to Rome in 1626 to continue his studies, he was seized by the ambition to reclaim his family's former prominence in the city.[88] After accruing much experience in foreign affairs and a series of promotions within the Church, he was elevated to Cardinal and then elected Pope in 1655.[89]

Fabio Chigi adopted the name Alexander VII in honor of Pope Alexander III who was also of Sienese extraction (1100-1181).[90] Alexander set forth on enacting his own agenda of papal reforms. Immediately upon election, he renounced the nepotism of his predecessors — he rescinded

[83] Habel, *The Urban Development*, 6.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid, 7.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

this policy less than a year later.[91] Prior to Alexander, most seventeenth-century popes chose to live at the Palazzo del Quirinale which was rationalized by the pontiff's health and well-being due to the hygienic quality of air on the hill — few risked any confusion about their primary residence being the Palazzo del Vaticano.[92] According to the pope's biographer and soon-to-be Cardinal, Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1607-1667), Alexander chose to live and administer his office at the Palazzo del Quirinale in order to gain fresh perspective, and prospect, on the Church and city from the hill.[93] Perched high above the city and towards the east, Alexander could oversee public and private construction, strategically situated so that he could watch and call for adjustments as he saw fit.[94]

Due to his renunciation of nepotism and effectiveness in ridding Rome of plague, citizens initially held Alexander VII in high regard; however, public opinions of his papacy plummeted by 1660.[95] Some compared Alexander's importance to Romulus and his grandeur with Augustus, yet he was described in the street as the "papa di grande edificazione,' a biting wordplay on his extreme architectural projects in the city.[96] John Bargrave (1610-1680), the soon-to-be canon of Canterbury and a foreigner in Rome, recorded the decline of Chigi public favor after his final visit to Rome in 1659-1660:

> In the first months of his elevation to the Popedom, he had so taken upon himself the profession of an evangelical life that he was wont to season his meat with ashes, to sleep upon a hard couch, to hate riches, glory and pomp, taking a great pleasure to give audience of ambassadors in a chamber full of dead men's skulls, and in the sight of his coffin, which stood there to put him in the mind of his death. But as soon as he had called his relations about him he changed his nature. Instead of humility, succeeded vanity; his mortification

[91] Della Dora, "Alexander": 504.

[92] Habel, *The Urban Development*, 7.

[93] Quoted Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid, 8.

[96] Ibid.

> vanished, his hard couch was turned into soft featherbed, his dead men's skulls into jewels, and his thoughts of death into ambition — filling his empty coffin with money as if he would corrupt death, and purchase life with riches.[97]

Bargrave's record provides insight into the promises of the Chigi campaign, which were once rooted in dismantling the pomp and glory of the wealthy class. His agenda was poisoned by the desire for power after assuming papal authority. Alexander's architectural projects reflect this development, all linked together as part of a visually, stylistically, and symbolically coordinated building program.[98] The Palazzo del Quirinale was reborn as the hippodrome of the city in Alexander's mind.[99] As the design and construction of Piazza San Pietro gained momentum, the project's potential to instill a renewed architectural presence to Saint Peter's Basilica fueled Alexander's desire to mark this structure as the imperial temple of Rome.[100] The pope became infamous during his lifetime and was therefore dubbed as suffering from *mal di pietra* or "stone sickness" — a reference to his building mania.[101]

The official motto of Alexander VII's pontificate was *Custos Montium*, or "guardian of the mount," as a reference to protecting the seven hills of Rome.[102] This derives from the imagery of the Chigi heraldic monti. Cortona's design of Athos contributed to the campaign as the Chigi arms developed an explicit association with the Dinocratic myth. For example, one print plays with the idea of the pope's body and stone (Fig. 7). Framed by putti holding papal accessories between the

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[97] John Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, Ed. James Craigie Robertson, Camden Society (1867), 67. Quoted Habel, *The Urban Development*, 8.

[98] Ibid, 9.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Della Dora, "Alexander": 503.

[102] Maarten Delbeke. "'Custos Montium'. A Prophecy on the Election of Alexander VII in Jean Lepautre's Depiction of the Chapel of Notre Dame de La Paix in the Louvre." In *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 72, no. 3 (2009): 372.

branches of trees flanking the composition, as well as a crowd of commoners looking up from the bottom of the sheet, a lithic form is at the heart of the image. The rock is divided into six monti, with the likeness of Alexander VII embedded within its form. During the same year that the Lozano print was produced, Ciro Ferri (1634-89), who Alexander VII repeatedly turned to for fresco commissions, produced his own allegory of Athos modeled after Cortona's design.[103] Instead of Alexander the Great, the body of Alexander VII is enthroned in the mountain — Della Dora proposes that the Pope's presence predominates the representation of allegorical figures as anthropomorphic monti.[104] In addition, the funerary monument completed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) for Alexander VII references Athos through the corporeality of stone and the upright positioning of the Pope himself (Fig. 8).[105] The arrangement sculpted in marble echoes the Lozano print, where the attendants kneel towards the pope and elevate his verticality. These forms echo the shape of the Chigi monti, which is further emphasized by the umbraculum raised as the summit above Alexander VII's head.

The matrix for the Lozano print remained in use until the beginning of the eighteenth century during the pontificate of Clement XI Albani (1700-1711).[106] The copper plate was reworked in order to recycle the engraving for the Albani pope (Fig. 9).[107] Alterations were made to Alexander VII's face and the Chigi star on the mountain was eliminated and displaced by an eight-pointed version in the sky. Della Dora notes how, without ties to Alexandrian imagery, Athos loses most of its geographic and historic coordinates.[108] However, I suggest that the mounds of Athos, largely

[103] Della Dora, "Alexander": 504.

[104] Ibid, 503.

[105] Ibid, 503.

[106] Ciuffa. *François Spierre*, 217.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Della Dora. "Alexander": 504.

associated with Chigi heraldry, were appropriated by other authorities, such as Clement XI, in order to reproduce a well-known image of power. The following sections of this paper explore these ideas through references to the mountain and artistic experimentation of landscape.

The Circulation of Mount Athos in Commemorative Prints

As impressive and fixed physical features on earth, mountains have become tied with myths since antiquity, such as Dinocrates' proposal for Mount Athos.[109] Ancient Greeks considered mountains to be one of the primeval elements of genesis and significant elements of the landscape due to their age, size, and permanent nature.[110] They were associated with human narcissism, with Greek legends recounting how giants attempted to reach heaven by piling rock on rock.[111] Mountains have often been described as grounds of conquest and desire, their altitude providing the means to measure the stature of humanity and reach of empire.[112] Schama notes how mountains survive in the modern Western imagination as evidence of "colonization of nature by culture, the alteration of landscape to manscape."[113] In the Lozano print, the colossus operates as an extension of the pope's power, uniting Alexander VII with the landscape in a monumental, superhuman form. The human figure assumes power in the mountainscape, where the colossus facilitates ecological operations, such as the flow of water.

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[109] Ibid, 493.

[110] In his *Theogony*, the Greek poet Hesiod attributed a central role to mountains, detailing how they were part of the first matter, along with oceans, to be created from the union of heaven and earth. Hesiod. *Theogony and Works and Days.* Oxford [Oxfordshire]; New York: Oxford University Press (1988), 283.

[111] Mary Frances Williams. *Landscape in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. United States: University of Texas at Austin, (1989), 79.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, NY: Vintage Press, 1996), 396.

An etching, referred to as *The Mountain of Philosophers*, or *Mount Parnassus* (1661) was designed and incised by the Florentine printmaker, Stefano Della Bella (1610-1664) (Fig. 10). Similar to the Lozano print, the etching was commissioned to accompany a thesis during the reign of Alexander VII.[114] In Della Bella's image, a robust lithic form rises from the ground and prompts discussion of mountains' potency in thesis print imagery. Male figures dressed in classical garb pensively traverse the foreground. Large mounds of earth rise at the center of the image, erupting at the summit with an expanse of clouds. At the top of the mountain, tiny figures gather within the form of an eight-pointed star, appearing engaged in erudite conversation. A winged male youth flies over the scene, waving a ribbon inscribed with the words, *Hac Iter ad Svperos*, or "On the journey to above."

The etching was produced for the thesis of Leonardo Marsilio, who based his conclusions on the pope himself.[115] Marsilio organized his writings on the theme of the six monti as discussed by Phyllis Massar, who states how the written structure of the thesis corresponds with the pyramidal Chigi monti, as does the mountain in the print.[116] The first part has three divisions or levels; the second part has two; the third part, which describes sacred theology, is unified in one section."[117] With the six monti and eight-pointed star, Della Bella's mountainscape is also connected to the Chigi arms. In the foreground, laurel-crowned philosophers converse, soldiers surprise Archimedes, and Diogenes can be seen crouching in his wine barrel. Anonymous figures climb Mount Parnassus to reach its summit. As a thesis print dedicated to the pope, the philosophers allude to Alexander VII's

[114] Charles Johnson. *Stefano Della Bella: Baroque Printmaker : The I. Webb Surratt, Jr. Print Collection*. United States: Marsh Art Gallery, University of Richmond Museums (2001), 67.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Phyllis Massar. "Presenting Stefano Della Bella." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27 (1968): 81.

[117] Ibid.

intellectual pursuits and the ancient belief that erudite activity was the mark of noble culture and duty.[118]

The Marsilio and Lozano thesis prints both represent an abundance of small, anonymous figures scaling the mountainscape. The Marsilio print emphasizes how the mountain itself was employed for Chigi commemorative imagery before Cortona's vision of Athos. Community is established in the Lozano mountainscape, with figures engaged in climbing, plowing, or sculpting the land. The figures in the Marsilio and Lozano prints are anonymous and move together, similar to citizens participating in a procession. People move together during processions, some making and operating the apparati, while others act as spectators.

Cortona's design of Athos was reproduced both in print and sculpture for several processions inspired by Chigian Rome. For example, Gaspar Méndez de Haro (1629-1687) organized a carnival in Naples to celebrate his position as the seventh Marquess of Carpio in 1681.[119] The grandeur of three chariots which paraded through the streets made an impression on witnesses.[120] The third chariot, which represented Mount Athos, was recorded as the most memorable.[121] The colossus merged the identities of Alexander the Great and the marquess. Sixteen decorated horses arranged in four rows hauled the chariot across Naples.[122] Evidence of the ephemeral structure can be found in an etching dated to 1687 created by Teresa del Po (1649-1716), where the chariot of Athos is pulled across the seashore (Fig. 11).[123] When events are transferred to

[118] Johnson Charles. *Stefano Della Bella: Baroque Printmaker : The I. Webb Surratt, Jr. Print Collection*. United States: Marsh Art Gallery, University of Richmond Museums (2001), 69.

[119] Giulia Fusconi, "Il "buon gusto romano" dei Viceré: La ricezione dell'effimero barocco a Napoli negli anni del Marchese del Carpio (1683-1687) e del Conte di Santisteban (1688-1696)." In *Le Dessin Napolitain* (2010): 210.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

print, reality is manipulated by the artist, then the resulting image is reproduced and circulated. In the print, greenery sprouts from the colossal body, with a cluster of trees growing from its helmet. The seascape emphasizes how the spring supported by the figure is linked to the larger environment as water flows into the ocean. Po's image of Mount Athos was informed by an etching made by Philipp Schor (1646-1715) after the Lozano print circulated (Fig. 12).[124] Schor depicts Mount Athos in a frontispiece for a volume which illustrates the marquess' collection of antiquities.[125] Specifically through reimagining Cortona's design of Mount Athos, mountains pervaded early modern artistic thought. As demonstrated by the carnival procession, the Chigian motifs of *monti* and Mount Athos were appropriated by authority outside of Alexandrian Rome.

Experimenting with the Mountainscape

Lozano's thesis print is a representation of an environment in which a river flows from a colossus and spills over the mountainside — a concept whose importance comes into view in light of earlier sources. Martini's retelling of the myth emphasizes this detail represented in Cortona's design:

> Dinocrates personally presented himself to Alexander, for he had heard Alexander wanted to edify a new city [Alexandria]; he therefore sketched Athos in the shape of a man holding in his left hand a cup into which all the veins of the body converged, and in the right the walls of a new city (10).[126]

Della Dora uses Martini's treatise to highlight how the body of Dinocratic Athos amplified conceptions of the human body as a microcosm of the "world machine."[127] In building her argument

[124] Ibid, 211.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Martini, *Trattati*, 69. Quoted in Della Dora. "Alexander": 499.

[127] Ibid.

on how the myth of Athos appealed to early modern Italian humanists, she refers to another quote by Martini in addressing the fusion between culture and nature:

> Man touching things inanimate, in his nourishment and growth has affinity with plants, in his feelings with brute beasts, and lastly in his reason with the world of spirit; so that the Greeks came to call him a Mikrokosmos that is in himself a little world (Prologue).[128]

In granting environmental context to an ancient myth, the rocks and forests of Athos become merged with the colossus. Through the iconographic and textual connections drawn by Della Dora, this thesis is able to connect the Athos microcosm with ideas of artistic experimentation in the landscape.[129] While the Dinocratic colossus was never represented as part of an ecosystem prior to Cortona, there is early modern precedent of sculpted bodies operating as parts of their environment.

While colossi are rarely found in Europe, one monumental sculpture exists as an anthropomorphic extension of the earth in Pratolino (Fig. 13). The figure takes the form of an old man kneeling over a body of water. The figure squeezes the head of a sea monster with its left hand, whose mouth spills water into a trail of artificial pools below. In the summertime, the sculpture overlooks a pond which reflects the greenery of surrounding trees. During the winter, icicles accumulate on the figure's back and water drips from the stalactite forms. As the change of the seasons illustrate, a dynamic relationship between the body and the elements is realized in this work.

Giambologna's (1529-1608) *Apennine Colossus* (1580) is a sixteenth-century precedent of sculpture playing an active role in its environment; the giant is affectionately referred to as "Appennino" by scholars.[130] Francesco I de Medici (1541-1587) commissioned the colossus as one of the many strange features in the gardens of the Villa Medici in Pratolino.[131] The sculpture

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[128] Martini, *Trattati*, 69. Quoted in Della Dora. "Alexander": 500.

[129] Della Dora. "Alexander": 500.

[130] Una Roman D'elia. "Giambologna's Giant and the Cinquecento Villa Garden as a Landscape of Suffering," In *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* (2011): 20.

[131] Ibid.

anthropomorphizes the Apennine mountain range north of Florence, the source of water which sustained citizens and the park's operations. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, a reputed lover of solitude, purchased land in the Apennine foothills to escape Florence with his Venetian mistress.[132] Francesco I hired Bernardo Buontalenti (1531-1608) to design a garden of follies — Appennino is the principal surviving feature of the park.[133] Inside the colossus, a team of *fontanieri* would activate the *giochi d'acqua*, or "water jokes," to spray playful jets of water in the direction of unsuspecting visitors.[134] It was the duke's pleasure to sit in the head of the colossus and fish, casting his line out through the eyes into the pond below. At night he would have torches lit so that these eyes glowed.[135]

The structure elaborates on how early moderns perceived the figure and landscape. Jacopo Bonfadio wrote in 1541, when comparing the countryside around Naples to that near Florence: "Nature seems to lord with authority, but in ruling everywhere rejoices and laughs."[136] Vegetation weaves into the natural lithic forms of the colossus. Along with the greenery, insects crawl into spongious crevices of stone. Instead of rejecting external natural matter, the structure embraces nature as a part of its form. Both Appennino and Cortona's colossus are parts of a greater mechanism, with water flowing from their grasps to the environment. While Appennino is sculpted from the Apennine foothills, Cortona's Athos is carved from a copper plate.

Appennino is transformed from sculpture to print in Stefano della Bella's etching of the colossus (1653) (Fig.14). The print reveals the structure's original architectural context, including an

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[132] Ibid, 21.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Philip Steadman. "The 'Garden of Marvels' at Pratolino." *Renaissance Fun: The Machines behind the Scenes*. UCL Press (2021): 281.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Jacopo Bonfadio,'la natura signoreggi con imperio, e nel signoreggiare tutta da ogni parte piacevolissimamente s'allegri e rida', *Lettere famigliari*, ed. Antonio Sambuca (Brescia: J. Turlini, 1746), 21.

artificial mountain that enveloped the giant figure. Print and sculpture render the body and mountain differently in regard to distance, scale, and the mode in which observers experience the object. The print brings spectators into the image, fixing their perspective of the structure. While occupying no more than fifteen centimeters on Della Bella's print, Giambologna's sculpture possesses the height of a building several stories tall. The sculpture is miniaturized and lost in the trees when approaching from a distance (Fig. 15). Once the spectator arrives at the foot of the colossus, the structure's size and cohesion with the landscape gives the figure presence as an extension of the Apennine mountain range. This dynamic amplifies the idea of the human body as a microcosm of nature, and how that nature is transformed into spectacle.

Artistic, socio-political, and temporal complexities can be grasped as a subject transforms between mediums. Documentary prints of gardens, such as Della Bella's depiction of Appennino, represent an idealized state instead of an unaltered reflection of the garden. The status of horticultural representation is often characterized by the organic status of the medium, as it reflects porous and fluid qualities of nature. Although Appennino was constructed for the duke's private pleasure, the structure provides insight on how early moderns controlled and experimented with landscape operations. The Lozano print represents the triumph of Alexander VII over nature. While Alberti uses the myth of Mount Athos to warn ambitious architects of the laws of nature, Cortona dares to construct the image of Mount Athos in celebration of Alexander VII and his architectural projects in Rome.

Appropriating Ancient Bodies and Memory

The appropriation of classical subject matter in the Lozano print conjures the ideal papacy through a reference to the past. Leonard Barkan responds to Foucault's *Order of Things* and the statement that

no object can be perceived independently of its time.[137] Barkan counters Foucault, who claims that it is impossible for objects to emerge from the ground with no more cause than its own self-generated will, with the discussion of objects that *did* emerge from the ground into a different time.[138] A material reality complete with specific case studies, objects, and primary sources transforms Foucault's metaphor.[139] Through case studies of sixteenth-century excavations in Rome, Barkan is led to the question of if these "new" objects produced, or signaled, historical change in reception.[140] Barkan's research has been influenced by a movement in literary criticism which denaturalizes imaginative language — by not assuming that voice belongs to a character for an automatic and uncomplicated reason, instead following how text has created personhood out of voice.[141] Barkan discusses how early moderns responded to the excavations of ancient material by fixing their own identity on these objects.[142] Federico Zuccaro's (1539-1609) drawing of his brother copying excavated antiquities illustrates the early modern encountering, interest in, and appropriation of antiquities (Fig. 16). Surrounded by artifacts unearthed in the early sixteenth century, such as the *Laocöon* (200 BC-70 AD) and the *Nile River God* (100-200 AD), the figure in Zuccaro's drawing is caught sketching its own impression of these objects.

Without an extant image of Mount Athos to cite in his composition, Cortona successfully gave new voice to ancient myth by representing the mountainscape. A thesis print commissioned by Ludovico Sciamanna and presented at the Sapienza five years earlier in 1661 is a point of contrast.[143]

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[137] Leonard Barkan. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. United Kingdom: Yale University Press (1999), xxi.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid, xxii.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Rice. "Pietro Da Cortona.": 199.

Sciamanna's prefatory address begins with the same conceit used later by Lozano*: Eminentissimo Principi Flavio Cardinalli Chisio simulacrum ex Chisiis montibus offert Ludovicus Sciamanna. Alexandro Magno statuam olim promissit ex Monte Atho Dinocrates*, or "Ludovicus Sciamanna offers a statue from the Chisian mountains to the most eminent Prince Flavius Cardinal Chisio.[144] He once promised Alexander the Great a statue from Mount Athos Dinocrates." This earlier frontispiece, designed and engraved by Alexander Voet (1608-1689), references the proposal to build Athos through the representation of a group of virtues hammering away at the Chigi monti.[145] Instead of assembling the Chigi monti together with allegorical figures, Cortona's imagery of Mount Athos is excavated from ancient literary sources and realized through a contemporary visualization of the myth.

Although there was little precedent for Cortona's design of Athos, there was early modern interest in representing ancient colossal figures in print. A notable example is Maarten van Heemskerck's (1498-1574) drawing of the Colossus of Rhodes as described by the records of Strabo and Pliny the Elder, which spatially mirrors Cortona's composition (Fig. 17). Both images represent a foreground of an architect and makers, as well as a colossus embedded in a distant landscape. Heemskerck's drawing was made into an engraving produced by Philips Galle (1537-1612) (Fig. 18) — an image which circulated in global trade as a representation of European civilization and power as part of Willem Blaeu's (1571-1638) *Nova Totius Terrarum orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula* (1635) (Fig. 19).[146] While limited to the elite audience present at the Sapienza, the Lozano print communicates Alexander VII's ambition through appropriating the ancient myth of Mount Athos and the colossal form.

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[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Little, Stephen. "The Lure of the West: European Elements in the Art of the Floating World." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 22, no. 1 (1996): 82.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored components of the Lozano engraving, which speak to the operations of print as a conduit of papal authority. The first section described the Lozano defense and how the subject matter and design of the thesis print through which the potency of Alexandrian Rome was conveyed to a wide audience. The second section demonstrated the importance of the mountain to contemporaries, and how Mount Athos and Chigi monti were appropriated for different examples of commemorative imagery. The third section connected the Lozano print to the operations of nature, using Appenino as a case study for experimentation with the body, scale, and landscape. I described the phenomenology of the garden, which in turn informed the operation of the engraving. The fourth section discussed how the Lozano print imposes voice on ancient myth, appropriating the subject to elevate the image of the Pope to elites present at the defense. Respectively, each section illustrates a different aspect of making: function, construction, operation, and precedent.

What makes the engraving operational is not present in Cortona's original drawing. Aside from the addition of the pageboy and positioning of letters within the banderole, Spierre added several elements as printmaker. The miniaturization of the background to fit within Cortona's blank canvas has been addressed; however, there is another detail which emphasizes human making. A multitude of tiny, anonymous figures climb the mountain, each faceless and wearing the same basic clothing (Fig. 20). They inhabit the microcosm and are engaged in various activities, such as tending to the land or scaffolding the colossus. It is worth quoting Jean-Luc Nancy (1940-2021) in connecting figures of varying status to the making of landscape:

> We could say that landscape begins when it absorbs or dissolves all presences into itself: those of the gods or of the princes, and also the presence of the peasant, at least insofar as this figure is in dialogue with those just mentioned. In the landscape, the landsman can appear, but as an element of the landscape: he is entirely given over to his occupation there, is lost in it, and that is also why he can be replaced by a traveler or a walker, in any case by figures who are occupied only with the land as such and to no other end, figures whom, by

the same token, the land occupies, takes hold of and, as one says,"absorbs" into itself.[147] Nancy emphasizes how the bodies of both peasants and princes can merge with the landscape given their complete involvement with the elements. In the Lozano print, Alexander is positioned to oversee the sculpting of Mount Athos, just as he watches the making of Rome from the Palazzo del Quirinale. Figures and the landscape are united under his surveillance. The anonymous figures engaged with the landscape, with the majority occupied with constructing the colossus by hammering away at the mountain. The figures carve against the grooves of engraved lines, as if they are assuming the work of the engraver when executing the image. Carving the copper plate is akin to sculpting the mountain; both mediums involve acts of cutting, albeit on different scales. As the engraving represents a man being carved from a mountain, Spierre's print acts as an interface for exploring paper and stone mediums. Although Cortona was credited as the designer with the latin *del* inscription, Spierre was recognized as having executed the print with the latin *sculpsit*, or "sculpted."

The Lozano print functions as an analogy between the image and Alexandrian Rome — with Vatican city visible in the left hand of the colossus and the silhouette of Castel Sant'Angelo near the river — which was distributed amongst the erudite class of academics, princes, and cardinals present at the thesis defense. Just as representations of the mountain and colossus had been excavated and reappropriated for Chigi imagery, Cortona's composition of Mount Athos does not exclusively belong to Alexander VII. Instead of losing its potency as a vision of Alexandrian Rome, the image retains its demonstration of ambition once employed by the likes of the Marquess of Carpio and Pope Clement XI Albani. The image of the mountain in the Lozano print was a reproducible one, which became part of a reproducible operation of power.

[147] Jean-Luc Nancy. *The Ground of the Image*; Translated by Jeff Fort. 1st ed. New York: Fordham University Press (2005), 58.

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