FOUNDATION, DEDICATION AND CONSECRATION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE. AN INTRODUCTION

Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven

Across all times and cultures, mankind has invested the act of founding buildings and cities with particular meaning and rituals. As the essays in this volume demonstrate, multiple preoccupations and agendas are at play at foundational moments, be it the laying of the first stone, the dedication of a building, the embarkation upon new territory, or the foundation of a new institution. As a result, the components of the foundation act become heavily endowed with meaning, from the location of the future building, the act of depositing the first stone, to the invocation of prestigious mythical and historical models to add weight to the occasion.

Being associated with the very foundation of human society itself, the foundation act of a building or institution may well become emblematic for a larger entity, such as the city, or indeed the cosmos. This being the case, the image of a founder holds an immense appeal to future generations, and founders across all ages and societies eagerly tap upon the aura of sacrosanctity of founders from a distant, mythical past.[1] In his eulogies composed to praise the reform program, or *Renovatio Romae*, of Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere, the humanist poet Brandolini frequently compared the achievements of the pope to those of the city's mythical founder Romulus and Emperor Augustus, claiming that the pope surpassed them by far.[2] Likewise, American politicians today hope to gain votes with references to the moral examples of the founding fathers, while Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

---

[1] Rykwert J., *The Idea of A Town. The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (London: 1976); Eliade M., *The Myth of the Eternal Return. Cosmos and History* (New York: 2005, first published 1949); Lincoln B., *Myth, Cosmos and Society. Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass. – London: 1988).

[2] Blondin J., "Power Made Visible. Pope Sixtus IV as 'Urbis Restaurator' in Quattrocento Rome", *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, 1 (2005) 1–25; see also the contribution of Schraven to this volume.

takes great pride in likening himself to King Cyrus II (d. 530 BCE), founder of the ancient Persian Empire.[3]

In the same way, also institutions and communities eagerly appropriate the status of mythical founders and meaningful foundation dates in order to enhance their own status and inscribe themselves within history with the capital H. Once humanists in the circle of Pomponio Leto and his Roman Academy had established the date of the supposed foundation of Rome on 21 April, they chose that day for the annual staging of banquets, orations, and the conferral of laurel crowns to poets.[4] Some four centuries later, in 1961, the Brazilian government opted for 21 April as the date of the inauguration of their new modernist capital Brasília, constructed from scratch in the heart of the country. Felicitously, that very date happened to coincide with the date of the discovery of Brazil itself, celebrated on 22 April 1500.[5] During the Fascist Era, Benito Mussolini turned 21 April into the *Festa del Lavoro italiano*, a day off for the nation. Since it happily coincided with the *Dies Natalis* of Rome, over the years numerous archeological and urbanistic projects were inaugurated on that very day, broadcasting the imperial ambitions of the Duce.[6] This being the case, the inauguration of Richard Meier's Ara Pacis museum in Rome on 21 April 2006 remains at best politically sensitive.

Then as now heavily invested with meaning, foundation and inauguration ceremonies are of key importance to establish enduring relationships both between patron, building, and a larger civic or religious community. Because of this relevance for social relationships, foundation ceremonies in late medieval and early modern culture were typically staged as public events of major scale and expenditure, in order to create and consolidate bonds between buildings, communities and beliefs.

---

[3] Wood G.S., *Revolutionary Characters. What Made the Founders Different* (New York: 2006).

[4] Beer S. de, "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto. From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society", in Dixhoorn A. van – Speakman Sutch S. (eds.), *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2008) 181–218.

[5] Vale L., *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: 2009) 105–122; Johnston W.M., *Celebrations. The Cult of Anniversaries in Europe and the United States Today* (New Brunswick: 1991).

[6] Painter B.W., *Mussolini's Rome. Rebuilding the Eternal City* (New York: 2005).

There is an inherent circularity to the notions of foundation, dedication and consecration, because each of these acts marks a new beginning by repeating or recalling a previous or original foundation act. This circle comes into being in a chain of ideas, artifacts and actions. The aim of this volume is to investigate the way foundation acts were performed, described, theorized and appropriated, and how they formed part of a larger network of similar acts across time and space. Several contributions deal with foundations of cities and of religious and civic buildings, examining the ambitious programs pronounced and advocated at those occasions. Other papers examine the ways in which the very act of founding, dedicating or consecrating assumes a crucial role in religious or political disputes. Embodying claims on origins and authority, foundation acts confer meaning and even an aura of sacredness onto both permanent and ephemeral artifacts. Still other contributions investigate the myth of origins in historiography, philosophy and law, and its impact on early modern attempts to explain and legitimate claims on territory and power, which, in turn, became articulated in ceremonies and festivals.

As the essays demonstrate, foundation ceremonies were a true *tour de force*, which required the efforts of the entire network of a patron. Resulting in the much-aspired virtue of magnificence, a successfully staged ceremony served as a showcase of a patron's ability to obtain and distribute favors, managing effectively the contributions of great numbers of participants into one single festival with a coherent program and message.[7] Masters of ceremonies provided the adequate ceremonial model tailored after the specific needs of the patron; members of academies came up with suitable iconographical programs and composed an avalanche of eulogies, orations and theatrical plays to add luster to the occasion. Meanwhile, artists, engineers, craftsmen and musicians worked round the clock to create an ephemeral stage, making use of coats of arms, tapestries, and other props. In some cases, patrons commissioned portrait medals to commemorate the act of foundation. As Berthold Hub and Dagmar Germonprez point out in their contributions to this volume, portrait medals were both distributed among those present at the foundation ceremonies, while a

---

[7] Bonnemaison S. – Macy C. (eds.), *Festival Architecture* (London: 2008); Mulryne J.R. – Watanabe-O'Kelly H. – Goldring E. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: 2004); Strong R., *Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Berkeley, CA: 1984).

number of them was deposited within the foundations along with the first stone. They remained hidden from view as the building material-ized, both as votive offerings guaranteeing the longevity of the con-struction and as a most authoritative ritual form *all'antica* to ensure fame of the patron.[8]

Moreover, patrons needed to assure both the cooperation of civic and religious institutions and the presence and support of the ambas-sadors of foreign powers residing at their court. In order to have a somewhat more permanent record of all these efforts and expenses, they often recurred to the printing and distribution of one or more festival books. Preserved in archives and libraries across the globe, and increasingly more accessible thanks to digitalization campaigns, these booklets offer a promising first start for the study of festivals, includ-ing those of foundation and dedication ceremonies.[9]

Yet, because they were written by courtiers aspiring to future favors from the patron, the narrative of these books is at best a biased one. Presenting the festival in the most favorable terms, they omit any allu-sion to inconvenience, inadequacy or poor attendance. Indeed, festival books may also have been produced at a considerable distance of the actual event. The Roman Confraternity of the Rosary republished in 1650 the account of their procession during the Jubilee of 1625, since that event had turned out to be far more successful.[10] As the essays in this volume time and again demonstrate, one needs to look beyond these sources, valuable as they are, in order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the matters at hand. Diaries, account books and diplomatic correspondence offer new and unexpected glimpses into the complex reality within which foundation ceremonies needed to be negotiated. Many contributions to this volume reveal this manoeuvr-

---

[8] Satzinger G., "Baumedaillen. Formen und Funktionen. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Satzinger, G. (ed.), *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland* (Münster: 2004) 99–124; Schraven M., "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place. On the Use of Italian Renaissance Portrait Medals as Building Deposits", *RES* 55–56 (2009) 182–193.

[9] Watanabe-O'Kelly H., "The Early Modern Festival Book. Function and Form", in Mulryne – Watanabe-O'Kelly – Goldring, *Europa Triumphans* 3–18; among the many digitized collections of festival books are to be mentioned those of the British Library and the Warburg Institute in London; the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles; the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New Haven; and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolffenbüttel.

[10] Delbeke M., "Framing History. The Jubilee of 1625, the Dedication of New Saint Peter's and the Baldacchino", in Bonnemaison – Macy, *Festival Architecture* 142.

ing in complex situations, such as the case of the foundation of the small town Pienza in Tuscany, named after its founder Pope Pius II Piccolomini (d. 1452); the invention of an uncontaminated ceremonial model for the foundation and consecration of reformed and Anglican churches; or the foundation of academic institutions, such as the Royal Observatory in Paris.

As results from the papers in this volume, the study of foundation ceremonies and a true understanding of their meaning and relevance within society asks for an authentic interdisciplinary approach, taking into account ceremonial models, oftentimes conflicting intentions of patrons and institutions, and the vast production of both permanent and ephemeral artifacts in support of the foundation ceremonies, such as festival books, orations, portrait medals and itineraries of processions.

The importance attached to foundation, dedication and consecration of buildings, cities or states convey particular significance upon the actors, objects and agendas involved. Foundational moments establish a very powerful nexus, in which meaning is communicated from one social group to another (from the ruler to his subjects, from the scholar to the layman, from the clergy to the congregation), or transferred from one medium to another, such as coins to buildings, buildings to books, books to ceremonies, or ceremonies to histories. This way, a wide and seemingly unrelated range of abstract legal, philosophical, religious or political notions becomes suddenly palpable, condensed as they are into artifacts as small as coins or as ephemeral as sermons. For this reason, the study of foundation acts and rituals offers a new way to investigate the multifaceted agency of objects and ideas. It helps to understand in which ways these objects convey meaning, and to what extent their effect is protracted both over space and in time.

A considerable number of essays in this volume deal with foundation ceremonies of buildings, and the consecration of sacred space in the early modern period. As demonstrated in the contributions of Roger Crum, Almut Pollmer and Bernward Schmitt, Berthold Hub, Dagmar Germonprez, Anne-Françoise Morel, and Andrew Spicer, the overall importance attached to tradition is constantly negotiated and adapted to specific social and dogmatic needs. Indeed, the religious struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth century made it imperative to secure sound footing for religious buildings and institutions as well as the very rituals involved in their foundation. The Jesuit order had a particular interest in propagating their foundations with all possible

luster and spectacle, given that their ability to perform these acts added legitimacy to their presence in cities across Europe.[11]

Some founding acts have a long historiography, such as Panofsky's work on the foundation of St Denis by Abbot Suger in 1140.[12] Over the years, the foundation of new St Peter's in Rome in April 1506 has rightly attracted considerable scholarly attention. A number of popes, among them Pope Paul III, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, and Paul V took immense pride in celebrating partial conclusions of the vast project of rebuilding new St Peter's, culminating in the consecration by Pope Urban VIII of the new altar under the emerging *Baldacchino* in 1626.[13] The Constantinian foundation of the Lateran and its resonance in early modern Rome has been of equally great importance and inspiration.[14]

The culminating moment of foundation ceremonies of churches was the laying of the first stone, a ritual act with strong cosmogonical associations.[15] Of fundamental importance for their meaning was a passage in the Scriptures, where Christ identified himself as the corner stone mentioned in the Old Testament (*Psalm* 117: 22; *Matthew* 21: 42). Furthermore, a passage in Paul's epistle to the *Ephesians* 2: 12–22 named Christ as the cornerstone that united both Jews and Gentiles into a single spiritual edifice of the Church. This way, the cornerstone of any church became directly associated with Christ himself, as the literal and figural support for the church and its community.[16] Codified for the first time in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Guillaume Durand (d. 1296), the ceremony of the laying of the first stone was performed

---

[11] See, for instance, Jacob Gretser, *Triumphus Divi Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici: Triumph des Heiligen Michael, Patron Bayerns (Munich, Henricus: 1597)*, ed. B. Bauer – J. Leonhardt (Regensburg: 2000).

[12] Panofsky E., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Treasures* (Princeton: 1946).

[13] Satzinger G. – Schütze S. (eds.), *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506–2006* (Bonn: 2008) with contributions of Nikolaus Staubach and Sible de Blaauw; Delbeke, "Framing History".

[14] Freiberg J., *The Lateran in 1600. Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge – N.Y.: 1995).

[15] Untermann M., "*Primus lapis in fundamentum deponitur.* Kunsthistorische Überlegungen zur Funktion der Grundsteinlegung im Mittelalter", *Cistercienser. Brandenburgische Zeitschrift rund um das Cisterciensische Erbe* 6 (2003) 5–18; Rowald P., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung* (Hannover: 1904).

[16] Ladner G., "The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Medieval West", *Mediaeval Studies* 4 (1942) 43–60; Staubach N., "Der ritus der *impositio primarii lapidis* und die Grundsteinlegung von Neu-Sankt Peter", in Satzinger – Schütze, *Sankt Peter in Rom* 29–40.

by a bishop, who would bless the square stone and the site of the future altar. The stone, inscribed with crosses and often the name of the bishop and the year, was then placed on the confinement of two walls.[17]

But the notion of foundation stones is of course much older than the Christian tradition, the Foundation Rock on Temple Mount in Jerusalem being venerated as Center of the World by both Jews and Muslims. As recounted in Isaiah, God would have trapped the primordial waters of the abyss under this massive stone. To the Jews, this is the place where once stood the Temple of Solomon with the Holy of Holiest, until it was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE. On their turn, the Muslims identify the Rock as the place where Mohammed ascended to heaven with archangel Gabriel: after his return on earth, he would have founded Islamic religion.

Be it in the Dome of the Rock, a Christian church or a renaissance palace, the symbolical meaning of the foundation stone bestows the act of building with a metaphorical value that is not easy to dismiss: the building becomes an emblem of the Church or the State, and its vicissitudes come to prophesize or confirm their fate. At the same time, the stone is believed to generate both space and form of new constructions. As is particularly well illustrated in Filarete's *Libro architettonico*, discussed in the essay of Berthold Hub, the foundation stone introduces a unit of measure and often a particular geometrical shape, providing a reference point for the lay-out of the plan of a building or an entire city.

Often, patrons asked astrologers to indicate the most propitious date and time to start the new project, seeking analogies with the birth horoscope of the patron, or with the history of the building itself.[18] Performed by an authoritative person (the bishop or indeed the patron), and witnessed by the entire community, the foundation act had an explicit public character, as to demonstrate the community's support for the undertaking. Humanist orators underlined the historical

---

[17] Untermann, "*Primus Lapis*; Bindung G. – Linscheid S., *Planen und Bauen in frühen und hohen Mittelalter nach den Schriftquellen bis 1250* (Darmstadt: 2002) 157–178.

[18] For instance, new St Peter's in Rome was founded on the Saturday before Easter of 1506, since it was believed that Constantine the Great (d. 337) had founded the old basilica on that very same day; Quinlan-McGrath M., "The Foundation Horoscope(s) for St Peter's basilica. Choosing A Time, Changing the Storia", *Isis* 92 (2001) 716–741.

significance of the occasion.[19] Sometimes, bystanders were asked to join in taking up shovels and stones, as was the case for the foundation ceremonies of Palazzo Strozzi in Florence (August 1489) or those of the Bentivoglio tower in Bologna (March 1489).[20]

Meanwhile, the literary and cultural program of humanism propagated a deliberate return *ad fontes*, conceived almost without exception as a return to canonical, classical authors and models.[21] As Brian Maxson's contribution reveals, the humanists in Florence embraced a new foundation history in the work of Leonardo Bruni, which identified the city as independent right from its foundation during the last years of the Roman Republic. Likewise, the Iberian monarchs were in search of an alternative past that could outdo Rome as a historical point of reference. Ferdinand and Isabella, the *reyes católicos*, were courted by the ever-resourceful Annius of Viterbo (1432–1502). In his *Antiquities*, dedicated to the monarchs, he presented them with a most appealing ancestry, dating back as far as the Old Testamentical patriarch Noa. After the Great Deluge, Noa would have landed as Janus on one of the seven hills of Rome (the Janiculus, of course, which was then named after him), long before Romulus and Remus were even born.[22]

Yet, at the same time, the early modern period also witnessed interest in vernacular, non-Roman traditions. In Tacitus' *Historia*, Dutch humanists learnt about the successful revolt of German tribes against Roman rule in 69 and 70 CE. To the Dutch, the revolt of the Batavians resonated with their own struggle for independence from Spanish rule during the Eighty Years War. They identified themselves particularly with the Batavians, a Germanic tribe residing in the Rhine Delta that had bravely resisted Roman dominion. Examining archeological

---

[19] Eck C. van, "Giannozzo Manetti on Architecture: the *Oratio de secularibus et pontificalibus pompis in consecratione basilicae florentinae* of 1436", *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998) 449–475. See also the contribution of Roger J. Crum in this volume.

[20] Schraven M., "Foundation Ceremonies in Renaissance Italy. The Case of the Bentivoglio Tower in Bologna (1489)", in Michaels A. (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: 2010) vol. V, 339–357.

[21] Rothstein M., "Etymology, Genealogy, and the Immutability of Origins", *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990) 332–347.

[22] Rowland I., "Bramante's Hetruscan Tempietto", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 51 (2006) 225–238; Folger R., *Generaciones y semblanzas. Memory and Genealogy in Medieval Iberian Historiography* (Tübingen: 2003); Kagan R.L., *Clio and History. The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: 2009).

remains for evidence of the Batavian past, the early modern Dutch elite claimed a direct relationship to the *Batavi*. In 1619, the recently conquered port city Jayakarta in the Indonesian archipelago was renamed Batavia, in honor of the mythical Dutch ancestors.[23]

Likewise, humanists in early modern Sweden embraced the history of the Goths.[24] In early modern England and Germany, humanists developed an interest in local heritage in customs, monuments and law. Making use of a vast network of correspondents and learning Welsh and Old English to read old sources and monuments first-hand, humanist and antiquarian William Camden (1551–1623) wrote the first comprehensive antiquarian study of Great Britain and Ireland, 'to restore antiquity to Britaine, and to Britaine to its antiquity'. First published in 1587, *Britannia* was reprinted several times and translated from Latin into English in 1610.[25] As the contribution of Colin Wilder demonstrates, jurists in the Holy Roman Empire equally combined their interest in Roman law with of Germanic law, in order to legitimize certain jurisdictional institutions and customs of their own day.[26]

All essays show the venerable character of founding histories and their remarkable versatility and resilience. Communities, aristocratic families and institutions constantly updated their histories of origins, whenever circumstances dictated it.[27] Names and memories of those founders whose history had proved to be a dead end were erased as soon as better candidates presented themselves. Seeking favors from a new comitial family, the monks at St Peter in Montmajour near Arles, for instance, happily adopted Charlemagne as founder of their monastery, instead of the real founder Hugo of Arles, King of Italy

---

[23] Langereis S., *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum: 2001); Swinkels L. (ed.), *De Bataven. Verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam: 2004); Nicolet C., *La fabrique d'une nation. La France entre Rome et les Germains* (Paris: 2003).

[24] Johannesson K. – Larson J., *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden. Johannes and Olaus Magnus as Politicians and Historians* (Berkeley: 1991).

[25] William Camden, *Britannia* (London, F. Collins for A. Swolle: 1695): facsimile edition, ed. and trsl. R.J. Mayhew (Thoemmes Continuum: 2003); Parry G., *Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 2008).

[26] Vine A., "Etymology, Names and the Search for Origins in Early Modern England", *Seventeenth Century Journal* 21 (2006) 1–21.

[27] Bizzocchi R., *Genealogie incredibili. Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna* (Bologna: 1995); Münkler H., "Nationale Mythen im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit. Zur Relevanz mythischer Narrationen bei der Nationalisierung Europas", *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* 1 (1997) 107–143.

(926–945). Hugo's legacy was pushed into the margins of history, to be virtually forgotten until being 'resuscitated' by the studies of Patrick Geary.[28] In some cases, authorities went as far as forging objects to support invented ancestries, such as the lead books, the so-called *Plomos del Sacromonte*, which should support the view that there had existed a Christian community in Granada, well before the advent of Islam.[29] Indeed, as Jorge Correia's essay on Portuguese settlements in Northern Africa illustrates, in case of radically changing circumstances, buildings, cities, institutions, laws or dynasties may become the subject of *re*foundations. Refoundations sometimes blithely ignore existing histories and circumstances, but more often they proceed by means of more or less subtle acts of appropriation, as when mosques are changed into basilicas with minor architectural interventions. In other case, a site and its symbolism is effectively reappropriated: capitalizing upon the fortuitous resemblance between his own heraldry and the iconography of the pilgrimage church of Scherpenheuvel in the Southern Netherlands, Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–1667) effectively claiming the pilgrimage shrine as his own with an elaborate foundation ceremony.[30] Finally, the refoundation ceremony could be conceived of as a moment of victory over the spoils of vanquished foes. During his pontificate, Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585–1590) famously erected four ancient obelisks in front of the main basilicas of Rome. The ancient Romans had transported the obelisks as spoils from Egypt to adorn their circuses. After the fall of Rome, most obelisks had fallen apart and been covered with mud. Recovering them from the earth and setting them up in front of the city's basilica's with festive inauguration ceremonies, the obelisks became markers of the triumph of Christianity over paganism. To underscore this post-Tridentine message, the

[28] Geary P., *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton University Press: 1994) 134–146; Remensnyder A.G., "Croyance et communauté. La mémoire des origines des abbayes bénédictines", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age* 115 (2003) 141–154.

[29] Harris A.K., *From Muslim to Christian Granada. Inventing A City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: 2007).

[30] Delbeke M., "A Note on the Immaculist Patronage of Alexander VII. Chigi and the Pilgrimage Church of Scherpenheuvel", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge à Rome* 71 (2001) 167–200.

bases of the newly erected obelisks were inscribed with proclamations of the Christian triumph and topped with Christian crosses.[31]

David Lowenthal once remarked, 'the present is not just the past's inheritor, but its active partner, reanimating the sleeping, excavating the buried, and reworking a legacy in line with present needs.'[32] As a consequence, the study of foundation moments and their afterlife offer a key insight in ideas about identity, memory and meaning of a given community. The essays in this volume demonstrate that in each single case study there is the conscious effort to inscribe oneself in the past by means of adhering to tradition and authoritative models. Yet, because of the deliberate choices in privileging certain aspects of the past over others, the essays also make clear that there is still much to be gained from a comparative and interdisciplinary approach that comprises the study of art and architecture, linguistics, history of law, of ideas, and anthropology.

---

[31] Cole M., "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome", in Cole M. – Zorach R. (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art. Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Aldershot, 2009) 56–76.

[32] Lowenthal D., *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: 1998) 141.

Selective Bibliography

Bindung G. – Linscheid S., *Planen und Bauen in frühen und hohen Mittelalter nach den Schriftquellen bis 1250* (Darmstadt: 2002).

Bizzocchi R., *Genealogie incredibili. Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna* (Bologna: 1995).

Blondin J., "Power Made Visible. Pope Sixtus IV as 'Urbis Restaurator' in Quattrocento Rome", *The Catholic Historical Review* 91,1 (2005): 1–25.

Camden William, *Britannia* (London, F. Collins for A. Swolle: 1695): facsimile edition, ed. and trsl. R.J. Mayhew (Thoemmes Continuum: 2003).

Cole M., "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome", in Cole M. – Zorach R. (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art. Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Aldershot, 2009) 56–76.

Delbeke M., "A Note on the Immaculist Patronage of Alexander VII. Chigi and the Pilgrimage Church of Scherpenheuvel", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge à Rome* 71 (2001) 167–200.

——, "Framing History. The Jubilee of 1625, the Dedication of New Saint Peter's and the Baldacchino", in Bonnemaison S. – Macy C. (eds.), *Festival Architecture* (London: 2008) 129–154.

Eck C. van, "Giannozzo Manetti on Architecture: the *Oratio de secularibus et pontificalibus pompis in consecratione basilicae florentinae* of 1436", *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998) 449–475.

Eliade M., *The Myth of the Eternal Return. Cosmos and History* (New York: 2005, first published 1949).

Folger R., *Generaciones y semblanzas. Memory and Genealogy in Medieval Iberian Historiography* (Tübingen: 2003).

Freiberg J., *The Lateran in 1600. Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1995).

Geary P., *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (New York: 1994).

Harris A.K., *From Muslim to Christian Granada. Inventing A City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: 2007).

Johannesson K. – Larson J., *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden. Johannes and Olaus Magnus as Politicians and Historians* (Berkeley: 1991).

Johnston W.M., *Celebrations. The Cult of Anniversaries in Europe and the United States Today* (New Brunswick: 1991).

Kagan R.L., *Clio and History. The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: 2009).

Ladner G., "The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Medieval West", *Mediaeval Studies* 4 (1942) 43–60.

Lincoln B., *Myth, Cosmos and Society. Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1988).

Lowenthal D., *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: 1998).

Mulryne J.R. – Watanabe-O'Kelly H. – Goldring E. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: 2004).

Münkler H., "Nationale Mythen im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit. Zur Relevanz mythischer Narrationen bei der Nationalisierung Europas", *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* 1 (1997) 107–143.

Nicolet C., *La fabrique d'une nation. La France entre Rome et les Germains* (Paris: 2003).

Painter B.W., *Mussolini's Rome. Rebuilding the Eternal City* (New York: 2005).

Panofsky E. (ed.), *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton: 1946).

Parry G., *Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 2008).

Quinlan-McGrath M., "The Foundation Horoscope(s) for St Peter's basilica. Choosing A Time, Changing the Storia", *Isis* 92 (2001) 716–741.

Remensnyder A.G., "Croyance et communauté. La mémoire des origines des abbayes bénédictines", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age* 115 (2003) 141–154.

Rothstein M., "Etymology, Genealogy, and the Immutability of Origins", *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990) 332–347.

Rowald P., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung* (Hannover: 1904).

Rowland I., "Bramante's Hetruscan Tempietto", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 51 (2006) 225–238.

Rykwert J., *The Idea of A Town. The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (London: 1976).

Satzinger G. – Schütze S. (eds.), *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506–2006* (Bonn: 2008).

Schraven M., "Foundation Ceremonies in Renaissance Italy. The Case of the Bentivoglio Tower in Bologna (1489)", in Michaels A. (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: 2010) vol. V, 339–357.

——, "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place. On the Use of Italian Renaissance Portrait Medals as Building Deposits", *RES* 55–56 (2009) 182–193.

Strong R., *Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Berkeley: 1984).

Untermann M., "Primus lapis in fundamentum deponitur. Kunsthistorische Überlegungen zur Funktion der Grundsteinlegung im Mittelalter", *Cistercienser. Brandenburgische Zeitschrift rund um das Cisterciensische Erbe* 6 (2003) 5–18.

Vale L., *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: 2009) 105–122.

Vine A., "Etymology, Names and the Search for Origins in Early Modern England", *Seventeenth Century Journal* 21 (2006) 1–21.