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EXEMPLARY ARCHITECTURE IN CORELLI'S ROME. OLD MODELS, NEW MODELS, NON-MODELS

BY ANDREW HOPKINS

The compositions of violin music by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), and his style of execution, became vital models in late 17th-century musical circles in Rome. The wider artistic milieu of the period included important figures such as Alexander VIII Ottoboni (1610–1691), his nephew Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740), Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689) and Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), together with Bernini's talented followers Carlo Rainaldi (1611–1691) and Carlo Fontana (1638–1714) who died just a year after Corelli. This paper examines which buildings had the status of models in this period and beyond, and also some that were not. In terms of ecclesiastical design, two 16th-century churches, St Peter's and Il Gesù, remained the most important exemplars even after 1650, while for residential architecture the palazzo Chigi (later Odescalchi) at SS Apostoli of the 1660s by Bernini became the principal model for a new style of noble, aristocratic and royal palace thereafter. The buildings by Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) can be considered non-models, although they were occasionally copied.

Old models

St Peter's was one of the most enduring models for ecclesiastical design in Early Modern Europe.[1] The original proposal by Donato Bramante (1444–1514), filtered through the brilliant reworking of the 1540s by Michelangelo (1475–1564), was highly influential throughout Europe. Bernini's equally brilliant recasting of aspects of the interior, from the 1620s to the 1670s, with the Baldacchino and Cathedra Petri, as well as the exterior with his project for twin belltowers and the piazza, together with the altar of the chapel of the Santissimo Sacramento, resulted in St Peter's remaining influential in the late-17th-century.[2] An analogous situation pertained at Il Gesù, where the powerful façade composition of 1573–1575 by Giacomo della Porta (1532–1602), influenced numerous projects

[1] Georg Satzinger and Sebastian Schütze (eds), *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506–2006*, München: Hirmer, 2006.

[2] For the belltower drawing see Heinrich Brauer and Rudolf Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 9–10 (1931), vol. II, plate 156. Sarah McPhee, *Bernini and the Bell Towers. Architecture and Politics at the Vatican*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002 (see page 152, fig. 128, for a colour reproduction of the Bernini façade elevation proposal drawing of 1645, held at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 13442, fol. 4r). For the issue of resistance against reworking see Howard Burns, „Building Against Time. Renaissance Strategies to Secure Large Churches Against Changes to their Design", in: Jean Guillaume (ed.), *L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris: Picard, 1995, 107–131.

thereafter, while the overall design of the church in 1568 by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573) was equally influential, especially in terms of the proposed façade, recorded in an engraving, and the innovative ground plan with the elimination of aisles.[3] Just as St Peter's remained in the consciousness of architects because it was being decorated and brought to completion throughout the 17th century, so too the Gesù was the focus of attention because of various projects in the 1670s aimed at completing its internal decoration, as well as some important altars, such as that dedicated to Sant'Ignazio.[4]

Bernini's vision for the façade of St Peter's with its ill-fated and infamous belltowers, which were planned and partly built, only to be dismantled, was well known through contemporary drawings (Fig. 1). A comparison of this project with the conception for the façade, drum, dome and belltowers of Sant'Agnese on piazza Navona, exemplifies the enduring persistence in this guise of St Peter's as a model (Fig. 2).[5] Rebuilt for Innocent X Pamphilj (1574–1655), the project at Sant'Agnese began with plans by Girolamo Rainaldi (1570–1655), before Borromini took over the direction and re-designed the church in 1653, creating the powerful curved façade set back from the piazza.[6] The twin belltowers flanking the majestic drum and dome offer a ‚correct' version of what Michelangelo and others had intended at St Peter's, for a centralised building without the additional longitudinal nave that was designed and built between 1608 and 1612 by Carlo Maderno (1556–1629) for Paul V Borghese (1552–1621). On piazza Navona, the presence of Bernini's Four Rivers Fountain surmounted by its obelisk set before the façade of the church reinforces the parallels with

[3] Thomas Lucas (ed.), *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy. Ignatius, Rome and Jesuit Urbanism*, exh. cat. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990.

[4] Louise Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter's. Outfitting the Basilica, 1621–1666*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Tommaso Manfredi, „Nel Santissimo Nome di Gesù. Carlo Fontana e la decorazione architettonica della Chiesa Madre dei Gesuiti", in: Vincenzo Cazzato, Sebastiano Roberto and Mario Bevilacqua (eds), *La festa degli arti. Scritti in onore di Marcello Fagiolo per cinquant'anni di studi*, two vols, Roma: Gangemi, 2014, vol. I, 482–491. Evonne Levy, „The Institutional Memory of the Roman Gesù", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 33 (1999/2000), 373–426.

[5] Frances Heumer, „Borromini and Michelangelo. Some Preliminary Thoughts on Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona", *Source* 20/4 (2001), 12–22. Martin Raspe, „Borromini und Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona von der päpstlichen Grablege zur Residenzkirche der Pamphili", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 31 (1996), 313–368. For Carlo Rainaldi's and Borromini's drawings of Sant'Agnese see Joseph Connors, Richard Bösel and Christoph Frommel (eds), *Borromini e l'universo barocco*, two vols, Milan: Electa, 1999/2000, vol. II (Documenti di architettura 127), 184–191.

[6] For the saint see Lucy Grig, „The Paradoxical Body of Saint Agnes", in: Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke (eds), *Roman Bodies. Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, London: British School at Rome, 2005, 111–122. For the church see Federico Bellini, *Le cupole di Borromini. La „scientia" costruttiva in età barocca*, Milano: Electa, 2004, 205–249.

St Peter's and its piazza by Bernini, the Vatican obelisk here having been put in place by Domenico Fontana (1543–1607) in 1590.[7]

Fig. 1: Bernini, St Peter's façade with bell-towers (see n. 2).

[7] Domenico Fontana, *Della Trasportatione Dell'Obelisco Vaticano Et Delle Fabriche Di Nostro Signore Papa Sisto V*, Roma: Domenico Basa, 1590. Nicoletta Marconi, „L'eredità tecnica di Domenico Fontana e la Fabbrica di S. Pietro. Tecnologie e procedure per la movimentazione dei grandi monoliti tra '500 e '800", in: Marcello Fagiolo and Giuseppe Bonaccorso (eds), *Studi sui Fontana. Una dinastia di architetti ticinesi a Roma tra Manierismo e Barocco*, Roma: Gangemi, 2008, 45–56.

Fig. 2: Sant'Agnese in Agone, Rome, exterior (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome: U. Pl. D. 45696 Oscar Savio).

In equal measure the designs of Filippo Juvarra (1678–1736) of 1715 for the Reale Chiesa di Superga above Turin and his project of 1716–1728 for the Chapel of Sant'Uberto at Venaria Reale, just outside the Savoy capital, demonstrate the enduring impact of St Peter's, both its interior and its exterior design (Fig. 3).[8] While the paired flanking belltowers of the Superga are more distinctly separated from the centralised body of the church, the concept of a majestically rising drum and dome is clearly inspired by St Peter's, especially

[8] Elisabeth Wünsche-Werdehausen, *Turin 1713–1730. Die Kunstpolitik König Vittorio Amedeos II*, Petersburg: Imhof, 2009. Cornelia Jöchner, „Die Superga als herrschaftliche Votivkirche ein ‚Raumtypus' der frühen Neuzeit", and Giuseppe Dardanello, „Sant'Uberto e San Pietro – Juvarra e Bernini", in: Paolo Cornaglia, Andrea Merlotti and Constanza Roggero (eds), *Filippo Juvarra 1678–1736. Architetto dei Savoia. Atti del convegno internazionale: Reggia di Venaria, Castello di Rivoli, 13–16 novembre 2011*, Roma: Campisano, 2014, vol. I (Architettura e potere lo Stato sabaude e la costruzione dell'immagine in una corte europea 3/1), 83–98 and 127–143.

when seen from the conventual cloister. In Sant'Uberto at Venaria Reale, Juvarra demonstrates his knowledge of Bernini's interventions inside St Peter's in terms of architecture, sculpture and light, and he approached the design of this chapel for the Savoia in a similar fashion (Fig. 4). Located on the southern side of a large piazza in the form of an exedra, and set on the main axis of the town, here the crossing of Juvarra's chapel is articulated specifically quoting Michelangelo's execution of the crossing of St Peter's, re-articulated with the commission to Bernini in 1628 from Urban VIII Barberini (1568–1644) to transform into four colossal reliquaries the forty-five metre high pillars that support the dome of St Peter's (Fig. 5). These niches filled with statuary and surmounted by tribunes are essentially replicated at Sant'Uberto, with the presence of four over life-size statues set on pedestals and set within niches.[9]

Fig. 3: Filippo Juvarra, Reale Chiesa di Superga, Turin, 1715, seen from cloister (Photo: Werderhausen).

[9] Dardanello, „Sant'Uberto e San Pietro" (see n. 8), 133, figs. 5a and 5b. Juvarra also took up in the Uberto chapel the idea of the sculptural figure set against an illuminated oval of coloured glass that he had already used in Rome, when working with Pierre Legros on the chapel of Filippo Antamoro in San Gerolamo della Carità in Rome in 1708–1710, once again clearly influenced by Bernini's Cathedra Petri of 1657–1666.

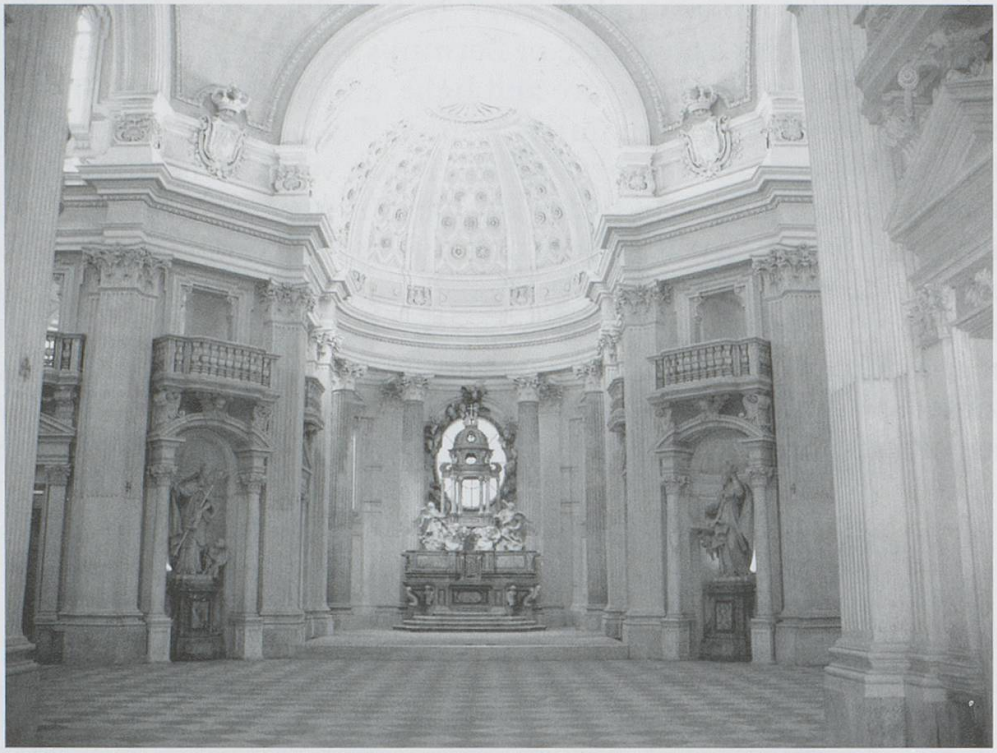

Fig. 4: Filippo Juvarra, Sant'Umberto, Venaria Reale, interior (Photo: Werderhausen).

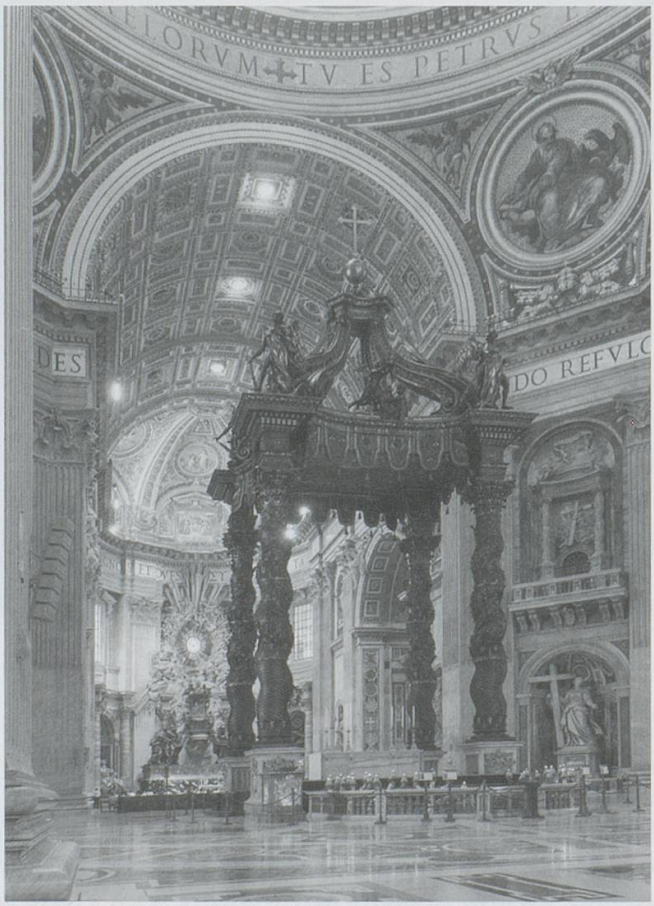

Fig. 5: St Peter's, interior, view of crossing and Baldacchino (Photo: author).

A precocious example of the impact of St Peter's beyond the confines of Italy is to be found in the interior of the Parisian church of Val-de-Grâce designed by François Mansart (1598–1666) of 1645–1669 (Fig. 6).[10] The interior architectural articulation, including the barrel vaulting, the coffering, the canted angles of the crossing with arches surmounted by tribunes, all testify to how closely held was the example of St Peter's. The church also includes a reworking of Bernini's Baldacchino by the French architect Gabriel le Duc (1630–1696), designed and begun by 1664, a year before Bernini's visit to Paris, as le Duc knew the original from his visit to Rome around 1650. In this case, le Duc proposed six rather than four spiral columns for the high altar set in the apse, whereas in 1645 when Louis XIV had laid the foundation stone for the high altar, Mansart's initial plan reveals his intentions for a free-standing square altar with four pairs of columns to be located in the centre of the crossing, as indicated also by the way the foundations were laid to support this area, making the analogy with the Baldacchino of St Peter's even more striking.[11]

At Val-de-Grâce, Mansart was equally inspired by Vignola's ground plan of the Gesù, as is clear in his earliest known ground plan for the building which has no aisles but rather three chapels opening directly onto the nave.[12]

The Gesù, designed by Vignola in 1568, with its façade by della Porta, of 1573–1575, was as influential as St Peter's, especially for the new and reformed orders (Fig. 7).[13] The second half of the 17th century was precisely the period

[10] Claude Mignot, „L'église du Val-de-Grâce au faubourg Saint-Jacques de Paris: architecture et décor", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1975), 101–136. Idem, *La Val-de-Grâce. L'ermitage d'une reine*, Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994. Idem, „Anne d'Autriche et l'abbaye royale du Val-de-Grâce entre piété et magnificence", in: Sabine Frommel and Juliette Dumas (eds), *Bâtir au féminin? Traditions et stratégies en Europe et dans l'Empire ottoman*, Paris: Picard, 2013, 221–226.

[11] Paris, Bibliotheque Natationale, Va 258d, cited and reproduced by Allan Braham, „Mansart Studies I. The Val-de-Grâce", *The Burlington Magazine* 105/725 (1963), 351–363, where the author first established the connexions with St Peter's, the Gesù ground plan, and Bernini's Baldacchino. See also Michele Faloci Pulignani, „Il baldacchino di S. Pietro e le sue imitazioni", *Illustrazione Vaticana* 2/12 (1931), 23–26 discussing the copies at S. Lorenzo in Spello, in the Cathedrals of Atri and Foligno, and at S. Angelo in Perugia. George Bauer, „Bernini's altar for the Val-de-Grâce", in: Hellmut Hager and Susan Scott Munshower (eds), *Light on the Eternal City. Observations and Discoveries in the Art and Architecture of Rome*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987 (Papers in art history from the Pennsylvania State University 2), 177–188.

[12] Braham „The Val-de-Grâce" (see n. 11).

[13] The two façade projects of the Gesù were the focus of the first systematic approach to art history based on the comparative method by Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*, München: Ackermann, 1888 (his own copy is held at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles: ZZ2.W65R46 1888, for which see Andrew Hopkins, „Bedeutende Wiederentdeckung in Los Angeles. Wölfflins annotierte Werke", *Kunstchronik* 66/12 [2013], 570–578). The argument was taken up and developed by Nathan Whitman, „Roman Tradition and the Aedicular Façade", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29/2 (1970), 108–123; Hermann Schlimme, *Die Kirchenfassade in Rom. „Reliefierte Kirchenfronten" 1475–1765*, Petersberg: Imhof, 1999; Jana Teuscher, *R*ömische Kirchenfassaden des 17. Jahrhunderts. *Fassadengestaltung im Kontext von Innen- und Außenraum*, Hildesheim: Olms, 2011.

in which there was a great deal of artistic activity aimed at completing the interior of the church. This included the ceiling decoration of Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639–1709), known as Baciccio, whose *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* (1676–1679) was conceived of by Gianlorenzo Bernini. Because of Bernini's close working relationship with Giovanni Paolo Oliva (1600–1681), then Preposito Generale of the Compagnia di Gesù, his then student Carlo Fontana, was also involved in work here.[14]

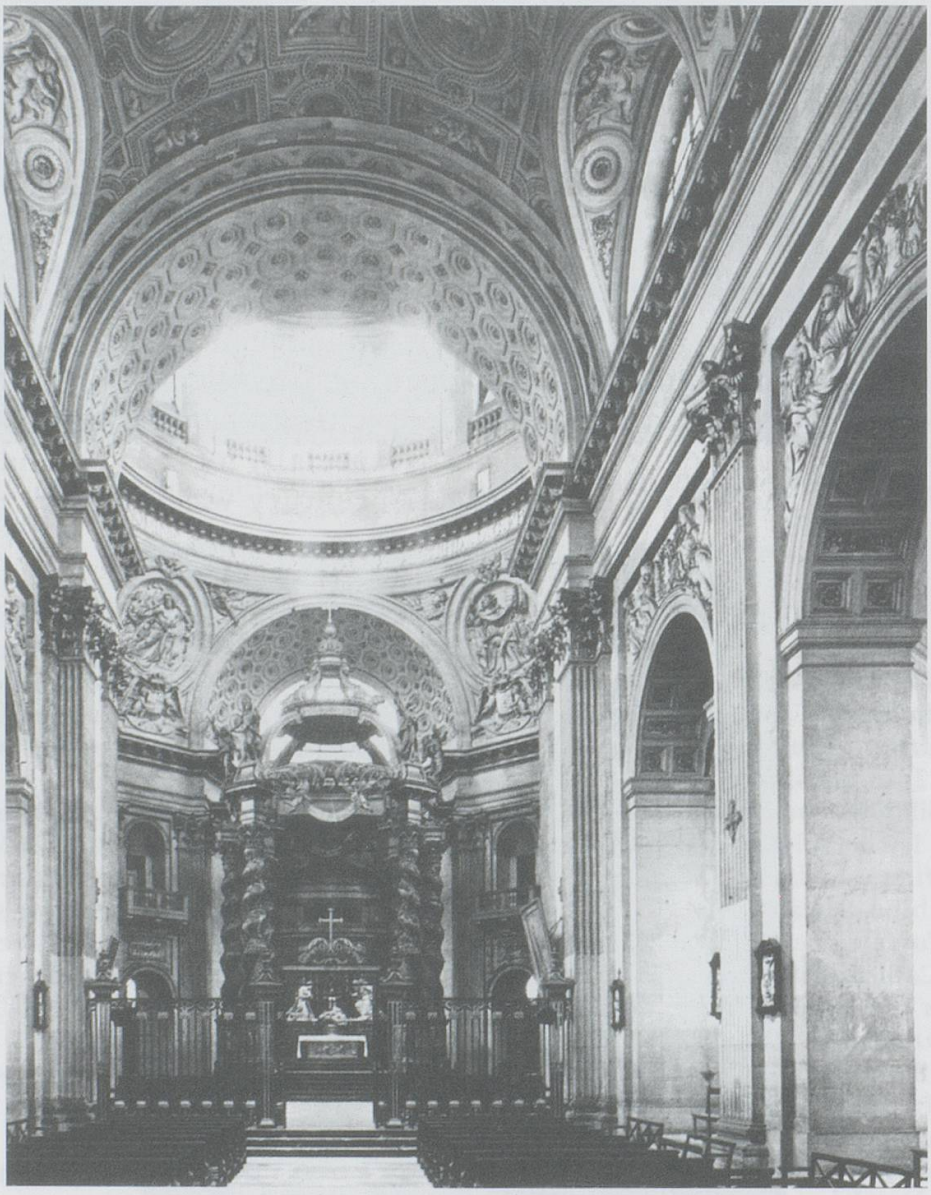

Fig. 6: Francois Mansart, Val-de-Grâce, Paris 1645–1669, interior (Photo: André Hallays, *Le Val-de-Grâce et Port Royale*, Paris: Hachette, 1925).

[14] See the forthcoming publication of the conference papers, Paolo Portoghesi et al. (eds), *Carlo Fontana 1636–1714. Celebrato architetto. Convegno internazionale: Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Palazzo Carpegna, Roma, 22–24 ottobre 2014*, Rom: Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, 2014; and the forthcoming study of Fontana and his school by Giuseppe Bonaccorso.

Fig. 7: Giacomo della Porta, Il Gesù, Rome, façade 1573–1575 (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome: U. Pl. D. 46180 Oscar Savio).

The influence of the Gesù can be seen immediately in the façade design of Santa Maria della Vallicella, based on a proposal by Fausto Rughesi from Montepulciano, dating to 1594 (Fig. 8). In this case, Bishop Angelo Cesi (1530–1606) of Todi, a member of the family that was the principal patron of the church, chose Rughesi's design over those of Martino Longhi the Elder (1534–1591), Giacomo della Porta (then architect to the congregation), and two proposals by Giovan Antonio Dosio (1533–1611).[15] Construction of the façade was interrupted by the flooding of the Tiber in 1598 and only re-commenced in 1603, being brought to completion in 1605. Cesi and the Oratorians were clearly inspired by the powerful conception of Della Porta's Gesù façade, which rep-

[15] Alberto Bianco, „La committenza della facciata della Chiesa Nuova, nei documenti dell'archivio della Congregazione di Roma", in: Patrizia Tosini (ed.), *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio*, Roma: Gangemi, 2009, 201–207.

resented the strength and dynamism of the New Orders that they also wished to embrace by choosing to build Rughesi's façade design.[16]

Fig. 8: Fausto Rughesi, Santa Maria della Vallicella, Rome, façade, 1594–1605 (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome: U. Pl. C. 56660).

[16] Richard Bösel, „L'architettura dei nuovi ordini religiosi", in: Aurora Scotti (ed.), *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana. Il Seicento*, two vols, Milan: Electa, 2003, vol. I, 48–69; Idem, „L'architettura della compagnia di Gesù in Europa", in: Giovanni Sale (ed.), *Ignazio e l'arte dei Gesuiti*, Milan: Jaca, 2003, 65–122.

Fig. 9: Orazio Grassi, Sant'Ignazio, Rome, façade, 1626 (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome: U. Pl. D. 545712 Oscar Savio).

Not surprisingly, the façade of the Jesuit church of Sant'Ignazio of 1626 represents the most powerful reworking of the Gesù design (Fig. 9).[17] It was the Jesuit Order's own Orazio Grassi (1583–1654), architect and mathematician, who also was working on various projects at the Gesù in the 1620s – including a project for an altar dedicated to Sant'Ignazio – who created this vigorous and dynamic façade composition.[18] Paid for with Cardinal Ludovisi's donation in 1626 of 100.000 scudi, Grassi's monumental conception includes three entrances set across the entire façade, with aedicules in the second and fourth bays that create a complex rhythm of segmental pediments over the doorways

[17] Richard Bösel, *Orazio Grassi, architetto e matematico gesuita*, Roma: Argos, 2004, 108–169 for Sant'Ignazio.

[18] Bösel, *Orazio Grassi* (see n. 17), 90–107 for Il Gesù. There in 1648 Grassi also designed and planned a Confessio under the same chapel dedicated to Sant'Ignazio.

alternating with triangular pediments for the aedicules. On the upper storey, the flanking aedicules have segmental pediments, thus contrasting with those below, while the central aedicular window repeats that at the Gesù and the projection of the uppermost triangular pediment is even more markedly plastic and projecting, as is the congregation's shield.

Of the plethora of other chuches that could be discussed, the final one examined here is that of Sant'Andrea della Valle (Fig. 10).[19] Construction was begun in 1590, following the interest taken in the Theatine's project by Sixtus V Peretti (1521–1590). Over the period from 1590 until 1650 various architects were involved, including the Theatine Francesco Grimaldi (1543–1613) as well as Giacomo della Porta, following a design by Pietro Paolo Olivieri (1551–1559). Around 1620 Maderno was called upon to design the façade, which he did with the help of the young Borromini, several of whose drawings for this project survive.[20] Work had only reached the base of the façade when it was interrupted in 1623, but Maderno's design is recorded in Valérian Regnart's engraving of the 1620s.[21] It was the direct concern of Fabio Chigi (1599–1667), and the favour he showed to the Theatines, that led to the completion of the church, with its consecration in 1650 and as Alessandro VII from 1655, when work proceeded apace so that between 1661 and 1667 Carlo Rainaldi, who had been involved on the site as early as 1652 and had been directing works from 1659, was able to rework Maderno's façade design and bring it to completion.[22]

[19] Karin Wolfe, „Tradizione e rinnovamento nella prima attività di Borromini. I disegni per la facciata di Sant'Andrea della Valle a Roma", *Quaderni del Dipartimento Patrimonio Architettonico e Urbanistico* 14/27–28 (2004), 67–74. Masci Meleo, „Carlo Rainaldi e il cantiere architettonico della facciata di S. Andrea della Valle", *Storia dell'arte* 29/129 (2011), 78–110. Tommaso Manfredi, „‚Si può vedere col paragone'. Carlo Rainaldi, Carlo Fontana, Gian Lorenzo Bernini e la facciata di S. Andrea della Valle", in: Simona Benedetti (ed.), *Architettura di Carlo Rainaldi nel quarto centenario della nascita*, Roma: Gangemi, 2012, 279–295. Borromini's drawings for the façade are Uffizi A 6734, A 6743, Albertina Az Rom 119, Az Rom 118, Ashmoleon Largest Talman Album X, f. 19, Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Rainaldi's drawings for the façade are BAV, Codice Chigiano P VII 9, ff. 91v–92r; Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, 3688; Carlo Fontana's project for the façade and piazza BAV, Codice Chigiano P VII 9, f. 90r–v; see also Giovan Battista Falda, *Il Nuovo Teatro delle fabriche, et edificii in prospettiva di Roma moderna*, Roma: De Rossi, 1665, plate XXV.

[20] For Borromini's drawings for the façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle see Bösel and Frommel, *Borromini e l'universo barocco* (see n. 5), vol. II, 92–93.

[21] Peter Fuhring, „Valérien Regnart and the Representation of Architecture in Early Seventeenth Century Rome", in: Eckhard Leuschner (ed.), *Ein privilegiertes Medium und die Bildkulturen Europas*, München: Hirmer, 2012, 257–277.

[22] Here the combination of the Roman façade type with superimposed double orders framed by volutes, based on the Della Porta Gesù model, which was taken up and elaborated by Maderno at Santa Susanna, was reprised here. Santa Susanna took up the model of Santa Maria in Traspontina, for which see Maurizio Ricci, „Prima del Gesù. La chiesa romana di S. Maria in Traspontina e i suoi architetti (1566–1587)", *Quaderni del Dipartimento Patrimonio Architettonico e Urbanistico* 8/9 (1998–1999), 47–62.

Fig. 10: Carlo Maderno and Carlo Rainaldi, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome, façade, date (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome: U. Pl. C. 60297 Roberto Sigismondi 2003).

New Models

In terms of palace design, the principal new model created in 17th-century Rome was by Gianlorenzo Bernini with the façade of the Palazzo Chigi (later Odescalchi) of the 1650s (Fig. 11).[23] Despite the complicated ownership history

[23] Thomas Ashby, „The Palazzo Odescalchi in Rome", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 8 (1916), 55–60 and 9 (1920), 67–74. Christof Thoenes, „Bernini architetto tra Palladio e Michelangelo", in: Gianfranco Spagnesi and Marcello Fagiolo (eds), *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e l'architettura europea del Sei–Settecento*, two vols, Roma: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983, vol. I, 105–134. Elisabeth Sladek, „Der Palazzo Chigi–Odescalchi an der Piazza SS. Apostoli. Studien und Materialen zu den frühen Bauphasen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 27 (1985), 439–503. Eadem, „Un progetto finora ignoto per la facciata del palazzo Chigi–Odescalchi a Roma", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987), 351–356. Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth–century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990, 291–320. Belén Atencia Conde-Pumpido, „Il Palazzo Chigi Odescalchi a piazza Santi Apostoli", *Lazio ieri e oggi* 40/475 (2004), 171–173.

of this building, Bernini's brilliant and innovative project transformed the earlier residence into the most enduring model for successive palace facades both in Rome and as far away as Stockholm. In 1657, two years after Fabio Chigi (1598–1667) had become pope Alexander VII, members of the Chigi family were still tenants renting the palace of Stefano Colonna on Piazza SS Apostoli: Fabio's elder brother Mario (1594–1669) and his wife Berenice (della Ciaia), and their nephew Agostino Chigi (1634–1705), who in 1658 married Virginia Borghese (1642–1718).[24] Three years later, on 9 December 1661, Alexander VII recorded in his diary that his nephew, Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the *cardinale nipote*, who was then living in the Vatican, had decided to buy the palace at SS Apostoli from Stefano Colonna for 25,000 scudi.[25] Mario and Agostino and their households moved out and plans were made in preparation for the remodelling that took place between 1664 and 1667, when Bernini dramatically transformed the palace façade (Fig. 12).[26] Two drawings exist of the facade design executed by Carlo Fontana, Bernini's assistant from 1658 to 1663, who collaborated with Bernini on the re-configuration of the palace between 1664 and 1667, both as author of the drawings and also as director of works during the master's stay in Paris in 1665.[27]

[24] Waddy, *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces* (see n. 23), 112 and 301. By 1659 the households of these two families numbered 165 people.

[25] Sladek, „Der Palazzo Chigi–Odescalchi" (see n. 23), 459–460 and n. 76, acquired 21 December 1661 from the heirs of Pompeo 1661–66 (?), his testament of 3 January 1661, „all'Em.mo Sig. Card.le Chigi l'usufrutto di tutto il Palazzo in vita sua", Archivio Capitolino, Bd. 60. Testamenta 1643–1671. Floridus et Palutius A.A. Notarii. The façade design is reproduced in Brauer and Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini* (see n. 2), plate 86a „Dissegnò Carlo Fontana". In 1745 Nicola Salvi doubled the length of Gianlorenzo Bernini's façade, for which see Armando Schiavo, *La Fontana di Trevi e le altre opere di Nicola Salvi*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956, 273–286.

[26] Sladek, „Der Palazzo Chigi–Odescalchi" (see n. 23), 453, citing AST Camerale I, Giustificazioni di Tesoreria, B. 129, fasc. 3., 7 June 1657, BAV, Ach. 14415. Bernini was involved at the palace from 1657 with work assisted by Antonio de Rossi and Giovanni Maria Bolini, „Misura e stima de diversi lavori di muro de risarcimenti fatti per servitio dell'Ecc.mi SS Principi D. Mario, e D. Agostino Chigi nel Palazzo dove loro habitano, posto su la Piazza di Santi Apostoli", but the palace façade project dates to 1664 when, on 22 June Alexander VII noted in his diary, „Cav. Bernino [...] ci mostra l'ordinamento del palazzo di SS. Apostoli", for which see Richard Krautheimer and Roger Jones, „The Diary of Alexander VII. Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975), 199–236, 221 (entry 761).

[27] Vincenzo Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul Seicento nell'Archivio Chigi*, Roma: Palombi, 1939, 3–78. Hellmut Hager, „Carlo Fontana", *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 48, Roma: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997, 624–636, 625. Simona Zani, *L'opera di Carlo Fontana nei Castelli Romani*, Roma: Gangemi, 2004, 16, 20, 23.

Fig. 11: Palazzo Chigi, Rome, 1664–1667, detail of central bays and entrance (photo: author).

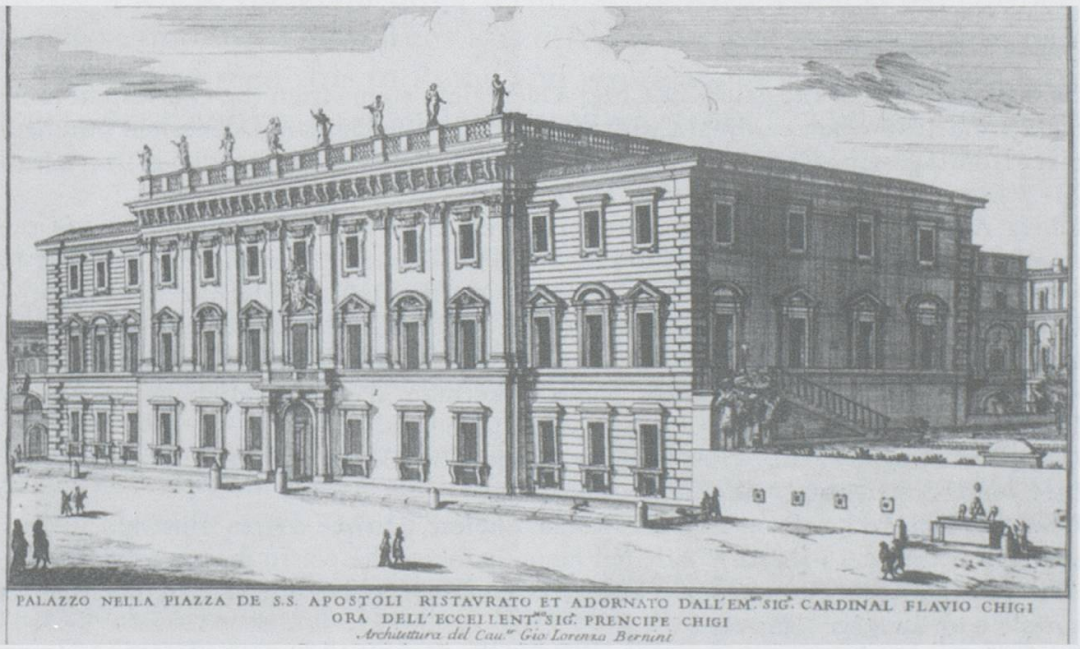

Fig. 12: Alessandro Specchi, Palazzo nella piazza de SS Apostoli ristaurato et adornato dall'Em.mo Sig.r Cardinal Flavio Chigi ora dell'Eccellent.mo Sig.r Prencipe Chigi, Architettura del Cav.er Gio: Lorenzo Bernini, engraving, 1650s (British School at Rome Library).

Just as Bernini had transformed Michelangelo's project for St Peter's in an enduring way, so too he took up and melded into a powerful new model Buonarroti's architectural articulation of the palazzo dei Senatori on the Campidoglio: the fenestration enframed by giant order pilasters on the first and second storeys. But Bernini reverses the echelon of the projecting end bays to instead create three recessed bays at either side, flanking the projecting central seven bays of the façade, which alone are surmounted by a strong projecting bracketed cornice and a continuous balustrade topped by sculptural figures.[28] Bernini also derived the forms of the window enframements in travertine set against the brick wall from those of Michelangelo's palazzo dei Conservatori, and was indebted to yet another of Michelangelo's inventions: the articulation of the fenestration of the central bay of the primo piano nobile of the palazzo Farnese, the so called ‚finestrone di marmo', surmounted by the family's coat of arms, for his own central window of palazzo Chigi.[29] As analysed in particular by Patricia Waddy, what Bernini achieved with this new composition was a masterpiece of hierarchical organization and articulation – a paradigm of the classical ideal.[30] This included the unbroken entablature surmounted by a bracketed cornice and balustrade; the material contrast of fine brick and travertine for the central projecting bays with the stucco ‚masonry' and ‚quoins' of the recessed side wings. The Palazzo Chigi became a model that informed palace design for decades across Europe, especially in the north as Dagobert Frey so perceptively noted in 1928.[31]

Bernini himself immediately took up the compositional ideas first developed for the Chigi palace in his second façade proposal for the Louvre in Paris in 1665, thus reworking this configuration for a royal residence.[32] Set above a

[28] The denomination of the palace as Chigi–Odescalchi stems from the Odescalchi renting the palace from 1693 when cardinal Chigi died, and then Baldassare Odescalchi purchasing the palace from Agostino Chigi in 1745 for 90.000 scudi, Schiavo, *La Fontana di Trevi*, (see n. 25), 273–274.

[29] Pamela Askew, „The Relation of Bernini's Architecture to the Architecture of the High Renaissance", *Marsyas* 5 (1947–1949), 39–61, 53. Thoenes, „Bernini architetto tra Palladio e Michelangelo" (see n. 23), 122–128. Andrew Morrogh, „The Palace of the Roman People. Michelangelo at the Palazzo Dei Conservatori", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 29 (1994), 129–186. Anna Bedon, *Il Campidoglio. Storia di un monumento civile nella Roma papale*, Milano: Electa, 2008. James Ackerman, „Palladio, Michelangelo and Publica Magnificentia", *Annali di architettura* 22 (2010), 63–78.

[30] Waddy, *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces* (see n. 23), 313–314 citing „distinctions of height, relief, materials, texture, order and ornament".

[31] Dagobert Frey, *Architettura Barocca*, Roma: Società Editrice d'Arte Illustrata, 1928, 39–40: „egli crea il tipo del palazzo nobile del pieno barocco che poi fu decisive specialmente per il barocco nordico"; „Si esprime in questa facciata con senso proprio aristocratico una gioa ospitale e un ritegno dignitoso".

[32] Mattia de Rossi's drawing for Bernini is held at the National Museum, Stockholm; THC5146. See also Sabine Frommel, „Il terzo progetto di Gian Lorenzo Bernini per il Louvre. Riferimenti italiani e scambi in Francia", in: *La festa degli arti* (see n. 4), vol. I, 376–381. Michael Hall, „Gianlorenzo Bernini's Third Design for the East Façade of the Louvre of 1665, Drawn by Mattia de Rossi", *The Burlington Magazine* 149/1252 (2007), 478–482.

rusticated ground floor two piani nobili rise, enframed by the giant order and surmounted by a bracketed cornice, continuous balustrade and sculptural figures.

The years around 1700 were the apogee of influence for this palace façade design beyond Italy, including the designs by Andreas Schlüter (1664–1714) of 1698 for the Berliner Stadtschloss.[33] In 1690 Counts Harrach and Kaunitz called to Vienna Domenico Martinelli (1650–1718) of Lucca, who had previously studied under Carlo Fontana in Rome. The residence constructed for Count Kaunitz and completed for the Prince of Liechenstein was designed by Enrico Zucalli (circa 1642–1724) who clearly based himself on Bernini's Chigi palace.[34] In 1700 Carlo Fontana himself drew up a series of eleven drawings for the transformation of the palace in Prague of Count Georg Adam Martinitz, previously Imperial Ambassador to Rome.[35] In particular, the drawing for the front elevation of Fontana's fourth project for this palace set on a site on the hill above the west bank of the Moldau, reveals the derivation from Bernini's façade. The palace was built from 1705 onwards by Giuseppe Bartolomeo Scotti following Fontana's designs.

In Stockholm Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728) well understood how shaping public space visualised ideological values such as Absolutism, and this was achieved by him at the Royal Palace in Stockholm through reference to both ancient and modern Rome (Fig. 13).[36] Since the 1650s Swedish architects had travelled to Rome to study its architecture and Tessin was there for five years in the 1670s, becoming court architect in 1676 and succeeding his father Nicodemus Tessin the Elder (1615–1681) in 1681 as architect of the Royal Palace. At the beginning of the 1690s he had made designs for the royal palace at Amalienborg where the courtyard façade had a projecting central section of nine bays where the giant order terminating with a bracketed cornice and balustrade surmounted by statues was directly derived from Bernini's palazzo Chigi. Tessin had seen this in Rome and wrote about it in 1673, in a letter to his father, „des Cardinal Chigi palaïs mit ihren, grundriss undt zum theil auch

[33] Henry Millon, „Filippo Juvarra", in: Giovanna Curcio and Elisabeth Kieven (eds), *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana. Il Settecento*, Milan: Electa, 2000, 516–539, 531, and discussion of influence of the 1664 Chigi and 1665 Louvre projects of Bernini on the Castello di Rivoli and the Palacio Reale in Madrid, 536–537.

[34] John Pinto, „Architettura da esportare", in: Curcio and Kieven, *Il Settecento* (see n. 33), 110–133, 122–123.

[35] Hellmut Hagar, „Carlo Fontana", in Scotti, *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana* (see n. 16), 238–261, 254 and 260 n. 97. Allan Braham and Hellmut Hager, *Carlo Fontana. The Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London: Zwemmer, 1977, 133–135 and plates 317–327, in particular plate 325 (Windsor 385).

[36] Marten Snickare, „Three Royal Palaces", in: Marten Snickare (ed.), *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger: Royal Architect and Visionary*, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002, 103–125, 109. Idem, „The Construction of Autocracy. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger and the Architecture of Stockholm", in: Henry Millon (ed.), *Circa 1700. Architecture in Europe and the Americas*, New Haven and London: National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2005, 65–77. John Beldon Scott, „Nicodemus Tessin and Baltic Baroque Architecture", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 65/4 (2006), 628–632.

mit dem profilen angedeut".[37] During the same stay he also drew the central window above the portal as recorded in one of the numerous Tessin drawings held in the National Museum of Stockholm.[38] A new wing was added to the Royal Palace in Stockholm in 1692, but the rest of palace was destroyed in a fire in 1697 and it was then entirely rebuilt. The severe north façade was inspired by the Farnese and Barberini palaces, while the eastern façade with its giant order is derived from the Chigi palace.[39]

Within Italy, the influence of this model could be seen in the 1690s in Milan, for example, when Giovanni Ruggeri (1665–1721) designed palazzo Cusani in via Brera, inspired for its piani nobili giant order Corinthian pilasters by Bernini.[40] Just outside Turin, around 1710, Juvarra designed an ambitious project for the Castello di Rivoli, the façade project of which was influenced by Bernini's.[41] In 1695 Francesco Fontana (1668–1708) reclaimed and reworked what remained of Hadrian's temple (*Hadrianeum*) to build the new Dogana di Terra: the surviving peristyle which was transformed into the façade of the new palace: eleven original Corinthian columns were transformed re-deploying the giant orders on the Chigi palace model, even if here enframing three floors.[42]

In Turin in 1718 it was Juvarra who was directly influenced by the Chigi palace in his designs to radically transform the Casaforte degli Acaja into what is today known as Palazzo Madama (Fig. 14).[43] Rather than seven bays for the projecting central portion of the façade, here there are just three bays that provide three entrances in the grand staircase hall, and rather than pilasters, here Juvarra chose to deploy four freestanding columns that support the bracketed cornice and balustrade surmounted by sculptural figures. The recessed flanks of the palace have three bays each and are articulated by fluted giant order Composite pilasters. The regularity and rhythm of the three sequences of three bays makes this one of the most accomplished palace facades of the Early Modern period and still testifies to the brilliance of Bernini's original composition whereas his palace in Rome was extended, almost double in length,

[37] Merit Laine and Börje Magnusson (eds), *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Travel Notes 1673–77 and 1687–88*, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002, 73, also 312–313.

[38] The drawing at the National Museum, NMH THC 1790, as cited by Patricia Waddy, „Tessin's Rome", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 72/1–2 (2003), 113–123, 120 n. 3.

[39] Interestingly, Tessin pointed out that part of his plan for the surroundings included a square north of the palace with a new domed church which was modelled on the churches of St Peter's, Sant'Ignazio, Sant'Agnese, Val-de-Grace in Paris as well as St Paul's in London, thus recognising centuries ago the vital role of St Peter's as a model.

[40] Aurora Scotti, „La Lombardia asburgica", in: Curcio and Kieven, *Il Settecento* (see n. 33), 424–451, 433–434

[41] Henry Millon, „Filippo Juvarra", in: Curcio and Kieven, *Il Settecento* (see n. 33), 516–539, 531, and discussion of influence of the 1664 Chigi and 1665 Louvre projects of Bernini on the Castello di Rivoli and the Palacio Reale in Madrid, 536–537.

[42] Susanna Pasquali, „L'antico", in Curcio and Kieven, *Il Settecento* (see n. 33), 92–109, 94. See also the engraving by Alessandro Specchi of 1699.

[43] Gianfranco Gritella, „Una trasformazione radicale. I progetti settecenteschi per l'ampliamento di Palazzo Madama", in: Marco Carassi and Gianfranco Gritella (eds), *Il re e l'Architetto. Viaggio in una città perduta e ritrovata*, Turin: Hapax, 2013, 107–117.

by Nicola Salvi (1697–1751) in 1745 for the Odescalchi.[44] Juvarra himself had already used this model for his palazzo Birago di Borgaro begun in 1716 and then again for his palazzo Roero di Guarene begun in 1730.[45]

Once again in the 1730s, the impact of Bernini's design can be felt both in Italy and in Europe. Juvarra's designs for the Palacio Real of Madrid, built by him and Giovanni Battista Sacchetti 1738–1764, are unthinkable without Bernini's Chigi palace facade.[46] In Rome itself, Ferdinando Fuga's project for palazzo Petroni of circa 1730 in Roma is heavily derived from Bernini's.[47]

Fig. 13: Palazzo Madama, Turin (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome: U. Fi. D. 408k. Nachlass Hanno Walter Kruft).

[44] Elisabeth Kieven, „Luigi Vanvitelli e Nicola Salvi a Roma", in: Cesare De Seta (ed.), *Luigi Vanvitelli e la sua cerchia*, Naples: Electa, 2000, 53–78.

[45] Giuseppe Dardanello, „Il Piemonte sabaudo", in: Curcio and Kieven, *Il Settecento* (see n. 33), 380–423, 422 n. 22.

[46] See the numerous contributions in Beatriz Blasco Esquivias (ed.), *Filippo Juvarra 1678–1736. De Mesina al Palacio Real de Madrid*, exh. cat., Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1994. See also José Luis Sancho, „El proyecto de Filippo Juvarra para el Palacio Real de Madrid", and John Pinto, „Architecture and the Representation of Power. Filippo Juvarra in a European Perspective", in: Elisabeth Kieven and Cristina Ruggero (eds), *Filippo Juvarra 1678–1736. Architetto in Europa*, Roma: Campisano, 2014, vol. II (Architettura e potere lo Stato sabaude e la costruzione dell'immagine in una corte europea 3/2), 273–288, 289–303.

[47] Elisabeth Kieven, „Ferdinando Fuga", and „Lo stato della Chiesa. Roma tra il 1730 e il 1758", in: Curcio and Kieven, *Il Settecento* (see n. 33), 540–555, 544–545, and 184–239, here 206–207. To a lesser extent also his palazzo Corsini of 1736, for which see the engraving by Giuseppe Vasi of 1751.

Non-Models

The astounding works of Francesco Borromini constituted the principal non-models.[48] San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane could be copied, as in Umbria at Santa Maria del Prato in Gubbio in 1662–1670, but neither this, nor his other works, such as Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza, became exemplars. For the work at Gubbio, it appears that it was monsignor Alessandro Sperelli (1589-1672), bishop of Gubbio from 1644 to 1672, who decided that the church should be built „al modello di San Carlino di Roma", and it was cardinal Ulderico Carpegna (1595–1679) who, in 1665, managed to obtain an autograph drawing of San Carlino from Borromini.[49] This seems a unique occurrence as Borromini avoided publishing his designs precisely to avoid being copied, and disdained the act and process of copying as revealed in his well known citation, „and I for certain would never have entered this profession only to become a copyist".[50] As Connors points out, this is a good example of how models sometimes are simply copied without the architect necessarily understanding the architectural language of the original.[51]

Like Corelli's compositions and musical execution which unexpectedly became influential models for successive composers and performers, so too Bernini's façade design for palazzo Chigi had an unexpectedly influential impact on palace façade design for almost a century after he composed it – like Corelli in music, in terms of architectural language Bernini had hit precisely the right notes.

[48] Joseph Connors, *Borromini and the Roman Oratory. Style and Society*, New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1980. Joseph Connors, „S. Ivo alla Sapienza. The First Three Minutes", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55 (1996), 38–57. Bösel and Frommel, *Borromini e l'universo barocco* (see n. 5).

[49] Joseph Connors, „A Copy of Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Gubbio", *The Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995), 588–599, also noting that the question of allegiance to Rome, following the annexation of Urbino into the Papal States, might explain the numerous copies of the baldachin of St Peter's in Umbria. See also Maria Vittoria Ambrogi, *Gubbio nel Seicento. Francesco Borromini e la Chiesa della Madonna del Prato*, Città di Castello: Petruzzi, 2005.

[50] Francesco Borromini, *Opus Architectonicum*, ed. crit. by Joseph Connors, preface to the reader. For issues of copying and originality Richard Bösel, „Typus und Tradition der Baukultur Gegenreformatorischer Orden", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 31 (1989), 239–253. See also Andrew Hopkins, „Giving Away ones Children. Baldassare Longhena and a Drawing for Borromini", in: Louis Waldman and Machtelt Israëls (eds), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, two vols, Milano: Officina Libraria, 2013, vol. I, 623–628.

[51] Of course San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane itself is full of dextrous allusions to such architectural models as St Peter's, including the piers with their pendentives and arconi. Christoph Frommel, „Le facciate di San Carlino", in: *Borromini e l'universo barocco* (see n. 5), vol. II, 45–67.

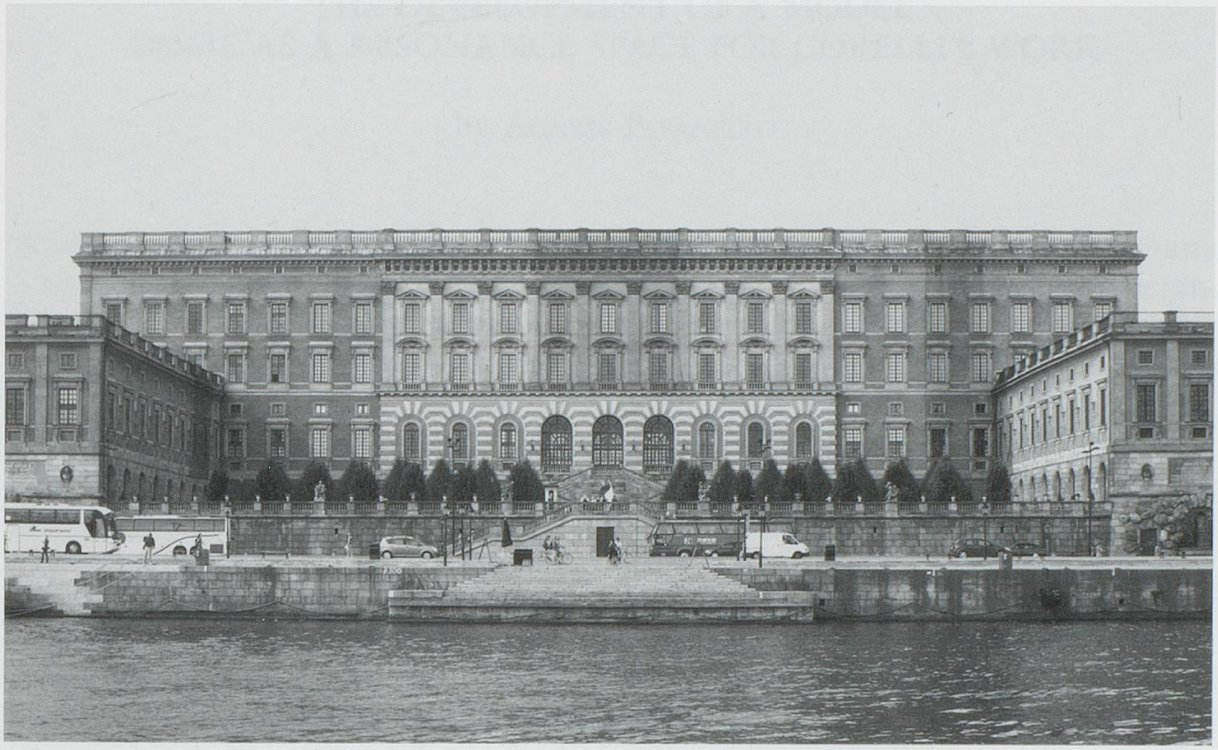

Fig. 14: Royal Palace, Stockholm (Photo: author).