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THE ARCHITECTUS CELEBERRIMUS OF THE PALAZZO CAPODIFERRO AT ROME

„The palace seems to him beautiful, sumptuous and magnificent, and so will it be esteemed by every man who will see it, and be regarded among the beautiful things of Rome.“

Taken from a legal deposition dated 16 May 1560 at Rome made by Orazio Muti regarding the Palazzo Capodiferro.¹

The palace, which was built for Cardinal Girolamo Capodiferro, and later acquired and enlarged by Cardinal Bernardino Spada by whose name it is known today, must be counted among the most noted sixteenth-century buildings at Rome (fig. 1). Richly appointed both inside and out this residence justifiably remains a testament to the two cardinals responsible for its creation. Most aspects of the palace have been discussed in detail and one point in particular has generated an enduring debate, that is the name of the architect.² Thus far neither contempo-

rary notices of the designer nor contractual agreements or payments have been discovered despite an intensive search in various Roman archives. An attribution has proven equally frustrating because the palace does not closely resemble any building constructed in the same period. Stylistically, this Sangallesque palace is one of a kind. Early sixteenth-century motifs are revived and fused in a novel combination. There are reminiscences of the Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila, Palazzo Baldassini, and Palazzo Angelo Massimo. But because the sources are so literally adopted, somewhat sutured together rather than transformed by an inventive artistic sensibility, the palace is considered less an original design than a fortunate and satisfying derivative. The identity of the architect who created this fascinating palace is thus a mystery and for a good reason: one could say that the designer has been hidden in plain sight.

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1 „*Il palazzo li pare bello suntuoso et magnifico, et che cosi sara stimato da ogni homo che lo vederà et è tenuto delle belle cose di Roma.*“

Archivio di stato, Roma, Archivio del collegio dei notari Capitolini, Curtius Saccoccus de Sanctis, vol. 1622, 16 May 1560, Horatius de Mutii de Mutis. See note 18 below.

2 Thus far there is no known sixteenth-century reference to the architect. In the seventeenth century two names were advanced, that of Giulio Merisi da Caravaggio by POMPILIO TOTTI, *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, Roma, 1638, pp. 210–211, 531; and Giulio Mazzoni da Piacenza by PIETRO FERRERIO, *Palazzi di Roma de più celebri architetti*, Roma, n.d., pls. 32, 33. ALBERTO SERAFINI (*Girolamo da Carpi: Pittore e architetto ferrarese*, Roma, 1915, pp. 368–384) proposed that Girolamo da Carpi was the architect. Several other names have been suggested: Pirro Ligorio by G. Ceci in THIEME-BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, 1929, vol. 23, p. 219; Giovanni Mangone by GINO CHIERICI, *Il palazzo italiano dal secolo XI al secolo XIX*, Milano, 1954, part. 2, pp. 210–213.

In the Pantheon at Rome next to the memorial tablets for Perino del Vaga and Taddeo Zuccaro is the prominent and baffling inscription:

D.O.M.
BARTHOLOMEO BARONINO CASALEN
MONTISFERRATI ARCHITECTO CELEBER
RIMO IMPIA MORTE PREVENTO ANNO
ETATIS SVE XLIII DIE VI SEPTEMB
M.D.LIIII
BARTHOLINVS ET IO FRANCISCVS
FRATRES POSVERVNT³

In the company of Raphael and other true notables of the sixteenth century reposes the *Architectus Celeberrimus* Bartolomeo Baronino – a curious honor to have been given a man by whom not a single building is known to have been designed in Rome. In fact his life is well documented due to the singular effort of Antonino Bertolotti.⁴

Baronino was born in 1511 at Casale Monferrato, a town in the Piedmont between Turin and Milan. It is not known when he came to Rome but by December 1535 he held the title of *sottomaestro di strada* and drew a regular salary under Sebastiano da Como.⁵ From this date through the 1540's he was paid for various projects involving the paving of streets, *piazze* and other public ways.⁶ On 10 August 1541 he is recorded as *capomaestro*

of a part of the construction at the palace of the Duke of Castro, that is the Palazzo Farnese. His work as superintendent there continued until 1549.⁷ It is said that he joined the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon in succession to Giovanni Mangone da Caravaggio who died in 1543.⁸ In the same year he was sent on a mission to Pope Paul III at Busseto; apparently he was carrying plans for the fortification of the Borgo and San Pietro in Vaticano.⁹ During the conclave following the death of Paul III, Baronino was in charge of construction work for the College of Cardinals at the Vatican palace.¹⁰ After Julius III was elected pope, Baronino's work became more intensively involved with building projects. He prepared the apartment in the Vatican for the Pope's brother Baldovino del Monte.¹¹ He became *capomaestro* of the *muratori* at the Belvedere, and at the Villa Giulia, he was in charge of some substantial portion of the work there.¹² His life ended abruptly and violently. On the night of 4 September 1554 he was stabbed by unknown assailants in the Via Flaminia near the Villa Giulia. He died of his wounds on the 6th of September and was buried in the Pantheon by his brothers Bartolino and Giovanni Francesco as recorded by the memorial plaque there.¹³

Despite his work as *sottomaestro di strada*, *capomaestro*, and superintendent of the construction of buildings designed by others, nothing created by Baronino seems to justify the claim of *Architectus Celeberrimus* made by his brothers.¹⁴ In the entire three volumes of the *Vite* Vasari makes only one reference to Baronino, and that occurs in the life of Taddeo Zuccaro. While discussing the Villa Giulia, Vasari states that:

paving of Ponte di Sant'Angelo; 1542, Piazza Santi Apostoli, paving of Borgo Nuovo; 1544, paving of Piazza Farnese; 1547, Piazza di Santa Maria della Rotonda, see Bertolotti, Baronino, pp. 10–12; 1550, opening of Via Condotti, see Lanciani, Scavi, vol. 3, p. 8.

7 Bertolotti, Baronino, pp. 11, 17; Lanciani, Scavi, vol. 2, p. 160; FRANÇOIS-CHARLES UGINET, *Le Palais Farnèse a travers les documents financiers (1535–1612)*, *Le Palais Farnèse*, Ecole Française de Rome, 3, 1, Rome 1980, pp. 21, 27, 30, 34, 36, 47–51.

8 Bertolotti, *Artisti subalpini*, p. 29. However there is no such notice in J. A. F. ORBAAN, *Virtuosi al Pantheon: archivalische Beiträge zur römischen Kunstgeschichte*, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 37, 1915, p. 22. He is called one of the „primi confratelli“ in HALINA WAGA, *Vita nota e ignota dei Virtuosi al Pantheon*, *L'Urbe*, 30, 4, 1967, p. 6.

9 Bertolotti, *Artisti subalpini*, pp. 29–30.

10 Bertolotti, Baronino, p. 18; Serafini, *De Carpi*, pp. 346–347.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 357–358.

12 TILMAN FALK, *Studien zur Topographie und Geschichte der Villa Giulia in Rom*, *RömJbK*, 13, 1971, pp. 109, 110, 112, 114, 126.

13 Bertolotti, Baronino, pp. 22–24.

14 According to tradition, it is said that Baronino designed the church of Sant'Antonio at Casale Monferrato. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

3 In the chapel of San Giuseppe which was under the patronage of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon. VINCENZO FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, Roma, 1869, vol. 1, p. 296, no. 1129. The portrait bust of Baronino is located in the Museo Capitolino (fig. 2). *La Protomoteca capitolina*, cat. VALENTINO MARTINELLI, CARLO PIETRANGELI (*Cataloghi dei musei comunali di Roma*, 2, 5), Roma, 1955, p. 60, tav. 1.

4 ANTONINO BERTOLOTTI, *Bartolomeo Baronino da Casalmonferrato architetto in Roma nel secolo XVI*, Casale, 1875; *idem*, *Documenti intorno a Michelangelo Buonarroti*, *Archivio storico artistico archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma*, 1, 1875, p. 77; *idem*, *Artisti lombardi a Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Milano, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 50–52, vol. 2, pp. 290–291; *idem*, *Artisti subalpini in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Mantova, 1884, pp. 29, 35, 47; *idem*, *Artisti bolognesi, ferraresi ed alcuni altri del già Stato Pontificio in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Bologna, 1885, p. 91. See also GIOVANNI MINIMA, *Di Bartolomeo Baronino architetto celeberrimo di Casale Monferrato e della sua famiglia*, *Rivista di storia arte archeologia della provincia di Alessandria*, 4, 9, 1895, pp. 21–41, 103–121; FILIPPO BALDINUCCI, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, Torino, 1817, vol. 7, p. 146; RODOLFO LANCIANI, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, Roma, 1903, vol. 2, pp. 160, 234; 1907, vol. 3, pp. 8, 23, 25, 26, 44, 253; *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma, 1964, vol. 6, pp. 469–470; Thieme-Becker, vol. 2, p. 520. Cf. the contribution by H. GÜNTHER in the present volume, p. 198 et passim.

5 Bertolotti, Baronino, p. 10.

6 For example in 1536–1546, the rebuilding of Frascati, see Lanciani, *Scavi*, vol. 3, p. 44; 1537, Via di San Paolo della Regola; 1541,



1. Rome, Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada

„Dopo, avendo il Vasari fatto sotto il palazzo nuovo, primo di tutti gli altri, il disegno del cortile e della fonte, che poi fu seguitata dal Vignola e dall'Amannato, e murata da Baronino ...“¹⁵

Vasari's treatment of Baronino might be considered reasonable if documents did not tell a different story. Although Baronino is not known to have designed any portion of the Villa Giulia, he was, according to the payments, virtual superintendent of the construction.¹⁶ Vasari's comment, „murata da Baronino,“ reduces Baronino to the status of a mere laborer. For some reason, which one would have to guess, Vasari deliberately slighted Baronino, not just in this case but in a far more important instance where Baronino is revealed as an architect.

It has been known for some time that when Cardinal Girolamo Capodiferro died on 1 December 1559 the palace that he had constructed in Rome became the object of a legal dispute among his heirs.¹⁷ The litigation was drawn out over several years and eventually settled in favor of the Cardinal's mother Bernardina on 26 November 1566. From a legal standpoint the contending parties had legitimate claims. The object of their dispute was a fabulous prize so the litigants felt compelled to marshal as much evidence as they could to support their case. Each side brought witnesses before the authorities to make depositions in its favor. The witnesses were asked to recall everything they knew about the palace and the Cardinal's financial agreements. Apart from what has

15 GIORGIO VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori et architettori*, Firenze, vol. 2, part 3, p. 690.

16 For his work at the Villa Giulia Baronino was paid 6598 scudi 70 bajocchi. His heirs received a final payment of 164 scudi 21 bajocchi. See Falk, *Villa Giulia*, p. 161, no. 606, 11 August 1554, and no. 614, end of September 1554.

17 CHRISTOPH LUITPOLD FROMMEL, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, Tübingen, 1973, vol. 2, pp. 62–79; LIONELLO NEPPI, *Palazzo Spada*, Roma, 1975, pp. 16–40. Girolamo Capodiferro was born 10 July 1502 to Bernardina Capodiferro and Alfonso Ricenati. He was destined for a career in the clergy. Prior to receiving the cardinalate, he served as nuncio to Portugal (1537)

already been published of these proceedings, there is a volume from the Capitoline notary Curtius Saccoccus de Sanctis which contains additional documents pertaining

and to France (1540–1541). He served as treasurer of the Camera Apostolica and was nominated Datario (1541). On 19 December 1544, the eighth ordination under Pope Paul III, he was made a cardinal.

Upon receiving the cardinalate, he was given the title of Cardinal deacon of San Giorgio in Velabro. He was made legate to Romagna (24 August 1545), a position renewed by Pope Julius III and Pope Marcellus II then denied by Pope Paul IV. He was again nuncio to France to King Henry II (25 February 1547). The Cardinal left Rome for Padua on 20 August 1557 where he resided permanently. He returned to Rome for the marriage of his nephew Pietro Paolo Mignanelli (December 1558) and for the conclave following the death of Pope Paul IV (8 September – 26 December 1559). He died on 1 December 1559 before the conclave was completed. See *Dizionario*, vol. 18, p. 627.

At the time that he initiated construction of his palace, Cardinal Capodiferro made a legal arrangement on 20 September 1548 with members of his family. Virgilio Capodiferro, the Cardinal's cousin, and Lucrezia Pichi, the widow of Virgilio's brother Francesco, conceded to the Cardinal the right to build a house or palace on part of the property owned by them. The Cardinal's mother Bernardina was the sister of Raimondo Capodiferro who was the father of Virgilio and Francesco. Neppi, Spada, p. 21. Various other members of the Capodiferro family including Bernardina held title to property on the site of the present palace, and the Cardinal needed legal control of the property in order to proceed with construction. Frommel, *Palastbau*, vol. 2, pp. 63–65; Neppi, Spada, pp. 259–261. There were several pre-existing buildings on the site including one at the corner of Vicolo del Polverone and Via Arenula (now Piazza Capodiferro). Anton van der Wyngaerde's view of Rome shows this corner structure. HERMANN EGGER, *Römische Veduten*, Wien, 1932, vol. 2, pl. 113. This building and others were incorporated in varying degrees into the new structure. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–36. A substantial part of the work was completed in the early 1550's when the rooms on the Piazza Capodiferro side were decorated with frescoes and stucchi by Giulio Mazzoni and Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta among others. See note 26 below. According to contemporary witnesses the work on the palace continued until the Cardinal's death. „*Esso testimonio non si ricorda bene se fu dell'anno 1547 ó 1548 ó li intorno che il Cardinale comincio à far fabricar detto palazzo, et continuamente fino a la morte et anche quanto stava in conclave il muro del giardino in strada Julia fece fabricarci.*“ Archivio di stato, Roma, Archivio del Collegio dei notari capitolini, Curtius Saccoccus de Sanctis, vol. 1622, 7 May 1560, Sebastianus de Nicolai de Stefanellis.

„(The witness says) che è vero come lui ha detto nel altro suo esame che il Cardinale quasi sempre ha fatto fare qualche cosa nel palazzo dopoi che lo comincio, et che al tempo die Paulo quarto non continuò così la fabrica come havea fatto prima et poi, et che è vero come si può vedere chel cortile et la sala grande non è finita. Et che è vero per quel che intendeva esso testimonio dal Cardinale che doveva ci formisse detto palazzo, anzi si facessi una fossa sopra l'arco che è tra le case di messer Domenico et messer Tiberio diretto à la via che va à fiume et farci un San Giorgio a cavallo indorato che si potessi veder de lontano.“ *Ibid.*, 15 May 1560, Simon de Roberti de Aiollis, see note 18 below.

On 19 August 1557 the Cardinal registered his testament naming his mother Bernardina his heir and after her death his nephew Pietro Paolo Mignanelli. Neppi, Spada, pp. 257–258.

to this legal case.¹⁸ For the year 1560 from 27 April to 20 May there are thirteen depositions made by various persons in the Capodiferro dispute.¹⁹ Much of the information repeats what has already been published with a single exception; three witnesses name the architect of the palace, and he is Bartolomeo Baronino.²⁰

On 10 May 1560 Paolo di Nicodemo de'Baglioni is recorded:

„(The witness) says that he knows this much: that the Cardinal having gone to see the Palazzo di Siena which he wanted to acquire in his life for a habitation, discussed (this) with Baronino, who told him that he would need to spend on that palace from 4 or 5 thousand scudi;

18 Archivio di stato, Roma, Archivio del collegio dei notari capitolini, Curtius Saccoccus de Sanctis, vol. 1622. Hereafter ASR, ACNC, CSC, 1622. This volume consists of several hundred pages none of which are paginated. There is no index within the volume and the records are not in chronological order for the years covered (1558–1564). 39 pages recto and verso pertain to the Capodiferro dispute. Neppi (Spada, p. 19 note 9) found documents that duplicate much of the information. Archivio di stato, Roma, Spada-Veralli, *Sacra Rom. Rota, Positiones* 82, coram Corrado, ff. 136v–137, 146v–147v, 151v–153v; *Sacra Rotae Romanae Decisiones*, pte IX, vol. 1, *Decisio* 384, pp. 193–194.

19 ASR, ACNC, CSC, 1622.

27 April, 1560, Fabius de Baviere de Tarantius.

29 April 1560, Petrus de Francisci de Christianis.

2 May 1560, Franciscus de Francisci de Herrera.

3 May 1560, Antonius de Lupi Riberii.

7 May 1560, Sebastianus de Nicolai de Stefanellis.

10 May 1560, Jo Paulus de Nicodemii de Baglionibus.

16 May 1560, Horatius de Mutii de Mutis.

20 May 1560, Jannodas de Jo Bernardini de Oddis Tudertin'.

The preceding depositions were made for Bernardina Capodiferro; the following were made for Domenico and Tiberio Capodiferro.

5 May 1560, Franciscus de Jo Antonii de Minaldonibus.

8 May 1560, Jo Jac. de Jo Bapta. de Laverolis.

8 May 1560, Petrus de Francisci de Christianis.

10 May 1560, Simon de Roberti de Aiollis.

15 May 1560, Simon de Roberti de Aiollis.

Petrus de Francisci de Christianis also made a deposition for Bernardina Capodiferro (29 April 1560). Simon de Roberti de Aiollis' second deposition was a correction of the first.

20 The documents are lengthy, and information is repeated from one document to the next and also within the same document. The format of the depositions is as follows: the date, the names of the litigants and of the witness are first given. In the depositions for Bernardina Capodiferro the witnesses are asked to respond to 22 questions or points of interrogation. The questions, which are not recorded, can only be surmised from the character of the answers. After this first interrogation, the witnesses are allowed to make supplemental statements, sometimes elaborations or clarifications or corrections. These additions are made item for item but vary in number among the depositions. In the depositions made for Domenico and Tiberio Capodiferro, there are 27 questions or points of information. It must be kept in mind that the depositions are phrased in a peculiar manner: the scribe is recording in the third person what the witness says; and the witness is describing what he has seen or what someone else has said. The shifts from person to person can be disorienting.

(Baronino) added that it would be better to spend that much on the palace which he then made, and that after his death was to be handed over to his family; and then the Cardinal responded: provided I do not need to spend more there; and Baronino replied to him that more will not be spent there. And in this way the construction was begun, reasoned at the table among gentlemen, that there was not to be spent more than 4 or 5 thousand scudi on that building.“

„The witness has heard not one time but 10 times from the Cardinal that it (the palace) had been embarked upon by the architects and masons and he lamented more of Baronino than of the others, that they had led him to believe that 4 or 5 thousand scudi would be spent there and that they made him spend more than he had thought, and one time among others returning from the vineyard of Pope Julius, and at the time of that Pope, the Cardinal lamented of Baronino saying as above.“

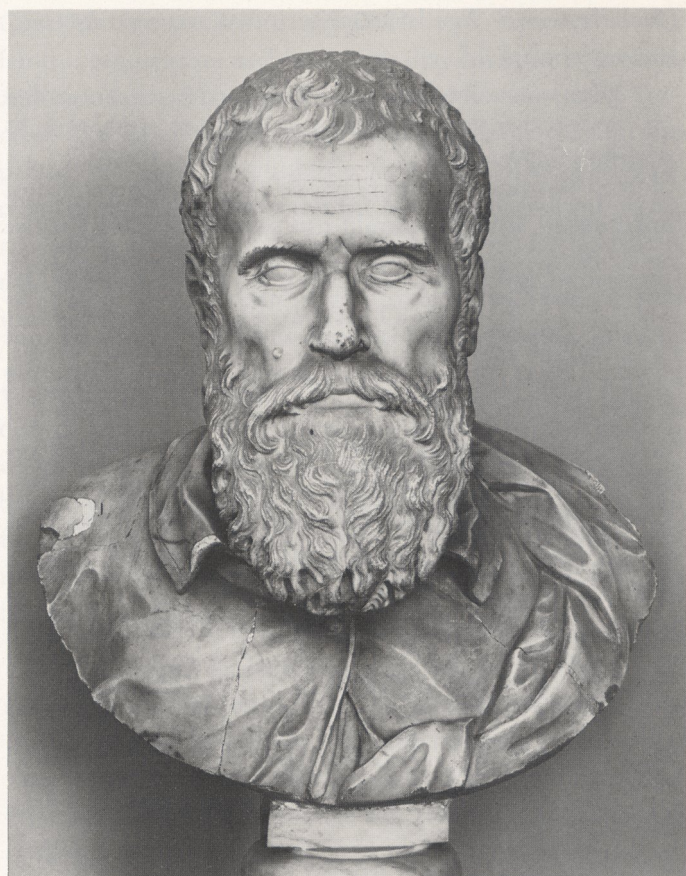
„(The witness) says that he does not know anything else but that one day while the Cardinal was staying at Ravenna – the palace already begun and being at a good finish – a design was sent from Rome to the Cardinal by Baronino. And the witness heard that they had designed a staircase in a (certain) way and they had thought to put it in another place where it would have been better to gain (access to) some rooms; and the Cardinal said, seeing the design which was on the table in his room, that everyone who was present could see (how) they wanted to change the stair; but because the witness has not seen the said design, he does not know other than what he has said above.“²¹

21 ASR, ACNC, CSC, 1622, 10 May 1560, Jo Paulus de Nicodemii de Baglionibus.

Sup. 14. „dixit tantu'scire che essendo andato il Cardinale a vedere il palazzo di Siena qual voleva pigliare in vita sua per habitare et ragionando col Baronino il quale li disse bisognava spendere in detto palazzo da quattro ò cinque milia scudi li soggiense che saria stato meglio à spenderli nel palazzo quale ha fatto poi, et che dopo la morte sua fosse restato à li suoi, et è l'hora il Cardinale rispo pur che non mi ci bisognei spendere piu et il Baronino li rispose che non ci haveria speso piu. Et in quel che si comincio la fabrica ragionando a tavola con gentilhomini che vi erano che non havia speso piu di quattro ò cinque milia scudi in detto fabrica.“

Sup. 16. „Esso testimonio ha inteso dire non una volta ma dieci dal Cardinale che era stato imbarcato dali architetti et muratori et si doleva piu del Baronino che d'altri et che li haveano dato a intendeva de farli spendere quatro o cinque milia scudi et che (que) ne havevano fatto spendere molto piu di quello pensava, et una volta tra l'altre tornando da la vigna di papa Julio detto Cardinale et al tempo del detto papa si dole'col Baronino dicendoli come di sopra.“

Sup. 17. „Un giorno mentre il Cardinale stava a Ravenna che gia era cominciato il palazzo et staria a buon terminare fu mandato da Roma uno disegno al Cardinale dal Baronino et li esso testimonio intese dire che haveano designato far la scala in un modo et che heveano pensato di metterla in un altro luogo dove saria stato meglio per guadagnare alcune camere, et il Cardinale disse vedendo detto disegno alhora quale stava li su la tavola in camera che ognuno che era presente lo posseva vedere costoro vogliono mutar la scala, ma perche esso testimonio non haveva visto il detto disegno non sa altro se non quanto ha detto di sopra.“



2. Bust of Bartolomeo Baronino. Rome, Campidoglio, Protomoteca

On 7 May 1560 Sebastiano di Nicolo de'Stefanelli is recorded:

„The witness was present when Baronino and other architects brought the design to the Cardinal of a building saying that if 6 or 7 thousand scudi were spent, one would make a residence in which the Cardinal could dwell with his family; and afterwards, there was sent to the Romagna, where the Cardinal was staying, other designs of which they said that one would spend from 12 thousand scudi thereabouts.“²²

22 ASR, ACNC, CSC, 1622, 7 May 1560, Sebastianus de Nicolai de Stefanellis.

Sup. 15. „Esso testimonio fù presente quando il Baronino et altri architettori portorono il disegno al Cardinale di una fabrica dicendo che con sei ò settemilia scudi che si fossero spesi si saria fatto un'habitatione qual' havia possuto habitare detto Cardinale con la sua famiglia, et dopo; fù mandato in Romagna dove allora stava il Cardinale altri disegni delli quali dicevano che si sariano spesi da dodici milia scudi in circa et al presente è assai diverso il palazzo dal primo disegno.“

Finally, on 29 April 1560 Pietro di Francesco de'Christiani is recorded:

„The witness heard from Baronino the architect and others that such a palace one will not make with 50 thousand scudi.“²³

Given Baronino's qualifications as a superintendent of construction work, it should not seem surprising that he was perfectly capable of managing the building of a palace for Cardinal Capodiferro. Also considering the close relationship between the Cardinal and Popes Paul III and Julius III, it is reasonable that Baronino passed from the service of the pontiffs to the Cardinal. Confirmation of Baronino's involvement with Cardinal Capodiferro's palace comes from still another documentary source. Bertolotti published without comment a reference concerning Baronino. He noted a document dated 3 July 1560 in which Baronino's brothers Bartolino and Giovanni Francesco requested settlement of a debt of 162 scudi and 22 bajocchi from the heirs of Cardinal Capodiferro for work done by Baronino.²⁴ For some reason Bertolotti neglected to mention that this work was for the palace. The lingering debt, still accountable nearly six years after Baronino's death, may be explained perhaps in part by the Cardinal's long absences from Rome particularly during the reign of Pope Paul IV.

Baronino's name has never been associated previously with the Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada. Giulio Mazzoni da Piacenza and Giulio Merisi da Caravaggio have been the leading candidates as the architects of the palace.²⁵ Since

the legal depositions refer to Baronino and others, it is possible that either, or both Giulio Mazzoni, to whom Vasari credits the stucchi and paintings for the palace interior,²⁶ and Giulio Merisi were associates of Baronino. In the deposition made by Orazio Muti on 16 May 1560 a tantalizing suggestion is offered:

„The witness says that the Cardinal had the rooms above made of *tavole* for the lack of funds, and at the persuasion of maestro Julio architect, the Cardinal had them made of brick.“²⁷

There is no other reference to Maestro Julio architect in this set of documents nor is there a reference by name to any other architect other than Baronino. Maestro Julio of course could be Giulio Merisi or Giulio Mazzoni or still some other Giulio as yet not associated with the palace. He could have been an associate of Baronino from the beginning of the project or he could have succeeded him after Baronino died. From the statement in the deposition it is clear that with regard to the work discussed, a substantial portion of the palace was complete. Maestro Julio in this context simply persuaded the Cardinal to make the upper rooms more fireproof by substituting bricks for *tavole*. The implication of the statement could be that Baronino was no longer present. Perhaps this involve-

candidate principally because Merisi was in contact with the same circle of designers that worked on projects for Popes Paul III and Julius III. His view has gained most recent acceptance. See Frommel, *Palastbau*, vol. 2, pp. 62-79; Neppi, *Spada*, p. 49; LUIGI SALERNO, LUIGI SPEZZAFERRO, MANFREDO TAFURI, *Via Giulia*, 2nd ed. Roma, 1975, pp. 495-505.

26 Vasari, *Vite*, vol. 2, part 3, p. 685.

„Costui havendo poi da Daniello (da Volterra) imparato a lavorare di stucchi, paragonando in ciò il suo Maestro, ha ornato di sua mano tutto il di dentro del palazzo del Cardinale Canodiferro, e fattovi opere maraviglio se, non pure di stucchi, ma di storie a fresco, e a olio, che gli hanno dato, e meritamente infinita lode.“ The only other reference made by Vasari to the Palazzo Capodiferro is in the life of Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta (*Ibid.*, p. 855).

„Al Cardinal Capodiferro ha dipinto nel suo palazzo un salotto molto bello de'fatti degl'antichi Romani.“ See LUISA MORTARI, *Gerolamo Siciolante a Palazzo Spada-Capodiferro*, *Commentari*, 26, 1975, pp. 89-97; and Neppi, *Spada*, pp. 43, 54, 65.

27 ASR, ACNC, CSC, 1622, 16 May 1560, Horatius de Mutii de Mutis.

Sup. 32. „Dixit esso testimonio che'l cardinale fece fare le camere di sopra di tavole per manco spese, et à persuasione di mastro Julio architetto il Cardinale le fece fare di mattoni.“

Giulio Merisi da Caravaggio, Giulio Mazzoni da Carpi and Bartolomeo Baronino are all cited in a document dated 12 February 1551 concerning the preparation of the apartment in the Vatican palace for the brother of Pope Julius III, Baldovino del Monte. See Serafini, *Da Carpi*, pp. 357-358. Serafini in fact proposed that Girolamo da Carpi probably began his career with Baronino who, if Serafini had considered the evidence, was far more likely to have worked for Cardinal Capodiferro than da Carpi. However, it must be added that Serafini, like everyone else, could not have known Baronino as an architect, and therefore had no point of comparison.

23 ASR, ACNC, CSC, 1622, 29 April 1560, Petrus de Francisci de Christianis.

Sup. 8. „q. testis audivit à Baronino architectore et aliis p. ieis dicen' che un palazzo come quello non si faria con cinquanta milia scudi.“

24 Bertolotti, *Artisti subalpini*, p. 36.

„Ancora nel 1560 i fratelli Baronino esigevano scudi 162 e bol. 22 dagli eredi del Cardinale di S. Giorgio (Capodiferro), nella regione Regola, per lavori fatti dal fratello loro (Not. Tarq. Severo 1560-1576 fol. 136). The volume to which Bertolotti referred is: *Archivio storico capitolino*, Roma, Tarquinius Severus, *Instrumenta antiqua*, vol. 708, 1560-1576, ff. 136v-137v. The years covered by the volume are given erroneously in the archive index and on the volume itself as 1570-1576.

The relevant statement is:

„Cum fuerit et sit pro ut infra partes esseruerunt quod qd. d. Bartholomeus baroninus casalen'archetettor fuerit si verus, et legitimus creditor Reverendi et Illustrissimi bo: me d. domini Hieronimi Cardinalis Santi georgii de capiteferreo vulgariter nuncupati, in su'ma et quantitate scutor centu' sexaginta duo et bol 22 monete de Juliis dece' pro scuto pro, omni, et toto residuo laborerior factor in fabrica palatii p.i. d.mis Cardinalis in regione arenule.“

25 In 1961 JACK WASSERMANN (*Palazzo Spada*, *Art Bulletin*, 43, 1961, pp. 58-63) refuted the possibility that either Giulio Mazzoni or Girolamo da Carpi could have designed the palace. He suggested instead that Giulio Merisi da Caravaggio was still the most viable

ment of Maestro Julio was the source for later attempts to identify him with the design of the palace.

The discovery that Baronino was the architect of the Palazzo Capodiferro establishes a new and important sequence of events. As the *capomaestro* or superintendent of construction of the Palazzo Farnese from 1541 to 1549, Baronino was involved in building the most important Roman residence of the period. He not only translated Antonio da Sangallo the younger's and Michelangelo's designs into the fabric of the building, but he also elaborated their plans in his own drawings.²⁸ When Cardinal

28 A drawing (Uffizi Arch. 1769) has been identified by Christoph Luitpold Frommel as Baronino's plan for the stair in the Palazzo Farnese. CHRISTOPH LUITPOLD FROMMEL, Sangallo et Michel Ange (1513–1550). *Le Palais Farnèse*, I, I, Rome, 1981, pp. 127–174. I wish to thank Professor Frommel for bringing this information to my attention and for making helpful suggestions for this note.

Capodiferro, a Farnese appointee and intimate of the family, required an architect to realize his own ever more ambitious plans, he selected the man who served the Farnese. The Cardinal channeled his particular desires for the palace through a technically competent but modestly talented architect. Baronino for his part capitalized on his successful administration of these projects and his fortunate associations in the papal court to assume the supervision of construction of the Villa Giulia.

It seems ironic that such a prominent figure about whom little is known as a designer should have created one of the most famous palaces at Rome. The curious celebrity which has been attached to his name by his brothers now assumes a different significance. When future studies eventually define his artistic personality in relation to the Palazzo Capodiferro, it would be interesting to know if Vasari was justified to ignore him.