

Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana

BAND 41 · 2013/14

HIRMER

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DER BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA
MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE
ROM

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
SYBILLE EBERT-SCHIFFERER UND TANJA MICHALSKY
REDAKTION: SUSANNE KUBERSKY-PIREDDA
REDAKTIONSASSISTENZ: MARA FREIBERG SIMMEN, CATERINA SCHOLL

Die Beiträge des *Römischen Jahrbuchs* werden einem Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

Bibliographische Informationen der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie;
detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

© 2017 Hirmer Verlag GmbH, München
Gestaltung und Satz: Tanja Bokelmann, München
Lithographie: ReproLine Genceller, München
Druck: Kösel GmbH & Co. KG, Altusried-Krugzell

Printed in Germany

ISBN 987-3-7774-2838-3

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Luca Berrettini (1609–1680):
The *Scalpellino*-Merchant in Pietro da Cortona's
Architectural Production and Baroque Rome

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Abstract

This study of Luca Berrettini's career, testament, and posthumous inventory defines his work relationship to Pietro da Cortona more precisely and examines his contribution to the building of Baroque Rome more thoroughly than previous sources. Its conclusions expand our understanding of the operating procedures of Pietro da Cortona, the identity and work of Luca Berrettini, and the occupation of *scalpellino*-merchant. While closely connected to, and dependent upon, his more famous kinsman, Berrettini also acted independently to develop his professional and economic pros-

pects by specializing in the carving of polychrome stone and diversifying into the stone market. His combination of technical acumen and intellectual capability enabled him to collaborate closely and continually in Cortona's architecture and to design some independent works. The case of Berrettini demonstrates that boundaries between the professions in the building industry could be elided, even though in theory the ability to design, which required intellect, separated architects from *scalpellini*.

Introduction

In 1612, Luca Berrettini was only three years old when his teenage cousin, Pietro da Cortona, left for Rome, but they met again in 1635, when Luca moved to the papal city to assist Pietro, whose career was soaring through the patronage of the Barberini court.¹ (To avoid confusion, I use “Cortona” for Pietro da Cortona and “Berrettini” for Luca.) In many scattered references, Cortona scholars note Berrettini’s recurring work as a *scalpellino* (stone carver) for his cousin. In his fundamental book on Santi Luca e Martina, Karl Noehles confirms Luca’s skill because “[...] Bernini e soprattutto Borromini si valsero largamente della sua collaborazione.”² In a letter written shortly after Berrettini’s death, Giacinto Capulli praises him as “[...] insigne nell’architettura et intaglio di marmi.”³ My analysis of Berrettini’s career, testament, and posthumous inventory defines his professional relationship to Pietro da Cortona more precisely and examines his contribution to the building of Baroque Rome more thoroughly than previous sources.⁴ The result is greater understanding of the operating procedures of Pietro da Cortona, the identity and work of Luca Berrettini, and the profession of *scalpellino*-merchant. Berrettini was closely connected to, and dependent upon, his more famous kinsman, as the display of art in his house also expresses. Such familial and national ties were instrumental to the integration of foreigners into Rome’s building industry.⁵ Yet, by diversifying into the field of polychrome stone, Berrettini acted independently to expand his professional and economic prospects. Berrettini was highly skilled in the craft of stone carving, dexterously executing the designs of his architect cousin, but evidence from his career as well as

his possessions attests to his capacity for invention. Berrettini’s combination of technical acumen and intellectual capability demonstrates that the boundaries between the professions of the building industry could be elided, even though in theory the ability to design, which required intellect, separated architects from *scalpellini*.

In practice, many architects of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were trained as craftsmen in the building industry. This was the case of the Berrettini. Filippo, Luca’s father and Pietro’s first cousin, was a *scalpellino-muratore* who became an architect. His most notable building is the front block of the Palazzo Pretorio in Cortona, for the Medici Grand Duke. Luca’s homonymous great-grandfather might also have been an architect because Luca singled out his intellectual ability, calling him “[...] uomo d’ingegno non ordinario nella sua professione [...].”⁶ Although both Pietro and our Luca came from this tradition, their paths diverged because the former studied painting, which privileges invention, whereas the latter trained in stone carving, which requires technical skill and knowledge of materials. Instrumental in Cortona’s architectural production, Berrettini provided dependable and skilled execution and supervision of stonework, and his specialization in polychrome stone facilitated Cortona’s use of this material. In a few commissions late in life, Berrettini demonstrated his capacity for invention, most notably in the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio in the church of Il Gesù.

Berrettini’s work in polychrome stone reflects the variety of working practices of *scalpellini*, which merit greater study. *Scalpellini* frequently executed the polychromy designs of architects and sculptors. Some contracts between patrons and *scalpellini* name the designer, such as the 1604

¹ For valuable and generous help while preparing this article, I thank Fernando Bilancia, Patrizia Cavazzini, Don Sandro Corradini, Fabrizio Federici, Alison C. Fleming, Diana Hammer, Ann C. Huppert, Pamela M. Jones, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, Tod A. Marder, Sarah McPhee, Heather Hyde Minor, Vernon Hyde Minor, Guendalina Serafinelli, and the anonymous readers. I am very grateful for the support of Boston College, the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, and the Renaissance Society of America. On Cortona’s arrival in Rome, SPARTI 1997, p. 28. It is presumed that Luca went to Rome with his father Filippo, who is documented there from June 1635 to December 1636; NOEHLES 1970, p. 348, doc. 81.

² NOEHLES 1970, p. 10, n. 36. MATTEOLI 1994, p. 640, gives Luca Berrettini’s birth and death dates as 26 December 1609 and 20 June 1680 respectively, but according to PETRACCIA 2010, p. 103, n. 37, the first is his baptismal date. Berrettini’s biography is noted in BRIGANTI 1967. LEVY 1999–2000 (2003), p. 388, n. 23, wrote that “[...] Luca Berrettini’s work has no more than documentary consideration.”

³ Capulli’s letter is addressed to Dietesalvi Mei, who was gathering information about Cortona for Filippo Baldinucci. LEVY 1999–2000 (2003), p. 390, discusses the excerpt about Berrettini, which is pub-

lished by BALDINUCCI/BALDINUCCI/SANTI 1980, vol. 1, p. 340. Berrettini’s posthumous inventory furnishes evidence of Berrettini and Capulli’s acquaintance: He has a *censo* against the Capulli brothers; ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 10, Istrumenti, 26 giugno 1680, fol. 263v (transcribed in the Appendix).

⁴ *Pietro da Cortona* 1969, p. 14, nos. 64 and 65, cites Luca Berrettini’s testament and inventory but without the collocations. For the testament, ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 10, Testamenti, 1 dicembre 1679, fols. 741r–742v, 747r–747v. For the inventory, ASR, Uff. 10, Istrumenti, 26 giugno 1680, fols. 254r–264r. Both documents are transcribed in the Appendix.

⁵ The point has been made regarding the Ticinese community in the building industry of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome: BERTOLOTTI 1881; MERZARIO 1893; DONATI 1942; *Arte e artisti* 1964; CURCIO/SPEZZAFERRO 1989; BONACCORSO 1994; CURCIO 1999; VAQUERO PIÑEIRO 1999; MARCONI 2004; *Studi sui Fontana* 2008.

⁶ CAMPORI 1866, p. 506. On the Berrettini family and Pietro da Cortona’s youth, FABBRINI 1896, pp. 1–3; NOEHLES 1970, p. 10, n. 36; MERZ 2008, pp. 1–7.



1 Pietro da Cortona, Detail of Ionic pilaster and column of the confessio, executed by Luca Berrettini, 1664. Rome, Santi Luca e Martina (Photo author)

contract of Erminio Giudici for the execution of Onorio Longhi's design of the Cappella Mantaco in Santa Maria d'Aracoeli, and some do not, such as the 1638 contract of Gabriele Renzi for the Cappella Savenier in Santa Maria dell'Anima, probably on the design of Paolo Maruscelli (1638).⁷ In rarer cases, the *scalpellino* was the designer; for example, Bartolomeo Bassi made the drawing for the Cappella della Visitazione in the Chiesa Nuovo.⁸ Many entrepreneurial *scalpellini* branched into the market for precious stones, which was more lucrative than stone carving.⁹ But first and foremost, the *scalpellino*'s responsibility was to know the nature of stone and to ensure high quality workmanship of this difficult and expensive material.¹⁰ Exemplifying all of these practices, Berrettini's career argues for a nuanced understanding of the *scalpellino*'s role in the building industry of Baroque Rome, which defies the neat theoretical division between design and execution.

⁷ FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, p. 215; AMENDOLA 2011, pp. 25–29.

⁸ DI CASTRO/PECCOLO/GAZZANIGA 1994, p. 35.

⁹ FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 206–211. On the rising prices of marble, AMENDOLA 2011, p. 31.

Pietro da Cortona's Architectural Production

The relationship between Cortona and Berrettini exemplifies the practice of sustained association between architects and masters to facilitate production. Their relationship may indeed stand out as the longest lasting. In late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome, trustworthy relationships resulted in well-organized and efficient architectural production with expert results. This is the case with Domenico Fontana's projects for Sixtus V (1585–1590), and the Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore is the textbook example of the well-run building site. Flaminio Ponzio's projects for Paul V (1605–1621) represent the maturation of this practice. Notable for our purposes is the prolonged association between Ponzio and his *capomastro scalpellino*, Erminio Giudici.¹¹ In the mid-seventeenth century, Martino Longhi the Younger

¹⁰ DI CASTRO/PECCOLO/GAZZANIGA 1994, pp. 13–15; AMENDOLA 2011, pp. 17–20 and 25–27.

¹¹ D'AMELIO/MARCONI 1999, pp. 96–100; MARCONI 2004, pp. 53–77; FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 211–215.



2 Pietro da Cortona, Façade, 1656–1658. Rome, Santa Maria della Pace
(Photo Andrea Jemolo)

established a close collaboration with *muratore-stuccatore* Francesco Deodini.¹² Reliable and often repeated collaborations characterize the practices of architect-sculptors working in polychrome stone. Alessandro Algardi provided the design for the marble-encrusted Cappella Gessi and controlled the selection of stone carvers, specifying Pietro Lambuzzi and Francesco Orsolani.¹³ A final example brings us to the top of the artistic hierarchy in Baroque Rome: Gianlorenzo Bernini relied upon the expertise of *scalpellino* Gabriele Renzi in the Cappella Cornaro and the Tomb of Alexander VII, where Renzi executed the exquisite blanket of *diaspro di Sicilia*.¹⁴

¹² Longhi and Deodini collaborated on Sant'Adriano al Foro, Longhi's house, and Palazzi Ginetti in Velletri. PUGLIESE/RIGANO 1972, p. 67, p. 86, n. 34, pp. 131–140. CAVAZZINI 2001/2002 (2004), p. 259 and p. 271.

Pietro da Cortona relied upon a group of sculptors to realize his designs for works in stone, bronze, and stucco, and Cosimo Fancelli was his most frequent and closest collaborator. As Jennifer Montagu demonstrates, Fancelli both adopted Cortona's figural style and transformed Cortona's two-dimensional drawings into plastic form.¹⁵ Cortona's employment of his cousin applied the same principle of production to his architectural endeavors. In 1635, Berrettini began work at Santi Luca e Martina, Cortona's most important work of architecture, and continued there for three decades.¹⁶ Berrettini's most significant contribution was the

¹³ MONTAGU 1989, p. 107.

¹⁴ MONTAGU 1989, p. 112; AMENDOLA 2011, p. 51.

¹⁵ MONTAGU 1989, pp. 77–84.

¹⁶ MERZ 2008, pp. 53–77.

skillful execution of the demanding work of *intaglio*, the carving of capitals, bases, pediments, decorative carvings, and other details. During Cortona’s absence from Rome, from 1641 to 1647, he also assumed supervisory duties.¹⁷ In 1664 Berrettini submitted the *misura e stima* of sixteen Ionic capitals and bases of the freestanding columns and twenty-seven Ionic capitals and bases of the pilasters. To Noehles’s attribution of the eight capitals and bases in the *confessio* to Berrettini, we can add the capitals and bases of the eight freestanding columns in the crossing of the upper church. Although the Ionic capitals of the upper and lower churches differ, all conform to the generic description in the *misura e stima*.¹⁸ Cortona entrusted Berrettini with translating his inventive design of the *confessio* capitals – the upturned pea-pods merging into the egg – into lively and robust stonework (fig. 1).¹⁹

Berrettini assumed the supervisory role of *capomastro scalpellino* during Cortona’s heyday as the architect of Pope Alexander VII (1655–1667). In the renovation of Santa Maria della Pace (1656–1658), Berrettini was responsible for the exterior work of travertine, the coat of arms with oak branches on the façade, the marble pavement of the portico, the marble work of the Cappella Chigi, and various other carvings of travertine and marble (fig. 2).²⁰ He also supplied the marble for the two medallions of Sixtus IV and Alexander VII with putti, carved by Antonio Raggi, resting on the wings that flank the portico. The newly found payment to Raggi for these reliefs confirms Montagu’s prior attribution through formal analysis and a letter of Cortona.²¹ Berrettini’s contribution to the appearance of the

façade might include the selection of stone. Jörg Martin Merz praises the use of the texture of the travertine as a visual feature of the façade, and attributes this effect to Cortona.²² But lack of solid documentation and the responsibilities of the *capomastro scalpellino*, including the knowledge of materials and the quality of stone, leaves open the possibility that Berrettini was responsible for the effect.²³ Berrettini continued as *capomastro scalpellino* in Cortona’s commission of the new portico of Santa Maria in Via Lata (1660–1664).²⁴ Berrettini provided stable collaboration that ensured the efficient and expert realization of his cousin’s architectural endeavors. Their familial bond must explain, at least in part, the exceptional longevity of this architect-master relationship.

Polychrome Work and Stone Market

Berrettini’s expertise in precious stonework and his initiative to become a stone merchant facilitated Cortona’s employment of polychromy in his architecture.²⁵ Merz criticizes Berrettini for lacking the engineering skill that would have enabled Cortona to develop fully into an architectural entrepreneur (in contradistinction to the engineering support that Luigi Bernini gave to his brother Gianlorenzo).²⁶ Though true, Berrettini offered something else. As Cortona increasingly used polychromy in his architectural design, Berrettini took steps to become an expert in this material and to provide access to it. Berrettini’s first independent contract was signed in association with Domenico Mar-

¹⁷ NOEHLES 1970, pp. 101–109; p. 342, doc. 44; pp. 346–348, docs. 73, 74, 77, 79, 86; p. 354, doc. 108; p. 355, doc. 110; BLUNT 1982, p. 72. Berrettini also carved the *bardiglio* columns of the *confessio* and, after Cortona’s death, carried out finishing work in the *confessio*. He probably executed the funerary monument of Cortona, which was installed after controversy between the Accademia di San Luca and the Congregazione di Sant’Eufemia; SPARTI 1997, p. 70. On the nature of *intaglio* work, SPESSE 1993, p. 42.

¹⁸ NOEHLES 1970, p. 108; p. 355, doc. 110.

¹⁹ MERZ 2008, p. 64f., identifies the design of the capitals as Cortona’s invention.

²⁰ For the building history of Santa Maria della Pace, MERZ 2008, pp. 165–183. NOEHLES 1969, p. 205, n. 51, for Berrettini’s first contract of February 1656: “[...] per l’opera di scarpello [...] per fare il nuovo Portico avanti la facciata della Chiesa della Madonna S.ma della Pace [...]” Berrettini submitted the “Misura e stima delli marmi bianchi ordinari e bardigli bianchi neri et giallo nero di Carrara [...]” (678.90 scudi) in June 1656, and his “Misura e stima dell’opera di scarpello, di travertini, e mischi [...] per la fabbrica et portico novo, et chiesa, della Madonna della Pace [...]” (5,654 scudi) records his labor from October 1656 to April 1658. These accounts, in ASV, Palazzo Apostolico, Computisteria, vols. 652–654, are transcribed

and used most thoroughly by BENEDETTI 2006, pp. 99–131. For earlier references and transcriptions of payments, MONTAGU 1994, p. 837, n. 3; CERUTTI FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, p. 266. I returned to the originals that offer further details about Berrettini’s work in the interior.

²¹ The payment is in ASV, Palazzo Apostolico, Computisteria, vol. 857, fol. 20: “Antonio Raggi, 75 scudi, per il prezzo di quattro putti di tevertino et due medaglie di marmi dalle parte del Theatro con scudi cinque per un pezzo di tevertino per due putti del suo in tutto scudi 155 et scudi 250 per la facc.a della statua di S. Belardino nella cappella [...]” For Montagu’s attribution, MONTAGU 1994, p. 838. MERZ 2008, p. 308, n. 34, cites the payment to Luca Berrettini for “[...] marmo statuare per fare li doi medaglie dall’parte del Portico,” in ASV, Palazzo Apostolico, Computisteria, vol. 653 [new vol. 857]), and concludes that both Berrettini and Raggi carved the medallions.

²² MERZ 2008, p. 172.

²³ For the scalpellino’s responsibilities, FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, p. 211; AMENDOLA 2011, p. 18.

²⁴ MERZ 2008, p. 194f.

²⁵ Only Marcello Villani notes Berrettini’s expertise in polychrome stone; CERUTTI FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, p. 325.

²⁶ MERZ 2008, p. 281.



3 Pietro da Cortona, Detail of corner pier, executed by Luca Berrettini and Domenico Marcone, with Cosimo Fancelli's Justice statue, Cappella Cerri, 1645. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

cone, an experienced *scalpellino* of precious stone who was the most prominent stone merchant in Rome.²⁷ Berrettini and Marcone had already worked together at Santi Luca e Martina.²⁸ In 1645 the heirs of Monsignor Antonio Cerri contracted them to realize Cortona's design of the Cappella Cerri in Il Gesù.²⁹ Their responsibilities included the new work of stone, bronze, and gilding from the pavement to the cornice, and the oversight and installation of the statues and busts (fig. 3).³⁰

The payment documents imply that Marcone occupied the supervisory role, whereas Berrettini contributed mostly labor, some materials, and limited oversight of the workers. Marcone's expenditure of 6544.81 scudi includes payments to *scalpellini*, *intagliatori*, *lustratori*, and *muratori* (2073.49); the supply of stone and marble; the cutting and working of stones; the metal work; the refurbishment of the gilding on the vault stuccoes; and unspecified daily expenses. Berrettini's expenditure of 336.25 scudi was significantly smaller, and about half (163.25) was for his own labor of *intaglio*. The other half was for expenses like the supply of stone, other supplies, the labor of *lustratori* and *scalpellini*, and the jewelers who cut the hard *diaspro di Sicilia*.³¹

Scholars question the extent of Pietro da Cortona's control over the design and consequently Berrettini's intervention. Although Dobler argues that the chapel fits into Cortona's oeuvre, Merz sees incongruities: "One gets the impression that the ornaments of the side wall are not wholeheartedly Cortonesque, while the decoration of the niches is rather un-Cortonesque."³² He assigns the discrepancies probably to Luca Berrettini but does not compare the details to other carvings by Berrettini's hand. The garland on the east wall, with its expressive and plastic campanulas that merge into central blossoms, exhibits the same liveliness as Berrettini's capitals in the *confessio* of Santa Mar-

²⁷ On Marcone, MONTAGU 1989, p. 23.

²⁸ DOBLER 2009, p. 106. See also NOEHLES 1970, p. 346, doc. 73; MERZ 2008, p. 296, n. 41.

²⁹ DOBLER 2009, p. 106, n. 199, transcribes the contract. For earlier citations and transcriptions, MONTAGU 1985, p. 424f.; MERZ 2008, p. 97f.

³⁰ For a thorough analysis of the Cappella Cerri, DOBLER 2009, pp. 101–146 (esp. pp. 102–107, on the design and execution). See also MONTAGU 1985, pp. 424f.; MERZ 2008, p. 97f.

³¹ The payment documents are in ASR, Notai del Tribunale dell'Auditor camerae, Petrucciola, vol. 5981, fols. 750r–752v, 771. They have been studied by MONTAGU 1985, p. 425; DOBLER 2009, p. 107. My analysis differs from Dobler's argument that Berrettini held the supervisory role and Marcone was actively involved in the execution.

³² MERZ 2008, p. 98. DOBLER 2009, pp. 107–109.



4 Pietro da Cortona, Garland on east wall, executed by Luca Berrettini, Cappella Cerri, 1645. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/ Enrico Fontolan)

tina and, therefore, can be attributed to his hand (fig. 1 and fig. 4). On the contrary, the garland’s counterpart on the west wall is characterized by hard and inert forms, which were probably carved by one of the anonymous *intagliatori*. Cortona’s workshop practice, in which executants had a degree of freedom in transforming the master’s two-dimensional drawing into three-dimensional form, explains the discrepancies in style while maintaining the attribution of the design to Cortona. Berrettini’s skill as a dexterous executant with a flair for lifelike form was his major contribution to this project, but he also gained valuable experience in the art of polychrome stone.³³

This chapel represents both Cortona and Berrettini’s first work of polychrome revetment in the manner of Flaminio Ponzio’s Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore (1607–1611).³⁴ Ponzio’s emphasis on architectonic form represents a departure from the decorative treatment of surfaces in Giacomo della Porta’s chapels in St. Peter’s (1578–1604), his Cappella Caetani in Santa Pudenziana, and Domenico

Fontana’s Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore (1585–1590).³⁵ Dobler notes Cortona’s innovative, sculptural borders around the panels of stone that function as picture frames (fig. 5). The visual properties of the precious stones, which the *scalpellini* must have selected, enhance the three-dimensional effect. The light-veined alabaster, set between black and gilded frames, makes the innermost panel (probably red *broccatello*) appear to float. The bookmatched roundels of costly *bianco e nero antico* are highlighted in ornamental gilded frames (fig. 6). Equally refined is the *pietre dure* inlay on the balustrade that elegantly ‘holds together’ the slabs of marble (fig. 7). This detail also appears on the balustrade of the high altar of Santi Luca e Martina and in Renzi’s Cappella Savenier but does not seem to be common. Berrettini’s work with Marcone served as a training period for learning these refined techniques and launching his specialization in polychrome stone; in Cortona’s subsequent chapels, Berrettini became solely responsible for this technique.

³³ Marcello Villani praises Berrettini’s refined carving in the portico of S. Maria in Via Lata, which “[...] contribuisce a fare di quest’opera forse il vertice assoluto del disegno cortoniano dell’ordine.” CERUTTI FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, p. 286.

³⁴ DOBLER 2009, p. 108, makes the point regarding Cortona but does not define its place in Berrettini’s career.

³⁵ For the history and associative significance of marble revetment in Roman chapels of the late sixteenth century, OSTROW 1990. On the Cappella Sistina, OSTROW 1996, pp. 22–62; on Giacomo della Porta’s chapels in St. Peter’s, OSTROW 2000, pp. 241–243.



5 Pietro da Cortona, Detail of polychrome panel, executed by Luca Berrettini and Domenico Marcone, Cappella Cerri, 1645. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)



6 Pietro da Cortona, Detail of *bianco e nero antico* roundel with gilded decoration, executed by Luca Berrettini and Domenico Marcone, Cappella Cerri, 1645. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

Berrettini's diversification into the lucrative precious stone market relates to his work in this material. It was not uncommon for entrepreneurial *scalpellini* to take this step, but it nevertheless demonstrates Berrettini's intent to advance his and his cousin's interests.³⁶ For unknown reasons, Berrettini did not continue his partnership with Marcone but instead partnered with Filippo Frugone, the second most active marble merchant in Baroque Rome.³⁷ The Frugone family had been exporting marble from its hometown

of Carrara since the last quarter of the sixteenth century and supplying the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro since the early seventeenth century.³⁸ The first evidence of Berrettini and Frugone's collaboration dates from June 1647, when Berrettini supplied the Fabbrica with two shipments of white marble from Frugone, for the decoration of the six nave chapels of St. Peter's.³⁹ Berrettini was the middleman between Frugone in Carrara and Bernini and Pietro Paolo Drei at St. Peter's. Berrettini's fortuitous relationship with

³⁶ On *scalpellini* as merchants, FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 206–211.

³⁷ On Frugone, MONTAGU 1989, p. 23.

³⁸ KLAPISCH-ZUBER 1969, p. 190, p. 203; MARCONI 2004, p. 124. Filippo Frugone's younger relative, Giovanni Martino, continued the family business in the late seventeenth century when he supplied marble for the French Academy (1690), the Chapel of St. Ignatius in Il Gesù (1695), and the twelve statues of the apostles for the nave of San Giovanni in Laterano (ca. 1703); OLSZEWSKI 1986.

³⁹ AFSP, Armadio 17E, vol. 24, fol. 177: "9 Giugno 1647, Misura, e stima di diversi pezzi di marmi bianchi statuali, et altro ord.i compri per serv.o della R.a Fabbrica di S. Pietro per l'Incrostat.re delle Sei Cappelli della Nave grande dell'istessa Chiesa; et havuti in Tre Barcate da Carrera dal P.rone Filippo Frugoni, e per lui dal S.e Luca Berrettini [...] sc. 801.86"; "Misura e stima del n.i 13 altri pezzi di marmi tra bianchi e ord.i [...] dal S.e Luca Berrettini [...] sc. 219.77". The payments are signed by Bernini and Drei. It is unknown how Berrettini and Frugone met. Two potential connections are Alessandro Algardi and Virgilio



7 Pietro da Cortona, Detail of balustrade, executed by Luca Berrettini and Domenico Marcone, Cappella Cerri, 1645. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

Frugone led to additional contracts from the Fabbrica and Pope Innocent X. In July 1647, Berrettini and Frugone signed the contract of the marble for Algardi’s altarpiece, *The Encounter of St. Leo the Great and Attila*. Upon delivery in June 1648, the marble was measured and estimated

for the large sum of 2,701.21 scudi.⁴⁰ This important business transaction probably led four days later to the legal act of association between Berrettini and Frugone, in which they agree to share equally the profits and expenses of all business deals pertaining to marble.⁴¹ Given the cost of notarial acts, their legal formalization of relations indicates much was at stake, surely financial resources and perhaps reputation.⁴²

During Innocent X’s pontificate, Berrettini’s partnership with Frugone flourished, as he operated independently of his cousin, who was working as a painter for the papal family. During Francesco Borromini’s renovation of San Giovanni in Laterano, Innocent X became dissatisfied with Santi Ghetti’s execution of the stone pavement and, therefore, dismissed Ghetti and the project’s superintendent, Virgilio Spada. In Spada’s place, he appointed Monsignor Giacomo Franzone, Treasurer General of the Camera Apostolica and member of the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, as the new superintendent. In December 1653, Franzone contracted Berrettini and Frugone to complete, following changes in the design, the geometrically patterned pavement of the side aisles and the border of the nave, and their work was finished by April 1656 (fig. 8).⁴³ Franzone also hired Berrettini to work on Innocent X’s church of Sant’Agnese in Agone. Berrettini initially worked alongside the existing *capomastri scalpellini* but soon replaced them.⁴⁴ Berrettini executed the travertine façade to the capitals and made additional pieces for the drum and dome, according to Borromini’s early design of the façade (fig. 9).⁴⁵ Berrettini and Frugone supplied some of the travertine for the church and the marble for the *Miracle of St. Agnes* altarpiece (1654), commissioned from Algardi. In August 1655, Berrettini signed a new contract for the travertine work but soon left the building site over tensions with Borromini. While awaiting payment, Berrettini expressed frustration from the absence of pay and the loss of the easier and more lucrative

Spada. Algardi was a close friend of Pietro da Cortona and purchased stone from Frugone; MONTAGU 1985, p. 31f., p. 354, p. 437; SPARTI 1997, p. 11, p. 108. Cortona was connected to Spada through the Oratorians; MERZ 2008, p. 120. As a member of the Reverenda Fabbrica, Spada must have known the Frugone; EHRLE 1927, p. 21.

⁴⁰ MONTAGU 1985, p. 359.

⁴¹ ASR, Notai del Tribunale dell’Auditor camerae, vol. 5422, fols. 761r–762v. MONTAGU 1989, p. 23, cites the act but does not discuss the terms.

⁴² On the costs of legal acts, AGO 2000.

⁴³ HEIMBÜRGER RAVALLI 1977, pp. 239–242; ROCA DE AMICIS 1998. Franzone obliged Berrettini and Frugone to acquire the stone from Ghetti; Rome, Bibl. Cors., 31.B.14, fol. 275. Prior to the contract of the pavement, in January 1648, Berrettini had supplied a piece of marble for an inscription at the Lateran; ASR, Fondo Spada, vol. 462,

fol. 90. Ghetti was an active *scalpellino* and merchant, who was responsible for the marble in several Bernini projects, the tabernacles of the new nave of San Giovanni in Laterano, the twenty-four columns of *cottonella* marble for the side aisles of St. Peter’s (1648), and the eight columns of *cottonella* for Sant’Agnese in Agone; BASILI 2000.

⁴⁴ EIMER 1970, pp. 283–286. The existing team included Giovanni Somazzo, Vincenzo Guidotti, and Giovanni Maniscalchi. Eimer argues that Donna Olimpia Maidalchini might have had a hand in Berrettini’s presence, but Franzone is equally possible because he was responsible for the contracts, knew Berrettini from St. Peter’s, and had selected him for the pavement of the Lateran.

⁴⁵ Berrettini’s summary of work is analyzed by EIMER 1970, pp. 327–330; pp. 668–672, no. 8a. For Borromini’s drawing, *Borromini e l’universo barocco* 2000, p. 185; pp. 187–188, cat. X.22.



8 Francesco Borromini, Pavement of side aisle, executed by Luca Berrettini and Filippo Frugone, 1653–1656. Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano (Photo author)



9 Francesco Borromini, Capitals on façade, executed by Luca Berrettini, 1653–1655. Rome, Sant’Agnese in Agone (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/ Enrico Fontolan)



10 Pietro da Cortona, Detail of corner pier, executed by Luca Berrettini, Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento, 1655–1656. Rome, San Marco (Photo author)

work of carving marble, after the more arduous and less remunerative work of travertine.⁴⁶

Despite these difficulties, Berrettini rebounded because he and Frugone furnished the marble for Cortona’s architectural projects for Alexander VII. Opportunities continued in Clement IX’s pontificate when they supplied the statuary marble for Bernini’s ten angels for the Ponte Sant’Angelo (1667–1669). Their continued success attests to their ability to supply high quality marble “[...] della più bianchezza, e pasta, che si trovi conforme e stato il marmo del Costantino senza peli o macchie, ma di tutta perfettione [...]”⁴⁷

In his mature commissions for polychrome chapels, Pietro da Cortona benefitted from Berrettini’s expertise in this medium. Following the work with Marcone in the Cappella Cerri, Berrettini was prepared to oversee the supply and execution of the marble revetment of the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento in San Marco (1655–1656) (fig. 10).⁴⁸ Similar to the Cappella Cerri, the marble design emphasizes the architectonic form and the plasticity of the framing ele-

⁴⁶ EIMER 1970, pp. 319–324; pp. 363–365; p. 405f.; pp. 413–415; pp. 700–702, no. 13a. MONTALTO 1958, p. 155; p. 167, no. 16; WIBIRAL 1958, p. 258, p. 275f. For payments to Berrettini, GARMS 1972, nos. 84, 468, 733, 913, 931. Berrettini’s final payment was received only in 1668. On the *Miracle of St. Agnes*, which was never carved, MONTAGU 1985, p. 153, p. 351f. After Berrettini’s departure, Fausto Vivenzi and Giovanni Maria Baratta continued the work of *intaglio* for the modified design of the façade; EIMER 1970, pp. 423–427.

⁴⁷ They received 2,800 scudi. WEIL 1974, p. 31f., p. 121f.

⁴⁸ Payments to Berrettini totaling 600 scudi are published in *Palast und Basilika San Marco* 1913, p. 94, n. 7; CASALE 1969, p. 108, n. 7. ROCA DE AMICIS 2006, p. 87, cites additional payments.



11 Pietro da Cortona, Cappella Chigi, 1656–1658. Rome, Santa Maria della Pace (Photo Wikimedia Commons)

ments. Doubts over Cortona’s control of the chapel design and Roca De Amicis’s attribution of a perspectival drawing of the chapel to Berrettini raise the issue of whether Berrettini contributed to the design.⁴⁹ The attention to the colored stone in the drawing – which was first published by Vittorio Casale and subsequently reproduced in the scholarship, but is now lost – connects it to Berrettini’s role in the chapel.⁵⁰ Though lacking concrete evidence, his involvement in the design of the polychromy is plausible given his experience in

colored stone, his instrumental role in Cortona’s architectural production, and the working practices of *scalpellini*.⁵¹

The high quality of Berrettini’s stonework continues in Cortona’s Cappella Chigi in Santa Maria della Pace (fig. 11). The crisp linearity of the moldings of the architectural framework lead the eye toward the bronze relief of the Trinity; the complex profile of the balustrade, characteristic of Cortona’s oeuvre, is precisely carved despite Berrettini’s self-professed difficulty with this stone;⁵² and the *pietre*

⁴⁹ The chapel is attributed to Cortona by CASALE 1969, p. 108; and BLUNT 1982, p. 79. ROCA DE AMICIS 2006, pp. 87–97, and MERZ 2008, p. 211f., question the extent of Cortona’s contribution but attribute the dome to him. CERUTTI FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, p. 96, pp. 257–261, characterize the chapel’s marble revetment as “neocinquecentismo” and suggest that Cortona was experiencing a creative crisis.

⁵⁰ CASALE 1969, p. 96, fig. 3; CERUTTI FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, p. 258, fig. 2; ROCA DE AMICIS 2006, p. 92, fig. 8; The drawing was located in

the Archivio Storico Vicariato. MERZ 2008, p. 211, identifies the drawing as “untraceable,” and I was not able to find it.

⁵¹ AMENDOLA 2011, esp. pp. 18–20, pp. 25–29, pp. 41–43, emphasizes the technical expertise of *scalpellini* in working polychrome stone and their close relationship with architects. SPESSO 1993, p. 35, argues that *scalpellini* played a role in selecting the stone.

⁵² In the *misura e stima*, Berrettini describes the yellow stone as “[...] pietra difficile a lavorarla [...]”; BENEDETTI 2006, p. 126.



12 Pietro da Cortona, Detail of altar, Cappella Chigi, 1656–1658. Rome, Santa Maria della Pace (Photo author)

dure decoration of the balustrade is illusionistic. Simona Benedetti interprets the symbolic significance of the colored stone and bronze as differentiating the physical, the metaphysical, and the realm in between. For instance, carnal warmth is conveyed through the yellow *marmo di Siena* balustrade and the red *portasanta* altar that holds the relics of a martyr (fig. 12).⁵³

Cortona's use of polychrome marble reaches its apogee in the Cappella Gavotti in San Nicola da Tolentino, and Berrettini was beside him to ensure its provision and execution (fig. 13). Designed for the defunct Monsignor Giovanni Battista Gavotti between 1662 and 1663, the chapel was realized slowly and opened in 1677, eight years after Cortona's death. The project brought together the same team as the Cappella Chigi: Luca Berrettini, Cosimo Fancelli, Antonio Raggi, and Ercole Ferrata.⁵⁴ Luca Berrettini supplied, worked, and installed the polychrome marble, for the significant sum of 6065.95 scudi.⁵⁵ Contemporary accounts praise the chapel's beauty that derives from the rich array of stone: the conspicuous *verde antico* columns, red breccia,

bianco e nero, and *diaspro di Sicilia*.⁵⁶ The bold design that reemploys the picture frames thoroughly eschews the decorative approach to marble revetment, which had persisted into the mid-seventeenth century in Renzi's Cappella Savenier (1638) and Algardi's Cappella Gessi (1639).⁵⁷ In these polychrome chapels, Berrettini as supplier and executant facilitated Cortona's employment of this costly and difficult medium, and Berrettini gained direct experience of the visual effects and iconographic potential of the material.

Commissions from 1666 to 1680

As we have seen, Berrettini was closely connected to his cousin but also operated autonomously. Furthermore, late in his life, he received a few commissions, two tomb monuments and the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio in Il Gesù, which increase his body of independent work and furnish evidence for his design capability, even if the results never reached the inventive heights of his cousin. My analysis of these works supports and extends the little accepted argument that Berrettini was the designer of the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio.

From 1666–1669, Berrettini carried out the commission of the tomb of Antonio Ghirlandari in Sant'Agostino (fig. 14). Ghirlandari, who was Innocent X's *maestro di casa*, probably met Berrettini on Pamphilj projects.⁵⁸ In this project Berrettini was both designer and executant. His drawing for the tomb is referenced in the documents, but no longer exists. Unfortunately, it is impossible to analyze his design because major discrepancies exist between the present plain monument and the description that suggests a grander architectural work. Missing are “le 4 mensole verde come le colonne che sono al confessionale,” “due nicchie di mischio,” “le due Morte che vanno dentro alle nicchie,” “la incrostatura di nero e Giallo di Porto Venere per la cassa,” “la cornice per l'adornamento della pittura,” “l'aquila,” and other details. However, the execution of the robust coat of arms, with plastic olive branches and tassels that move in the wind, evinces Berrettini's lively naturalism.⁵⁹

⁵³ BENEDETTI 2006, pp. 113–118.

⁵⁴ For the history of the chapel, ZANDRI 1987, pp. 159–168; CERUTTI FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, pp. 300–304; ROCA DE AMICIS/VARAGNOLI 2006, pp. 133–153; MERZ 2008, pp. 217–222; CURZIETTI 2010.

⁵⁵ CURZIETTI 2010, p. 199, pp. 208–210.

⁵⁶ ZANDRI 1987, pp. 159–161.

⁵⁷ ROCA DE AMICIS/VARAGNOLI 2006, pp. 148–151, characterize Cortona's polychrome design as a reinterpretation of late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century marble revetment because the colored stones are subordinate to the architectonic structure and the design empha-

sizes the logic of the architectural framework. CAVALLERO 2006, provides an overview of the stylistic development of marble revetment in the Baroque, but diminishes Cortona's contribution by considering only the *confessio* of Santa Martina and not his later chapels.

⁵⁸ ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazioni di Tesoreria, vol. 115, int. 5, “Ruolo della famiglia di Innocenzo X, aprile 1653, novembre 1653”.

⁵⁹ The documents are published by PEDROCCHI 2009, p. 413, who notes the discrepancy between the description and the existing monument. The drawing is referenced in the list of stone needed for the project.



13 Pietro da Cortona, Cappella Gavotti, 1662–1677. Rome, San Nicola da Tolentino (Photo Andrea Jemolo/Scala/Art Resource, NY)



14 Luca Berrettini, Monument of Antonio Ghirlandari, 1666. Rome, Sant'Agostino (Photo author)

Berrettini's ability to draw may be implied in the ambiguous language of the 1670 contract for the floor tomb of Cardinal Camillo Melzi, in Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (fig. 15). The tomb is described as "[...] al vano dello scompartimento fatto dal S. Cavalier Bernino, e conforme al disegno colorito fatto, e stabilito con Luca Berrettini".⁶⁰ The

tomb itself offers more secure evidence of Berrettini's invention: the personifications of Prudence and Justice display the robustness of Cortona's figures and his typical facial features of wide-set eyes, broad forehead and cheeks, and small mouth and chin, rather than Bernini's elongated figures (fig. 16). Berrettini adopted his cousin's figural style and used the natural coloration of the stone as well as stone pieced together to render the figures with illusionistic modeling and movement. In bringing the inert stone to life, Berrettini accomplishes this act of transformation that was the purview of painters and figural sculptors.

Berrettini's ability to invent is central to the attribution of the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio (Cappella Negroni), in the right transept of Il Gesù, executed 1672–1678 (fig. 17). The commission from Monsignor Gian Francesco Negroni is Berrettini's largest independent work, but contemporary sources give unclear and contradictory information about the attribution. In a 1702 letter, Negroni identifies Berrettini as the "Direttore" of the chapel and calls him the "[...] nepote del famoso Pietro da Cortona [...]" but does not specify who designed it.⁶¹ Filippo Titi, in his 1674 guidebook, is the first to attribute the design to Cortona, writing "[...] havendo lassato il disegno Pietro da Cortona."⁶² Other contemporary sources follow Titi, except for Berrettini's biography of his cousin that makes no mention of this project. The language of the only contemporary commentary about Berrettini leaves open the nature of his role: Berrettini "[...] anco apparisce dall'opere dal medesimo [Cortona] fatte, e specialmente dal portico della chiesa della Pace di Roma dal medesimo [Cortona] fatta e da infinite cappelle nelle chiese di Roma, una particolarmente in San Nicola a Capo alle Case del Signor Carlo Pavotti [sic] [...], l'altra nella chiesa del Giesù di Monsignor Negroni di tanta bellezza di valore considerabile."⁶³ Neither Negroni nor Berrettini, who were closest to the chapel, attribute the design to Cortona. My analysis of the chapel within Berrettini's career extends Evonne Levy's argument that "[...] the design of the Negroni chapel should be ascribed to both [...]" by demonstrating that Berrettini was capable of invention.⁶⁴ He employed the medium of stone, which he knew intimately, to create iconographic significance in this funerary and reliquary chapel dedicated to St. Francis Xavier.

⁶⁰ FROMMEL 1983, p. 236.

⁶¹ TREVISANI 1980, publishes the letter, interpreting it to mean that Luca Berrettini designed the chapel.

⁶² TITI 1674, p. 191.

⁶³ LEVY 1999–2000 (2003), p. 390. On Capulli, who is the contemporary source, see n. 3.

⁶⁴ LEVY 1999–2000 (2003), pp. 388–393 (quotation, p. 390). CERUTTI

FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, pp. 323–325, attribute it to Cortona, hypothesizing that the design made on the architect's deathbed was executed by Berrettini, who was capable because of his knowledge of Cortona's architecture and his proven skill in polychrome marble. MERZ 2008, p. 229, essentially agrees with Levy but questions whether Berrettini was "[...] solely responsible for the adaptation, and whether Maratta or a professional architect had a hand in it."



15 Luca Berrettini, Detail of Prudence and Justice with coat of arms, Tomb of Cardinal Camillo Melzi, 1670. Rome, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (Photo Direzione Generale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto/Andrea Jemolo)



16 Luca Berrettini, Detail of Justice, Tomb of Cardinal Camillo Melzi, 1670. Rome, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (Photo author)



17 Luca Berrettini, Cappella di San Francesco Saverio, 1672–1678. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

Levy argues that Berrettini's design of the Cappella Negroni represents an intelligent modification of Cortona's design of the high altar of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (ca. 1634). The most important change is the placement of the altar into a curved recess, an element borrowed from the Cappella Gavotti (fig. 13 and fig. 17).⁶⁵ And like the Cappella Gavotti, Berrettini's colossal pilasters are Composite and his columns are Corinthian. In the Cappella Negroni, the continuous plinth of the San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

design is replaced by two pedestals that project from the plinth to support the double columns. The result emphasizes the verticality of the altar and its central space, where the imagery of the saint extends from the reliquary situated between the pedestals, to the pictorial altarpiece between the columns, to the sculpture that bursts through the broken pediment.

Moving beyond adaption, Berrettini's design of the stonework enhances both the visual effect and the associative

⁶⁵ LEVY 1999–2000 (2003), pp. 390–393; CERUTTI FUSCO/VILLANI 2002, p. 326; MERZ 2008, p. 229.

⁶⁶ FISCHER PACE 1998, pp. 220–228.

⁶⁷ BARRY 2009, p. 18.

meaning of the chapel. Carlo Maratti’s altarpiece, *Death of St. Francis Xavier* (1674–1676), follows the account of the saint’s death due to fever while fervently contemplating the crucifix. This dramatic depiction of the saint’s expiration, the onlookers’ reactions, and God’s immediate response of flower-bearing angels is Cortonesque in its movement, painterly brushwork, and palette.⁶⁶ Berrettini’s choice of stone reflects these visual characteristics: the veining of the expensive *diaspro di Sicilia* of the columns and walls and the *bianco e nero antico* of the pedestals have bold contrasts of light and dark like the chiaroscuro of the painting (fig. 18–19). The pictorial energy and movement echo the forces of nature contained in the marbles. Berrettini follows Cortona in using white marble to delineate architectonic form but moves even further from the tradition of decorative marble revetment by enhancing the stone’s associative significance.

In using stone for expressive purposes, Berrettini follows the examples of Cortona’s Cappella Chigi and Bernini’s Cappella Cornaro, Cappella de Sylva in Sant’Isidoro, and Sant’Andrea al Quirinale. Like Bernini, Berrettini uses “[...] coloured marble as a medium rather than as ornament.”⁶⁷ In the Cappella Cornaro, the colored marble transforms the architectural space into a transcendent realm while rendering Theresa’s heavenly vision as a tangible event.⁶⁸ At Sant’Andrea al Quirinale, Bernini uses the medium of mosaic, on the altar wall behind the painting of St. Andrew’s martyrdom, to imitate the natural effects of air.⁶⁹

Like these examples, Berrettini’s use of colored stone in the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio reveals his sculptural approach to architecture and his exploitation of the medium to enhance the meaning of the space. Central to St. Francis Xavier’s cult is the incorruptibility of his body, which was recognized when his intact body was disinterred three months after its burial in 1552, grew in significance as a sign of his holiness in the years leading to his canonization in 1622, and remains a defining feature of his hagiography.⁷⁰ Berrettini’s design visualizes the saint’s incorruptibility through emphasis on his corporeal presence. The profusion of red stone in the architecture evokes the carnality of the dying saint in the altarpiece. Yet, this body is just an illusion of the pictorial arts. His carnality materializes in the reliquary of his arm that the sculpted angel presents on the altar, where Christ’s body and blood are made manifest during the Mass (fig. 19).⁷¹ The gilded reliefs of grapes and wheat on the red breccia dados symbolize this Eucharistic



18 Luca Berrettini, Detail of left side of altar, Cappella di San Francesco Saverio, 1672–1678. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

sacrifice, and the color of the stone recalls the occasions when the appearance of the saint’s blood attested to his body’s defiance of deterioration (fig. 20). This coloristic ensemble contrasts the white and gilded apotheosis of the saint above.

Berrettini’s design exploits the properties of precious stone as a visible sign of God: Stone was both a product of the divine, as was all of nature including the human body, and an imitation of God’s creation, nature’s flesh and blood.⁷² During the 1670s, Berrettini applied similar coloristic effects in realizing Cortona’s design of the cupola of Santi Luca e Martina. The recent restoration campaign has restored the interior to its original appearance: The *color di*

⁶⁸ CAVALLERO 2006; BARRY 2016.

⁶⁹ BEVILACQUA 2016.

⁷⁰ GUPTA 2014, chap. 2, “Incorruption (1554).”

⁷¹ Since the start, Negroni insisted on the display of the relic in the chapel

although its final form by Girolamo Lucenti was not realized until 1679–1684. LEVY 1999–2000 (2003), pp. 385–388.

⁷² On the meaning of precious stone in the seventeenth century, HILLS 1999, pp. 35–40; BARRY 2016, p. 43.



19 Luca Berrettini, Detail of altar with Giovanni Lucenti's reliquary, Cappella di San Francesco Saverio, 1672–1678. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

travertino on both the stucco relief and the background creates a homogeneous and warm coloristic effect, with some slight tonal variations.⁷³ In the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio, Berrettini did not merely adapt his cousin's architectural design but, through his knowledge of precious stone and experience in Cortona's enterprise, created a visionary experience that transforms the bodily death of the saint into an ecstatic event. Berrettini's stonework follows the use of material splendor and particularly colored stone to conjure the divine and to stimulate devotion in the Jesuit churches of Palermo and Antwerp.⁷⁴

My analysis contends that Berrettini combined architectural design with a sculptural and even painterly sensibility in the design of the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio. Although the chapel is his only extant large-scale invention,

his role as the designer is plausible within the context of his career as reconstructed herein. Berrettini's collaboration in Cortona's enterprise, autonomous initiatives, and ability to draw and render lifelike figures suggest an intelligent and versatile individual. A talented *scalpellino* could occupy multiple roles in Rome's building industry. Whereas it is possible to delineate Berrettini's invention in the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio, it is impossible to extract his precise contributions in Cortona's architecture. As Montagu argues, the exact nature of the interaction between designer and executant cannot be worked out and trying to separate out their roles would be antithetical to the nature of artistic production in the seventeenth century.⁷⁵ Even when operating after his cousin's death, Berrettini might not have aimed to establish an independent oeuvre. The elision of Cortona

⁷³ BALDI/PORZIO 2015, pp. 28–36.

⁷⁴ HILLS 1999, pp. 197–244; KNAAP 2016.

⁷⁵ MONTAGU 1989, chap. 4, "The Sculptor as Executant".



20 Luca Berrettini, Detail of pedestal of altar with gilded Eucharistic relief on dado, Cappella di San Francesco Saverio, 1672–1678. Rome, Chiesa del Gesù (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

and Berrettini in contemporary sources about the Cappella di San Francesco Saverio might reflect Berrettini’s intention of continuing his defunct cousin’s architectural enterprise, even when Cortona had not made the design. The story of this chapel demonstrates both Berrettini’s autonomous capability and his inseparability from Cortona’s architectural production.

Ancestral identity is also expressed in other actions of the Berrettini family. In Florence in 1645, Pietro da Cortona named Berrettini as his procurator, to enable the latter to purchase a house in Via Peduccia on his behalf.⁷⁶ A series of documents suggests that the Berrettini family worked together to ensure the well being of its members. In 1636, Filippo (Luca’s father) gave “[...] alcuni appezzamenti di terra siti nella vicinanze di Cortona [...]” to his son Francesco, and Pietro da Cortona also gave Francesco a house in Cortona “[...] per facilitarli l’entrata in religione [...].” In 1644, Luca and his brother Lorenzo named each other as procurators.⁷⁷ Luca Berrettini’s testament and inventory furnish further evidence of this familial identity and Luca’s career in the building industry.

⁷⁶ SPARTI 1997, p. 30, n. 34; p. 42, n. 12. This house became part of the property that Cortona rebuilt as a grand residence. Berrettini supplied columns for it.

⁷⁷ *Pietro da Cortona* 1969, p. 14, nos. 57–59.

⁷⁸ The documents are transcribed in the Appendix.

⁷⁹ CAMPORI 1866, p. 506.

⁸⁰ On artists and artisans from this region, EISLER 2008, p. 360f.; FRA-

Testament and Inventory⁷⁸

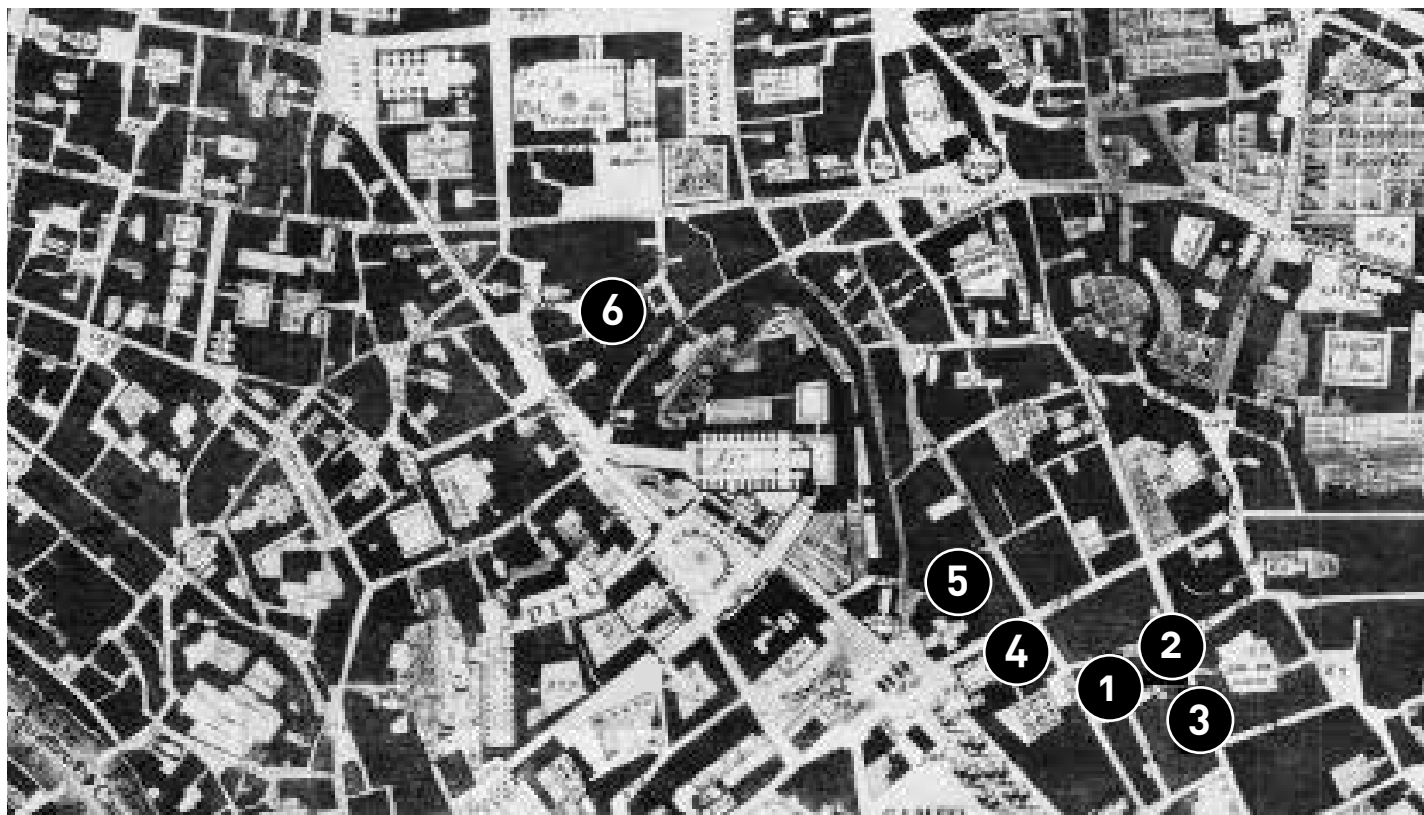
Luca Berrettini worked until the end of his life, but his body was feeling the effects of age and perhaps the years of physical labor. In responding to Ciro Ferri’s request for information about Cortona’s career, he apologizes for not visiting Ferri in person because of “[...] i cattivi tempi e per le mie cattive gambe [...].”⁷⁹ The year is 1679, and by its end, he pens his last testament, a document that is characteristic of his social, economic, and professional status. Like many artists and artisans of foreign origin, such as Martino Longhi the Younger, Erminio Giudici (1561–1623), and Stefano Longhi (1558–1635), all from Viggìù near Lake Lugano, Berrettini expresses attachments to both his birthplace and adopted home of Rome.⁸⁰ Like the *scalpellini* Giudici and Stefano Longhi, he had combined his craft with commercial ventures to attain economic success. My comparison of Berrettini’s inventory to the possessions of architects/sculptors and craftsmen respectively shows that his identity is rooted in his profession of *scalpellino*-merchant while shaped by interests associated with designers. Berrettini’s residence with its allusions to family status associates him with invention and its potential for ennoblement. His testament and inventory reinforce the identity that emerges in my analysis of his career: Berrettini evades being pigeonholed as an executant. Instead, his production, abilities, and presumably notion of self are more complex, and they blur perceived boundaries between artists and artisans.

Above all else, Berrettini’s testament expresses his spiritual concerns and attachment to family. After invoking God, the Virgin Mary, and Sts. Peter, Paul, and Luke, he requests burial in the church of Sant’Adriano al Foro Romano and leaves money to his parish church of Santi Quirico e Giullitta for the expenses of his funeral. It is easy to understand why Berrettini chose Sant’Adriano in the former Curia Senatus (destroyed 1930s): The church is next door to Santi Luca e Martina, where his career in Rome had begun and Cortona is buried, and only two blocks from his house (fig. 21). Furthermore, Martino Longhi the Younger had recently renovated and aggrandized the church.⁸¹ Berrettini’s epitaph was located in a prominent location: “[...] nel pavimento di mezzo [...].”⁸² Berrettini leaves money for one

TARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 195–253 (esp. pp. 220–224), who discuss Erminio Giudici and Stefano Longhi. For Martino Longhi’s testament, PUGLIESE/RIGANO 1972, pp. 145–168 (esp. pp. 160–167, for his ties to Viggìù).

⁸¹ For the history of the church, BARROERO 1983, pp. 197–224. For Longhi’s restoration, VARRIANO 1971.

⁸² FORCELLA 1873, p. 54; BARROERO 1983, p. 203.



21 Giambattista Nolli, *Pianta Grande di Roma*, 1748, with sites associated with Luca Berrettini: 1, Berrettini's principal residence in Strada del Sole; 2, Berrettini's second house in Strada del Sole; 3, Berrettini's house in Via Alessandrina; 4, Sant'Adriano al Foro Romano; 5, Santi Luca e Martina; 6, Pietro da Cortona's house in Via Peduccia (Photo Earth Sciences and Map Library, University of California, Berkeley)

hundred Masses at Sant'Adriano and Masses at four churches that appear repeatedly in the testaments of *scalpellini*: San Gregorio, Santa Maria Liberatrice (also called, in Campo Carleo), the Cappella della Colonna in Santa Prassede, and San Lorenzo fuori le mura.⁸³ The first refers to San Gregorio Magno a Ripetta, the church of the Università dei Muratori, the guild of *muratori*, *falegnami*, *pozzatti*, *imbiancatori*, *statuari*, and *stuccatori*. Although, at an unknown moment, the guild's membership became limited to *muratori*, *stuccatori*, *pozzatti*, and *imbiancatori*, the devotional attachment of *statuari* in the mid-seventeenth century suggests the church continued to hold meaning for them.⁸⁴ Neighborhood ties likely motivated Berrettini's

choices of Santa Maria Liberatrice and Santa Prassede, which border his district of Rione Monte. The attachment of *scalpellini* to San Lorenzo fuori le mura is unclear. Like many *statuari* of various specializations, Berrettini left a donation (twenty-five scudi) to the Compagnia dei Santi Quattro Coronati dei Marmorari.⁸⁵ His donation to the Compagnia di Santa Croce in Cortona expresses his continued connection to his birthplace. Berrettini's remaining wishes reflect familial bonds. He does not mention progeny, and it seems he never married. He left 12 scudi annually to his sister Suora Martina, in the convent of San Girolamo delle Oblate Salesiane in Cortona, and names as his universal heir Carlo Mascagni, the son of his sister Francesca. His

⁸³ Masses at these four churches are requested in the testaments of Andrea Appiani, Ambrogio Appiani, Giovanni Maria Baratta, Vincenzo Guidotti, Bonifazio Perti, and Giovanni Somazzo, which I will publish as part of a larger study.

⁸⁴ On the Università dei Muratori, MARONI LUMBROSO/MARTINI 1963, p. 34f., p. 212f.; ANDERSON 2008; ANDERSON 2009. Other artisans in the building industry who demonstrate allegiance to this church are

Giovanni Fontana (FRATARCANGELI 2008, p. 342) and Pietro Sassi (DONATI 1942, p. 504).

⁸⁵ On this Compagnia, MARONI LUMBROSO/MARTINI 1963, pp. 336–340; LUKEHART 2008, p. 206. Bernini left 100 scudi to the Compagnia; SPESSO 1993, p. 26.

⁸⁶ In the *possesso* of Berrettini's property (ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 10, Istrumenti, 21 giugno 1680, fols. 214r–215v, fols. 218–219),

final beneficiary is his servant, Signora Elisabetta Caroni, and her children to whom he grants permission to remain in the small neighboring house, as long as she serves his heir and does not rent the property.

At his death on 20 June 1680, Berrettini is in good financial standing: He owns four pieces of real estate, a handful of credits (five *censi* and one *cambio*, each worth 100 scudi), and few debts (only the expenses of his funeral, the canons on his houses, and the price of feed for his horse). His properties conform to the character of real estate of the professional class and especially artisans in the building industry. His primary residence is the “[...] Casa ad Pantanos in vico que à Salara vetere ducit ad Turrem de Comitibus [...],” the house in Pantani, in the street that leads from the old Salara to the Torre de’ Conti (Strada del Sole). He also owns another house in the same street, a nearby house in Via Alessandrina, and a house in Cortona (fig. 21).⁸⁶ Berrettini chose to live in a neighborhood associated with the building industry. In the last third of the sixteenth century, Pantani had been developed on the remains of the imperial fora by draining this swampy land and making two large and intersecting streets, Via Alessandrina and Via Bonelli, with secondary arteries in a grid. The zone attracted architects, masons, carpenters, stonecutters, and others because the lots for sale or perpetual lease (*enfituesi*) needed properties built on them. The area around Torre de’ Conti was developed in the early seventeenth century when Via Alessandrina was extended toward the Basilica of Constantine.⁸⁷ His house in Via Alessandrina was on the same street as the houses of architects Flaminio Ponzio, Martino Longhi the Younger, and Mario Arconio.⁸⁸ Only a few blocks from Santi Luca e Martina, the location must have been ideal for Berrettini. His Roman properties outnumber many of his peers who owned only a house with a workshop and a small garden, but are fewer than other members of his profession. For instance, sculptor and entrepreneur Stefano Longhi

owned sixteen properties;⁸⁹ and master mason Domenico Pozzi had nine houses plus eight other properties.⁹⁰

Berrettini’s primary residence is smaller in size, less grand in appearance, and less diversified in function than Pietro da Cortona’s “Casa alla Pedacchia,” which underscores the cousins’ different professional, social, and economic status. Donatella Sparti characterizes Cortona’s palace, with its well-organized, ample spaces and its large and beautiful garden, as a residence for reception and self-representation on par with noble palaces rather than the home and workshop of an artist.⁹¹ The living and representational spaces of the *piano nobile* and second floor (each with ten large rooms) are distinct from the third floor with the painting studio and the room with the collection of paintings that functioned as Cortona’s workshop–academy for students. The ground floor has four *botteghe*, but this is not unusual even for noble palaces. As Sparti argues, only artists of the highest rank like Cortona and Bernini could establish residences of such noble appearance and function.⁹² Their embrace of *disegno* – the quality that placed painters, sculptors, and architects in the realm of the liberal arts and distinguished them from craftsmen – elevated them to such social and economic distinction.

Although Luca Berrettini’s principal residence of a ground floor, *piano nobile*, and upper floor is significantly more modest than his cousin’s palace, it conforms to expectations for craftsmen, while sharing some characteristics with the houses of artists and architects.⁹³ The ground floor with the “Cortile o Bottega di Scarpellino” functions entirely as workspace.⁹⁴ It is so copiously filled with stone that eight pieces of *peperino* spill into the street. The quantity and variety of the stone – alabaster, *breccia di Francia*, *diaspro di Sicilia*, *biscio antico*, *giallo antico*, *negro antico*, marble, travertine, and more – as well as the tools signal Berrettini’s work as a stone carver and merchant.⁹⁵ The colored stone, in particular, reflects his spe-

the house in the same street as Luca’s residence is described as bordered by the properties of the Jesuits of the Collegio Romano and the Confraternità di San Bartolomeo dei Bergamaschi. Berrettini’s house in Via Alessandrina is near the Basilica of Constantine and bordered by the properties of Giovanni Antonio Mercantelli and Carlo Biccara. Berrettini had inherited Pietro da Cortona’s real estate in Cortona, but it is not part of this inventory because Cortona ordered that upon Berrettini’s death, it automatically pass to the latter’s brother, Lorenzo; SPARTI 1997, p. 141. The Strade del Sole is “[...] fra la Salara Vecchia e via Alessandrina”; GNOLI 1984, p. 303.

⁸⁷ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993; FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 195–253.

⁸⁸ PUGLIESE/RIGANO 1972, p. 16, p. 86 n. 34, pp. 131–133; ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 119f.; FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 16–21.

⁸⁹ FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, p. 202, on the typical possessions of artisans in the building industry; p. 220, on Longhi’s inventory (1640).

⁹⁰ Pozzi was from Coldrerio where he also owned property. ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 5, Istrumenti, vol. 144, 17 luglio 1638, fols. 203–209.

⁹¹ SPARTI 1997, p. 37.

⁹² SPARTI 1997, pp. 31–44.

⁹³ For the character of houses in Pantani, ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 142f.; FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 202–205.

⁹⁴ The *possesso* records that the ground floor has another workshop and a room, which function as a sculptor’s studio; ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 10, Istrumenti, 21 giugno 1680, fols. 214r–215v, fols. 218–219.

⁹⁵ Berrettini’s inventory does not include animals or carts to move stone, which are commonly owned by architects and *scalpellini* (see FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, p. 209f.). Frugone must have supplied this equipment in their partnership.



22 Pietro da Cortona, *Virgin Appearing to St. Francis*, oil on canvas, 314 × 208 cm, 1641. Arezzo, Santissima Annunziata, Cappella Montauto (Photo Scala/Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo/Art Resource, NY)

cialization in polychromy. They must have been valuable even though the inventory lacks prices because Berrettini exempted his nephew from assigning value to his goods.⁹⁶ Berrettini's craft is further displayed in his living quarters of the *sala*, *prima stanza*, *seconda stanza*, and two small rooms. But rather than pieces of unused stone, there are five tables of *pietra moderna giallo e negro*, *alabastro fio-*

rito, and *portasanta*. To be sure, they are not the grand tables of *pietre dure* admired by Nicodemus Tessin in noble palaces, but they must have reminded Berrettini's guests of his stonework in his cousin's chapels and his own commissions.⁹⁷

The eight sculptures plus an unnamed number of gesso heads and busts, displayed in three representational rooms on the *piano nobile*, reflect Berrettini's artisan status while calling to mind the practices of artists. The display of sculpture is unusual in the homes of middle-ranking Romans,⁹⁸ but painters and sculptors often possess an assortment of plaster casts and sometimes terracotta models for study and studio props.⁹⁹ A few sculptors own more substantial collections. Alessandro Algardi left many terracotta models and plaster molds, which appear to have been his own, and about two dozen other sculptures, a few ancient but mostly modern, to four of his students. Their location in his studio indicates their function in his artistic production. Ercole Ferrata, one of Algardi's heirs, had a house-workshop filled with an exceptional number of models, molds, and casts by him, his teachers, and his students, whose primary purpose was educational and artistic practice. Even a minor sculptor like Francesco Antonio Fontana could own a collection of terracotta models by major Baroque sculptors like Bernini, Algardi, and Ferrata, which have been interpreted as both a source of artistic inspiration and a reflection of his artistic and patronage milieu.¹⁰⁰

The "Diversi pezzi di gesso rappresentanti diverse teste e busti [...]" and the terracotta model of the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius, displayed in the *sala*, connect Berrettino to the material culture of sculptors. The heads and busts of gesso might have been models for use in measuring and cutting the stone of the architecture of tombs and chapels, or they might have been left to him, intentionally or not, in his supervisory role. They could also be connected to his commerce in marble, perhaps as the models supplied for ordering blocks of statuary stone.

The sculptures displayed in the *prima stanza* and *seconda stanza* further suggest Berrettini's indefinite identity: "Un puttino di gesso [...]," "Un bustarello di pietra con sua testa," "Due statuette di gesso tinte con color di bronzo rotte," and "Un arpietta di marmo misto con sua piedestallo sotto." In light of his figural work for the Melzi tomb, it is plausible that he carved the bust or small harpy and

⁹⁶ For a comparative value of stone left in a *scalpellino's* workshop, FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, p. 206.

⁹⁷ WALKER 2014, p. 54.

⁹⁸ CAVAZZINI 2014, p. 93.

⁹⁹ DI GIOIA 1986, p. 158; MONTAGU 2008, p. 279.

¹⁰⁰ On Francesco Antonio Fontana's collection, DI GIOIA 1986. In discussing painters and sculptors who own collections of sculpture, MONTAGU 2008, distinguishes between collections that served conventional purposes like display and status (Francesco Antonio Fontana, Maratti, and Cavaceppi) and those that were assembled



23 Pietro Aquila, after Pietro da Cortona, *Xenophon's Sacrifice after the Chase*, etching, 17th century. Cambridge, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of Belinda L. Randall from the collection of John Witt Randall, R2941 (Photo Imaging Department, President and Fellows of Harvard College)

that he studied the naturalism of the plaster busts and the model of the Marcus Aurelius for his artistic practice. His architectural drawings, in poor condition and worth little, are probably working drawings, and some might have been by his own hand. The similarities between the collections of the sculptors and Berrettini support the characterization of him as capable of invention. But there are also differences between the size and purpose of Algardi and Ferrata’s respective collections and Berrettini’s. The former are large and used for educating students in the studios, whereas the latter is small and installed with other works of art in the living space. Berrettini seems to have transformed these objects of artistic practice into a representational function, which is further evinced by the two statuettes of gesso that were tinted to look like bronze.

In many ways, Berrettini’s living space accords with the representational norms of middle-ranking Romans.¹⁰¹ His five rooms are outfitted with typical furnishings; paintings

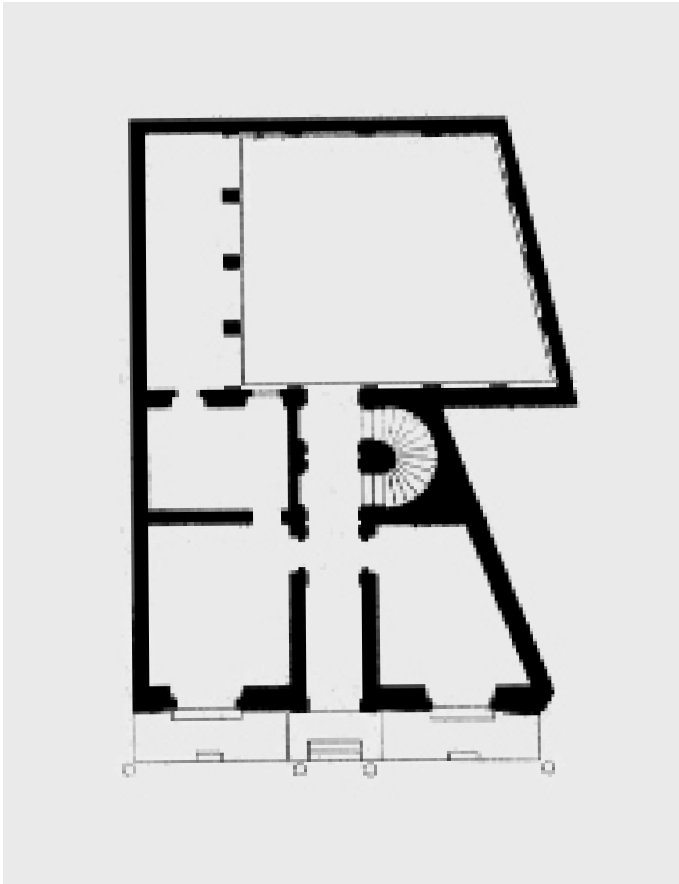
of devotional subjects, portraits, landscapes, and views, on canvas and paper; drawings; and prints. The *sala* has the second largest number of pictures (22 of 78, or 28%) but the most portraits (7 of 11). The *seconda stanza*, with the greatest concentration of pictures (52 of 78, or 66%), is the principal site of display. Although Berrettini owns a few more paintings than many middle-ranking Romans, the character of his paintings, thus far, is unsurprising.

Berrettini’s possession of eleven works by the hand of Pietro da Cortona (eight *sbozzi* and three finished paintings) and two copies of Cortona paintings distinguish his display of art from other middle-ranking Romans. Both Cortona originals and copies are rarely found in seventeenth-century inventories.¹⁰² Of Berrettini’s seventy-eight paintings, the only attributed works are the eleven by Cortona, a copy of a Correggio, a copy of a Carracci, and three by Lorenzo Berrettini. The attributed works are all displayed in the *seconda stanza*, apparently in two groupings, which may indicate

unwittingly or for professional reasons (Ferrata, Daniele Guidotti). On Algardi’s collection, MONTAGU 1985, pp. 208–211, p. 233 f. On Ferrata’s collection, GOLZIO 1935; BOEHMAN 2009, pp. 93–104.

¹⁰¹ We know much about the living spaces of middle-ranking Romans thanks to the pioneering work of Renata Ago and Patrizia Cavazzini: AGO 2006; CAVAZZINI 2008; CAVAZZINI 2014.

¹⁰² CAVAZZINI 2014, p. 99.



24 Plan of Flaminio Ponzio's house in Via Alessandrina (from LETAROUILLY 1840-1853, vol. 1, pl. 57)

their special meaning. The finished Cortona paintings depict common subjects, St. Catherine, St. Martina, and an unnamed head (the latter two are small round paintings and were probably hung as pendants).¹⁰³ Cortona might have painted the St. Catherine specifically for his cousin because it is on *peperino* and stone supports are rare in his oeuvre. Only one other is known: a *Nativity* on aventurine stone, originally in a silver and lapis lazuli frame, commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, as a gift for King Philip IV of Spain.¹⁰⁴ Only two of the eight Cortona sketches have distinguishable subjects. “Un sbozzo di un quadro di S. Fran-

cesco con la Madonna da capo altezza di tela da testa con sua cornice indorata di mano di Signore Pietro” could relate to Cortona's altarpiece, *Virgin Appearing to St. Francis*, in the Cappella Montauto of Santissima Annunziata, in Arezzo (fig. 22).¹⁰⁵ The painted sketch of the forge of Vulcan might be related to Cortona's vault of the Galleria Pamphilj that depicts Vulcan with Venus, but the sketch shows a different moment in Vulcan's story.

The copies of the Cortona paintings refer to originals that probably held ancestral significance for Luca Berrettini. The copy depicting St. Martina, St. Luke, St. Francis, and Blessed Margherita of Cortona links Berrettini to his hometown: It presumably refers to the altarpiece of the *Madonna in Glory* with these four saints, which Pietro da Cortona made for the high altar of San Girolamo delle Oblate Salesiane, at his own expense.¹⁰⁶ Cortona patronized this convent because Martina, the sister to whom Luca left annual revenue, was a nun there. At Cortona's death, the unfinished altarpiece was still in his studio, and Luca Berrettini wrote that Cardinal Francesco Barberini wants Lorenzo Berrettini to finish it, for which the latter was eventually paid 150 scudi.¹⁰⁷

The other copy, a small-scale version of the *Xenophon Sacrificing to Diana* made for the Barberini, connects Luca Berrettini to his cousin's renown because the original is “[...] fra le più celebri fatiche del suo pennello [...],” according to Berrettini himself.¹⁰⁸ The painting's fame was disseminated through the print made by Pietro Aquila and dedicated to Olimpia Pamphilj Barberini (fig. 23). In Berrettini's house, the copy is displayed as a pendant to Lorenzo Berrettini's painted sketch of an unnamed, sacred sacrifice.¹⁰⁹ The iconographic pairing might have elicited comparison of the cousins' painting abilities and showcased the range of family talent. The *Xenophon Sacrificing to Diana* must have stood out in Berrettini's collection because mythological narratives are uncommon in artisans' houses and this one referred to a famous prototype.¹¹⁰ The effigy bust of Pietro da Cortona and the medallion with his portrait in the *seconda stanza* further convey ancestral memory.

The adjacent bedroom contains two objects of personal interest: the bed with canopy depicting St. Martina and St. Lawrence, painted by Lorenzo Berrettini, and the paint-

¹⁰³ On common subjects and modes of display, CAVAZZINI 2014, pp. 93–102.

¹⁰⁴ BRIGANTI 1982, p. 263, no. 135; *Museo del Prado* online catalogue, no. P00121.

¹⁰⁵ BRIGANTI 1982, p. 223, no. 80; *Pietro da Cortona per la sua terra* 1997, p. 118. There is a smaller, autograph copy of the altarpiece in the Pinacoteca Vaticana and two sketches in the Hermitage (one on copper of

37 × 25 cm; the other on canvas of 96 × 74 cm), but neither matches the dimensions of Berrettini's sketch. Berrettini refers to the altarpiece in his letter about Cortona's works to Ciro Ferri, CAMPORI 1866, p. 513.

¹⁰⁶ BRIGANTI 1982, p. 260, no. 132; *Pietro da Cortona per la sua terra* 1997, p. 130; SPARTI 1997, pp. 57–61, corrects Briganti's account of the commission, Cortona's involvement, and the completion of the altarpiece.

ing of St. Francis Xavier, whose reliquary chapel Luca had designed and executed. The location of Cortona’s cross of knighthood in this room might suggest that he valued it for personal reasons. In sum, Luca Berrettini’s display of sculptures, paintings, and objects in his living quarters bespeak his identity as stone carver, merchant, and occasional designer as well as his familial status that derived, in large part, from his cousin’s fame.

Comparison of Berrettini’s inventory to the possessions of artists and artisans further demonstrates that he cannot be neatly placed into the category of artisan. To be sure, his house pales in comparison to his cousin’s, and their painting collections also differ. Cortona does not display his own works but rather copies of exemplary artists like Correggio, Titian, Veronese, and Carracci and the works of his students. Cortona owns paintings for the didactic purposes of artistic production and teaching, unlike Berrettini who displays works as a statement of identity.¹¹¹ But in other cases, Berrettini lives in a richer setting than designers. Algardi, whose lifestyle is characterized as simple, has only three modestly furnished living rooms, with a handful of portraits.¹¹² Berrettini’s display of art outdoes Algardi’s but is less ambitious than Martino Longhi the Younger’s intention to create a “studio, e Museo” for displaying his library, paintings by “[...] excellent masters [...],” sculptures, instruments, and precious objects.¹¹³ Longhi’s aims of opening the museum to the public and increasing the collection in perpetuity reveal his wish to associate himself and his lineage with a tradition of artistic excellence, knowledge, and erudition. Likewise, Berrettini’s inventory suggests pride, but of a more restrained nature, in his family’s artistic achievements.

Although no measurements, plan, or visual evidence of Berrettini’s house exist, the description in the inventory suggests a similar organization and scale to the house of architect Flaminio Ponzio. In 1600 Ponzio restructured an existing property in Via Alessandrina into a roughly symmetrical plan with three large rooms, a courtyard, and a loggia (fig. 24). Two shops flank the portal of the principal façade that measures 34 palmi (7.59m). However, there are two notable differences: Ponzio’s court is apparently representa-



25 Flaminio Ponzio, Façade, House of Flaminio Ponzio (originally in Via Alessandrina). Rome, Piazza Campitelli (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

tional, and there is no reason to believe that Berrettini’s façade is as architecturally distinct and decorative as the one Ponzio designed (fig. 25).¹¹⁴

Although Berrettini’s house shares some similarities with the residence of *scalpellino* Giovanni Somazzi, the differences are greater.¹¹⁵ Somazzi was a frequent collaborator of Borromini and one of the *scalpellini* whom Berrettini replaced at Sant’Agnese in Agone.¹¹⁶ Unlike Berrettini, Somazzi did not prosper financially or acquire real estate.

¹⁰⁷ SPARTI 1997, p. 59.

¹⁰⁸ LAVIN 1970, p. 450, notes Berrettini’s praise of it, published in CAMPORI 1866, p. 514. See also, BRIGANTI 1982, p. 254f. The original is lost. A version of it is in the Pallavicini Rospigliosi collection, which is by Cortona’s workshop according to Briganti. The copy in Berrettini’s inventory is not identified as Cortona’s work, but given the rarity of the subject, and the fame of Cortona’s painting, it must refer to this original.

¹⁰⁹ On pendants, CAVAZZINI 2014, pp. 96–98.

¹¹⁰ On the rarity of narratives, CAVAZZINI 2014, p. 94.

¹¹¹ SPARTI 1997, pp. 53–68, 82–88.

¹¹² MONTAGU 1985, p. 208, p. 233f.

¹¹³ PUGLIESE/RIGANO 1972, p. 163f. Longhi’s will specifically orders that it should be “[...] sempre in luogo e sito conspicuo [...]” and “[...] frequentato da Passeggeri [...]”.

¹¹⁴ FRATARCANGELI/LERZA 2009, pp. 16–21.

¹¹⁵ For Somazzi’s inventory, ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 24, Istrumenti, vol. 283, 13 gennaio 1673, fols. 112r–114v, 127r–128v.

¹¹⁶ For Somazzi’s work with Borromini: ROCA DE AMICIS/BENEDETTI 1995, p. 56f.; TUZI 2005, p. 125. On Sant’Agnese in Agone, EIMER 1970, pp. 283–291, 328f.

Instead, he rented the courtyard that served as his workshop plus two rooms in the house of Domenico Costantini and Faustina Baldassari. At his death, he is without wife or progeny. His workshop has about twice as many stone pieces as Berrettini's, with numerous pieces spilling into his living rooms. Rather than being worked into tables, the stone is strewn about. These material and tools are Somazzi's most significant possessions. His sixteen paintings of repetitive subjects offer a stark contrast to Berrettini's collection. Whereas Somazzi's entire residence functions as workspace, Berrettini separates work from living space and uses his *piano nobile* to express a complex identity encompassing the arts of stone carving and *disegno*.

Conclusion

Even if accounting for the genre's hyperbole, the epitaph of Luca Berrettini points to a level of repute that raises him above his present obscurity. The inscription links him to his cousin's renown while extolling his own reputation through recognition from Popes Innocent X and Alexander VII and his homeland of Tuscany.¹¹⁷ The precise nature of Berrettini's relationship with his more famous cousin cannot be known. But the actions of the Berrettini relatives and Luca Berrettini's possessions express a family strategy and clan

identity, which is consonant with expectations in early modern Italy. Cortona's decision to leave his enormous patrimony (except for his property and goods in Cortona) outside kin seems to violate this strategy. Did Cortona's decision cause hard feelings? Luca and Lorenzo planned to sue, but Cardinal Francesco Barberini dissuaded them.¹¹⁸ Regardless, Pietro da Cortona and Luca Berrettini remain in life and beyond inextricably bound by familial and professional ties. Pietro's fame and wealth reached extraordinary heights because as a painter and architect he embraced *disegno* and had the talent to excel. Luca's privileging of technical skill over imagination brought him success in his craft, but his achievements remained mostly within the bounds of his professional class. No evidence suggests that Luca possessed a fertile imagination on par with his cousin, but he had the operational competencies and technical proficiencies to realize designs in an expert and efficient manner and the initiative to expand his commercial prospects. However, *disegno* also counted among his skills. This elision allowed him to collaborate closely and continually in Cortona's architecture and to design a few independent works. This article illuminates Berrettini's contribution to the building of Baroque Rome and extends our understanding of Cortona's architectural production. It also exposes the need for further study of the profession of *scalpellino* and the relationship between architects and *scalpellini*.

¹¹⁷ FORCELLA 1873, p. 54.

¹¹⁸ Donatella Livia Sparti, "La casa bottega dell'artista," in *Pietro da Cortona* 1997, p. 117.

Appendix

Transcription of the testament and inventory of Luca Berrettini (26 December 1609 Cortona–20 June 1680 Rome)¹¹⁹

ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 10, Testamenti, 1 dicembre 1679, fols. 741r–742v, 747r

1741r | Testamentum domini Luca Berrettini

Die primo decembris 1679, indictione 2^a, pontificatus Innocentii XI anno quarto

Dominus Lucas Berrettinus, filius quondam Philippi cortonensis, lapicida in Urbe, mihi etc. cognitus, omnipotentis Dei gratia sanus mente, sensu, visu, auditu, loquela et intellectu ceterisque sensibus, corpore tamen infirmus, respectu casualis offensionis cum cicatrice in capite diebus preteritis receptę per lapsum seu revolutionis Clisii¹²⁰ ad Macella Corborum in lecto iacens, considerans casum suę futurę mortis, dum nil sit certius illa nilque incertius hora et puncto illius, volens proinde, dum mens sana est, animę suę consulere ac de rebus et bonis sibi a Deo collatis disponere, et ad huiusmodi effectum suum ultimum nuncupativum testamentum, quod de iure civili dicitur sine scriptis, condere et perficere censuit et decrevit, prout fecit et condidit ad effectum obviandi litibus et controversiis quę post eius obitum inter eius posteros et successores super eius hereditate et bonis exoriri possent, in hunc qui sequitur modum et formam videlicet:

Et primo, incipiendo ab anima, tanquam corpore nobiliori 1741v | cunctisque rebus humanis preferenda illam omnipotenti Deo et gloriosissime semper Virgini Matri Marię, devote et humiliter commendavit, ut mediantibus intercessionibus et meritis sanctorum Petri et Pauli aliorumque Apostolorum, beati Lucę Evangelistę, sancti Angeli sui custodis sanctorumque et sanctarum civium valeat pervenire ad eternam beatitudinem. Corpus vero suum, postquam anima ab eo separari contingerit, seppelliri voluit et iussit in venerabili ecclesia reverendorum patrum Sancti Adriani in foro Bovario Urbis, cum expositione sui cadaveris in dicta ecclesia omni etc.

Item. Vole et ordina che nel giorno della sua morte et esposizione del suo cadavere, se non vi sarà impedimento di festività solenne, o pure nelli susseguenti giorni e quanto prima sarà possibile, si facciano celebrare cento messe con la messa cantata et altre messe basse sino al detto numero nella detta chiesa di S. Adriano et alle chiese privilegiate di San Gregorio con il suo trentesimo, San Lorenzo fuor delle mura, Santa Maria Liberatrice et a Santa Prassede nella Cappella della Colonna di Nostro Signore, conforme al solito, e che intorno al suo cadavere mentre starà esposto in chiesa si pongono intorno dodici torce.

Item. Lascia alla chiesa sua parrocchiale tutto quello si li deve per raggion di seppoltura.

1742r | Alla compagnia di Santi Quattro, per raggion di legato, lascia scudi venticinque per una sol volta.

Altri scudi venticinque lascia parimente per raggion di legato alla Compagnia di Santa Croce in Cortona sua patria, per una sol volta.

A sor Maria Martina Berrettina sua sorella, monaca professa in San Gerolamo da Cortona, lascia scudi dodici annui sua vita durante, oltre l'altri assegnamenti da lui¹²¹ altre volte fatteli.

Item. Per raggion di legato et in ogn'altro miglior modo, lascia alla signora Elisabetta Caroni e suoi figlioli la casetta dove al presente habitano alli Pantani, contigua alla casa habitata da esso testatore, con obbligo di continuare e prestare all'heredi di esso testatore la medema servitù et assistenza a lui medemo sin'hora prestata, e con conditione che non possino affittarla ad altre persone, ma che habbino e debbano habitarla e ritenerla ad uso di habitatione per loro uso e servitio e non altrimenti; et in caso di contraventione il presente legato sia e si intenda nullo e di niun valore.

In tutti poi e singoli suoi beni mobili e stabili e semoventi, raggioni e crediti presenti e futuri¹²² fa, instituisce e di propria bocca nomina suo herede universal il signor Carlo Mascagni suo nepote, figliolo di Francesca Berrettini, lasciandoli 1742v | per raggion d'institutione et in ogn'altro miglior modo possibile tutto il suo havere e stato hereditario in tutto e per tutto, con facultà di vendere et alienare in ogni e qualunque suo bisogno et occorrenza, senza che sia astretto né possa essere astretto a far inventario né rendimento¹²³ di conti di sorte alcuna, con il peso però di sodisfare li sopradetti legati. Al quale Carlo herede nominato morendo senza figli legitimi e naturali sustituisce nelli beni e robbe di esso testatore, che si ritrovaranno e vi saranno nel tempo della morte del medesimo herede don Vittorio Mascagni, fratello carnale del medesimo Carlo, Filippo e Vincenzo Petroni, figli di Orsola, e Marco Antonio Sarcoli, figlio di Antonia Berrettini, altre sue sorelle e nepoti rispettivamente, acciò godino e debbano godere equalmente et unitamente l'heredità di esso testatore nel modo come sopra, volendo che la presente sustitutione e successione habbia il suo effetto in caso che il sopradetto Carlo mora senza figlioli et in quello che si ritrovarà doppo la di lui morte e non altrimenti 1747r | né in altra forma, riducendoli a memoria di pagar li canoni della casa.

E questo vuole che sia l'ultimo suo testamento e sua ultima volontà e dispositione, volendo che vagli per via di testamento nuncupativo, che di raggion civile si dice senza scritti, e se non valesse come tale vaglia per via di codicilli o donatione per causa di morte et in ogn'altro miglior modo possibile, cassando et annullando ogn'altro testamento e codicillo che havesse sin'hora fatti, volendo che il presente prevagli a tutti gl'altri et habbi il suo effetto in ogni miglior modo super quibus etc.

Actum Romę, domi solitę habitationis ipsius testatoris ad Pantanos iuxtas etc., ibidem per illustribus et admodum reverendis dominis canonico Marco Attilio et Cesare germanis fratibus de Panemollis, quondam Curtii, romanis; admodum reverendo domino Ioanne Simone Moschetto, filio quondam Francisci firmano, canonico lauretano; admodum reverendo domino Antonio Zoi, filio quondam Federici ex civitate Burgi Sancti Seppulcri [sic];

Dominico Pascasio, filio quondam Ioannis Thomę de Rosisololo, abbate farfense;

¹¹⁹ I thank Fabrizio Federici and Antonella Cesarini for their valuable help with the transcription of the documents.

¹²⁰ *Lettura incerta.*

¹²¹ lui] *scritto su correzione.*

¹²² *Segue lascia depennato.*

¹²³ rendimento] *nel testo, arrendimento con le lettere ar- depennate.*

Vincentio Blondo, filio quondam Francisci de Capranica Sutrinę diocesis, et Ioanne Berlinzono, filio quondam Hieronymi mutinense testibus.

Emilius Gottius Curię Capitolinę notarius rogatus.

Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 10, Istrumenti, 26 giugno 1680, fols. 254r–264r

1254r | Inventarium omnium bonorum hereditariorum quondam domini Lucę Berrettini

Die vigesima sexta iunii 1680

Hoc est inventarium omnium et singulorum bonorum, creditorum quoque et aliorum hereditariorum quondam Lucę Berrettini reperorum domi eius solite habitationis posite Romę ad Pantanos, in via¹²⁴ que a Salara vetere ducit ad Turrem de Comitibus, e conspectu stabuli novi Collegii Romani, iuxta eius nota latera, factum ad instantiam domini Caroli Mascagni, illius ex sorore nepotis ac heredis testamentarii beneficiati ex forma illius testamenti in actis rogatis ultimo decembris superioris anni 1679 ac instrumenti additionis hereditatis in eisdem actis mei etc. sub externa die rogatis, citatis et intimatis pro his die et hora omnibus presentis credi-1254v | toribus ac legatariis dicti quondam Lucę necnon aliis illius hereditatis interesse habere forsans preterentibus domi dimissa copia et per affissionem ad valvas respective facto dedit hic inserentis tenoris etc. et sunt infrascripta videlicet.

Nella sala

Cinque ritratti tela di tre palmi, tre con cornice d'albuccio bianche, e due senza, usati, ordinarii

Due paesi sopra porte con loro cornice imbrunite di negro con filetto d'oro usate ordinarii

Due altri quadrucci con loro cornice d'albuccio bianche usati ordinarii

Due paesini piccoli con cornice d'albuccio bianca ordinarii e vecchi

Un quadro con l'immagine della Beata Margherita da Cortona con sua cornice bianca ordinaria e vecchia

Due carti in disegno de palazzi, con cornice di albuccio vecchie

Un'altra carta stampata di cavalcata con cornice simile

Un sbozzo d'Assunta senza cornice vecchio

Tre quadrucci in tela di mezzo testa senza cornice, sbozzi, vecchi

1255r | Due teste con cornici bianche d'albuccio ordinarii usati

Due altri sbozzi assai ordinarii e vecchi, uno di tela nove e sette incirca, e l'altro d'imperatore

Diversi pezzi di gesso rappresentanti diverse teste e busti quasi tutti rotti, attaccati al muro verso la strada, con tre teste di gesso sul tavolino assai vecchie

Una tavola di noce con suoi tiratori assai vecchia

Un tavolino di pietra moderna giallo e negro con piedi di noce usati

Altri tre tavolini uno con tiratori et altri due senza, lisci et osati¹²⁵ vecchi

Quattro sediaci assai vecchie e rotte

Due casse di noce intagliate assai vecchie e tarmate

Due portiere di corame con suoi ferri assai vecchie

¹²⁴ via] scritto su correzione.

¹²⁵ osati] così nel testo per usati.

Una figura di terra piccola, modello del cavallo di Campidoglio, con due angelli piccoli, vecchi e rotti.

Nella prima stanza

Un apparato di corame dorato assai vecchio, con un pezzo d'arazzo parimente vecchio ordinario

1255v | Un tavolino commesso di alabastro fiorito con suoi piedi di legno negri

Un altro tavolino di pietra detta Porta Santa con piedi simili

Una lettiera di ferro ordinaria bassa con suoi pomi d'ottone e restiere di legno

Un inginocchiatore di noce usato

Quattro sedie vecchie e rotte, due di vacchetta e due di punto francese

Un quadruccio con testa del Salvatore con sua cornice indorata

Un sopracielo di tela assai vecchia verde sopra la detta lettiera

Un ritratto d'un huomo antico senza cornice ordinario

Un specchio

Un quadruccio ordinario del beato Luigi Consaga con cornice bianca

Un bustarello di pietra con sua testa

Un puttino di gesso con suo piede di pietra

Una cassa di noce liscia vecchia vota.

Nella seconda stanza

Nove sedie di vacchetta assai vecchie

1256r | Due cantarani di noce lisci et usati con quattro tiratori per ciascheduno con diverse bazzegole, collari e manichetti, et altro vecchio, con un faraiolo di scarlatto vecchio e tarmato in uno di detti cantarani, e nell'altro otto cammisce di tela casareccia vecchie e rotte, un faraiolo biscio di sai usato, et un altro di panno, et un altro di taffettano usati.

Nove quadrucci piccoli di veduta di campagne e copie ordinarie con cornice d'albuccio ordinarii vecchi

Un quadro tela di tre palmi con una donna e un putto, ordinario con cornice simile

Due carte di grandezza simile stampate con cornici simili

Due testerie in carta fatte con lapis con suoi vetri e cornicette d'albuccio bianche

Un paesino fatto d'acquarello con cornicetta nera vecchia

Un quadretto con melone con sua cornice bianca

Un sbozzo d'una Madonna, sette e cinque in circa, in tela, con sua cornice vecchia, di mano del 1256v | signor Pietro da Cortona

Una santa Catherina da Siena mezza figura, grandezza tre palmi incirca, dipinta in peperino, di mano del detto signor Pietro da Cortona

Un sbozzo di un quadro di s. Francesco con la Madonna da capo, altezza di tela da testa, con sua cornice indorata di mano di detto signor Pietro

Un altro sbozzo d'un busto d'una Madonna mano di detto signor Pietro, grandezza di tela da testa con sua cornice simile

Un altro sbozzo di mano del medesimo, fucina di Vulcano, tela di quattro palmi con sua cornice di albuccio bianco

Una copia con la medesima santa Martina, san Luca e san Francesco e la beata Margherita da Cortona, tela d'imperatore incirca, con cornice d'albuccio bianca

Un paesino sopra a porta, alto palmo uno largo palmi cinque, senza cornice

Un s. Carlo tela da testa ordinario senza cornice

Un san Filippo simile

Un David tela simile ordinario, con sua cornice d'albuccio bianca ordinario

1257r| Due teste di ritratti con sue cornici ordinarie vecchie dorate

Una copia con Madonna del Corregia con sua cornice color di noce, da testa incirca

Una Cananea copia di Carracci, tela da testa con cornice tinta di color di pietra

Quattro quadrucci di vedute, due dipinte due fatti d'acquarella ordinarii, con cornice d'albuccio imbrunite assai vecchie

Un tondarello piccolo con disegno s. Martina di mano del signor Pietro sudetto con cornice filettata d'oro

Un altro tondarello con sbizzo d'una testa in carta mano del sudetto con cornice d'albuccio bianca

Una copia rappresentante il Sacrificio di Zenofonte in tela di tre palmi con cornice d'albuccio bianca

Un sbizzo mano di Lorenzo Berrettini, rappresentante un sacrificio historia sacra di simil grandezza, con simil cornice

Quattro sbizzi di testa in carta, dipinti di mano del signor Pietro con cornice filettate d'oro testa

Un ritratto ordinario con sua cornice bianca d'albuccio 1257v| in ottangolo

Due sbizzi mano del signore Lorenzo sudetto, tela tre palmi in circa uno con l'Assunta, e l'altro d'una sala, con loro cornici d'albuccio bianche ordinarie

Un quadro ordinario rappresentante battaglia navale in tela d'imperatore incirca, con sua cornice bianca d'albuccio ordinaria

Otto altri quadretti piccolini ordinarii con cornici varie ordinarie, e parte senza, parte con disegni, e parte pitture, cose ordinarie

Un tavolino commesso di pietra detta Porta Santa con suo listello di negro intorno, con piedi di legno tinto negro

Un tavolino vecchio liscio di noce con suoi tiratori, sopra del quale vi sta un studioletto ordinario liscio

Due statuette di gesso tinte con color di bronzo rotte

Una arpietta di marmo mischia, con suo piedestallo sotto

Un ritratto busto rappresentante l'effigie del signor Pietro da Cortona di creta

Una medagliuccia con ritratto simile con cornicetta

Due portiere di corame vecchie con suoi ferri.

1258r| Nel stantolino mano manca attaccato detta stanza

Una lettiera di ferro con suoi pomi di legno dorati vecchi, con trabacca e tornaletto di bambace, robba assai grossa e vecchia, con cielo dipinto con s. Lorenzo e s. Martina, mano di Lorenzo Berrettini

Un apparato di corame indorato vecchio assai e rotto

Un tavolino di giallo e negro moderno con suoi piedi di legno negri

Un Crocifisso di bronzo con suo piede di pietra

Una pace di terra

Due lucernette d'ottone assai ordinarie e piccole

Una quadruccio piccolo con s. Francesco Saverio mezza figura, con cornicetta filettata d'oro

Due sotto coppe d'argento, di peso libre tre e nove once tutte due

Due candelieri pure d'argento di peso in tutto libre quattro e mezza

Sette posate d'argento, cioè sette forchette e sette cucciar, tre d'argento basso e piccole, e l'altre 1258v| quattro un poco più grosse d'argento bono

Una tazzetta d'argento¹²⁶ sottile e leggiere

Due bicchieri d'argento consimili, indorati dentro, piccoli e sottili

Una crocetta d'oro del cavalierato del signor Pietro con smalto in mezzo.

Nel stantolino attaccato il sudetto

Diverse carte di disegni d'accademia et architettura di poco valore, tutte rotte, con diversi libracci di poco valore

Due cassetine d'albuccio vote, lisce e vecchie

Un'altra tarmata e rotta, con una sedie di vacchetta vecchia

Un anello con un brilletto che portava il signor Luca

Dieci lenzoli sani et altri cinque rotti e vecchi e rappezzati

Tre cuperte di lana usate vecchie tarmate

Una di broccatello di Venetia con suo tornaletto simile assai vecchia

Una coperta rigata di filaticcio vecchia.

1259r| Nella prima stanza di sopra a soffitto che è la cucina

Rami

Un fuoncino di rame piccolo

Due concaline parimente di rame e sett'altri pezzetti di rame tutto vecchio e rotto, di peso in tutto di libre quarante cinque incirca

Un par di capofochi vecchi di ferro piccoli e rotti

Una graticola, soffietto, due padellucce

Una arcaccia vecchia.

Nella stanza contigua alla sopradetta

Una credenzaccia di noce vecchia tarmata e rotta, con sopra due candelieri d'ottone vecchi, due bacili parimente d'ottone vecchi, con tre boccie di stagno rotte sbusciate, con due¹²⁷ tondi di stagno con sei bicchieri di vetro

Quattro sediacce tutte vecchie e rotte

Un tavolinaccio con diversi piatti e fiaschi di terra

Diverse carte stampate et una tela da depingere

Una cassaccia

1259v| Quattro matarazzi vecchi lana ordinaria

Venti salviette usate di stoppa

Cinque tovaglie di tela ordinaria assai vecchie

Dodici fazzoletti di tela ordinaria e vecchia

Para otto di mutande vecchie e rotte

Due para di calzette di seta vecchie

Sei cortelli da tavola con manico d'osso

Una ovatta turchesca usata

Un vestitaccio vecchio da huomo biscio

Un'ungarina di panno negro usata

Un secchio di rame piccolo e vecchio.

Nelle stanze sotto il membro della casa habitata dalla signora

Elisabetta Caroni

Diversi pezzi di legnami.

Nella stalletta

Una cavalla per il calesse.

¹²⁶ *Seguono, depennate, le parole* consimili e indorate.

¹²⁷ due| *corretto su tre.*

Nel cortile o bottega di scarpellino sotto la casa del sudetto quondam Luca Berrettini
Un calesse
Una lapide di marmo vecchio, palmi lungo 10 e largo 6, sette pezzetti di alabastro della Tolfa
Due tavolini comessi nel marmo di pietra detta Porta Santa.

|262r| Un'arma ovata commessa vecchia, senza impresa
Un pezzo di travertino lungo 10 e largo palmi 2 e uno e mezzo largo
Un pezzo di breccia di Francia di palmi 7 incirca, largo palmo 1 ½
Un pezzo di marmo lungo palmi 19 ½, largo palmi 3, grosso 1
Due pezzi di diaspro di Sicilia lunghi palmi 6, larghi palmi 24, grossi palmo ½
Tre pezzi di¹²⁸ verde moderno di Portovenere
Un pezzetto di biscio antico
Una mezza colonna di giallo antico
Un altro pezzetto simile
Un pezzetto da alabastro fiorito antico
Un pezzetto di verde antico
Una tavola di negro antico, larga palmi 1 e once 10, grossa ¼, longa palmi 8
Un altro pezzo negro simile, lungo 6 ½, largo palmi 1 ⅙, grosso palmi ½
Diaspro di Sicilia due pezzi, lunghi assieme 7 palmi, larghi palmi 1 ⅓, grosso once 5.

|262v| Nello stantolino mano dritta nell'angolo del cortile a Capo
Due pezzetti di bianco e negro segati sottili
Due altri pezzetti simili d'alabastro fiorito
Due pezzettini piccoli di alabastro avena
Un pezzetto d'alabastro cotognino
Cinque pezzetti d'alabastro segati sottili
Quattro castranellette di biscio antico segate sottili
Una lastretta di breccia di Francia segata
Due pezzetti di alabastro orientale segati e messi nella lavagna
Dodici tavolette di verde antico inferiore segati sottili et altri diversi fragmenti e sminutie di pietra di varie sorti.

E più nel cortile, e bottega sudetta
Diversi fragmenti, pezzi e sminutie di diversi pezzi di pietre
E più cinque pezzetti di giallo antico
Un pezzo di marmo lungo palmi 13 ½, largo palmi 6 ½, grosso palmi 1
Un pezzo di bianco e negro moderno palmi otto ½ lungo e largo palmi 3 ½, grosso palmi ¼
|263r| Un altro pezzo simile lungo palmi 8 ½ e largo palmo 1, grosso palmi 1
Otto pezzi di peperino in strada, appoggiati parte nelle case sudette e parte alle cose d'incontro
Un pezzo di sperone

Due pulzonetti di rame per uso dell'arte di scarpellino, un manticello, un martello con incutine et un par di molle, una cocciaraccia da squagliare il piombo
Due pali di ferro, un grande e un piccolo
Tre squadre di ferro
Un picconcello di ferro
Numero 6 cavalletti di legno vecchi
Numero quattro *** [*spazio bianco*].

In cantina
Quattro botticelle cerchiate di ferro vecchie con due vettine da tener oglio.

Stabili
La casa da detto quondam Luca habitata, posta come sopra si è detto nel principio del presente inventario, distribuita in diversi membri
|263v| Una altra casa quasi incontro la sudetta accanto alle stalle nove
Un'altra casa in strada Alessandrina dentro i confini espressi nell'instrumento di possesso rogato per l'atti miei li 21 corrente
Un'altra casa in Cortona.

Crediti
Un cenzo di scudi cento dovuti da un certo Giulio Bernabei e sua moglie o altro più vero nome, da Castel Candolfo
Un altro cenzo di scudi cento contro Pietro Nocera
E più un altro cenzo di scudi cento con il medemo
Un altro cenzo di scudi cento contro Pietro Solari, ceduto al detto quondam Luca da Giacinto et altri fratelli Capulli
Un cambio di scudi cento contro Alfonso et altri de' Lucini
E più un altro cenzo di scudi cento contro Plautilla Cocchi.

Debiti
Le spese del funerale al parrochiano di SS. Chirico e Giuditta
|264r| E più quello si deve a Giovanni Battista de' Gaspari, per li medicamenti per il sudetto quondam Luca
E più alli canonisti delle case
E più a Brunoro carrettiere per prezzo del fieno dato per mantinimento della cavalla
Tutti li legati contenuti et espressi nel testamento del sudetto quondam Luca Berrettini.

Actum Romę in domo et monialibus suprascriptis ut sopra positus etc. presentibus etc. perillustribus et admodum [*parola mancante, forse*] dominis Antonio Zoio filio quondam Federici ex Civitate Burgi Sancti Sepulcri in Etruria et mastro Dominico Pascasio filio quondam Ioannis Thomę de Rusciolo abbate farfense testibus etc.

¹²⁸ di] *Seguono, depennate, le parole* marmo di longhezza palmi, di.

Abbreviations

AFSP	Archivio Storico Generale della Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano	ASR ASV	Archivio Stato di Roma Archivio Segreto Vaticano
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