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BERNINI'S BALDACCHINO RECONSIDERED*

Dedicated to Howard Hibbard

* The research for this essay was begun in 1969–1971 when I was the Samuel H. Kress Fellow at the Bibliotheca Hertziana. I should like especially to thank Wolfgang Lotz and Christof Thoenes, who have patiently supported the project from its inception. Professor Lotz's criticism of a late draft of the paper has been of enormous value. Don Cipriano Maria dott. Cipriani, Archivist of the *Reverenda Fabbrica* of St. Peter's, is owed a particular debt of gratitude for his tireless assistance in discussing documentary matters and meanings and for having provided un'ambiente amichevolissimo. Dr. Marc Worsdale shared with me his knowledge of Bernini's temporary decoration, kindly read a draft of the article, and offered valuable criticisms. He is currently preparing an exhaustive study of Bernini's ephemeral

designs for the interior of the basilica in relation to his evolving *concetti* for the *baldacchino*. My essay should be read, therefore, as the first of a three-part revision of the current view concerning the history of Bernini's structure. The third is my own book on the Baldachin, which will include the first full scientific investigation using photogrammetry and analysis of the bronze. Dr. Jennifer Montague also offered valuable advice. And Professor Howard Hibbard's acute reading of the final draft has greatly improved the article, which is dedicated to him in the hope that he will accept it as a token of my thanks for his support.

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I

Bernini's *baldacchino* is one of the best-known and most thoroughly studied seventeenth-century monuments (Fig. 1). It has justifiably been called the "frontespizio del Barocco"¹. Heinrich Thelen and Irving Lavin have recently devoted monographic studies to the structure and have clarified fundamental aspects of its genesis and function in the crossing of St. Peter's². It would seem that virtually every facet of the Baldachin's invention and fabrication has been exhaustively examined. Another reconsideration might hardly be expected, therefore, to offer any sound and novel analysis. Yet Howard Hibbard has pointed out that perhaps the most troublesome chapter in the current assessment of the *baldacchino* is that epoch from 1594 – when Clement VIII erected the permanent altar over the tomb of the Apostle – to 1624 – when Bernini was awarded the commission to design the permanent tomb-marker³. Further research in the decoration of the crossing during this period has revealed a substantial amount of new information. A rewriting of this crucial chapter has led to a reevaluation of the generally-held view regarding the Baldachin's evolution, which further clarifies our understanding of its iconographic and formal complexities. This essay seeks to shed new light on the fascinating development of Bernini's designs for the *baldacchino*, and is offered in celebration of the tercentenary of his death in 1680.

II

The history of the decoration of the crossing in St. Peter's following completion of the main dome in 1590 encompasses four distinct phases, which were coeval with the pontificates of Clement VIII (1592–1605), Paul V (1605–1621), Gregory XV (1621–1623), and Urban VIII (1623–1644). The various plans that were seriously con-

1 In Fagiolo dell'Arco, II (1978), 86.

2 This essay must be read in conjunction with their pioneering investigations of the crossing and the *baldacchino* (respectively (1967) and [1968]). The recent literature has been reviewed by Hibbard (1973, 127–130; see his statement regarding the published and unpublished sources [1971], 167).

3 (1973), 129.

sidered for the area from 1592 until Bernini's definitive design for the four piers was accepted in 1633 were part of the larger reorganization of the entire fabric and should be considered in direct relation to them. Previous discussions of the situation from 1594 to 1624 have focused attention on the physical alterations that supposedly took place, but were not fully informed of the actual events. They can now be reconstructed with greater precision, working from the new evidence⁴. Thus reevaluation of the genesis of Bernini's first *concetti* for the *baldacchino* should begin with a reconstruction of the major episodes that occurred in response to specific liturgical and architectural needs of the papacy in the area.

The following is commonly known about the crossing prior to 1594, but bears retelling, as it directly affects our reconstruction⁵. St. Peter's was originally built by Constantine to commemorate the traditional location of the grave of Christ's vicar and first Bishop. Its function as a martyrrium made Peter's burial site the principal point of pilgrimage in the basilica. Hence, a shrine was constructed over the tomb at the entrance to the apse. By 600, the shrine had been reworked and given the essential form it retained until the sixteenth century⁶. This second shrine consisted of a raised presbytery extending from the apse into the transept with side entrances to the tomb-crypt below. At the western end of the apse the Bishop's throne was installed as well as a bench, which ran around the wall. An altar-screen was set up at the eastern edge of the presbytery that employed six twisted marble columns, which had been originally used to form the screen and tomb enclosure around the tomb before it was covered by the elevated floor. And a ciborium of unknown design was positioned over the altar on the raised floor. Two centuries later, another set of six twisted columns was added as an outer screen. All twelve were universally thought to have been taken from the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem⁷. This shrine was kept essentially intact until

4 In addition to Don Cipriani, Mons. Francesco Vorliceck, Archivist of the A. C., is to be warmly thanked for having facilitated research there.

5 The situation is abridged in Lavin (1968), 4–5. See also Ward Perkins (1952), 21–25; Toynbee and Ward Perkins (1956), *passim*; and MOLLY TEASDALE SMITH, "The Development of the Altar Canopy in Rome." *RivArchChrist*, 50 (1974), 379–390.

6 See Lavin (1968), 4.

7 For the history of the legend see Ward Perkins (1952), 24.

Sixtus IV installed a replacement that remained *in situ* until at least 1581⁸.

After Bramante had begun the total remodeling of the basilica in 1506, he removed the outer column-screen and replaced it, most probably in 1513–1514, with a structure known as the *tiburio* or *tegurium* that protected the shrine and apsidal area from defacement while the colossal new building went up over it. The *tegurium* also symbolized in a temporary fashion the apostolic renovation of the spiritual church⁹. This huge structure remained in place until 1592, by which time it had outlived its several functions, for the crossing had been enclosed with the completion of the main dome. That August it, the old apse, and the shrine were demolished¹⁰. For the next two years, Clement VIII oversaw the modernization of the pavement in the crossing and adjacent areas, a project that had been undertaken by Gregory XIII. Finally, on 26 June 1594 Clement officiated at the dedication of a sumptuous new altar, which replaced the one that had been dismantled two years earlier¹¹. A temporary ciborium was built above it to reaffirm the primacy of the site, now fully exposed in the enormous open space¹².

This much is well known. And it is also universally held that Clement's new altar was given but a single ceremonial covering during his reign, and that a dilemma arose regarding the specific function of the site, as the pope was required to celebrate the solemn rites in close proximity to the apse even though the new altar was far

removed from the entrance to the western apse¹³. This view is, however, predicated on two misconceptions, which have colored all recent analyses. First, at least four temporary ciboria were built over the tomb between 1594 and 1605¹⁴. Secondly, Clement's *cappella pontificia* was in fact regularly celebrated according to the normal calendar of papal ceremonies at the high altar, not in the apse¹⁵. The ramifications of these two facts are manifold and should be carefully considered.

New St. Peter's was symbolically completed in May of 1590 when a special Mass was said to commemorate the completion of the dome¹⁶. Earlier that year, Sixtus had considered having the interior of the main cupola covered with paintings and an artist was engaged to provide samples¹⁷. One piece of visual evidence suggests what an early idea was (Fig. 2)¹⁸. The oculus of the lantern was to be filled with an image of God the Father supported by an angelic chorus, who rests His left hand on the globe while blessing with His right. Below Him, the sections of the inner skin, created by doubling the actual outer ribs of the cupola and articulating them accordingly, were to be

8 This shrine is illustrated in Lavin (1968), Fig. 18.

9 See J. SHEARMAN, "Il tiburio di Bramante", *Studi bramanteschi: atti del congresso internazionale, Milano-Urbino-Roma, 1970*, Rome (1974), 572–573.

10 See B.M. APOLLONJ GHETTI et al., *Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano*, Vatican City (1951), 207; Toynbee and Ward Perkins (1956), 225; and Waetzoldt (1964), 13.

11 The most exhaustive contemporary descriptions of the preparations for, and the actual celebration of, the service are to be found in the unpublished diaries of the *Maestri delle ceremonie* of the basilica, who were responsible for the organization: Alaleoni (Vat. lat. 12295), 311v–312r, and especially Mucanzio (Vat. lat. 12318), 101v–132r. My Bibliography lists three copies of Mucanzio; reference will generally be to the Vat. lat. one, which is a later, corrected version of the A.S. manuscript, and is in the best condition). For published commentary see F. Buonanni, *Numismata pontificum romanorum quae a tempore Martini V usque ad annum MDCXCIV*, 2 vols., Rome (1699), II, 462–463; A. d'Achille, *I sepolcri dei romani Pontifici*, Rome (1867), 20; and Grimaldi (1972), 204–205. This altar is referred to without exception as the "altare dei Santi Apostoli", that is, according to tradition, the burial site of both Peter and Paul (see Lavin [1968], 1, n. 1 for the erroneous legend).

12 See Thelen (1967), 16–17; Lavin (1968), 4; and Hibbard (1971), 116 for the generally-held view.

13 See Thelen (1967), 14; Lavin (1968), 5; and Hibbard (1971), 166, and (1973), 127. It should be noted that there were two outstanding models available to Bramante, and subsequently to Michelangelo, as each dealt with the complex relationships between the Petrine tomb and the new basilica – namely, Brunelleschi's designs for the high altar in Santa Maria del Fiore and in *Sto. Spirito*, Florence. In both cases, Brunelleschi conceived of a plan that would incorporate the altar directly beneath the main dome. Thus a significant precedent had been established by the mid-Quattrocento, a Tuscan one that undoubtedly affected the evolving situation in St. Peter's.

14 See Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 126–127 and Appendix, Documents I–IV.

15 Mucanzio (Vat. lat. 12318, 126r–127v) makes specific and detailed reference to the celebration of the *cappella* there. In 1605, when Paul V determined to move the principal site of the *cappella*, it was remarked that for the first time the *divina officia* was to be celebrated beside the newly erected altar in the apse and not, as had always been the case previously, next to the high altar (Appendix, Document VI, A, 1). The following discussion regarding the importance of the celebration of the *cappella* in the ongoing development of the decoration of the crossing and adjacent areas corroborates with documentation the penetrating analysis of the situation first made by Thelen (1967), 13–33.

16 See J. ACKERMAN, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2 vols., New York (1961), II, 96; and E. FRANCIA, *1506–1606: Storia della costruzione del nuovo San Pietro*, Rome (1977), 118–119. For a lengthy unpublished description see Mucanzio (Vat. lat. 12315), 226r–229v.

17 See Siebenhüner (1962), 289, n. 158.

18 Cesare Nebbia (although listed under Giuseppe Cesari), Louvre n. 2980, 517 × 407 mm., pen and wash on brown paper, stains; for the matter of the attribution see Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 125, n. 53).

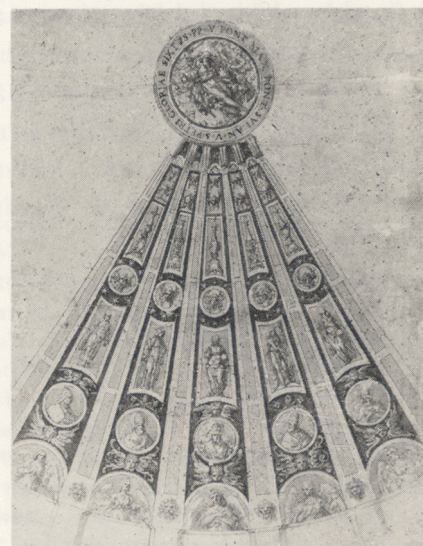
1. *St. Peter's. Interior view
looking west into the crossing*



decorated with an elaborate combination of devices¹⁹. In the upper half of the dome stars predominate and were to be complemented by images that, in descending order from the oculus, would have included: cherubim heads, the pascal candle, standing figures of Christ, the Virgin,

19 The sheet has indications that thirty-two ribs were originally intended; as eventually realized by Cesari with assistants from 1603–1612, the number was reduced by half, thereby following the actual external articulation of the cupola (see *Il Cavalier d'Arpino*, Exhibition, H. RÖTTGEN, Rome [1973], 119–122). This design was never executed; even so, it or a variant must have been available for consultation, as the dome in the Cappella Clementina, decorated in mosaic after drawings by Cristofano Roncalli in 1600–1601, employs many of the same features. Roncalli worked on the *tondi* of the main cupola at the same time and would have had access to this original scheme.

2. *St. Peter's. Unexecuted plan for the main cupola, Cesare Nebbia, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins*



and the Apostles, bust-length portraits of popes and patriarchs, and adoring angels in the lunettes at the base of each section. The fields were to be organized with an ornate combination of stucco frames. The actual painting was to be done in mosaic, and by mid-1590 a good deal of preparatory work had been carried out. The dedicatory inscription had been finished; the stucco stars ringing the oculus had been gold-leafed; the seraphim manufactured; and the large fields prepared for the images²⁰. Following Sixtus' death in April, though, nothing more was done until 1593, when Clement toyed with the idea of continuing the project. But the commission was not finally awarded until a decade later, at which time the program was somewhat reworked and the elaborate decoration finally affixed in mosaic²¹.

The drawing represents what may well have been the initial program for Christendom's grandest cupola. The general theme reiterates the message bound up in Sixtus' comprehensive reform of the entire city and the Vatican complex²². The basilica's supreme architectural component was to be completed by the adornment of the dome as a glittering canopy whose scheme was devised to exalt the supremacy of the Church and the victory of the Catholic cause. God the Father was to preside over the earthly founders of His world. The program extolled the glorious reconquest of the old order and transformed the cupola into an immense heavenly dome, which would float above the pilgrim and remind him of the principal function of the basilica as martyrrium²³. And the decision to decorate the cupola in mosaic reinforced the iconographic ties to an Early Christian tradition in which these historical verities were heralded²⁴.

The program depicted in the drawing was surely meant to be viewed as a visual analogue to one of the fundamental premises upon which the reconstituted Church, as defined by the new historicism of the period, was based. The intellectual mood in Rome shaped, and was shaped by, the publication of Cesare Baronio's compendious *Annales Ecclesiastici*, which presents on a cosmological scale the supreme historical vision of Catholicism that was emerging²⁵. Baronio's thesis was that "history

proved, paradoxically, that the Roman Church had no history, that it had never changed, but was utterly invulnerable to the erosion of the centuries"²⁶. Baronio's goal was to show beyond a shadow of a doubt that the ultimate temporal ruler of the political and social order was the pope. The sovereignty established by Christ through Peter was, according to Baronio, reconfirmed by Constantine and had remained invincible ever since. His world-view sanctified the papal authority, yet the articulation of this view owed its genesis in large part to the philosophy of the Oratorians, who were led by their founder Filippo Neri, the popularizer of Christianity in Rome during the second half of the century. Neri's pulpit was the piazza, but his vision was universal in that he advocated a return to the taproots of the Church, in which the pontiff would once more be unquestionably recognized as the supreme ruler. Obviously, this doctrine appealed to the Vatican. Baronio's *Annales* were written in the Oratory's new quarters in Santa Maria in Vallicella at the active behest of Neri. The first volume appeared in 1588, and was so well received by Sixtus that the project was immediately taken under papal supervision²⁷. This greatly assisted both the Catholic and the Oratorian causes, and laid the groundwork for the eventual re-emergence of complete absolutism, in principle at least, under Urban VIII²⁸. In 1590, though, Sixtus would have found special significance in the proposed arrangement of God the Father, the dedicatory inscription, and the historical figures in the main cupola of St. Peter's as an immense illustration of the thesis propagandized by Baronio.

The propagation of the Church triumphant was a cornerstone of Sixtus' polity. A constant reminder of the roots of that tradition was still to be seen in 1590 beneath the main dome inside the *tegurium*. The structure housed the most sacred elements of the Constantinian basilica – the high altar and ciborium, the seventh-century screen with its six twisted columns, the bishop's throne and apsidal mosaic. The mosaic was thought to be thirteenth-century and was quite ornate. It portrayed, in two registers, the heavenly and earthly city of God²⁹. Christ was shown seated, in the act of benediction, in the center of the upper

20 See Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 125, 353; from the outset, it was intended that the interior be covered in mosaic.

21 See *supra* n. 19.

22 See especially Hibbard (1971), 12–17.

23 See H. SEDLMAYR, *Epochen und Werke*, 2 vols., Berlin (1959–1960), II, 13–16; and Siebenhüner (1962), 300–301.

24 See Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 127–128.

25 The literature on Baronio has recently been summarized in C. K. PULLAPILLY, *Caesar Baronius, Counter-Reformation Historian*, Notre Dame and London (1975), 206–216.

26 W. J. Bouwsma, "The Baroque in Italian Cultural History", an unpublished lecture delivered at Amherst College, April, 1974. Professor Bouwsma graciously gave permission to quote from his talk.

27 See Pullapilly, *Baronius*, 49–56.

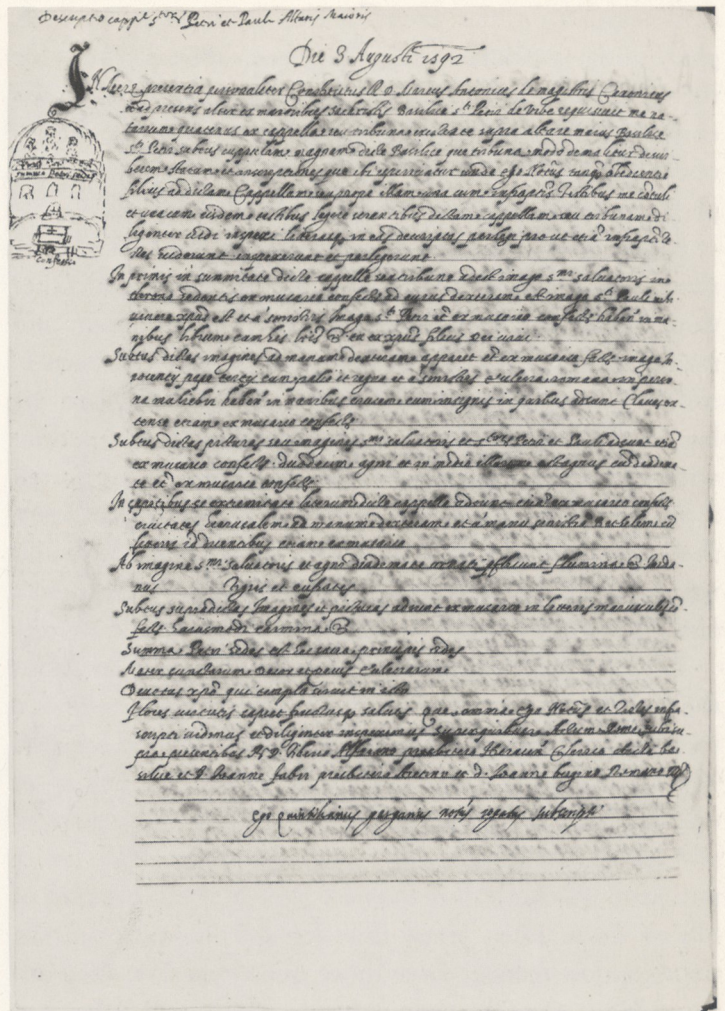
28 See JUDITH A. HOOK, "Urban VIII, the Paradox of a Spiritual Monarchy", *The Courts of Europe*, New York (1977), 213–218.

29 See Toynbee and Ward Perkins (1956), 212; Waetzoldt (1964), 14, 17, n. 913; and Grimaldi (1972), 195–198.

register. He was covered above by the celestial canopy and was flanked by the standing figures of Peter and Paul as well as two palm trees. Directly below Christ, in the lower register, was the Agnus Dei, which was framed by twelve Apostle-lambs and the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The symbolism of the mosaic focused on the fountainhead of the Church in the capitals of the Jews and the Gentiles, and upon the Heavenly Majesty. The awning pattern of the small canopy was the compositional keystone of the ensemble, and took over in shape and meaning the official presentation of the Emperor. Judging by the various copies made just before its demolition, the mosaic must have been splendid³⁰.

The final decision to tear down the *tegurium* and its contents was not made until 1592. That August, several authorized descriptions of the mosaic were drawn up, so that its general character would at least be retained (Fig. 3)³¹. Shortly thereafter, Clement contemplated completing the decoration of the cupola, following the program that had been established by Sixtus. By the spring of 1594, plans had been carried out for the total modernization of the area above the tomb on the recently installed pavement³². The spirit of the mosaic's and the dome's messages undoubtedly was a catalyst in the deliberations that led, as we shall see, to the substantially altered design for the adornment of the site once it had been reconsecrated.

The rededication of the high altar on 26 June 1594, the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, was a major papal celebration. Clement officiated at a sung Mass and was attended by thirty-eight Cardinals, the Curia, and an enormous



3. St. Peter's. Description of the mosaic in the constantinian apse, 1592, Biblioteca Vaticana

throng of Romans³³. The pope's *cappella pontificia* was celebrated at the altar³⁴; upon entering the basilica for the service, he sat on his chair and was carried into the crossing, whence he ascended to the altar for the Mass³⁵. The Mass included an intricate ritual for the consecration and sanctification of the altar itself, which had been prepared by the *Capitolo*³⁶. The *mensa* was a large marble slab that had been transported from the forum of Nerva; an inscription was cut into the side of it along the west face,

30 See K. LEHMANN, "The Dome of Heaven", *ArtBull*, XXVII (1945), 21–24; and E. B. SMITH, *The Dome, A Study in the History of Ideas*, Princeton (1950), 68, 72.

31 B. V., Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, armadi 16–18, privilegi e atti notarili, vol. 39, 45 v. This description may be added to those already published (J. CIAMPINUS, *De Sacris Aedificiis a Constantino Magno Constructis, Synopsis Historica*, Rome (1693), 47–48; Waetzoldt (1964), 13; and Grimaldi (1972), 195–198. It is virtually identical to the others. The marginal sketch is of special interest; it was hastily done and is obviously the work of a nonprofessional. The area is shown stripped of its seventh-century screen and ciborium. The *cathedra* is still in place, as well as the mosaic. The *confessio* is also noted in summary fashion. There are a number of curious features, not the least of which is the inclusion of three rather than five windows and the poorly-handled rendering of the mosaic. Even so, the foglio is a modest contribution to the large body of primary material that treats the demolition. (Professor Richard Krautheimer generously discussed the drawing with me in written correspondence.)

32 See Hibbard (1971), 165.

33 The most elaborate description of both the preparations and the service is Mucanzio's (Vat. lat. 12318), 101 r–136 r. The following is a synopsis drawn from it.

34 See Mucanzio (Vat. lat. 12318), 102 r. The "ordine delle ceremonie" is written in Italian (101 v–108 r) and Latin (108 r–126 v); the actual service is recorded only in the latter.

35 See Mucanzio (Vat. lat. 12318), 128 r; and Grimaldi (1972), 204–205.

36 The ritual is detailed *in extenso* by Mucanzio (Vat. lat. 12318), 128 v–131 v. For an illustration of the altar, without the ciborium, see the medal that was struck on the occasion (Siebenhüner [1962], Fig. 31).

commemorating the event³⁷. The reconsecration took place under a ciborium that had been especially built for the ceremony. It was made of wood and canvas, and was constructed as a temporary measure so that the service could be held as planned³⁸. It was to be replaced later by a permanent one made either of marble or of metal³⁹.

A substantial amount is known about the first temporary ciborium; the reconstruction of its form and function reveals the revolutionary nature of its design and meaning. The ciborium of Sixtus IV, which had been *in situ* for over one hundred years, had conformed to the basic type, employed since the old basilica's construction, with its rectangular form of four columns that supported a cupola⁴⁰. The dome was placed on a rectangular drum that was decorated with scenes from the life of Peter and single-figure representations of the Apostles⁴¹. Clement's first ciborium evidently broke with this age-old tradition.

The documents give the following information about the form of that ciborium⁴². It was constructed of a wooden armature that was covered with a canvas canopy. The armature consisted of eight columns which were set on bases and topped by capitals made of *carta pesta*; and the canopy was decorated with paintings. The entire structure was built over the new altar in the short span of eleven days. Even given this detailed information, the construction records raise more questions than they answer: How were the eight columns employed? What was the theme of the decoration? And how did the ciborium appear to the assembled crowd at the rededication? There is one tantalizing visual indication of the structure's appearance, which may well record Clement's first ciborium and consequently be of great value in unraveling the complicated situation.

A drawing exists that represents, when compared with the building records, what the basic form of the ciborium could have been. The drawing itself was executed in the second half of the seventeenth century⁴³. The ciborium is drawn on very thin paper, which indicates that it could easily have been traced (Fig. 4); and it includes specific references to Clement VIII and high altar. The sheet shows a fantastically decorated structure that is octagonal. The typology of the design is not in itself revolutionary; precedents were commonly known⁴⁴. What is astonishing is the combination of decorative elements, their overall effect, and the use of such a shape at the high altar in St. Peter's. The superstructure is supported by eight slender columns, the bases of which carry the escutcheon of the Aldobrandini pope. The canopy is also held aloft by eight angles, who stand on the socles and hold onto the columns. Six of them display either a censer or an incense boat. The columns appear to be straight poles with some form of scroll wrapped around the upper half. The bases are joined together by a balustrade which also supports two candles between each of the four pairs. The area enclosed by the canopy has four entrances, the principal one taken up by an altar that is reached by six steps⁴⁵. The space immediately in front of it is covered by an awning that projects from the armature. The entire ciborium seems to flutter in its ephemeral transparency.

The evanescent ciborium encloses what appears to be the high altar of St. Peter's. This identification is proposed because the distinctly worked cross that reposes with the six candlesticks on the altar table is similar in its main outlines to the cross included in the altar service that Cardinal Alessandro Farnese presented to the basilica in 1581⁴⁶. From the time of its presentation, the service was

37 The history and the inscription of the slab are recorded in Mucanzio (Vat. lat. 12318), 126r–127r; Buonanni, *Numismata*, II, 463; D'Achille, *Sepolcri*, 20; and Grimaldi (1972), 205. The inscription can still be clearly seen on the upper edge of the west face; four Aldobrandini stars are set beneath it, with an additional four on the east face and two each on the shorter flanks. Everything is done in bronze.

38 For the payment records of work done see Appendix I, A. Mucanzio noted that the ciborium was built in the last days before the consecration and that of necessity temporary materials had to be employed (Vat. lat. 12318, 126v).

39 See Appendix I, B; Mucanzio indicated that the architect planned to construct another one "ex marmore vel ex metallo" as soon as possible after the service (Vat. lat. 12318, 126v). Nothing ever came of this project, although the idea of installing a permanent structure over the tomb can be traced to this date.

40 See Siebenhüner (1962), 299; and Lavin (1967), Fig. 18.

41 See Siebenhüner (1962), 299.

42 Appendix I, A.

43 Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, THC, 2003, 371 × 260 mm., pen and wash over pencil; for a discussion of the dating, see Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 127, n. 64. The sheet is in the Tessin collection, which includes several mid-seventeenth century copies of earlier notable drawings, so the proposal that this one is also a copy would be plausible. (See R. JOSEPHSON, *Tessin*, 2 vols., Stockholm (1930–1931), *passim*.)

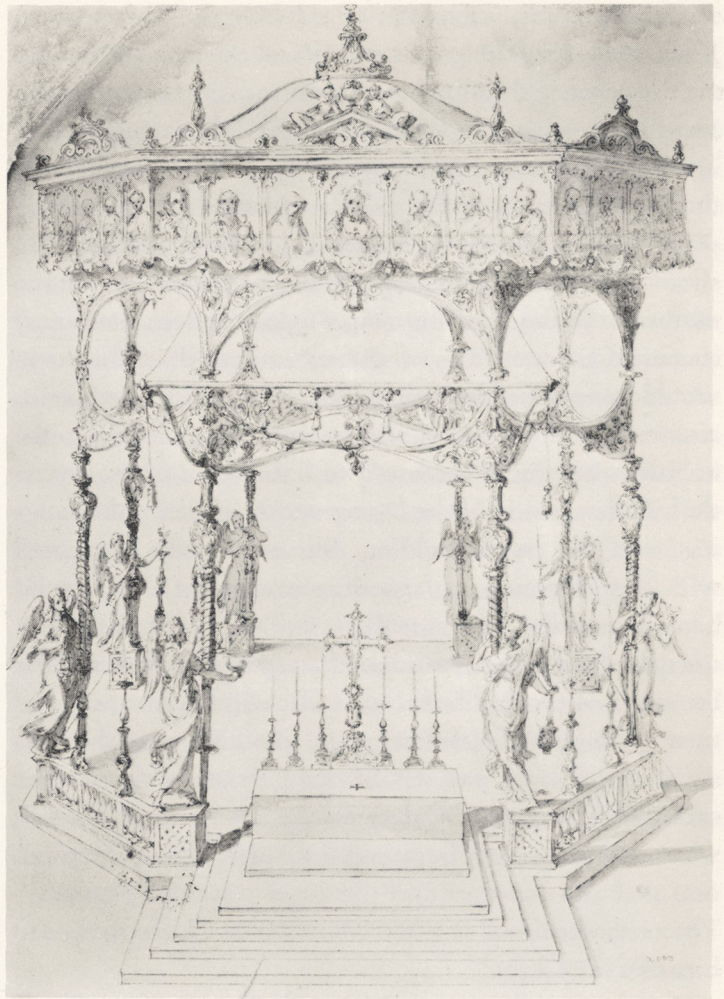
44 For the fifteenth-century iconography, see S. SINDING-LARSEN, "Some Functional and Iconographical Aspects of the Centralized Church in the Italian Renaissance", *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 2 (1965), Plate Vc–d, and 223–227.

45 Actually, the altar is reached by seven steps. There are other apparent discrepancies between the drawing and the construction records; most noticeable is the absence of "basi, delle foglie et capitelli" for the columns as shown. Yet there is a substantial amount of evidence beyond the inclusion of the Aldobrandini *stemma* that argues for the probable identification: see *infra*.

46 See W. LOTZ, "Antonio Gentili or Manno Sbarri", *ArtBull*, XXXIII (1951), 260–262; J. F. HAYWARD, "Roman Drawings for

exclusively used on the high altar; this policy was strictly enforced by the *Capitolo* during Clement's pontificate⁴⁷. Hence, if the drawing does copy and illustrate the ciborium as built for the dedication in 1594, then we are confronted with a most valuable record.

The probability that the drawing is a reliable copy of a late sixteenth-century design is strengthened when the identification of the paintings is made. The superstructure is composed of a shallow dome, which is topped by a cross and an octagonal cornice from which the tasseled canopy is hung. A pediment has been positioned on top of the cornice directly over the cross; two angels recline on it. The hanging is decorated with a series of half-length figures. The number alternates in a 5-7-5 pattern with the larger group placed above each of the four entrances to the altar. The unknown draughtsman has presumably depicted the west face of the ciborium⁴⁸. Of the seven figures, five are shown in precisely the same relative positions that they hold in the cupola sheet (Fig. 2) – Peter, the Virgin, Christ, John the Baptist, and Paul⁴⁹. Thus it would seem that the theme of martyrdom was heightened and the didactic function of the ciborium as tomb-marker



4. *St. Peter's Seventeenth-century copy of the 1594 ciborium built at the high altar (?), Stockholm, Nationalmuseum*

Goldsmiths' Work in the Victoria and Albert Museum", *BurlMag*, CXIX (1977), 412–416; and W. Lorz, "Letter to the Editor", *BurlMag*, CXIX (1977), 715. The drawing shows the uppermost section of the cross set directly on its base without the section of the four, standing female figures. The distinctive fleur-de-lys patterning of the cross itself is clearly visible. For an illustration of the full cross, with the various elements added under Urban VIII, see *The Complete Works of Michelangelo*, New York (n.d.), 514, Fig. 66.

47 "... la croce bellissima, che non si mette mai in altro altare che in questo [altare maggiore]" (Mucanzio, Vat. lat. 12318, 602v; see also 659r–v for the Latin text. This description is included in the comprehensive commentary on the canonization service of St. Raymond that was held on 29 April 1601).

48 The altar is now positioned at the eastern edge of the area covered by Bernini's *baldacchino*, the same location it has no doubt held since its installation in 1594 (see Hibbard [1971], Fig. 70a, and Toynbee and Ward Perkins [1956] Fig. 25). The top step runs around the north, west, and south faces only, which is what the drawing shows.

49 The additional figures are John the Evangelist, who is placed between Peter and the Virgin, and evidently James the Great. Above this tasseled canopy is a small pediment on which two angels repose. Their inclusion signals the first known appearance of the device. Later in the decade, paired marble angels were set above the pediments in the seven most venerated altars of the basilica, including the main altar in the Cappella Clementina. But perhaps the single-most noteworthy precedent for the inclusion of the standing angels was their incorporation in the confessio of the old basilica. According to an account of that decorative scheme, which was still popular as late as the 1630's, "Leone III vi pose due angeli grandi d'argento, uno a destra parte, l'altro alla sinistra." ("Breve relatione del sito, qualità, e forma antica della confessione sacratissima", A.S.V., Fondo Borghese, Serie IV, vol. 121, 164v; published without specific archival reference in F. BUONANNI, *Numis-*

made manifest, especially when it is remembered that the programmatic scheme depicted here is different from the Petrine theme of the Sistine ciborium⁵⁰. What would have been recalled, rather, was the function of the Early Christian ciborium.

mata summorum pontificum templi vaticani fabricam indicantia, Rome [1696], 191 ff., see also Lavin [1968], 14, n. 62.)

They reappear with variation in the temporary ciboria constructed for the several canonization services that took place (see Lavin [1968], Fig. 2; in 1625 they were set above the papal throne [Fig. 30]). Thus their inclusion was of special iconographical importance to the papacy. Further, according to at least one contemporary source, the altar of the Holy Sacrament in S. Giovanni in Laterano, which Lavin sees as a crucial link in the development of Bernini's *conchetto* ([1968], 16–19), was also originally conceived to include two reclining angels on the outer edges of the pediment above it. They in turn would have flanked the risen Christ, who is the central figure in the fresco of *the Ascension* above the altar complex (see Buonanni, *Numismata*, II, 457, Fig. IX, which is an engraving of the medal struck for the dedication in 1600). Eventually, this device was incorporated by Bernini in his early design for the *baldacchino* (Lavin [1968], Fig. 31).

50 For which see Siebenhüner (1962), 299.

The temporary ciborium raised over the high altar in June, 1594, was designed to illustrate the resanctification of the principal point of pilgrimage in St. Peter's in accordance with specific iconographic allusions. The use, in all probability, of an octagonal shape broke with tradition in St. Peter's, as did the alteration of the decorative program. Yet these transformations of form and meaning should be seen in the context of the exigencies of the moment. If the drawing (Fig. 4) does reflect the actual shape and decoration of the ciborium, then the form would have been recognized as having expressed in its structure a huge tabernacle, concurrently housing the host for the special ceremony and the spirit of the Apostle⁵¹. The inclusion of the Deesis and Apostles in the hanging, and the angels holding objects directly associated with the Mass and the sanctification of the altar, would have intensified the immediate and cosmological intentions of the design. For it was through the activities of the founders of God's Church that His will became law, and now through the rededication of the high altar that His spiritual Church was reconfirmed through the Petrine office. At least one witness to the ceremony, however, was more impressed by another feature of the ciborium, one that the architect and the pope certainly planned⁵². The observer noted that the ciborium distinctly reminded him of a catafalque⁵³.

Two outstanding catafalques had been built in Rome shortly before 1594; they could have been seen and subsequently remembered by the observer when he commented on the ciborium of 1594. Sixtus V's corpse had been provisionally interred in St. Peter's for over one year before it was transported on 20 August 1591 to Santa Maria Maggiore, where it was given a sumptuous burial in his own chapel⁵⁴. By all accounts, the pomp befitted the

memory of the man who had singlehandedly transformed the urban physiognomy of Rome in the service of a higher good. The entire basilica was transformed into a richly ornate *theatrum* in which the catafalque was preeminent. Its design incorporated the major architectural success of Sixtus' pontificate; it was built to resemble a circular temple, whose dome was a miniaturization of St. Peter's main cupola. The dome was supported by six paired, free-standing columns; in front of each pair a standing Virtue was placed who guarded the bier. Anyone who witnessed the ceremony must have been staggered by the brilliantly conceived catafalque. Subsequently, on 3 April 1593, Duke Alessandro Farnese's obsequies were held in Santa Maria in Aracoeli. His catafalque was octagonal, and although not as rich as Sixtus', was, nonetheless, extremely beautiful to behold. It, too, had tremendous impact on the citizenry⁵⁵. Undoubtedly, an informed viewer looking at the temporary ciborium constructed over the high altar in St. Peter's in June, 1594, would have responded to specific allusions to the catafalque-type that were included in the design, allusions that were fundamental to the rededication itself. It would appear then that the first temporary ciborium was conceived to reaffirm in its design the primary function of the basilica; to serve as an emblematic signpost for the participants in the service, illuminating the doctrine of the Eucharist; and to symbolize the historical importance of the site. In turn, its form, unparalleled in the history of the decoration of the grave, was to be adapted later under Paul V; and its eucharistic symbolism was to become essential in the final organization of the space by Bernini.

The circumstances that led to the construction of the ciborium in June, 1594, must have been unique. The particular demands of the rededication service evidently required that an octagonal structure be built which would visually proclaim the significance of the occasion. Whether the revolutionary design was to be retained can only be conjectured. It is known, however, that by September of the same year it had been decided to replace the temporary structure with a permanent one constructed in marble. A significant amount of money was spent during the following four months to procure large quantities of *pietre mischie* and white marble. Nothing came of the grand plan, though, and the materials lay unused behind the basilica where they were eventually inventoried in 1605⁵⁶. Perhaps the decision to construct a lasting memo-

51 Since at least the year 1592, the Santissimo Sacramento had been housed in the Cappella Gregoriana. The octagonal shape was commonly used at the time for portable tabernacles; see, for example, G. B. MONTANO, *Tabernacoli diversi nuovamente inventati*, Rome (1628), *passim*; J. BRAUN, *Der christliche Altar*, 2 vols., Munich (1964), II, 639-654. A noteworthy precedent was to be seen in the tabernacle that was constructed in Sixtus V's chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore around 1590; it incorporated four standing angels who hold it aloft (see K. SCHWAGER, "Zur Bautätigkeit Sixtus V an S. Maria Maggiore in Rom", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae*, Rome [1961], 344-346). For the specific association of the angels with the tabernacle, see S. CARLO BORRAMEO, *Arte Sacra*, ed. Mons. C. Castiglioni, Milan (1952), 38.

52 The designer is not named. Giacomo della Porta was architect of the basilica during this period and may well have been responsible for it (see Hibbard [1971], 155).

53 See Orbaan (1920), 47-48.

54 See Fagiolo dell'Arco, I (1977), 3-9 for a comprehensive description and illustrations; and O. BERENDSEN, *The Italian Sixteenth-*

and Seventeenth-Century Catafalques, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University (1961), 110-113, 166-169.

55 See Berendsen, "Catafalques", 117-119, 168.

56 See Appendix I, B, 1-2.

rial over the high altar included the transformation of the design to the more traditional, rectangular one. In any case, this more conservative form became from 1605 on the one exclusively used at the high altar, but not before, it would seem, another example of the octagonal catafalque-type was employed.

Between 1595 and Clement's death in 1605, at least three more provisional ciboria were constructed over the high altar. Records exist for the ones built in 1597, 1598, and 1600, as well as for one that was begun in 1603 but apparently not completed⁵⁷. Although there is no visual indication of their appearance, each one was composed of wood and *carta pesta*, and was elaborately decorated. The building costs were approximately the same, which may indicate that in size and richness of ornament they were roughly similar to the ciborium of 1594⁵⁸. Of the three actually constructed, the canopy of 1598 is the most fully described and is of considerable interest, as it, too, could well have been designed to resemble a catafalque.

This ciborium⁵⁹ consisted of a canopy with a cornice and an architrave that were held aloft by eight columns and an additional eight pilasters, all of which were painted to resemble marble. Four Apostles were set somewhere in fictive niches; and the inside of the cupola contained a heavenly sky with four angels in the company of God the Father. In its intricately orchestrated use of columns, pilasters, and *tromp-l'oeil* effects, the structure may have looked like Sixtus' catafalque, which was composed of paired free-standing columns placed in front of pilasters that supported entrances to the inner space. Regardless what its actual design was – and the complete absence of any indication of its form is most lamentable – the ciborium must have been octagonally shaped in order to accommodate the architectural elements. Unquestionably, it was more complex than the one it replaced, which had been installed a year earlier and had been built, it seems, on a rectangular base⁶⁰.

For the Jubilee of 1600, Clement had yet another tomb- and altar-marker installed over the altar, whose outlines also defy detection. It, too, was richly

ornamented⁶¹. Even though the actual appearance of these four constructed ciboria cannot be definitely retrieved, there can be no question that the four structures were quite elaborate⁶². Given their ornate design, complicated nature, and fragile state, one can understand why so many ciboria were built in such a relatively short period. Further, the evidence leads one to conclude that on at least two occasions an octagonal canopy was built. In the first instance, the design reiterated the significance of the rededication; in the second, it reconfirmed the historical primacy of the site. In each case, the decoration no doubt included reference to the planned program for the main cupola and also alluded to the message of the mosaic in the old apse. The incorporation of the revolutionary design is understandable in the context of Clement's scheme for the redecoration of the entire basilica⁶³. The inclusion of Early Christian meaning in the provisional ciboria continued the fundamental ideas upon which the physical and spiritual St. Peter's had been founded. And the revolutionary octagonal plan created the clear impression of an enormous tabernacle *cum* catafalque, which housed the Holy Sacrament and the pope on special feast days, and the Petrine spirit constantly⁶⁴.

61 See Appendix IV, 1–2.

62 This decoration should also be considered in the context of the mosaicking of the pendentives of the main cupola, which preoccupied several artists in 1598–1599, see Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 126.

63 See Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 125–147.

64 Pontifical Mass was said there on every major feast day of the calendar (see *infra* n. 69 for each one; and Mucanzio and Alaleoni [*s.v.*]). The design of 1594 could well have been intended to recall the marker over Christ's tomb in Jerusalem, which was known to have been similar in its form (see Smith, "Development", 388–390). A consideration of the dissemination of the twisted-column motif in the early Seicento lies outside the scope of this essay (see TOYNBEE and WARD PERKINS [1956], 249–251).

Nevertheless, it should be remarked that the device (complete with its entablature) was incorporated in the design for a catafalque that was built in 1601 in Rome (see *Libri di immagini, disegni, e incisioni di Giovanni Guerra*, Exhibition, Modena [1978], n. 75, Fig. LIII). Rubens also employed it extensively throughout his career from his Italian period on (see A. BLUNT, "Rubens and Architecture", *BurlMag*, CXIX [1978], 613). Inevitably, the use of the motif returned to a common source (which was clearly remembered from the original altar screen that was dismantled in 1592, and was to be seen once more in St. Peter's after 1605 in the reconstructed one [see *infra*]). Raphael's incorporation of the device in the Sistine tapestries was of the utmost importance for the continuation of the tradition, which Rubens encountered when he first saw a set of the tapestries in Mantua (see *Rubens a Mantova*, Exhibition, Mantua, 1977, p. 20).

57 Respectively, Appendix II, III, IV, V.

58 ∇ 1017.81 in 1594; ∇ 934.69 in 1597; and ∇ 821.18 in 1600. There may have been other, hidden costs that were included in the monthly salaries paid to the various workers who were regularly employed by the *Fabbrica*, and hence not registered as such in the A. F. records. Significantly, the only bills found so far for the one of 1598 are for painting done, which amounted to only ∇ 140, and not for its construction.

59 For the following, see Appendix III, 1–12; for the questions of the dating, see Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 126, n. 60c.

60 The four bases were made of *carta pesta* (Appendix II, 2).

III

All of Clement's ciboria were constructed over the high altar as temporary structures. Ultimately, the silhouettes of only two of them can be cut with any certainty. The situation is markedly different, on the other hand, for Paul V's pontificate. The current view regarding the alterations which took place in the crossing is that the pope, still motivated by the necessity of celebrating Mass in the apse, moved the high altar into it where another temporary ciborium was installed; and that he identified the exposed grave with a radically different type of honorific marker – a *baldacchino*⁶⁵. He did indeed construct a baldachin, one that remained in place until his death. But it can now be conclusively shown that he never moved the Clementine altar. To be sure, discussions were intermittently held for seventeen months following Paul's election in May, 1605, concerning the feasibility of relocating the altar in the apse⁶⁶, but the decision was never made. Consequently, the marble altar dedicated by Clement in 1594 remained *in situ* and retained its liturgical preeminence, the position it has uninterruptedly held to this day⁶⁷. What Paul actually authorized was the celebration of the *cappella pontificia* in the apse where a second, newly-built wooden altar was used⁶⁸. He determined for various reasons to employ this new altar regularly; he reserved the Clementine high altar for special feast days, when custom obliged him to officiate a papal Mass at the site⁶⁹. Consideration of this historic move will make clear to what extent the revolutionary precedents established by Clement were, in part, developed by Paul, and how, in

65 See Thelen (1967), 24–28; Lavin (1968), 4–5; and Hibbard (1971), 166, and (1973), 127–128.

66 See the *avvisi* published in Hibbard (1971), 185 (18, 21 January 1606), and 169 (4 October).

67 The altar is exclusively identified from 1594 on as the “altare maius Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli” (see, for instance, Appendix VI, A, 1, and B, 1; in addition, Mucanzio and Alaleoni [*passim*]).

68 This altar is constantly referred to in the diaries as the “altare ligneo fictitio ad Cappellam” (see, for example, Appendix VI, A, 1, 4; in addition, Mucanzio and Alaleoni [*passim*]).

69 A reading of the relevant entries in the diaries reveals that the Curia persuaded Paul in early January, 1607 (by which time all the decorative embellishments had been installed in the crossing and the apse) to continue the tradition of celebrating a Pontifical Mass at the high altar on the eleven most holy days in the calendar: Epiphany, 18 January (Cathedra of St. Peter), Easter, Ascension, Pentacost, Corpus Domini, 28 June (Eve of Sts. Peter's and Paul's Day), 29 June, All Saints' Day, Christmas Eve, and Christmas. Paul celebrated Mass at the high altar on each of those days every year thereafter. All other papal Masses were held at the “altare fictitio ad Cappellam” (see Mucanzio and Alaleoni [*s. v.*, *passim*]).

turn, Paul's decision to decorate the apse was of such significance for Bernini when he confronted the problem of designing the permanent tomb-marker.

With the demolition of the *tegurium* and its contents in 1592, all that remained of Old St. Peter's was the nave, which was not in good repair. Two opposed points of view regarding the old structure had been voiced throughout Clement's reign. The pope actively supported those who wanted to preserve the remnants of the building; he provided money to restore the roof and insisted that what remained be saved at all costs⁷⁰. In the first months after Paul's election, however, when it became certain that the new building was finally to be finished, the advocates of the destruction of the old nave brought the issue forward once more. The debate was intense⁷¹. In September, 1605, Paul was presented with a report written by the Congregation of the *Fabbrica*, which stated unequivocally that the structure was about to collapse, that enormous monetary investments would probably not save it, and that it should be immediately torn down. Cardinal Baronio led the preservationists' defense with an impassioned plea to save the building, but his objections were no longer heeded. Paul approved the demolition, thereby affecting all subsequent plans for the interior redecoration of the basilica.

One of the immediate effects of this decision was that the crossing would now be more exposed to the chilly winter air that one normally found there, even though Sangallo's *muro divisorio* was still in place⁷². Paul determined, therefore, to decorate the apse for temporary use. This area was considered superior because it would be more comfortable and better protected from the elements than the crossing; more importantly, it was also decided that the ambiance of the old basilica could be recaptured there⁷³. Paul's view on the recreation of the Early Christian atmosphere was undoubtedly shared, if not actively championed, by Baronio. Having failed to halt the final dismemberment of the Constantinian basilica, the Cardinal must have urged the pope to recapture the spirit of the environment in accordance with the descriptions that were made when the *tegurium* was torn down. Baronio's meticulous restorations of Early Christian monuments, using his own archaeological acumen, are well known⁷⁴.

70 See Hibbard (1971), 168.

71 See Pastor (1937), vol. 26, 378–381; and Hibbard (1971), 168.

72 See Appendix VI, A, 1. Sangallo's *muro* remained *in situ* until the nave was finished (see Hibbard [1971], 182).

73 See Appendix VI, A, 4.

74 See particularly, R. KRAUTHEIMER, “A Christian Triumph in 1597”, *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*,

His insistence regarding the importance and appropriateness of reestablishing the locus for the *cappella pontificia*, if only temporarily, in the apse of New St. Peter's probably catalyzed Paul's intentions. Confirmation of the pope's reworking of the site to conform generally to the original configuration is found in the new evidence.

By Sunday, 23 December 1605, construction of the new site was sufficiently advanced that Paul visited it officially for the first time⁷⁵. His procession there for the pontifical Mass led him, borne in his chair, from his apartment into the basilica. He prayed before the Holy Sacrament, which was kept in a covered tabernacle in the Cappella Gregoriana. He then stopped briefly at the high altar and proceeded to the apse for the service. The new decoration consisted of virtually all the elements originally contained in the *tegurium*: a (wood) altar that was set on top of two porphyry stairs, which ran the entire width of the entrance; the Bishop's throne in the western end of the apse; and the Cardinals' benches. A wooden floor had been constructed above the two steps, on top of which a dais with five broad stairs was set, which led up to the altar. The altar itself was elegantly ornamented with a cross, candelabra, and silver statues of the Apostles, and was covered by a *baldacchino* that was suspended by a chord attached to the roof. The throne was affixed to the wall and reached by five marble steps. When Paul took his place in the throne with his *cappella*, the scene was resplendent. Thus by Christmas, Paul found all original elements *in situ*, save two.

The *tegurium* had also housed a rectangular ciborium and an altar-screen with six twisted marble columns. In January, 1606, Clement's last provisional ciborium over the high altar was dismantled; shortly thereafter a new structure was built to replace it – the revolutionary *baldacchino*, consisting of a wooden armature with a tasseled canopy supported by four staves held aloft by four stucco angels⁷⁶. Then, by late summer it was decided to replace the hanging *baldacchino* covering the new altar in the apse with a wooden ciborium; work began on it in September⁷⁷. Finally, by All Saints' Day the final element in

the ensemble – the altar-screen – had been installed⁷⁸. Clearly, Paul's decision to raze Old St. Peter's and to relocate temporarily the principal site of the *cappella pontificia* was enormously consequential for the eventual function and design of the apse and the crossing. The physical characteristics of the apsidal decoration can be reconstructed with great accuracy and are truly remarkable.

Mass was said by Cardinal Pinelli⁷⁹. He was covered at the altar by a domed ciborium, which had projecting wings that ran the full width of the entrance to the apse. Ten of the eleven Solomonic columns that remained from the twelve employed in the earlier double screen were reused⁸⁰. Eight of them held up an elegant canopy; the other two were incorporated in the altar-screen, which was composed of six spiral columns. Of these last six, the remaining four were built of cement and stone to resemble as closely as possible the ancient ones. A balustrade was constructed between the columns of the screen and in front of the altar; an architrave was set up on top of the colonnade, which in turn supported the candelabra. In the eyes of the diarist Mucanzio who recorded the appearance of the apse on this historic occasion, the decorative scheme produced a brilliant effect. The size of the ensemble was determined by the incorporation of the marble columns, whose exact proportions are known. Reconstruction of this complex should begin, therefore, with this fact.

Each of the extant Solomonic columns is cut – base, shaft, and capital – from a single block of marble and measures approximately 4.75 meters⁸¹. The colonnade would most probably have been about 7 meters high, for the columns rested on socles and held up the architrave. Heretofore, there has been controversy regarding precisely what was built in the apse: some scholars hold that only the canopy was built, the screen having remained in model form; Thelen has argued that both were installed⁸². That the altar screen was actually constructed as an integral component of the decoration is now firmly documented. A series of illustrations exists for just such an architectural complex; one, in particular, establishes its exact scale and character⁸³.

78 See Appendix VI, A, 4.

79 For the following, see Appendix VI, A, 4.

80 Eleven are extant: see Ward Perkins (1952), 24–31 for their history after 1513–1514.

81 See Ward Perkins (1952), 24.

82 See respectively Lavin (1968), 6; Hibbard (1971) 166, (1973), 127–128; and Thelen (1967), 24–27, (1967, I), n. 8, 13–14.

83 For the illustrations, see Lavin (1968), Figs. 25–28, 79. Another one should be added to the literature – a drawing by Pietro da

2 vols., London (1967), II, 174–178; W. CHANDLER KIRWIN, *Christofano Roncalli, an Exponent of the Proto-Baroque*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University (1972), 130–147; Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 121–125; and (with similar documentation and argument as Kirwin [1972]) H. H. BRUMMER, "Cesare Baronio and the Convent of Gregory the Great", *Konst-historisk Tidskrift*, XLIII (1974), 101–116.

75 For what follows, see Appendix VI, A, 1; for the payments regarding the installation of the *sedia*, see A. F., I Piano, serie armadi, vol. 178, 35 r. ff., vol. 183, 24 v.

76 See Hibbard (1971), 187; and Appendix VI, B, 1–3.

77 See Hibbard (1971), 187.

Around 1623 Francesco Borromini made a detailed rendering of this ciborium and colonnade (Fig. 5)⁸⁴. The sheet carries a scale in Roman *palmi* and presents a detailed ground plan and elevation of the structure. The columns are twisted; according to the scale, the height of the six employed in the wings and the eight positioned around the altar is about 21.5 palmi or 4.73 meters. This measurement accords well with that of the Solomonic ones. Further, the drawing clearly differentiates between those eight spiral columns around the altar that support the canopy, the outermost-two of the colonnade, and the inner four. Four of these columns, it will be remembered, were built *ex novo* to resemble the antique ones. Borromini's study can now be read as a careful copy of the structure of 1606, which clearly differentiates between the original and the modern columns. The overall height of the ciborium from the pavement to the top of the cross was 19.8 meters. Fortunately, a good deal is also known about the construction of the canopy.

The designer of the octagonal ciborium and the screen cannot be identified with certainty. Nevertheless, two drawings are directly related to the canopy, one of which was made in the shop of Carlo Maderno, who was at the time co-architect of the basilica⁸⁵. Later, as we shall see, he played a central role in the creation of the final form of the *baldacchino*⁸⁶. On the other hand, Ludovico Cigoli, who did the second study, was also involved in the projects for the building. His drawing has many of the principal features that the construction bill indicates as having actually been built⁸⁷. He was in Rome from mid-1606 on, and may well have had an active hand in conceiving the form that was eventually used⁸⁸. In any case, the canopy was suspended above eight marble twisted columns and was made entirely of wood⁸⁹. It consisted of three stories, each of which was set on a cornice. The lowest story included the columns and four arches that spanned the

entrances to the altar with architraves and frontispieces. The arches were joined at the four ends to frames that contained oval windows and were further bound together by a continuous cornice. An octagonal drum supported the cupola; it was decorated at the corners above the windows with volutes. The cupola was ribbed, painted inside⁹⁰, and topped with a round lantern and cross. Dadoes rested with vases on the volutes. The altar steps were remodeled. A wooden cornice and architrave were constructed over the colonnade and eight candelabra were fashioned for it. Finally, a stand for the choir was erected. Borromini's drawing (Fig. 5) embodies the particular arrangement and detail of all these components, save the stalls. Furthermore, although the precise theme of the painting inside the cupola cannot be identified from this illustration, another, later copy of the complex does give a hint, which is revealing as a possible prototype for Bernini's ultimate design: celestial rays evidently spilled down the dome, conceivably emanating from the Holy Dove⁹¹. Borromini's marvelously informative sheet can finally be seen as an extremely important link in the reconstruction of Paul's new apsidal decoration.

Several fascinating features of the design as reconstructed require comment. The complex movingly recreated the Early Christian environment of the old apse. The organization of the altar and screen combined the fifth-century shrine and the seventh-century renovation⁹². From the earliest plan was taken the idea of twisted columns supporting the canopy; from the later one, the col-

Cortona, done around 1630, that is the least reliable with regard to detail and the last record of it before it was dismantled in late 1633 (see W. VITZTHUM, *Il barocco a Roma*, Milan (1971), Fig. 1).

84 Albertina, Vienna, AZ Rom 766: see Thelen (1967, I), n. 8, 13; and Hibbard (1971), 166. The following corroborates Thelen's argument (1967), 34-35; (1967, I), n. 8).

85 See Hibbard (1971), 68, 168; Thelen sees Maderno's hand in the design ([1967], 35).

86 See *infra*, pp. 31-33.

87 See Lavin (1968), Fig. 26, Nr. 18.

88 For a detailed discussion of the relationship of Cigoli's drawing to the final design, see *Toscani a Roma, 1580-1620*, Exhibition, Gabinetto dei disegni e stampe, Uffizi, Florence (1979), n. 84, pp. 129-131.

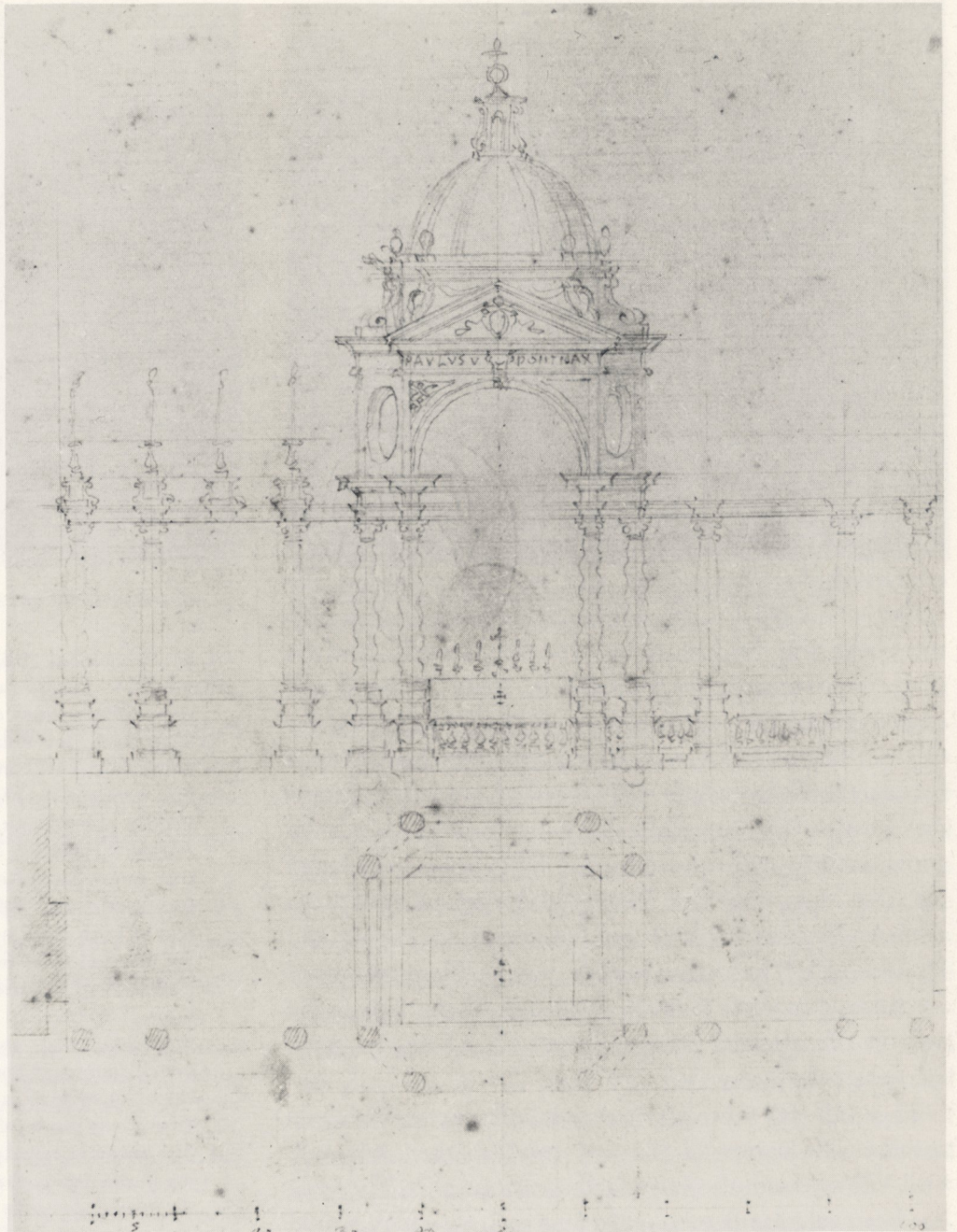
89 The following is taken from Appendix VI, B, 2 and 4.

90 See Appendix VI, A, 3.

91 The probable identification of the painting that was to be seen on the underside of the canopy is made from Martino Ferrabosco's engraved project for the complex (see Lavin (1968), Fig. 79, and 45-46). Lavin argues that the project as illustrated and designed by Ferrabosco in the early 1620's was only a plan that was never built and was partially reworked after Bernini completed his own *baldacchino* designs. However, not only were the ciborium and the altar-screen actually built, but they were still to be seen in 1622/23 when Borromini made his exact copy, and were finally taken down only in late 1633. The engraving shows the same basic architectural complex as that put up in 1605/06; particularly notable are the distinctive intercolumniation of the wings, the lower story of the canopy itself, and the overall rhythm. Lavin observes that the figure of the risen Christ has been added to the original engraved design. Close inspection of the engraving also reveals that the rays emanating from the underside of the canopy were part of the original drawing. Therefore, it can be further observed that the print represents the ciborium and screen of 1605/06, which were reornamented to suit the specific needs of Urban, and that the engraving was reworked accordingly. The date of the execution of the first state of the engraving remains a mystery, even though it can be conjectured that it could have been made at about the same time as Borromini did his copy.

92 See Ward Perkins (1952), 21-24; and Lavin (1967), 7.

5. *St. Peter's. Copy of the 1606 ciborium and altar screen built in the western apse, Francesco Borromini, Vienna, Albertina*



onnade. The associations must have been conscious and intended. The preservationists, led by Baronio, most likely persuaded the pope to resurrect the flavor of the ensemble still to have been seen in 1592, and to combine it with the basic idea of the first shrine. This arrangement would have found ready support from the proponents of the completion of the basilica in a Latin-cross plan. The new apsidal decoration sought to revive the spirit of the old basilica razed in 1592; yet the recreation of the Early Christian atmosphere was partially cast in a modern form, for the ciborium was octagonal. This concept, first established by Clement for the high altar in 1594, was carried over here to extend the symbolical significance of

the new site. But before the probable reasons for the use of the shape are considered, the new and pathfinding cover designed for the high altar in the months between January and June, 1606, should be reconstructed; and then the two provisional decorations placed once more in their original setting.

The last of Clement's provisional ciboria was taken down that January. It was followed by another type – a *baldacchino* – whose introduction was unquestionably a revolutionary change in the decoration of the high altar. Paul and the Congregation were well aware of the major markers that had adorned the altar of Old St. Peter's; they had been, without exception, ciboria. The alterations in

design were undertaken only after lengthy deliberations regarding the function of the crossing and the apsidal area, but the decision was not made quickly nor lightly. Speculation about the probable issues raised during these discussions is, in the absence of any other material, based upon a comprehensive reconstruction of the sites⁹³. A significant amount is already known about the exact character of that first *baldacchino*⁹⁴. More can be added, which will lead to a fuller clarification of the appearance of the areas and of the significance that was attached to the tremendous shift.

The *baldacchino* was put together of wood and canvas in a manner similar to the earlier ciboria and contained some of the elements that had been employed in the first one. Angels stood on pedestals, holding slender shafts that supported a tasseled canopy. Whereas the ciboria contained domed canopies and wooden columns, the construction bill for the *baldacchino* makes it clear that the cover was held aloft by wooden staves⁹⁵. And its shape was rectangular: four angels, made of wood and stucco, stood on pedestals that were also bases for the staves. The canopy was of canvas stretched over a wooden skeleton, which was placed on top of a continuous cornice. The bases and canvas were painted with the papal *stemma* and other images⁹⁶. Work was concluded by early May; Paul first celebrated the *cappella pontificia* there at Vespers on 28 June, the eve of Sts. Peter's and Paul's day⁹⁷. The entire basilica was richly ornamented for the august ceremony, from the pontifical chair in the apse to the entrance where banners were hung to commemorate the martyria.

The bill for the construction of the *baldacchino* specifies the nature of the new tomb-marker, which is well known from the various illustrations of it. The scale has been calculated at roughly nine meters, which would have made it only a meter shorter than Bernini's bronze

columns⁹⁸. The height can now be more accurately approximated, working from Borromini's detailed rendering and from another contemporary view that has recently come to light. A painting of the interior of the basilica, looking down the nave into the crossing and apse, gives a vivid impression of the area; it was done sometime between 1616 and 1621 and is in the main a faithful representation (Figs. 6, 7)⁹⁹. The screen and the ciborium conform very closely to the drawing (respectively Figs. 7, 5); the *baldacchino* is strikingly like other illustrations of it in its outfittings¹⁰⁰. If the painting is nearly as accurate in its treatment of the relative scale of the two structures as it is in the handling of their precise forms, then the *baldacchino* would have been much taller than has been assumed – probably ten or eleven meters¹⁰¹. And the picture would offer proof that the designs of the

98 See Siebenhüner (1962), 309, and Lavin (1968), 6.

99 See H.A. MILLON and C.H. SMYTH, "Michelangelo and St. Peter's: Observations on the Interior of the apses, a Model of the Apse Vault, and Related Drawings," *RömJbKg*, XVI (1976), Fig. 10, and 153–154. Partly visible in the upper niche of the northwest pier is the statue of St. Andrew that had been previously located in various places inside the basilica (see Lavin [1968], Fig. 60). Following the election of Gregory XV in 1621, the two *baldacchini* that were constructed differed greatly in the articulation of the four angels who held the staves, the first set having stood and the second knelt (March 1622). It would appear, then, that the painting was made between the completion of the *confessio* in 1619 and early 1622. (Compare this painting with Cortona's drawing: Vitzthum, *Disegni*, Fig. 1. Professor Sheila Rinehart has tentatively suggested [oral communication] an attribution to Filippo Napolitano for the painting, which seems plausible for the figures; the architecture must, however, be by another hand.)

100 Particularly the papal medal of 1617 (see Lavin [1968], Fig. 21).

101 The matter of actual size is crucial to a comprehensive understanding of the impact that the ensemble had on Bernini. It seems that the special demands regarding the making of illustrations of the area from 1606 on affected the rendering of the scale. The canonization views of 1610 (see Lavin [1968], Figs. 2, 3) depict a structure that is somewhat shorter than the one so carefully rendered in the painting (our Fig. 7). This was undoubtedly due to the emphasis that had to be placed on the service in front of the apse. (The two frescoes of the same ceremony are inaccurate in the treatment of the actual spatial relationships that existed between the high altar and the temporary papal *sedia* that was installed directly in front of the screen, see Lavin [1968], Figs. 19–20.) The design of the medal of 1617 (Lavin [1968], Fig. 21) required that both the *baldacchino* and the *confessio* be included with special emphasis given to the just-completed subterranean area. Of all the illustrations known, it would thus appear that our Figs. 6–7 is the most reliable in this regard. (The Frezza engraving (see Siebenhüner [1962], Fig. 52) is probably closer in the relative scale of the angels and the superstructure than has been remarked. The difference in gesture and pose between them and the ones shown in the medal may be more than the result of artistic license by the copier. According to Buonanni (*Numismata*, II, 127), Frezza based his own engraving on the medal. Yet the discrepancies would be explainable by

93 The most comprehensive account of the meetings that were held by the *Fabbrica* to discuss just such matters – the *Libri delle congregazioni della fabbrica* – have a lacuna for the years 1589–1612. Thus one can only speculate with respect to the substance of the lost minutes. (See Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 128, n. 69; the volume for the years 1612–1623 was found by Don Cipriani in 1976: A. F., I Piano, serie 3, vol. 159 a.)

94 See Lavin (1968) 5–7, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 19, 20. In general outlines these illustrations depict the same baldachin; there are, however, significant differences in the treatment of the scale and the canopy, which are discussed *infra* n. 101.

95 See Appendix VI, B, 3. Lavin ([1968], 6–9) discusses their significance.

96 See Appendix VI, B, 2.

97 See Appendix VI, B, 1.



6. *St. Peter's. Interior view looking west, Painting, author unknown*
Private Collection, England



7. *Detail of Fig. 6, showing 1606 baldacchino at the high altar*
and the ciborium with altar screen in the western apse

cover for the high altar and for the apse were developed with their visual relationships taken into account. But how should these be considered in relation to the intended liturgical and symbolical associations of the two structures?

Paul's decision in September, 1605, to tear down the last bits of Old St. Peter's set in motion a series of deliberations that resulted in the revolutionary design of the new

another intermediary: in 1617 the angels were restored, at which time their gestures could have been altered, alterations that did not appear in the medal, which may have been designed slightly earlier (see Appendix VII, 1).

The approximate measurement of 10–11 meters has been obtained from a comparison of the height of the piers with the size of the *baldacchino* as shown in the painting in relation to the known height of the ciborium, and does not include the bases upon which the angels stand. According to the most reliable and complete set of measurements that is available for Bernini's baldachin, the height of the structure less the bases is 23.94 meters. Of this, 10.38 meters are superstructure (see G. B. CHATTARD, *Nuova descrizione del Vaticano*, 3 vols., Rome (1762–1767), I, 148–150. P. E. VISCONTI (*Metrologia vaticana*, Rome [1828], Table II) gives a single, overall measurement, but there is a discrepancy of 1.27 meters between his and Chattard's. See also P. LETAROUILLY and A. SIMIL, *Le Vatican et la Basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome*, 3 vols., Rome (1882), I, plate 8 for another approximate measurement). Bernini's columns with their bases and capitals are about 11.2 meters, that is almost the same height as the earlier marker. The principal difference is in the apparent increase in size of Bernini's, which is due in part to the taller marble bases that give the illusion of greater height.

A systematic measuring of all the components of Bernini's *baldacchino* has not been made since Chattard. I have undertaken one with the sponsorship of the *Reverenda Fabbrica*, using photogrammetry, and will publish the results shortly in my book.

tomb-marker. A major concern in late 1605 was the transferral of the three chief relics from the old to the new basilica. In January, 1606, the Holy Face, the Lance of St. Longinus, and the head of St. Andrew were moved into the crossing and placed in the upper niches of the south- and north-west piers¹⁰². At the same time, the ciborium was dismantled and replaced with the *baldacchino*. Unquestionably, the placement of the relics in the crossing – which had been planned since at least 1598 – affected the momentous changes in the organization and the program of the sites. The decoration of the apsidal area of the old building had enforced the concepts of martyrdom and majesty, in which the actual ciborium had been related to the fictive canopy in the mosaic. The redecoration of the apse by Paul was motivated by logistical, historical, and liturgical concerns; once the plan to move the relics was reactivated, reconsideration of the function of the two areas was required. An ostensible aim in the new design for the apse was to evoke the atmosphere of the earlier monument; the cover and the screen focused on the eucharistic importance of the new altar and made

102 See Lavin (1968), 3, 24. In 1598 Clement planned to move the relics into the four central piers, but nothing apparently came of the idea at the time (see Siebenhüner [1962], 301, and Lavin [1968], 3, n. 3). That the plan was indeed devised is attested by a drawing that was executed by Cesare Nebbia for the decoration of the south-west pendentive, which was mosaicked then: Fig. 8, Uffizi 128 orn (see Chappell-Kirwin (1974 [1975]), 126). In the upper register, standing putti hold the *Volto Santo*, which was intended from the outset to be kept in the pier. Eventually, in 1605 the inscription "Tu est Petrus ..." was installed.

of this area what the crossing earlier had been – an enormous tabernacle¹⁰³. With the introduction of the relics in the crossing the needs there took on a transformed character. The new *baldacchino* thus proclaimed that the high altar was to be viewed as the literal and the symbolical centerpiece in the display of the relics of the Passion¹⁰⁴. Traditionally, the *baldacchino* had been used as a portable canopy for the pope, with its allusion to imperial power, and for the procession of the Holy Sacrament attended by the relics on special feast days¹⁰⁵. This last function was seen as one that would be recognizable and instrumental in underscoring visually what the renovated crossing had become. The invention of the design for the high altar on such a scale is to be expected, given the space of the crossing; its integration with the ciborium was intended to link the two separate spaces (Fig. 6). From All Saints' day, 1606, on, the architectural reorganization of the apse and the crossing placed emphasis on the exaltation of the Holy Sacrament through the interconnections of the relics, Peter's tomb, the screen, and the tabernacle above the new altar. History and liturgy were thereby interwoven to achieve an ensemble that heralded the supremacy of the basilica and of its ruler's office. In the process, the full scope of Roman ecclesiastical culture was made manifest. It was this visual and thematic entity that Bernini was to find still intact sixteen years later when he negotiated his commission.

The apsidal decoration and the *baldacchino* were left essentially unchanged for the remainder of Paul's pontificate though modest alterations were made in accordance with specific demands of the canonization services that were held in 1608 and 1610. For these special occasions, the staves had strands of lilies wound around them and

the canopy was decorated with medallions of the respective saints¹⁰⁶. A *theatrum* was built that actually incorporated the two areas in its design: the pontifical chair was set directly in front of the ciborium, which was, it seems, hidden except for the cupola that crowned the pope¹⁰⁷. Also, in 1617 the four angels were restored in conjunction with the opening of the *confessio*¹⁰⁸. Otherwise, the ensemble as realized in 1606 remained unaltered. Plans were considered for both areas following the completion of the *confessio*, but no building was ever undertaken; several still exist¹⁰⁹. The temporary configurations erected for the canonizations revealed to the Congregation the need to establish a permanent choir closer to the crossing once the fabric was finished¹¹⁰. Nevertheless, at Paul's death in January, 1621, the arrangement of 1606 was still the one to be seen (Fig. 6).

One major exception to the many unrealized plans for the apse and the crossing was, in all probability, the design for a permanent *baldacchino* that, according to Borromini, Maderno presented to Paul¹¹¹. The accuracy and reliability of Borromini's recollection have been seriously questioned¹¹². However, his statement must be scrutinized once more in light of the revised history pre-

103 Lavin (1968, 16–19) has catalogued earlier examples of the octagonal tabernacle. Particularly influential would have been those in San Giovanni in Laterano, the Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, and Santo Spirito, Florence (the latter seen by Cigoli when he returned there in 1604).

104 Our Fig. 6 gives a partial view of the north-west pier with the statue of St. Andrew barely visible in the upper niche. The engraving of the quintuple canonization of 1622 includes a banner of the saint in the same place. The balcony is also differently articulated in the painting from the final form as designed by Bernini (see Lavin [1968], Fig. 54).

105 See Lavin (1968), 6. In 1624 it was suggested that a model of Bernini's first design for the permanent *baldacchino*, which had been built to demonstrate the principal features, could subsequently be used "per una custodia del Santissimo Sacramento" ("Modo di fare ...", referred to in Lavin [1968], 13, n. 55). Among other functions, a baldachin was also used to mark the body of the deceased pope when it was laid in state in the Cappella Paolina (see G. MORONI, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, 109 vols., Venice [1840–1879] IV, 58).

106 See Lavin (1968), 8–9, n. 5–8; and Fagiolo dell'Arco, I, (1977), 30–34.

107 An engraving published by Lavin (1968, Fig. 3 and n. 6) is only the upper-half of the sheet. In fact, Matteo Greuter signed and dated it (Museo di Roma, stampe, n. 74–1610). This illustration omits the cupola, unlike the others (see Lavin [1968], Figs. 2, 24).

108 See Appendix VII, 1; and Hibbard (1971), 165–166. For a later incorporation of the baldachin-type, see H. HAGER, "Carlo Fontana's Project for a church", *JWCI*, 36, (1973), Fig. 47b and 328.

109 See Lavin (1968), 8, n. 24–25; and Hibbard (1971), 166–167.

110 And in direct response to Paul's wish (see A. F., I Piano, serie 3, vol. 159 a, 31 r – 24 July 1619). This particular matter is referred to in one of the many plans that were submitted, Papiro Bartoli's scheme of 1620 (see Lavin [1968], n. 24): "Vedendosi con quanto grande zelo la santità di Nostro Signore Papa Paolo V cerca di perfezionare la fabbrica della grande basilica di San Pietro, la quale però è già ridotta in buonissimo essere, e perche vi manca solo di stabilirvi un coro per fare i cappelli et altre funzioni pontifiche, il qual coro perche sia più necessario che ogni altra cosa ... perche dia non poca ammirazione di vedere un tempio principalissimo in tutto il mondo ... è stato pensato di fare detto coro con quella e restato, si perche ancora non era finito il corpo della chiesa, si ancora non si concordava del mondo, se bene del luogo la maggior parte concorrevà, che si dovesse fare vicino all' altare dei santissimi Apostoli per molte ragioni et in particolare per maggior sicurezza e decoro di detto altare" ("Un progetto ...", B. V., Barb. lat. 16 r–v). Bartoli's project is the most elaborate and warrants critical study in its various drafts.

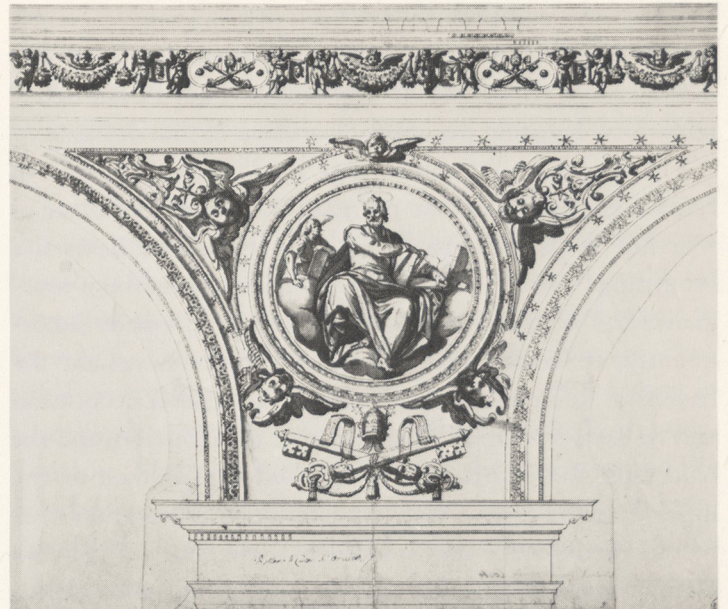
111 See Thelen (1967), 45–52; Lavin (1968), 11, n. 53; D'Onofrio (1969) 158; and Hibbard (1971), 73, 166–167, and (1973), 128.

112 See Lavin (1968), 11–12; and Hibbard (1971), 73, 167, and (1973), 128. Thelen, who first analyzed the comment, is the only scholar to have supported its general reliability ([1967], 46–52).

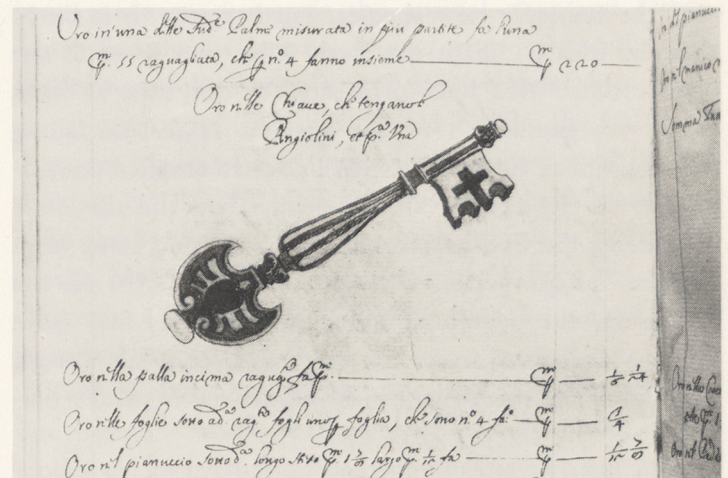
sented here: “Fu pensiero di Paolo V coprire con baldacchino l’altar maggiore di San Pietro con ricchezza proportionata all’apertura fatta alla confessione e sepolcro del detto. Onde Carlo Maderno gli presentò un disegno con colonne a vite; ma il baldacchino non toccava le colonne, ne il loro cornicione. Sopraggiunse la morte di Paolo, e restò l’opera sul disegno sino al pontificato di Urbano VIII, il quale disse al detto Carlo si contentasse, che il Bernino facesse detta opera.”¹¹³

It has been conclusively shown that the high altar was never moved; hence, the apparent difficulty regarding the correct interpretation of the opening sentence evaporates and the statement becomes self-evident. Borromini had been Maderno’s trusted assistant in St. Peter’s and was intimately familiar with the architectural decorations in the apse and the crossing, as his copy of the altar-screen and his work on Bernini’s *baldacchino* amply attest¹¹⁴. It is not hard, therefore, to imagine how he came to be informed of Paul’s grand plan for the crossing once the basilica and the *confessio* had been completed. For that matter, the pope could have given thought to the general form of the baldachin when he oversaw the relocation of the chief relics in 1606; at that time, he had authorized the revolutionary design to accommodate the exigencies. Close inspection of Borromini’s first statement substantiates the likelihood of Paul’s having asked Maderno for a plan of a permanent structure. That the pope was not in a great hurry to realize Maderno’s design is apparent in that no changes were made to the extant *baldacchino* between 1617 when the *confessio* was opened and Paul’s death. This leads one then to reflect upon the probable design of Maderno’s structure.

The drawing incorporated, according to Borromini, twisted columns and a canopy that neither touched them nor their entablature. Maderno conceived of the top as somehow suspended above the columns. There had been a precedent for just such an arrangement in St. Peter’s, one that Maderno himself may actually have designed: the provisional altar built in the apse in 1605 had first been covered by a baldachin which was held aloft by a chord that was attached to the barrel vault¹¹⁵. Were Maderno to have employed a similar scheme in the crossing, however, he would have had either to drop a rope from the rim of the lantern or to have spanned the drum with it, from which the necessary equipment could then



8. St. Peter’s. Plan for the south-west pendentive and adjacent areas, Cesare Nebbia, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei disegni



9. Description of the amount of gold applied to the papal keys on Bernini’s baldacchino, St. Peter’s, Archivio della fabbrica

have been suspended. Given the size of the canopy required, neither of these solutions would have been satisfactory since they would have been unsightly and definitely impermanent¹¹⁶. On the other hand, had he devised an internal suspension system, then he might well have created a configuration that was subsequently reflected in some way in Bernini’s first design, as Borromini implies. Even given Borromini’s enmity of Bernini, his recollection of the events and Maderno’s drawing becomes partially credible at the very least. Maderno’s

113 D’Onofrio (1969), 158.

114 See Thelen (1967), I, n. 24, 68–70; and A. BLUNT, *Borromini*, Harvard (1979) 17–25.

115 See Appendix VI, A, I.

116 The idea was later suggested: the *baldacchino* “sarà attaccato nella volta propria con ingegno di poter levare” (“Modo ...”, referred to in Lavin [1968], 13, n. 55–26r). See also Pastor, (1938), vd. 29, 466–467, n. 4.

lost drawing would thus have been instrumental in establishing the coherent fusion of temporary ciborium and *baldacchino*, conceived in response to Paul's own determination regarding the appropriateness of that design¹¹⁷.

There can be no doubt that Paul's intention was to remake the high altar the permanent, preeminent place of worship in the basilica¹¹⁸. He may even have devised a long-range plan in 1605–1606 when the temporary reorganization of the altar and the apse was effected. Subsequently, following the completion of the nave and the *confessio*, he intended to dismantle the apsidal decoration and to reassert through the fusion of the ciborium and the baldachin the primacy and enriched significance of the high altar. The first step was to design a marker that would incorporate the fundamental elements of the two distinct types. Consequently, it is only logical to expect that Maderno's drawing would necessarily have included the idea of the Solomonic column and the tasseled canopy. The conflation of these two basic elements created the uniquely new species. Furthermore, it is likely that the idea to adapt the Early Christian form of the open crossed ribs was formulated at this time as well. Paul's reorganization of the apse in 1605–1606 along archaeological, Early Christian lines had entailed consideration of the earliest shrine, which had the ribs supported by the Solomonic columns. It would have been deemed inappropriate, though, to include ribs in the design for the octagonal ciborium, and Paul may have urged Maderno to make use of them later in his design. This allusion, subsequently developed in Bernini's bal-

dachin, has been recognized as fundamental to the imagery of the crossing¹¹⁹. The genesis of the idea now can be traced to Paul and his advisers. And Maderno's lost drawing would have been crucial in establishing the coherent fusion of ciborium and *baldacchino*. Once the wooden altar and the screen in the apse were removed, the high altar would assume two distinct, mutually reinforcing functions: it would remain the keystone in the display of the chief relics and the tomb, and it would again become the exclusive papal altar. The conflation of the twisted column and the canopy perpetuated the importance of the site. In all this, there never would have been any question of discarding the actual spiral columns since it was never intended that they be used. Rather, the baldacchino of 1606 had established the scale; and Maderno's drawing would have captured the spirit of the Solomonic column in a scale appropriate to the huge space of the crossing¹²⁰. Had Paul lived longer, he would have seen the two traditions conjoined, one of which he had created himself. After Paul's death in early 1621, events were to preclude this inevitable fusion for over three years¹²¹.

The scale devised for the baldachin of 1606 was gradually increased by the time of the inception of Bernini's bronze marvel. Gregory XV reigned for only two and one-half years and was ill most of the time¹²²; nevertheless, he did oversee the construction of two *baldacchini* at the high altar, which enlarged the scale of the first one. That *baldacchino*, still *in situ* in mid-1621, was about 11 meters high, including the height of the pedestals¹²³. Once it was decided to construct an ornate *theatrum* for the projected canonization of Isidore, there was strong sentiment voiced for the replacement of the aging canopy. In the autumn of 1621 Bonvicino's angels were removed, much to the horror of the *Congregazione* who pressed the *Capitolo*, through whose permission they had been

117 For the opposing view, see Hibbard (1973), 128–129; and Lavin (1973), 475–476.

118 As is made manifest by the many plans for the *coro* that were drafted at the time. The idea was finally realized under Urban, who had the *cappella del coro* permanently outfitted and decorated between 1623–1627 (see A. F., I Piano, serie 3, vol. 3, fascicoli 49–63). Regarding this specific decorative program, an error in transcription by Pollak led to an interpolation that has subsequently affected discussion of the baldachin's genesis. The account of work done by G. B. Ricci, which was published by Pollak ([1928–1931], II, n. 33, 10–13) and catalogued by Lavin (1968, n. 27) as an important project, in fact has nothing to do with the construction of a ciborium at the high altar. The pertinent section of the document reads as follows: "E più per havere rifatto di pittura nella cupoletta di alto e basso del coro, dove fa cappella il Papa in San Pietro: E più per haver rifatto di pittura nella cupoletta di alto, e basso del coro ..." The placement of the ":" after "San Pietro" establishes the following work described in the document as that painting done exclusively in the cupoletta of the *cappella del coro*. Pollak omits the ":" which gives a different implied sense to the detailed description of the *pittura* that follows. Further, although he gives only an approximate date for the document – 1623/ca. 1626 – it is dated 23 October 1625 on the *verso* of the last folio.

119 See especially Lavin (1973).

120 See *supra* n. 101. Whereas it would seem that the pedestals of the baldachin of 1606 did not come up to the level of the altar (Fig. 7), Bernini raised them to that height (Fig. 1), thereby increasing the monumentality of the structure.

121 The wooden altar constructed in the apse was used uninterruptedly until the high altar was finished with the completion of Bernini's *baldacchino* around Christmas, 1633. It was needed during the long periods that the high altar was inaccessible due to the construction (see Alaleoni [*passim*]).

122 See Alaleoni (*Vat. lat. 12296, 12297, passim*) for the daily movements of the pope inside the basilica; and Pastor (1938), vol. 27, 72–74.

123 According to the various illustrations, they did not reach the level of the altar table (Lavin [1968], Figs. 2, 4, 21; our Fig. 7; and *supra* n. 117). The height of Bernini's is 3.23 meters (see Chattard, *Descrizione*, I, 149).

taken down, to replace them or to provide them with some sort of compensation¹²⁴. In the meantime, the ceremony was postponed for other reasons; eventually, the extraordinary decision was made to combine four other canonizations with Isidore's, and on 12 March 1622, Gregory officiated at the quintuple service. A new *baldacchino* was built especially for the ceremony. It included four supports *all'antica* that were richly gold-leafed, and four new angels that markedly differed from Bonvicino's in that they knelt on their bases with their hands holding intricately decorated staves¹²⁵. The structure sparkled in the candlelight¹²⁶.

Shortly thereafter, the Congregation was forced to erect yet another provisional structure, as sections of the one constructed for the canonizations were removed by souvenir hunters¹²⁷. On 12 May a drawing was seen and approved by the *Congregazione*¹²⁸. Subsequent events paralleled those of 1592; work began in early June and was rushed to completion in time for the celebration of Mass at the altar on the 29th¹²⁹. This marker was somewhat larger than the earlier ones, having had an overall

measurement of approximately 14 meters¹³⁰. It was also elaborately designed and must have been quite stately; the baldachin itself was accompanied by angels¹³¹. Contrary to current opinion, this set was not conceived by Bernini¹³².

The third temporary *baldacchino* remained in place through mid-1623. That July plans for the erection of a fourth, radically different marker were sufficiently far advanced that four new wooden supports were ready to be set up at the high altar¹³³. Significantly, they are identified as "colonne", which were to be gold-leafed in accordance with the "pensiero dell'Architetto". Unquestionably, Maderno is intended; and the desire to gild the columns recalls the Pauline interest in creating thereby the effect of metal surfaces¹³⁴. Of supreme importance for subsequent developments is the fact that the supports are columns, the first time in the complex history that they appeared in actuality¹³⁵. The introduction of the column clearly implies that by this time the decision had already been made to dismantle the apsidal altar and screen, which had always been considered temporary, and to fuse the form and the symbolism of the two altars through the incorporation of the twisted column in the baldachin type, as Maderno had initially developed it in his lost drawing for Paul¹³⁶. Maderno must have been gratified to have finally been given the opportunity to realize his design. He could only have been greatly dispirited, therefore, when Gregory died five days after the columns were prepared for installation.

Even though the specific character of Maderno's second design – which reached the full-scale model stage – eludes us, an evaluation can nonetheless be made regard-

124 See Appendix VII, 2–4.

125 See the illustration in Lavin (1968), Fig. 5–6. The apparent discrepancy in their poses would thus be explained. A detailed description of the ceremony includes specific reference to the type of support used to hold up this canopy: "... fu fatto un bellissimo baldacchino di tela d'oro sopra l'altare di S. Pietro, largo per ogni verso più di cinquanta palmi, con quattro colonne all' antica, intagliate et indorate" (G. BRICCIO, *Relatione sommaria del solenne apparato e cerimonia, fatto nella basilica di S. Pietro di Roma per la canonizzazione de gloriosi santi Isidore di Madrid, Ignatio di Loyola, Francesco Xaverio, Teresa di Giesu, e Filippo Nerio Fiorentino*, Rome [1622], 62). If *colonne* were indeed used (and the documents are vague on this), then they would have made their initial appearance here.

126 See Appendix VIII, 1.

127 See Appendix VIII, 1–2.

128 See Appendix IX, A, 1. The draughtsman is not named, but Maderno signed the construction bill and was probably responsible once again for its invention.

129 See Alaleoni (Vat. lat. 12297), 89v–90r. Controversy also surrounds the construction of this one. Pollak published ([1928–1931], II, n. 35) and Lavin elaborately discussed ([1968], 8–9, n. 13) the baldachin, working from payments to the wood-carver G.B. Soria. But Pollak incorrectly transcribed the date of the document – 1621 instead of 1622. This led Lavin to an erroneous conclusion, unaware as he was of the construction of two *baldacchini* in 1621–1622. The 1622 date is indisputable (see A. F., I Piano, serie 1, vol. 4, fascicoli n. 1–2). What is difficult to explain is the fact that Soria was paid a total of ∇ 951.90 "a conto del baldacchino" built in June, 1622, in a series of regular installments over a two-year period, the final payment in October, 1624. Although it is not clear why the *Fabbrica* took so long to pay him, it should be remembered that in 1600 Nebbia had been paid for work done two years earlier. Between 1622 and 1624 Soria was involved in a number of projects in the basilica. As there is a complete absence of any *suppliche*, it can be assumed that Soria

never became upset (unlike Nebbia) by the slow pace of reimbursement.

130 The staves were 58 *palmi* or 12.76 meters. Allowing for about 1.5 meters for the canopy, the height can be approximated.

131 See A. F., I Piano, serie I, vol. 4, fascicoli n. 1–2 for the documents.

132 See Lavin (1968), 8–9. Bernini became involved only in the construction of the next and final one (see *infra* n. 141).

133 See Appendix IX, B, 1; that the columns were made of wood is clear from a reading of Appendix IX, B, 2.

134 Maderno was still the papal architect to the basilica; since early 1623 he had also been working for the family elsewhere (see Hibbard [1971], 75–76, 210–214).

135 But see *supra* n. 125 for the possible introduction of this revolutionary device as early as 1622.

136 That Borromini's careful copy of the apsidal decoration dates to this period may well be additional evidence for the dating of the final decision. In light of the above, it now becomes apparent why the drawing would have been made at this time – to preserve the exact dimensions and features of the complex for future reference. As it is, the altar and screen were not dismantled until sometime in late 1633–1634.

ing the general situation that pertained by the beginning of Urban's pontificate. Through the earlier temporary celebration of the *capella pontificia* in the apse with its ciborium and altar-screen that incorporated the Solomonic columns; through the placement of the chief relics in the crossing and the resultant creation of a wholly new type of tomb-marker; and through the subsequent decision to consolidate the form and the function of the apsidal and the high altars – through all this, Paul, Gregory, and their artists had gradually molded the area to such an extent that their legacy to Bernini encompassed the iconography, the scale, and the general shape of his own marker¹³⁷.

IV

Urban VIII was elected on 6 August 1623. Two months later, the Congregation returned to the matter of the unfinished *baldacchino*. Maderno's columns were still waiting to be used and it was recommended that, with the pope's approval, they be finally installed so that the effect could be gauged¹³⁸. Urban was apparently not displeased with them, for by December construction on the fourth and final temporary baldachin at the high altar was essentially completed. Pedestals had been built for the columns, the cloth canopy suspended somehow, and the necessary carpentry done¹³⁹. Even so, Christmas Mass was celebrated once more by the *capella pontificia* at the "altare fictitio"¹⁴⁰. The following February Bernini became initially involved in the decoration of the site in a rather modest way: he was commissioned to make four stucco angels that were placed on the bases¹⁴¹. He realized the project by April; Easter fell on the 10th, and was commemorated by Urban with a special pontifical Mass at the "altare maius"¹⁴².

No part of Urban's artistic activities is better known than his modernization of major portions of St. Peter's¹⁴³. At the beginning of his pontificate, he responded to the arrival of the Holy Year in 1625 by undertaking the reshaping of sections of the interior. Once under way, his monumental projects, which required years to complete, were changed in accordance with the altered perceptions of the functions of those various areas. His plans for the crossing were actually an evolutionary process that was only partly executed by the end of his long career¹⁴⁴. From the outset of his pontificate Urban gave special attention to this area; he approved the installation of Maderno's temporary baldachin, and from early 1624 concerned himself with the display of the chief relics there¹⁴⁵. That summer he commissioned Bernini to design the permanent bronze tomb-marker. Toward the end of reactivating the primacy of the site, Urban began once more to celebrate the major feast days at the high altar¹⁴⁶. At the same time, he continued to use the apsidal altar, which remained intact until 1633, when work at the main altar prevented the *cappella* from being convened there¹⁴⁷. What remains to be considered are the circumstances surrounding the designation of Bernini as the designer of the *baldacchino*; the events of late spring and early summer 1624 make for a fascinating insight into the evolution of Bernini's first *conchetto*.

Heretofore, it has been universally accepted that Bernini commenced work on his designs for the permanent marker in mid-July after having privately reached an agreement with the pope regarding the specific nature of the *baldacchino*¹⁴⁸. In fact, he formally began one month earlier and only after the Congregation had publicized a competition¹⁴⁹. On 7 June, the *Congregazione* agreed to

143 See Frascchetti (1900), 55–67; Wittkower (1966), 17–18, 189–190, 196–199, 202–205.

144 See Lavin (1968), 19 and *passim*.

145 See Lavin (1968), 38 and *passim*.

146 See Alaleoni (Vat. lat. 12297), 157r–v, 158v for Easter; thereafter, he continued the tradition when work on the *baldacchino* permitted (*passim*).

147 A perusal of Alaleoni's diary entries for the years 1624–1633 shows that the pope used the high altar and the apsidal one interchangeably, according to the state of construction on any given feast day. I have not found specific records for the dismantling of the altar, ciborium, and screen, but work was undertaken on the upper reliquary niches, which incorporate the twisted columns, only in 1633. And Urban continued to use the "altare fictitio" until Christmas of that year, after which time it is not mentioned. The inclusion of the original Solomonic columns reinforced Bernini's design with its eucharistic and topological allusionism (see Wittkower [1966], 197–198).

148 See Wittkower (1966), 189–190; and Lavin (1968), 10.

149 See Appendix X, 1.

137 Pietro da Cortona's drawing should be inspected once more in the context of Bernini's design for the high altar in relation to the screen (see Vitzthum, Disegni, Fig. 1).

138 See Appendix IX, B, 2.

139 See Appendix IX, B, 3–4. In this context, Teodoro della Porta's letter to the *congregazione* dated 1 January 1624 is pertinent. In it, he states that the high altar had been "fatto e rifatto quattro volte ... come ora segue" (Pollak [1928–1931], II, n. 60, 71). His reference would be to – the one of 1606; the second one installed for the canonization service in March 1622; the third one put up immediately thereafter for 29 June; and the final one, incomplete (i.e., without its angels) when he wrote.

140 See Alaleoni (Vat. lat. 12297), 135v.

141 See Appendix IX, B, 5, and A. F., I Piano, serie armadi, vol. 240, 25v, 30r, 34r, 35v, 42r, 43r, 46r, 47r (from 9 February to 9 August; Pollak [1928–1931], II, n. 1001–1004] lists only four of them).

142 See Alaleoni (Vat. lat. 12297), 152v.

make public “un edetto nel quale si notifici a chi ha pensieri d’architettura, invenzione o altro, per far il baldacchino sopra l’altare dei santi Apostoli in San Pietro, voglia farne modelli, et portarli alla prima Congregazione che si farà tra quindici giorni nella quale si comparischino a dire ancora in voce l’opinione loro”. Seven days later, however, a wooden column of the winning model was raised on the site; and on the 17th of the month Bernini was first named¹⁵⁰.

The building of the Baldachin was the most ambitious commission of the day. Given the enormous amount of material, money, and men involved, and the extremely elaborate foundry work required, it seems very unlikely that construction would have been undertaken without prior mutual agreement of the principal parties involved, an agreement that would have included the precise clarification of the structural particulars. Yet no contract was apparently drawn up between the *Fabbrica* and Bernini¹⁵¹. Not only was he designated the winner of the “competition” right after it was announced; moreover, he had the first wooden column ready to be put in place. All this would indicate that the Congregation’s “edetto” was merely *pro forma*. Detailed contractual arrangements were drawn up, but only with the bronze founders beginning in November, 1624, by which time Bernini’s model had been authorized. The founders relied exclusively on “modelli et disegni dell’opera” that were supplied by Bernini, who superintended all phases of the campaign¹⁵².

Seen in this light, one recognizes that the development of the project actually was much more complex than has been traditionally assumed. Urban and Bernini must have worked on the details of the design behind the scenes for some time before 7 June. Urban was willing to accept and actively supported the hybridization of architectural forms that Paul had conceived with Maderno and Greg-

150 Respectively, Appendix X, 1, 2, and 3. There are no records regarding the dismantling of the fourth and final temporary baldachin. See C. D’ONOFRIO, *La Papessa Giovanna*, Rome, (1979), 243.

151 There are no references in the minutes of the meetings of the Congregation to any deliberations concerning other projects, and a thorough search of the A. F. has not turned up any mention of additional ones ever having been submitted.

152 See A.S.R., 30 Notaii capitolini, ufficio 38, vol. 11, 251r, 249r, 245r, (respectively, 5 November 1624 [the first two], and 7 February 1625 [the last two]). The contracts are cited by Frascchetti ([1900], 60). Nowhere in the extensive documentation for the casting of the columns is any mention made of a previously notarized or agreed-upon contract between the *Fabbrica* and Bernini, only specific reference to the artist’s “modelli et disegni”. Subsequently, in 1628, Bernini was obliged to renegotiate his agreement for the completion of the superstructure; documents exist that spell out his commitment, but no mention was ever made of any pre-existing contract. (These will be published by Worsdale.)

ory had begun to implement; the installation of Maderno’s columns even gave Urban the opportunity to judge the effect. And Bernini’s participation in the decoration of the fourth and final temporary *baldacchino* permitted him to become intimately acquainted with the iconographical and formal issues that were central to its conception. By spring 1624, the pope decided to proceed with the construction of the permanent marker and discussed the matter with his favorite artist. Bernini responded with preliminary plans that included the building of a model, all of which he presented to the Congregation shortly after announcement of the “competition”. His immediate and unopposed selection effectively made a mockery of the “edetto”. Bernini had material and men standing by, and marshalled them in the erection of a larger wooden model of the columns and canopy. Between November 1624 and the following February, contracts were made with the bronze founders that detailed the exact dimensions and shape of the four columns. The foundries were assembled, the delicate casting begun; finally, by September 1626, the installation on their newly-carved pedestals was begun¹⁵³.

The swiftness with which Bernini’s designs for the colossal bronze columns were realized corroborates the observation that this portion of the *baldacchino* had been carefully determined in all its intricacy in a remarkably brief period. Knowing what we now do about the complexity of the situation from the last years of Paul’s pontificate through late 1624, we can better understand why Bernini arrived at their definitive form in such short order. On the other hand, the fact that the artist’s designs for the superstructure went through several distinct transformations over a nine-year period substantiates the claim that his ideas for this section evolved more slowly and painstakingly because they were much more original as well as in many respects structurally more complicated. Consequently, the upper story represents his ultimate contribution to the overall conceptualization of the tomb-marker¹⁵⁴. To deny Bernini a completely origina-

153 See Frascchetti (1900, 61, n. 7); and P. FEHL, The *Stemme* on Bernini’s Baldacchino in St. Peter’s: a forgotten Compliment, *Burl-Mag*, CXVIII (1976), 484–491.

154 See Hibbard (1973), 129. The earliest illustration of Bernini’s early plan indicates that the artist initially proposed to incorporate seated angels with the risen Christ, thereby reinforcing the eucharistic allusions of the marker with clear reference to the original design of the altar of the Holy Sacrament in S. Giovanni in Laterano (see *supra* n. 49; and Lavin [1968], Fig. 30). By 1626, he had shifted them to a standing position (Lavin [1968], Fig. 31). No one has mentioned that the medal is a pastiche, for the altar is shown from the west with its stairway, while the superstructure is depicted from the east with the risen Christ seen frontally.

tive role in the ideation of the *baldacchino* is not to diminish the power of that achievement; instead, we now comprehend more fully the intricacy of its creation¹⁵⁵.

155 Lavin's most recent statement (1973) regarding the revolutionary nature of Bernini's early design now requires revision. The following can be noted: that the introduction of the twisted column as the support dates in conception from the last years of Paul V's pontificate and was eventually realized by, at the latest, the first months of Urban's papacy under Maderno's design and supervision; that the evolution of the angels was equally gradual with direct reference made both to the most venerated altars in the basilica and to the altar of the Holy Sacrament in S. Giovanni in Laterano where the device was intended to be monumentally incorporated with the risen Christ; and that the creation of an entirely new species of tomb-marker dates to the final years of Paul's reign and evolved in direct response to the pope's major reshaping of the apse and the crossing in accordance with Early Christian principles as well as (it was thought) forms.

When the complete documentation for Bernini's *baldacchino* is finally assembled, the extensive record of the gold-leafing must be included: A. F., I Piano, serie 1, vol. 4, n. 44 - "Libro delle misure dell'oro del baldacchino", including Fig. 9-10 v.

V

This reconsideration of the history of the crossing and the apsidal area in St. Peter's from 1594 to 1624 focuses on the identification of unsuspected features and the resolution of hitherto misinterpreted matters. The result is that the actual situation becomes quite different from the traditional view. And the new evidence presented leads to a significantly revised interpretation of the apparent novelty of Bernini's early designs for the Baldachin. That the creation of a new species of tomb-marker actually was the result of the gradual transformation of ideas that centered on the form and the function of the two sites can now be attested. The truth of the matter is that Bernini was intimately aware of these evolving concepts, as his first model must have manifested; and he also consciously incorporated the most pertinent aspects of that tradition in his final design. Indeed, the individuation of these traditional facets intensifies our recognition of the innovative brilliance and genius that are embodied in his *baldacchino*.

APPENDIX

The archival abbreviations used are:

- A. C. Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro, St. Peter's
 A. F. Archivio della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro,
 St. Peter's
 A. S. R. Archivio di Stato, Rome
 A. S. V. Archivio Segreto Vaticano
 B. V. Biblioteca Vaticana

I. 1594

A. Ciborium "fatto" (A. F., serie armadi, vol. 124)

1. *E a di 15 di giugno 1594* ▽ *venti di moneta* [to Giovanni Guerra] *havutone mandato a buon conto della pittura, che intorno al ciborio di tela che si fa sopra l'altare di San Pietro -* ▽ 20
 [total of ▽ 100 disbursed in 4 additional payments from 17 June to 1 July: 116r]
2. *Mastro Giuseppe falegname deve dare a di 15 di giugno 1594* ▽ *sessanta di moneta havutone mandato a buon conto dell'opera di legname, che lui fa per il ciborio, che si fa sopra l'altare di San Pietro -* ▽ 60
 [total of ▽ 180 disbursed in 4 additional payments from 20 June to 15 July: 116r-v]
3. *Mastro Orazio Cianti deve dare* ▽ *cento di moneta havutone mandato a buon conto dei legnami che lui dà per fare il ciborio di tela sopra l'altare di San Pietro -* ▽ 100
 [total of ▽ 350 disbursed in 4 additional payments from 23 June to 15 July: 117r]
4. *Mastro Ruggiere Bescapè scultore deve dare a di 17 di giugno 1594* ▽ *venti di moneta mandato a buon conto delle basi, e capitelli che lui fa di carta pesta per le colonne del ciborio -* ▽ 20
 [total of ▽ 100 disbursed in 3 additional payments from 20 June to 1 July, including:]
5. *Mastro Ruggiero* [Bescapè] *deve avere a di primo di luglio* ▽ *50 di moneta sono per la fattura di otto basi e delle foglie di otto capitelli, che lui ha fatto di carta pesta per le colonne del ciborio sopra l'altare di San Pietro* [117r-v]
6. *Mastro Giovanni Bellucci deve dare* ▽ *trenta di moneta havutone mandato a buon conto delle spese delle bollette, e tavole d'antano et altre spese minute, che fa per conto del ciborio -* ▽ 30
 [total of ▽ 70 disbursed in 1 additional payment on 23 June: 117r. On 24 July 1619, the heirs of Domenico Zorla received the final payment of the total ▽ 132.23 *per il prezzo di tanti sprangoni di ferro dati l'anno 1594 per servizio dell'altare del santissimi Apostoli*: I Piano, serie armadi, vol. 3, 32r]

B. Ciborium "da farsi" (A. F., serie armadi, vol. 124)

1. *Mastro Giulio Coltrice scarpellino deve dare a di 30 di settembre* ▽ *trecento di moneta havutone mandato a buon conto dei marmi e mischi comprati degli eredi della buona memoria del Cardinal Savelli per il ciborio da farsi sopra l'altare di San Pietro -* ▽ 300
 [total of ▽ 700 disbursed in 2 additional payments on 13 and 25 January 1595]
2. *A di 8 di Agosto 1605. Misura delle pietre mischie e marmi bianchi* [in terra nella piazza dietro la fabbrica] *avanzati del*

ciborio che non s'è eseguito, rustiche e pietre lavorate che non sono opera fatta di mastro Giulio Coltrice e compagni

[There follows a lengthy, detailed description of the various colored marbles that had been assembled for the ciborium, were not used, and were subsequently stored in the basilica: I Piano, serie armadi, vol. 368, 175r-v.]

II. 1597

Ciborium "fatto" (A. S. R., Camerale I, Giustificazioni di tesoreria, busta 25, fascicolo 14: *Conto del ciborio 1597*, unpaginated)

1. *A di 28 marzo 1597*

Mastro Cesare Nebbia pittore deve dare ▽ *trentacinque di moneta per mandato al signor Giustiniani a buon conto della pittura che fa per il ciborio fatto sopra all'altare degli Apostoli in San Pietro per ordine del Nostro Signore -* ▽ 35
 [total of ▽ 70 disbursed in 1 additional payment on 11 April: (2r)]

2. *A di 28 marzo*

A Mastro Alessandro gessaro ▽ *sei a buon conto delle quattro basi di carta pesta che fa per detto ciborio -* ▽ 6
 [total of ▽ 12 in 1 additional payment on 11 April: (2r)]

3. *A di 28 marzo*

A mastro Cristofano imbiancatore ▽ *tre moneta a buon conto del bianco che ha dato ai piedistalli e pilastri per mandato del signor Giustiniani -* ▽ 3
 [total of ▽ 6 disbursed in 1 additional payment on 11 April: (2r)]

4. *A di 28 marzo*

A mastro Ruggiere Bescapè scultore ▽ *dieci moneta mandato a buon conto delle forme delle basi che ha dato per fare le basi di carta pesta -* ▽ 5
 [(2r)]

5. *A di 18 febbraio*

A mastro Giuseppe falegname ▽ *venticinque moneta per mandato al signor Giustiniani a buon conto della manifattura dei legnami che ha lavorato per il ciborio fatto in San Pietro sopra all'altare degli Apostoli per ordine del Nostro Signore -* ▽ 25

[total of ▽ 220 disbursed in 6 additional payments from 27 February to 11 April: (3r)]

6. *A di 18 febbraio*

A Giovanni Bellucci fattore ▽ *venticinque a buon conto della disfatura e fattura del ciborio fatto in San Pietro per ordine del Nostro Signore -* ▽ 25

[total of ▽ 153 disbursed in 6 additional payments from 27 February to 11 April, plus one on 18 April for ▽ 18.55 in "spese minute" for the ciborium of 1594: (4r)]

7. *A di 19 febbraio*

Mastro Simone di Leonessa ferraro deve avere ▽ *12.30 sono per la valuta di libre 307.5 di stoffe fatte per il ciborio -* ▽ 12.30

[total of ▽ 27.18 in 6 additional payments from 26 February to 11 April: (4v)]

8. *A di 10 febbraio*

Signor Orazio Cianti deve avere ▽ *88 per la valuta di quattro legni di castagno di palmi 67 a ▽ 22 l'uno -* ▽ 88

[total of ▽ 227.20 in 10 additional payments from 18 February to 28 March: (4v-5r)]

9. *A di 12 febbraio*

Mastro Battista Bergamasco deve avere ∇ 31 di moneta per la valuta di cento tavolini di antano – ∇ 31

[total of ∇ 42.25 disbursed in 2 additional payments on 17 and 20 March: (5v)]

10. *A di 28 febbraio*

Mastro Carlo Cassaro deve avere ∇ 34 per la valuta di cento tavolini di antano – ∇ 34

[(5v)]

11. *A di 20 marzo*

Mastro Orlando Canoniero genovese deve avere ∇ 8.26 per la valuta di libre 60 di chiodi da 80 a baiocchi 7 la libra et per 5800 di chiodi da 50 a baiocchi 7 il cento – ∇ 8.26

[(5v)]

12. *A di 16 febbraio*

Mastro Agostino Roddi deve avere ∇ tre per la valuta di dodici mazzi di suste a baiocchi 25 il mazzo – ∇ 3

[total of ∇ 64.87 disbursed in 11 additional payments from 4 March to 11 April; another ∇ 76.50 paid out over the same period for spese minute: (6v–7v)]

III. 1598

Ciborium “fatto” (A.S.R., Camerale I, giustificazioni di tesoreria, busta 26, fascicolo 24: *Conto di Cesare Nebbia e compagni pittori*, unpaginated)

1. *Reverendissimi Signori*

A questo conto di Cesare Nebbia e compagni pittori per diversi lavori fatti da loro nel ciborio in San Pietro, ne vedranno l'ordine abbastanza che ha havuto di far tali lavori; con farli vedere e stimare con diligenza da periti quello che possono importare, e li faranno buono quello giudicheranno sia il dovere i comptiti della Camera vedranno, se ha conto dei detti lavori gl'è stato maggiore quantità di denari, dei scudi cento dieci di moneta, che dice avere havuto. Avvertendo, che è stato giurato da un solo, che vedranno se è procurator degli altri a giurare i presenti conti. Che è quanto mi occorre di avvertire, rimettendomi nel resto a quanto ne dirà Monsignor Tesoriere Generale, et al buon giudizio dei santissimi Reverendissimi. Antonio Olgiati presidente.

Faranno vedere i lavori e ridurranno i prezzi loro al giusto.

[(2r)]

2. *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica deve dare a Cesare Nebbia e compagni pittori l'appresso denaro, che importa le pitture fatte da loro nel ciborio di San Pietro in Vaticano, e prima, Per otto colonne, 4 di porta santa e 4 di marmo giallo finti a tutta spesa e fattura* ∇ 40 di moneta – ∇ 40 [cancelled for ∇ 32]

[(3r)]

3. *Per otto pilastri dipinti di pietre finti da 4 faccie con le stelle a tutta spesa e fattura* ∇ 35 – ∇ 35 [cancelled for ∇ 30]

[(3r)]

4. *Per l'arco sopra l'imposta scorniciato con partimento di pietre finti a tutta spesa e fattura* ∇ 5 – ∇ 5 [cancelled for ∇ 3]

[(3r)]

5. *Per il Dio Padre di dentro alla cupola a tutta spesa e fattura* – ∇ 12 [cancelled for ∇ 8]

[(3r)]

6. *Per avere campito d'azzurro la cupola di dentro dove sono andate libre di smalto a giuli 2 la libra con le stelle gialle tutta spesa e fattura* ∇ 28 – ∇ 28 [cancelled for ∇ 20]

[(3r)]

7. *Per la cornice, fregio, e architrave sotto l'azzurro di dentro a spesa e fattura* ∇ 5 – ∇ 5 [cancelled for ∇ 3]

[(3r)]

8. *Per quattro angeli coloriti di dentro in campo giallo a spesa e fattura* ∇ 28 – ∇ [cancelled for ∇ 20]

[(3r)]

9. *Per i quattro Apostoli di finti di bronzo con le sue nicchie finte a tutte sue spese e fatture* ∇ 20 – [cancelled for ∇ 16]

[(3r)]

10. *Per colla e gesso per avere imbiancato la cornice, fregio, architrave e frontespizio e tutto l'imbasamento disotto a tutte spese e fattura* ∇ 12 – [cancelled for ∇ 8]

debito della Camera – ∇ 140

credito – ∇ 110

Resta debito la Camera Apostolica – ∇ 30

[(3r)]

11. *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica di contro deve avere da Cesare Nebbia e compagni pittori* ∇ 70 di moneta havuti del Signor Giustiniani in due partite ∇ 70

E a di 2 di settembre 1598 ∇ 40 simili pagatogli del detto Signor Giustiniani Depositore Generale di Nostro Signore –

∇ 40

∇ 100

[(4r)]

12. *Visto il presente conto di mastro Cesare Nebbia e pittori per la pittura del ciborio di San Pietro in Vaticano fatto da lui con alcune altre spese prodotto e giurato in Camera Apostolica da esso mastro Cesare sotto il 17 di Luglio prossimo passato e a noi infrascritti Clerici comessi, troviamo che per detti lavori di pittura e spese ammettiamo* ∇ 185 di moneta. *E avendo noi fatti vedere detti lavori per la relazione che ne hanno havuto, li riduciamo e tassiamo in* ∇ 140. *Se li come per le partite ammesse da noi in questo consenso del signor Lodovico Zacchia Commissario Generale della Camera Apostolica a buon conto dei quali lavori gli sono stati pagati in due partite* ∇ 110 di moneta, *i quali detratti dalli detti* ∇ 140 *restano in* ∇ 30 *di moneta e di tanta somma diciamo, senteriamo e dichiariamo la Camera Apostolica essere e restar debitore a detto mastro Cesare per resto e saldo del presente conto e per fedeltà la presente sarà sottoscritta di nostra propria mano in Camera Apostolica questo di 3 di Agosto 1600.*

[(3v–4r)]

IV. 1600

Ciborium “fatto” (A.F., serie armadi, vols. 162, 164, 167)

1. *Mastro Giuseppe* [falegname] *di contro deve avere a di 21 di Aprile 1600* ∇ 250 di moneta sono che tanto montano i lavori fatti da lui di legname al ciborio come appare per il conto soldato da signor Jacomo della Porta, che levato ∇ 22.50 per l'aggio restano – ∇ 237.50

[total of ∇ 237.50 disbursed in 14 payments from 19 November 1599 to 21 April 1600 (vol. 162, 61r–v); a total of ∇ 183.35 also paid out in 8 payments from 26 November 1599 to 14 April 1600 for tavole d'antano, legnami, and lavori diversi (vols. 164, 42r; 167, 12vff.)]

2. *Mastro Christofano* [Roncalli] *di contro deve avere a di 3 di marzo 1600* ∇ 190 per la pittura che ha fatto per il ciborio di tela fatto sopra l'altare degli Apostoli – ∇ 190

[total of ∇ 190 disbursed in 7 payments from 10 December 1599 to 3 March (vol. 162, 61r; the saldo only on 4 June 1604 (vol. 171, 67v)]

Ciborium "da farsi" (A.S., serie armadi, vol. 171)

1. *Mastro Belardino Buccelani deve dare* [on 15 June] ∇ 50
havutone mandato a buon conto di ∇ 200 *che deve avere per*
le tele datte per fare il ciborio di San Pietro - ∇ 50
 [total of ∇ 105 in 3 additional payments from 20 June to 10
 July (69r)]

VI. 1605/06

A. Ciborium and altar-screen in the western apse (A.S.V., Fondo Borghese, serie I, vols. 720, 721; A.F., serie armadi, vol. 368, serie 1, vol. 368)

1. *Die Sabbati XXIII eiusdem mensis Decembris* [1605], in *Vigilia Nativitatis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Paulus papa quintus, pluviali albo et mitra preciosa ornatus, cruce et cardinalibus cum cappis rubeis praecedentibus, in sede delatus a suis parafrenariis, ad Basilicam Sancti Petri descendit per salam Regiam et inde per scalam a Sisto quinto felicis recordationis constructam, quae ducit ad Sacellum Gregorianum; ubi post demolitionem altarium, quae in antiqua ecclesia erant, Sanctissimum Sacramentum locatum fuit. Ibi ergo Pontifex ante dictum altare Gregorianum, super quod Sanctissimum Sacramentum in tabernaculo discooperto locatum erat, oravit; et finita oratione iterum, in sede compositus, ductus fuit ad Cappellam, quae hac prima vice non apud altare maius Apostolorum, ut alias, sed apud aliud altare, de novo constructum versus Tribunam et occidentalem partem ecclesiae, ordinata et praeparata fuit decentissime quidem et longe melius quam prius, dum fiebat apud praedictum altare maius, quod tum ob ipsius altaris depressionem tum ob latitudinem loci et aeris frigiditatem, valde ad has solemnes cappellas celebrandas, praesertim hiemali tempore, incommodum erat et est. Oravit igitur Pontifex iterum ante novum praedictum altare et eodem tempore versus altare Apostolorum; hoc enim contra illud recta linea erectum fuit et pari ac (283 v) simili modo situatum in medio super duos gradus porphireos, qui quasi Presbyterium constituunt, et Tribunam ab ultima cruce ecclesiae versus occidentem dividunt; ita ut tum in hoc quam in illo celebrans faciem ad orientem vertat; sed hoc illo eminentius apparuit. Nam super suos praedictos gradus porphireos, qui postremam illam ecclesiae partem, quasi Presbyterium altiore reddunt, tabulatum fabricaverunt, super quod altare erectum fuit, ad quod per quinque amplos et latos gradus ascendebatur, praeter alium suppedaneum latum gradum, quem Predellam vocant, ubi celebrans pedes tenet. Ornatum autem hoc altare decentissime fuit omnibus ornamentis cappellae et cum altare portatili consecrato, cruce, candelabris et statuīs Apostolorum argenteis; ac super illud baldachinum suspensum fuit et a summo tecto chordula demissa sustentatum. Facta oratione, Pontifex solium ascendit, quod in extrema parte ecclesiae versus occidentem apud parietem locatum fuit super quinque gradus marmoreos, ubi etiam sedes marmorea fabricata fuerat, quae sublata est, et in eius loco sedes Pontificis lignea locata fuit et more solito ornata, et solium amplum et latum remansit, quod una cum gradibus praedictis panno rubro coopertum fuit, et super sedem Pontificis baldachinum iuxta solitum aptatum est. Et parietes ac totus (284 r) cappellae praedictae locus ab altare ad Tribunam et circumcirca decentissime ornati fuerunt, pavimento vero in plano cappellae panno viridi coopertum, et hinc inde scamna Reverendissimorum Dominorum Cardinalium capacia, et bene ac decenter disposita et ornata fuerunt, et a dextris altaris apud parietem et quandam fenestram pulpi-*

tum magnum et capax, a terra elevatum et decenter ornatum, erectum fuit pro Cantoribus, et omnia cura, industria et opera Domini Pauli Alaleonis collegae ita apte decenter et bene disposita fuerunt, ut nihil melius in hoc genere desiderari poterit. Praestita per Cardinales Pontifici oboedientia, duobus ultimis Diaconis Cardinalibus, Auria nempe et Pio, ad assistentiam Pontificis hinc inde remanentibus, ceteri omnes sacra sumserunt paramenta, quilibet ordini suo convenientiae, et reversis primis Diaconis et paratis etiam ultimis praedictis, Pontifex inchoavit et prosequutus fuit Vesperas more solito, ut convenit, quando Pontifex est in crastinum celebraturus. Interfuerunt Cardinales numero 42.

(A.S.V., Vol. 720, 283 r - 84 r)

2. 23 Novembre 1606

Misura del falegnameria del ciborio e palco della musica fatti nella tribuna grande
Per fattura del ciborio dove fa Cappella Nostro Signore Papa Paolo V in San Pietro nuovo Vaticano fatti da Giuseppe di Banchi falegname in Borgo. In prima s'è fatta la cornice, fregio e architrave sopra alle colonne dei quattro angoli isolate e fatte di legname con la sua armatura - ∇ 85
E più si sono fatti i quattro archi doppi con le sue grossezze e con la sua cornice, fregio, architrave e frontespizio - ∇ 100
E più per quattro angoli con i suoi ovati e le sue grossezze con la cornice che gira attorno a detta opera - ∇ 40
E più per la cupola di dentro con le sue centine - ∇ 35
E più per il sodo a otto faccie dove posa la cupola difuori fatto a telai - ∇ 20
E più per quattro fusti di tavole adrizate con le sue traverse - ∇ 1.60
E più per la cupola difuori con le sue centine e coste - ∇ 40
E più per la lanterna tonda con le cartelle e la cornice con la sua croce - ∇ 20
E più per quattro fusti di tavole adrizate con le sue traverse - ∇ 1.60
E più per otto zoccoli sotto gli vasi che posano sopra alle cartelle - ∇ 1.60
E più per quattro colonne tonde con base, capitello di ordine dorico di tutta roba del mastro - ∇ 32
E più per una cornice architravata sopra alle otto colonne dai due fianchi del ciborio dove posano i candelieri della cornice di tre faccie con i suoi resalti - ∇ 12
E più per otto piedestalli con la sue cimasa risultata e base con le sue cartelle per testa fatte tutte di legname - ∇ 18
E più per otto candelieri con un balaustro tornito con la sua padella e brocholare dove entra la torcia a roba del mastro e con il suo piede di fruttura - ∇ 12
E più per havere rifatta la scalinata dell'altare da cinque faccie di cinque scalini - ∇ 12
E più per la ringhiera ovvero palco dove stanno i cantori a detta Cappella per havere fatto quattro modelli con il suo solaro sopra doppio e parapetto d'intorno con la cornice, la cimasa e base, e la scala foderata sotto e per fianco con la sua porta in cima

∇ 40

[total] ∇ 485.20

[Carlo Maderno reduced the total with a *levo* to ∇ 298.40]

[(A.F., serie 1, vol. 368, 51 r - 52 v)]

3. *Io Giovanni Battista Crescenzi detto dagli Illustrissimi Signori Cardinali della Sacra Congregazione della Fabbrica per stimare la pittura fatta da mastro Giovanni Guerra nel ciborio di San Pietro, visto e considerato minutamente tanto la spesa quanto la manifattura e consiglatomi ancora con uomini della professione giudico che la sudetta pittura con le spese sia del*

valore di ∇ 210, e in fede ho fatto la presente di mia mano sottoscritta questo di 21 novembre 1606 – ∇ 210

[A.F., serie 1, vol. 368, 57r]

4. *Eadem die prima novembris [1606] feria quarta, pro solemnibus Omnium Sanctorum festo celebravit missam in Basilica Sancti Petri Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis Pinellus, episcopus Portuensis, in altari noviter constructo, sub eleganti Ciborio de novo fabricato in extrema parte ecclesiae, quam Tribunalam vocant, super gradus Presbyterii versus orientem. Sedes vero Pontificis in solio apud parietem contra altare praedictum parata et ornata fuit decentissime. Et scamna Reverendissimorum Dominorum Cardinalium hinc inde apud parietes, quasi in forma ovata, prout olim in antiqua Cappella Basilicae Sancti Petri disposita fuerunt, ita ut post illa locus vacuus non remanserit, neque pro Gubernatore et Episcopis a dextris, neque pro Prothonotariis a sinistris, qui nunc, ut olim, locati fuerunt in cornu dextero altaris prope pulpitem Cantorum, nempe Gubernator, Auditor Camerae, ac digniores Episcopi in primo scamno, ceteri in sequentibus et post Episcopos Prothonotarii in aliis scamnis, omnibus sine postergalibus. Ciborium super altare elegantissimum apparuit mirabili architectura fabricatum, octo marmoreis et pulcherrimis columnis, ut (46 v) aiunt, ex templo Salomonis ad Urbem translatis, sustentatum et repagula quasi cancelli super gradus Presbyterii fabricata et elegantissime disposita fuerunt, ita ut totum Cappellae spatium occluderent. Super ipsa repagula, in aptissima coronide, a sex aliis columnis similibus, aequali et congrua distantia locatis, sustentata, candelabra octo fabricata fuerunt, ut ibi intorticia solita pro sacrificio missae locarentur et accenderentur, prout hodie accensa et locata sex intorticia fuerunt. Ex dictis sex columnis, quae coronidem praedictam sustinebant, duae quidem marmoreae erant et ex eisdem, quas a templo Salomonis translatas esse traditur, aliae quattuor ad illarum similitudinem, quantum licuit, ex cemento ac lapidibus fabricatae fuerunt. Pulpitem etiam Cantorum ita depictum, ut marmoreum appareret, cum scala comoda a dextris altaris apud parietem in fenestra opportune locatum fuit; et sub ipso pulpito scamnum pro Oratore Bononiense seu Ferrariense praeparatum. Cappellae parietes hinc inde pulcherrimis pannis, auro et serico contextis, ornati fuerunt, pavimento panno viridi, solium vero Pontificis rubro panno coopertum fuit, et omnia tam apte et eleganter disposita, ut numquam hactenus melius, seu elegantius disposita fuerint.*
[(A.S.V., Vol. 121, 46R–v)]

B. Baldachin in the crossing (A.S.V., Fondo Borghese, serie 1, vol. 721; A.F., serie 1, vol. 368)

1. [28 June 1606]

In novam Basilicam ingressus, Pontifex genuflexit in faldistorio parato ante et extra cancellos Sacelli Gregoriani et oravit ante Sanctissimum Sacramentum, quod discoopertum super altare dicti Sacelli locatum erat. Deinde pariter in faldistorio genuflexus, oravit ante altare maius Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quorum solemnitas agebatur, ut merito apud ipsum et non aliud altare eo die Vesperas solennes decantare et celebrare Pontifex voluerit. Super altare praedictum quadratum baldachinum pendeat, quod a quattuor angelis sustinebatur. Ecclesia vero tota ab ingressu usque ad sedem Pontificis preciosis auleis et peristomatibus ornata fuit et super portam a parte interiori ille pannus appensus fuit, qui olim ad Beatorum Martyrum corpora sepelienda destinatus fuerat, quem Martyrum cultram vocant ...
[(A.S.V., Vol. 121, 21 v)]

2. *Nota e stima di diverse fatture e che si fanno [15 April 1606] in servizio della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro per opera di*

me sottoscritto [Giovanni Guerra]. Il merito del baldacchino per improvviso di non conosciute difficoltà resta – ∇ 60

L'inargentatura dei tre stanghi per le lampade dell'altare dei santissimi Apostoli – ∇ 1.50

La pittura dei quattro piedestalli da farsi sotto gli angeli del sudetto baldacchino in 16 faccie entrovi imprese di candaliere, righe e chiave et altro – ∇ 16.

[the total of ∇ 137.70 includes additional entries for work done elsewhere in the basilica (A.F., vol. 368, 60r)]

3. *Lavori di legname fatti da Giuseppe dei Banchi falegname parte di tutta sua roba e parte di manifattura della Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano, e questo [on 9 May 1606] dopo tre conti saldati. In prima*

Per haver fatto segare dai segatori i 4 legni in piede del baldacchino segati per regolare le grossezze e le scorezze due giornate e mezza dei segatori – ∇ 2

E più per la lavorazione di detti 4 legni per il baldacchino tirati a 8 faccie e puliti – ∇ 6

E più per esser stato a farli alzare i piedi e farli mettere a piombo – ∇ 6

E più per la fattura del telaio grande del baldacchino fatto degli architrave, fattoli lavorare a grossezza e larghezza con 5 traverse e inchiodatoci i suoi ferramenti e tirato la tele e riuscita – ∇ 4.50

E più per 4 telai per i pendoni lavorati a grossezza con le sue traverse in mezzo tirato la tela da due faccie e riuscita dove bisognava – ∇ 8

E più per haver fatto una cornice tutta di legname che gira attorno a detto baldacchino a 4 faccie lunga se stessa palmi 112 – ∇ 13.50

E più per la fattura di 4 piedestalli sotto gli angeli del baldacchino messoci dentro i travi a bastoni che tengono detto baldacchino fatti di 4 telai per piedestallo di travicelli e foderati di tavole attorno con la base e la cimasa, due isolati e due da tre faccie, larghi palmi 4 per tutti i versi – ∇ 10

E più a detti piedestalli mastro Amborgio scultore volse che si accressero mezzo plamo attorno a tutti i quattro – ∇ 3

E più si sono fatti altri 4 piedestalli spora ai detti isolati con 4 telai per piedestallo di legname lavorati dove che oggi posano gli angeli sopra – ∇ 3.60

E più s'è fatto il solaro sopra il baldacchino di tavole d'olmo adrizzate con la piolla lungo palmi 25 e largo palmi 30 – ∇ 2.40

E più si sono fatti 4 zoccoli dove sono fermati i legni in piede dei 4 angeli fatti a telai di travicelli grossi lavorati con un tavolone sopra tutti quattro insieme – ∇ 2.50

E più per aver fatto le armature e le ale dei 4 angeli di legno – ∇ 16

E più per aver slungato e slargato a 2 palmi ogni verso del baldacchino da 4 faccie, slungata la cornice e i pendoni attaccati con armature a detto baldacchino – ∇ 8

E più per la fattura di un castello di legname per fare ponti con tre telai armati con i cavicchi di ferro

[total of ∇ 162.50 includes additional entries for work done in other areas of the basilica (A.F., vol. 368, 21 r–22 v)]

VII. 1617–1622

The four angels of the baldacchino of 1606 (A.F. Serie 1, vol. 3; serie 2, vols. 10, 15; serie 3, vol. 159 a; A.C., diari, vol. 11)

1. [To Giovanni Battista Ricci] *per haver restaurato i 4 angeli grandi di stucco, che tengono il baldacchino dell'altare di san Pietro – ∇ 6*

[this entry is included in a lengthy list of activities in the basilica in which Ricci was involved from 3 February 1617 to 13 June 1620, but does not itself carry a specific date (A.F., vol. 3, 307r)]

2. [November 1621]

Coram nobis comparuit Dominus Augustinus Brasca fabricae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe Eonomus Generalis et exposuit quod de anno 1606 Inlustrissimi et Reverendissimi Domini Cardinales Prefecti eiusdem fabricae ex propria pecunia eiusdem mandaverunt construi quatuor Angelos pro ornatu Altaris Maioris in medio Ecclesia existens, et expedita summa ultra scutum mille et fuissent factae in dicta Ecclesia duae sanctorum canonizationes videlicet Sanctae Francescae et Sancti Caroli et semper quatuor Angelos permansissent et nunc nesciens quo spiritu ducti Inlustrissimus Dominus Didacus Vaionoveus auctus procurator Canonizationis facendae pro Beato Isidoro, et Paulus Guidottus Burghesius architectus una cum Benido Dreo et Jacobo Pederana di Allesandria fabriis muroriis predictos Angelos demolire mandavissent prout de sabbathi proximi preteriti demoliti fuerunt nulla impetrata venia nec ullo facto verbo cum Inlustrissimus Dominis Cardinalibus dictae fabricae prefectis sed de facto et propria acciso et cum necesse sit pro ornatu eiusdem altaris alios Angelos similes construi ... dicta cautio fuerit prestita idonea et sufficiens et predicti quatuor Angeli denuo constructi construi in ea qualitate et quantitate et excellentia prout erant predicti petens presentem protestationem admitti et declarari illos afficendum sine preiudicio alterius actionis criminalis et ita postulator non solum premissis sed omni alio meliori modo.

[(A.F., Vol. 15, 252r)]

3. 24 novembre 1621

Il Cavaliere Don Diego di Vario nuovo residente in Roma per la Maestà Cattolica al negozio della canonizzazione del beato Isidoro Agricola supplica umilmente Vostro Illustrissimo Signore che si compiacerà ordinare al signor Corazza Giudice della Fabbrica di San Pietro, che soprasseda nel giudizio intentato dal Economo della detta Fabbrica tanto conti il detto quanto conti il Cavaliere Paolo Guidotti Borghese, e qualsivisia altra persona per occasione di haver levato e fatto levare gli angeli che stavano sopra l'altare dei gloriosi apostoli San Pietro e San Paolo con licenza del Capitolo e Signor Cardinal Arciprete della chiesa di San Pietro, toccano alla Congregazione della detta Fabbrica dare licenza come spera della benignità del Vostro Signor Illustrissimo Reverendo

[(A.F., vol. 10, 690r-v)]

4. 30 marzo 1622

Al medesimo Signor Cardinal del Monte si è rimesso similmente il trattare con il Cavaliere Don Diego Varionevo di Posalta per il danno che riceve la Fabbrica per la demolizione dei 4 angeli di stucco, che stavano all'altare maggiore

[(A.F., vol. 159a, 47r)]

VIII. 1622

Baldachin for the quintuple canonization (A.C., Diari, vol. 11; B. V., Archivio degli introiti ed esiti, vol. 94)

1. A dì 12 di marzo 1622 sabbato. Canonizzazione di cinque santi.

Essendo alcuni mesi sono dalla buona memoria di Papa Paolo V finalmente per la molta istanza del Re di Spagna Filippo III e della università di Madrid stato risoluto di canonizzare il beato Isidoro di Madrid aratore e bifolco, per esser già stato finito il suo processo e per tal effetto s'era già ordinato che si

mettessero in ordine nella chiesa di San Pietro tutte le cose necessarie, come ancora fuori ogni sorte di paramenti e altre cose opportune; ed il palco o teatro che vogliamo dire fu già cominciato nella nostra chiesa al principio di luglio prossimo passato con intenzione di metterlo in opera a ottobre passato. Perche la macchina è riuscita assai maggiore di quella che si proponeva ed anche perche ancora non erano totalmente in ordine le altre cose, di giorno in giorno s'è slongata sin al sudetto giorno, e in questo medesimo tempo i padri Gesuiti, e i padri scalzi Carmelitani, come ancora i preti della Chiesa Nuova si sono uniti per avanzare molta spesa di fare istanza ancora loro, cioè i Gesuiti per il beato Ignazio e beato Francesco Xaviero della loro congregazione quel fondatore e questo Apostolo, i padri scalzi per la beata madre Teresa loro fondatrice, e i preti della Chiesa Nuova per il beato Filippo Neri similmente loro fondatore. Per haver trovato il nuovo Papa facile ad accondiscendere al loro volere, si sono aiutati con mezzo di cardinali, e hanno ottenuto che con questo si canonizzassero tutti cinque, como s'è fatto questa mattina.

L'ordine della processione non si può descrivere per esser stato molto confuso e disordinato, anzi che non vi è stato ordine nessuna perche le porte della chiesa sono sempre persino all'animo del Papa state serrate e non si è entrato se non scassamente e con grandissima difficoltà non solo dal popolo ma anche quelli di condizione; e alle porte vi sono stati fatti di molti rumori fra soldati del Papa, i cavalleggieri e gli svizzeri, e la famiglia del Papa ancora sono entrati in chiesa con molto disordine.

Arrivato poi il Papa con i Cardinali in chiesa, e fatto orazione al santissimo Sacramento, s'è premieramente cantato all'altare di San Gregorio Magno e vi s'è vestito il Papa e s'è poi andato professionalmente all'altare maggiore in mezzo della chiesa, e fatto tutte le cose disposte dal Ceremoniale romano, essendovi cantato la messa dal medesimo Papa Gregorio XV e servito in essa tutte le cose descritte nel detto Ceremoniale romano.

Questa mattina nella nostra chiesa non solo non vi abbiamo cantato la messa, ma non vi si sono neanche dette messe basse se non alcune poche in sacrestia, nemmeno vi abbiamo cantato l'ufficio.

Nella Cappella non vi è stato luogo fermo per il nostro Clero ma chi s'è potuto salvare s'è salvato e ognuno s'è accomodato meglio che ha potuto.

Le candele sono tutte state consegnate dai ministri spagnoli al signor mastro Antonio di Magurio Camerlengo, dell'ecetto per tutto il nostro Capitolo cioè per le candele di tre libbre e per i bereati e clerici di due e poi per gli altri ministri secondo l'ordine, quali candele sono state date solamente dagli spagnoli per Santo Isidoro e non da altri.

Le fiaccole poste sopra i cornicioni della cupola per le nicchie, sopra il teatro e nei 4 lantermoni fatti a foggia di grandissime corone e altri fatti a foggia di lampadari sono tutte state di 4, di 3, di 2 e di 1 libra almeno, quali sono state in gran numero l'avanzo dei quali sono tutte state assegnate alla sacrestia al numero [blank] in tutto, e pesono libbre [blank].

Il palco s'ordinò, che si vendesse e si distribuise al Capitolo ancorche la maggior parte sia servito per servizio di una fabbrica che si fa in un nostro casale. Il resto è stato venduto a diversi e ancora non s'è fatto altra distribuzione.

Il Papa e i suoi ministri hanno voluto tutte le loro bagaglie di tutti cinque santi sia dei paramenti e vesti come ancora di denari che habbiano speso ciascuno, se bene non s'è proceduto con molto rigore; e il Papa tutti i cinque paramenti che sono di molto valore, l'ha mandati a Bologna e i denari dicono l'habbi mandati in Germania per servizio della guerra.

I nostri Cardinali si sono aiutati ancora loro per havere qualche cosa da ciascuno sia per il palco e la cera come ancora per il baldacchino, che si vuole fare sopra l'altare maggiore, e da principio gli fu dato buona intenzione di volere in tutto dare ∇ 10000 fra ogni cosa, ma poi si cominciò a ridurre a poco a poco fin tanto, che per opera dei Cardinali Bandini, Ubaldini e altri buoni spiriti di contradizione fu ridotta in niente, eccetto che i padri Gesuiti misero sopra l'altare maggiore il loro baldacchino d'ormisino bianco dipinto, essendone stato levato quello di Santo Isidoro, che è stato donato secondo il solito alla nostra sacrestia dal nostro Capitolo.

[(A. C., vol. 11, 54r-56r)]

2. *E a di detto [12 April 1622] ∇ 20000 di moneta havuti dal padre Niccolò d'Almanzano della compagnia del Gesù a conto della sudetta a spesa della canonizzazione di Santo Ignazio, che ∇ 1000 si sono diffalcati per il baldacchino e altri adornamenti*

[(B. V., vol. 94, 37r)]

IX. 1622-1624

Two baldachins in the crossing (A. F., serie 3, vol. 159 a; serie armadi, vol. 240; serie 1, vol. 13)

A. 1622

1. *Il baldacchino grande sopra l'altare dei gloriosi Apostoli s'accordi conforme al disegno veduto nella congregazione* [(vol. 159 a, 48r)]

B. 1623-1624

1. 3 luglio 1623

I 4 colonne fatte per reggere il baldacchino sopra l'altare maggiore si mettono in opera e s'indorino secondo il pensiero dell'Architetto facto verbo cum Sanctissimum

[(vol. 159 a, 60r)]

2. 6 ottobre 1623

Il signor Cardinal del Monte dica a Nostro Signore, che si vorriano mettere in opera le 4 colonne di legno fatte per reg-

gere il baldacchino in mezzo alla chiesa, acciòche la Sua Santità habesse alcuno altro pensiero migliore si possa obedire

[(vol. 159 a, 61r)]

3. *A di 28 di novembre 1623 4 ferri che servono a sostenere il telaio del baldacchino dell'altare maggiore, che pesono libbre 229.10*

[(vol 13, n. 43)]

4. *A mastro Bettino Albertini [on 22 December] ∇ 61.39, il resto di ∇ 101.39 per i lavori del baldacchino all'altare*

[total of ∇ 101.39 in 2 additional payments on 27 October and 1 December (vol. 240, 12v, 16v, 19v)]

5. *A di 25 di gennaio [1624] 4 ferri grossi per l'anima dei 4 angeli che vanno all'altare maggiore, pesono libbre 1102*

[(vol. 13, n. 43)]

X. 1624-1633

Baldachin "di metallo" (A. F., serie 1, vol. 4; serie 3, vol. 159 a)

1. 7 giugno 1624

Il medesimo Economo faccia un'edetto nel quale si notifici a chi ha pensieri d'architettura, invenzioni o altro per fare il baldacchino sopra l'altare dei santissimi Apostoli in San Pietro, voglia farne dei modelli e portarli alla prima congregazione, che si farà tra quindici giorni nella quale compariscino a dire anche in voce l'opinione loro

[(vol. 159 a, 69r)]

2. *Ai muratori [on 14 June] per aiutare a rizzare la colonna - ∇ 1.20*

[(vol. 4, int. 2, 11r; for additional "spese minute" through 10 June 1625, see 11r-v)]

3. *Noi Bartolomeo Rossi e Alessandro Nave compagni abbiamo ricevuto contanti dal Cavalier Gianlorenzo Bernini ∇ 50 di moneta a conto dei lavori da farsi per l'ornamento dello altare dei santissimi Apostoli Santi Pietro e Paolo in San Pietro, e in fede abbiamo firmato la presente di nostra propria mano i 17 di guigno 1624 - ∇ 50*

[(vol. 4, int. 43, 469r)]

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