JOSEPH CONNORS

ALLIANCE AND ENMITY IN ROMAN BAROQUE URBANISM

for Richard Krautheimer

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INTRODUCTION*

The study of Roman urbanism has traditionally focused on the straight streets and regular piazzas of the Renaissance popes. Alexander VI's Via Alessandrina, Julius II's Via Giulia and its suburban counterpart, the Via della Lungara, Leo X's Via di Ripetta, Paul III's Via dei Baullari and Piazza Farnese, the tridents of Piazza del Popolo and Piazza del Ponte, and Pius IV's Via Pia and Borgo Pio are the classic examples. They have come to symbolize the imposition of a rational Vitruvian order on the warren of medieval streets in the Campus Martius or on the villa and convent lands of the *disabitato*. Sixtus V inherited these models and used them on a vast scale, enlisting Renaissance ideals in the service of the Counter Reformation. For the pilgrim who came to Rome but soon lost himself in the maze of streets[1], he opened up "molte strade amplissime, e drittissime" and replaced the "molti giramenti di strade" with avenues like the Via Felice. Valleys were filled and plains levelled, the crooked made straight and the rough places plain. Travellers on their way to nourish the soul at the basilicas would find delight in the "vaghissimi siti, scoprendosi in più luoghi ... le più basse parti della città con varie, e diverse prospettive ..."[2]

A different kind of urbanism, however, was operative a stone's throw from the straight streets, inside the more confused and complicated neighborhoods of the old city, and also to some extent in the blocks inside the northern trident. This a more local urbanism created by the shaping of streets and piazzas around the larger palaces and convents of the city. The parts of Rome that seem unplanned are usually planned around the interests of powerful individuals or institutions. Operating over long spans of time, tenaciously guarding principles of self-interest, fostered and sometimes harnessed by popes but never entirely dominated by them, large buildings became engines of change that gave shape to much of the city.

Convent and institutional urbanism are the focus of this study. It will be useful to begin with a description of the arterial system of streets in the Campus Martius, where many of the buildings discussed are located. The next section discusses the legal framework that allowed town planning to operate at a local level, including institutions like the Maestri di Strade and the licenses they issued. Within this framework architects followed strategies of what has been called *Visualisierung,* the engineering of visual prominence through the adjustment of facades and corners and the opening of streets and piazzas. The paper then goes on to examine four case studies of individual piazzas shaped by alliance between powerful patrons, or misshapen by the failure of an alliance or the onset of hostility. Piazza Trevi is an example of a piazza created in the cradle of a political alliance formed around Barberini foreign policy. Piazza Campitelli is the result of an alliance between Alexander VII and the Popolo Romano to move a miraculous icon and create an aristocratic family enclave around it. San Carlo ai Catinari illustrates the problems raised by excessive proximity between convents trying to grow in competition with one another. Piazza Sant'Agostino shows the effects of rivalry, both urban and theological, between two great religious orders and the attempts of Borromini to mediate between them. The paper ends with a fifth case study, Piazza Sant'Ignazio, not because it is shaped by alliance or deformed by enmity, but because it raises some of the themes and processes of institutional urbanism to the level of metaphor.

1 See for example G. Pico Fonticulano, *Breve descrittione di sette città illustri d'Italia,* Aquila, 1582 (cited in Piero Tomei, *L'architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento,* Rome, 1942, p. 17 f.): "Roma per non avere nell'entrare e nell'uscire da essa strade diritte, che menino i fuorastieri de là e de quà nei luoghi pubblici è mal agiata ... E se alcun vuol vedere le meraviglie di Roma bisogna che egli si vada ravvolgendo hor là, hor quà, in questo vico e in quello."

2 Domenico Fontana, *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano,* Rome, 1590 (facsimile Milan, 1978), p. 101 a–b.

1. Rome, air view of Campus Martius

Within the Campus Martius the pattern of streets resembles a system of arteries that feeds a large mass of tissue by constantly ramifying into smaller vessels (Fig. 1)[3]. The streets wind their way to a fork, split, and each branch continues on until it too ramifies at a successive fork, and these branches ramify still further until they loose themselves in tiny alleys or arrive at the edges of the *abitato*. The essence of the system is the *trivium* in the ancient sense of the word[4], the fork and the possibility of choice that it offers.

Tempesta's map of 1593 shows the ramifying nature of the arterial system clearly. Two routes in the *disabitato* possibly reflect ancient *trivia:* one where the Via Appia and the Via Latina split near the Baths of Caracalla (Fig. 2); and the other the fork in the "Via Capo le Case" (the former Via della Madonna di Costantinopoli, now Via del Tritone) that was soon to become Piazza Grimana and shortly thereafter Piazza Barberini (Fig. 3). The Piazza della Suburra was a fork in the ancient street that began as the Argiletum near the senate house in the Forum, led over the Forum Transitorium (then the Pantani) and continued past the Madonna ai Monti in the valley between the Quirinal and the Esquiline. After the Piazza della Suburra it split into two branches skirting the edges of the Esquiline: the Via Urbana (the ancient Vicus Patricius straightened under Urban VIII) and the Via di Santa Lucia in Selci (the ancient Clivus Suburanus) continuing up through the Arco di Gallieno[5]. Along the Tiber bank the Via di Tor di Nona runs east from the Piazza di Ponte to the Albergo dell'Orso, where it splits into the Via dell'Orso and the Via di Monte Brianzo, which passes through Piazza Nicosia and then becomes Paul III's straight Via Trinitatis[6].

But the most extensive arterial system is the one that begins at Ponte Sant'Angelo, runs through the Canale di Ponte, forks at the Zecca, and continues through the Campus Martius as the Via Papale and the Via del Pellegrino (Fig. 4)[7]. The Via Papale (also called the Via dei Banchi Nuovi, the Via del Governo Vecchio or the Via di Parione) skirts around the edges of Monte Giordano and winds on to further forks at Pasquino and the Gesù, where one branch led to Piazza Santi Apostoli and the Quirinale, while the other led over Paul III's Via Capitolinis to the Forum and the Lateran. The Via del Pellegrino (also called the Via dei Banchi Vecchi) forked at the Chiavica di Santa Lucia, an ancient fork where the Via di Regola (now Via di Monserrato) left it on its way to Piazza Farnese and Ponte Sisto[8]. The Via del Pellegrino forked once again at the Via dell'Arco dei Cappellari; and after passing through the Campo di Fiori and becoming the Via dei Giubbonari it forked again at the church of San Benedetto *inter duas vias* (later to become Piazza San Carlo ai Catinari), where one branch led to Piazza Mattei and Piazza Campitelli, and the other to the Ghetto and the Tiber bridges. Thus this single artery ramifies at eight forks.

Alberti summed up the strategies that might be pursued in selecting a site for the "Town House for a Tradesman" faced with streets like these: "in trivio angulum, in foro frontem, intra militarem viam perspicuum inflexum"[9].

3 Tomei, L'architettura, pp. 15–19; Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Figura 9), Stockholm, 1958, pp. 23–33; Christoph Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (RömForsch 21), Tübingen, 1973, I, p. 11 ("Und ähnlich wie diese Hauptstraßen schlängelten sich auch die meisten übrigen Straßen zwischen Kirchen und antiken Ruinen hindurch – einem Fluß vergleichbar, der sich den Weg des geringsten Widerstandes sucht."); and Christian Elling, *Rome: The Biography of Her Architecture from Bernini to Thorvaldsen,* Boulder, Colorado, 1975, pp. 366–73.

4 The Latin meaning is the meeting place of three roads, or secondarily the breeding place of coarse manners ("the gutter"), just as *quadrivium* is the intersection of four roads and also a place for low life. The use of *trivium* for a Renaissance trident of streets (as in the Günther article cited below) is not antique.

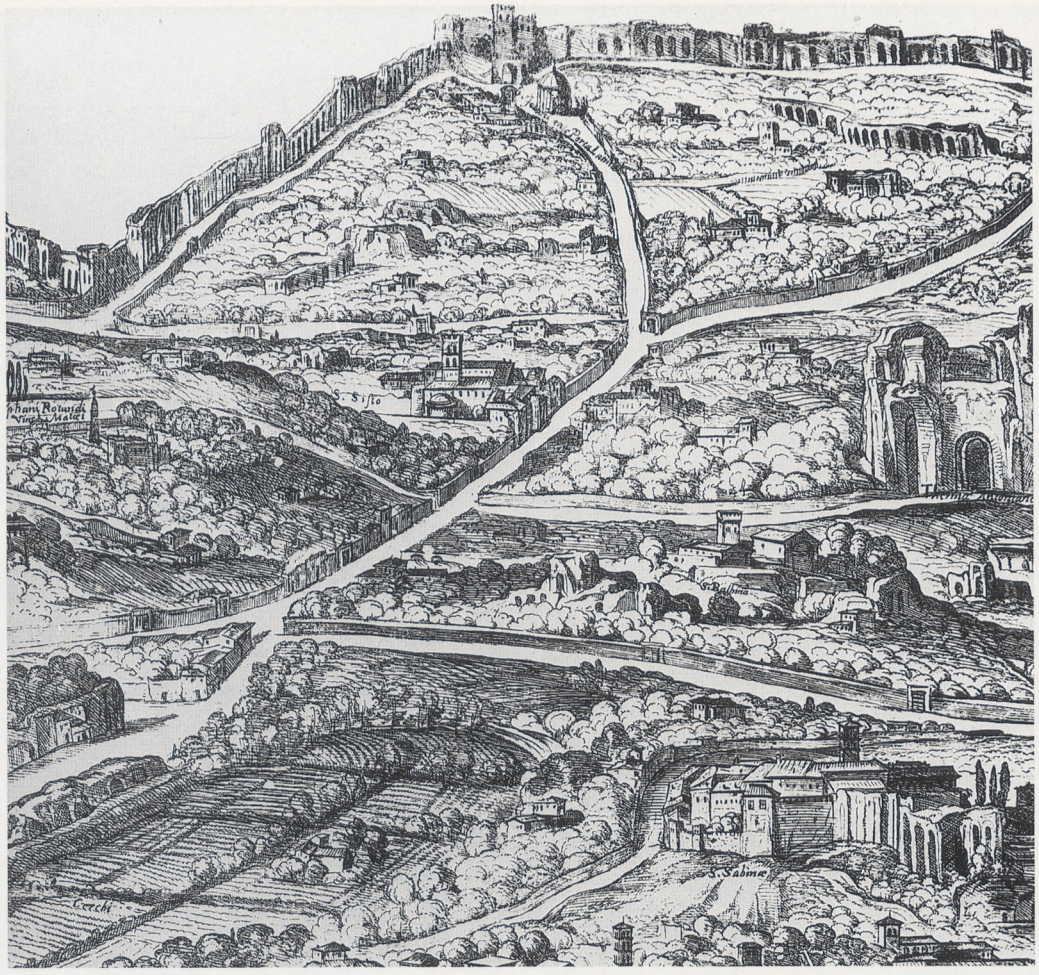
5 S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* Oxford and London, 1929, pp. 125 and 576 f.; H. Egger, *Römische Veduten: Handzeichnungen aus dem XV.–XVIII. Jahrhundert,* II, pl. 94 and pp. 111 f. and 142; C. Huelsen and others, *S. Agata dei Goti,* Rome, 1924, pp. 3–10.

6 Alberto Cametti, "La Torre di Nona e la contrada circostante dal medio evo al secolo XVII," *ArchStorRom,* XXXIX, 1916, pp. 411–66; R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma,* IV, Rome, 1912, p. 234 f.

7 See Emilio Re, "Maestri di strada", *ArchStorRom,* XLIII, 1920, p. 101, for the three streets mentioned in the statutes of 1452: "le tre strade principali, cioè da Ponte in sino Santo Angelo [Pellegrino], et da ponte in sino ad Campidoglio [Papale], et da ponte in sino alla Magdalena [Coronari]." See Francesco Borromini, *Opus Architectonicum ...,* MS in Archivio di Santa Maria in Vallicella, C.I.6, ch.I, c.4 r: "Parione et il Pelegrino, le più celebri, e frequentate strade di Roma."

8 Of exceptional importance for the whole area between the Via Papale and the Via del Pellegrino is the article by Luigi Spezzaferro, in collaboration with Richard Tuttle, "Place Farnèse: urbanisme et politique," in *Le Palais Farnèse,* Rome, 1981, I.1, pp. 85–123, especially pp. 87 ff.

9 L. B. Alberti, *De re aedificatoria,* trans. G. Orlandi, V, xviii, pp. 435–37; cf. *Ten Books on Architecture,* trans. J. Leoni, London, 1755 (reprint 1965), p. 109: "As for the Town House for a Tradesman,



2. A. Tempesta, streets in the disabitato: Via Appia and Via Latina, 1593

Early on the angles of the forks were chosen as advantageous sites. Examples are the Albergo dell'Orso, built as a private house under Paul II or Sixtus IV but turned into a hotel by 1517, or the magnificent Casa di Pietro Paolo Francisci della Zecca at the Chiavica di Santa Lucia, built about 1470 at what was then the first large clearing in the Via del Pellegrino[10]. Julius II chose the first fork between the Via Papale and the Via del Pellegrino as the site for his new mint in 1508, and Clement VII replaced it with Sangallo's Zecca in 1524, moving back the building line so that Sangallo's curved facade could be seen both from the Canale di Ponte and also from the Medici church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (Fig. 81). Here the primitive arterial system is overlaid with the aesthetic of successive Renaissance popes: the street-widening operations of Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, the more monumental urbanism focused on Julius II's new church of San Celso, the *Schauwand* aesthetic of the Medici popes, and finally the trident cut through the area by Paul III[11].

Inside the arterial system construction sites tended to be irregular in the extreme. Whether the builder chose to adapt passively to his site or worked actively to change it, he had to operate within a framework of laws that regulated expropriation and he had to deal with the magistracy known as the Maestri di Strade. Both of these must be explained.

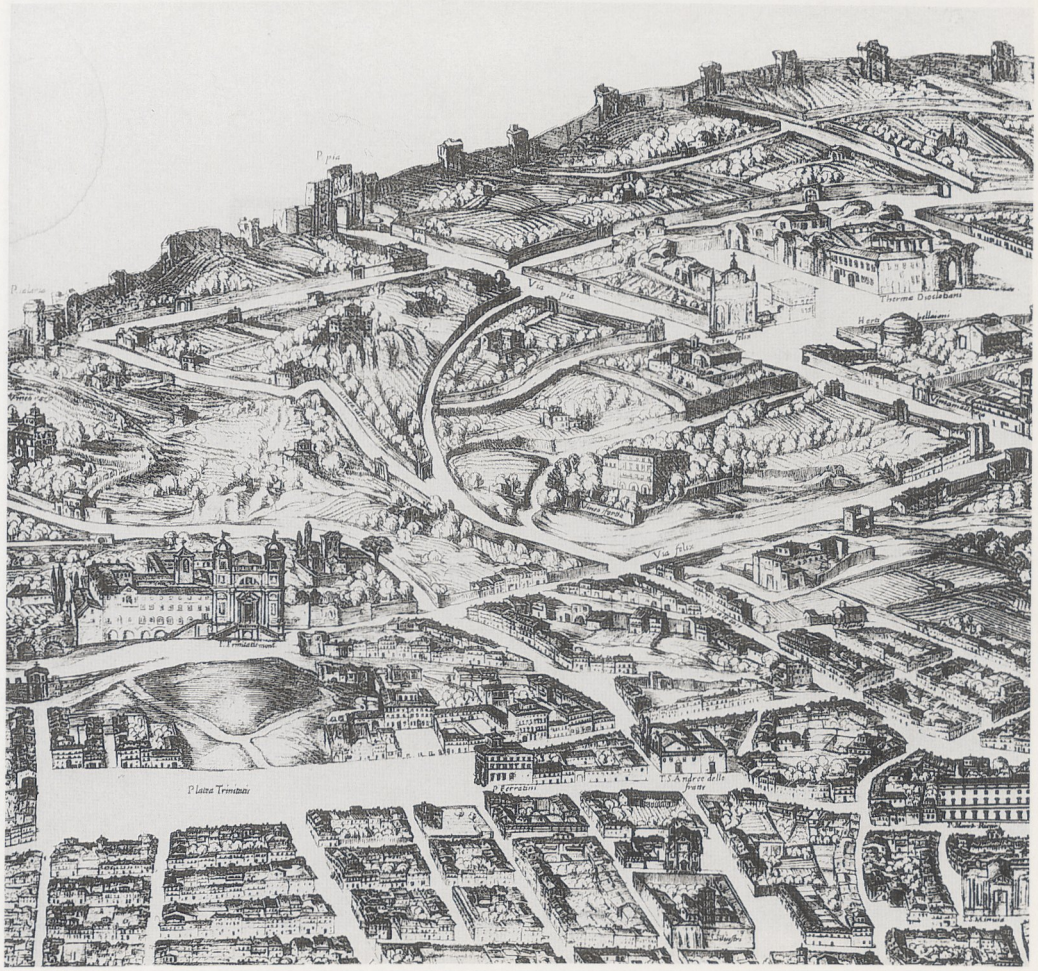
In 1480 Sixtus IV defined the principles of expropriation in a law that was a by-product of his policy of widening streets and removing the porticoes of the medieval city. These operations often left small fragments of

more Regard must be had to the Conveniency of his Shop, from whence his Gain and Livelihood is to arise than to the Beauty of his Parlour; the best Situation for this is, in Cross-ways, at a Corner; in a Market-Place or Square, in the Middle of the Place; in a High-Street, some remarkable jutting-out; inasmuch as his chief Design is to draw the Eyes of Customers."

10 Umberto Gnoli, *Alberghi ed osterie di Roma nella Rinascenza,* Spoleto, 1935, pp. 113–17; GR, Regola II, pp. 16–19.

11 Frommel, Palastbau, pp. 11–24; Hubertus Günther, "Das Trivium von Ponte S. Angelo: Ein Beitrag zur Urbanistik der Renaissance in Rome," *RömJbKg,* XXI, 1984, pp. 165–251; C. Frommel, "Papal Policy – The Planning of Rome during the Renaissance," R. Rotberg and T. Rabb, eds., *Art and History – Images and Their Meaning,* Cambridge, 1986, pp. 39–65.

3. *Tempesta, via Capo le Case, 1593*



houses in their wake that were useless to their original owners and fell into decay. To prevent this the law allowed expropriation by neighbors who wanted to enlarge their own property "ob decorem urbis". Amended in 1516 and 1571, the law was cast in its definitive form by Gregory XIII in 1574. It stipulated that the expanding property had to surround the smaller property on two sides and be worth four times as much. The indemnity was fixed at the *stima* (the fair value of the house estimated by two experts) plus the *aumento della bolla* (an additional one-twelfth for rental property or one-fifth for owner-occupied houses). The immediate neighbors had the right of first refusal. These provisions were confirmed in 1611, 1628 and finally in 1658, when Alexander VII added a limit of six months for the completion of buildings that had benefited from these provisions[12].

The *Magistri aedificiorum et stratarum urbis* was a magistracy founded in the 13th century, revived in 1425 by Martin V, expanded in 1452 under Nicholas V, and recast by Gregory XIII and Sixtus V into a form that continued through the baroque period. It consisted of two *maestri* or judges chosen by the papal treasury from the patrician families of the Popolo Romano[13]. They held court on the

12 The fundamental studies are: L. Schiaparelli, "Alcuni documenti dei Magistri Aedificiorum Urbis (secoli XIII e XIV)", *ArchStorRom,* XXV, 1902, pp. 5–60; Emilio Re, "Maestri di strada," *ArchStorRom,* XLIII, 1920, pp. 5–102; Camillo Scaccia Scarafoni, "L'antico statuto dei 'Magistri stratarum' e altri documenti relativi a quella magistratura", *ArchStorRom,* L, 1927, pp. 239–308.

Older compendia: M. A. Bardus, *Facultates Magistratus Curatorum Viarum, Aedificiorumque ...,* Rome, 1565; Niccola Maria Nicolai, *Sulla presidenza delle strade ed acque,* 2 vols., Rome, 1829.
Helpful modern summaries: Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siécle,* Paris, 1957, I, pp. 230–40; Magnuson, Roman Quattrocento Architecture, pp. 34–41; C. Paola Scavizzi, "Le condizioni per lo sviluppo dell'attività edilizia a Roma nel sec. XVII: la legislazione," *Studi Romani,* XVII, 1969, pp. 160–71; Günther, "Das Trivium," pp. 197–207.

13 A list of the holders of the office from 1425 to 1583 is given in Re, "Maestri di strada," pp. 79–85, and from 1567 to 1829 in Nicolai, Presidenza, pp. 151–61. According to Rodocanachi (*Les institutions communales de Rome sous la papauté,* Paris, 1901, p. 332), after 1614 the office was reserved for poor nobles, although it must be added that neither Lorenzo Altieri (1616) nor Baldassare Paluzzi Albertoni (1622) fall into that category.

4. Tempesta, plan of arterial street system in the Campus Martius, 1593

Capitoline assisted by a notary, an *assessore* trained in law[14], and a *sottomaestro,* "intendente dell'arte del muro et de legniame"[15]. They maintained the major streets and piazzas, as well as the walls, water supply and river banks. When an improvement was made, they collected the *gettito* or betterment tax from the parties that supposedly benefited. They did not have workmen of their own, but rather enforced their directives through threats of imprisonment and through fines, half of which went to the Camera, one-fourth to themselves, and one-fourth to the informant who denounced an abuse. They received fees for issuing licenses, for example to a market stall occupying public space, and they also issued the licenses that were needed before anyone could break the soil for any kind of excavation or building.

A license consisted not only of a written text but also of a color-coded drawing showing the exact change in property lines. It went to the owner. The authorities kept a copy of the text and in a few cases a sketch of the drawing. Although only a few dozen original licenses survive, copies of the texts survive in the thousands from 1586 to the late 19th century, with lacunae for the years 1589–1602, 1634–53, 1671–72, and 1677–79[16]. Most of them are concerned with routine operations: excavations for travertine and pozzolana, permission to take small slivers of a street for steps or a portal with its balcony, permission for *speroni* to buttress leaning walls and thus avoid the common catastrophe of the *casa caduta.* Small strips of public land are sometimes given to close a pocket where garbage might collect or eliminate an unsightly protrusion, "un risalto, che fa brutissimo vedere alla città"[17]. Occasionally a small and useless alley is given to a builder "per ornamento della città"[18]. Once in a while

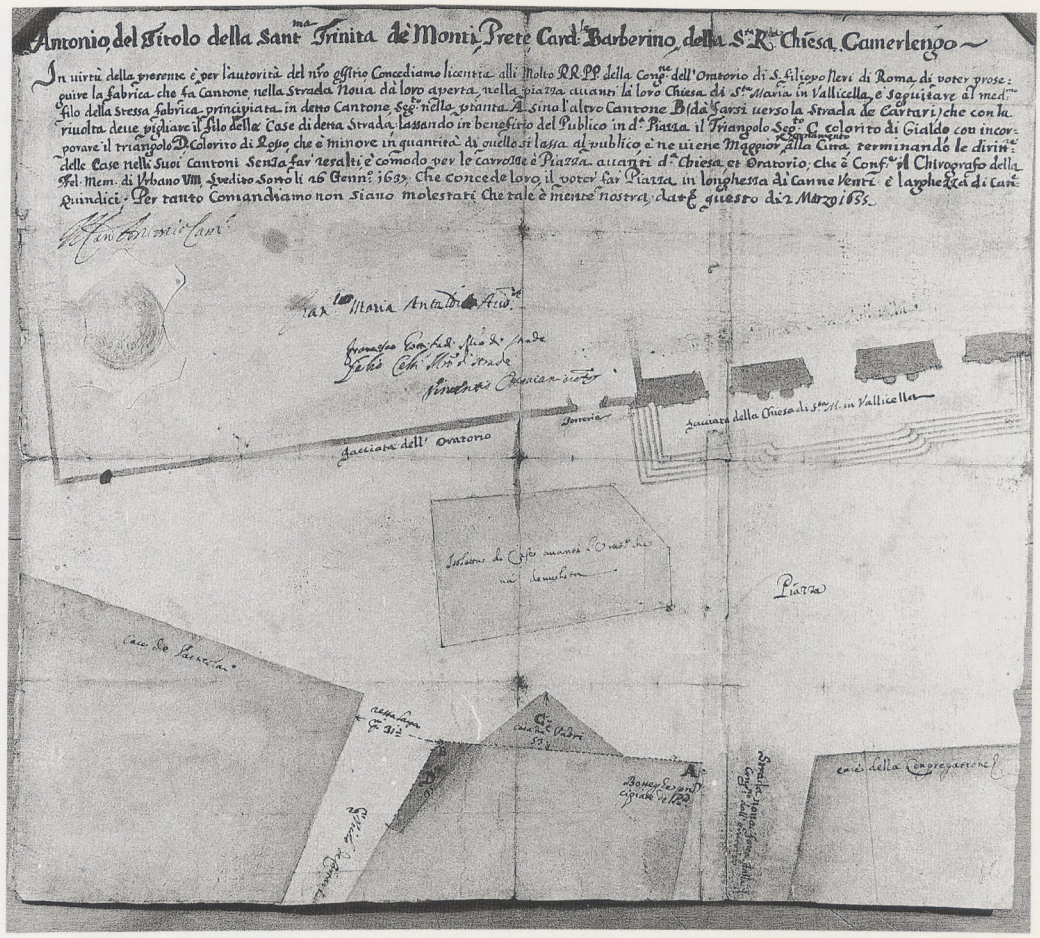
14 The *assessore* had to be a foreigner, for example, M. A. Bardus of Siena, author of the compendium quoted above, who filled the position under Pius IV.

15 Statute of 1452, in Re, "Maestri di strada," p. 92. Bardus, Facultates, pp. Q–S, mentions 4 *submagistros* in 1565, whose task was to lay the *filum,* draft the license, and insure "ne propria sua auctoritate locum Publicum occupet."

16 Howard Hibbard, "Di alcune licenze rilasciate dai Mastri di Strade per opere di edificazione a Roma (1586–'89, 1602–'34)," *BollArte,* LII, 1967, pp. 99–101.

17 ASR, Pres. delle strade, b. 52, c. 47 v (1688).

18 ASC, Pres. delle strade, b 86, c. 189 v–190 r (1621).



5. *Piazza della Chiesa Nuova, license of 1655 (Archivio della Cong. dell'Oratorio, C.II.8, no. 105)*

there is a great and scandalous landgrab by a papal nephew, such as the concession of the Via Sforza for incorporation into the grounds of the Palazzo Barberini in 1628[19]. And occasionally small streets were incorporated into larger buildings in imperceptible steps, such as the alley next to Palazzo Spada-Capodiferro that was first crossed by a bridge, then chained, then walled shut and finally in 1636 spanned by the Spada picture gallery[20]. But in general the Maestri di Strade were jealous guardians of public land and observed their mandate to give none away. The builder who approached them for concessions was more likely to succeed if he offered to swap private for public land, particularly if he gave more than he took. The language of the licenses is couched in terms of concession and recompense: "piglia del publico un pezzetto di sito ... per recompensa di un altro pezzo di sito che da al publico ..."; or "da molto più al publico ch'il piglia ..."; or "occupare tutta quella parte di sito publico verso la piazza ... con conditione però che dall'altra parte ... debbano quando fabricaranno di novo ... lasciare del loro sito al publico tutto il risaldo che fa la facciata ... aciò resti adornata la città et allargata la strada ..."[21] Serlio was aware of this strategy, and in his chapter on crooked building sites he observes that the ideal architect should be both geometer and lawyer in order to negotiate the best swaps[22].

19 Hibbard, "Licenze," no. 148 (January 6, 1628).

20 L. Neppi, *Palazzo Spada,* Rome, 1975, pp. 139 and 270, Doc. 25.

21 ASC, Pres. delle strade, b. 86, c. 129 v (1619); Hibbard, "Licenze," nos. 82 and 174. Compare the language used by Borromini in Opus, II, fol. 6 r: "... una nuova strada dà farsi ... per resitituire al publico una strada che ... si haveva à levare."
Legal justification for swaps of private for public land can be found in Paul III's *motu proprio* of 1549, published in Bardus, Facultates, p. DD, and in Spezzaferro, "Place Farnèse," p. 116 f., n. 156. Here the pope authorizes the sale to individuals of land which either originally was public or has become public in the course of demolitions effected in the public interest: "Quodque ubicumque continget per viarum directionem et domorum demolitionem, tam privatarum personarum, quam ecclesiasticarum seu collegiorum, aut universitatum, *solum,* seu prius publicum, seu tunc primum per dictam demolitionem publici iuris factum, ac vicinis, seu alius personis *vendendum, aut insolutum pro domibus dirutis,* seu alias quomodolibet *concedendum* esse ..." The key phrase, which I have italicized, is "land to be sold, or conceded without payment in return for demolished houses."

22 S. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere,* Venice, 1619, VII.55, pp. 128–131: "Quivi bisognarà, che l'Architettore sia Geometra, & Iurisconsulto. Che

6. Palazzo dei Prefetti (Vasi, Magnificenze, 1756)

A classic example of an exchange of private for public land can be found on a license of 1655 for the enlargement of the Piazza della Chiesa Nuova (Fig. 5)[23]. The document gives the Oratorians permission to demolish houses across from their oratory and rebuild them as a single new house with a straight facade running from points A to B. The triangle marked C was ceded to the public domain and became part of the piazza, while a small patch of piazza marked D was occupied by the new building. Quantitatively speaking the amount of public land increased after such a transaction, but in return private patrons were given the power to reshape their urban environment.

Occasionally an unfinished building preserves a changing boundary in frozen form. These are vivid examples of licenses at work. For example, the mid-17th-century Palazzo dei Prefetti (Nolli 438) was completed up to the center portal of what would have been an enormous facade and then left unfinished (Figs. 6, 7)[24]. It follows a building line set much further out into the Via dei Prefetti than the modest houses it was replacing. Although we do not have the license, public land was being occupied and it seems likely that there was a swap involved. Permission for the new facade would have been couched in the usual formulas, probably something like "può tirare il filo di detta facciata, pigliando palmi ... dal publico, e seguitare a linea retta, che va a morir a niente alla cantonata delle case vecchie, come dimostra la disotta pianta ..."[25] The unfinished facades of two Mattei palaces appear to be closing in on an older Renaissance house, changing the street line and heading toward a corner probably defined

sia Geometra, per saper dare & torre al publico; che sia Iurisconsulto, per saper giudicare i termini ragionevoli del publico, & del privato" (p. 132); and "... volendo dirizzare la sua facciata sarà bene di donare un poco di terreno al publico, il quale gli tornarà bene" (p. 140).

23 J. Connors, *Borromini and the Roman Oratory,* New York and Cambridge, Mass., 1980, p. 261 f., cat. 87.

24 G. Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica a moderna,* VI, 1756,. pl. 106.

25 I have made up this wording from analogous licenses, such as ASR, Pres. delle strade, b. 45, c. 20 (1655); c. 60 ff. (1656); or c. 104–5 (1658).

in 1548, when Alessandro Mattei began his palace (now Caetani) along the Via delle Botteghe Oscure (Fig. 8)[26]. The vast mole of the Palazzo Pio at Campo de' Fiori turns a threatening unfinished edge toward its neighbor, the Renaissance belvedere of Palazzo Orsini, which in turn looms over still older buildings that it had begun to replace, like bigger fish eating smaller fish in a chain (Fig. 9)[27]. The eventuality that a large building might one day devour its smaller neighbor accounts for the unfinished edges of so many palace walls, where bricks protrude and recede like teeth (*addentellato* is Machiavelli's graphic word) in order to provide a bond if the wall should ever be extended[28]. Even modest houses were built with this possibility in mind, as can be seen on

26 Mario Zocca, "L'isola dei Mattei," *Annali del Sindicato Nazionale Fascista Ingegneri,* XXXII, 1939, pp. 3–7; P. Tomei, *L'architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento,* Rome, 1942, pp. 234–37; GR, S. Angelo, 1971, pp. 64–68; H. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580–1630,* London, 1971, pp. 127–29.

27 A. Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome,* London, 1982, p. 190. From the short stretch of wall completed on the Campo di Fioro it is possible to tell that the architect, Camillo Arcucci, aligned the piazza facade of Palazzo Pio with the corner of the Vicolo delle Grotte, thus attempting to rationalize the least regular side of the Campo.

28 Niccolò Machiavelli, Il Principe, ch. II ("De principatibus hereditariis") where this rare word is used as a metaphor for the way one political change leads to another: "... sempre una mutazione lascia lo addentellato per la edificazione dell'altra."

7. Palazzo dei Prefetti, unfinished facade

8. Palazzo di Alessandro Mattei (Caetani) and Palazzo di Ludovico Mattei (Mattei di Paganica) surrounding older houses on the Via delle Botteghe Oscure

9. Palazzo Pio, unfinished facade on the Campo de' Fiori

Terborch's view of new construction along the Via Sistina in 1609: the windowless side walls and the toothed edges of the facades are signs of the fundamental unneighborliness of Roman buildings[29].

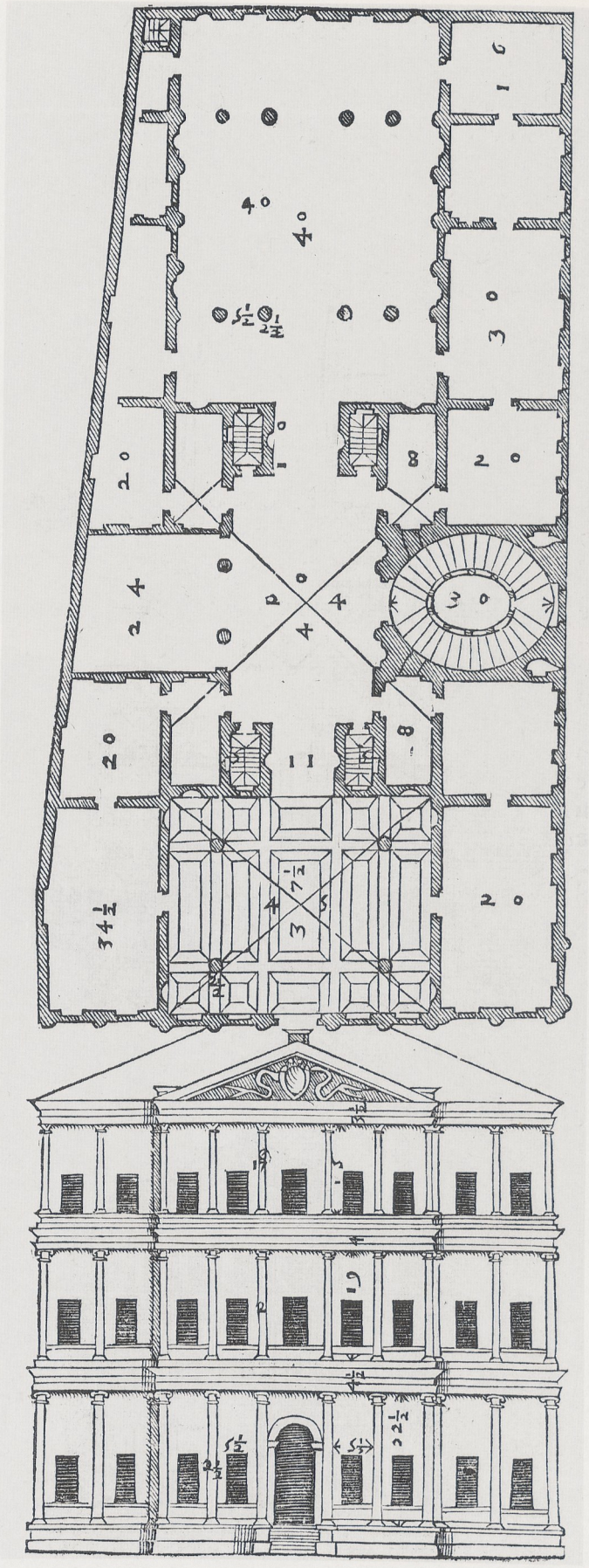
29 H. Egger, *Römische Veduten,* II, pl. 62 and p. 26, where the view is mistakenly identified as the Via Panisperna; the identification as the Via Felice is based on the presence of the Palazzo Mattei alle Quattro Fontane at the top of the hill.

Within this legal framework, builders could either passively adapt to the awkward sites at hand, or they could take upon themselves the function of town planners and actively change them.

Passive adaption was an art perfected in Rome, where architects seem to thrive on the challenge of irregularity. Practice is far more interesting than theory in this respect. Palladio, for example, gives advice on the problem but seems uneasy with the constraints. His solution for a

"pyramidal" (trapezoidal or triangular) site is to put the palace facade at the base of the pyramid, to draw the axis at right angles to the facade, and then to observe the usual bilateral symmetry around the axis until the oblique property line makes this impossible (Fig. 10)[30]. In contrast, Borromini's plans for Palazzo Carpegna show a more plastic approach to the problem. Both short sides of the block are bisected and the axis is drawn between them; it is then cut at right angles by a shorter axis set at the middle of the long left-hand facade. A series of small niches set back to back (a lesson learned from the Small Baths at Hadrian's Villa) conceal the discrepancies between the old construction and the new. Once the spectator has crossed the threshold, a satisfying symmetry is offered at every turn and there is no way of telling that the plan is "pyramidal". A master psychologist, Borromini defeats the problem of the misshapen block from within[31].

Similar ingenuity on a small scale can be found in the plan of the Palazzo Muti-Bussi (Nolli 911) on the former Piazza d'Aracoeli (Figs. 12–14)[32]. Most of the palace as it now stands is due to a rebuilding of an older structure in 1642 and 1660–62. The architect was Giovanni Antonio De Rossi, a virtuoso at site planning: "s'accomodò così mirabilmente a' siti, che pareva nato a posta per far comparir grandi anche i piccoli[33]." He took the canted corner on Paul III's avenue of approach to the Campidoglio, and in it he opened up a magnificent portal with a vista through the heart of the palace and out the other side, where it terminated in the facade of San Venanzio (now demolished)[34]. Rome is full of canted corners with family



10. A. Palladio, plan of a palace on an irregular site (Quattro libri, 1570)

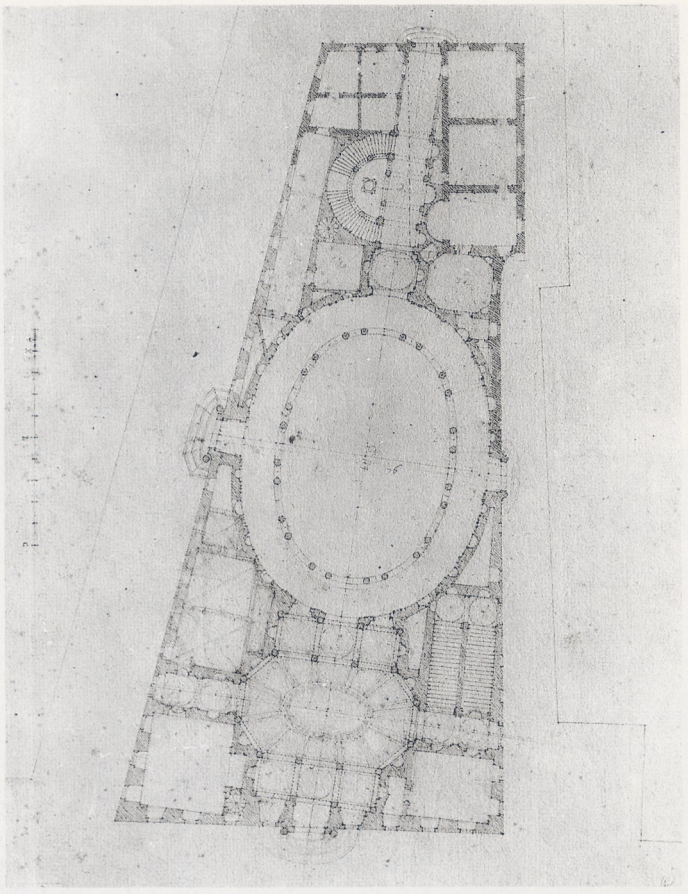
30 A. Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura,* Venice, 1570, II.xvii, p. 71 f. S. Serlio (*Tutte l'opere,* Venice, 1619, VII.55, pp. 128–55) speaks of the "stranissime forme" of "case fuori di squadro su le strade maestre". On pp. 145–48 he advises against oblique axes: "... anzi vorrò sempre mettere la porta nel mezo, & tirare l'andito a squadro della strada, & finisca poi come, & dove vuole." See also V. Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale,* I, Venice, 1615, p. 260–61 (plans for "siti tutti fuori di squadro, ridutti nelle forme migliori"); and V. Giustiniani, letter on architecture in G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architectura,* Rome, 1822, VI, p. 107 f.

31 On Palazzo Carpegna see below. A similar "Hadrianic" mentality may be seen on Raphael's plan of 1520 for his own house near San Giovanni dei Fiorentini: see Theobald Hofmann, *Raffael in seiner Bedeutung als Architekt,* Leipzig, 1909, II, p. 143 and pl. LX.3; Frommel, Palastbau, pl. 110a.

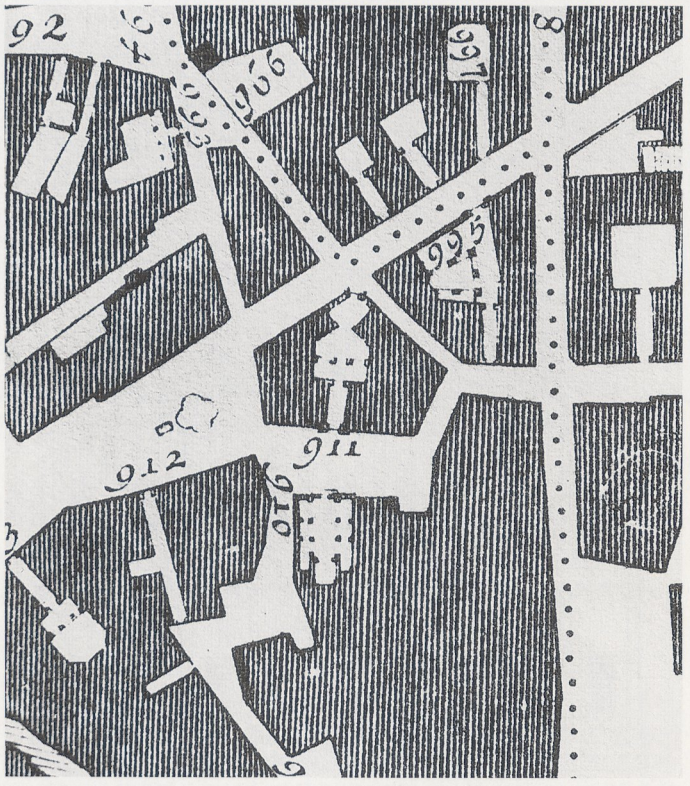
32 P. Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome moderne,* Liège, 1849 (reprinted Princeton, 1982), III, pl. 342; G. Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio De Rossi architetto romano,* Rome, 1964, pp. 123–27; GR, Campitelli I, pp. 10–17; Hibbard, "Licenze," p. 103, no. 12.

33 L. Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori ...,* I, Rome, 1730, p. 321.

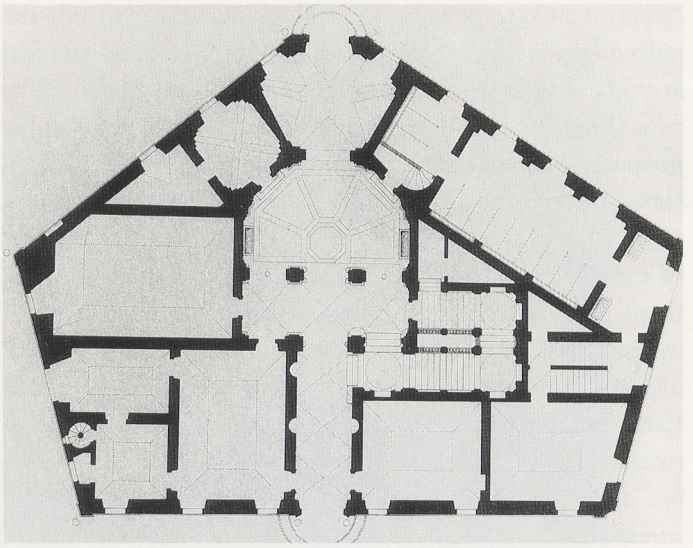
34 Blunt, Guide, p. 152; GR, Campitelli I, pp. 26–28; and Elling, Rome, p. 268 and pl. 96 (where the corner door is shown open). San Venanzio was demolished in 1928.



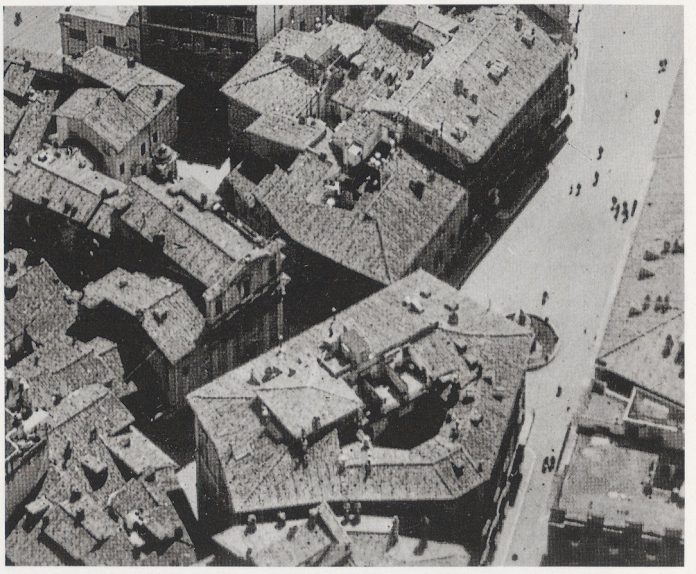
11. F. Borromini, project for Palazzo Carpegna (Alb. 1019b)



12. G. A. De Rossi, Palazzo Muti-Bussi, 1660–62 (Nolli 911)



13. Palazzo Muti-Bussi (Letarouilly, III, pl. 342)



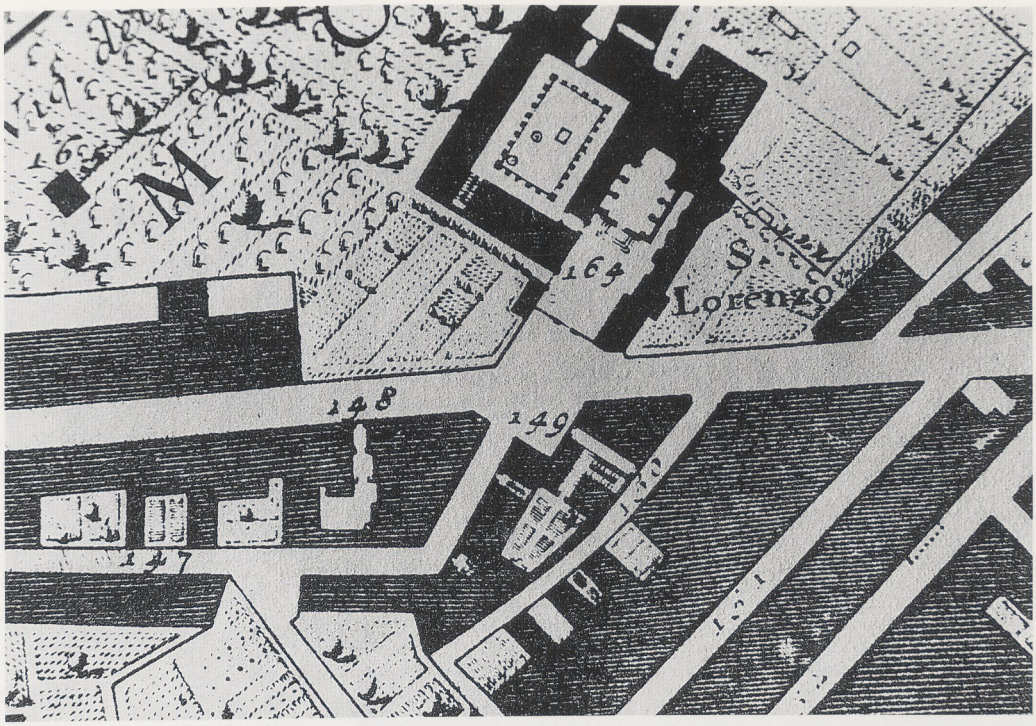
14. Palazzo Muti-Bussi and San Venanzio from the air

arms, but this is one of the few that can be looked through. The optics of distant vision, more ingenious than quoins or clock, are used as a fetching compliment to the family's heraldry.

Rome also has a number of bent buildings that follow the lines of altered or forgotten piazzas. These spaces have embedded themselves into the urban fabric and to perceive them it is necessary to make a gestalt switch, from the obvious solid to the evanescent void. The Piazza delli Otto Cantoni impressed its square shape on the rear of the convent building of San Carlo al Corso, and of course continues to do so, even though the piazza has been demolished[35]. Palazzo Ricci, Palazzo Altemps and

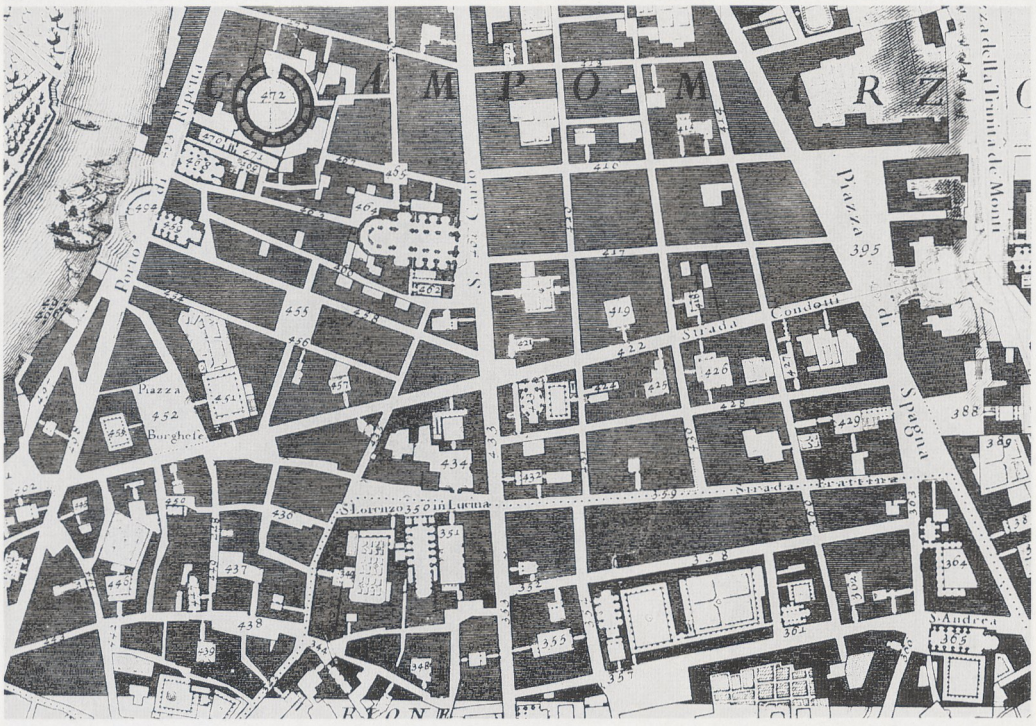
35 Site plans in ASR, Dis. e mappe, c. 86, nos. 453 and 459; and in BV, Chigi P VII 10, fols. 20–22. Photograph in *Architettura minore*

15. *Piazza San Lorenzo in Panisperna and Palazzo Cimarra (Nolli 149)*



16. *Palazzo Cimarra, c.1680*

17. Palazzo Borghese (Nolli 451)



18. Nolli, plan of the Via dei Condotti and Palazzo Borghese area, with processional route following 370 – 395 – 422 – 451 – 502

in Italia: Roma, Turin, II, [1927] p. 121 left. See G. Drago and L. Salerno, *SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso* (Chiese di Roma illustrate, 96), Rome, 1967. Salerno (p. 65f.) surely cannot be right in dating the north convent wing to the 19th century, especially in light of the avviso of Nov. 10, 1685 that he himself cites (from Rossi, in *Roma,* 1942, p. 54): "rimirandosi terminati i due palazzi laterali di detta chiesa ..."
See Connors, Oratory, p. 167, for plans by M. Longhi, Sr., which would have embedded the Piazzetta Turci into the Casa dei Filippini.

the Collegio Clementino at Piazza Nicosia all incorporated the right angle of a piazza into their facades[36]. The most important palace of the Monti, Palazzo Cimarra, owes its shape to the ghost of a piazza that was formed in front

36 P. Tomei, "Un elenco dei palazzi di Roma del tempo di Clemente VIII," *Palladio,* III, 1939, no. 19: "Di Palazzo de' Pepoli a Piazza Nicosia non si fa mentione perchè [è] più case insieme et vanno torcendo, et hora vi habita il Collegio Clementino ..."

of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, but then brutally dismembered when Sixtus V's Via Panisperna cut through it on its way to Santa Maria Maggiore in 1588 (Figs. 15, 16). The strange site produced by these operations is still shown empty on Falda's map of 1676. When Prospero Cimarra built his magnificent palace there around 1680 he and his unknown architect rose to the occasion[37]. A strong canted corner with the family arms addressed Santa Maria Maggiore, and behind the corner clever oval cabinets filled up the awkward angle. A balcony was placed in the center of the Via Panisperna frontage, while the main entrance was put in the piazza facade. Above it a rooftop belvedere faced the direction of St. Peter's. Rustic bugnati were put on all the corners in thick, energetic clusters that turn in or out as the angle demands. On the map it is easy to see that a forgotten void is the main shaping force of the plan, but on the site the palace has so strong a presence that it is difficult to reverse the gestalt switch and see the piazza at all.

Few princely builders, however, were content with passive adaption. Most pursued a policy of active change, first of their own contours and then of the larger environment[38]. For example, Palazzo Borghese, one of Rome's famous bent buildings, was noted by Milizia for its "strana pianta a cembalo"[39] and by Borromini for its adaptiveness: "con le facciate storte si sono accommodati alle strade[40]." And yet it represented an intensely active node of town planning in the years around 1610 (Fig. 17). The strange site was produced by the juncture of four street systems: Leo X's Via Ripetta (which sets the orientation of the river balcony); the grid laid out as a speculative venture in 1523 around Piazza di Monte d'Oro (which shapes the rear facades); Paul III's Via Trinitatis of 1548 (which shaped the earliest part of the palace on the Largo della Fontanella Borghese); and finally the vestige of a medieval lane running from the Campus Martius to the river (the

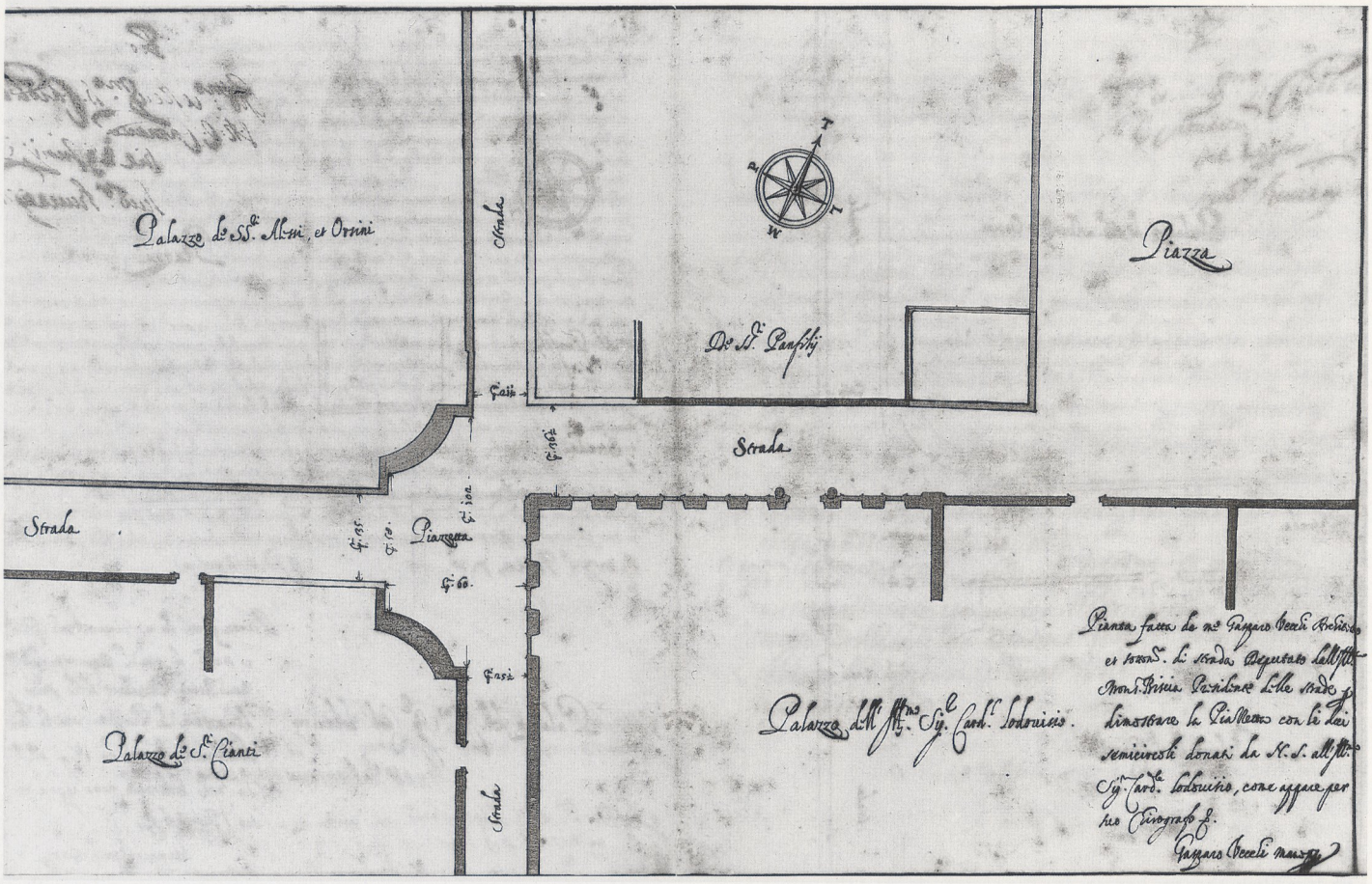
19. Palazzo Farnese seen down the Via Monserrato, widened in 1541

37 It is likely that the licenses for the construction of the palace were contained in the missing busta 49 (1676–80) of the series in ASR, Pres. delle strade. In any case on December 4, 1682 (b. 50, p. 121 r) Cimarra was given permission to "far fare una ringhiera con modelli di ferro, o travertino nella facciata del suo palazzo posto nel Rione de Monti incontro S. Lorenzo Panisperna, cioè nel vicoletto dietro detto palazzo nelli piani di cima long. p. 8 larga p. 3, e farla con l'assistenza del Sig. Giacomo Moraldo Architetto e sottomastro del Rione ..." The otherwise unknown Moraldo is a likely candidate as architect. Prospero Cimarra seems to have been dead by 1704, to judge from a passage in F. Valesio, *Diario di Roma,* eds. G. Scano and G. Graglia, Rome, 1977, III, p. 214.
An erroneous date of 1736 has been cited in the scant literature on the palace (V. Golzio, "Notizie dal Diario di Valesio," *Archivi d'Italia,* ser. II, III, 1936, pp. 119–25; and L. Pirolla, "Palazzo Cimarra progettata sede dell'Accademia di S. Luca," *Strenna dei Romanisti,* 1962, pp. 279–85). The passage would seem to refer, however, to Nolli 148, the next building on Via Panisperna in the direction of Monte Magnapoli.
Nineteenth-century plans of the palace are in ASR, Dis. e mappe, c. 87, nos. 551 and 552; and c. 137, n. 2. Elling, Rome, p. 277 f. and pl. 97 has excellent observations in this vein and an approximate date of 1695.

38 The classic example of a palace trying to rid itself of an embedded void and dominate the environment is the Palazzo Piccolomini in Siena, where the family requested permission in 1469 to occupy part of the Campo in order to square off the back of the palace: "in questo modo lo Palazo verrà in quadro et magnifico con tucte le sue proportioni" (G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese,* II, Siena, 1854, p. 337 f.). It should be emphasized, however, that the request was not granted, and that the bend in the palace that the family saw as degrading ("verebe schinbo e torto ..., e contro la opinione di qualunche lo vedesse") was apparently seen by the comune as an inviolable part of the Campo, and is still there.

39 F. Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni* (1768), Parma, 1781, II, p. 114.

40 See Borromini, Opus, II, 6 r for an interesting passage in which irregular modern buildings are compared with the Suburra wall behind the Forum of Augustus ("l'Imperatore Nerva Traiano nella fabrica che anche si vede fuori di squadro a Catacumeni").



20. G. de' Vecchi, plan of Via dell'Arco della Ciambella, 1621 (Arch. Secr. Vat., Arch. Boncompagni-Ludovisi, vol. 313, b. 2)

Via della Lupa, which shaped the long bent facade but is now absorbed into the piazza). The palace expanded to fill the site between 1560 and 1623[41]. The earliest stage, the Palazzo Del Giglio, was a traditional urban block that faced the small Piazza del Giglio on the Via Trinitatis (now the Piazza della Fontanella Borghese on the Via Condotti). Camillo Borghese acquired it shortly before his election as Paul V in 1605, and then as pope began to expand it on an imperial scale. In 1608 an older palace was absorbed into the growing building, forcing the facade to bend around an angle, and another bend was introduced when Maderno added the river loggia. Thus the bent or "harpsichord" facade came from the desire to incorporate a pre-existing structure and then to address the river front. To compensate for the meandering exterior the interior was planned around an enfilade that led the eye down nine (or on the piano nobile thirteen) continuous rooms. In 1671–76 this vista was continued out from a side of the palace, through a cut in the neighboring house, to end in a telescopic view of Prati across the river.

Piazza Borghese emerged in 1609–10 as part of a grand papal plan to connect the Quirinale with the Vatican[42]. On July 10, 1610 the pope announced the decision to continue the Via del Babuino from the Piazza del Popolo to the slopes of the Quirinale. Here a garden gate was planned as the start of a new processional route that would proceed down the new street to the Piazza di Spagna, then turn west along the Via dei Condotti past the Palazzo Borghese to the Vatican (Fig. 18). In 1609–10 houses worth 15 or 16 thousand scudi were purchased and demolished to create the Piazza Borghese, and in December 1610 the Maestri di Strade gave Marc'Antonio Borghese permission to close the piazza with columns and chains and to prohibit the neighbors from opening

41 Howard Hibbard, *The Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese in Rome* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 27), Rome, 1962, especially pp. 3–7, 49 and 75 f.; Salvatore Polito and Fernando Bilancia, "Fonti di archivio per una storia edilizia di Roma," *Controspazio,* V, 1973, no. 5, pp. 18–22, and especially p. 29, fig. 19 for the Peruzzi drawing (UA 622) laying out the streets in the former Ortaccio.

42 J. A. F. Orbaan, *Documenti sul barocco in Roma,* Rome, 1920, pp. 172–75 and 188.

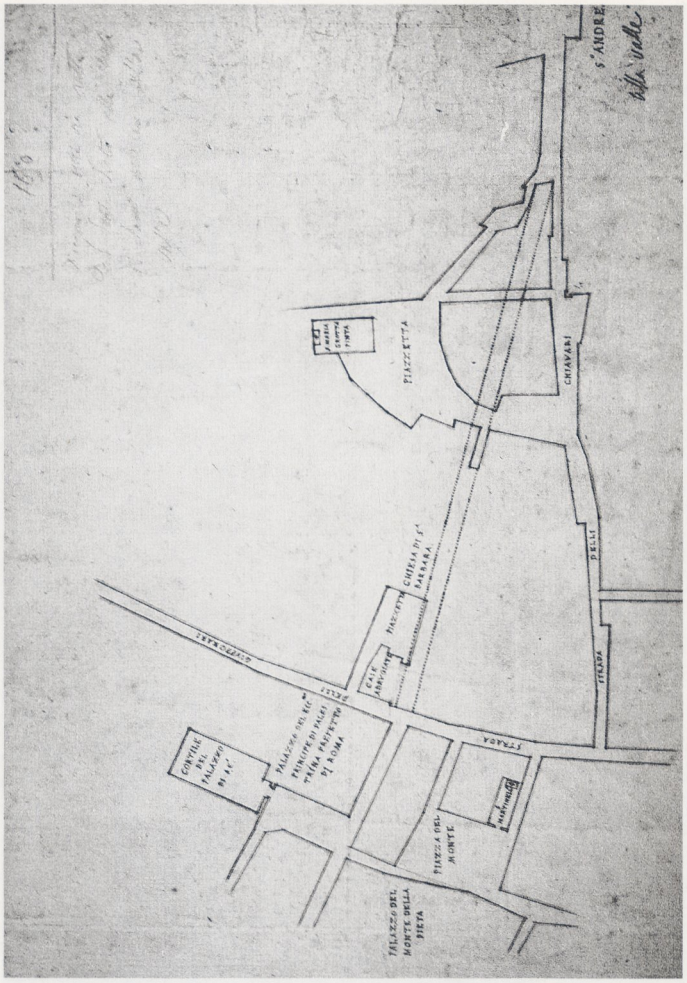
21. *Palazzo Maffei-Ludovisi, seen down the Via dell'Arco della Ciambella*

doors or windows and from trespassing in any way. This was a private piazza, of which the family was "absoluto padrone."[43] Between April and July 1610 the Grand Duke of Florence tried to ride on the coattails of the Borghese by extending his Palazzo di Firenze to the rear and over the neighboring block with its frontage on the new Piazza Borghese[44]. His architect Cigoli produced a design for a magnificent garden palace 17 braccia wider than the Farnese, "la facciata di qual, con maravigliosa corrispondenza di magnificenza e splendore, sarà dacontro a quella de Signori Borghesi[45]." Indignant, Paul V moved to ac-

43 Hibbard, Palazzo Borghese, p. 138, doc. 56, a description (ca. 1635) of Piazza Borghese: "Di tutta questa Piazza V. E. ne è absoluto padrone ... per esser stata fatta nelli siti et beni compri dall'infrascritti persone ..." (There follows a list of houses bought for the piazza between October 1609 and January 1611). The history of the private piazza is traced for Florence by Caroline Elam, "Piazza Strozzi: Two Drawings by Baccio d'Agnolo and the Problems of a Private Renaissance Square," *I Tatti Studies*, I, 1985, pp. 105–35.

44 See Elena Fumagalli, "La 'fabbrica' di Palazzo Medici in Piazza Madama a Roma," tesi di laurea, Università di Firenze, 1986, ch. 2, for the larger context of Medici palaces in Rome.

45 Orbaan, Documenti, p. 172, avviso of July 14, 1610.



22. Plan for a new street from Sant' Andrea della Valle to Palazzo Barberini ai Giubbonari, after December 1634 (ASR, Mappe e dis., c. 83, n. 419)

quire the property opposite his palace on the Largo della Fontanella Borghese. A wall was built to prevent anyone from overlooking the piazza. If the Medici wanted a piazza, let them buy their own, and if they did, the pope declared that it would be the ideal place for a new market. This was the last thing a baroque prince might want, and the Medici retreated. There were further papal plans to open up a street from the Piazza della Fontanella Borghese that would run obliquely through the Piazza di San Lorenzo in Lucina and finish at the Corso opposite the Via Frattina, "et farà bellissima vista". Although at first sight nothing could be more different than the shape of the Borghese and the Farnese (both of the palaces and of the piazzas), evidently Paul V had learned a lesson from Paul III about the importance of the distant view and of connecting the family palace with the papal processional route[46].

46 Spezzaferro, "Place Farnèse," p. 115–123.

The example set by the Farnese and the Borghese was imitated by builders slightly lower on the social scale, whose strategies can be deduced from the endless stream of small decisions recorded in the licenses. The builder would often try to comandeer an entire isola, or at least give the appearance of doing so. Between 1551 and 1613 various branches of the Mattei family transplanted themselves from Trastevere to the *Isola dei Mattei,* where four family palaces joined forces to shape the block[47]. The nearby Palazzo Ginnasi on the Via delle Botteghe Oscure could never aspire to the same expansiveness, but by disguising neighboring house facades and by incorporating the family church of Santa Lucia in 1636, Cardinal Ginnasi tried to create at least the appearance of size: "pareva ... che il suo Palazzo fusse un grandissimo circuito[48]." In 1638 the architect Maruscelli presented plans for expanding the old Palazzo Medici-Madama into a grand *isola Medicea,* but as construction proceeded over the years 1639–41 the French at San Luigi threw obstacles in his path, and the Medici discovered that the expropriation laws would not work against churches and their property[49].

If a piazza was not near at hand then it had to be created, sometimes dramatically. Rabelais tells a story about Giovanni Giordano Orsini, who wanted to celebrate the victory of François I at Marignan in 1515. He bought half a dozen houses forming an isola near Monte Giordano, filled them with powder and fireworks, and lit the torch: "It was like a new taking of Troy[50]." This violent gesture presumably led to the creation of the

47 See n. 26 above.

48 G. Gigli, *Diario romano (1608–70),* ed. G. Ricciotti, Rome, 1958, p. 121 f.; GR, Pigna I, p. 28.

49 Fumagalli, "Palazzo Medici in Piazza Madama a Roma," ch. 2.

50 François Rabelais, *La Sciomachie et festins fait à Rome au palais de mon seigneur reverendissme Cardinal Du Bellay pour l'heureuse naissance de mon seigneur d'Orléans,* in *Œuvres complètes* (Pléiade), ed. P. Jourda, Paris, 1962, II, p. 581: "[Cardinal Du Bellay, wanting to celebrate the birth of the Duc d'Orléans in 1549] voulut (par manière de dire) faire ce que feit le seigneur Jan Jordan Ursin, lors que le Roy François d'heureuse memoire obtint la victoire à Marignan. Iceluy ... acheta cinq ou six maisons contigues en forme d'Isle, près mont Jordan, les feit emplir de fagotz, falourdes et tonneaux, avecques force pouldre de canon puis meit le feu dedens. C'estoit une nouvelle *Alosis* [i.e., Taking of Troy], et nouveau feu de joye. Ainsi vouloit ledit Seigneur Reverendissime, pour declairer l'excès di son alaigresse pour ceste bonnes nouvelles, faire, quoy qu'il constast, quelque chose spectable, non encore veüe en Rome de nostre memoire."
On Giovanni Giordano Orsini, see P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri di Italia,* Milan, 1819 ff., "Orsini di Roma," tav. xxvii, where it is noted that this strong partisan of France helped calm Rome after the news of the French victory at Ravenna in 1512. On the *sciomachia* of 1549 see Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance,* Florence, 1979, p. 130 f.

23. G. A. De Rossi, Palazzo Altieri, 1670–74, view from Alexander VII's street (now Via del Plebiscito)

Piazza di Ferrara on the southern side of Monte Giordano, the first step in a process completed in 1536–49 by Paul III's clearing of the Piazza di Monte Giordano and opening of the Via di Panico[51].

Some palaces enjoyed a prospect on two piazzas without the effort of clearing them (Palazzo Pio at Campo de' Fiori and Palazzo Santacroce ai Catinari), and one (Palazzo Orsini) was praised for bordering on three (Piazza di Pasquino, di San Pantaleo and Navona)[52]. But even if feasible a piazza was not considered sufficient by itself: "... non solo li conviene lasciar piazza avanti, ma anco vista di strada quanto più siano possibile, et anco situato in loco da essere visto da più parte[53]." To achieve prominence, to be seen from afar and to enjoy a distant view, are part of the *Visualisierungsprozess* explored for the Renaissance by Christoph Frommel but operative in the baroque period as well[54].

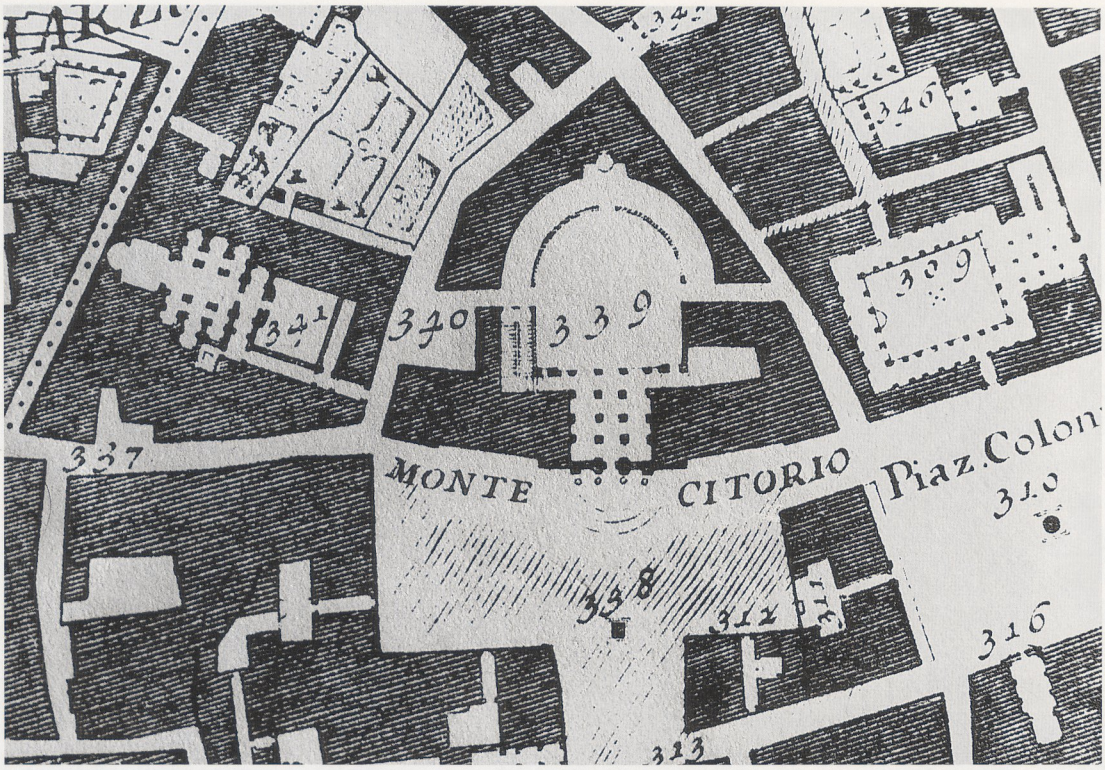
The protruding corner that juts out into public space is not necessarily a medieval vestige, but often something engineered by the 16th- and 17th-century builder, an image that exudes dominance and aggression but can in

51 Piazza di Monte Giordano (Piazza dell'Orologio) was opened up in 1536 by Paul III's destruction of the Torre di Pietro di Stefano di Pietro, located in the vicinity of Borromini's Orologio (Lanciani, Scavi, II, p. 63; Umberto Gnoli, *Topografia e toponomastica di Roma medioevale e moderna,* Rome, 1939, pp. 177 and 321 f.). In 1544–49 the Piazza di Ferrara was joined to the Piazza di Ponte by the same pope's Via del Panico (Lanciani, Scavi, II, p. 233; Günther, "Das Trivium," p. 191, n. 117 f.).

52 On the early history of this palace see Pasquale Adinolfi, *La Via Sacra o del Papa tra'l Cerchio di Alessandro ed il Teatro di Pompeo* (Roma nell'Età di Mezzo, 5), Rome, 1865, pp. 20–24; Tomei, "Elenco," no. 42; and Magnuson, Studies, pp. 241–43.

53 Critique by G. B. Cavagna of Domenico Fontana's Palazzo Reale in Naples, quoted in Franco Strazzullo, *Architetti e ingegneri napoletani dal '500 al '700,* Naples, 1969, p. 78.

54 Frommel, Palastbau, I, pp. 14–24.

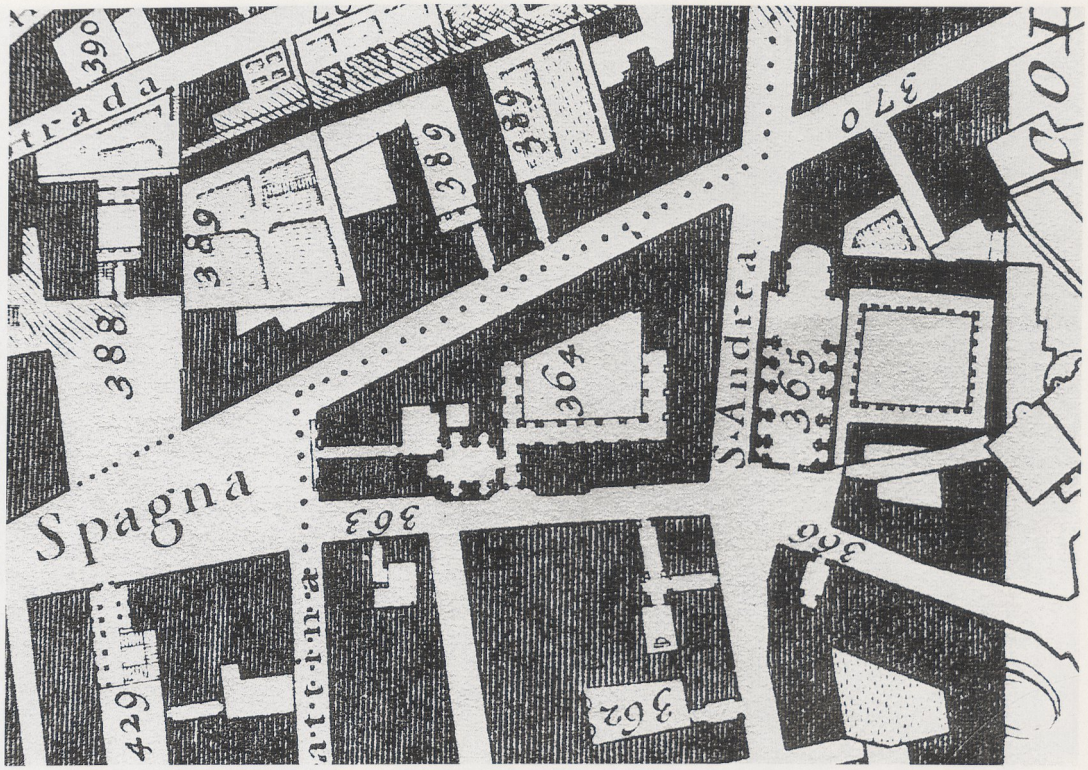


24. Palazzo Montecitorio (Nolli 339) with widened Via della Missione (337)

25. Palazzo Montecitorio, seen from Via della Missione

fact be created by the builder's generosity. In this strictly regulated environment it was almost impossible for anyone to advance a building line significantly onto the public street. But neighboring property lines could be set back to achieve the same effect. The earliest example of what might be called engineered prominence seems to be the Palazzo Baldassini. Before Antonio da Sangallo began it in 1516–17 the short stretch of street between the palace and Via della Ripetta was widened, and when modest houses were later built along the setback line the effect was to put the bugnato corner of the Baldassini into high relief. In 1541 Paul III announced plans to straighten the Via di Corte Savella (now the Via di Monserrato) from the corner of the Palazzo Farnese as far as the Chiavica di Santa Lucia[55]. Neighboring houses were acquired, demolished, and rebuilt on a setback line that allows the entire corner bay of the palace to be seen from afar, and the view from the corner apartment to extend into the distance (Fig. 19). Completion of the project was blocked by the English College, threatened with demolition, but

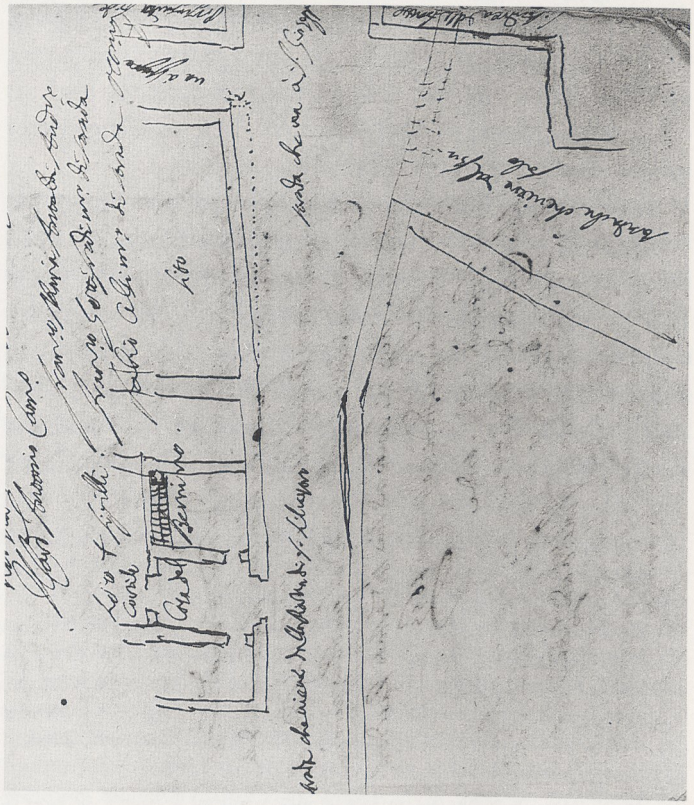
55 Frommel, Palastbau, I, p. 23, and II, p. 107, doc. 42. The key document is a letter of February 5, 1541, first published in E. Solmi, "Gaspare Contarini alla Dieta di Ratisbona secondo i documenti inediti dell'Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto,* XIII, 1907, p. 20. The *custos* of the English College from 1538 to 1541 was Cardinal Reginald Pole, whose prestige doubtless helped block the project (Cardinal Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome,* London, 1920, p. 53f.).



26. Propaganda Fide (Nolli 364) and house of G. L. Bernini (362). North to the left

the image of the protruding corner remained embedded in the street pattern. It came to be offered as a compliment to a number of important 17th-century buildings.

In 1621 Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi bought the Palazzo Maffei behind the Pantheon and began to replan the neighboring streets[56]. To the north an isola was scheduled for demolition to create a modest piazza. To the west, a broad new street, the Via dell'Arco della Ciambella, was cut through the great rotunda then standing in the middle of the Baths of Agrippa (and still shown relatively intact on Giovannoli's print of 1616)[57]. The architect was Gaspare de' Vecchi, who conveniently also served as *sottomaestro di strade* (Figs. 20, 21)[58]. He left two smaller rotondas standing and used their curving contours to shape the outlet of his street. In Peruzzi's day the rotonda had seemed like the ideal place to create a circular *cortile,* but now it was judged more appropriate to sacrifice it and to provide the palace of the *cardinal nipote* with prominence

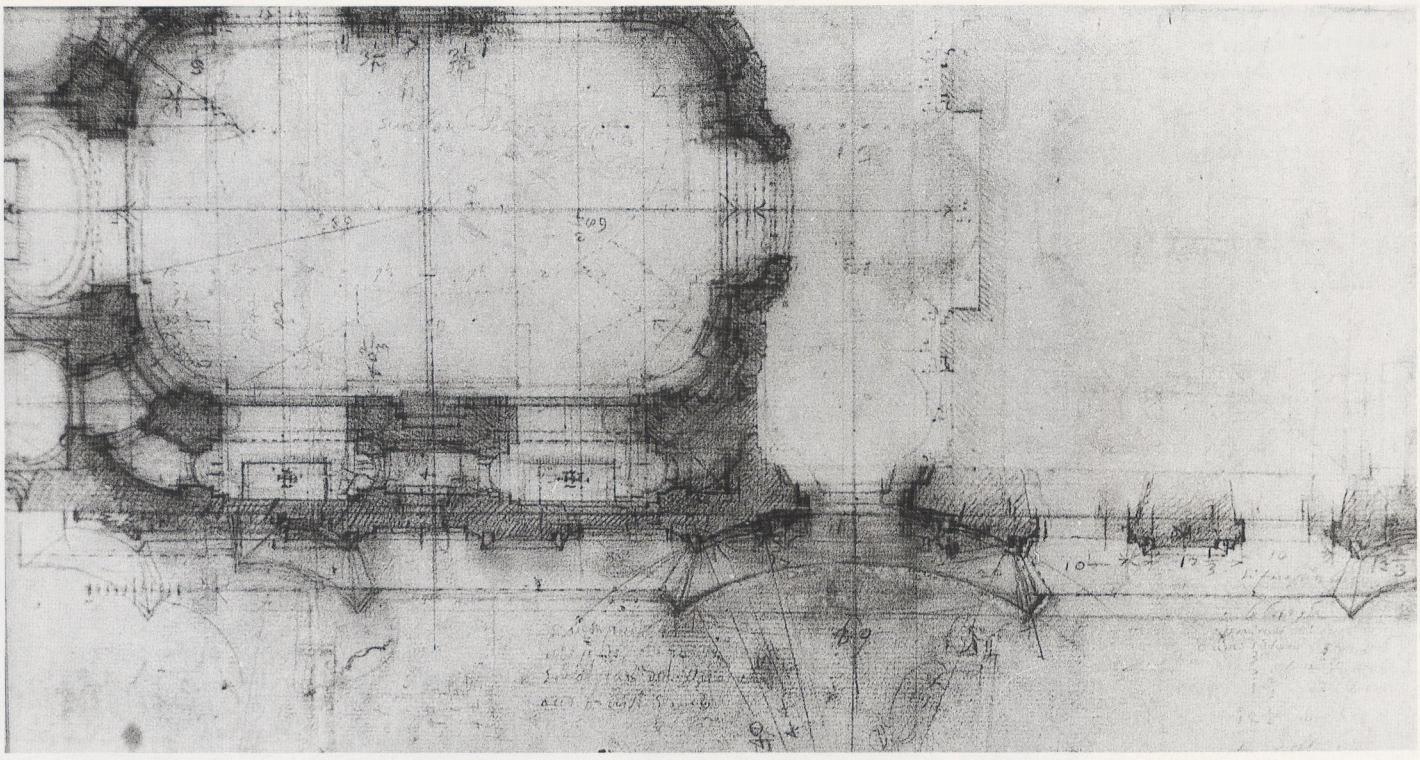


27. License to extend Bernini's house over an adjacent "sito" and to correct street alignment, 30 April 1655. North to the left (ASR, Pres. delle strade, b. 45, c. 20r)

56 Hibbard, Maderno, p. 75; and on the Maffei collections of antiques, Lanciani, Scavi, I, pp. 109–11. Strangely the Ludovisi occupancy of the palace is not mentioned in GR, Pigna II, pp. 104–10, where it is stated that the palace was the property of the Sannesi family from 1605 to 1668.

57 Illustrated in E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* London, 1968, II, p. 432, fig. 1227. See also R. Lanciani, "Il nuovo frammento della Forma Urbis e le terme di Agrippa," *Bullettino Comunale,* XXIX, 1901, pp. 3–19.

58 ASV, Archivio Buoncompagni-Ludovisi, prot. 313.



28. F. Borromini, final plan of Re Magi Chapel at the Propaganda Fide, with pentimenti changing facade from 5 to 7 bays (Alb. 889, detail)

and a distant prospect[59]. When the northeast corner of the Collegio Romano was begun in 1631 under the same cardinal's patronage, the Jesuit Oratorio del Caravita was set back to give prominence to the massive corner pier of the college, and the college wing in turn set back to enhance the facade of Sant'Ignazio[60]. The buildings defer to one another in strict hierarchy.

The Palazzo Barberini ai Giubbonari was felt to be "angusto d'entrata" even when Maffeo Barberini lived there as a cardinal[61]. When Taddeo Barberini was made Prefect of Rome in 1631, and intense quarrels over precedence arose every time his carriage met that of an ambassador, it became more urgent than ever to do something. A fire that broke out in December 1634 and destroyed houses in front of Santa Barbara dei Librai offered the opportunity[62]. A street was planned from the Via Papale, running down the flank of Sant'Andrea della Valle and then cutting through the Theater of Pompey until it reached a new piazza cleared in front of the palace (Fig. 22)[63]. This *viale Barberini* would have made the palace a nodal point on a long direct route from the Ponte Sisto to the Via Papale. The street was not carried out but the piazza was, giving prominence and light to the belvedere of the palace and the four corner bays[64].

When Cardinal Paluzzi Altieri, the papal nephew by adoption, extended the Palazzo Altieri in 1670–74, he was not only allowed to maintain, but actually to extend a property line that protruded far into the street recently widened by Alexander VII. Against protests from the neighboring Jesuits his architect De Rossi occupied land across from the Gesù, and at the end of the new wing he

59 UA 456, illustrated in A. Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze,* Rome, 1914–22, II, pl. clxxv, fig. 310.

60 Connors, Oratory, p. 131 f., nn. 4–6 and fig. 111.

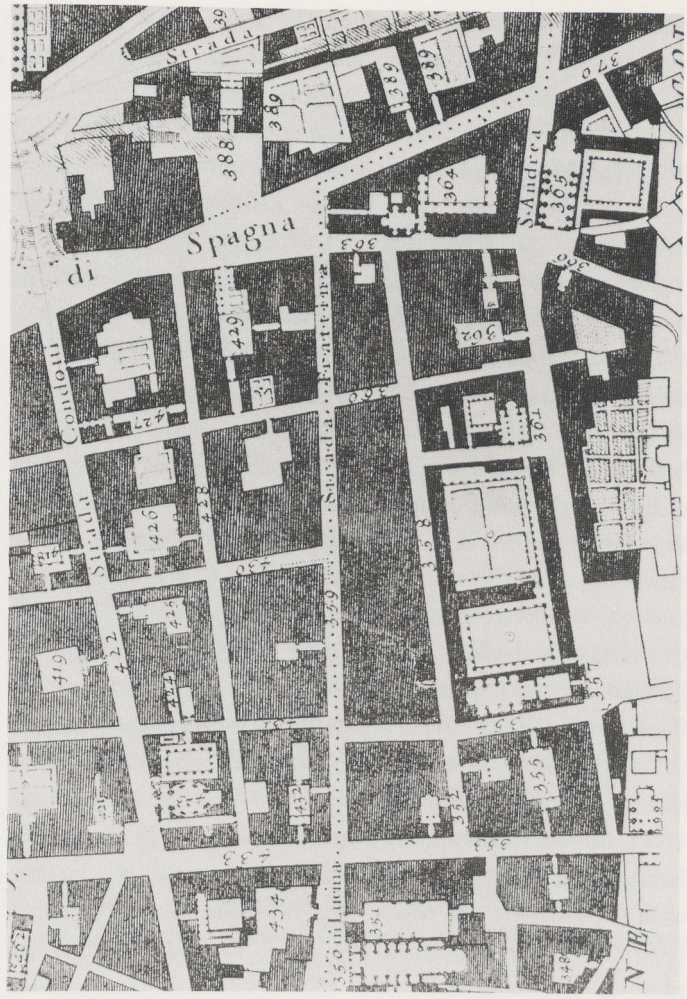
61 R. Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667,* Princeton, 1985, p. 28, quoting from Orbaan, Documenti, *sub* 31 October 1607; Patricia Waddy, "Taddeo Barberini as a Patron of Architecture," in R. Mousnier and J. Mesnard, eds., *L'Age d'or du mécènat (1598–1661),* Paris, 1985, pp. 191–99. Taddeo Barberini lived in the palace on the Via dei Giubbonari from 1628 to 1632, moved briefly to the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane in spring 1632, and then moved back to the Via dei Giubbonari in October 1634, where he remained until his flight from Rome in January 1646.

62 Cf. the post-fire *gettito* of December 15, 1636 in ASR, Pres. delle strade, b. 446, c. 601 r; and also by the notice of December 20, 1634 in Gigli, Diario, p. 150.

63 ASR, Dis. e mappe, c. 83, no. 419. Cf. also the inscription "Haec Platea Usq. Ad Viam Publicam / Ampliata ... 22 Feb. 1638" near the church entrance; and P. Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna,* Rome, 1638, p. 215: "Ed hora per occasione d'un'incendio avanti la chiesa v'è commoda Piazza."

64 Waddy, "Taddeo Barberini", pp. 194 ff. discusses other extensions to the Casa Grande ai Giubbonari in 1640–42, when Francesco Contini built the new entrance hall and staircase.

29. Propaganda Fide, façade seen from Via della Vite



30. Via Borgogna (Nolli 428) and Palazzo Rucellai (Gaetani) (434)

designed a conspicuous projection covered with rustication and loaded with balconies (Fig. 23). Alexander's avenue had been carefully planned in conjunction with property owners like the D'Aste and the Gottifredi; now the Altieri reaped the benefits[65].

Palazzo Ludovisi-Montecitorio has the most forceful protruding corner in Rome[66]. Approaching from the west along the Via della Missione, the street seems suddenly to open up into a funnel, giving prominence to the massive corner rustication and to the window bays on either side (Figs. 24, 25). Bernini's original design had included rustication, although it was carried out on this corner by Carlo Fontana. The idea to set back the facade of the neighboring Casa della Missione seems to be Bernini's as well[67]. Thus the two opposite ends of Montecitorio show two different modes of relations between neighbors. The deference of the Casa della Missione was demonstrated

65 On Alexander VII's street see Krautheimer, Alexander VII, p. 30 f.; and the notice in the diary of Carlo Cartari: "Spianò la strada avanti il palazzo di S. Marco, per uguagliarla alla Piazza de' Gesuiti, et all'imbocatura del Corso" (ASR, Cartari-Febei, vol. 191, c. 13, after May 6, 1658). Armando Schiavo (*Palazzo Altieri,* Rome, n. d., p. 60 f., fig. 19) shows these changes on a drawing resembling a license, though the document is actually an agreement with the neighboring Madaleni Capo di Ferro family, who promise not to object to encroachments on the piazzetta between their palace and that of the Altieri.

66 Allan Braham and Hellmut Hager, *Carlo Fontana: The Drawings at Windsor Castle,* London, 1977, pp. 112–25; Franco Borsi and others, *Montecitorio: ricerche di storia urbana,* Rome, 1972, especially pls. 16, 17, 20, 21, 27 and 37.

67 There is an accurate site plan of 1684 (ASR, Not. Trib. Acque e Strade, b. 111, c. 450) which already shows the facade of the Casa della Missione set back, before Carlo Fontana took over the commission in 1694. Although it is strange that the Missione facade is *not* shown set back on the plans drawn and printed by Fontana in 1694, it must be remembered that these plans are probably based on Bernini's original projects, and at the initial stage Bernini had not yet thought of the setback. When Fontana copied Bernini's drawings the setback had already been carried out; it was retained in 1699 when the Casa della Missione was rebuilt.

not only in the setback but in the strict limit placed on its height. On the other side, however, Palazzo Chigi refused all forms of subordination: its rebuilt facade was aligned with that of Montecitorio, and its belvedere was built on this side rather than toward the Corso, to tower over the huge pile that Prince Ludovisi had left unfinished[68].

Awareness of this image helps to explain Borromini's design for the facade of the Propaganda Fide (Fig. 26). When he submitted his first proposal for completing the college in 1647, Borromini aired the idea of putting some of the less important functions (like a hospice for foreign bishops) across the Via di Propaganda, where the Congregation could buy a house and also take over "an adjacent unbuilt space."[69] That space was Bernini's garden, which stood between the artist's house on the Via della Mercede and the southwest corner of the Propaganda. Then in drawings of 1648–52 Borromini proposed turning the garden into a piazza[70]. Joined to the smaller piazza of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte it would have created a generous open space into which the Propaganda corner would have cut like a mighty prow. With the change of pope in 1655 Bernini immediately counterattacked. He obtained a license that allowed him to build a house over his garden, and incidentally to move the building line $2^1/_2$ palmi further out into the street (Fig. 27)[71]. No deference, either planned or accidental, was to be allowed Borromini's corner. Attention shifted to the facade of the Re Magi Chapel in 1660–62. In an early project Borromini thought of putting the facade on the line of sight from the Via della Vite, but then in his final design he moved the chapel and sacrificed the distant view. Alb. 889 (Fig. 28) shows the new facade in plan, five bays wide and bounded by piers swung out in powerful arcs, and it is this five-bay project that Falda published on his map. But Alb. 889 also shows the bold pentimento with which Borromini suddenly enlarged the facade to seven bays, with the result that now the last bay on the left once again catches the view down the Via della Vite (Fig. 29). It is the familiar image. Very near to the Propaganda, when the Via Borgogna had been opened on land parceled out by the convent of San Silvestro a century before, Orazio Rucellai had insisted that the street point to the door and belvedere of his palace on the Corso (Nolli 434), even though that meant a deviation from the grid (Fig. 30)[72]. In the 1560s the streets were still fluid, at least in the presence of a powerful patron. By Borromini's day they had hardened. However, the image of prominence, in the tradition of the Farnese and the Ludovisi, could still be created by means of a plastic architecture and a sliding facade.

In Rome town planning was a matter of cutting and amputating as much as, and sometimes more than, actual building. The statutes gave the Maestri di Strade power "to break, chop, cut and ruin[73]." *Gettiti, allargamenti, ampliazioni, demolizioni, atterramenti* occur far more frequently in the documents than the positive tasks of their office, such as paving, putting steps in hilly streets, or planting trees. The 19th-century official was just as proud as his 15th-century predecessor to beautify a space by the "demolizione di varie casuppole, che ne degradavano la maestà". His god was Hercules, the first town planner, who cut paths through mountains: *Rupes secuit*[74]. Gradually this surgical conception of town planning came within the reach of noble families and of the religious institutions of the Counter Reformation. The laws encouraged them to expand, and common usage urged them to think in terms of cutting out voids and vistas around their buildings. Private powers shaped the public space, and although they could be harnessed by the popes, they usually acted first and foremost in their own interest. The cumulative effect of many small efforts at *Visualisierung* was that over time the thicket of Roman streets came to be replanned around growing palaces and monasteries. To walk through Rome is to navigate through the fields of influence that such buildings generate around themselves. The points where these fields meet can be places of high tension, when strong neighbors throw down the gauntlet, or unexpected creativity, when they sit down to talk. They are the streets and piazzas shaped by alliance, and their dark-haired sisters, those deformed by enmity.

68 Krautheimer, Alexander VII, pp. 53–59.

69 G. Antonazzi, "La sede della Sacra Congregazione e del Collegio Urbano," in J. Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis De Propaganda Fide memoria Rerum,* Rome–Freiburg–Vienna, I/1, 1971, p. 322 n. 87.

70 Alb. 1009 c shows the garden measured; Alb. 887 shows it hatched; and Alb. 887 a shows it as a piazza.

71 ASR, Pres. delle Strade, b. 45, c. 20 r (April 30, 1655), and c. 22 r (July 19, 1655). Cf. F. Borsi and others, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: il testamento, la casa, la raccolta dei beni,* Florence, 1981, pp. 26 f. and 94. The rivalry found an outlet in sculpture, if one can believe the story about a phallic balcony on Bernini's corner, first recounted in [G. A. Guattani], *Monumenti antichi inediti ...,* Rome, 1787, p. xlv.

72 Roberto Fregna and Salvatore Polito, "Fonti di archivio per una storia edilizia di Roma," *Controspazio,* IV, 1972, 7, p. 8. Via Borgogna was opened in 1567 ("la strada che nuovamente hanno fatto aprire che va alla porta del palazzo del Sig. Orazio [Rucellai] ..."). Tempesta (1593) still shows the last stretch near the Corso unopened.

73 Re, "Maestri di strada," p. 88 (Statute of 1452): "... di potere rompere, mozare, tagliare et ruinare ogni cosa ..."

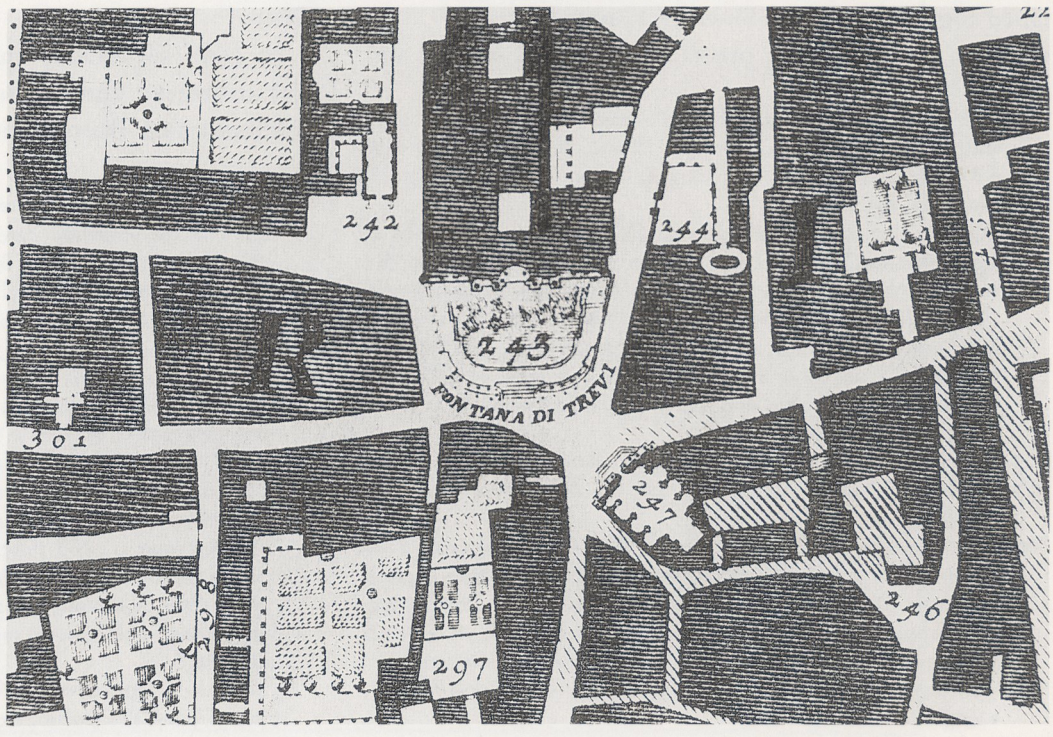
74 Nicolai, *Presidenza delle strade,* I, p. 1; and II, p. 163.

2. PIAZZA TREVI

Piazza Trevi was shaped in the cradle of a political alliance between protagonists who have now vanished, almost without trace, from its immediate confines. In the years around 1640 the Barberini doubled the area of the piazza and began a new monumental fountain on Bernini's designs. Simultaneously Count Ambrogio Carpegna commissioned Borromini to build a majestic palace along the eastern boundary of the piazza (Fig. 31). The alliance between the Barberini and the Carpegna was rooted not only in personal friendship and mutual advantage, but also in a deeper agreement about the fundamental aims of Barberini foreign policy; its great momentum overrode personal rivalries between the two difficult artists. But its span was brief. A short time later Borromini's Palazzo Carpegna was built on a much reduced scale by a different member of the family on property almost out of sight of the piazza; and the eastern boundary of the space, where Borromini had planned an ingenious oval courtyard, was only monumentalized in 1869 by the construction of the Palazzo Castellani. In 1732 Bernini's unfinished fountain was demolished to make way for Nicola Salvi's masterpiece. Only the facade of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio remains to bear witness, and then indirectly and incompletely, to the original alliance. Voices that could once be heard loud and clear in the corridors of power, discoursing on the shape of the Papal State or the shape of the piazza, can now scarcely be heard on the site, even in whispers.

Before the intervention of Urban VIII Piazza Trevi was a small clearing to the west of a first-century aqueduct, the Aqua Virgo. The *mostra* was rebuilt in 1453 by Alberti for Nicholas V[75]. It is shown, with its monumental inscription, coats of arms, and three basins, on Tempesta and other early maps as well as in a print published by Franzini in 1643, just after its demolition. The original aqueduct had not stopped at Trevi but went further south and west into the Campus Martius, and was carried across the narrow Via delle Muratte on an ancient arch. Alberti's fountain did not stand in the position of the present fountain but at right angles to it, occupying a position approximately in the center of the present basin (Fig. 32). It was in fact a flat facade appended to one side of the aqueduct rather than a terminus cutting across it. Traffic approached from the west, from the more heavily settled

75 JOHN PINTO, *The Trevi Fountain,* New Haven and London, 1986, pp. 28–63, is an exemplary study to which this section is deeply indebted. Earlier studies include S. FRASCHETTI, *Il Bernini,* Milan, 1900, pp. 127–31; and the rich collection of material in C. D'ONOFRIO, *Acque e fontane di Roma,* Rome, 1977, pp. 526–63, especially pp. 531–36.



31. Piazza Trevi, with Fontana di Trevi (Nolli 243), Palazzo Carpegna (244) and Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio (247)

areas around the Corso, and moved down the Via dei Crociferi and the Via delle Muratte until it met the fountain head-on. Two pre-Barberini drawings for expanding the fountain have been preserved, one of 1563 and the other done under Clement VIII in about 1602, and both envisage a rebuilding of Alberti's fountain on the same site[76]. In addition the Maggi map shows a project for a triumphal-arch fountain that seems to date from the reign of Paul V and resembles the Acqua Paola, but like Alberti's fountain it still looks west onto the small piazza, which was slightly enlarged by the demolition of the Muratte arch in 1617[77].

It was not until late in the pontificate of Urban VIII that the piazza was enlarged and a new fountain begun, facing in a different direction from Alberti's. On May 15, 1640 the pope ordered the Conservators of the city to contribute 6000 scudi to the project and also to consent to the dismantling of the tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Via Appia as a source of travertine[78]. The architect was of course Bernini. His first design seems to be preserved in a painting that stayed in his house until 1698 and then passed into the Rospigliosi collection[79]. Although the sylvan setting makes it look like a villa fountain, the sculptural *concetto* at the center, a virgin with a unicorn, unmistakably links the project with Trevi[80]. The stylistic evidence also points to Bernini: the figurative sculpture is not far from his Triton fountain of 1641, and the giant order looks forward to the facade of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. Timely protests in the summer of 1640 saved Cecilia Metella, but in 1641 the old fountain was demolished together with the block of houses behind it[81]. In a series of *gran gettiti* the piazza was doubled in size, and work was begun on Bernini's second fountain design, which can be seen in its unfinished state in the vedute of 1665 by Falda and Lievin Cruyl (Fig. 33)[82]. It consisted of two elongated semi-circular basins and a concave exedra, with all arcs swung from a single center. A plan by Carlo Fontana of 1706 shows all these features and also a large round slab, 27 palmi in diameter, that was apparently underwater (since it is invisible on the vedute) and that we may surmise was meant to serve as the base for a monumental statue (Fig. 34)[83]. The second project lacks the baldacchino-like structure that protected the statue in the first project, so presumably a still more monumental *vergine* would have stood or sat out in the open.

Contemporary *avvisi* all remark on the fact that Urban VIII had changed the direction of the fountain, and the well-informed diarist Gigli tells us why:

> "Papa Urbano VIII. fece prima gettare a terra le case, che gli erano dietro, et fece piazza, et poi voltò la mostra della fontana dalla parte destra appresso alla fontana vecchia, et spianò la forma antica, et ciò fece perchè potesse vedersi la detta Fontana dal Palazzo di Monte Cavallo ..."[84]

The vedute, which all clearly show the Quirinal belvedere in the distance, underline this visual link (Fig. 33). The fountain grew enormously in expense. An *avviso* of 1641 gives a figure of 12,000 scudi for the fountain and demolitions, while a *gettito* or betterment tax of 30,000 scudi was collected for it in the same year, only to be squandered in the military build-up for the War of Castro[85].

In 1640–41, exactly the years when Bernini's Trevi was conceived and begun, Count Ambrogio Carpegna commissioned Borromini to design what would have

76 H. Egger, *Architektonische Handzeichnungen Alter Meister,* Vienna and Leipzig, [1910], p. 10 and pls. 19 and 20; D'Onofrio, Acque e fontane, pp. 529–30, fig. 643; and Pinto, Trevi, p. 32, fig. 21, and p. 38, fig. 27.

77 Dietrich Neumann, in a lecture at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in September 1987, pointed out the importance of a passage in Domenico Fontana, *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano,* Rome, 1590, p. 103a, where Sixtus V's basin *(purgo publico)* for washing wool at Trevi is mentioned for the first time (see also Forcella, XIII, p. 175 no. 342). Erected in 1586, this basin is visible on Tempesta, Maggi, Falda, and Cruyl, and still appears on the Carlo Fontana plan of 1706.

78 The chirograph is quoted in D'Onofrio, Acque e fontane, p. 531.

79 D'Onofrio, Acque e fontane, p. 535, fig. 649; Pinto, Trevi, pp. 46–48, fig. 34.

80 This is confirmed by a passage in Federico Ubaldini, *Vita Angeli Colotii Episcopi Nucerini,* Rome, 1673, p. 38 (first cited in Fraschetti, Il Bernini, p. 130 and quoted in Egger, Architekturzeichnungen, p. 10): "Proposuerat eidem adjicere et Virginis statuam et alia ornamenta Equitis Bernini ingenio delineata."

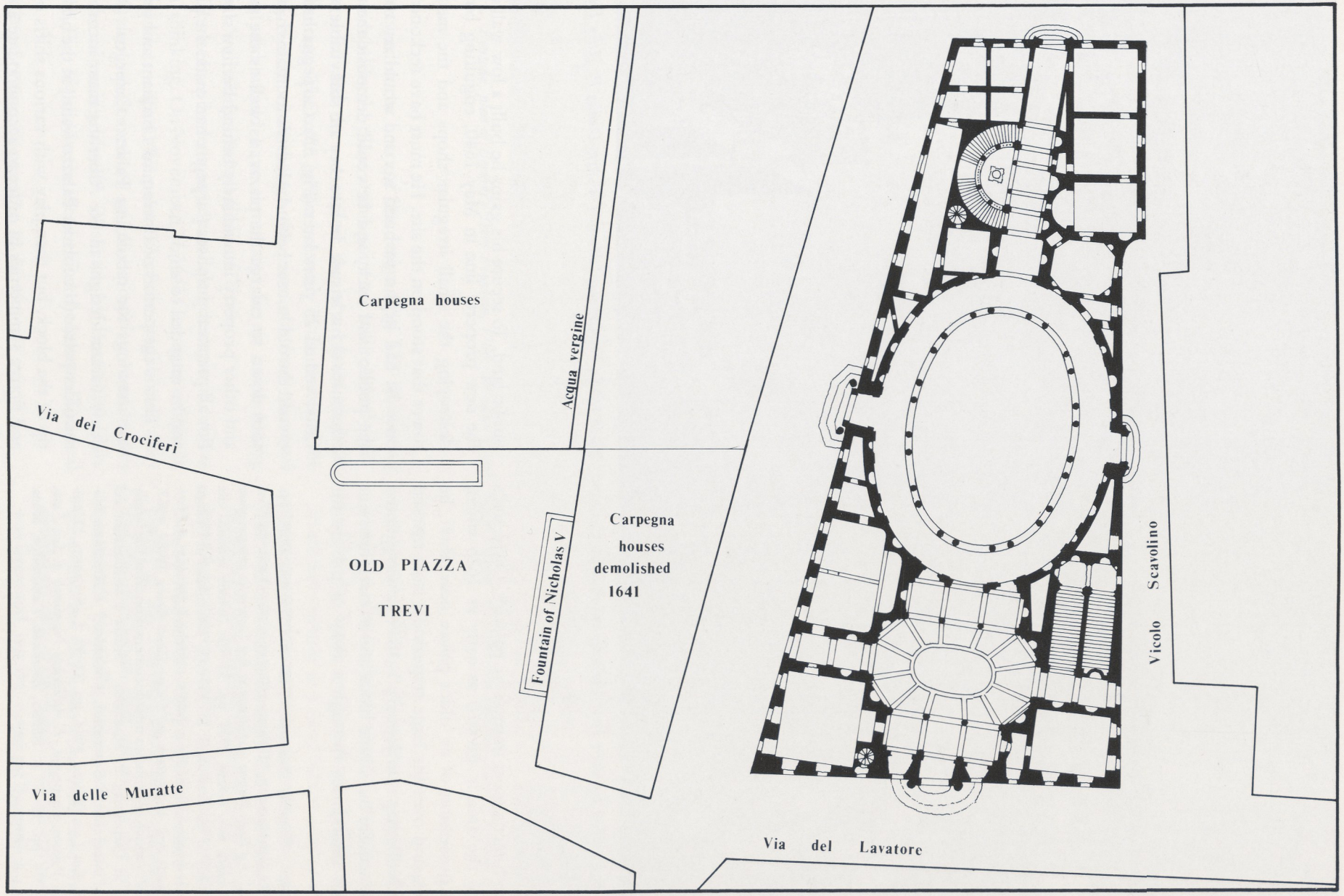
81 Documents in O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII,* I, Vienna, 1928, regs. 47–57.

82 G. B. Falda, *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche,* III, Rome, 1667–69, pl. 25. The Cruyl drawing, dated March 1665, was published in Egger, Römische Veduten, II, p. 32f. and pl. 78; Pinto, Trevi, p. 43, fig. 30 shows instead the Cruyl print of 1666.

83 D'Onofrio, Acque e fontane, p. 532, fig. 645; Pinto, Trevi, p. 46, fig. 33.

84 Gigli, Diario, p. 232, also quoted in Pollak, Kunsttätigkeit, I, reg. 56. On p. 186 Gigli reminds us that the Quirinal benediction loggia was inaugurated on June 2, 1639. Martinelli–D'Onofrio (fol. 349f., p. 277) mentions the change of direction with disapproval: "[Under Nicholas V] si fece la fontana nella piazza di Trevi volta prudentemente à ponente per sfuggire l'arsura del levante e del mezzogiorno ... Nel pontificato di Urbano VIII fu guasta per rifarsi in miglior forma, levato il condotto con le sue tre bocche dalla vista di levante, e portate à mezzogiorno e così stà priva [*not* prima!] dell'antico e moderno ornamento con opera del Cav. Bernini."

85 Avviso of September 30, 1645, quoted in Pollak, Kunsttätigkeit, reg. 57, and D'Onofrio, Acqua e fontane, p. 534, n. 9.



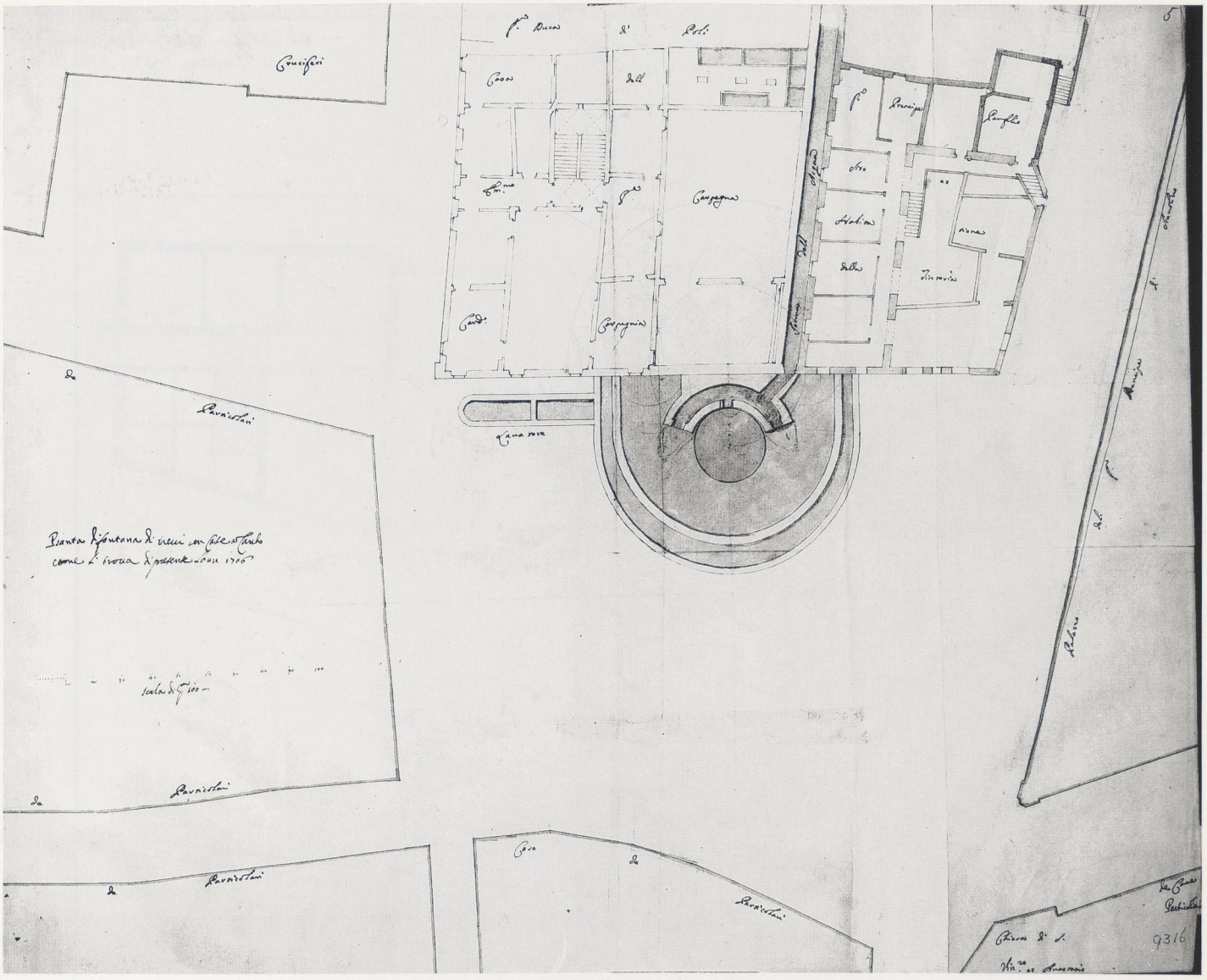
32. Reconstruction of old Piazza Trevi, prior to the demolition of Alberti's fountain, with Borromini's project for Palazzo Carpegna from Alb. 1019b (B. Schindler)

33. Lievin Cruyl, view of Bernini's Trevi Fountain and Palazzo Carpegna, March 1665 (The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dudley P. Allen Fund, photo reversed)

been the architect's most impressive palace[86]. Carpegna's presence in the area is attested as early as 1625 when, already in possession of an older palace near Trevi, he began to expand over the large trapezoidal isola marked 244 on the Nolli map. On January 1, 1639 he was granted a license to acquire the whole block and to straighten out its irregular boundaries through a swap of private for public land. To secure his gains he built a low wall along the new property line in May 1640, engulfing but not destroying the small irregular shops and the medieval tower that stood on the site. He must have reckoned that once he had begun to build no one would try to take the public land back, and he could demolish the older structures at his leisure. In fact they are still visible on the Cruyl veduta 25 years later (Fig. 33). Carpegna had also owned the old houses behind Alberti's fountain that were torn down to enlarge the piazza, as well as the garden and other property immediately behind Bernini's *mostra*. For all practical purposes Carpegna had made the piazza, and he intended to enjoy it.

This is the period of Borromini's brilliant and grandiose drawings for rebuilding Palazzo Carpegna. Of the many variant designs in the Albertina most incorporate the older palace (the former Palazzo Vaini) at the northern tip of the block, but then play with various shifts of axis and fictive symmetries in order to accommodate an oval

86 E. Hempel, *Francesco Borromini,* Graz and Vienna, 1924, pp. 127–34; G. Giovannoni, "Il Palazzo Carpegna nuova sede dell'Accademia," *La Reale Insigne Accademia di San Luca nella inaugurazione della sua nuova sede,* Rome, 1934, pp. 35–107 (which remains the closest study of the drawings); M. Tafuri, "Borromini in Palazzo Carpegna: documenti inediti e ipotesi critiche," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura dell'Università di Roma,* 79/84, 1967, pp. 85–107 (which contributes new documentation from the family archives in Carpegna); P. Marconi, "Storia e architettura del palazzo; l'intervento di Borromini; il restauro," *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca,* Rome, 1974, pp. 37–57; L. Salerno, "L'ambiente di Palazzo Carpegna, *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca,* Rome, 1974, pp. 58–77; A. Blunt, *Borromini,* Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1979, pp. 161–68.

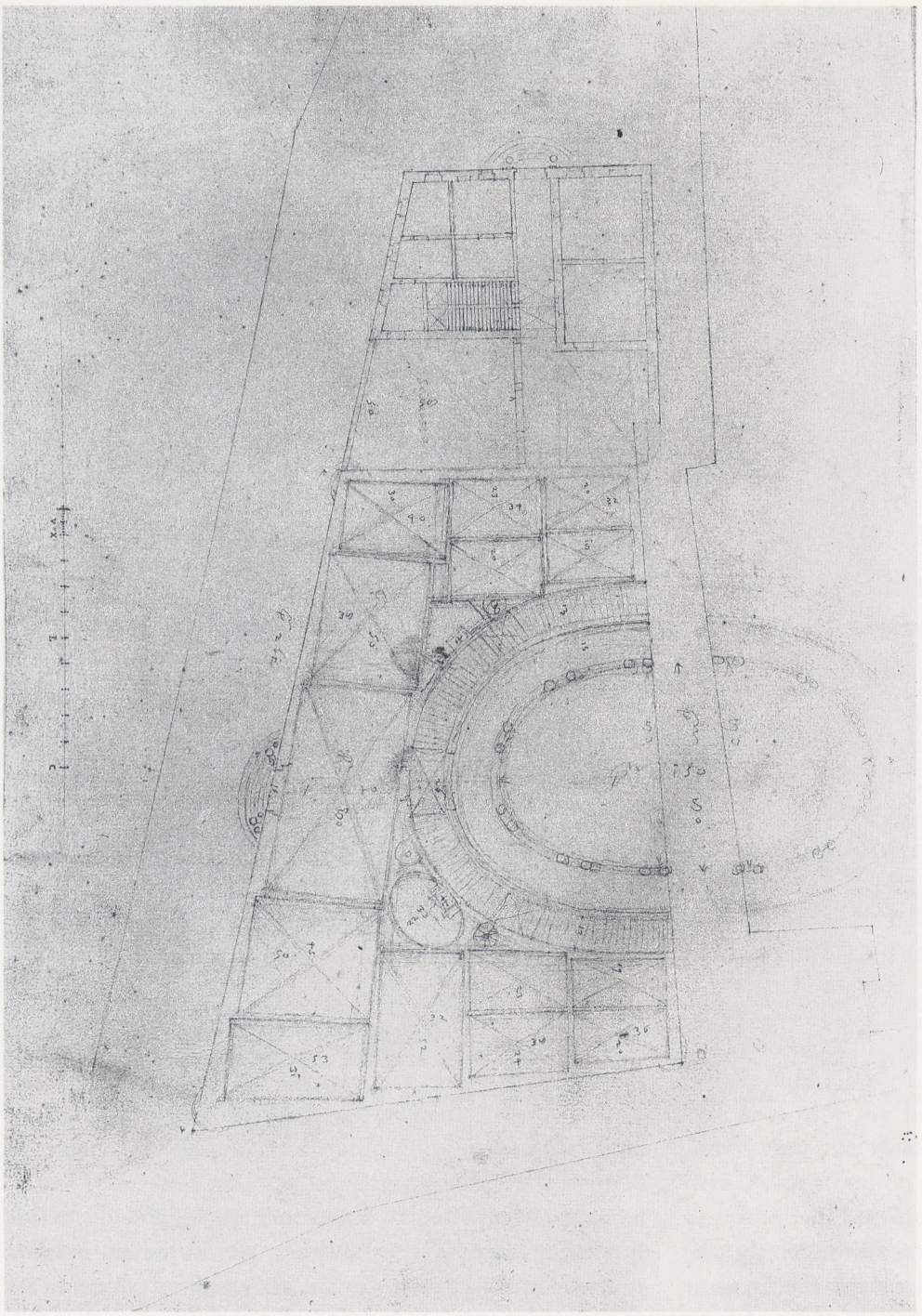


34. C. Fontana, plan of Bernini's Trevi Fountain, 1706 (Windsor Castle, Royal Library. © 1987 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

courtyard at the heart of the design (Fig. 11). But for all their subtlety the plans at this point are still relatively self-contained and do not exploit the new piazza to great advantage. The main *portone* is exactly in the center of the long facade, even though the view out from the oval courtyard would have terminated in an uninteresting blank wall along the east flank of Trevi.

The next episode is an unparalleled example of contextual thinking. On November 20, 1641 Carpegna was given a license to expand his palace over the neighboring alley (the vicolo di Scavolino) and to expropriate some houses in the adjoining block[87]. A sketch by Borromini (Alb. 1018, Fig. 35) shows the idea behind the license. The oval courtyard is rotated 90 degrees, enlarged, and allowed to jump the alley, which, however, would remain open to traffic. One has to imagine the ground floor loggia of the courtyard coming to a dead halt at a fence or wall, while the upper stories continue across the alley on two bridges. The axis of vision through the oval courtyard and out the *portone* (now placed 135 palmi from the corner) would have come to rest exactly at the center of Bernini's fountain, in the middle of the large basin shown on Fontana's plan (Fig. 36). The decision to place the statue in the open and the decision to shift the axis of the courtyard were connected: Bernini's *Vergine* would have had the best view into the Carpegna courtyard, and the Carpegna a privileged view of the statue. Neither statue nor courtyard was executed, but the virtue of Borromini's sketch is that

87 Tafuri, "Palazzo Carpegna," p. 92, fig. 19.

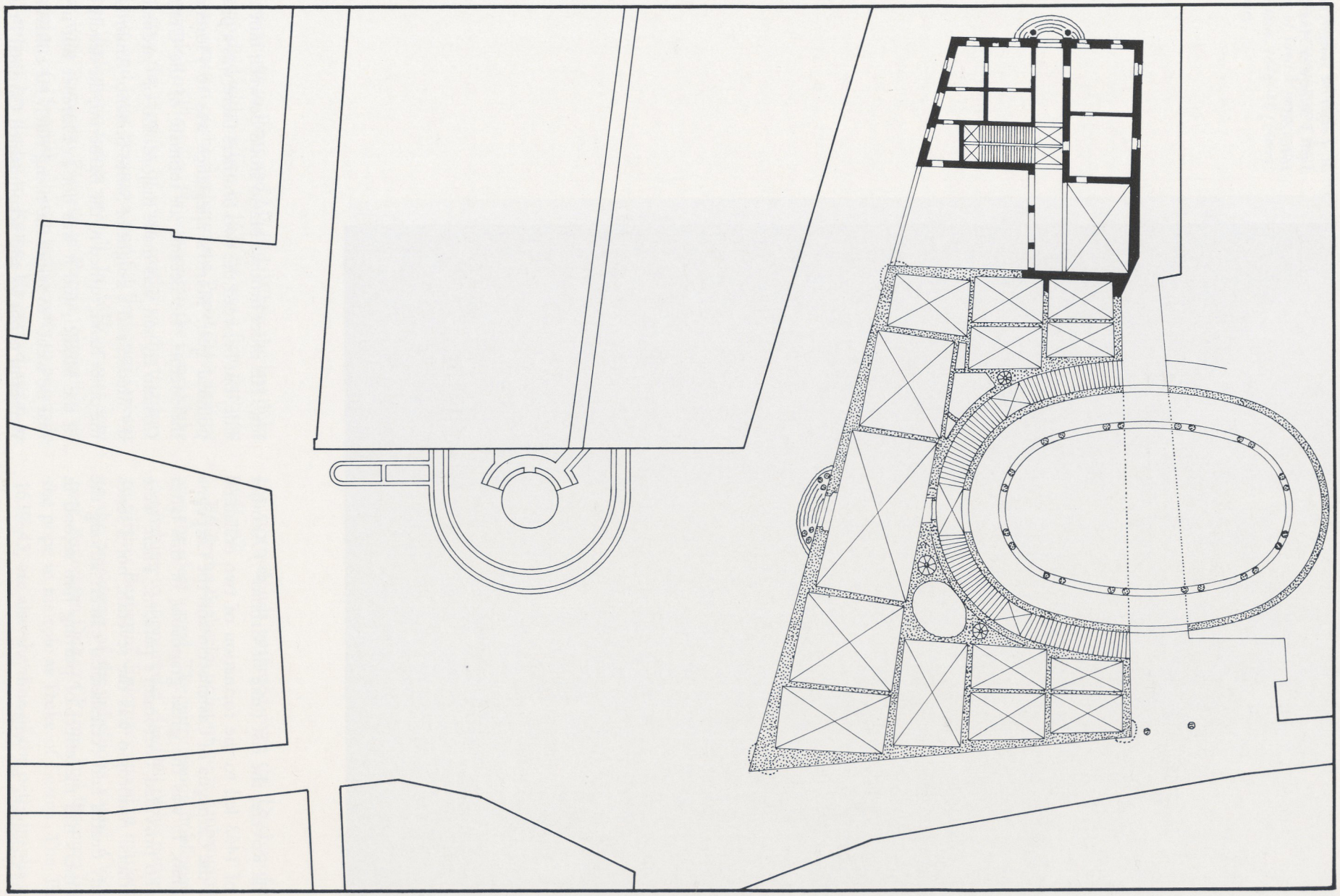


35. F. Borromini, project for expanding the Carpegna courtyard across the Vicolo di Scavolino, 1641 (Alb. 1018)

it allows us to see him thinking on the site, when the dust of the demolitions had hardly settled, testing out the prospects of a new urban landscape.

But who was Ambrogio Carpegna? The family was one of the oldest in Italy, claiming descent from a German ancestor who had arrived in the peninsula in 457[88]. In 1140 the branch of Montefeltro split off from the Carpegna trunk, and went on to become the counts and dukes of Urbino, although they and their successors the della Rovere always remembered the greater antiquity of the house of Carpegna. ("From my counts have sprung your dukes" Ambrogio once said to his friend Francesco

88 Pier Antonio Guerrieri, *La Carpegna abbellita et il Monte Feltro illustrato,* Urbino, 1667 (facsimile Bologna, 1974). Part IV of Guerrieri's book is the very useful *Genealogia di Casa Carpegna,* Rimini, 1667. See also P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane,* Milan, 1819–1902, XII, fascicule entitled "Conti di Carpegna nel Montefeltro."



36. Reconstruction of enlarged Piazza Trevi with Bernini's fountain and Borromini's project for Palazzo Carpegna from Alb. 1018 (B. Schindler)

37. M. Longhi the Younger, facade of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio, 1646–50

Maria della Rovere, the last duke of Urbino[89].) Another division of 1463 led to the formation of two collateral branches, the Carpegna of Castellaccio and the Carpegna of Scavolino. It was the great-grandsons of this latter branch who provided Borromini's patrons. There were eight brothers. Ambrogio was the seventh, but a series of untimely deaths and ecclesiastical careers among the older brothers had the effect of putting him second in line. His older brother Mario stood between him and the title, but between the two brothers there was a profound political gulf. Mario's allegiance was to Florence and the Medici. He became an intimate of the Grandduke Cosimo II, and was made majordomo of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici and a knight of Santo Stefano. Ambrogio, on the other hand, turned to the Barberini, the deadly enemy of the Medici, and it was not in Florence but in Rome that he went "to salute the rising sun". He cultivated the Barberini nephews and accompanied Cardinal Francesco

89 Guerreri, Genealogia, pp. 19–20.

38. Anonymous, print after Longhi's original project for façade of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio, 1646–48 (Avery Library)

on his legations to Paris and Madrid. When the last duke of Urbino died without heir in 1631 he was a firm partisan of the annexation of the duchy to the Papal State against the opposition of Florence. He was sent to the Grandduke to negotiate the transfer of some castles in the territory of Urbino, and later became a faithful Barberini servant on other diplomatic fronts as well. In 1636 he was sent to treat with Ranuccio Farnese in Parma, ostensibly on the question of a Spanish alliance but secretly to persuade him to entrust his duchy to Rome. He served again as the stormclouds gathered over the Duchy of Castro in 1641–42.

From the Barberini point of view Ambrogio Carpegna was the ideal vassal. The witty young nobleman who did everything to support the *Anschluss* of his native state and to further Barberini diplomacy stood in marked contrast to the *prepotenza* of the rebellious vassal, Odoardo Farnese, sovereign Duke of Parma and Piacenza but leige of the pope in his role as Duke of Castro. The Trevi years, 1639–43, are also the time of the petty insults and diplo-

matic maneuvering that led to the break between Urban VIII and Farnese, the occupation of the Duchy of Castro by papal troops, the formation of a defensive league by Venice, Modena and Florence, and eventually the War of Castro[90]. Castro stood somewhere in between petty fiefdoms like Palestrina that every noble family, especially the Barberini, needed to give ballast to their rank, and truly independent principalities like Urbino or Ferrara that had been annexed in order to expand papal territory. Urban VIII thought Odoardo Farnese "all smoke and pride"[91], but his nephews would have liked nothing better than to repeat the Farnese achievement of an independent duchy for the Barberini. The creation of Piazza Trevi was a symbol of what the relationship between the Barberini and the older aristocracy should ideally be like, far different from the grim martial reality. Unfortunately for the pope Ambrogio Carpegna died on March 7, 1643[92], before he could complete his splendid palace and enjoy its Trevi frontage, but also before he was forced to drain with his masters the bitter cup of defeat.

Ambrogio's brother, Cardinal Ulderico Carpegna, inherited the property and commissioned Borromini to carry out a restoration and slight enlargement of the Palazzo Vaini in 1643–49. It is famous for its spiral ramp and stuccoes, but it uses up only half of the available property and stops short of any frontage on the piazza. Here too we may perceive a political gesture. Unlike Ambrogio, Ulderico was at best a lukewarm supporter of the Barberini[93]. He had been given the red hat in 1633 as a gesture to the aristocracy of Urbino, but he was inconveniently incorruptible, lacked his brother's sparkle, and may have gotten wind of the pope's remark that he was not worth the water with which he washed his face[94]. At first he pursued a conciliatory policy but by the end of the War of Castro he had drifted fully into the Medici camp. His palace was a studied retreat from Trevi and all its Barberini associations.

After Urban VIII's death in 1644 the Barberini were in disgrace and Piazza Trevi would have been totally abandoned if a new actor had not appeared on the scene in the person of Cardinal Mazarin, the patron who built the facade of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio in 1646–50 (Fig. 37)[95]. Giulio Mazzarini had been raised in the area and baptized in this church; he lived in the Palazzo Poli behind Trevi until he left for Paris, never to return, in December 1639. He probably knew of the Trevi project, but he does not seem to have been involved in the early stages. On February 17, 1640 the Hieronymite fathers were given permission to rebuild and reorient their church so that it bordered on the new piazza and pointed to the center of Bernini's fountain[96]. It was obviously part

90 Giacinto Demaria, "La guerra di Castro e la spedizione de' presidii (1639–1649)," *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana,* ser. 3, IV, 1898, pp. 191–256; Hildegard Giess, "Die Stadt Castro und die Pläne von Antonio da Sangallo dem Jüngeren," *RömJbKg,* XVII, 1978, pp. 47–88, and XIX, 1981, pp. 85–140. An excellent sketch of the politico-artistic situation at the time of the annexation of Urbino is given by Charles Dempsey, review of M. Campbell, Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace, Princeton, 1977, in *Art Bulletin,* LXI, 1979, pp. 141–44.

91 Demaria, "Guerra di Castro," p. 201, n. 1: "In fatti il Duca di Parma ritiene della natura della casa Aldobrandina, tutto fumo, tutta superbia."

92 Avviso in Barb. lat. 6360, f. 68v–69, 14 March 1643: "Parimente detto giorno [Sabbato] dopo alcuni giorni d'indispositione passò da questa à miglior vita con haver ricevuti tutti li S.mi Sacramenti della chiesa, e la Beneditione di Nostro Signore in età ... d'anni il S.r Conte Ambrogio Carpegna fratello del SS. Cardinale di questo cognome et [la benedizione] dell'Em.mo Barberino, et lunedi mattina fù esposto in mezzo la chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle sopra di una gran bara coperta di una bellissima coltre di broccato d'oro con 80 torcie attorno la cui chiesa era tutta parata di lutto con le sue armi che dopo la messa grande gli fù data sepoltura avanti la Cappella de SS.ri Barberini."

93 G. Romeo, "Ulderico Carpegna," *DBI,* XX, pp. 594–96. Still useful among the older sources are Teodoro Amayden, *La storia delle famiglie romane,* ed. Carlo Augusto Bertini, Rome, [1910], I, p. 272f.; and Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della santa Romana Chiesa,* Rome, 9 vols., 1792–97, VI, pp. 310–2. The funeral inscription of 1679 in Sant'Andrea della Valle is given in Forcella, VIII, p. 270, n. 680.

94 Fulvio Testi, *Lettere,* ed. M. L. Doglio, Bari, 1967, II, p. 287, no. 813. Litta, Famiglie (unpaginated) also quotes a negative report on the cardinal's talents: "Ma una debolezza di testa, lo aveva tenuto lungamante lontano da ogni funzione, e benchè se ne fosse in gran parte riscosso, pel suo poco intelletto, non potè segnalarsi in veruna ragguardevole magistratura. Nel conclave, in cui fu eletto Alessandro VII, si trattò di farlo papa, perché non era odioso ad alcuna fazione, ma fu poi escluso per la sua incapacità." The Venetian *Relazione alla Repubblica* in BV, Chigi N III 80 of either 1656 or 1660 shares this verdict: "Carpegna dello stato d'Urbino haveva razione di sperar assai nell'ultimo conclave, perché il Gran Duca lo desiderava, Barberino non lo rifiutava, e le qualità sue non erano dispregabili. Ma insomma quando ad un Cardinale manca una certa aura, che spinga le vele della comune inclinazione, resta quasi sempre in secco. Non si può negar che in questo soggetto non concorressero e bontà di vita, ed esemplarità di costumi ..., ma, allo stringere, non aveva applausa ..."

95 Cf. Totti, Roma moderna, 1638, p. 293: "e chiamasi parochia Papale, perche ha sotto di se la fameglia Papale." Antonia Pugliese and Salvatore Rigano, "Martino Lunghi il giovane architetto," in M. Fagiolo, ed., *Architettura barocca a Roma,* Rome, 1972, pp. 45–66; and John Varriano, "The Architecture of Martino Longhi the Younger (1602–1660)," *JSAH,* XXX, 1971, pp. 111–13. For Mazarin's Roman background the most interesting book is Georges Dethan, *Mazarin et ses amis,* Paris, 1968, translated into English as *The Young Mazarin,* London, 1977.

96 A site plan of 1614, which shows that the church was quite out of sight of the original Trevi fountain before Urban VIII's rebuilding, is published in Egger, Römische Veduten, II, p. 32, fig. 14 (ASR, Dis. e mappe, c. 80, no. 240).

of the pope's grand design. But the facade was not begun until early June 1646, and it was only at this point that Mazarin became involved. He seems to have agreed to reimburse the fathers for previous expenses in order to be able to make the misleading claim (for example in the facade inscription) that he had rebuilt the church "a fundamentis[97]." He or his agents, Elpidio Benedetti and Paolo Macarani, chose Martino Longhi the Younger as the architect of the facade. They probably viewed him as a second Bernini. By March 1648 Macarani could report that the first story was finished, and that if the cardinal wanted to save 2000 scudi (the architect's total *scandaglio* would be 15,300 scudi) he could omit the sculpture and build the upper colonnade "di materia," that is, of stuccoed and painted brick[98]. But he added that the prestige of the site and the patron made this step repugnant.

Macarani included with this letter a print of the facade made at the expense of the fathers, a copy of which has recently emerged in New York (Fig. 38)[99]. The caption gives the full title of the church, Santi Girolamo, Vincenzo ed Anastasio, and it is these saints who are shown in the large reliefs on either side of the portal. Four allegorical statues of Mazarin's Prudence, Justice and other virtues stand on the upper story, and two statues of Fama trumpet the renown of Mazarin's coat of arms. From an early date the facade has been considered a little overloaded. "Le nombre des colonnes trop entassées ostent une certaine liberté d'ordre qui empesche qu'on ne puisse approuver ce dessein" is the verdict of a French guidebook of 1675[100]. But in fact Longhi seems to be reaching back to antiquity, as filtered through coins, where a common convention is to show the columns of a temple front clustered on either side in order to have room to show the cult image within (Fig. 39)[101]. Longhi's

39. Temple of Jupiter Tonans

energetic clusters of columns frame the cardinal's arms and seem to proclaim, in tones of deep Roman gravity, the presence of *Mazarin tonans*. Within the context of the half-finished piazza the facade creates a dramatic *coup de theâtre* and begins to compensate for the incapacity of the leading performers.

When Mazarin began the facade he was at the height of his power. He had received the red hat, after intense French pressure, in December 1641. Richelieu died in 1642 and designated him as his successor; Louis XIII died in 1643 and Mazarin led France throughout the regency. For the Barberini, on the other hand, it was a time of adversity. They incurred Mazarin's wrath by allowing the conclave to elect his sworn enemy, Giambattista Pamphilj, "interamente Spagnuolo[102]." Innocent X opened an investigation of papal finances under the Barberini. It emerged that 14 million gold scudi could not be accounted for, and that even in the financial crisis of the war the nephews had extorted 1,400,000 scudi to buy castles from the Orsini. As pressure mounted for retribution, Mazarin forgave the Barberini as an act of defiance against the new pope. The arms of France appeared on Palazzo Barberini; Antonio fled to Paris in October 1645; his brothers joined him there in January 1646[103]. The relation between protegé and *padroni* was entirely reversed. To threaten the pope still further Mazarin sponsored a naval expedition against the Spanish garrisons on the

97 See also [Elpidio Benedetti], *Racolta di diverse memorie per scrivere la vita del Cardinale Giulio Mazarini,* Lyon, [1653], p. 9; "donde si mosse poscia la pietà del Cardinale Mazarini, in segno della sua antica devotione verso quella Chiesa a farla nobilmente riedificare da i fondamenti." The correct sequence of events is argued in Pugliese and Rigano, "Martino Lunghi," p. 46.

98 M. Laurain-Portemer, "Bilan d'une politique des arts," in *Études Mazarines,* Paris, 1981, p. 393, n. 1.

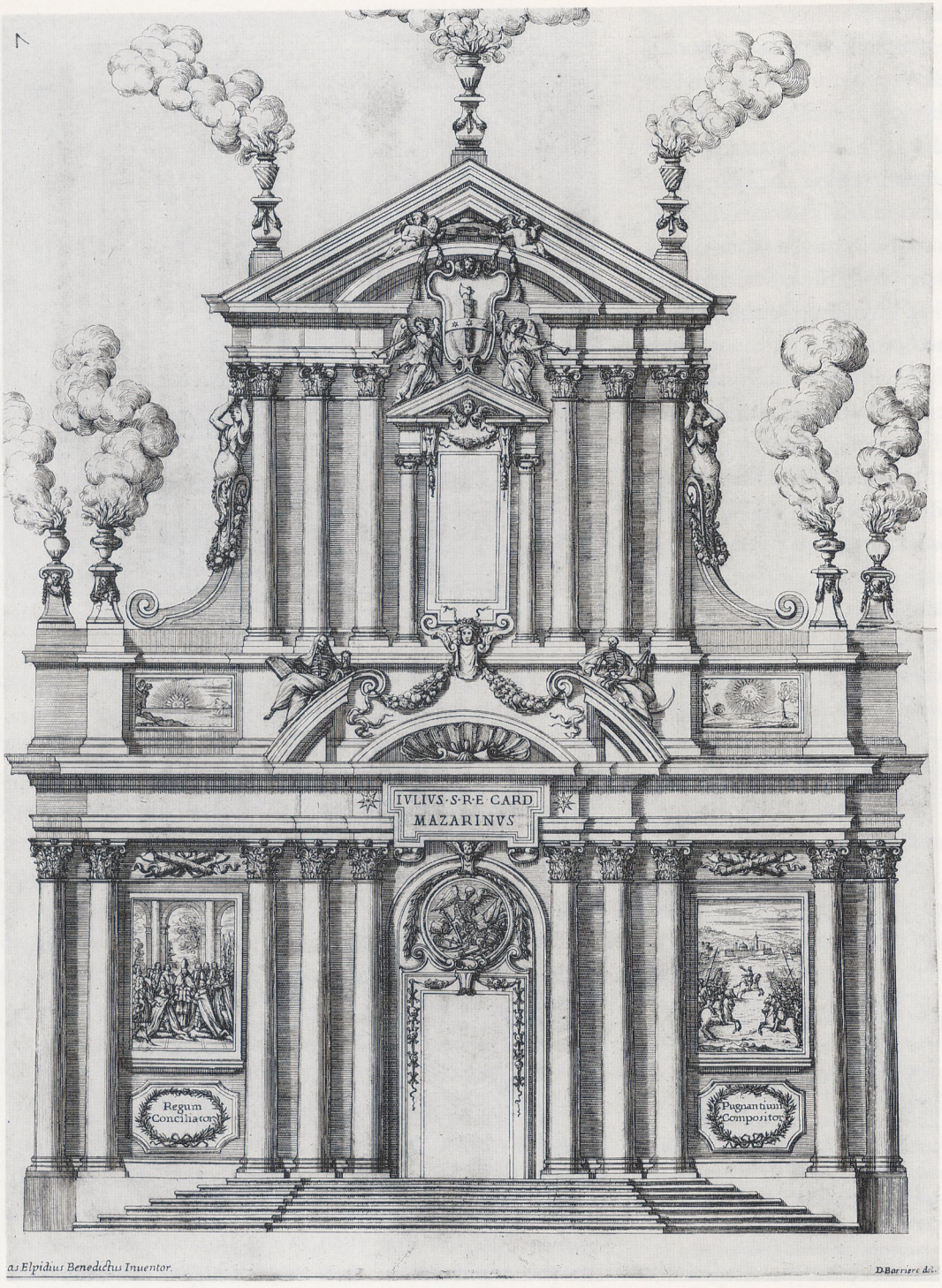
99 Avery Library of Columbia University, New York. Mr. Herbert Mitchell acquired this print and kindly brought it to my attention. It is obviously the model for the small print in F. de Rossi, *Ritratto di Roma moderna,* Rome, 1652, p. 296, which was discovered by Varriano, "Martino Longhi," p. 113, fig. 17.

100 Anonymous *Description de Rome moderne, c.* 1675, MS in Avery Library of Columbia University, p. 467.

101 Donald Frederick Brown, "Architectura Numismatica. Part One: The Temples of Rome," Ph.D. diss. New York University, 1941, pp. x–xii. A classic example is the Augustan coin showing the Temple of Jupiter Tonans in Nash, Pictorial Dictionary, I, p. 535, Fig. 661.

102 Mazarin's phrase, in Demaria, "Castro," p. 234, n. 4.

103 Gigli, Diario, p. 272.



40. D. Barrière, print of Elpidio Benedetti's decorations on façade of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio for the elogio funebre of Mazarin, 1661 (BAV)

Tuscan coast. In September 1646 Innocent gave in and reinstated the Barberini, and a red hat for Mazarin's brother Michele was thrown into the bargain as well. In 1647 an anxious Bernini offered Mazarin the group of *Time Unveiling Truth,* and the second edition of Count Teti's *Aedes Barberini* was dedicated to the cardinal[104].

104 Laurain-Portemer, "Bilan," p. 379; Girolamo Teti, *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem,* Rome, 1642; 2nd ed. 1647.

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 marked the triumph of French, not papal, diplomacy.

Mazarin's career and the facade of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio received a setback during the *frondes* of 1649–51, when the cardinal was forced to flee Paris and his great library was dispersed. On June 2, 1649 he had to approve the suppression of eight statues on the facade for which the marble had already been purchased. His delight in hearing that the facade was finished in June

1650 was mitigated by worries at the expense[105]. But when the storm passed and he was firmly back in power this became more than ever his personal church. He buried his father here in 1654, and in October 1660 he was on the verge of commissioning a family sepulchre from Bernini[106]. When he died in 1661 the faithful Benedetti staged a triumphal *elogio funebre* at the church (Fig. 40)[107].

105 Laurain-Portemer, "Bilan," p. 393f., n. 1.

106 Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, "Mazarin, Benedetti et l'escalier de la Trinité des Monts," *Études Mazarines,* Paris, 1981, p. 325, n. 1.

107 Elpidio Benedetti, *Pompa funebre nell'esequie celebrate in Roma al Cardinal Mazarini nella Chiesa de SS. Vincenzo, & Anastasio,* Rome, 1661. The prints are by Domenico Barrière.

The white columns of the facade stood out from a background draped in black velvet with a candor that is hard to imagine today, and the two unfinished relief panels were decorated with painted scenes illustrating the cardinal's career as a peacemaker. One showed him as a dashing young papal captain galloping back and forth between the hostile armies at Casale, brandishing the armistice and crying "Peace, peace," while the other showed him as an aged cardinal reconciling the French and Spanish monarchs at the Peace of the Pyrenees, the sunrise and sunset of a brilliant career. These temporary decorations proclaimed the triumph of alliances that shaped the face of Europe, grander by far, but perhaps no longer lasting, than those that shaped the face of the city.

3. PIAZZA CAMPITELLI

Piazza Campitelli celebrates an alliance between Pope Alexander VII and the Capitoline aristocracy, the so-called *Popolo Romano,* who joined forces to move a miracle-working icon from its time-honored location near the Tiber harbor to a family enclave closer to the Campidoglio and to the cluster of aristocratic residences at its foot[108]. A print by Falda shows the idealized vision that motivated the papal side of the alliance (Fig. 41)[109]. The older palaces that once dominated the piazza now recede before the monumental triple image of the church facade flanked by symmetrical convent wings. The idea of a controlled context for baroque facades, which began at Maderno's Santa Susanna and flourished at the Oratory of the Filippini, Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona, San Carlo al Corso, and even in early projects for the Spanish Steps[110], here finds its richest expression. Two fountains and a pair of small clocktowers reinforce the symmetry down the long corridor of space, with more than one echo of Bernini's piazza at Ariccia (Fig. 42, 43). However, this vision, "degna di un papa[111]," suffered compromises in the course of execution. By Alexander VII's death in 1667 the facade was largely complete, but the sculptural program was entirely omitted and the two convent wings completed at different times on disparate designs. The family palaces across the piazza make a stronger impression on the site than they do in the print, and, in fact, the church is dominated by them in one key respect. The facade of Santa Maria in Campitelli stands about 18 palmi to the right of the theoretical center of the block, contrary to the impressions conveyed by Falda and by Rainaldi's idealizing drawings. Rather than abstract symmetry, what actually determined the facade's location was the view down the obliquely aligned entrance corridor of the palace in the center of the piazza: from this vantage point the church portal is perfectly framed (Figs. 44, 45). Like

108 The primary sources are Lodovico Marracci, *Memorie di S. Maria in Portico di Roma,* Rome, 1667, revised edition 1675, which I have used here; Carlo Antonio Erra, *Storia dell'Imagine, e Chiesa di S. Maria in Portico in Campitelli,* Rome, 1750; Carlo Antonio Erra, *Memorie de' religiosi per pietà, e dottrina insigni della Congregazione della Madre di Dio,* 2 vols., Rome, 1759–60, I, pp. 219–227; and the diary of Francesco Guinigi, *Successi della nostra Congregazione dal 1652–1675,* MS in the Archives of Santa Maria in Campitelli.
Secondary Literature: Rudolf Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Architecture of the High Baroque in Rome," (1937), in *Studies in the Italian Baroque,* London, 1975, pp. 9-52, especially pp. 32–48; Hellmut Hager, "Zur Planungs- und Baugeschichte der Zwillingskirchen auf der Piazza del Popolo: S. Maria in Monte Santo und S. Maria dei Miracoli in Rom," *RömJbKg,* XI, 1967/68, especially "Exkurs: Zur Datierung des Ovalprojekts von S. Maria in Campitelli," p. 297f.; and Krautheimer, Alexander VII, pp. 82–84; and now M. Pedroli Bertoni, *S. Maria in Campitelli* (Chiese di Roma illustrate, n.s., 21), Rome, 1987.
The light that family history might shed on Piazza Campitelli was suggested to me by Laurie Nussdorfer, and stimulated by the rich material in her thesis "City Politics in Baroque Rome, 1623–1644,". Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1985.

109 G.B. Falda, *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche,* I, Rome, 1665, pl. 32.

110 Hibbard, Maderno, p. 41; Connors, Oratory, p. 38. The project of *c.* 1660 for the Spanish Steps in BV, Chigi P VII 10, fol. 30v–31 is illustrated in Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, "Mazarin, Benedetti et l'escalier de la Trinité des Monts," in *Études Mazarines,* Paris, 1981, pl. xiii.

111 Erra, Storia, p. 55.

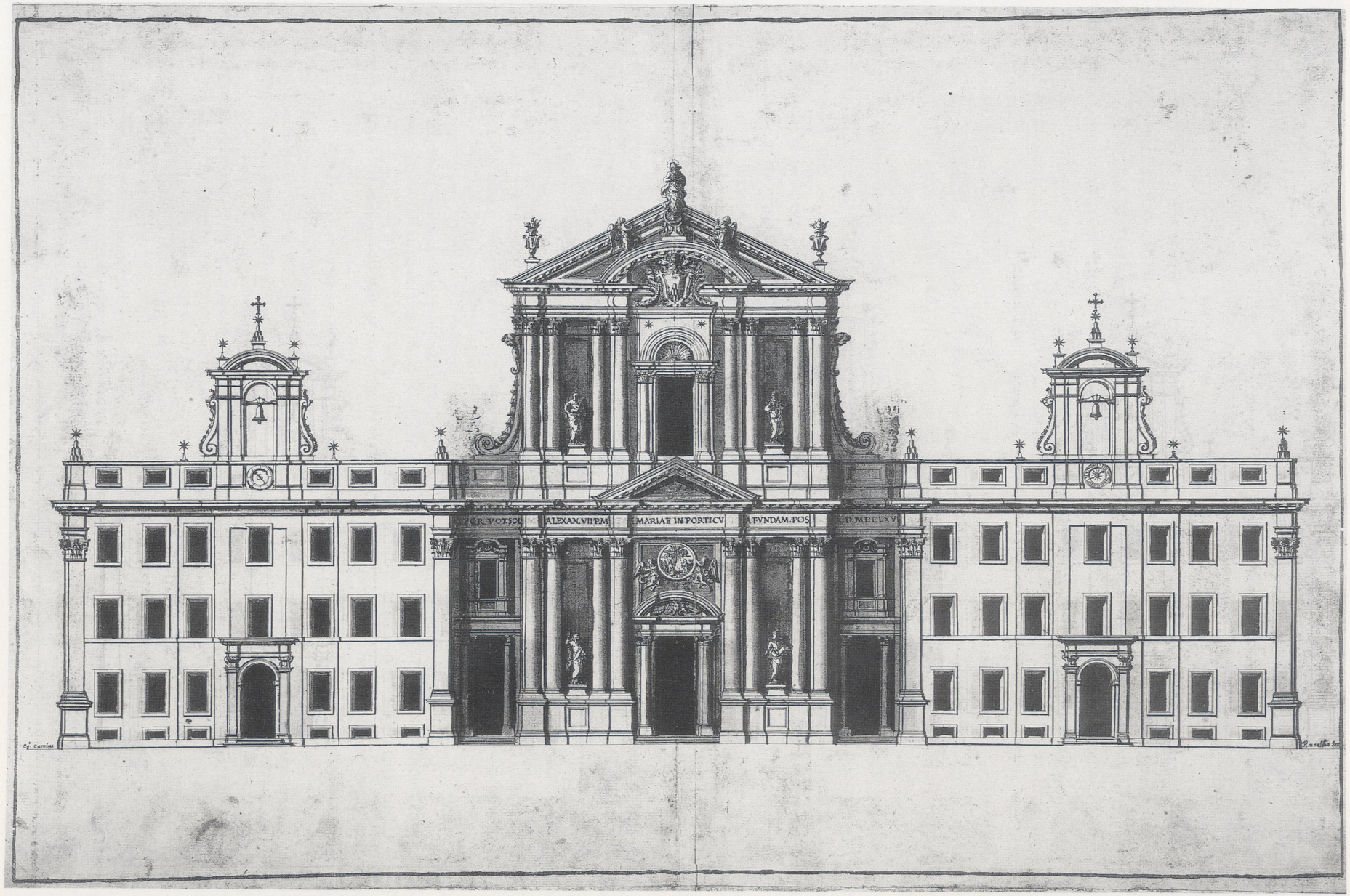
41. G. B. Falda, print after Alexander VII's project for Piazza Campitelli, 1665

a small eccentricity of orbit that puzzles the astronomer but suggests the pull of a hidden gravitational field, this mild deflection shows the pull of a rising family, the Albertoni.

The double dedication of the church, Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli, stems from the fact that Alexander VII amalgamated two churches into one. The older church, Santa Maria in Portico (Nolli 989) stood in the area later cleared by Mussolini between San Nicola in Carcere and Santa Maria in Cosmedin. The first secure date in its history is 1073, when it was rebuilt by Pope Gregory VII[112]. Legends carried the origins of the church further back to 524, when a miraculous image appeared to the Roman noblewoman, Galla Patritia. Not a painted icon but a small gold silhouette of the Madonna on a blue sapphire, this doubly precious image showed itself to Galla borne aloft by angels and enveloped in a heavenly glow (themes that recur in the present altar in Santa Maria in Campitelli). The plague raging at the time of the apparition abated and Pope John I consecrated a church in a wing of Galla's palace, which supposedly occupied part of the Portico d'Ottavia, hence the name Santa Maria in Portico. The protective powers of the image were demonstrated again in plagues of 600, 1455, and 1625; and it was believed to have played a role in keeping the *Promessi sposi* plague of 1630 from the gates of Rome. The image was irrevocably rooted to its home in Santa Maria in Portico. It miraculously returned when Pope Paul II tried to expropriate it in 1464, and again when it was stolen during the sack of Rome in 1527.

The neighborhood, however, slid into a decline accelerated by the breaking of the nearby Ponte Santa Maria, henceforth the "ponte rotto," in 1598. In 1600 Clement VIII assigned the church to the new congregation of the Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio, the so-called Congregazione Lucchese of padre Giovanni Leonardi. For a while the congregation thought it had found a second Galla in the person of Felice Maria Orsini Gaetani, Duchess of Gravina, who lived nearby in the Tor de'

112 C. Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo,* Florence, 1927, p. 359 f.; Carlo Cecchelli, "La Madonna di S. Maria in Portico," *Roma,* II, 1924, pp. 23–35 and 149–60. A plan of this church, which is one of the first in Rome to reflect the influence of Desiderio's abbey church in Monte Cassino, is preserved in BV, Chigi P VII 10, fol. 100 v–101 r, and analysed by Joan Barclay Lloyd, "The Medieval Church of S. Maria in Portico in Rome," *RömQs,* 76, 1981, 95–107.



42. C. Rainaldi, project for Santa Maria in Campitelli (BAV, Chigi P VII 10, fols. 105v–106r)

Specchi. Padre Matraia's book of 1627, dedicated to her, gives an idea of the intense baroque piety lavished by this noblewoman on her favorite image[113]. However, the duchess eventually decided to found a substitute church in Naples, dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin but usually called Santa Maria in Portico in Chiaia, complete with a copy of the Roman icon[114]. At her death in 1647 the Roman church of Santa Maria in Portico was still without a patron. Within a decade, however, patronage would arrive with overwhelming force and authority. But it served not to rebuild the delapidated church, but rather to uproot the icon from its ancestral home. The occasion was the plague of 1656–57.

In spite of all the attempts of Alexander VII's *Congregazione della Sanità* to quarantine the city the bubonic plague arrived from Naples in May 1656, and struck with virulence[115]. The area around Santa Maria in Portico, lying near the river and the lazzaretto on the Tiber Island, was hit especially hard, and in spite of intense devotions to the icon the *Sanità* was forced to close the church. But the current of popular piety ran against the isolation measures of the health authorities. Crowds continued to collect in the neighboring streets, which had to be sealed, and aristocrats had themselves introduced into the presence of the icon by secret doors. Printed images of Santa Maria in Portico came to stand in the popular mind for perfect health, exactly the opposite of the seal of contagion posted by the *Sanità* on infected houses. On December 8, 1656 the Senator, Conservators, and *priore de' caporioni* of the Popolo Romano came to the church to read a solemn vow, which they had drafted on November 29, "per collocare la Santa Imagine in luogo più decente nella medisima Chiesa ..." The contagion seemed to abate from that day forth. On November 29 a papal brief registered with the Maestri di Strade gave permission to close the vicolo behind Santa Maria in Portico, thus clearing the ground for future expropriations and expansion right up to the riverbank[116]. Four days after the vow architects visited Santa Maria in Portico to draft a plan of the existing structure[117]. By March 1657, a disinfected Santa Maria in Portico was opened "con tanta allegrezza e festa del popolo, quanto se si fusse aperto il Paradiso[118]," although final quarantine was not lifted until the end of April.

However, even before the plague had passed, the pope had decided to move the icon to a new site at Santa Maria in Campitelli. This was a drastic, unprecedented and thoroughly unpopular decision. How strongly it was resisted is conveyed in the manuscript *Diario* of padre Francesco Guinigi (1606–80), the nobleman from Lucca who was general of the Congregation at the time of the move and one of the principal actors in the drama[119].

Alexander VII visited Santa Maria in Portico in person on January 21, 1657 and was appalled by the wretchedness of the place:

> "restò Sua Beatitudine poco sodisfatta di quel luogo per esser troppo sequestrato dal commercio, e alquanto sordido, e vile, e in somma poco a proposito per farvi la fabrica, che pretendeva, la quale secondo i disegni fatti fare all'hora da i più periti ingegneri doveva essere molto grande, e sontuosa[120]."

Since the Congregation had houses both at Santa Maria in Portico and Santa Maria in Campitelli nothing seemed more natural to him than to order a move from the more sordid to the more aristocratic location, and at the same time to bring about the union of the two houses under

113 Gioseffo Matraia, *Historia della miracolosa imagine della B. Vergine Maria detta S. Maria in Portico,* Rome, 1627.

114 Anthony Blunt, *Neapolitan Baroque and Rococo Architecture,* London, 1975, p. 182f. and fig. 179.

115 L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes,* XXXI, pp. 31–35; Didier Bodart, "'La descrizione del Rione di Campo Marzio di Roma': Artistes à Rome durant la peste de 1656," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome,* XXXVIII, 1967, pp. 475–531; and Pietro Savio, "Ricerche sulla peste di Roma degli anni 1656–1657," *ArchStorRom,* XCV, 1972, pp. 113–42; and Nussdorfer, "City Politics," ch. 3 (on the plague of 1629–32).

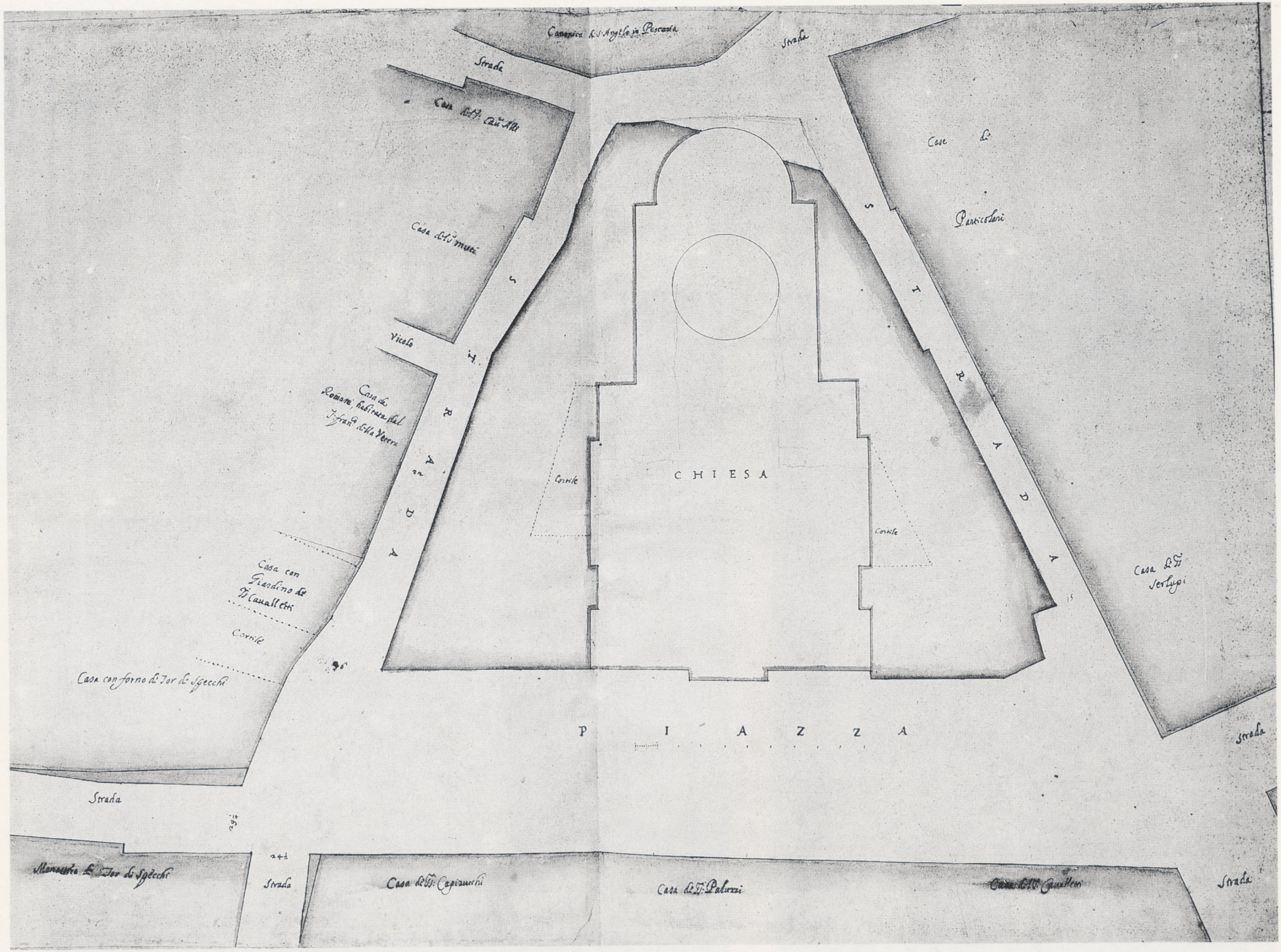
116 ASR, Pres. delle strade, b. 45, f. 60r–62r (November 29, 1656, confirmed on December 12, 1656): "... li Padri di S. Maria In Portico de Roma, che per ampliare la loro chiesa, e casa della loro habitatione, haverebbe di bisogno della piazzetta, e vicolo dietro alla medesima lor chiesa, et habitatione, et tra la loro casa, stalle, tinello, et horticello, quali piazzetta, e vicolo sono in tutto canne 75 in circa conforme si vede dalla dietro segnata, e lineata pianta, ... con serarli non essendo di pregiuditio alcuno, ... solo all' hered di Roberto Capobianco, quale ha certa porticella ... [?] ... della sua casa in detta piazzetta havendo la porta principale nella strada di Porta Leone ..."

117 Doubtless the plan mentioned above in BV, Chigi P VII 10, fol. 100v–101.

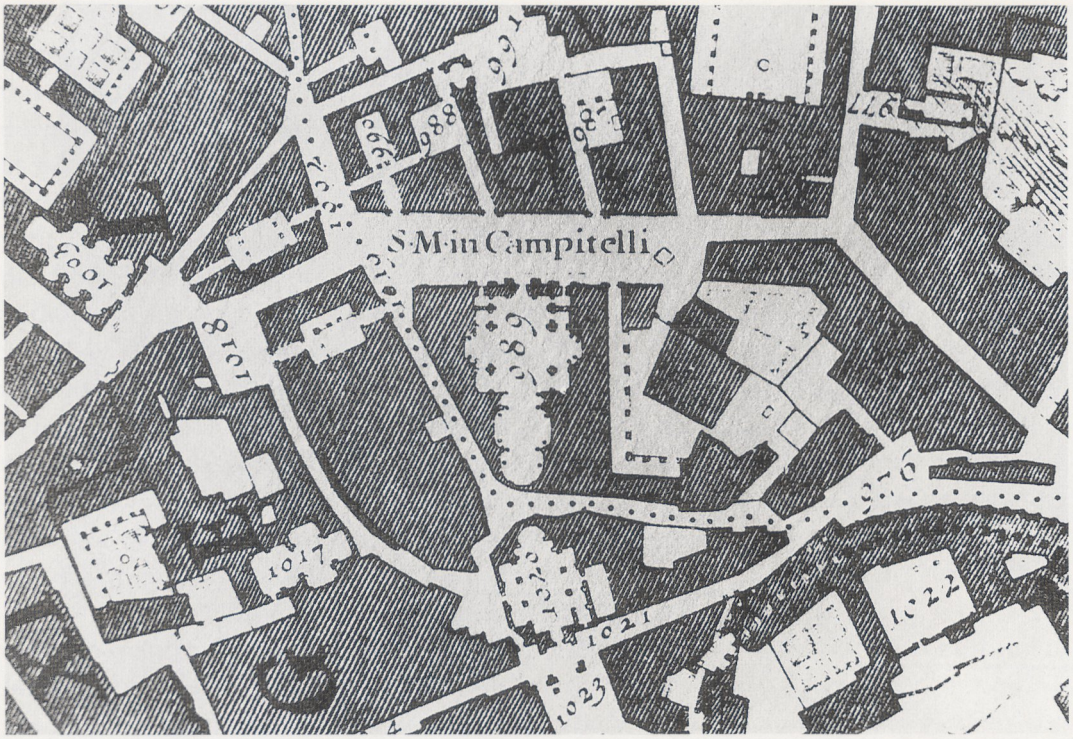
118 Marracci, Memorie, p. 100.

119 The MS by Francesco Guinigi, *Successi della nostra Congregazione dal 1652 al 1675* (Archives of Santa Maria in Campitelli, Arm. A, parte 3, mazzo 36, n. 3) is the primary source for the events of the move and the opposition to it. It forms the basis of the account in Marracci, Memorie, p. 99f. Erra, Memorie, I, pp. 219–27 draws on the diary but adds information of his own. Hager, "Exkurs", p. 297 quotes short passages, but as a document of religious and social history the Diario deserves publication in full.
Wittkower (in "Carlo Rainaldi," p. 227, n. 76) was the first to show that the date of the *prima pietra* of the new sanctuary must be September 29, 1662, and not 1660 as Marracci (Memorie, p. 131) had erroneously stated. For further precisions in dating see Krautheimer and Jones, "Diary," nos. 67, 282, 285–88, 317, 326, 334, 464, 574, 606, 616, 619.

120 Marracci, Memorie, p. 99.



43. C. Rainaldi, Piazza Campitelli (BAV, P VII 10, fols. 102v–103r)



44. Piazza Campitelli, with Santa Maria in Campitelli (Nolli 989), Palazzo Albertoni (988) and Palazzo Capizucchi (987)

45. View of Santa Maria in Campitelli from Palazzo Albertoni atrium

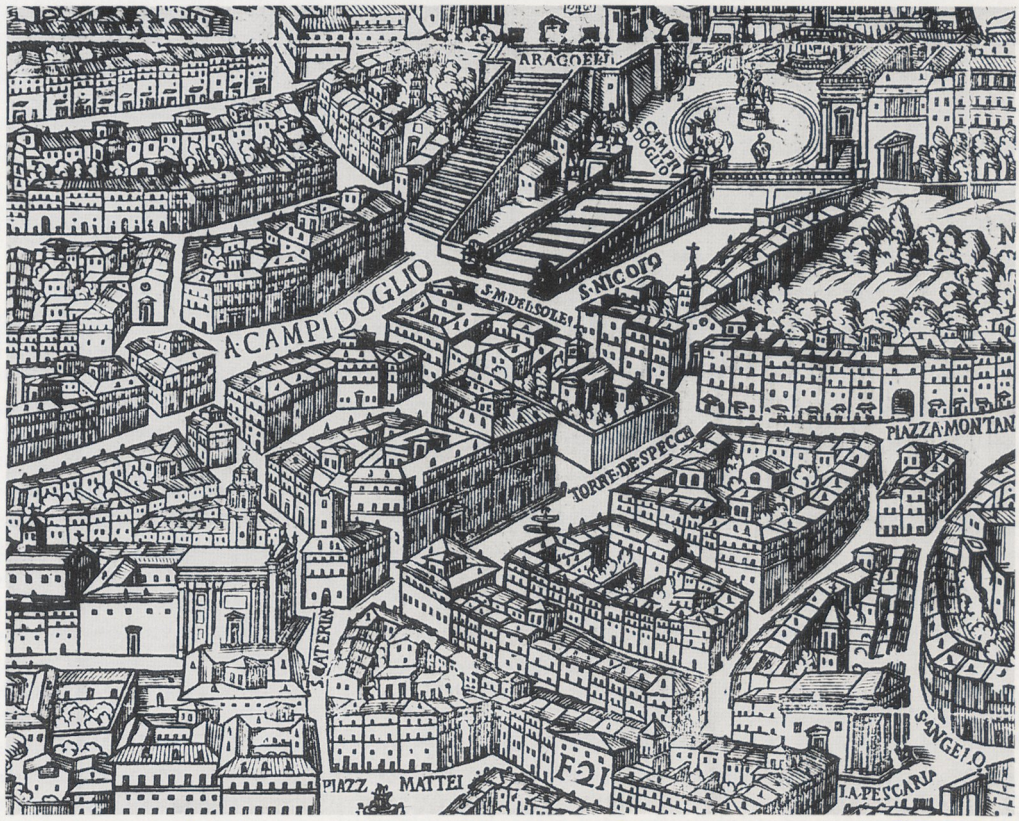
one roof. On some unconscious level one senses his well-known passion for cleanliness operating beneath his desire for a sumptuous civic monument. He also felt that he could harness the miracle to create another Chiesa Nuova at Campitelli. He claimed to have reached his decision during a long vigil of prayer in front of the icon, but there was no shortage of advice to overcome any scruples that may have arisen. For instance, when he hesitated over the problem of how to transfer the ancient name of Santa Maria in Portico to the new location, Domenico Jacovacci informed him that the Portico d'Ottavia, from which the church drew its name, was very long and indeed was believed to have stretched as far as Campitelli[121]. Presumably the Albertoni, the family that had most to gain from the move to Campitelli, exerted pressure in its favor within the Popolo Romano, and it may be expected that Carlo Rainaldi, *architetto del Popolo Romano,* fanned the pope's ambition. His projects for the church are all at Campitelli. And on January 20, 1658, the day after the pope had urged the Popolo Romano to fulfill their vow by moving the image, we find Rainaldi at the new site, "a piedi di Nostro Signore dal quale hebbe ordine di fare il disegno della nuova chiesa[122]."

121 Erra, Memorie, p. 221.

122 Guinigi, Diario, p. 23. Rainaldi's early plans are preserved in a volume presented to the convent archives in 1899 by Cardinal Leone Nardoni, and entitled: *Disegno del nuovo tempio di S.ta Maria in Campitelli ... Di Carlo Rainaldi Archit.o dell'Inclito Pop.o Romano MDCLVIII.* Hager (in "Exkurs," p. 297 f.) was the first to insist

46. *Tempesta, view of Piazza Campitelli, 1593*

47. *Maggi, view of Piazza Campitelli ("Torre de Specchi"), 1625*



that the date 1658 was in fact the correct one for these drawings. According to Erra (Memorie, p. 225) the resemblance of Rainaldi's first facade project to Cortona's Santa Maria in Via Lata was not fortuitous: "Intorno a questa facciata il Rainaldi impiegò tutti gli sforzi dell'arte, emulando la gloria di Pietro da Cortona, che nel fare la bellissima facciata di S. Maria in Via Lata (non di S. Martina, come per isbaglio io scrisse nella Storia di S. Maria in Portico) gli era stato anteposto." Erra makes this remark in describing the present facade, but surely his sources are refering to the earlier project.

Yet it took six years before the pope's decision was carried out and the icon was in fact moved. A tradition of 1100 years of stability and a history of miraculous returns (illustrated in the frescoes inside the old church) militated against the transfer. Opposition spread rapidly. First the Spanish ambassador came out against the move. Sensing dissent, the pope formed a commission in December 1657. Many of its members favored fulfilling the vow at Santa Maria in Portico, and a new member, Paolo Macarani, became the outspoken opponent of any transfer. It was said that "In Roma poi quasi tutti erano di questo sentimento[123]."

The Congregazione della Madre di Dio were generally stunned by the pope's decision and opposed it, though they were divided in their motives. The priests living at Campitelli, led by Guinigi, were afraid of losing the icon: "ma temeva, che essendole ivi eretto un nobile Tempio, fossero indi scacciati i Nostri, come era accaduto à Chierici Minori, quando si fabbricò la Chiesa di S. Agnese in Piazza Navona[124]." He was upset by a lawsuit initiated by the Hospital of Santa Maria della Consolatione, which claimed proprietary rights over the church of Santa Maria in Portico and proposed to exhibit the icon in their church, thus offering the Popolo Romano the chance to fulfill the vow at no cost. Another lobby favored a move to the Rotonda, and still another to the Lateran: "Anzi in ordine a questa Basilica fù fatto e presentato al papa il disegno di una magnifica cappella[125]." The frightened priests pleaded lack of funds, and complained about the loss of the old novitiate, a house full of memories. But the priests living at Santa Maria in Portico were still more radical in their refusal to surrender the image, which did good where it was, "in quella parrocchia, ripiena di gente povera et abbandonata[126]." A refractory priest circulated a petition among the people of the area and the stevedores of the port, which infuriated the pope when it was later brought to his attention[127].

After much pressure, the commission delivered a verdict in favor of Campitelli in June 1659. Macarani changed sides and eventually became the administrator of the new building. Virgilio Spada was called in to give the priests financial advice. A bequest of 20,000 scudi in September 1659, and a papal chirograph authorizing 15,000 scudi to be administered by Macarani, won over the reluctant Congregation. The pope issued a chirograph on August 31, 1661 ordering the transfer not only of the image but of all indulgences, relics, privileges and of the cardinal deaconate to the new church, to be named Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli. The translation was to be a solemn affair on the feast of the Birth of the Virgin. Cardinal Chigi was to proceed to Santa Maria in Portico, where Don Mario Chigi and all the clergy of the city would be waiting for him. The image would be carried in solemn procession to Piazza del Popolo, where the pope himself would be waiting, enthroned and crowned with the tiara. After a pontifical mass in Santa Maria del Popolo, a torchlit procession would bear the image to Campitelli[128]. For reasons that are not clear the pope changed his plans and settled for a private translation of the icon on January 14, 1662, by night. The fathers themselves followed on January 17, the bones of their deceased on May 5, and the cardinal deaconate on June 26. Spiritually and physically stripped, Santa Maria in Portico was renamed Santa Galla and sold[129].

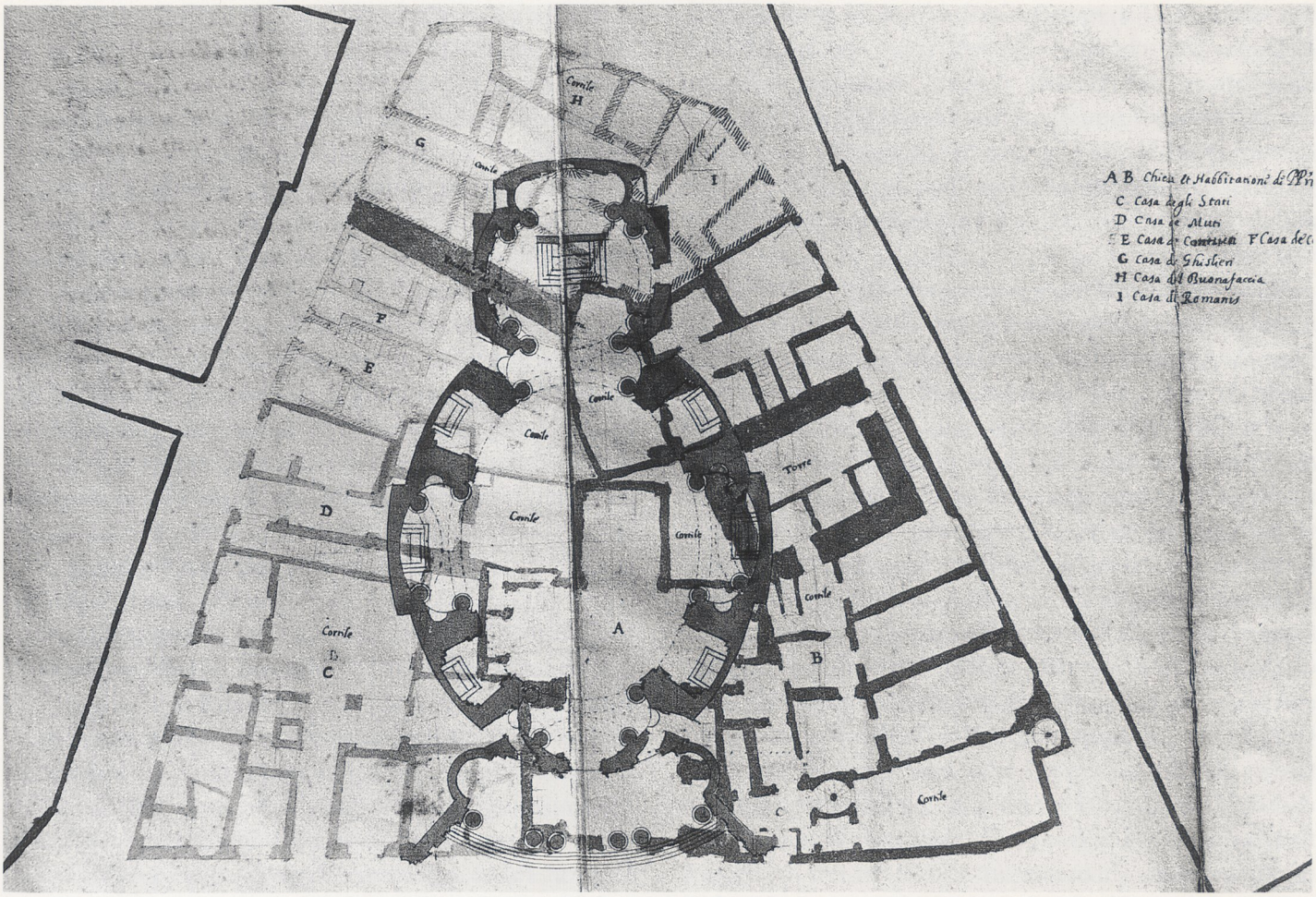
Piazza Campitelli, the icon's new home, was the enclave of a handful of aristocratic families, primarily the Capizucchi (after whom the piazza was originally named) and then the Albertoni, the Cavalletti, the Patrizi and the Serlupi[130]. One of the oldest landmarks in the area was a massive baronial tower that stood on a hillock near the right transept of the present church; it was under its shadow that Ludovica Albertoni was born in 1473. The piazza itself can be seen taking shape on the 16th- and

123 Guinigi, Diario, p. 24.
124 Erra, Memorie, p. 221.
125 Erra, Memorie, p. 222.
126 Guinigi, Diario, p. 15.
127 Guinigi, Diario, p. 33.

128 Erra, Memorie, p. 221.

129 The houses around the church were acquired *c.* 1657–58 by Marc' Antonio Odescalchi for the hospital formerly housed in his family palace near Campitelli. He acquired the church as well in 1662. In 1684–86 Santa Galla was rebuilt by Mattia de Rossi, and in 1686–89 the hospital was moved across the river to Ripa Grande, where it eventually metamorphosed into the famous Ospedale di San Michele. See Vasi, Magnificenze, IX, pp. xliv–xlv and pl. 178; GR, Trastevere, IV, pp. 12–14; H. Hager, "Mattia De Rossi," and "Carlo Fontana," in *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects,* New York, 1982, I, p. 562; and II, p. 95; and G. B. Proja, *Mons. Marco Antonio Anastasio Odescalchi, fondatore dell'Ospizio di S. Galla in Roma,* Città del Vaticano, 1977.

130 Palazzo Cavalletti (Nolli 990) originally belonged to the De Rossi family (cf. the license of 1603 in Hibbard, "Licenze", no. 29), but appears as Cavalletti property on the Falda print and the plan in BV, Chigi P VII 10, fol. 102v–103.
The isola between Piazza Campitelli and Santa Caterina ai' Funari (Nolli 1002) belonged to the Delphini family, from whom the neighboring street took its name. Here Fulvio Orsini died in 1600 (P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini,* Paris, 1887, p. 27). By 1638 it had become the Palazzo Patrizi (P. Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna,* Rome, 1638, p. 414), as it is on the Falda print.
The site of old Santa Maria in Campitelli was being rebuilt as the Palazzo Serlupi (Nolli 1019) in 1619 and 1622 (Hibbard, "Licenze," nos. 94 and 115), and the identification remains unchanged in Totti, Falda and the Chigi plan.



48. C. Rainaldi, oval project for Santa Maria in Campitelli superimposed over a plan of the old church, 1658 (Archivio della Cong. della Madre di Dio)

17th-century maps. Lafréry shows the old church of Santa Maria in Campitelli (no. 80) not on its present block but across the street from the right convent wing, where the Palazzo Serlupi now stands. By Tempesta's map of 1593 Giacomo Della Porta's fountain[131] has been added to the piazza and the Palazzo Capizucchi rebuilt (Fig. 46)[132]. By 1618–25 the Greuter map shows major changes, as does the Maggi map of 1625 (Fig. 47). The Palazzo Albertoni is now the major presence on the piazza (the facade was built in 1603 and the bridge connecting it in the rear with buildings on the Piazza Margana was built in 1616–18)[133]. Old Santa Maria in Campitelli has been demolished and a new church, still of modest dimensions, built across from the Albertoni palace on the site of an old family house[134]. First built in 1618–19, and then enlarged with

131 Installed in 1589. The lower basin shows the stemma of the Senate and bears the names Mario Capizucchi, Giacomo Albertoni, and Giambattista Riccia (GR, Campitelli I, p. 38). It was ordered moved to its present position at the eastern edge of the piazza in a chirograph of Innocent XI dated September 3, 1679 (ASR, Mappe e dis., c. 81, no 304; and Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," p. 277, n. 86).

132 Palazzo Capizucchi is not mentioned in the licenses published by Hibbard, but some indication of its date is given in a story recounted by Raimondo Capizucchi in *Historia della Famiglia Capizucchi,* MS Vitt. Eman., 540 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, p. 592v. The Grand Duke of Florence had a portrait painted of his friend Biagio Capizucchi dressed in white armor with the *bastone del Generalato* in hand. The portrait thus dates to 1594, when Biagio was given the Generalato of Avignon, or later, perhaps as late as 1608–9, when he was officially in the service of the Medici. A copy of this portrait was ruined in the collapse of a room while the building of the Palazzo Capizucchi was underway. Thus the palace shown by Tempesta in 1593 was still underway in 1594 or later. In the list of palaces of 1601 it is mentioned as the "Casa nova de Capizzucchi" (Tomei, "Elenco," no. 61).

133 Hibbard, "Licenze," nos. 29 and 83, p. 100, and Fig. 37. Hibbard's discussion supersedes WART ARSLAN, "Forme architettoniche civili di Giacomo della Porta," *BollArte,* VI, 1926/27, pp. 510–14 and figs. 4 and 5.

134 Erra, Storia, p. 46: "una casa, che prima era stata de' Signori Pier Mattei Albertoni, e poi de' Signori della Riccia, con il prezzo di 7000 scudi, quale fecero gettare a terra, per farvi i fondamenti."

the addition of a transept and a vaulted presbytery in 1642–48, this church is known from several Rainaldi drawings in the convent archives that show it in the context of other houses on the block (Fig. 48). Its door already stood about 11 palmi to the right of center, and we may assume that the visual link between the church and the Albertoni palace had already been established by this time.

What the maps do not show is what we might call the moral and social trajectories of the families on the piazza. One, the Capizucchi, was in a state of precipitous decline, while the other, the Albertoni, was steadily on the rise.

The Capizucchi, although one of the oldest families of the Popolo Romano, had been crippled by three generations of *malgoverno* and were on the point of extinction when Santa Maria in Campitelli was rebuilt[135]. They had been a proud house. A claim of ancestry from the German counts of Tunn, mention of the Capizucchi in a shadowy document of 1122, a coin of 1252 showing Senator Pietro di Capizucchi[136], an altar of 1290 by a certain *magister Adeodatus* in the family chapel in old Santa Maria in Campitelli, and the presence of a Capizucchi among the twelve Roman noblemen who read verses at the coronation of Petrarch in 1338 were grounds for them to claim five centuries of nobility. The clan ramified early and often, and seven branches are shown on the family tree published in 1653. By the late 16th century they had achieved a bellicose reputation as skilled duelists and ferocious soldiers. With the duels came sentences of exile from Rome, which led to careers as mercenary captains in foreign wars, where their exploits led to ready pardons, honors, and the accumulation of large fortunes. The career of Biagio Capizucchi (1546–1619) is illuminating. An illegitimate scion of the family who was exiled for murder at age 18, he fought with Italian mercenaries in France and Flanders, was pardoned in 1570, and later claimed that he received the most honorable of his 36 battle-wounds fighting the cavalry of Henry of Navarre. He was appointed by Clement VIII in 1594 to the *generalato delle armi* of Avignon (at 1000 scudi a month), made a Knight of Malta in 1596, and became a marchese by purchasing the castles of Catino and Poggio Catino in 1594 for 35,000 scudi. Money he sent back from the wars (100,000 scudi from Flanders, 12,000 scudi in precious furnishings from Avignon) enabled the family to build the Palazzo Capizucchi, probably around 1593–94. He entered Medici service in 1608–9 (at 2000 gold scudi a year) and became a close friend of the Grand Duke, dying in Florence in 1619. His half-brother Camillo (1537–97) had a similarly glorious and lucrative career at Lepanto and in the wars in Flanders, Hungary and the Franche-Comté.

It took three generations to dissipate these military fortunes. Biagio's brother Mario, though a good duelist and hot-blooded enough to want to decapitate Sixtus V's statue during the *sede vacante* of 1590, was a spendthrift. His son Paolo entertained lavishly, wore golden spurs, and took to gambling. Paolo's son and heir, Francesco, was raised at the tables and lost 50,000 scudi to this habit, but still worse he never married, "o perche si conoscesse inhabile alla generatione per la poca complessione, che hebbe, o per altro ...[137]" Good matches were missed, for example with one of Mazarin's nieces. By 1669, on the point of extinction, the Capizucchi adopted Count Alessandro Marescotti to pass on the family name and to keep Francesco from gambling away the remaining 150,000 scudi of the family fortune.

Missed matches, failure to propagate, over-ramification, addiction to the gaming tables, these are the classic symptoms of a baroque family in decline, and to them might be added the loss of many of the oldest monuments in the family chapel during the repeated rebuildings of Santa Maria in Campitelli. The chronicler of these ills was the Dominican Raimondo Capizucchi (1616–91), younger brother of the gambler Francesco, a cleric intensely concerned with his family's status but unable to stem the decline. His own ecclesiastical career was in eclipse for the decade following 1663, when Alexander VII dismissed him from his post as *maestro del Sacro Palazzo,* but

135 The major source is Raimondo Capizucchi, *Historia della Famiglia Capizucchi,* MSS Vitt. Eman. 540 and 541 of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome. Other seventeenth-century sources are C. V. Ferdinando Ughello, *Genealogia Nobilium Romanorum de Capisucchis,* Rome 1653; Cavaliere Gualdi, *Memorie di varie famiglie Romane raccolte ... l'anno 1654,* MS Casanat. 1327, cc. 135–39; Vincenzo Armanni, *Della nobile, et antica famiglia de' Capizucchi ...,* Rome, 1668; idem, *Ragguaglio ... per appendice alla sua historia publicata ... 1668,* Rome, 1680; and Annibale Adami, *Elogii storici de' due Marchesi Capizucchi Fratelli Camillo, e Biagio,* Rome, 1685. See also Amayden, Famiglie romane, I, pp. 243–52; and the articles by M. Giansante and S. Nitti in the *DBI,* 18, 560–66, and 573–75. Evidence of Raimondo Capizucchi's solicitude for the family's reputation and specifically for the family chapel can be found in the dedication to him of Ippolito Marracci's book *Pro Marianae Coronae Calculis Romae in Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae in Campitello asservatis Dissertatio,* Rome, 1642.

136 According to V. Armanni, Famiglia, p. 11, the coin was to be found in a collection assembled by the diarist Gigli: "in una raccolta, che Giacinte Gigli Gentilhuomo della stessa Città d'anni settanta in circa, ed' integrità conosciuta, ha fatta di coloro, che sono stati promossi all'honore di quella carica, dicendo egli d'haverne cavate le notizie dall'Archivio Vaticano, da' Registri, e da altre scritture publiche."

137 R. Capizucchi, Historia, p. 618.

he was reinstated in 1673 by Clement X and elevated to the cardinalate in 1681 by Innocent XI. He backed the Marescotti adoption to perpetuate the family name, and he wrote a history of the Capizucchi recalling past glories and listing the possessions that had been lost through *malgoverno*. Biagio the warrior is clearly the cardinal's hero. In 1685 Raimondo built the Capizucchi Chapel in Santa Maria in Campitelli (third on the left) with splendid marble architecture by Mattia de'Rossi. He gathered whatever inscriptions and *cimelii* were left and installed them in the chapel along with a miraculous icon and two enormous pyramidal monuments testifying to the "antica Nobiltà de' Personaggi del suo sangue". One pyramid is dedicated to the "clarissimis bellatoribus" of the family and the other to the five Capizucchi who had achieved either the miter or the red hat, including himself, the last scion of a dying family that had had its "domicilium in eadem regione a multis seculis[138]."

For the Albertoni, on the other hand, the 17th century was a period of uninterrupted rise. First mentioned during the seige of the Leonine City in 1080, they supplied a Conservator to the Popolo Romano in 1460 and an aristocratic saint in the person of Ludovica Albertoni (1473–1533)[139]. Ludovica, "de' Romani Quiriti eroico germe[140]," was born in a house where the nave of Santa Maria in Campitelli now stands and baptized in old Santa Maria in Campitelli. Surprisingly it was at Campitelli that she requested burial in her testament of 1496, even though she had been married for three years to Giacomo della Cetera of Trastevere. Eventually in 1533 she was buried, in the odor of sanctity for her works of charity, in her husband's chapel in San Francesco a Ripa.

Albertoni prestige in general and Ludovica's cult in particular owe their ascendancy to the efforts of her kinsman Baldassare Paluzzi degli Albertoni, who labored in their behalf for the whole first half of the 17th century. Amayden found words of fulsome praise for this aristocrat: "come capo della famiglia mantiene il decoro con ogni honorevolezza d'essa ...[141]" If over-ramification dispersed a family's wealth, the Albertoni tended to amalgamate the different branches, including the Piermattei and the Paluzzi, into a single family with one seat at Campitelli. They missed no matches, having intermarried with at least 16 aristocratic families of the Popolo Romano, including the Altieri, Capizucchi, del Bufalo, Frangipane, Cenci, Incoronati, Carpegna, Caffarelli and Mattei. To keep track Baldassare established a family archive. By 1603 he had rebuilt the family palace into the most imposing structure in the neighborhood. In 1618 he relocated and rebuilt Santa Maria in Campitelli with two Albertoni chapels, preserving fragments of Ludovica's house in the fabric. In 1615–19 he established the family reputation for charity by building the church of Santa Croce delle Scalette on the Via della Lungara, united with the monastery of the Pentite[142]. He had Ludovica's chapel in Trastevere renewed in 1622–25, and when it was complete the Popolo Romano vowed an annual gift of candles and a chalice. The Capitoline connection was further reinforced in 1645, when the Cappella dei Conservatori was decorated with paintings of the Roman saints, including Beata Ludovica. Baldassare was named Marchese di Rasina by Urban VIII in 1626, and by the time of his death in 1652 he had established the prestige of the Paluzzi Albertoni on the solidest of foundations. In his will he left instructions to spend 10,000 scudi on Ludovica's chapel should she be canonized[143].

Fortune cast a series of further opportunities in the family's path just as the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli was being rebuilt. In 1666 Baldassare's grandson, Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, was created a cardinal by Alexander VII[144]. In 1669 Cardinal Emilio Altieri, an aging prelate afraid for the extinction of his family, went in search of an heir who would take the Altieri name. The Paluzzi Albertoni were the only family of the Roman aristocracy who were interested[145]. They underwent the

138 Forcella, V, pp. 376–80, nos. 1033–43. See also Filippo Titi, *Ammastramento Utile, e curioso di pittura scoltura e architettura nelle chiese di Roma,* Rome, 1686, p. 434. The story of this second miraculous image is told by Erra, Storia, p. 63.

139 U. Boncompagni Ludovisi, *Roma nel Rinascimento,* IV, Albano Laziale, 1929, pp. 425–92; A. Merola, "Ludovica Albertoni," *DBI,* I, 1960, p. 761 f.; Niccolò del Re, "Ludovica Albertoni", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum,* Rome, 1961, I, p. 718 f.; Howard Hibbard, "Ludovica Albertoni: l'arte e la vita," in M. Fagiolo, ed., *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e le arti visive,* Rome, 1987, pp. 149–61 (an article to which the present chapter is much indebted); and now Shelley Perlove, "Gianlorenzo Bernini's *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* and Baroque Devotion," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1984.

140 Bernardini Santini, *I voli d'amore: Panegirico per la B. Ludovica Albertoni, Paluzzi, Altieri,* Bologna, 1673, p. 13.

141 Amayden, Famiglie romane, pp. 20–26 for the quotation and the information that follows.

142 GR, Trastevere I, pp. 42–45.

143 Hibbard, "Ludovica Albertoni."

144 Pastor, History, XXXI, pp. 438–46.

145 Pastor, History, XXXI, p. 442 n.: "Il vero motivo politico di questa novità è nato da ciò che non avendo il fratello del Pontefice lasciato che una figlia herede delle sue facoltà a condizione che chi volesse sposarla per conseguire la sua eredità, dovesse prendere insieme il cognome di casa Altieri, e non essendosi trovato alcuno nella nobiltà Romana che abbia voluto accettare questa heredità con si fatto peso, la sola casa Paluzzi ... si accommodò a questa fortuna."

formal ceremony of adoption in 1669, and Gaspare Paluzzi Albertoni, Baldassare's other grandson, was married to Laura Altieri. From this union the rejuvenated house of Altieri was to spring. Then unexpectedly, even against his will, the octogenarian Emilio Altieri was elected Pope Clement X on April 20, 1670. He immediately named Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni (now Altieri) as the *cardinale padrone*. Principe Gaspare Paluzzi-Altieri received the pope's private estate and the Palazzo Altieri near the Gesù, and in addition was made castellan of Castel Sant'Angelo and General of the Church. Even though Clement X was against nepotism, the family prospered and the Altieri girls made the best of matches (Ludovica with the Duke of Gravina in 1671, and Tarquinia with the Duke of Anticoli in 1676). In a matter of months the roulette of the conclave had elevated the former Paluzzi-Albertoni, now Altieri, to the summit of Roman society.

The one significant loss was the Albertoni name, and Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri set out to insure that it was preserved at least in the cult of the family saint[146]. Ludovica's process of canonization was opened in 1670 and the following year delivered a favorable verdict. On January 31, 1671 mass was said in Ludovica's chapel in Trastevere, attended by all the Altieri and the cream of Roman society. Bernini's statue of Ludovica dying the good death was finished in 1674 and installed the following year.

Neither was Santa Maria in Campitelli forgotten. Construction had proceeded from front and back toward the center. The facade and the domed sanctuary at the other end had been largely completed by Alexander VII's death on May 22, 1667, and the icon was installed on October 24. But between these two parts still stood the old church and a number of houses, and during the short pontificate of Clement IX construction stagnated. Clement X, conscious that this was the church of his adopted family, assured that a succession of eminent and wealthy prelates were named as titular cardinals, and Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri began to add his own funds. The old church and adjoining houses were demolished in March 1673; the new nave was finished in the rough a year later, and the first mass was said on December 8, 1675, in time for the Jubilee. The Altieri eventually took over the right of the Albertoni to endow two family chapels. One was commissioned from Giovanni Battista Contini in 1697 (the second on the left) and it was here that Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri was interred in 1698. The Chapel of Beata Ludovica Albertoni (first on the left) was built for the Altieri by Sebastiano Cipriani and inaugurated in 1705[147]. The altar relief by Lorenzo Ottoni shows Ludovica, distracted from her distribution of bread (randomly seeded with coins) to the poor by a vision of St. Joseph's vision of the Virgin and Child. Bernini's chapel in Trastevere has always overshadowed this second shrine of Beata Ludovica, but the one at Campitelli is closer to her home and family, just as the depiction of her charity to the Roman poor is closer to her real achievement.

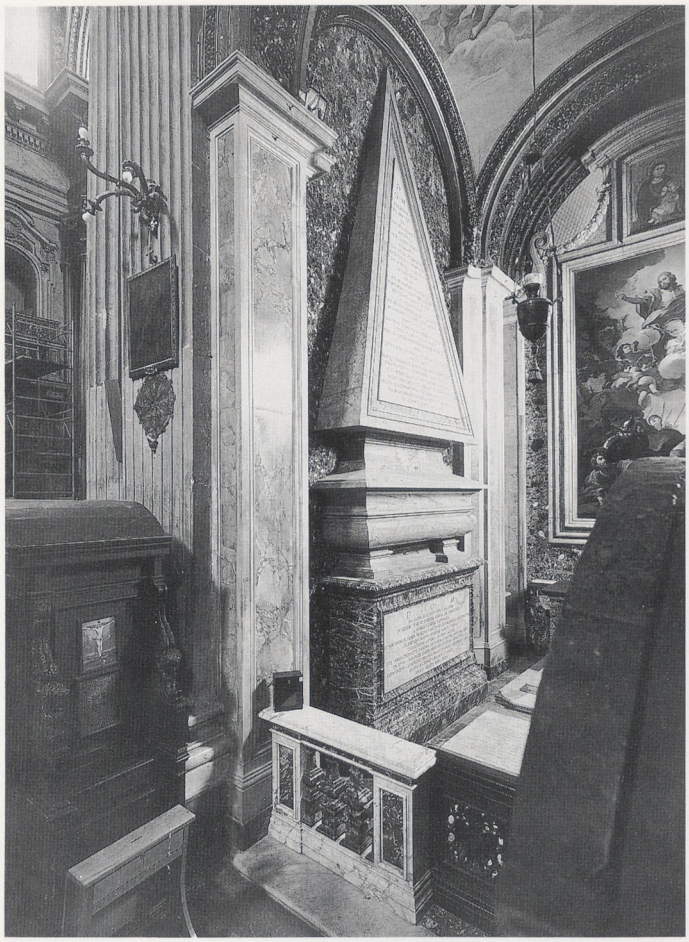
Alexander VII envisaged a splendid church to commemorate the passing of the plague, a worthy rival, we may assume, to votive monuments like Venice's Santa Maria della Salute. But to achieve his ends he had to harness the complex and peculiar forces of Roman patronage. So Santa Maria in Campitelli became as well Rome's Capitoline church (which lends significance to Rainaldi's choice of the Capitoline motif as the leading theme of the facade)[148]. But to be financed by the Campidoglio it had to please the leading families of the Popolo Romano, and so it was moved to a family piazza that never totally lost the feeling of a family enclave. A truly civic location rivaling the Punta della Salute was thus excluded from the outset. The votive church of the Popolo Romano became intertwined with the strategies of two of its leading families, both of whom sealed their destinies by adoption in 1669, doubtless with an eye on one another. The similarities and the differences in their fates can be read in the funeral monuments erected at the end of the century inside Santa Maria in Campitelli. Cardinal Raimondo Capizucchi set the trend with gigantic wall pyramids (Fig. 49) cut from exquisite *marmi scelti* on the model of Raphael's Chigi Chapel, and this was followed in the tombs of Angelo and Vittoria Altieri in the Chapel of Beata Ludovica, with the addition of busts of the defunct in the traditional pose of *ewige Anbetung* (Fig. 50)[149]. The difference lies in the inscriptions. The Capizucchi, at the

146 Hibbard, "Ludovica Albertoni."

147 Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma,* eds. G. Scano and G. Graglia, Rome, 1977, III, p. 492.

148 Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," p. 277f., n. 88. Falda's print shows the Chigi arms in the pediment of the church, but instead the arms of the Popolo Romano were installed there in 1747, according to Erra, Storia, p. 55. Erra maintains that the Popolo Romano bore the greatest share of the expenses, notwithstanding papal generosity and the 50,000 scudi spent by the padri, mostly for houses.

149 Erra, Storia, p. 66, who says that the patron of the chapel was Principe Angelo Altieri, brother of Cardinal Paluzzo, and that he spent the large sum of 14,000 scudi on decorations, principally the stunning marbles (paonazzetto, giallo, verde, nero antico, alabastri orientali, pietra di paragone, lapis lazuli) and gilt metals. See also Leo Bruhns, "Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung in der römischen Grabplastik des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *RömJbKg,* IV, 1940, pp. 405–7 and figs. 327–29.



49. Santa Maria in Campitelli, Capizucchi Chapel

50. Santa Maria in Campitelli, Altieri (Albertoni) Chapel

nadir of their fortunes, catalogue every military and ecclesiastical hero of the family, while the Altieri, basking in the sunshine of their good fortune and professing a more fashionable humility in the face of the grim reaper, inscribe their pyramids simply with NIHIL and UMBRA.

Families rose and fell, popes came and went, but the final chapter in the history of Piazza Campitelli was written by the Congregazione della Madre di Dio, and they had no intention of carrying out the grand urban vision recorded by Falda: "... ma i nostri Padri, sgomentati per l'enorme spesa, hanno fabricato da un lato della chiesa, senza attendere un tal disegno, che essendo sparso con le stampe, può vedersi da ognuno[150]." Rainaldi's project had given them a magnificent double facade, but the convent behind it was cramped into a small triangular isola. Under Alexander they bided their time. They moved from the small houses on the right of the church (B on Fig. 48) to the more spacious Casa degli Stati on the other side (C); the early '600 facade of this house survives unaltered as the left convent facade[151]. In 1673 they began to expand into houses across the small vicolo to the left of their isola, spanning the street with a wooden bridge[152]. Normally a street that is bridged is vulnerable to closure and expropriation, and this one was in fact closed in 1725. A schematic plan in the Archivio di Stato[153] and a detailed plan in the Museo di Roma (Fig. 51)[154] show the Congregation's

150 Erra, Storia, p. 112.

151 According to GR, S. Angelo, p. 85, the inscription on the portal says that the house was built in 1619 by Lorenzo and Giambattista Stati.

152 ASR, Presidenza delle strade, b. 48, c. 19 v–20 r, license of 27 May 1673, confirming a chirograph of Clement X of 17 May 1673.

153 ASR, Disegni e piante, c. 85, n. 490, undated, with the caption "Pianta della Chiesa e Convento delli RR.PP. di Santa Maria in Portico a Campitelli con il vicolo che si deve chiudere per l'ampliazione di detto convento, e della strada da dilatarsi che dalla Piazza Montanara tende verso la Pescaria."

154 Museo di Roma 2009 and 3942, undated (kindly brought to my attention by Elisabeth Kieven). The main caption reads: "Dichiaratione. A. Le linee ponteggiate colorite di torchino dimostrano ove si potrebbe aprire una strada per magior commodo del publico. B. Tutto il ponteg.to colorito di giallo demostra il sito, che si pretende per fare li commodi de convento, e sono la portaria con stanza da ricevere, refettorio capace di n.o 50 persone con sue

51. Anonymous, plan of houses on the site of the projected convent of Santa Maria in Campitelli (Museo di Roma)

intention of building a convent for 50 men on the site across the bridge. The intervening vicolo is shown closed, and in compensation a new street is projected from Piazza Campitelli in the direction of the Tor de' Specchi. The drawings breathe the spirit of pragmatic and aggressive expansion typical of large convents, not the contained decorum of Alexander's project.

In 1727–28 the Congregation decided to rebuild the buildings to the left of the church[155]. With the encouragement of Benedict XIII, but in the teeth of opposition from the noble families living on the piazza, they closed the vicolo and built a monumental sacristy (attributed to Alessandro Specchi) and a towering five-story wing that heads in the direction of Piazza Montanara. But the huge mass of the building suddenly stops unfinished, abutting a group of 14th-century houses that block its path. What we have preserved in fossil form is a situation that was common during the construction of all large convents. The shrinking vestiges of small neighborhoods gave way

> officine e cocine e forno, granaro, tinello, stalla, e rimessa per carretta, sagrestia con stanze per confessioni et un cortile grande, per il detto convento, libraria capace di sei mila pezzi di libri, oratorio, stanza per ricreatione, stanza per la scola delli studenti, salone grande per le dispute, due stanze per ricevere visita, procura computistaria et archivio, infermaria, stanze per 50 padri, e tra queste il luogo per li studenti con oratorio. Tutto il ponteg.to colorito di torchino dimostra li due? cappelloni come se devono fare in detta chiesa. D. Il ponteggato colorito di giallo è ... ? ... e la sagrestia e devasi far due oratorij per uso de secolari intermente per mancanza di fabrica, arsenale per banchi et altro ... ? ... della chiesa e sopra dette stanze per forestaria per essere luogo separato dall'habitatione de padri."

155 Marracci, Memorie, p. 168f.

52. *Piazza Campitelli, early 20th century*

53. *Piazza Campitelli (Vasi, Magnificenze, 1756)*

slowly and reluctantly before expansive institutions. The hostility of the old inhabitants to the new building, documented in detail at the Casa dei Filippini, probably existed at Campitelli too, and the ground floor arches of the vulnerable convent courtyard are still walled up in self-defense[156].

The wing to the right of Santa Maria in Campitelli was rebuilt in 1734[157]. The attribution of the building is still unsure. It may have been the same Michelangelo Specchi who did the high altar in 1737, or it may have been a more notable personality like Filippo Raguzzini[158]. The building was never meant to house the Congregation, but was conceived as a rental building from the start[159]. It adapts to the decorum of the new type of middle-class or professional housing usually found around Montecitorio.

The final result could not be farther from the spirit of Alexander VII's project. The convent wings would now never be symmetrical, and the piazza would never be given a pendant fountain. Instead, on the one side of the church a graceful rococo apartment has arisen, totally secular in feeling, respectfully following all the bends and jogs of the old houses it replaced. On the other side a massive convent has begun to overstep streets and devour a neighborhood with the familiar rapacity of its species (Fig. 52, 53). Between Falda's print and Vasi's stand the gravitational fields of small self-interests that pulled a stately urban image into fragments.

156 Connors, Oratory, p. 90. See the remark in Guinigi, Diario, p. 24f., where the priests criticize the harshness of Spada's methods of expropriation, "parendoli poco equa, e di gran pregiuditio à i padroni delle medesime case, li quali si dolevano acerbamente di esser costretti a venderle intere senza augumento, e molto più si sarono? richiamati, quando venissero costretti a consentirle à pezzi."

157 Erra, Storia, p. 78; Erra, Memorie, vol. II, p. 272 (Life of Padre Quintino Roncaglia). Someone with free access to the archives may some day rediscover the "Ricevute delle spese per la nuova fabbrica in Piazza Campitelli, de proprietà dei Padri della Madre di Dio" mentioned in Francesco Ferraironi, *Tre secoli di storia dell'Ordine della Madre di Dio,* Rome, 1939, p. 167. (References courtesy of Padre Pieroni.)

158 On the high altar see Francesco Ferraironi, *S. Maria in Campitelli* (Chiese di Roma illustrate, 33), Rome [*c.* 1932], p. 17. Dorothy Metzger Habel kindly informs me that she is preparing a study that will support the attribution to Raguzzini.

159 Luigi Pasquali, *Memorie insigni di S. Maria in Portico in Campitelli,* Rome, 1923, p. 111.

4. SAN CARLO AI CATINARI

The 17th century was a time of great expansion for the religious orders throughout Italy[160]. The period 1580–1650 saw the establishment of 1087 new foundations of Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans and Franciscans, mostly in the small towns and villages. The number of Capuchins increased by more than tenfold, and the number of Jesuits more than doubled. In the cities the system of primogeniture and the increase in dowries led to the *monacazione forzata* of many aristocratic girls, whose vocations helped to preserve the family patrimony intact. In Rome around 1650, for example, there were about 1356 nuns in the central *rioni* of Campo Marzo, Trevi, Colonna and Pigna, and about 295 in Trastevere. The Suburra had 662, but by 1660 the number had jumped to 913, probably because convents in general and the Monti in particular were seen as havens from the plague of 1656–57. In the first two decades of the 17th century the villa quarter of the city *par excellence,* the Via Pia, became a street of monasteries, in particular of the rebellious *scalzi* offshoots of the older orders who came to Rome for recognition from the papal court at the Quirinal. Bernini's *St. Theresa* and Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane were both created for *scalzi.* But nothing did more to change the face of the city than the settlement of the new counter-reformational orders in the Campus Martius. It was the densely populated areas of the city that attracted them, and no matter how modest their initial foothold, they tended to stay put and grow where they had started: "il miglior partito sia fermarsi dove habbiamo posto i piedi et attendere a comprar l'isola[161]." It is these orders, rather than the nuns in the Suburra or the *scalzi* on the

160 Emanuele Boaga, *La soppressione innocenziana dei piccoli conventi in Italia,* Rome, 1971; Elling, Rome, pp. 159–95; Luigi Fiorani, "Monache e monasteri romani nell'età del quietismo," *Ricerche per la Storia Religiosa di Roma,* 1, 1977, pp. 63–117. For comparative material on convents in Naples see the excellent chapter in Franco Strazzullo, *Edilizia e urbanistica a Napoli dal '500 al '700,* Naples, 1968, pp. 175–215. See also Carla Russo, *I monasteri femminili di clausura a Napoli nel secolo XVII,* Naples, 1970; Richard Trexler, "Le célibat à la fin du Moyen Age: Les religieuses de Florence," *Annales E.S.C.,* 27, 1972, pp. 1329–50; and Gabriella Zarri, "I monasteri femminili a Bologna tra il XIII e il XVII secolo," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna,* N.S. XXIV, 1973, pp. 133–224.

161 The advice of the Jesuit general Acquaviva to the community in Naples, in Strazzullo, Edilizia e urbanistica, p. 89.

Via Pia, who gave Rome its distinctive skyline of cupolas. Rather than isolate themselves in a convent quarter, their pastoral mission drew them to the heart of the city, and there rivalry, custom and papal vigilance insured a healthy distance between them[162]. Like the great mosques of Istanbul, but for different reasons, their cupolas are distributed relatively evenly over the skyline.

The domes of Sant'Andrea della Valle and San Carlo ai Catinari form an exception to this rule. Had both cupolas been built on the common isola where the orders had "set their foot," they would have stood like twin peaks on churches touching back to back. Even as it is they are too close for comfort (Fig. 54). They offer a case study in proximity and rivalry, and a picture of how a weaker order could be buffeted about the city, but still eventually find a foothold, capture patronage, raise a cupola, and shape a piazza.

Like the Vallicella or the Collegio Germanico, San Carlo ai Catinari[163] traced its origins back to a seed planted in an unpromising quarter of the city by Gregory XIII at the height of the Counter Reformation. In 1575 the pope gave the Barnabites of Milan the small church of San Biagio dell'Anello. It faced onto a tiny piazza at the corner of the Via del Monte della Farina and the Via dei Chiavari (Figs. 55, 56). At the time the natural direction of expansion seemed to be northward toward the Via Papale. The Barnabites began to acquire land in this direction, but were frustrated in their goal in 1582 when the entire northern tip of their block was given to the Theatines by its owner, Costanza Piccolomini. The Theatines decided to build their mother church here in 1584, arrived in 1586, and began Sant'Andrea della Valle in 1591[164]. Although no one could tell how far south their convent would extend, it was clear that the Barnabites now could never reach the Via Papale. A deal was struck between the two orders in 1610[165]. The Barnabites sold their houses to the Theatines and promised to evacuate San Biagio in five years; in return, the Theatines promised them a loan to help settle elsewhere. For a moment the Barnabites thought of moving as far away as the Piazza di Monte Giordano, where an almost perfect isola faced onto the Via Papale at a point closer to the Banchi and the Ponte Sant'Angelo. But here too they found their plans blocked. The Milanese Nation had already made plans in March and April 1611 to build a church dedicated to San Carlo Borromeo on the Piazza di Monte Giordano, and they preferred to staff it with their own secular priests, not with Barnabites. And then to block both groups the Oratorians at the Vallicella claimed that they intended to move in that direction, and in fact over the next few decades the Casa dei Filippini did expand as far as the edge of Piazza di Monte Giordano. The episode left the Barnabites without a home and embittered by a rivalry with the Milanese Nation, who would soon be racing to dedicate San Carlo al Corso as the first church in Rome named for the Milanese saint[166].

Pushed around by one stronger rival or another, the Barnabites finally took root in the blocks south of San Biagio, diagonally across from their former home. Paul V gave them permission to close a street and to expand as far as the Piazza and the Via dei Catinari, just beyond the fork where it split from the Via dei Giubbonari[167]. Here they bought houses from the Orsini and the Sergardi families. Then on the night of July 5, 1611, suddenly and providentially, a disastrous fire broke out and consumed many of the buildings they wanted to expropriate. It was said that San Carlo defined the extent of his future temple through the fire, letting it wreck its havoc so far and no farther, a fiercer version of the miracle of the snow at Santa Maria Maggiore[168].

162 G. LE BRAS, *Institutions ecclésiastiques de la Chrétienté médiévale,* 1ère partie, II, Paris, 1964, p. 507 f., gives some of the medieval ordinances to insure minimum distances between the mendicant orders in cities, for instance a reserve of 300 canne accorded by Alexander IV to Franciscan convents, the reduction to 140 canne for all mendicants by Clement IV in 1268, and a further confirmation by Boniface VIII in 1298.

163 Huelsen, Chiese, pp. 219–20; [L. CACCIARI], *Memorie intorno alla chiesa de' SS. Biagio e Carlo a' Catinari in Roma,* Rome, 1861; ORAZIO PREMOLI, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel Seicento,* Rome, 1922, p. 31 ff. and 188 ff.; SERGIO ORTOLANI, *San Carlo a' Catinari* (Chiese di Roma illustrate, 18), Rome [1927], GR, S. Eustachio, I, pp. 11–24; Orbaan, Documenti, pp. 164, 194 and 201; S. M. PAGANO, "La chiesa di S. Biagio 'de Anulo' (già 'de Oliva') e il suo archivio," *ArchStorRom,* CVII, 1984, pp. 5–50 and now GABRIELLA DELFINI, *San Carlo ai Catinari* (Chiese di Roma illustrate, n. s., 16), Rome, 1985.

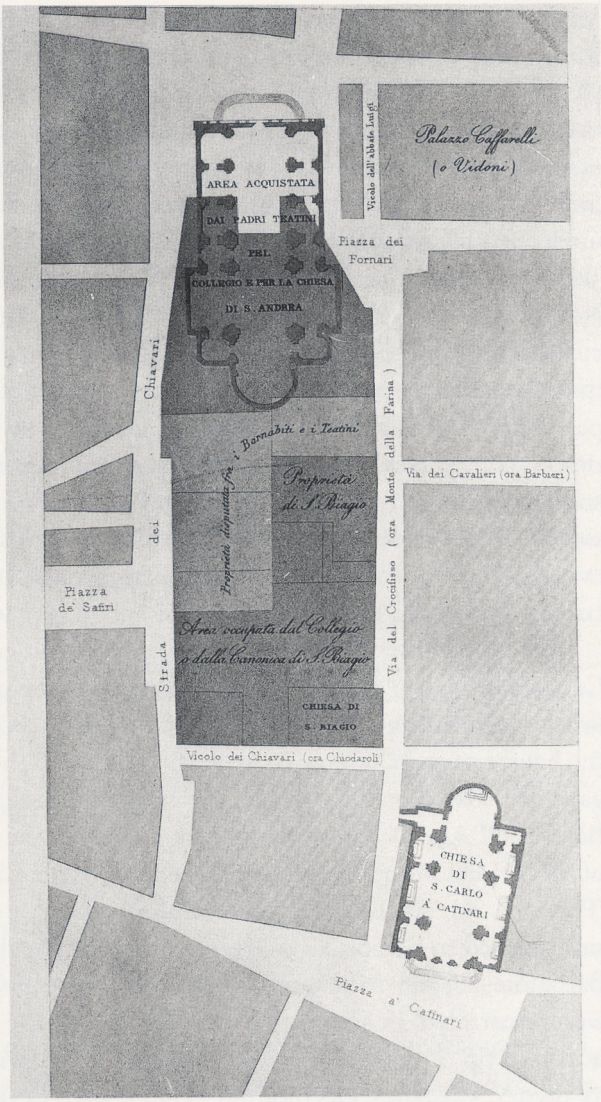
164 H. HIBBARD, "The Early History of Sant'Andrea della Valle," *ArtBull,* XLIII, 1961, pp. 289–318; Hibbard, Maderno, pp. 146–55; Connors, Oratory, p. 108. A further plan for the convent, drafted before the apse of Sant'Andrea took final form, is in Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS Panciatichi 178, c. 23 (a volume I know through the kindness of Caroline Elam).

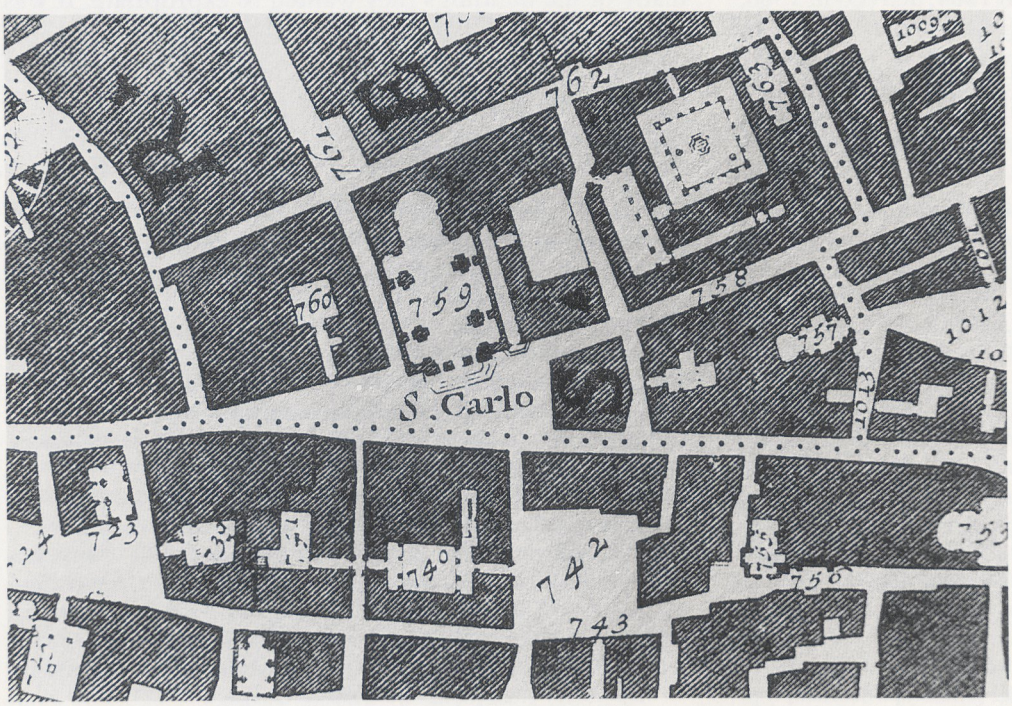
165 Orbaan, Documenti, p. 164, avviso of March 6, 1610; and p. 194, avviso of October 22, 1611.

166 Orbaan, Documenti, pp. 187–90, 194–96; G. INCISA DELLA ROCCHETTA, "La chiesa di San Carlo sulla piazza di Monte Giordano," *Strenna dei Romanisti,* XXII, 1961, pp. 43–48; Connors, Oratory, p. 142, doc. 3, and figs. 97–99.

167 According to Totti, Roma moderna, 1638, p. 181 f., the piazza was ancient and named for the *catini* or wooden bowls made there.

168 [Cacciari], Memorie, p. 14; Pietro Francesco della Valle, *Stato generale o libro di stab.li del Collegio de SS. Biagio e Carlo di Roma l'anno 1742,* MS in Archivio dei Barnabiti, p. 29. The isola near the Arco dei Catinari (visible on S. Peruzzi's map of 1564–65 and the large Cartaro map of 1576) escaped the fire and housed the temporary church built by Gaspare Guerra.



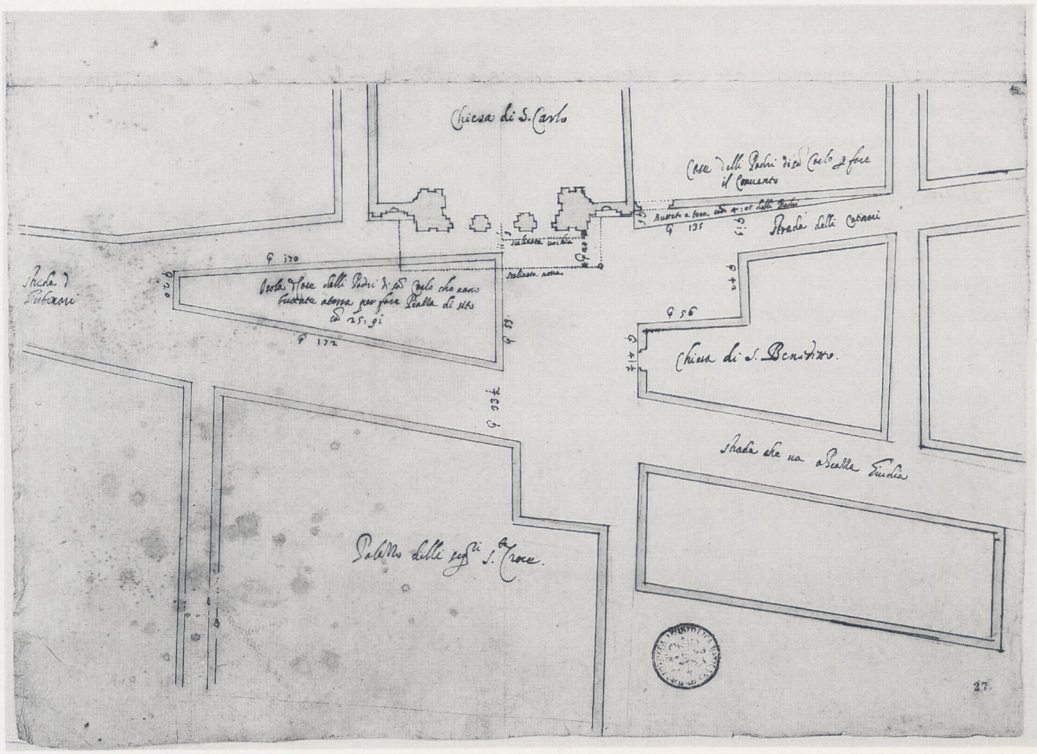


54. *Sant' Andrea della Valle (Nolli 775) and San Carlo ai Catinari (759)*

55. *Plan of Theatine and Barnabite property around San Biagio dell' Anello (Archivio dei Barnabiti)*

56. *San Carlo ai Catinari (Nolli 759), piazza at San Biagio dell' Anello (761), convent of Sant' Anna (763), Palazzo Santacroce (740), Piazza Branca (742)*

57. G. B. Falda, Piazza San Carlo ai Catinari, 1665



58. Plan of Piazza San Carlo ai Catinari (BAV, Barb. lat. 9903, f. 27)

The Barnabites quickly installed a temporary church in one of the surviving houses and began to plan a new building. Carlo Borromeo had been canonized on November 4, 1610. The Barnabites rushed to bless the *prima pietra* on September 29, 1611, and they held the foundation ceremony on February 29, 1612, beating out the great Milanese church of San Carlo al Corso. Paul V visited the site and urged them to think in grandiose terms[169]. The first plans were by sent by Magenta and Binago from Milan; Magenta's was a boxy rectangle that would have filled up all the space between the Via dei Catinari in front and the Via dei Chiavari behind, but made no concessions to bends in the streets[170]. The final plan by Rosario Rosati was more sensitive to local conditions. The nave, crossing and cupola could all be built on the land between the Via dei Catinari and the ex-vicolo, which became an alley leading to the transept. Construction on this scheme went quickly and the cupola was topped in 1620, three years before the Theatines managed to complete the cupola and lantern of Sant'Andrea.

Both the apse and the facade had to wait for new patronage, however, and here there was trouble. The last titular cardinal of the church died in 1622, and in 1627 the title was transferred to the Milanese rival, San Carlo al Corso[171]. Don Carlo and Don Taddeo Barberini were both approached, doubtless because the family palace on the Via dei Giubbonari was near at hand, but both declined. A skillful Barnabite confessor named Biagio Palma tried his powers of persuasion at the deathbed of old Cardinal Giovanni Battista Leni[172]. Leni was not interested in patronizing a church already half built, but Palma was persistent. He fed Leni a memorandum urging him on to some glorious enterprise, but warning him about the time and expense of a new building and the dangers of entrusting oneself to architects, and then reassuring him that San Carlo was perfect on all counts: *sodezza, fortezza, bellezza, sito, bene offitiata, con splendore tenuta,* and likely to be finished soon. Palma probably overstepped the reserve expected of a confessor "che veglia un ricco che muore," but as it turned out, Leni's will of 1627 included 30,000 scudi for San Carlo. These funds paid for the choir (1638–48) and for Soria's masterpiece of a facade (1636–38 but inscribed 1635), encrusted with the triple logs of Leni's arms.

The urban situation at about this time can be studied on the Maggi map of 1625, which shows the completed cupola and an early project for the facade. A plan in the Albertina confirms what can be sensed both on the map and on the site, namely, that the front of Rosati's nave had purposefully intruded into the line of the Via dei Catinari[173]. Soria's facade, which is not flat but moves forward in powerful steps, exaggerates this effect of protrusion and *prepotenza.* To clear the bottleneck thus created (Fig. 58) the narrow isola in front of the facade was cut in half to open up a dignified piazza, graced by two churches and a monumental palace. Aside from San Carlo the demolitions gave new prominence to the small church of San Benedetto *inter duas vias*[174] (as Maggi clearly shows) and also to the Palazzo Santacroce (Fig. 56, no. 740)[175]. This old family, fattened by the new wealth of the tobacco trade, had moved here in 1598–1602 from a quattrocento fortress further down the Via dei Giubbonari, and then had their palace rebuilt by Francesco

169 Premoli, Storia, p. 33, n. 2. P. Pallamolla recorded Paul V's visit in letter of December 17, 1611; the pope studied the plan "quale volle vedere minutamente come quello che si diletta molto di fabbrica ... parendogli che una fabbrica tale possa apportare molto ornamento a quella parte della città."
In this context it might be remembered that Paul V had imposed an interdict on Venice in 1605–7 because the Venetian Senate had passed two laws directly interfering with convent growth, one prohibiting the construction of new churches anywhere in the state without government permission, and the other limiting the alienation of landed property to the church by laymen (William Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty,* Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968, p. 345).

170 Magenta's plan is preserved in the Iconotheca Barnabitica (no. 10a) in the Archivio Generalizio dei Barnabiti, which is now indexed in Paolo Rippa, "Fonti nell'archivio generalizio dei Barnabiti," *Richerche per la Storia Religiosa di Roma,* I, 1977, pp. 367–83. My thanks to padre Colciago for his kind assistance in consulting these archives.

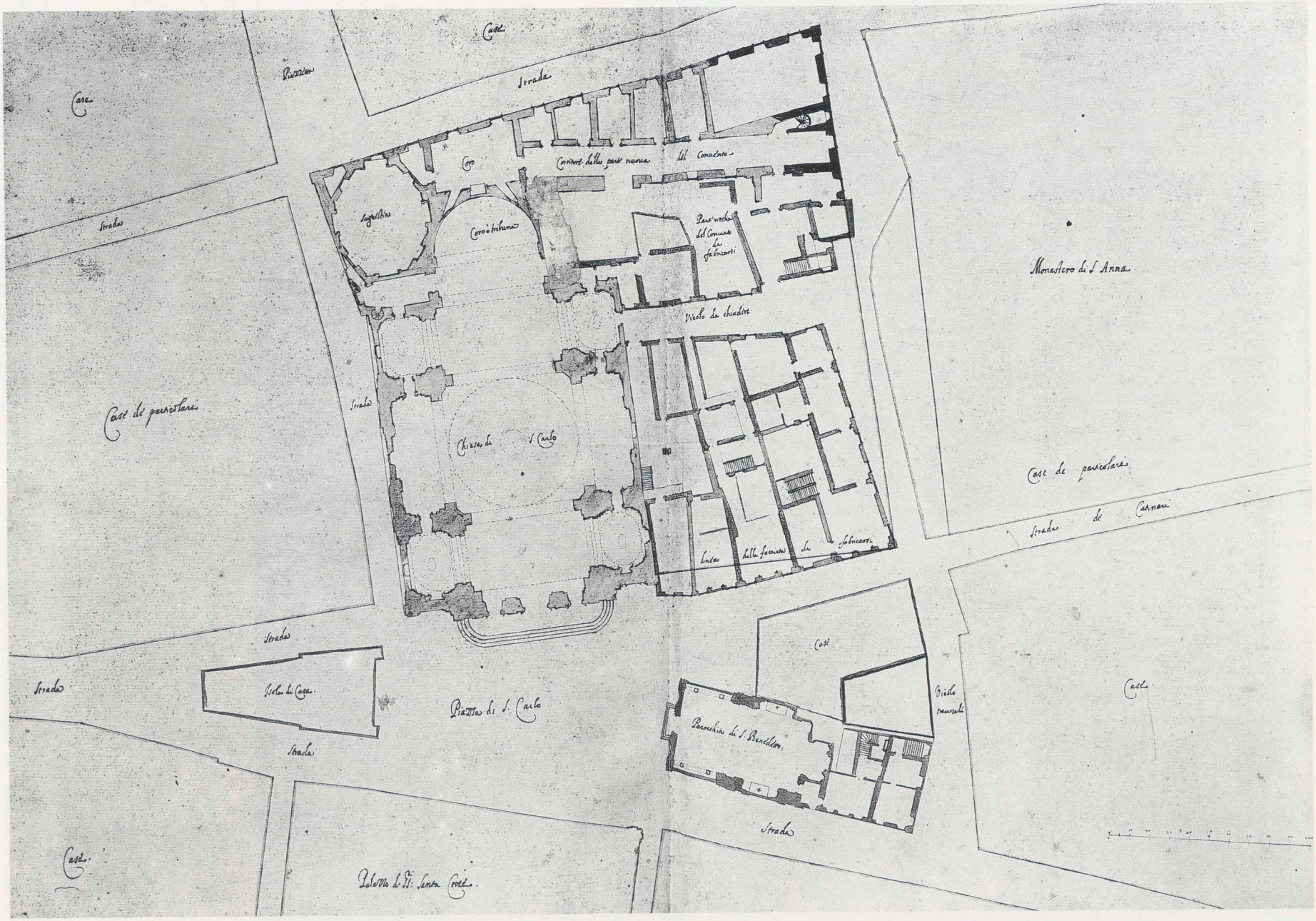
171 Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica,* Munich, 1913ff., IV, pp. 11 and 40f.

172 The story is told in a local publication available in the Barnabite Archives: p. Matteo Marioni, "Il card. Leni benefattore della chiesa di S. Carlo a' Catinari," *Vita Nostra* (Mensile della Parrocchia di S. Carlo a' Catinari), July 1927, p. 3; October 1927, p. 4; December 1927, p. 4f.; January 1928, p. 2f.; February 1928, p. 2f.; April 1928, p. 2.

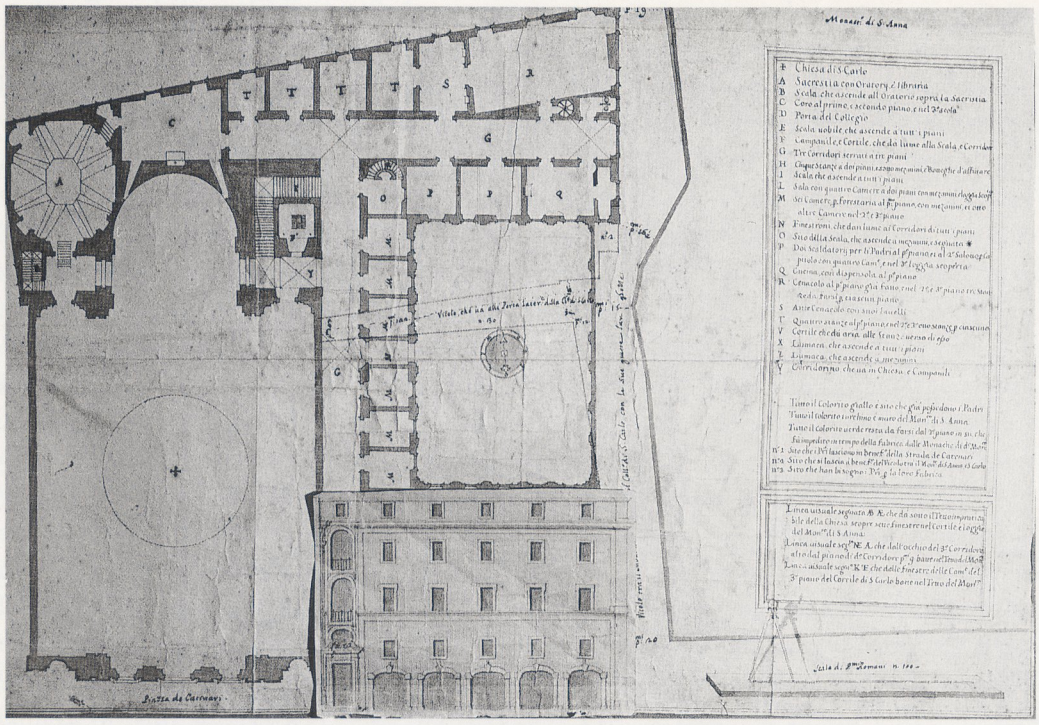
173 Alb. 157 and 158, datable by the inscription on 158: "Facciata, al presente si fabrica," as well as by the thin crossing piers and wide side chapel passages, all considerably reinforced in the present church.

174 Huelsen, Chiese, p. 209f.; and P. M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma,* Rome, 1610, p. 130 for a woodcut of the new facade of 1600.

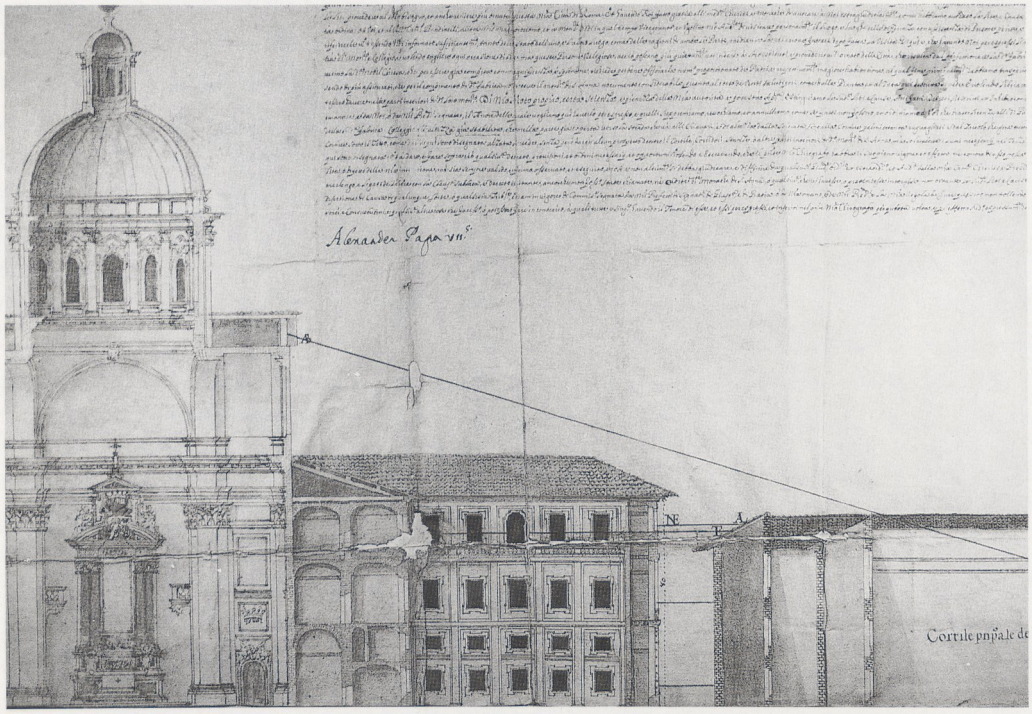
175 "Il primo tabacco in Roma," *Il Cracas,* 14 June 1890, pp. 152ff.; Piero Tomei, *L'architettura a Roma nel quattrocento,* Rome, 1942, pp. 239–43; Hibbard, Maderno, p. 129; Hibbard, "Licenze," nos. 23, 26 and 144; S. Sinisi, "Il Palazzo Santacroce ai Catinari," *Palatino,* VII, 1963, pp. 12–17; G. Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio De Rossi architetto romano,* Rome, 1964, pp. 127–30; D. Batorska, "Grimaldi and the Salone Santacroce," *Storia dell'Arte,* 18, 1973, pp. 173–79; GR, Regola, I, pp. 48–50. Totti, Roma moderna, 1638, p. 181f., provides a *terminus ante* ("Incontro ... è il Palazzo de' Signori Marchesi di S. Croce con alcune statue nobilmente rinovato.").



59. Project for completion of Barnabite convent at San Carlo ai Catinari (BAV, Chigi, P VII 10, fols. 110v–111)



60. *Project for completion of Barnabite convent (Archivio dei Barnabiti)*



61. *Chirograph of 17 April 1663, dictating a compromise between the Barnabites and the nuns of Sant'Anna (ASR, Dis. e map., c. 85, no. 495)*

Peparelli in 1630–38, in a lively biomorphic style that harmonizes with Soria's facade opposite. The coincidence in dates suggests the common intention of the Santacroce and the Barnabites to open a mutually advantageous piazza. It was not the intimate type of alliance that led to the endowment of a family chapel, but it was effective in transforming the urban environment[176]. Like a seal on the pact, the view out of the palace door points to one of the side doors of the church, and then beyond to the general area of the crossing.

176 For the Santacroce chapel in Santa Maria della Scala, see JENNIFER MONTAGU, *Alessandro Algardi*, 2 vols., New Haven and London, 1985, II, p. 441 f., cat. nos. 142–43.

62. Piazza San Carlo ai Catinari (Vasi, Magnificenze, 1756)

The Barnabites encountered only one obstacle to their expansion. The nuns in the old convent of Santa Anna to the east complained that the height of the new buildings cast the shadow of *soggetione* (loss of air and invasion of privacy) over their cloister[177]. Their suit stalled the Barnabites and left them with a half finished convent from 1638 to February 1659, when Alexander VII stepped in to cut the knot[178]. His primary motive was to clear the Barnabites out of Piazza Colonna. In compensation for the demolition of the small Barnabite church of San Paolo in Piazza Colonna, he untertook to solve the problems at San Carlo. The papal chirograph of April 17, 1660 fixed the compromise with the nuns (Figs. 59–61)[179]. The Barnabites could not cut the swath of land they had wanted from the side of Sant'Anna and could not build a straight and dignified wing along the side street. But they could finish the convent in front, where a wing of shops would provide them with income. And by 1662 a triangular piazza had been created, with the pope's blessing, by the demolition of San Benedetto and the other remaining isola in front of the facade[180]. It was now one of the most stately forks in the arterial street system, which is how Vasi shows it, for all his typical exaggerations (Fig. 62)[181].

177 Totti, Roma moderna, 1638, p. 180; mostly rebuilt from the foundations in 1614, "Et hora di nuova fabbrica s'adorna." Nolli 763; GR, S. Eustachio I, pp. 21–24. The convent was demolished in 1887 for the opening of the Via Arenula.

178 Krautheimer, Alexander VII, pp. 55–59, 87, 179. The San Carlo drawings are in BV, Chigi P VII 10, fols. 111–15.

179 ASR, Dis. e map., c. 85, no. 495 (formerly 1/764, nos. 15 and 16); copy in the Archivio dei Barnabiti, Iconotheca, nos. 8 and 9.

180 Krautheimer and Jones, "Diary," nos. 288, 547 and 567. Some precise dates are furnished by documents in ASR, Presidenza delle strade: vol. 45, c. 111 v (house "vicino la Piazza di S. Carlo" demolished and rebuilt, March 5, 1659); vol. 46, c. 30 v–31 r (church steps by Camillo Arcucci, January 15, 1663); vol. 28, chirograph of January 28, 1667 on paving the piazza since the "casa che faceva isola" has been demolished.

181 Vasi, Magnificenze, VII, 1756, pl. 136. The large house on the right of the isola in Vasi's print replaces San Benedetto, while the two smaller houses on the left seem to predate Alexander VII's demolitions.

Twice frustrated by stronger rivals the Barnabites seemed finally to have found their niche, and then fortune smiled on them. Popes encouraged them, the saint cleared a site by fire, a dying cardinal slipped them into his will, and a great family cooperated in beautifying their piazza. Yet the meandering and ugly wall that still closes their building along the side street, giving it a permanently unfinished look and sealing it off from a obstinate nunnery (that now no longer exists), is a reminder that no obstacle to convent urbanism was so serious as the presence of another convent[182]. In the ongoing process of carving the urban fabric and shaping the city, these are moments when we hear the clink of flint on flint.

182 Another case of territorial rivalry between convents is described by ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, "Matematici contro architetti nella Roma del '700," *Roma,* XIX, 1941, pp. 499–512. In 1673 the Agostiniane (called *le Turchine*) defeated a proposal to build rental houses opposite their convent in the Suburra on the grounds that the new structure would "dominare e signoreggiare" their convent; in fact they obtained an order to set back the offending property line 32 palmi. But in 1736 they fought and lost a much more difficult lawsuit to block the construction of a vast Filippine convent on the same site.

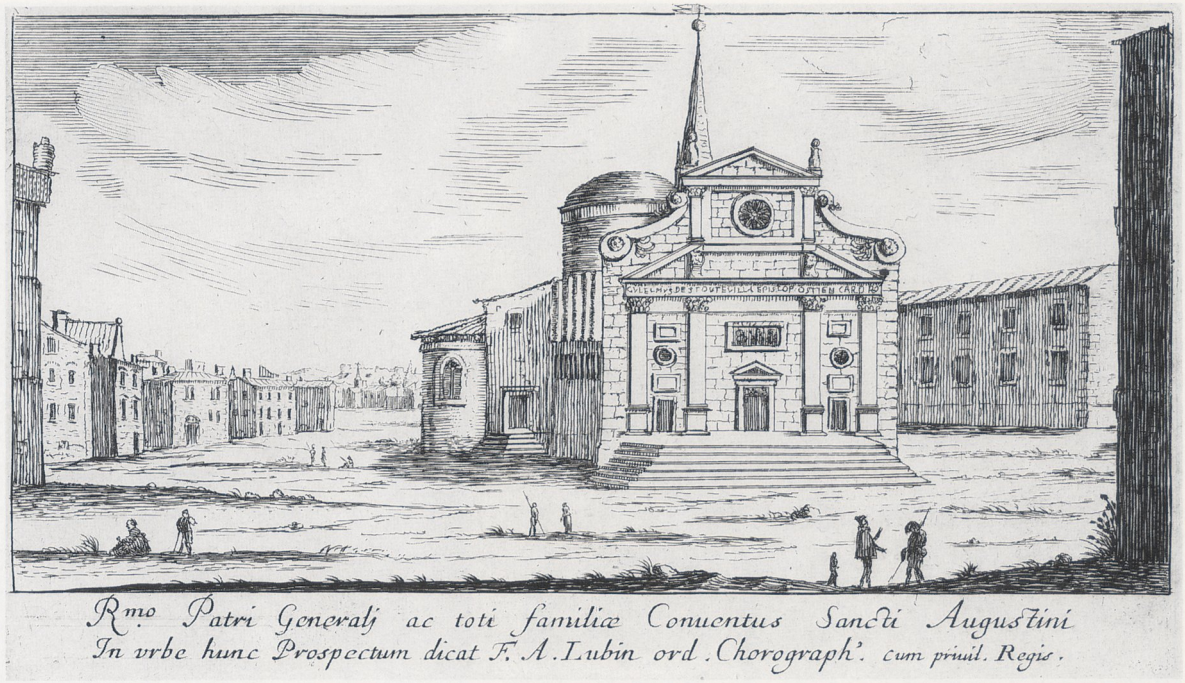
5. PIAZZA SANT'AGOSTINO

The church of Sant'Agostino presents an early example in Rome of the classic Albertian volute facade, built in the local travertine and adapted, however awkwardly, to the gothic proportions of the structure behind it (Fig. 63)[183]. This vigorous survival from the quattrocento is surrounded, almost incarcerated, on three sides by large and often featureless 18th-century buildings. Piazza Sant'-Agostino is noted in the history of architecture not for what it is but for what it might have been. Three Borromini projects of 1659, found among his drawings in the Albertina, would have transformed the space into something more open and symmetrical, and one of them envisaged rebuilding it as a small-scale Campidoglio. Also interesting is the project of Alexander VII against which Borromini was reacting: the pope wanted to transform the area into Rome's *les halles* by the installation of the food market that he was removing from the Pantheon. But the projects of 1659 must be understood in the context of a much longer institutional rivalry between the Augustinians of Sant'Agostino and their neighbors, the Jesuits of the Collegio Germanico. Enmities seem to have a longer life than alliances as shaping forces in Roman urbanism. For almost two centuries these orders fought over small strips of territory and then over larger theological issues until one of them proved victorious and the other was suppressed. The claustrophobic piazza may be taken as a symbol of this hardening conflict.

The Nolli map allows us to take a larger overview of the area as it stood in 1748 when construction was almost complete (Fig. 64). Sant'Agostino (816) is surrounded to the right and rear by Vanvitelli's Augustinian convent, built in 1746–61 and double-faced: the main portal looks north towards the church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi (506), while the wing with the Biblioteca Angelica faces south and enjoys a view over the piazza. On the east the convent and library are bounded by the straight Via Ripetta, which in this stretch is called the Via della Scrofa (817). The Jesuit church of Sant'Apollinare and one wing of the Collegio Germanico (515), which I will call Germanico I, are connected by a bridge (516) to the other buildings of the college (815), which I will call Germanico II. The bridge crosses an important stretch of the Via dei Coronari; it dates to 1751 but replaces earlier bridges of 1636 and 1575. It makes the two parts of the Collegio Germanico a single building. To the south of Germanico II, across the Via Santa Giovanna d'Arco (813), stands the national hospice (809) and church (808) of San Luigi dei Francesi, and beyond them former Medici enterprises like the Palazzo Madama (806) and the Sapienza (799). Borromini, Maruscelli and Bizzacheri all enlivened the area with their fantasy, but close to the piazza we are in the severe and forbidding landscape of institutions.

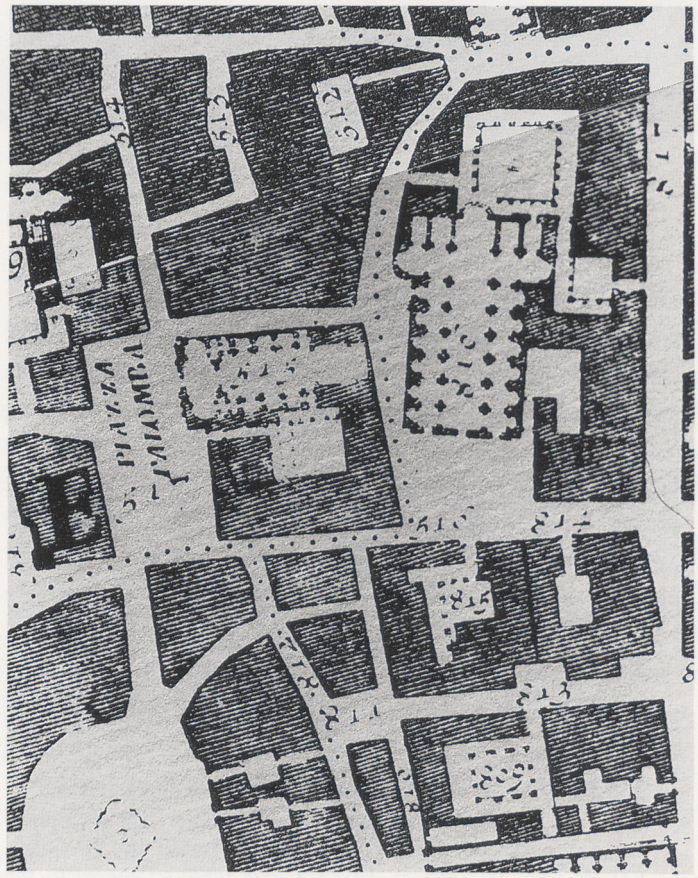
Renaissance development of the area began when

183 A. FULVIO, *Antiquaria urbis,* Rome, 1513, II, p. 64v:
"Nec pretermittam magnum & spectabile templum
Augustine tuum instauratum nuper & auctum
Quod Rothomagensis praesul Gulielmus ibidem
A fundamentis renouans erexit ad auras
Nam fuit ille potens: & nummosissimus heros."
On the facade see GÜNTER URBAN, "Die Kirchenbaukunst des Quattrocento in Rom," *RömJbKg,* IX/X, 1961–62, p. 260f., n. 347; L. HEYDENREICH and W. LOTZ, *Architecture in Italy 1400–1600* (PelicanHist), Harmondsworth, 1974, pp. 58f. and fig. 50; MARGHERITA BRECCIA FRATADOCCHI, *S. Agostino in Roma: arte storia documenti,* Rome, 1979. My thanks to Meredith Gill for her wise counsel on Sant'Agostino.



63. Sant'Agostino with unfinished convent wing built by D. Castelli (A. Lubin, Orbis Augustinianus..., Paris, 1659)

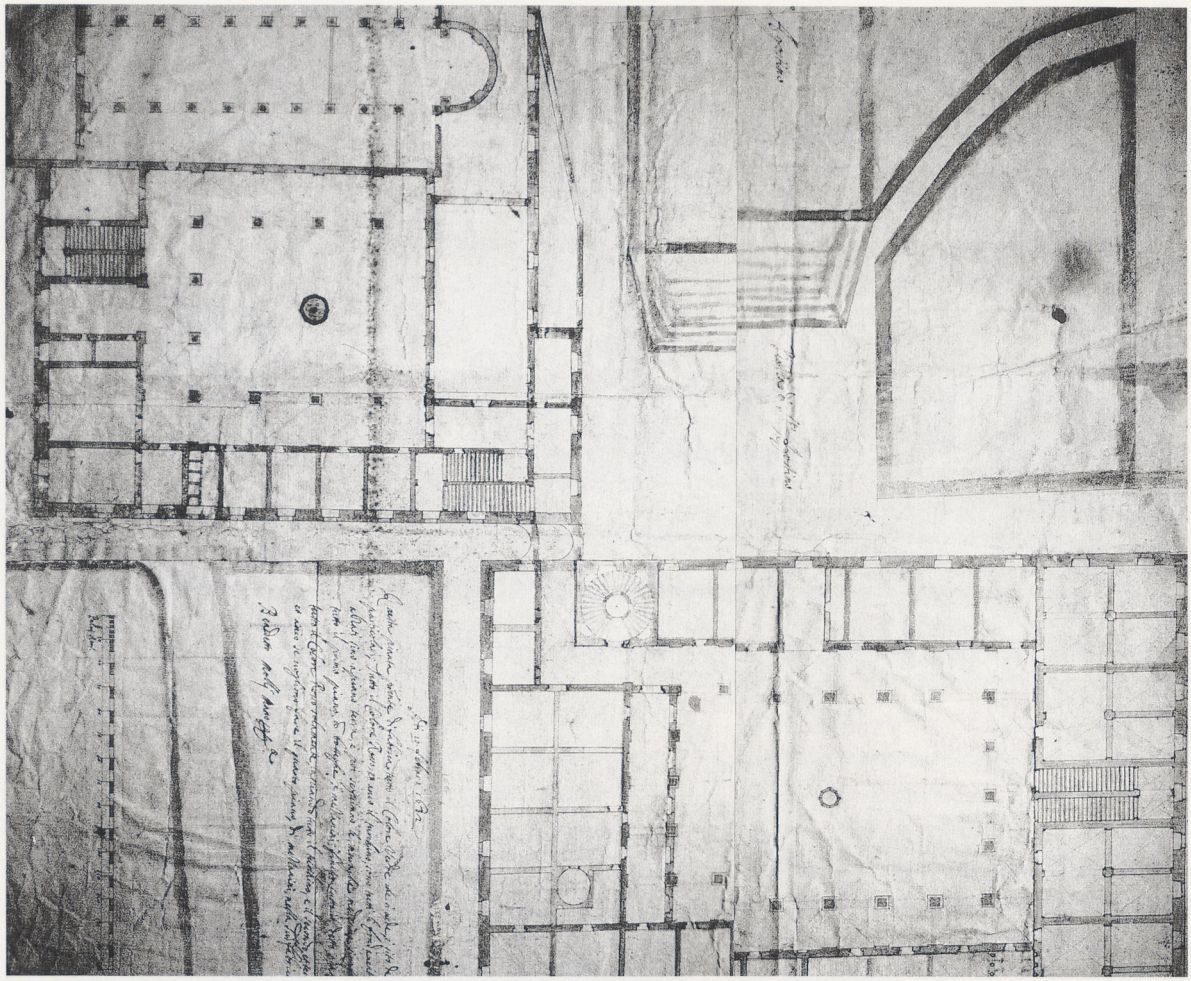
Sixtus IV's great French cardinal, d'Estouteville, convinced the pope to transfer the food market from the Campidoglio to Piazza Navona in 1477. D'Estouteville had already built his palace next to Sant'Apollinare in 1465, and had rebuilt the cloister of S. Agostino in 1469[184]. His ally, the cardinal-nephew Girolamo Riario, built another palace a block further west in 1477–80[185]. Both these palaces were well situated in terms of traffic from the new Via Sistina (near the Albergo dell'Orso) to the Piazza Navona. D'Estouteville rebuilt Sant'Agostino in 1479–83, elevating the nave and facade over enormous vaulted cellars. At this time everything pointed in the direction of a unified piazza. To control the space on three sides d'Estouteville and the Augustinians needed only to acquire the small isola of houses between the piazza and the Via della Scrofa that now is the site of the Biblioteca Angelica. On the fourth side, to the south, the land was largely in French hands. The ruins of the Baths of Alexander Severus, which had belonged to the monks of



64. San Agostino (Nolli 816), Via Ripetta (817), Sant'Apollinare with Germanico I (515), bridge (516), Germanico II (815), Palazzo Bongiovanni (814), Via Santa Giovanna d'Arco (813), hospice of San Luigi dei Francesi (809)

184 Tommaso Bonasoli, *Notizie della Religione Agostiniana ...*, MS in ACGA, *c.* 1781–82, p. 443; Tomei, Quattrocento, pp. 123–28; Magnuson, Roman Quattrocento Architecture, p. 32f.; Carroll Westfall, "Alberti and the Vatican Palace Type," *JSAH*, XXXIII, 1974, pp. 101–121.

185 Marinella Festa Milone, "Palazzo Riario-Altemps: un inedito frammento della Roma di Sisto IV e il 'restauro' tardo cinquecentesco di Martino Longhi," *QuadArchit*, XXIV, fasc. 139–50, 1977/78, pp. 13–48.



65. B. Molli, S.J., project for new Collegio Germanico, 2 February 1632 (Archivio Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum)

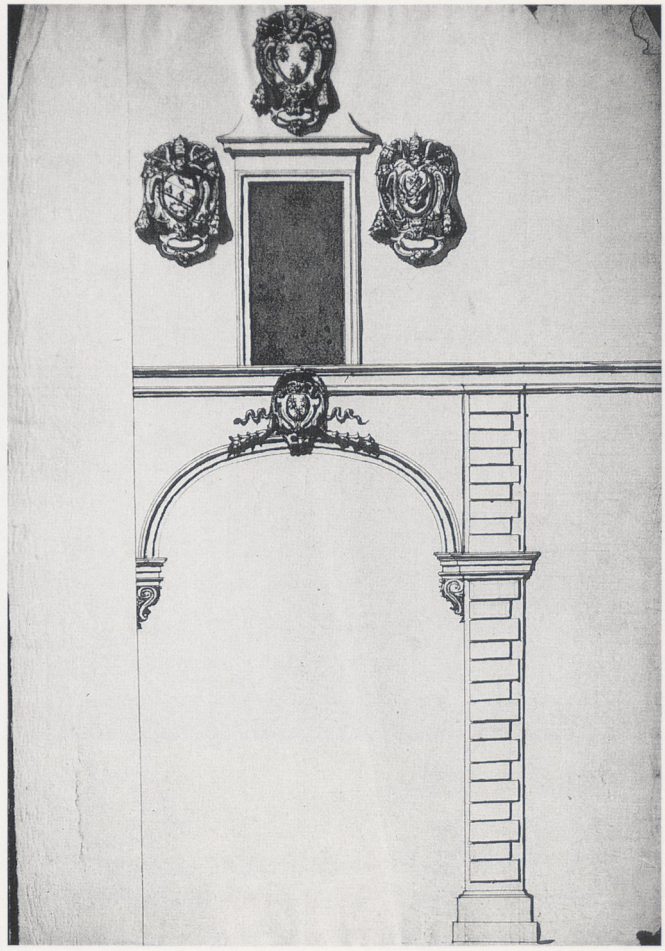
Farfa in the Middle Ages, had been sold to the French confraternity in 1478[186]. From the door of Sant'Agostino, raised high on its podium and looming above the surrounding houses[187], d'Estouteville could have looked over the collapsing vaults of the baths as far as the French land where one day (in 1516–19) San Luigi dei Francesi would be built[188]. The cardinal, with his compatriots and allies, possessed almost total hegemony over the area.

186 Huelsen, Chiese, p. 212f. and p. 455f.; Nash, Pictorial Dictionary, II, 460–64; Raoul Manselli, "Dalla cella farfense a San Luigi de' Francesi: storia di un angolo di Roma," *Les fondations nationales dans la Rome pontificale* (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 52), Rome, 1981, pp. 74–81.
A curious reference in a mid-17th-century memoir in the archives of San Luigi says that Cardinal D'Estouteville "qui avoit commencé à faire bastir l'église de S. Louis" soon lost interest and "fit bastir l'église de S. Augustin, pour un degoust qu'il eust de certains français" (J.-M. Vidal, *Les Oratoriens à Saint-Louis des Français,* Rome and Paris, 1928, p. 5, n. 1). As though in confirmation of this notice, the cardinal's arms were found immured in a wall in the convent of San Luigi in 1892 (E. Bernich, "La chiesa di S. Luigi de' Francesi e il cardinale d'Estouteville," *Arte e Storia,* XII.25, Dec. 25, 1893, p. 197f.). I owe these references to the kindness of Patrizia Cavazzini.

187 As it is shown on Heemskerck's panorama of 1536 (C. Huelsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck,* I, Berlin, 1913, pl. 121).

188 On the early history of San Luigi: Corrado Ricci, ed. Valerio Mariani, "Il tempietto di San Luigi de' Francesi," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte,* N.S. I, 1952, pp. 317–27. The alliance between the French and Leo X Medici in the planning of the Via Ripetta is discussed by Frommel, Palastbau, pp. 17–22. A fully documented study of Via Ripetta is now given by Roberto Fregna, Salvatore Polito and Fernando Bilancia, "Fonti di archivio per una storia edilizia di Roma," *Controspazio,* III, 1971, no. 9, pp. 2–20; IV, 1972, no. 7, pp. 2–18; and V, 1973, no. 5, pp. 18–61 (especially p. 28 in this last installment, which tells how Via Ripetta cut the land of Sant'Agostino: "vi erano alcune fabbriche con giardino ed orti ..., [ma] Leone papa X per fare ed addrizzare la strada dal Popolo fino a S. Luigi de' Francesi, fu tagliato il sito per la ditta strada ..., [e così] restarono fuori e disgiunte le sud.e fabbriche giardino ed orti del Convento"). The later history of the convent of San Luigi may be divided into two phases, one in 1627–30 and the other in 1709–12. In 1618 the Greuter map still shows a single undivided isola stretching from San Luigi north to the Piazza Sant'Agostino, occupied by ruins

66. Project for the bridge between Germanico II (left) and Germanico I (right), 1633–36 (Arch. Germ. Hungar.)



67. Project for the bridge between Germanico I and II, 1633–36 (Arch. Germ. Hungar.)

The Renaissance alliances that might have shaped Piazza Sant'Agostino were frustrated by forces of the Counter Reformation. In 1574 Gregory XIII installed the Jesuit college for the education of the nobility of Germanic lands, the Collegio Germanico-Hungarico, in d'Estouteville's former palace at Sant'Apollinare[189]. The college, founded by Ignatius himself in 1552 and then richly endowed by Gregory XIII in 1573, had an enormous potential for growth, and this was channeled over a bridge (built in 1575 and visible on the maps from Tempesta to Maggi) to the block of houses standing directly opposite the facade of Sant'Agostino. Thus Germanico I became linked to Germanico II, and an alien, expansive presence was at hand to begin boxing in the facade of Sant' Agostino.

The Jesuits began building in earnest in the 1620s and '30s. By 1621–22 they had made the final decisions about Germanico II: it was to be an enormous utilitarian structure extending from the bridge as far east as the Via della Scrofa, incorporating the Cinquecento Palazzo Bongiovanni (Nolli 814) that still stood at the far end of the

and small houses. The isola could be entered in the middle by the narrow Vicolo delli Matriciani. In 1627 the French were granted a license (Hibbard, "Licenze," no. 146) to rebuild their hospital, and this campaign produced the half of the cloister next to the church. The inscription on the Piazza Madama facade of the hospice marks the start of work in 1630.

In a chirograph of July 1636 Urban VIII gave the French permission to open up a street between the northern edge of their property and the southern edge of Germanico II. This permission was renewed by Alexander VII (the street was to be 47 palmi wide), and renewed again by Clement IX (now the street was to be only 35 palmi wide) in a chirograph of October 15, 1667 (ASR, Dis. e map., c. 86, no. 513). But in fact the street, the present Via Santa Giovanna d'Arco, was not opened up until 1709–12, when the French employed Carlo Francesco Bizzacheri to rebuild the northern half of their hospice (Nina Mallory and John Varriano, "Carlo Francesco Bizzacheri (1655–1721)," *JSAH*, XXXIII, 1974, pp. 27–44, especially pp. 38–41 and figs. 17–21).

189 Richard Bösel and Jörg Garms, "Die Plansammlung des Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, XXIII, 1981, pp. 335–384, a fundamental study that supersedes all previous work on the Collegio Germanico.

68. F. Fuga, bridge of 1751 connecting Germanico II (left) with Germanico I (right)

block[190]. The property lines defining Germanico I were regularized in a license issued by the Maestri di Strade in 1624[191]. In particular, the meandering eastern edge of the property fronting on the piazza was to be straightened. The new frontage was set obliquely to the axis of Sant' Agostino so as to define a small, trapezoidal piazza. A license of 1632 straightened the edge of Germanico II running along the south side of the piazza, while a papal brief of 1636 allowed the Jesuits to acquire all the houses as far as the Via della Scrofa, and at the same time defined the southern boundary of the college by laying out the Via Santa Giovanna d'Arco[192].

We have a set of plans from this period by the Jesuit architect Benedetto Molli, dated February 2, 1632 (Fig. 65)[193]. They show a rebuilt Sant'Apollinare, a new Germanico I to replace d'Estouteville's palace, and a large new Germanico II laid out around an enormous courtyard. At this time the only section built was the western wing of Germanico II near the bridge, including the *salone* shown on the piano nobile plan and the western loggia of the courtyard. In the middle of the block older houses[194] continued to stand opposite Sant'Agostino, and next to them stood Palazzo Bongiovanni, still undisturbed on the eastern end of the property.

In 1633 licenses were granted for a tunnel connecting Germanico I and II and for a new bridge replacing the old one of 1575[195]. When it was built in 1636 the new bridge was moved as close as possible to the piazza, so that the two buildings it connected would look like wings of a single continuous structure. The surviving drawings show various papal arms over the arch and convey the impression more of a palace portal than an opening for a

190 The Palazzo Bongiovanni was built on an important site occupying the visual terminus of the Via di Ripetta. It was acquired by the Collegio Germanico in 1736, and demolished to make way for Pietro Camporese's building of 1776–87 (Bösel-Garms, p. 357 and cat. no. 113). It has never been studied. There are some references to the family in T. Amayden, *La storia delle famiglie romane,* ed. C. A. Bertini, Rome, I [1910], p. 168 f.: "Anno la casa nel Rione di Campomarzo di rimpetto alla Chiesa di S. Agostino assai cospicua, ove sopra la porta di marmo si vede l'arme alquanto differente dalla qui da noi indicata ..."

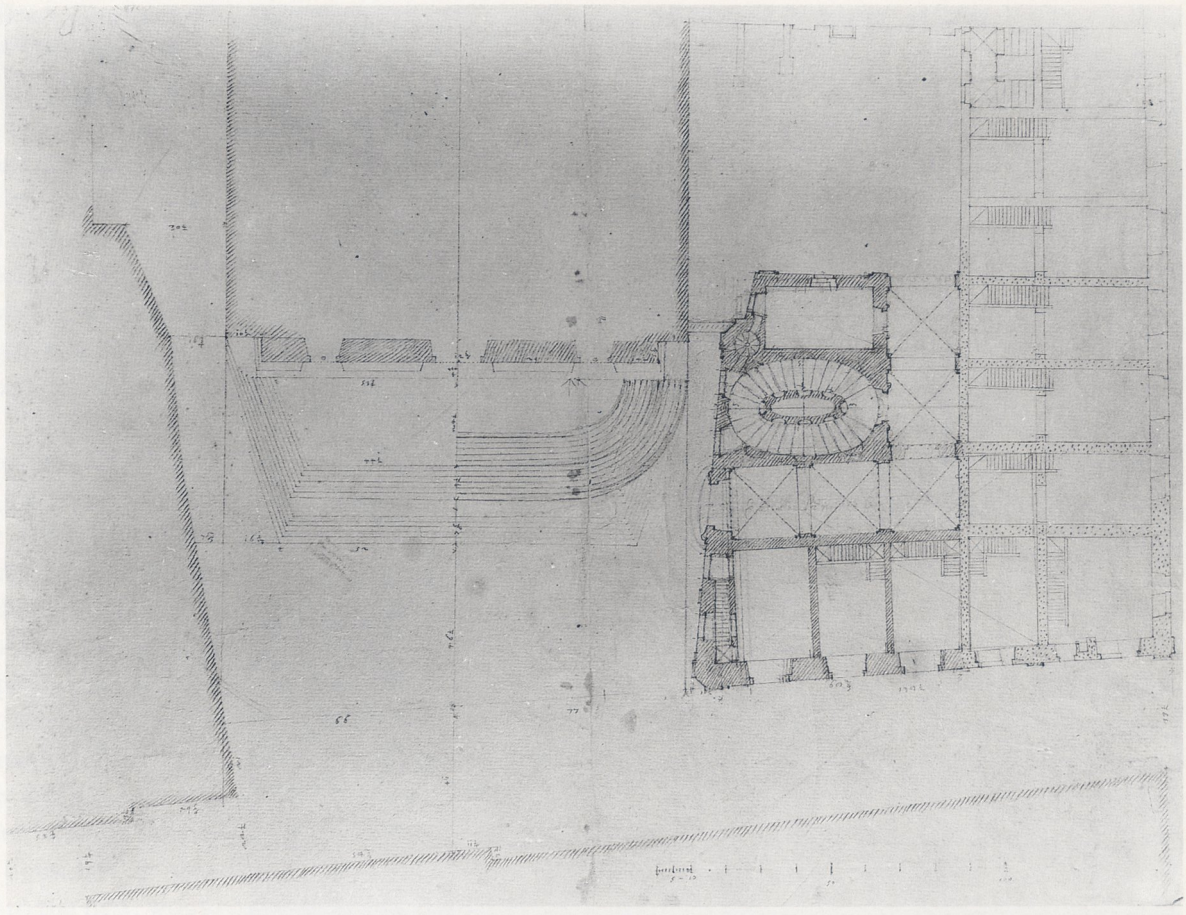
191 Hibbard, "Licenze," no. 122.

192 Hibbard, "Licenze," no. 174 and Fig. 52. Work costing 26,338.32 scudi was carried out between 1613 and 1632, and further work under the direction of the architect Paolo Maruscelli was carried out in 1631–36. A gift of 9000 scudi from Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1636 allowed construction to continue, and by 1637 the college had cost 43,248.57 scudi. See Bösel-Garms, p. 352, n. 64.

193 Bösel-Garms, pp. 361–63, cat. nos. 8–18. Molli's project may incorporate some ideas of the Jesuits' lay architect, Paolo Maruscelli.

194 The disjuncture between the wing built under Molli and the older houses can be seen in the form of a small jog on all of Borromini's plans.

195 Hibbard, "Licenze," nos. 175 and 176.



69. F. Borromini, Biblioteca Angelica: project I, 1659 (Alb. 88)

public street (Figs. 66, 67)[196]. Borromini contested this bridge in 1659, but it stayed put and was rebuilt on the same spot in 1751 (Fig. 68). It still makes the piazza feel like a sealed room.

By the end of Urban VIII's pontificate the Jesuits had exhausted their energies and would not resume building until 1742. The Augustinians had not been totally dormant[197]. In 1636, in the face of Jesuit expansion and threatened with loss of control over their piazza, they began to acquire houses on the isola directly in front of their convent, the site of the present Biblioteca Angelica. The street separating them from these houses, the Vicolo della Stufa, was closed in 1652, and the last houses on the isola bought in 1653 and 1656. The architect Domenico Castelli demolished the part of the isola along the Via della Scrofa and built a new convent wing in 1653–55 with shops on the ground floor and three floors of dormitories above. The decision to build a new Biblioteca Angelica along the piazza was aired in 1653 and finally taken on May 19, 1657. Castelli died in November 1657, and although technically his place as architect of the Augustinians was taken by a man named Pichetti, the key personality in this phase was to be Borromini, who is first recorded here on July 18, 1659, and who then appears frequently between August 1659 and January 1660[198].

Borromini seems to have entered the picture not so much as a designing architect as a mediator between the Augustinians on the one hand, and the pope (who was pressing all of Rome's dilatory builders to finish up quickly)[199] and town planning officials on the other. Their decisions can be followed on Borromini's drawings.

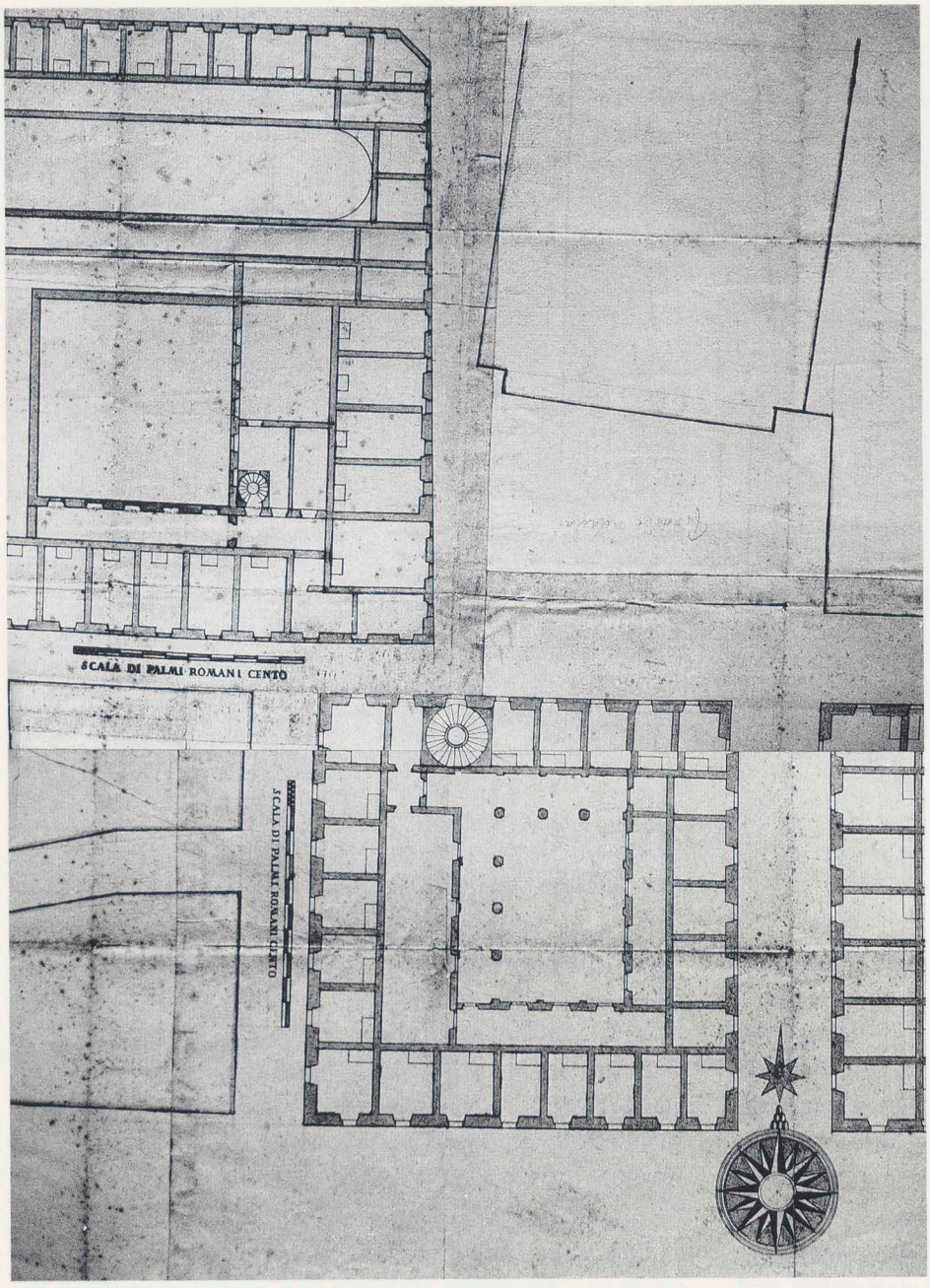
Here a general concept will help to clarify the planning process. It is the idea that, as a minimum, a church deserved a piazza as wide as its facade. The early square projects

196 Bösel-Garms, p. 363, cat. nos. 16–18.

197 Bonasoli, *Notizie,* p. 444; ASR, Agostiniani, vol. 6, *Libro delle Proposte 1647–1668,* pp. 68, 120, 156, 166, 176, 203.

198 Krautheimer and Jones, "Diary," nos. 345, 365, 471, 585, 614, and 692.

199 The papal edict ordering the completion of unfinished buildings was issued on 2 September 1658. For its repercussions on one religious house, the Casa dei Filippini, see G. Incisa della Rocchetta and J. Connors, "Documenti sul complesso borrominiano alla Vallicella (1617–1800)," *ArchStorRom,* CIV, 1981, nos. 355–60.



70. Draftsman of Alexander VII, project for new market buildings and a new street on the site of Germanico II, August 1659 (Arch. Germ. Hungar.)

for the Piazza della Chiesa Nuova are a classic example of this rule (Fig. 82). Many of the drawings for Sant'Agostino show a pair of parallel lines projected from the side of the church and delimiting a sacrosanct square piazza into which nothing could intrude. In all the preserved projects for a new library, whether by Borromini or Castelli[200], the building goes right up to, but never over, what I will call the "sacrosanct" line. Preventing encroachment on this hallowed square, or ensuring that retreat from it was enforced equally on both sides, is the key to the Augustinians' policy and to Borromini's plans.

Borromini's first project (Alb. 87–89, Fig. 69) takes the corner of the library up to the sacrosanct line, but pulls the library facade back as it approaches the church, fol-

200 Alb. 83–91. See Hempel, Borromini, pp. 173–75 and figs. 62–65, although the chronology there is open to question, and one of the drawings (Alb. 90, a pen and wash drawing which shows the "Libraria nuova da farsi") is not by Borromini but probably by Castelli. The treatment in Bösel-Garms, p. 341 f., is summary. Additional drawings for the piazza, not mentioned by Bösel-Garms, are in the Archivio della Curia Generalizia Augustiniana, Fondo S. Agostino, A.20, nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8–15, 16, 19, 22, and 26. A certain amount of corresponding documentation is contained in ASR, Agostiniani, vol. 4 (Libro delle Proposte 1609–27), vol. 5 (Proposte 1630–47), and vol. 6 (Proposte 1647–68).

lowing a line that reflects Germanico I in mirror symmetry across the piazza. This trapezoidal piazza follows the principle of matching advantage: if the Jesuits could encroach on the piazza up to the sacrosanct line on the left, then the Augustinians should be able to do so on the right. And of course it also reflects the current state of the art: Cortona's piazza at Santa Maria della Pace (1656–58) shows the same trapezoidal shape and the same play on fictive symmetries, with a convent entrance on one side given the same weight as a small street on the other[201]. Foundations were laid in May 1659 according to this project[202].

At this point Alexander VII intervened, and the piazza became caught up in his grandiose urban vision. Between May and December 1659 – probably in August – he conceived a project designed to harness the resources of both the Jesuits and the Augustinians to create a new food market to replace the one expelled from the Piazza della Rotonda. The project is preserved in a papal chirograph and in a large number of drawings in the archives of the Collegio Germanico (Fig. 70)[203]. The Jesuit rector was ordered to open up two new streets. One, a wider version of the present Via Santa Giovanna d'Arco, would define the southern boundary of the college, while the other, at right angles to the first, would cut Germanico II in half and continue into the Piazza Sant'Agostino right up to the convent entrance next to the church facade. The new Jesuit buildings along these streets were to be four stories high, with rooms for students on the upper floors and shops rented to foodsellers and market officials below. In effect the Germanico would now be made up of three separate buildings, all connected by bridges. It would have been a unique combination of an educational and a market enterprise, where capitalized rents would have been used to pay for construction.

However, there is a grim utilitarian quality to the architecture and a dullness to the chessboard plan that reflect deeper flaws. The draftsmen in Alexander's employ had no feeling for the complexities of the urban environment. They could measure standing facades accurately but were inept at angles and projections. Although their plans do not show it the new north-south street would have been disastrous for the Augustinians, cutting away 50 palmi from their new wing and leaving only 30 palmi for the library. The chessboard street pattern would have left the facade of Sant'Agostino permanently out of alignment with its surroundings. One can easily imagine Borromini lobbying against a piazza so much at odds with his own feeling for flexible spaces and adaptable buildings. His second project (Alb. 86, Figs. 71, 72) is dated December 11, 1659, and must be considered a reply to Alexander's grand plans. It is one of his most complicated drawings, blackened with reworking and thick with ideas. The key lies in the striated red line drawn at right angles to the church facade and defining a piazza 17 or 18 palmi wider than the sacrosanct line. It is explained in the inscription:

> "Mons.r Ill.mo Bandinelli Mag. Domo di N. S. fecie tirare li fili come qui sopra a tratteg[iamen]ti di roscio alla sua presenza et li aprovò questo di undici Xemb[re] 1659 – fù la sera doppo le 22 ore."

Borromini had been negotiating with the papal majordomo Bandinelli for several months. The new line represents both a wider piazza and the abandonment of foundations that the Augustinians had already laid along the older sacrosanct line. But it also represents the abandonment of Alexander VII's plan, since his north-south street could no longer continue unimpeded into the piazza.

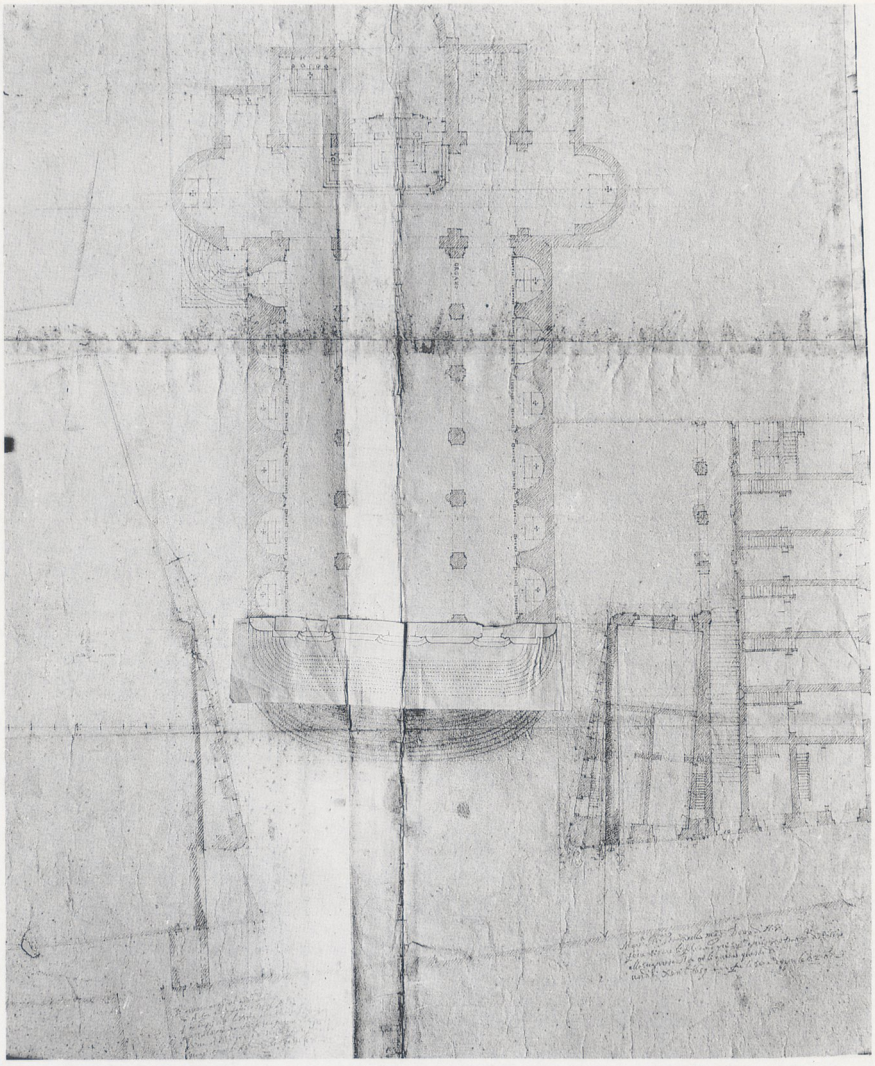
If Borromini's first project could be described in terms of matching advantage, then this project represents the principle of matching sacrifice. The Augustinians had to pull back to the red line laid down by Bandinelli, but the Jesuits had to pull back by an equivalent amount. The drawing proposes an extensive (and expensive) setback for Germanico I, including a new protruding corner to match the Augustinians and a new bridge. Borromini tried to break the Jesuits' tight enclosure, and so elimination of the bridge was important, as he testifies in another inscription on the same drawing:

> "Si discorse anco del med.mo Prelato di non far altra fabrica sopra l'Archo per non impidire la vista alla strada Principale ma solo comodarsi (?) di poter pasare al coperto con un altezza di p. 10 senza quella finestra quasi come l'Archo di Paolo III a Strada Giulia."

201 Hans Ost, "Studien zu Pietro da Cortonas Umbau von S. Maria della Pace," *RömJbKg,* XIII, 1971, pp. 231–85.

202 This is an important point, since the foundations prove that Alb. 87–89 predate Borromini's other projects, and not the reverse as Hempel assumed. No plan records the exact location of the foundations laid by the Augustinians before December 11, 1659, but their length can be established by adding up the various *misure* given in ASR, Agostiniani, vol. 297, *Fabrica della Libreria 1659–1665.* Along the south facade they measured 71 palmi, which brought the corner of the library right up to the sacrosanct line of the piazza. Along the piazza facade the foundations measured 96 palmi, and along the facade bordering on the courtyard 69 palmi. These dimensions correspond to Borromini's first project (Alb. 87–89).

203 Bösel-Garms, pp. 366–68, cat. nos. 41–52, and especially the papal chirograph (undated) on p. 340f. By 1662 Alexander had definitively shelved the project in favor of a new market in the Piazza di Pietra (Krautheimer and Jones, "Diary," no. 587).



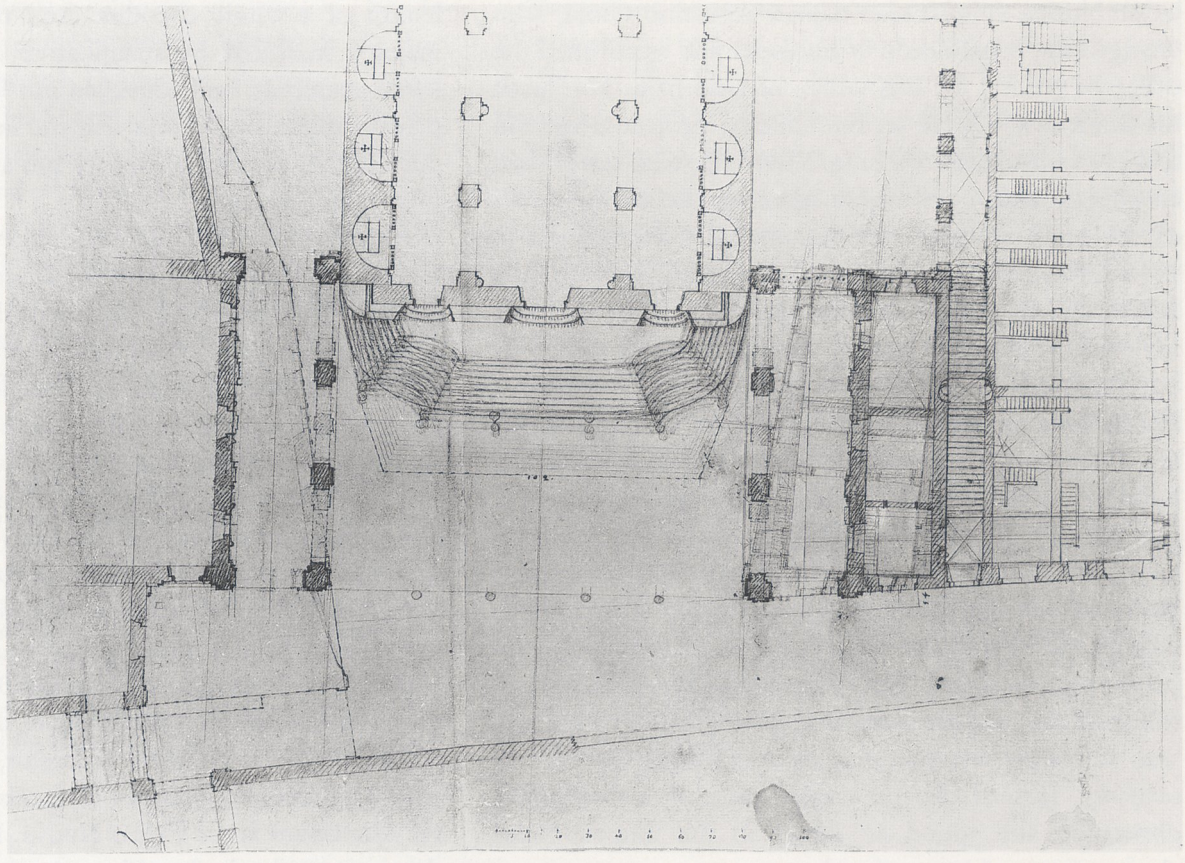
71. Borromini, Biblioteca Angelica and Piazza Sant' Agostino: project II, 11 December 1659 (Alb. 86)

72. Borromini, project II, detail

Borromini's third and best known project (Alb. 91, Fig. 73) uses Campidoglio-like loggias to frame the church facade. In this last compromise the ideas of matching advantage and matching sacrifice are combined. The land that the loggias concede to the public domain at ground level is taken back on the upper level in the form of air rights. Germanico I would have to be rebuilt with loss of property at the corner, and the bridge moved so far that in effect two new bridges would be needed to cross from Germanico I to Germanico II.

The Jesuits were obviously displeased with the prospect of losing any land and counterattacked[204]. They calculated the financial value of the bridge and the wings threatened with demolition, and they claimed that no one would ever be able to square the piazza off again: "impossible metterla in squadro," a phrase that is revealing for their urban aesthetics. Borromini's proposals were defeated. However, the Augustinians were still obliged to

204 Bösel-Garms, p. 341 f., nn. 32 and 34.



73. Borromini, Piazza Sant' Agostino: project III, 1660 (Alb. 91)

finish their library wing, and the red line on Borromini's drawing (the Bandinelli line) was what guided them[205]. This is why Martinelli, in his well-informed manuscript of 1660–63, says not that Borromini designed the Biblioteca Angelica but that he *delineated* it, that is, laid it out[206]. The last thing to be built in the piazza under Alexander was the set of steps leading up to the church, which were finished by *scarpellini* from St. Peter's on designs supplied by the pope[207]. After this pontificate there would be no more talk of redefining the property lines along the piazza. In the mid-18th century the rivalry was expressed not in urbanism but in architecture and in theology.

During Benedict XIV's visit to Sant'Apollinare in 1741 he suggested that the Jesuits rebuild the ruinous medieval church[208]. Ferdinando Fuga emerged as the architect, and the splendid new church was finished by 1744. But the structures next to it looked much the same as they did in d'Estouteville's day. Fuga took these in hand as well and in 1748–52 had produced a new bridge and a new Germanico I, fronting the west side of the piazza. Stylistically he chose to return to the severe counter-reformational mode of the Jesuits' Casa Professa, down even to the design of the window frames. Except for a few more personalized touches in the cornice he produced an almost undatable building.

The Augustinians reacted with a total rebuilding of their own convent[209]. The project was the brain child of

205 The present Angelica is set back from the sacrosanct line by about 20 palmi, as far as this can be measured under present conditions. Thus the red line on Alb. 86 was not quite the final line laid down by Mons. Bandinelli, which in the end cost the Augustinians a further 2 or 3 palmi of property. The correct setback of 20 palmi is shown on a shop plan in the Augustinian archives (A20, no. 16), labeled in an index "Pianta del sito occupato dalla facciata della nostra chiesa, e siti anessi nel 1664."

206 Martinelli-D'Onofrio, p. 13: "Il convento con la porta nella strada che va dalla Scrofa alla piazza di S. Luigi è architettura di Antonio Casone et il resto *con la libraria* [added by Borromini to Martinelli's text] nella piazza di S. Agostino fù delineato dal Cav. Borromini in essecutione del commando della Santità di Nostro Signore Alessandro VII."
Borromini may have been the designer of the library in some indirect sense, since his assistant Righi was the convent architect in 1660–61, when the library was built, and since the shelves contracted in 1667 were modeled on those of the Sapienza.
Carlo Cartari described the new Angelica in 1659 and 1674 (ASR, Cartari-Febei, vol. 185, c. 72r and 122r).

207 ASR, Agostiniani, vol. 6, *Proposte (1647–1668)*, p. 317, 20 May 1666.

208 Bösel-Garms, pp. 349–58.

209 Bonasoli, Notizie, p. 445; Armando Schiavo, "L'opera di Luigi Vanvitelli nel convento e nella chiesa di S. Agostino in Roma," *Studi Romani*, XXII, 1974, pp. 316–24; *idem*, "Il convento degli

an ambitious Augustinian named Agostino Gioia, who changed the constitution of his order and established the office of general for life, which he held from 1745 until his death in 1752. He set the building project in motion and as architect selected Luigi Vanvitelli, who established an overall design and began work on the northern half of the convent, near Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, in 1746–51. Work progressed southward along the Via della Scrofa, and Castelli's dormitory wing was demolished and replaced by Vanvitelli in 1751–56. It is unclear whether or not Vanvitelli and Gioia envisaged replacing Borromini's library from the start. But in any case the next general for life, Francesco Saverio Vasquez, demolished Borromini's building and built the new Angelica in 1753–55. Vanvitelli was by this time established in Caserta, and seems to have contributed only suggestions to a library basically designed and carried out by his assistant Murena. Although the new library greatly exceeded Borromini's in height and extended farther back into the courtyard, it followed the property lines established in 1659–60. There was no longer any question of skirmishing over urban territory. Instead the old rivalry took on a theological dimension and found an outlet in the Augustinians' choice of an architectural style.

In recruiting Vanvitelli padre Gioia took on a man who had successfully served his Jesuit rivals in Perugia, Ancona and Urbino. But there was also another factor involved. Vanvitelli had a profounder understanding of Borromini's style than any other architect of his generation. He had already shown his ability to reject the *barocchetto* flourishing in Rome and to go back directly to the original Borrominian sources. His Augustinian monastery is a creative rethinking of Borromini's Casa dei Filippini, especially in motifs like the majestic vaults of the long corridors and the niches scalloped out of the courtyard wall. Displays of hidden lighting glimpsed through perforated structure, one of the brilliant devices used in Borromini's Oratory, are repeated by Vanvitelli down the length of a whole corridor. And the general sense of majesty, achieved by imaginative design but without lavish materials, and conveyed not least in the general's private apartment, shows that the intention was to produce not an austere monastery but a gracious *casa* in the Oratorian tradition[210].

Furthermore, Borromini's architecture may have had theological associations that the Augustinians found sympathetic. The great divide in mid-18th-century moral theology was between Jesuit laxism and Augustinian rigorism[211]. The latter stressed the weak side of human nature after the fall and the need for divine grace. It preached a return to the unmitigated moral strictness of Augustine. It was a position that had certain affinities with Jansenism, and although the Augustinians drew the line at the edge of orthodoxy, they had many contacts with the active Jansenist circles that were gaining ground in high ecclesiastical circles in Rome. Jansenism spread through the influence of Monsignore Giovanni Bottari, the author in later years of the famous dialogues on art, and pervaded the entourage of Bottari's protector, Cardinal Neri Corsini. An articulate Jansenist circle also developed among the Oratorians at the Chiesa Nuova. It was frequented by Augustinian theologians like padre Agostino Giorgi, who came to Rome in 1745 just as the building campaign was about to begin. From the theological point of view there was no more appropriate model for the Augustinians than the Casa dei Filippini. And no architect was better suited to interpret it creatively than Vanvitelli.

The confidence and momentum of the Augustinian position grew during the building campaign. The general who began the new library in 1753, Vasquez, was also a well-known rigorist theologian. In 1759 he was responsible for the program of monuments to famous Augustinians or benefactors on the inside of the church, ranging from d'Estouteville to Agostino Gioia, who is celebrated in an inscription coupling the building with theological polemics ("Romano coenobio a fundamentis magnificen-

agostiniani sede dell'Avvocatura Generale dello Stato," in *L'Avvocatura dello Stato,* Rome, 1976, pp. 587–606; JÖRG GARMS, "Die Briefe des Luigi Vanvitelli an seinen Bruder Urbano in Rom: Kunsthistorisches Material," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen,* XIII, 1971, p. 236; *idem,* "Beiträge zu Vanvitellis Leben, Werk und Milieu," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen,* XVI, 1974, pp. 107–90, especially p. 133; *idem, Disegni di Luigi Vanvitelli nelle collezioni pubbliche di Napoli e di Caserta,* Naples, 1973, pp. 94–96 and cat. nos. 107 and 108; GIOVANNI CARBONARA, "La riedificazione del convento di S. Agostino in Roma secondo il progetto di L. Vanvitelli. Fasi costruttive e problemi di attribuzione," in *Luigi Vanvitelli e il '700 europeo* (1973), Naples, 1979, pp. 301–318; and the very helpful exhibition leaflet by Paola Munafò and Nicoletta Muratore, *Agostiniani in Angelica,* Rome, 1986.

210 Connors, *Oratory,* pp. 74–77.

211 ARTURO CARLO JEMOLO, *Il giansenismo in Italia prima della rivoluzione,* Bari, 1928, pp. 129–58; ENRICO DAMMIG, *Il movimento giansenista a Roma nella seconda metà del secolo XVIII* (Studi e testi, 119), Città del Vaticano, 1945, pp. 40–48, 51–63 and 149–51; Winifried Bocxe, O. E. S. A., "Introduction to the teaching of the Italian Augustinians of the 18th Century on the Nature of Actual Grace," *Augustiniana,* VIII, 1958, pp. 356–96; BENIGNO VAN LUIJK, O. E. S. A., *Gianlorenzo Berti agostiniano (1696–1766),* Rome, 1960, especially pp. 251–55; G. PIGNATELLI and A. PETRUCCI, "Giovanni Gaetano Bottari," *DBI,* XIII, 1971, pp. 409–18. My thanks to padre Fernando Rojo for advice on the theological literature following (and often correcting) Dammig's book.

tius excitato ... doctrina a calumnis vindicata ...")[212]. In 1762 the Augustinians acquired the library of the late philo-Jansenist Cardinal Domenico Passionei, whose great boast was that his library contained no Jesuit books, although it was overflowing with Jansenist literature[213]. This was the cathedral of theological erudition that would confront the Jesuits across Piazza Sant'Agostino. The enormous anti-Jesuit hostility of the Augustinian order came to fruition in 1769, when Giorgi was charged by the pope to draft the fateful bull for the suppression of the Jesuit order, finally promulgated throughout Europe in 1773[214].

Piazza Sant'Agostino hardened over time into a symbol of institutional bad-neighborliness. Fuga evoked the stern models of the Counter Reformation for Jesuits who preached laxism in morals but who maintained a stubborn refusal to budge in matters of urban territory. Vanvitelli evoked the more genial ghost of Borromini to create a monument to the power and wealth of the Augustinians, to remind them of their Jansenist friends at the Chiesa Nuova, and thus to create an ambience where their rigorist school of theology might feel at home. But Borromini's actual piazza projects were forgotten. Perhaps they stood too blatantly for the idea that buildings, not to mention men and institutions, must be able to bend.

212 Other busts are of Cardinal Enrico Noris, Onofrio Panvinio, Gerolamo Seripando, and Gregory of Rimini. See Forcella, V, p. 104, nn. 311 and 313–14.

213 [Grosley], *Nouveaux Mémoires ou observations sur l'Italie et sur les Italiens,* London, 1746, II, p. 473; Andreas Piccolomini, "Index Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica,* IV, 1896, especially pp. 24–28; Giovanni Mercati, *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei secoli XVI–XIX,* (Studi e testi, 164), Città del Vaticano, 1952, pp. 89–113.

214 The later history of the Collegio Germanico is given by Bösel-Garms, p. 357 f., and cat. nos. 114–36. In the years before the suppression the Jesuits tried to finish the Collegio Germanico on designs by Ermengildo Sintes, but the projects did not come to fruition. After the suppression the college continued to exist independently of the order, but with reduced needs and capacities. Germanico II was finally extended to the Via della Scrofa in 1776–87, when a palace by Pietro Camporese replaced the old Palazzo Bongiovanni. In 1798 the college lost all of its former buildings for good.

6. PIAZZA SANT'IGNAZIO

Piazza Sant'Ignazio enters into the present discussion not because it was created through an alliance or deformed through enmity, but because it gives symbolic form to the experience of cutting and shaping urban space and to the practices of institutional urbanism. The old arterial system of streets entered deeply into its design, but so did newer images of urbanism by alliance, a phenomenon which it raises to the level of metaphor.

Built in 1727–36 by Filippo Raguzzini, a Neapolitan architect in the employ of the Jesuits but backed by the Beneventan pope Benedict XIII, it is one of Rome's smallest piazzas, but also one of the most ingenious and engaging (Fig. 74)[215]. For most writers it evokes the world of the theater: either the sudden exits and entrances that stage doors permit[216], or the oblique axes of vision refined in the *scena per angolo* of the Bibiena[217], or the lyric elevation of bourgeois life typical of the melodramas of Goldoni[218], or the theatrical lifestyle of the new official classes working in Montecitorio and frequenting the cafés just then appearing in the quarter[219]. The physical similarity to stage-flats contributes to this impression, but so do psychological factors, like the feeling of surprise that catches most spectators who wander into it by chance. One feels that one has walked onstage unawares, and is being watched.

But Piazza Sant'Ignazio should also evoke the common

215 The fundamental study is Dorothy Metzger Habel, "Piazza S. Ignazio, Rome, in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Architettura,* XI, 1981, pp. 31–65, a shorter version of the thesis by the same author (then Dorothy Metzger), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1977.

216 Elling, Rome, pp. 346–49.

217 See Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, *L'architettura civile preparata su la geometria, e ridotta alle prospettive,* Parma, 1711; A. Hyatt Mayor, *The Bibiena Family,* New York, 1945; J. Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi,* London, 1978, p. 10; and Peter Murray, *Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome,* London, 1971, pp. 8–9 and 18–26. This interpretation has been developed in a philosophical vein by Claudia Müller, *Die Piazza S. Ignazio in Rome: Guarini-Rezeption und Rokoko-Strukturen bei Filippo Raguzzini,* Giessener Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, VI, 1983, pp. 138–79. My thanks to Annette Krämer for discussing it with me in the context of a seminar report given at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in October 1986.

218 Mario Rotili, *Filippo Raguzzini e il rococò romano,* Rome, 1951, pp. 51–54.

219 Metzger, "Piazza S. Ignazio," pp. 62–64.

74. F. Raguzzini, Piazza Sant'Ignazio, 1727–36

species of which it is an exotic variant, namely, the piazzas shaped by the counter-reformational orders around their church facades. The austere and utilitarian buildings that went up between 1627 and 1745 around the Piazza della Chiesa Nuova provide a classic example of the type (Fig. 75)[220]. In such circumstances houses were built for maximum rent and articulated only by simple string courses and plain pilaster strips. The elevations were strictly subordinate to the church facade, the main cornice of which set a *de facto* limit for the roof cornices of these lesser houses. The plans were awkwardly shaped to adapt to piazzas that had been defined in chirographs issued many years before. In fact precisely the comparison with the dull Piazza della Chiesa Nuova, which we might be tempted to make to celebrate Piazza Sant'Ignazio, was evoked by a contemporary diarist for the opposite reason. He felt that the Oratorian piazza was a generous tribute to the church and saint, while Piazza Sant'Ignazio looked mean and greedy[221]. The limits of the genre effectively confined Raguzzini's buildings to the vocabulary of vernacular architecture, and large-scale use of the orders was excluded. Instead the main theme is the shape of the buildings and, conversely, the shape of the spaces they delimit. Borromini's concave facades are always reserved for oratories or chapels, while with Raguzzini the contagion of the curve spread to the dwellings on the piazza. This is his fundamental innovation. By making house fronts Borrominian Raguzzini gave character and spice to what had always been a secondary role: he created the Leporello of piazzas.

Along with the Nolli map (Fig. 76) the most helpful plan of the piazza is contained in a collection of drawings executed for the Maestri di Strade by Cipriani and Barigioni in 1731 (Figs. 77, 80.4)[222]. Drafted when the piazza was still in construction, it is not a measured survey but seems instead to be based on a design supplied by Raguzzini himself. The key feature to note is that the *sfondati* or pockets of space at the upper right and left are correctly shown as circles, not ovals. All the interpretive plans published by scholars show these as ovals, but they are recording the impressions of spectators on the site,

220 Connors, Oratory, p. 105 and figs. 9–10 and 100–3.

221 *Diario Romano* in BV, Vat. lat. 9816, fol. 105 r–v (March 26, 1729), quoted in Metzger, "Piazza S. Ignazio" (thesis), p. 198 and 256 f. Other contemporary criticisms of the piazza are in Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma,* eds. G. Scano and G. Graglia, Rome, 1977 ff., IV, pp. 738, 787, 831, 841, 861, 870.

222 Sebastiano Cipriani and Filippo Barigioni, *Piante delle Piazze di Roma ...,* [1731], in ASR, Dis. e piante, c. 80, no. 240. Illustrated in Metzger, "Piazza S. Ignazio," p. 53, fig. 16; and P. Albisinni, et al., *Piazza S. Ignazio: La regola ritrovata,* Rome, 1984, p. 16 f. and fig. 11.

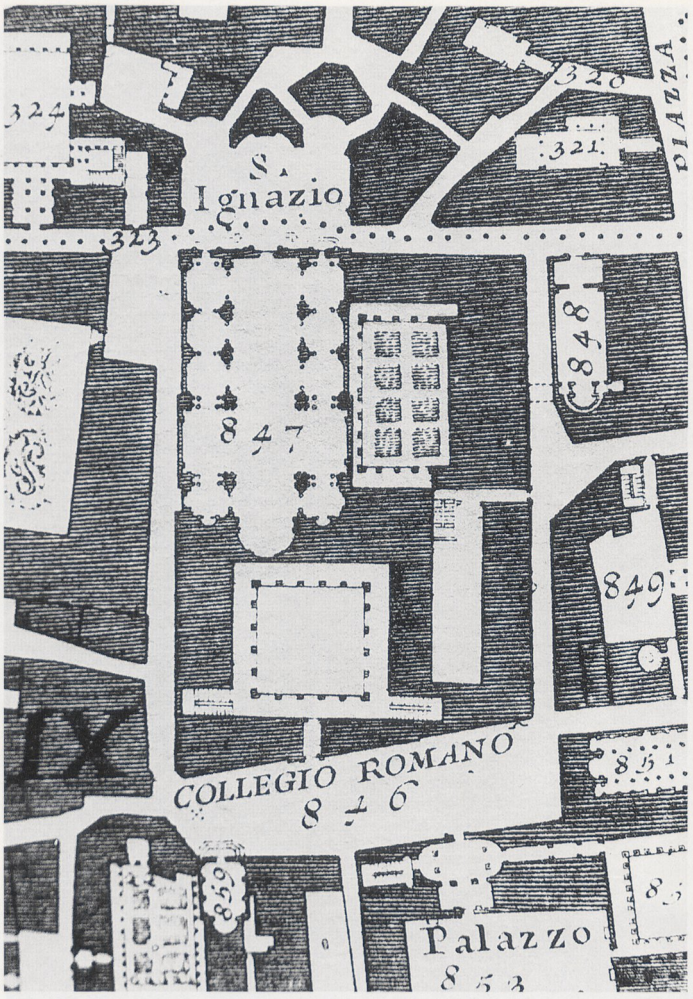
75. Piazza della Chiesa Nuova prior to demolitions of 1885

where our perception of the space is shaped less by the walls of the houses than by the projecting cornices[223].

The piazza is composed of five separate buildings. The two on either side (which we will call for convenience A and B) face each other across a piazza that is as wide (205 palmi) as the church. They have identical facades: the main portal stands at the center of 5 flat bays, while at the ends strongly projecting bays made up of pilasters and cornices swing out in powerful arcs. Behind the identical facades, however, are quite dissimilar plans. Building A on the left is a thin strip of a house attached to the side of San Macuto, while building B on the right is a large irregular structure, complete with courtyard, that extends as far as the Via Montecatini[224]. On the far side of the piazza, roughly (but not exactly) opposite the three doors of the church, stand three buildings with curved facades (which we will call from left to right I, II and III). Building II in the center is the smallest of all but dominates the piazza with its large facade, bent in a powerful Borrominian curve. Buildings I and III are set back in pockets of space (called *sfondati*) and have matching curved facades that, once again, conceal disparities of plan. Building I is part of a large irregular isola that backs up onto the Dogana di Terra on the Piazza di Pietra. Building III, on the other hand, is a smaller, six-sided structure which stands directly in the path of a street that was originally designed to point directly at a door of Sant'Ignazio. III is an *isola* and I is a *penisola,* but the distinctive feature of both is, or rather was, the little streets that originally forked around their curved facades. Today the street on the extreme left (between A and I) has been closed and the general symmetry obscured; in

223 A useful chart of these interpretative plans is given in P. Albisinni, et al., Piazza S. Ignazio, p. 15, fig. 4–9.

224 Older houses and a cinquecentesque portal on the Via Montecatini were superficially adapted to continue Raguzzini's facade design.



76. Sant'Ignazio (Nolli 847) and piazza, Seminario Romano (324), San Macuto (323), Oratorio del Caravita (848)

Raguzzini's day it was open, though spanned by a bridge set back a discreet distance from the piazza[225].

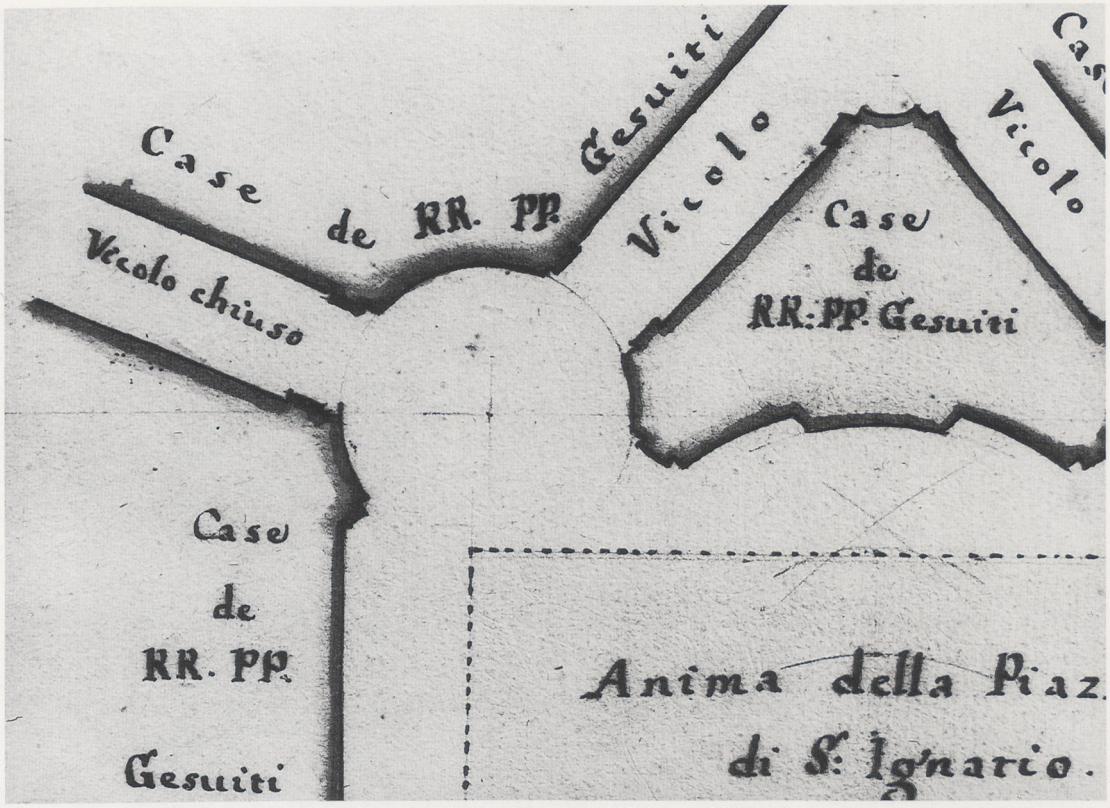
The elevations of all the buildings may best be described as three nearly indistinguishable *piani nobili* set over a floor of shops. Since the upper floors were devoted to rental apartments there was no point in making invidious distinctions between floors. All the buildings stand on a high travertine podium that corresponds to the podium of the church; here the pilaster strips begin, though doors and shops, oblivious of decorum, cut through at ground level. The strongly projecting cornices at roof level, which do so much to shape the space, are set exactly at the height of the first cornice of Sant'Ignazio. The visitor who enters the piazza from the Via della Rotonda to the west or the Via del Caravita to the east (really tracts of one continuous street separating Raguzzini's buildings from the church) is more liable to turn and explore the piazza than to stand back and admire Sant'Ignazio. Indeed, there is not much room to do so. Drawn fatefully into the web of vicoli the visitor often finds with surprise that he is back in the piazza again, as though released from a garden maze. There is a psychological affinity in the design with Sanfelice's brilliant Neapolitan staircases, where flights diverge from a central axis but then return to it, so that two people who take their leave and begin to climb in opposite directions are liable to meet again on an upper landing[226]. The piazza too lends itself to unexpected encounters, and also to picturesque and partial views of the great facade that dominates it but is nowhere ideally seen from it.

The facade of Sant'Ignazio has been so seriously compromised in execution that it takes some effort to imagine the original design (preserved in drawings after the wooden model) standing on the present site. Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi announced his magnificent gift of 100,000 scudi in 1626 and the Jesuits lost no time in arranging the ceremony of the *prima pietra* even before the final design had been settled. Shortly thereafter Orazio Grassi – Jesuit architect and mathematician, and *spiritus rector* of the project – arrived in Rome and set to work consulting the major lay architects. His wooden model was ready by 1628 (Fig. 78). Typically the churches of the counter-reformational orders were assemblages of separate parts badly linked: facades towering over the roofs behind them, scrolls unconnected with the nave buttresses, and cupolas unrelated to the crossings from which they sprang. In contrast, Grassi's Sant'Ignazio was to be a perfectly unified design. Facade, nave and transepts were all the same height and all linked by a continuous balustrade. The cupola was set exactly at balustrade level but the nave roof was sunk below it, palace-like. The two stories of the facade were of equal width and there were no volutes: the facade was designed as a giant screen as high and wide as the transept. The invisibility of the roof seems to look forward to Wren's St. Paul's, while the *teatro* of statues crowning the balustrade sounds a note that will not be heard again in Rome until Bernini's later palaces and the colonnade of St. Peter's.

Cardinal Ludovisi died in 1629 and Grassi was absent from Rome for most of the decade following 1633. The Jesuit master-builder Antonio Sassi built Grassi's church but introduced many changes, reputedly on the instruc-

225 The bridge can still be seen, although the space below it has been immured. According to B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "L'église Saint-Malo de Rome (San-Macuto)," *MélArchHist,* XXXVI, 1916–17, p. 107, the street was closed in 1826.

226 Anthony Blunt, *Neapolitan Baroque and Rococo Architecture,* London, 1975, pp. 137–51.



77. Cipriani and Barigioni, plan of Piazza Sant'Ignazio, 1731, detail of Fig. 80.4

tions of the new patron, Principe Nicolò Ludovisi[227]. The facade was raised by 26 palmi and returned to the Gesù model, with a narrow upper story joined to the wide lower story by massive, ungainly volutes. Instead of the horizontal balustrade it was crowned by a pediment, bearing the Ludovisi shield aloft and providing a front for the pyramidal mass of the roof, which had been raised from its sunken position up to balustrade level[228]. The unified church of the model had become an assembly of parts, each clamoring for attention and none acting in concert.

In memoranda of 1645 and 1650 Grassi protested the changes and called for a return to the model, or at least for removing the ludicrous volutes and lowering the eyesore of a roof. Only this last measure was carried out. It seems that Girolamo Rainaldi was asked to design the facade ornament in 1648, probably for the reason that he was the closest living link with the world of the Gesù.

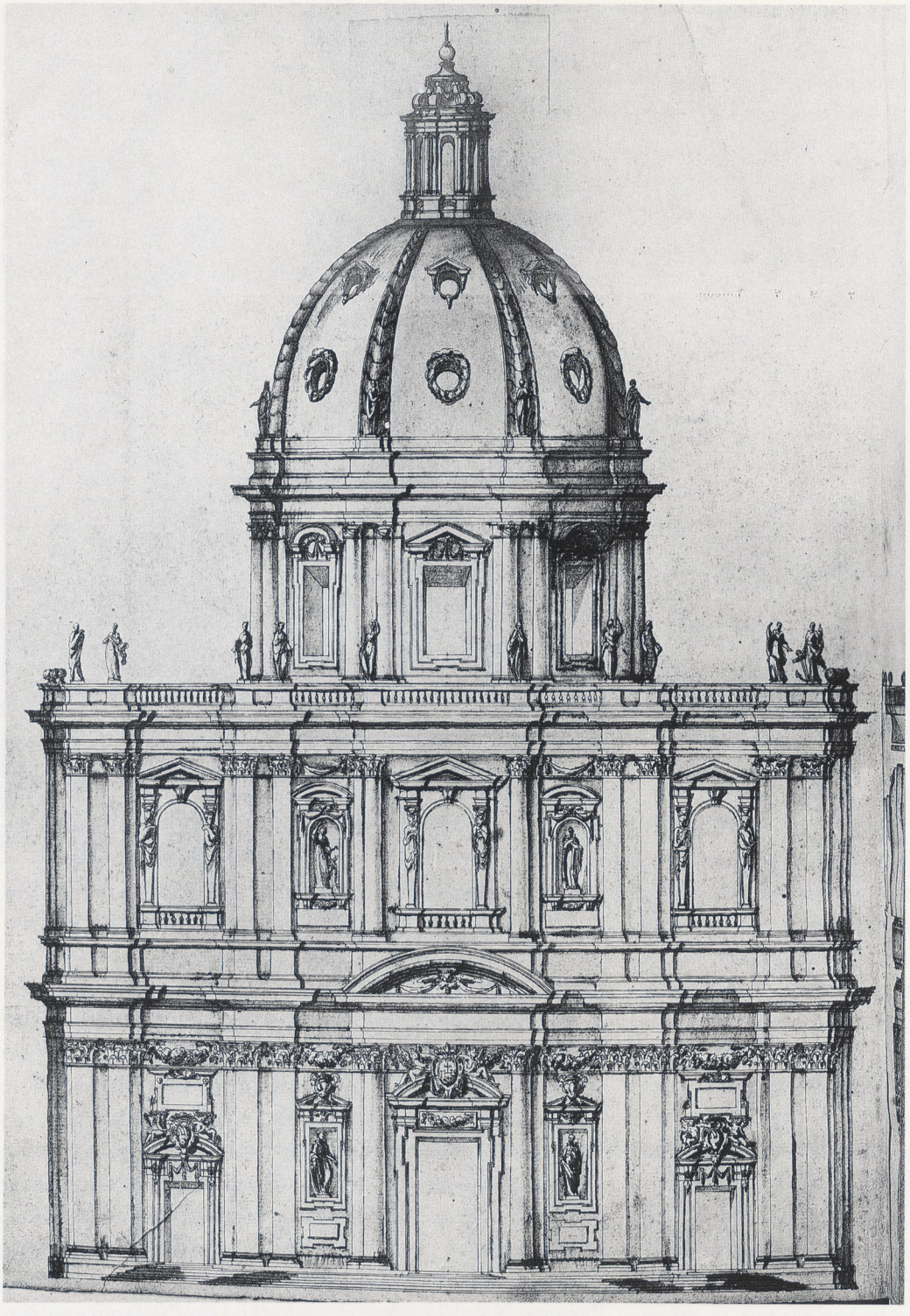
The idea of a piazza was aired in the foundation ceremonies of 1626[229] and again in Grassi's memorandum of 1645[230], but we have no idea of what it might have looked like at this stage. Grassi's side wings, like free-standing screens, would have darkened all but the most spacious of squares. In 1650–54 the cardinal's brother and heir, Principe Nicolò Ludovisi, embarked on the family palace that was later to become Palazzo Montecitorio. An avviso of 1653 reported that he intended to spend up to 100,000 scudi (a gesture as regal as his late brother's) on construc-

227 R. Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien 1540–1773,* Vienna, 1985, I, p. 197, n. 94: "Della facciata della Chiesa di S. Ignatio mi dicono che si fa secondo commanda il Signor Principe, e non si può contradire." (Letter of June 29, 1647 to Grassi.)

228 L. Montalto, "Il problema della cupola di Sant'Ignazio da padre Grassi e fratel Pozzo a oggi," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura,* XI, 1957, p. 36f., asserted that the pediment was not actually carried out until *c.* 1685, and she is followed in this by Bösel (Jesuitenarchitektur, p. 197). However, this assertion is based on a mistaken reading of the engravings in G. G. de Rossi, *Insignium Romae Templorum Prospectus,* Rome, 1683 (or 1684 ed., pls. 26 and 27). De Rossi shows the pediment and unexecuted cupola of Sant'Ignazio on a separate plate from the main body of the facade. But this is merely a convention and the two prints are meant to be read together as a single image, just like the split image of Sant'Andrea della Valle on pls. 43 and 44. In addition, the *colmo del frontespicio* is already mentioned as built, complete with candelabra and cross, in Grassi's memorandum of 1645 (Bösel, p. 202, Dok. 9).

229 *Ragguaglio della Solennità Con che l'Illustrissimo Sig. Cardinale Ludovisi Pose la prima Pietra della nuova Chiesa di S. Ignazio ...,* Rome, 1626, p. 11: the allegorical decorations that accompanied these festivities included a figure of *Architettura* commanding artisans to raise an obelisk in front of the facade.

230 Bösel, Jesuitenarchitektur, pp. 189–91.

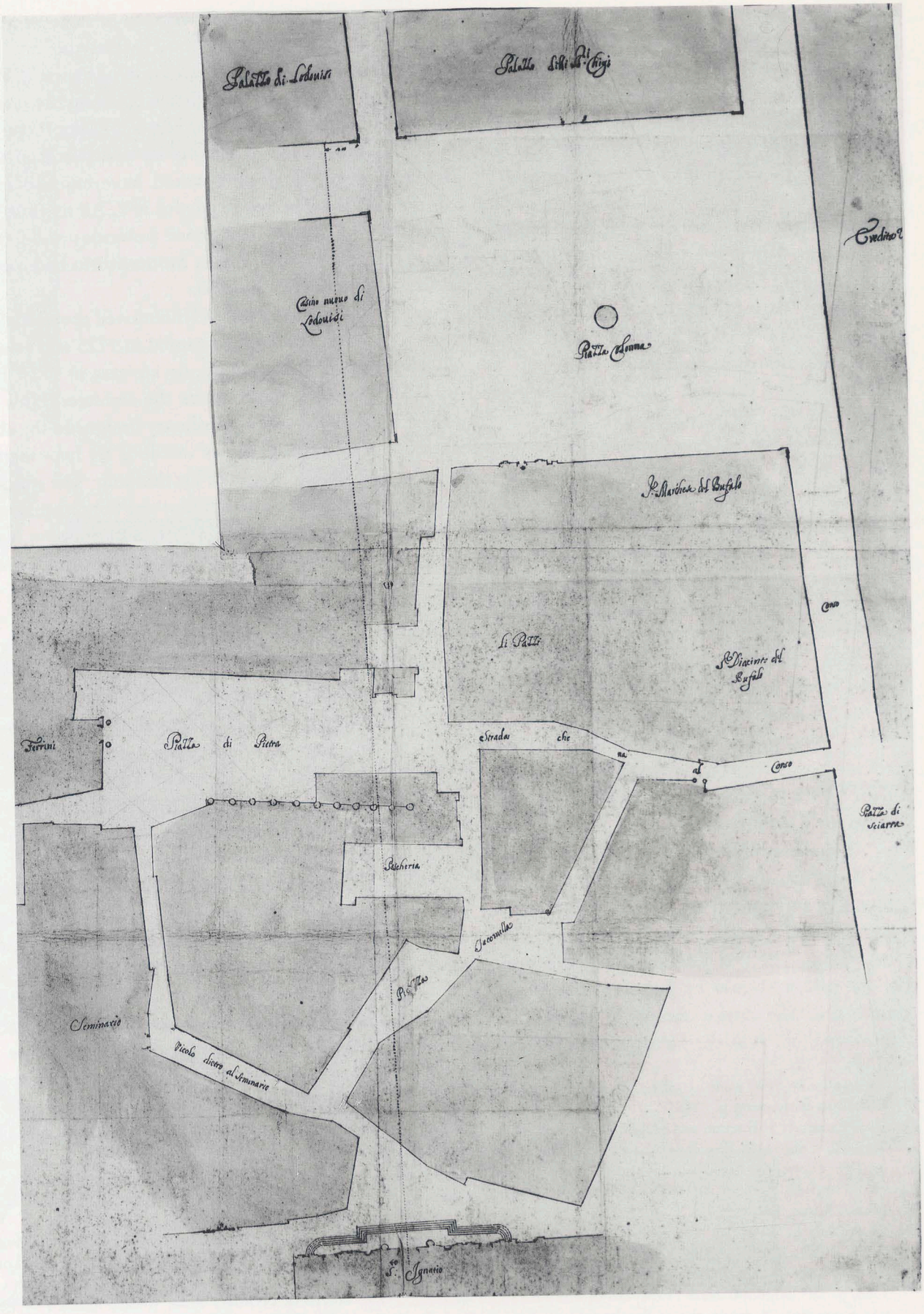


78. O. Grassi, project for the facade of Sant'Ignazio, 1626–28 (BAV, Chigi P VII 9, fol. 134v)

tion and on a street connecting the palace door-to-door with the family church[231]. A site plan of *c.* 1661–62 in the Chigi papers shows the infeasibility of any such project, which would have plowed through the Hadrianeum (Fig. 79). But it also shows, in the form of a dotted *visuale,* the more immediate connection that existed between the top floor of the palace and the church. Then the eye would easily have carried over the intervening rooftops, and the prince have had no trouble admiring the late Cardinal Ludovisi's arms, raised high on the new pediment.

Since the plan in the Chigi papers will be our chief tool in reconstructing Raguzzini's process of design, it may

231 Most recently published in Bösel, Jesuitenarchitektur, p. 208, Dok. 18.



79. Draftsman of Alexander VII, plan of area between Sant'Ignazio and Palazzo Montecitorio (BAV, Chigi P VII 10, fol. 1)

be best to stop briefly and describe the topography that it shows. Proceeding counterclockwise, the large isola in front of the church, slightly to the right, consisted of houses bought up by the Jesuits, one in 1696 and one in 1703, but mostly in 1727. They are visible on Falda's print. The isola that backs up onto the Hadrianeum but comes to a point slightly out of sight of the church was the so-called Casa di Pio V. The last isola contained the hospital of the Bergamaschi and their national church, San Macuto. From one point of view this was all urban tissue, meant to be sliced with a large knife in the interests of breathing space and axial vistas. But from another these humble blocks offered an image of Rome's complex street network in miniature, and could be a spur to creative thinking. This is the basic contrast between late baroque scenography and the clogging up of space that Raguzzini seems to offer as an alternative. We shall examine both in turn.

A French guidebook of 1675 summarized popular thinking about Piazza Sant'Ignazio when it praised the facade and said that "il ne manque qu'une rue plus large ou qu'une ouverture qui perçat dans une place qui est vis a vis pour estre vu dans sa beauté"[232]. The French author obviously felt at home with the Roman tradition of the axial vista. This is the kind of urban vision that was realized in the immediate neighborhood of Sant'Ignazio in 1694–97, when Carlo Fontana transformed the unfinished Ludovisi palace into Palazzo Montecitorio and initiated sweeping urban changes that caught up Sant'Ignazio in their net[233]. First Fontana enchanted the pope with his scheme for a semi-circular exedra in front of the building: "un disegno di far una Piazza sontuosissima e la più bella che fosse in questa città". Shortly thereafter the exedra was superseded by a rectangular piazza, "che fa maggiormente spiccare la magnificenza di quel vasto e nobil edifitio"[234]. For Fontana the basic principle was that the piazza should be large enough for the eye to comprehend the entire facade in a 90-degree angle, without fatigue, as at the Palazzo Farnese[235]. One of the immediate repercussions of Montecitorio was the transformation of the Hadrianeum into the Dogana di Terra and the regularization of Piazza di Pietra in 1695[236]. A new street was opened up along the side of the Dogana heading south toward Sant'Ignazio. If completed it would have come to rest on the east portal of the church, and since the Jesuits would have enjoyed its benefits they were expected to pay for it[237]. All this was urban thinking on a larger and more ambitious scale than the Jesuits now wanted. Piazza Montecitorio became the antitype of Piazza Sant'Ignazio.

Pope Benedict XIII removed the obstacle of the Bergamaschi and their hospital in 1725 and pushed the Jesuits into finally opening up a piazza in 1727. He imposed his fellow Beneventan as the architect. How did Raguzzini arrive at his extraordinary design? In the absence of original drawings all we can do is try hypothetically to reconstruct the stages of his thinking. The touchstone of accuracy in our attempt must be the dimensions given on the chirograph of 1727[238]. It authorized a piazza 205 palmi wide and 138 palmi deep, except in the *sfondati,* where it was to be 165 palmi deep; in addition, the vicolo between I and II (and other vicoli by symmetry) was to be narrowed to 22 palmi. We must imagine a plan by Raguzzini with precisely these dimensions on it, and then we must reconstruct the steps by which he arrived at it. Instead of believing that he invented an ideal geometrical schema and imposed it on the site, the premise here is that Raguzzini proceeded in logical and even conventional steps, working closely with the actual topography in front of him, until something sparked his imagination and he made the leap to the piazza we now have.

The width of 205 palmi is obviously derived from the facade of Sant'Ignazio; the problem is to explain the other dimensions. The traditional first step would have been to try a piazza in the form of a square 205 palmi to a side (Fig. 80.1). This was the kind of thinking that had guided the design of the Piazza della Chiesa Nuova (Fig. 82), and a square Piazza Sant'Ignazio would have had the same advantages and the same drawbacks. A spacious view of the facade would be provided, offset by the random entry of existing streets into the piazza and awkward right

232 *Description de Rome moderne,* anon. MS of 1675 in Avery Library, Columbia University, p. 374.

233 The best study is Braham and Hager, Carlo Fontana, pp. 112–25. See also Giovanni Battista Campello, *Pontificato di Innocenzo XII. Diario,* ed. Paolo Campello della Spina, Rome, 1887, pp. 75, 78 and 82; Franco Borsi et al., *Montecitorio: ricerche di storia urbana,* Rome, 1972.

234 Pastor, Storia, XIV.2, p. 430, n. 2, from the avvisi Marescotti in the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

235 Carlo Fontana, *Discorso sopra l'antico Monte Citatorio ...,* Rome, 1708, p. 32: "Sogliono avere i Prospetti di simili Edificii Piazze di tale estensione, in modo che le Facciate siano minori della lunghezza, e scarsezza della Piazza, acciò in quella il Cono visuale possa comprendere il Prospetto in angolo-retto, senza scommodo de Riguardanti, come se ne hà l'esempio dal Palazzo Farnesiano, ..."

236 Nina Mallory, *Roman Rococo Architecture from Clement XI to Benedict XIV (1700–1758),* New York and London, 1977, pp. 114–24.

237 Avvisi of February 5–26, 1695, published by E. Rossi in *Roma,* XXI, 1943, p. 118f.

238 Rotili, Raguzzini, p. 60; Metzger, "Piazza S. Ignazio," p. 64, doc. 3.

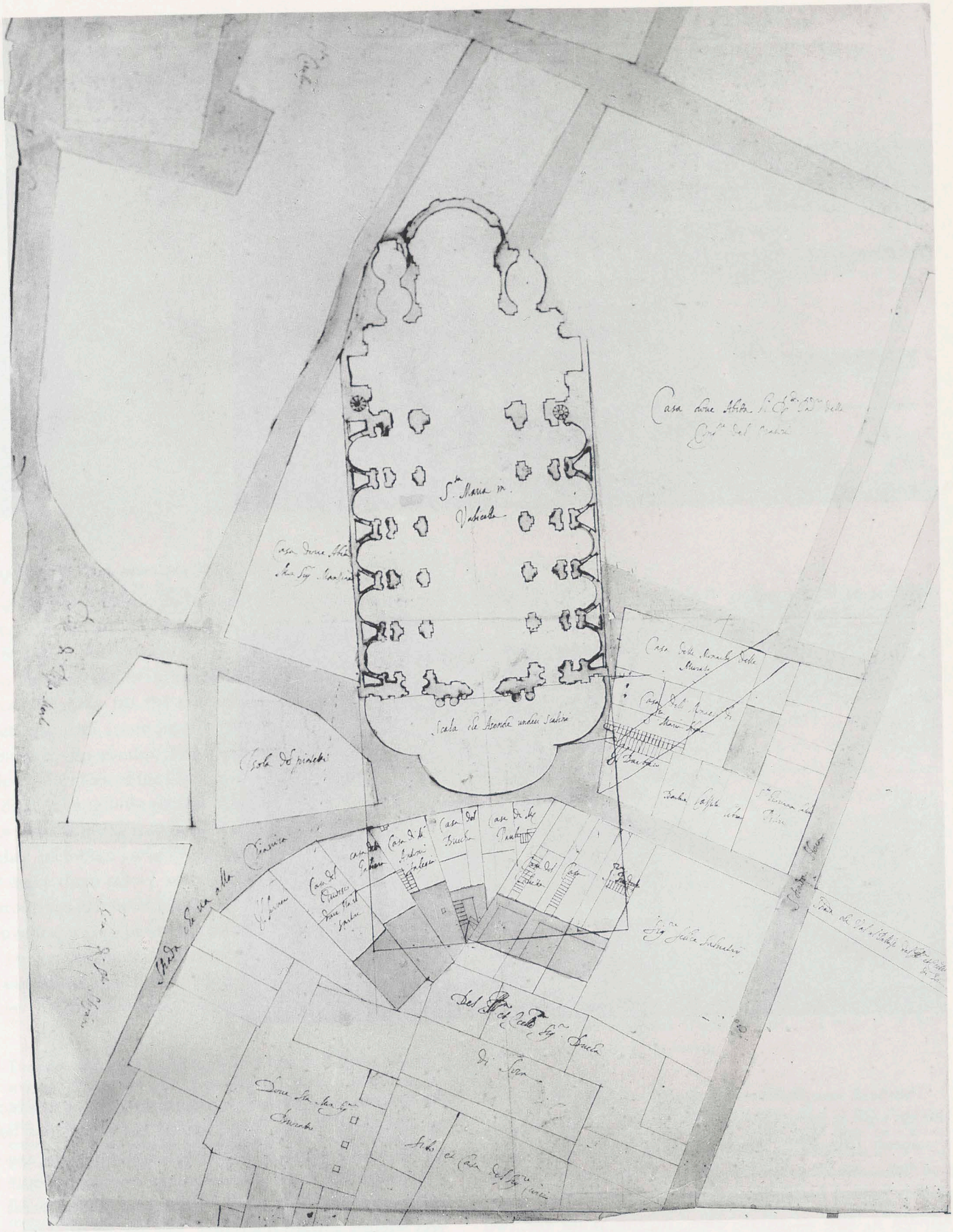
80. Reconstruction of phases in the design of Piazza Sant'Ignazio

1. *Old streets from Fig. 79 with a square and a rectangular piazza superimposed*
2. *Fork on left duplicated on right*
3. *Sfondati surrounded by curved facades, with the dimensions of the chirograph of 1727*
4. *Final piazza, Cipriani and Barigioni plan of 1731 (ASR, Mappe e dis., c. 80, no. 240). Dimensions (in palmi) measured on the site have been added in parentheses, while dimensions scaled from the plan have been added without parentheses*

81. A. da Sangallo the Younger, facade of the Zecca

angles for houses to wrap around. But the real objection was certainly cost, for the square here would have been bigger and have involved more demolitions than at any other Roman church. If the Jesuits wanted a "piazza del guadagno" then the square was not for them.

The second obvious step would have been to lessen the depth while keeping the width at 205 palmi. At this point the line defining the far edge of the piazza was apparently drawn through the middle of the largest isola at the point projecting at its left end (Fig. 80.1). This was an obvious reference point and it happens to be 138 palmi from the facade of Sant'Ignazio, the dimension mentioned in the chirograph. By projecting lines from the sides of the church into the piazza a smaller rectangle is formed measuring 205 by 138 palmi. The street at the upper left formerly varied between 28 and 22 palmi in width. But if the left side of the piazza is made 138 palmi, the street can be narrowed to a constant width of 22 palmi by letting building A encroach on public land. The one flaw was a large "leak", 54 palmi wide, at the upper left corner, past which one could see the point of the old Casa di Pio V. The conventional wisdom would have been to close the piazza and exclude this unsightly corner, for instance, with a bridge like the one that seals Piazza Sant'Agostino. But here Raguzzini's imagination took hold. He saw that the disadvantage could be turned to advantage by including the Casa di Pio V in the design, in fact, by no less a device than shaving off its tip and giving it a curved facade. But from what point would the curve be swung? The simplest solution was to bisect the 54-palmi opening and use a radius of 27 palmi. Swung from a center already 138 palmi distant from the church, the curved facade (of the future building I) would be 27 palmi further out, giving the total of 165 palmi prescribed in the chirograph for the *sfondati*. At this point all of the key dimensions are present in the plan.

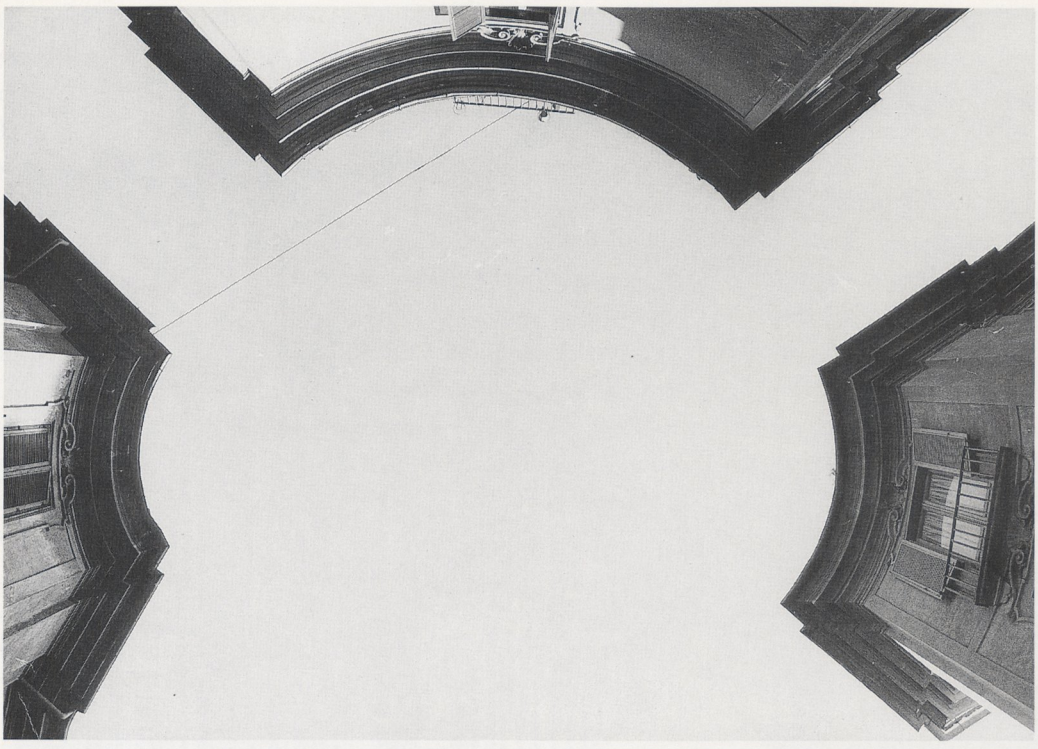


82. Anonymous, project for the Piazza della Chiesa Nuova, 1604–12 (Arch. della Cong. dell'Oratorio, C. II. 8, no. 97)

83. Borromini, façade of the Propaganda Fide, end pilaster

84. Borromini, façade of the Propaganda Fide, central bay

The next imaginative step was to take the "leak" on the left side of the piazza and duplicate it on the right for symmetry (Fig. 80.2). Here it was easy enough to plant another circle 27 palmi in radius, to build another house with a curved facade, and to lay out symmetrical vicoli around it, also 22 palmi wide. At this point the two buildings I and III are recognizable in nearly their final form. Interestingly, an irregularity in I was reproduced by symmetry in III. The Casa di Pio V had not been exactly in the center of the "leak", and hence the axis of I was slightly askew: it does not point directly south or aim at the side door of the facade, but rather seems to veer slightly toward the center. The axis of III was made to do the same. To someone standing in the main portal



85. Piazza Sant'Ignazio, sfondati

of Sant'Ignazio these two houses, like discreet courtiers, seem to make an effort to accommodate themselves to the privileged viewpoint[239].

So far the main creative stimulus had been Sangallo's Zecca, not only for the curved facade but also for the streets that fork around it (Fig. 81). But the next step was inspired by Borromini. The curving pilasters and deeply sculpted cornices of the Oratory and especially the Propaganda Fide caught Raguzzini's imagination (Figs. 83, 84). Arcs planted in the middle of the street seem to pry these mighty members away from allegiance to their facades and make them actors in the urban environment. But in Borromini such forces usually act in isolation. Raguzzini's innovation was to have the cornices act in concert, reaching out across streets and shaping public space (Fig. 85). He pulled out the ends of buildings A and B to meet the circles that were already at work shaping I and III. These massive, plastic bays were then repeated for symmetry on the south sides of A and B, where they have a different function, not to shape pockets but to act as hinges easing the transition from street to piazza[240].

The final step was to take the central triangle and shape it into II, the most plastic building of all (Fig. 80.3, 80.4). Arcs seem to reach out and mold the walls from every direction. The corners are shaped by the familiar *sfondati* circles. The front was sculpted by concentric arcs swung from a center placed approximately in the middle of the piazza[241]. The back was given a little curved facade all of its own. Other complex bends and angles can best be explained by imagining that Raguzzini stood in front of every curve and insisted on perfect symmetry of wall and membering on either side, with the curving corners of Borromini's Casa dei Filippini as his model. The shaping process is so intense that the little building invades the piazza and the original triangle that inspired it is left buried somewhere in its core.

239 The approach taken by Albisinni et al. (Piazza S. Ignazio, p. 78f. and fig. A) assumes that Raguzzini invented an ideal formula which was then imposed, with compromises, on a poorly measured site. In their scheme the axes of I and II were generated from the center of Pozzo's cupola. The approach taken here assumes, on the contrary, that Raguzzini worked closely with the site and took his key dimensions from it. Because of the pre-existing layout of the Casa di Pio V the axis of I (and of III by symmetry) points toward the second pilaster to the left (or right) of the large niches in the church facade. But as far as I can tell neither axis points directly to center of the cupola.

240 Cipriani's plan curiously shows these bays near the facade of Sant'Ignazio shaped around circles with a radius of only 18 palmi.

241 The Cipriani plan locates this center 80 palmi from the church facade but only 60 palmi from the facade of building II. It is in the center of what Cipriani labels the "anima della piazza," but not on the line drawn between the centers of A and B. In the absence of a more scientific explanation, it seems that Raguzzini simply placed this center intuitively, conscious of the rule that, the shorter the radius, the deeper the curve of the facade of II.

86. O. Scarabelli after Buontalenti, stage set, 1589 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund)

These steps show how Raguzzini arrived at the plan approved in the chirograph (Fig. 80.3). It seems, however, that his ideas evolved still further between the chirograph and the final piazza. He decided to make the *sfondati* circles even bigger and, so to speak, greedier, and as a result, all the buildings a little smaller. On the Cipriani plan these circles have a radius of $27^1/_2$ or 28 palmi, and in the final piazza a radius of 30 palmi (Fig. 80.4). The vicoli are still 22 palmi wide, and the left side of the piazza is still 138 palmi wide measured along building A. But the centers of the circles are set 140 palmi from the church in both the Cipriani plan and the final piazza. As a result the facades of I and III are not 165 palmi as defined in the chirograph (138 + 27 palmi), but 170 palmi (140 + 30 palmi). Given a radius of 30 palmi for the *sfondati,* it seemed simple and logical to make the radius defining the curve of the central building (II) 60 palmi. The general effect of these changes is to increase the voids at the expense of the solids. But even if the walls of the buildings that define the *sfondati* have retreated, the cornices at the skyline have not, and it is they that really mold the space in the spectator's perception.

It would be hard to leave Piazza Sant'Ignazio without raising once again the question of urbanism and theater[242]. The effects produced on the spectator who walks through Piazza Sant'Ignazio are somewhat akin to the theater, and the diagonal views it encourages are similar to the *scena per angolo* developed by the Bibiena[243]. But when one tries

242 In general see the important remarks of Krautheimer, Alexander VII, pp. 3–7.

243 Müller, "Piazza S. Ignazio," especially pp. 142–49. Müller maintains that the guiding principles of the design are the *scena per angolo* (possibly filtered through Juvarra's Capitol project of 1709 and stage designs of 1714) and Guarini's *Raumzellen* brought out of doors and used for city planning. I differ by interpreting the piazza more in terms of urban processes and concrete urban images than in terms of stage design. Raguzzini reacted creatively to his site, and hence I cannot share the view that there is some ideal scheme left incomplete toward the church facade, or that "Die

to peer over the shoulder of the architect at work it is striking that none of his sources seems to be in the least theatrical. At every step it is urban imagery, motifs from Borromini and Sangallo but also the skein of Roman streets, that provided the guiding ideas. And in one sense, at least, Piazza Sant'Ignazio is distinctly anti-theatrical. The dominant element of Italian stage design, from the sets of Cardinal Bibbiena's *Calandria* in 1515 through the stage backdrops of Serlio and Peruzzi, and continuing into the 17th century with Bernini's backdrops for *Sant' Alessio,* is the perspectival organization of space[244]. The illusion of a deep vista is an integral part of Renaissance scenography, just as it is of Renaissance urbanism. By contrast, Raguzzini seems to stand for the plugging up of vistas.

An alternative convention is found in a small number of scenes, the most famous being Buontalenti's backdrop for a performance of *La Pellegrina* in the Uffizi theater in 1589 (Fig. 86)[245]. This design is superficially closer to Piazza Sant'Ignazio. The print after Buontalenti shows an intersection of streets in Pisa, with twin forks that loosely resemble Raguzzini's I and III. But where Buontalenti insists on a long vista down the center of the townscape, Raguzzini blocks the perspective with building II. The mentality underlying the piazza is worlds apart from that underlying the print. What gives them a superficial resemblance is their common debt to the Roman streetscape. But we come closer to Raguzzini's world when we leave the theater and look at 18th-century views of these streets. For instance, Vasi's engravings are full of subtle distortions that allow the eye to wind around major monuments and pick out distant facades that could not really have been seen on the site[246]. Like Vasi, Raguzzini telescopes the view and gives us an image of the arterial system in miniature, with the successive forks brought up to the front plane and graced with a symmetry the real streets never had.

But the piazza abbreviates urban processes as well as urban images. Every architect who worked for an expansive Roman institution knew what it was to carve out urban space; urbanism was an exercise in the shaping of voids. Raguzzini's round *sfondati* may be taken as a metaphor for this phenomenon. They are a more elegant version of the embedded voids that shape the Palazzo Cimarra and many such buildings. And in the cornices that mold the *sfondati* with such drama Raguzzini seems to be expressing the idea that buildings can act in concert, that urbanism works through alliance. Borromini's cornices reach out into space and seem to invite a response from neighboring buildings, one that they never receive. Even when two Borromini buildings went up side by side, as was the case with the Propaganda Fide and Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, or with the Torre dell'Orologio and the Banco di Santo Spirito, there is no fraternization. What he might have done with the cornices around Piazza Sant'Agostino will never be known because the Jesuits and Augustinians could not stop feuding; the play of cornices across the Via di Propaganda was rendered impossible by Bernini's counter-measures; and the ways Borromini might have linked the monuments around Piazza Trevi fell victim to political disaster. It needed a completely controlled environment to fulfill the urban potential of Borromini's facades, which is what the Jesuits offered Raguzzini, but then it also took an imaginative leap to go beyond the Borrominian sources and create Piazza Sant'Ignazio. The harmony so often sought in Rome and so seldom achieved, the idea of having facades meet "con maravigliosa corrispondenza di magnificenza e splendore," found an outlet in Raguzzini's playful symbol. In this dreamworld no overture goes without a response, no alliance misfires, no urban vision collapses into unfinished fragments.

Idee und ihre Realisierbarkeit widersprechen sich" (p. 142). Müller dismisses Borromini, but his cornices are closer visual sources than Guarini's *Raumzellen,* and are already out of doors in an urban context. The pointed north end of building III is not to confuse the spectator, but to announce the fork as a leitmotif of the design.

244 G. Schöne, *Die Entwicklung der Perspektivbühne von Serlio bis Galli-Bibiena nach den Perspektivbüchern,* Leipzig, 1933; J. Scholz and A. Hyatt Mayor, *Baroque and Romantic Stage Design,* New York, 1950; Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design,* Stockholm, 1961; A. Bruschi, *Bramante,* London, 1977, pp. 115–27; C. Frommel, "Raffaello e il teatro alla corte di Leone X," *BollPalladio* XVI, 1974, pp. 173–87; Elena Povoledo, "Origini e aspetti della scenografia in Italia. Dalla fine del Quattrocento agli intermezzi fiorentini del 1589," in Nino Pirotta, *Li due Orfei: Da Poliziano a Monteverdi,* Turin, 1981, pp. 335–460.

245 The print by Orazio Scarabelli after Buontalenti is discussed by Bjurström, Torelli, p. 21. Another print suggestive of Piazza Sant'Ignazio is an engraving after Torelli's scene for *Venere gelosa* of 1643, shown in *Il potere e lo spazio: La scena del principe* (exhibition catalogue), Florence, 1980, p. 331.

246 See especially Vasi's print of the Zecca in *Magnificenze,* V, 1754, pl. 109 at p. xxix.

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