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The Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi (1611-1691):
Architecture and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Rome

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Architecture and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Rome

By

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B.A., The College of William & Mary, 2001

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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By Jason Thomas Ciejka

This dissertation interprets the work and career of the Roman architect Carlo Rainaldi in light of his social ambitions, education, musical pursuits, and knowledge of art and architectural theory. Over the span of his long and prolific career, Rainaldi contributed to the design or restoration of more than fifteen churches and executed another two dozen chapels, altars, and tombs, along with a host of palaces, gardens, and ephemera. Scholars have long recognized Rainaldi's position as one of the leading architects in seventeenth-century Rome; however, previous scholarship has focused primarily on identifying his architectural sources, explicating his style, and reconstructing the building histories of his churches. With essays on Rainaldi's biography, education, and artistic milieu, as well as the topics of architectural rhetoric and expression, this dissertation seeks to advance a compelling portrait of the architect that situates him more fully in the historical and artistic context of *Seicento* Rome. Rainaldi's humanist education, musical talent, and interaction with artists and scholars served not only to advance his social and professional position, but became the very foundation of his capacity for architectural invention. The knowledge Rainaldi gained through the study of rhetoric, music, and art theory permeates his architecture.

Chapter One surveys the early modern biographies of Rainaldi and examines how they shaped the image of Rainaldi as a gentleman architect. Chapter Two explores Rainaldi's architectural apprenticeship with his father and the evidence for his education at the Collegio Romano. Chapter Three examines Rainaldi's social, artistic, and musical milieu and how architecture and music advanced his social ambitions. Chapter Four discusses the rhetorical methods of Rainaldi's chapels, altars, and tombs, and the final chapter examines how Rainaldi, perhaps encouraged by his passion for music, explored the expressive potential of architecture in his most important work, Santa Maria in Campitelli.

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Introduction

This dissertation interprets the architecture and career of the Roman architect Carlo Rainaldi in light of his education, knowledge of art and architectural theory, and musical pursuits. Scholars have long recognized Rainaldi's position as one of the leading architects in seventeenth-century Rome, but approaches to his architecture have been narrow in scope. Whereas studies of Rainaldi's major rivals now encompass everything from biography to architectural iconography, social history to geometry,¹ previous scholarship on Rainaldi has focused primarily on identifying his architectural sources, reconstructing building histories, and explicating his style. My approach to Rainaldi is different. I present a more comprehensive study of the architect with focused essays on his biography, education, and milieu, as well as the topics of architectural rhetoric and expression. By situating Rainaldi in the context of seventeenth-century Rome and by

¹ The references here are not intended to be exhaustive; rather, they suggest the great range of approaches that has long characterized the study of major Roman architects like Gianlorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona. Such diversity has not yet developed in scholarship on Rainaldi. Although a few scholars of Rainaldi have addressed some of the following topics, the approaches to the architect have not been particularly robust. For studies of the biographies of Rainaldi's rivals, see Giuseppe Bonaccorso, "Persönlichkeit und Lebensschicksal," in *Borromini: Architekt im barocken Rom*, ed. Richard Bösel (Milan, 2000), 229-32, with earlier bibliography; and Martin Deelbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven Ostrow, eds., *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays* (University Park, PA, 2007). Iconographical approaches to individual works include: Hans Ost, "Studien zu Pietro da Cortonas Umbau von S. Maria della Pace," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 13 (1971): 231-85, especially 269-80; George Bauer, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: The Development of an Architectural Iconography," (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1974); T. K. Kitao, *Circle and Oval in the Square of Saint Peter's: Bernini's Art of Planning* (New York, 1974); and John Beldon Scott, "S. Ivo alla Sapienza and Borromini's Symbolic Language," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41 (1982): 294-317. For the social history of architects and their professional challenges, see, as examples, Donatella Sparti, *La casa di Pietro da Cortona: Architettura, accademia, atelier e officina* (Rome, 1997); and Joseph Connors, "Virgilio Spada's Defence of Borromini," *The Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989): 76-90. Studies of geometry and mathematics include: Julia Smyth-Pinney, "The Geometries of S. Andrea al Quirinale," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989): 53-65; Joseph Connors, "S. Ivo alla Sapienza: The First Three Minutes," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55 (1996): 38-57; and Sandro Benedetti, "Pietro da Cortona: I cicli della celebrazione cristiana," in *Pietro da Cortona: Piccole e grandi architetture, modelli, rilievi, celebrazioni*, eds. Sandro Benedetti and Augusto Roca De Amicis (Rome, 2006), 10-42.

conceptualizing his work in relation to art and music theory, I advance a fuller portrait of Rainaldi and a more compelling interpretation of his architecture.

Carlo Rainaldi enjoyed one of the most successful careers of any architect in seventeenth-century Rome. By the time of his death in 1691, he had contributed to the design or restoration of more than fifteen churches, and he had executed another two dozen chapels, altars, and tombs along with a host of palaces, gardens, catafalques, and spectacle designs. Rainaldi's long and prolific career hinged on his service to a number of distinguished patrons including prominent religious orders, nobles, cardinals, and popes. Few men could boast as many papal commissions as he. With his father, Girolamo, he began the church of Sant' Agnese for Pope Innocent X. Later, for Pope Alexander VII, Carlo Rainaldi undertook the twin churches in the Piazza del Popolo, the façade of Sant' Andrea della Valle, and Santa Maria in Campitelli. Finally, in the reign of Pope Clement X, Rainaldi wrested one last important papal commission, the tribune of Santa Maria Maggiore, from his senior and rival Gianlorenzo Bernini. These architectural achievements, coupled with his elevated position as a *cavaliere*, ranked Rainaldi among the most celebrated of Roman architects.

In his path to becoming an architect, Rainaldi was both typical and unusual. Like many in the profession, he descended from a family of architects and trained under his father. Rainaldi also reaped the benefits of a formal education. In fact, he is the only architect of the period known to have studied at both the Collegio Romano and the Sapienza, the two most important schools in Rome. The young man's education in rhetoric, mathematics, and philosophy served as a foundation for his architecture. Moreover, this education may have lent the architect a quality of refinement that served

his social ambitions. Throughout his life, Rainaldi presented himself not as a common builder but as a gentleman and architect of the highest stature.² Rainaldi cultivated the support and friendship of many Roman nobles and cardinals, and in 1649, he attained the title of *cavaliere* before his elder rivals Francesco Borromini and Pietro da Cortona.³ His marriage to a noblewoman, his bold design for his own residence, and the conspicuous trappings of success positioned Rainaldi as one of the most prominent figures in Rome's artistic community.

Intertwined with his productive architectural career were Carlo Rainaldi's other pursuits. Like his father, Rainaldi immersed himself in music. He played no less than five instruments, composed psalms and several profane cantatas, and achieved some celebrity for his musical ability. Furthermore, Rainaldi held a number of positions in the civic administration of Rome, aligning himself closely with the city's government. Twice he served as *caporione*, an official who presided over one of the districts of Rome, and after his father's death in 1655, he eventually assumed the role of Architect of the Roman People.⁴ In addition to these civic duties, Rainaldi was involved in the affairs of his

² As Martin Warnke notes in *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, trans. David McIntock (1985; Cambridge, 1993), 165, a gentleman was a man of leisure, a state opposed to the pursuit of a manual profession, such as painting, sculpture, or architecture. By emphasizing the intellectual foundation of the arts, artists downplayed the manual aspects of their crafts in order to assume the status of gentlemen. On the concept of nobility in general during this period, see Claudio Donati, *L'idea della nobilit  in Italia: Secoli XVI-XVIII* (Rome, 1995).

³ Cortona was born in 1597, Borromini in 1599, and Rainaldi not until 1611. Yet, Rainaldi was knighted in 1649, Borromini in 1652, and Cortona in 1656. J rg Merz, *Pietro da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture* (New Haven, 2008), 241.

⁴ For the position of Architect of the Roman People, see Jacqueline Kempfer, *Das Amt des Architetto del Popolo Romano: Die Geschichte einer Institution unter besonderer Berucksichtigung von Carlo Rainaldi* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997); and Anna Bedon, *Il Campidoglio: Storia di un monumento civile nella Roma papale* (Milan, 2008). For Rainaldi's succession to the position in 1658, see Klaus G thlein, "Der Palazzo Nuovo des Kapitols," *R misches Jahrbuch f r Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1985): 83-190, especially 129. In 1638 Rainaldi was appointed to the post of *caporione* of the *rione* Trevi, and in 1643 he was again appointed to the post, this time in the *rione* Sant' Angelo. The *caporione* served a three-month term presiding over one of the fourteen *rioni* or districts. They heard minor legal cases in their districts,

fellow artists. As a sign of their esteem, his peers elected Rainaldi *principe*, or head, of the Academy of Saint Luke in 1673. Founded in 1577, the academy was the principal organization for painters, sculptors, and architects active in Rome.⁵ Rainaldi also belonged to the Congregazione dei Virtuosi, an organization of artists whose activities were more spiritual in nature, and to the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia, the confraternity of musicians in Rome.⁶ Along with their respective artistic and musical activities, these confraternities promoted charitable and devotional interests. Rainaldi's earnest piety, as reported by his biographers, found an outlet in these groups and others like the Arciconfraternità delle Sacre Stimmate di San Francesco.

Previous scholarship has largely neglected Rainaldi's diverse interests. However, documenting these pursuits is a crucial step toward interpreting Rainaldi's works and understanding how he operated in the competitive field of Roman architecture. In order to achieve a deeper knowledge of Rainaldi's architecture, one must position Rainaldi fully in his artistic, intellectual, and social context.

participated in civic ceremonies and processions, and attended council meetings. For Rainaldi's nomination to the post, see Furio Fasolo, *L'opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi* (Rome, 1961), 270. For the duties of the position, see Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, 1992), 80-1.

⁵ The most important sources for the academy include: Melchior Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla Storia della Romana Accademia di S. Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova* (Roma, 1823); Carlo Pietrangeli, *L'Accademia nazionale di San Luca* (Rome, 1974); and Peter Lukehart, ed., *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, ca.1590-1635* (Washington, DC, 2009). For other sources, see Chapter Two, note 115.

⁶ On the activities of the Virtuosi, see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New York, 1963), 126-7; and Giuseppe Bonaccorso and Tommaso Manfredi, *I Virtuosi al Pantheon, 1700-1758* (Rome, 1998). Vitaliano Tiberia has published two volumes of the meetings of the Virtuosi. See *La Compagnia di S. Giuseppe di Terrasanta nel XVI secolo* (Galatina, 2000); and *La Compagnia di S. Giuseppe di Terrasanta da Gregorio XV a Innocenzo XII* (Galatina, 2005). Rainaldi was particularly active in the Virtuosi in 1650, the year his father presided as regent. He was present at the meeting of the congregation on February 13, 1650, when Velazquez attended and was elected to the Virtuosi. See Tiberia, *La Compagnia . . . da Gregorio XV*, 245-6. Remo Giazotto's study of the Accademia di Santa Cecilia is the standard reference for the activities of the musical congregation: *Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1970).

The argument of this dissertation is twofold. First, Rainaldi's humanist education, musical talent, and interaction with artists and scholars served not only to advance his social and professional position, but became the very foundation of his capacity for architectural invention. The knowledge Rainaldi gained through the study of rhetoric, music, and art theory permeates his architecture. Interpreted through the lens of art and music theory, Rainaldi's architecture appears more sophisticated conceptually and more invested in contemporary interests than has been previously recognized.

Second, Rainaldi met the challenges of commissions thoughtfully and creatively. In the choice of colored marbles and use of ornament, his altars harmonize with their painted altarpieces just as his churches relate to the cues of the urban environment through position and scale. Rainaldi's architecture demonstrates a responsiveness not just to the problems of design but to diverse architectural traditions and innovations. Similar to how the architect moved deftly through society, his work carefully negotiated and synthesized distinct traditions. On the one hand, Rainaldi studied the architecture of antiquity and the Roman Renaissance, especially the works of Michelangelo. On the other hand, he engaged more current developments advanced by his own father, Girolamo, and by his rivals, Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona. Moreover, Rainaldi's works simultaneously adopt elements of northern Italian and Roman architecture. Previous scholarship has viewed this complex dialogue as derivative and contradictory rather than thoughtful and responsive.

Review of the Literature

Despite numerous studies of Rainaldi and his architecture, a compelling portrait that knits together Rainaldi's artistic, intellectual, and social worlds is lacking. Although

the early biographies of the architect, which are analyzed in the first chapter, provide the most sustained discussion of the architect's status and reputation, they fail to address his architecture in a meaningful way. The first modern art historical studies of Rainaldi in the early twentieth century took a different tack, turning away from Rainaldi's character and seeking, instead, to establish the corpus of his works and their chronology.⁷ From the 1930s to the 1960s, a handful of essays and one monograph tackled formal and stylistic questions.⁸ Since that time, most studies have traced the design and construction history of individual projects.⁹ By documenting Rainaldi's contribution to specific commissions, the chronology of his works, and his interests and achievements as an architect, earlier scholars laid a significant foundation for subsequent work. Nevertheless, a restricted view of the architect remains. Overwhelmingly, large papal commissions have been emphasized at the expense of smaller projects, and finished buildings at the expense of incomplete projects, drawings, ephemera, and decorative schemes. Formal questions have also been narrow in range, centering on the definition of Rainaldi's style, his position in

⁷ The earliest studies focused solely on Rainaldi include Eberhard Hempel, *Carlo Rainaldi* (Munich, 1919) and an entry by Johann Mandl in *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1933), s.v. "Rainaldi."

⁸ These works include Rudolf Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Architecture of the Full Baroque in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 19 (1937): 278-93, republished as "Carlo Rainaldi and the Architecture of the High Baroque in Rome," in *Studies in the Italian Baroque* (London, 1975), 9-52 (all citations are to this edition); Guglielmo Matthiae, "Contributo a Carlo Rainaldi," *Arti figurative* 2 (1946): 49-59; and Fasolo, *L'opera*.

⁹ See, for example, Hellmut Hager, "Zur Planungs- und Baugeschichte der Zwillingskirchen auf der Piazza del Popolo: S. Maria di Monte Santo und S. Maria dei Miracoli in Rom," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11 (1967-1968): 189-306; Gerhard Eimer, *La fabbrica di S. Agnese in Navona*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1970-1971); Güthlein, "Der Palazzo Nuovo"; Güthlein, "Zwei unbekannte Zeichnungen zur Planungs- und Baugeschichte der römischen Pestkirche Santa Maria in Campitelli," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 26 (1990): 185-255; and Allison Palmer, "The Gesù e Maria on the Via del Corso: Building in Rome after the Counter-Reformation" (PhD Diss., Rutgers University, 1994).

the development of baroque architecture, and the influence of northern Italian architecture on his work.¹⁰

Without neglecting questions of construction history and design, a few studies have signaled new paths and approaches for research. In what remains one of the most enthusiastic and positive interpretations of Rainaldi's work, Giulio Carlo Argan suggested that the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli signaled a critical new development in the history of architecture. In his design Rainaldi broke away from traditional typologies and responded directly to the spiritual needs of the faithful, designing a space to arouse their passions.¹¹ Argan's description of the rhetorical and affective power of Rainaldi's architecture has not yet been given full consideration. In this dissertation, I build on Argan's contribution as I seek to understand Rainaldi's architecture in light of contemporary developments in art theory, painting, and music.

Interest in Rainaldi's musical activity has occasioned a few brief studies. At the encouragement of Gerhard Eimer, the musicologist Hans Joachim Marx examined Rainaldi's musical career in "Carlo Rainaldi 'Architetto del Popolo Romano' come compositore" (1969). The essay collected all the known references to Rainaldi's musical activity and published a list of thirteen surviving compositions by the architect.¹²

¹⁰ On Rainaldi's style, see especially Rudolf Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi;" Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*, 6th ed., rev. Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu, 3 vols. (1958; New Haven, 1999), 2:99-105; Paolo Portoghesi, *Roma barocca* (1966; Bari, 1997), 275-84; Anthony Blunt, "Roman Baroque Architecture: The Other Side of the Medal," *Art History* 3 (1980): 61-80; and John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (New York, 1986), 131-46. On the influence of northern Italian architecture see, in addition to the above sources, Nathan Whitman, "Roman Tradition and the Aedicular Façade," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29 (1970): 108-23; and Klaus Gütthlein, "Die Fassade der Barnabiterkirche San Paolo in Bologna," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1978): 125-55.

¹¹ Giulio Carlo Argan, "S. Maria in Campitelli," *Commentari* 11 (1960): 74-86.

¹² Hans Joachim Marx, "Carlo Rainaldi 'Architetto del Popolo Romano' come compositore," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 4 (1969): 48-76. Marx republished the essay as "Carlo Rainaldi als

However, Marx was reluctant to address the aesthetic relationship between Rainaldi's architecture and his music. In 1975-6 Eimer himself broached this topic in a brief essay that was speculative rather than conclusive in nature.¹³ This dissertation also addresses the subject at several points, especially in the third chapter, which examines Rainaldi's musical circle, and the fifth chapter, which interprets the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli in terms of Rainaldi's interest in the affective power of art and music. Still, much work remains to be done on the relationship between Rainaldi's dual talents.

While seventeenth- and eighteenth-century biographers emphasized Rainaldi's high rank in society, it was only with the loosening of formalism's grip on art history that modern scholars began to investigate the social dimension of his career. Eimer's *La fabbrica di S. Agnese in Navona* (1970-1) incorporated a vast amount of archival material, which shed light on Rainaldi's biography, patrons, and working relationship with his father. More recently, Claudio Varagnoli's discovery of the façade design for Rainaldi's house prompted an examination of the architect's social status.¹⁴ This dissertation builds on these works by contributing new archival discoveries and by providing a more sustained analysis of Rainaldi's milieu.

Komponist," in Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 1:244-78. Eimer's study includes a recording of two of Rainaldi's compositions: *Pallido Muto* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4163) and the *Lectio III* from the *Lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetae* (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 43). For the most recent list of Rainaldi's compositions, see the entry by Hans Joachim Marx in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (New York, 2001) s.v. "Rainaldi, Carlo." Rainaldi's musical career is also discussed by Lorenzo Tozzi, "Carlo Rainaldi musicista e architetto romano," in *Roma Barocca: Bernini, Borromini, Pietro da Cortona*, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Paolo Portoghesi (Milan, 2006), 310-1. A new recording of Rainaldi's musical works has recently been released: *Carlo Rainaldi: Cantate, Duetti e Lamentazioni*, 2 vols., Romabarocca ensemble, directed by Lorenzo Tozzi, Tactus, 2009-2010, compact disc and MP3.

¹³ Gerhard Eimer, "Carlo Rainaldi architetto compositore," *Colloqui del sodalizio* 5 (1975-6): 159-64.

¹⁴ Claudio Varagnoli, "La casa di Carlo Rainaldi," *Palladio* 11 (1998): 61-80.

Furio Fasolo's study of Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi, the most recent monograph to examine these architects, appeared more than fifty years ago. The concerns of art and architectural historians have broadened significantly since that time, but recent discoveries and analyses have not yet been incorporated into a general assessment of Rainaldi's architecture or career. As approaches to the architectural profession, patronage, biography, and architectural theory have become more complex in the last thirty years, a study that places the architect and his work firmly in the context of seventeenth-century Rome is needed. It is time to ask new questions about Rainaldi: What was the nature of his education, and how did it contribute to his architecture and career? What influence did art and architectural theory, as well as painting, sculpture, and music, play in his architecture? How did he navigate various patronage, social, intellectual, and artistic circles? These questions have been neglected, in part, because modern scholars have relegated Rainaldi to a secondary position in histories of Italian baroque architecture.

Measured by the standards of his day, Rainaldi was undoubtedly as successful as his rivals. He received several important papal commissions and garnered the praise of countless contemporaries. One of the highlights of his career was his inclusion in the competition for the east façade of the Louvre, an event that reflected his renown.¹⁵

¹⁵ The literature on the competition is substantial. The most important works include: Léon Mirot, "Le Bernin en France: Les travaux du Louvre et les statues de Louis XIV," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 31 (1904): 161-288; Karl Noehles, "Die Louvre-Projekte von Pietro da Cortona und Carlo Rainaldi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1961): 40-74; Paolo Portoghesi, "Gli architetti italiani per il Louvre," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, 31-48 (1959-1961): 243-68; Robert Berger, *A Royal Passion: Louis XIV as Patron of Architecture* (Cambridge, 1994), 29-34; Roberto Gargiani, *Idea e costruzione del Louvre: Parigi cruciale nella storia dell'architettura moderna europea* (Firenze, 1998) 71-5; Tod Marder, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture* (New York, 1998), 261-72; and Merz, 205-10. Rainaldi's fine drawings for the competition survive. Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, "Recueil du Louvre," volume 1, f.8 (design of the *pian terreno*), f.9 (design of the *piano nobile*), and f. 10 (elevation of the east façade).

Except for the unusual participation of the unknown architect Candiani, it was the four most important architects in Rome, Bernini, Cortona, Rainaldi, and Borromini, who were invited to compete (Borromini declined). Although Rainaldi's design was not chosen, his work for Louis XIV was a defining moment of his career, establishing his international reputation.

Rainaldi's frequent service to popes and princes demonstrates his high level of achievement; however, modern scholars have been far less generous about his architectural significance and merit. As perhaps the most memorable example, Rudolf Wittkower in his essay, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque" (1937) suggested reasons why "Carlo Rainaldi's architecture ought to command a more lasting interest than his actual talent might seem to justify."¹⁶ Wittkower reiterated his judgment of Rainaldi's limited ability in his foundational study, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750* (1958), a text that continues to color scholarly opinion of the architect.

The disjunction between Rainaldi's greater historical reputation and his lesser modern one raises the question, why have modern scholars judged Rainaldi's architecture less favorably than the works of his greatest rivals? Rainaldi's diminished reputation in modern times largely stems from attempts to define the baroque style. Architectural historians have long placed Rainaldi in an awkward middle position below his rivals, Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona, but far above any other contemporary architects. Already in the nineteenth century, scholars considered Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona

¹⁶ Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 10.

as a trio.¹⁷ Certainly, there were natural parallels in the careers of the three men. Not only were they nearly exact contemporaries, but each participated in the construction and decoration of the Palazzo Barberini. Moreover, they shared similar types of patronage and gained architectural acclaim for their designs of churches, the most important type of commission.

The historical parallels in the careers of Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona coalesced with stylistic ones when Wittkower grouped the three architects as the leading proponents of the high baroque. Wittkower's essay on Rainaldi, in fact, represents his earliest published attempt to classify the architects of the period. At stake in his analysis of Rainaldi is the very definition of the baroque itself. As Wittkower distills the principles of Rainaldi's architecture, he argues that Rainaldi never fully achieved the high baroque style. Rather, Rainaldi's principles embraced visual instability, ambiguity, and complexity, all hallmarks of architectural mannerism.¹⁸ Rainaldi's architecture, though it fell under "the influence of his greater contemporaries [i.e. Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona]," contrasts with their architecture, each defined by a unifying set of principles.¹⁹ Although the individual styles of Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona diverge from each other, an emphasis on unity, purity, and structure pervades their works. This vague characterization of the high baroque betrays Wittkower's need to legitimate the

¹⁷ See for example Cornelius Gurlitt who calls Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona "das Dreigestirn," or the triumvirate, in *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart, 1887), 392.

¹⁸ Wittkower attempted to define architectural mannerism in an essay on Michelangelo, "Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana," *Art Bulletin* 16 (1934): 123-218. His essay on Rainaldi published three years later was, in fact, conceived as a pendant to the earlier study. There are many problems with Wittkower's conception of architectural mannerism. First, mannerism itself has rightfully come under scrutiny as a stylistic label. Second, Wittkower's construction of mannerist architectural principles lacks a theoretical foundation in sixteenth-century literature, which considers *maniera* in relation to painting, not architecture.

¹⁹ Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 10.

disparaged style.²⁰ The complexity of Rainaldi's architecture, it seems, precluded Wittkower from accommodating it within a rather narrow, even sterilized, conception of the baroque.

Rainaldi's lesser talent and his supposedly weak allegiance to baroque principles explain his secondary position in Wittkower's *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*. Implicit in the structure of Wittkower's work is a hierarchy of mid-century Roman architects. Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona, each of whom receives a chapter, stand at the apex; they are the so-called "great trio" of the high baroque. Rainaldi appears with several other figures in a survey chapter, "Architectural Currents of the High Baroque," where he is considered "by far the most important architect in Rome after the great trio."²¹ Martino Longhi the Younger, Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Vincenzo della Greca, and Antonio del Grande, in turn, follow Rainaldi.

More recent architectural studies have repeated this hierarchy of Roman baroque architects. For example, Anthony Blunt's "Roman Baroque Architecture: The Other Side of the Medal" (1980) adopts a rigid two-tiered classification of architects based on a judgment of their relative talent. Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona, who designed "the most magnificent seventeenth-century buildings in Rome," defined the baroque style; "minor men," including Giovanni Battista Soria, Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Martino

²⁰ My interpretation of Wittkower is influenced by Alina Payne, "Rudolf Wittkower and Architectural Principles in the Age of Modernism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53 (1994): 322-42. Payne argues that Wittkower's conception of Renaissance architecture in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (New York, 1949) was embedded in the critical discourse of modernism. I would argue in a similar fashion that Wittkower's definition of the baroque falls under the spell of a sterile modernism, as the author attempts to clarify baroque principles. Wittkower shifts seventeenth-century architecture away from Rainaldi's alleged mannerist tendencies and towards the pure, individual styles of Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona.

²¹ Wittkower, *Art and Architecture*, 2:99.

Longhi the Younger, and Carlo Rainaldi, never fully committed to the baroque style.²² Some embraced a classical position, others appeared decidedly anti-baroque, and still others, like Rainaldi, followed a middle course. Although Blunt suggested the importance of studying these “minor” figures, he may also have diminished their importance. By aligning baroque style with the most talented architects and non-baroque and anti-baroque styles with less talented architects, Blunt, in effect, suggested that baroque architecture was—and could only be—the product of individual genius.²³ The high baroque became a sign of virtuosic excellence; those who lacked such accomplishment could only create “non or anti-baroque” works.

As scholars began to shy away from imposing artificial stylistic periods, they abandoned the project to define the baroque in concrete terms. Nevertheless, assumptions about mannerist and baroque style continued to define Rainaldi’s historiographic position. Many scholars tacitly or explicitly accepted Wittkower’s characterization of Rainaldi. For example, Furio Fasolo suggested that Girolamo Rainaldi instilled in Carlo Rainaldi “a love of tradition,”²⁴ while Paolo Portoghesi argued that Carlo Rainaldi’s mannerism represented a kind of “nostalgia” for his father’s past.²⁵ Anthony Blunt

²² Blunt, “Roman Baroque Architecture,” 69.

²³ In “Architects and Clods: The Emergence of Urban Planning in the Context of Palace Architecture in Seventeenth-Century Rome,” *An Architectural Progress in the Renaissance and Baroque: Sojourns in and out of Italy*, eds. Henry Millon and Susan Munshower (University Park, PA, 1992), 413-26, Dorothy Metzger Habel echoes Blunt’s division, while recasting it in professional terms rather than stylistic ones. The “Big Three” worked for popes and nobles, while the “clods” worked for more modest patrons, including the *Maestri delle Strade*. Rainaldi does not appear in the discussion—his absence perhaps emblematic of his awkward position in the historiography of seventeenth-century Roman architecture. However, Rainaldi is considered one of the “great architects” of the period in Habel’s later study, *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII* (Cambridge, 2002), 1.

²⁴ Fasolo, *L’opera*, x.

²⁵ Portoghesi, *Roma barocca*, 275.

avoided the term “mannerism” in his discussion of Rainaldi, but noted that the architect was both “far from classical . . . and far from Baroque” in his masterpiece, Santa Maria in Campitelli.²⁶ Edward Olszewski pointed to the “Mannerist planning and High Baroque detail” combined at Santa Maria in Campitelli,²⁷ while Daniela Del Pesco wrote of Rainaldi’s “rapport with the mannerist tradition” (*rapporto con la tradizione manieristica*).²⁸

Rainaldi remains a puzzling figure in accounts of seventeenth-century architecture. Still confined to a secondary position in scholarship, Rainaldi’s architecture has suffered from the enduring legacy of a survey model of art and architectural history that was never capacious enough to account for his work. Rainaldi’s architecture is challenging. He favored complexity over simplicity, and his solutions to architectural problems often combine and juxtapose divergent elements. Frustrated by the complexity of Rainaldi’s work, scholars have applied a litany of stylistic labels—mannerist, baroque, non-baroque, classical, gothic, progressive, conservative—to aspects of his work.²⁹ Rainaldi appears at once anachronistic and avant-garde.³⁰

²⁶ Blunt, “Roman Baroque,” 73.

²⁷ Edward Olszewski, *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York, 1996), s.v. “Rainaldi, Carlo.”

²⁸ Daniela Del Pesco, *L’architettura del seicento* (Turin, 1998), 89. Klaus Güthlein points to formal connections between the work of Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi without forcing an outdated view of period style onto the architect. See “Carlo e Girolamo Rainaldi architetti romani,” in *Storia dell’architettura italiana: Il Seicento*, ed. Aurora Scotti Tosini, 2 vols. (Milan, 2003), 1:226-37.

²⁹ I have already mentioned the many scholars who have commented on the mannerist elements of Rainaldi’s architecture. Blunt suggests the occasional “classical restraint” of Rainaldi’s architecture. Blunt, “Roman Baroque Architecture,” 73. Wittkower calls attention to the “Gothic” element at play in the “organic unification of complex spaces” at Santa Maria in Campitelli, “Carlo Rainaldi,” 42. Progressive and conservative elements of Rainaldi’s architecture are noted in Varriano, *Italian Baroque*, 136 and 146.

³⁰ Wittkower’s work casts Rainaldi’s architecture as anachronistic; Argan’s essay casts it as revolutionary. The architect Peter Eisenman also sees Rainaldi’s work as revolutionary, suggesting that Santa Maria in Campitelli “challenged norms” in its time. Peter Eisenman, interview by Robert Ivy,

In this dissertation, I argue that Rainaldi's architecture merits critical reconsideration. His architecture at its best recaptures the monumental grandeur of antiquity, explores the expressive potential of space, and displays a profound sensitivity to the richness of material. At times, Rainaldi's work suggests a pictorial quality as the architect exploited the chromatic and tonal qualities of architecture in order to maximize dramatic effect. At other times, his architecture asserts its tectonic quality as the architect used bold freestanding columns to shape space. Similarly, the diction of Rainaldi's architectural vocabulary varies throughout his oeuvre. In some monuments, the architect experiments with rich material and exuberant ornament to impart a festive quality similar to his ephemera. His use of broken pediments, c-scrolls, and volutes recalls the so-called mannerist vocabulary of his father. In other works, Rainaldi adopts a sober restraint as he imitates the forms of venerable examples like the Pantheon or Saint Peter's. Ultimately, Rainaldi's architecture encompasses diverse modes of design, and the range of his oeuvre suggests an alternative to the more idiosyncratic and individual styles of his rivals, Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona.

Rainaldi is an interesting subject for research precisely because he is such a problematic figure in the history of seventeenth-century architecture. On the surface, the wide range of his complex architecture might suggest the lack of a vigorous artistic personality, but historical evidence demonstrates otherwise. Rainaldi was a highly educated, cultivated, and tenacious man who invested himself deeply in his architecture, his music, and his reputation. When the labels accumulated by art history are set aside and Rainaldi's works are situated firmly in the context of the seventeenth century, his

"Challenging Norms: Eisenman's Obsessions," *Architectural Record* 191 (2003): 83. I am grateful to Judith Rohrer for the reference.

buildings no longer appear as a battleground in a contest of abstract styles. Instead, they embody the timely practical and theoretical concerns of the architect and his contemporaries.

Structure

Rainaldi's artistic and technical production was vast. It encompassed not only works of architecture, but also expert opinions, cartographic surveys, ephemera, and musical compositions. Rather than provide an exhaustive overview of this large body of work, I present a series of focused essays on the architecture, career, and life of Carlo Rainaldi. My dissertation consists of five chapters that address different themes loosely related to the subject of Rainaldi's artistic identity. Many of these themes have not received a full treatment in previous scholarship, having been addressed only briefly in the monographic studies by Hempel and Fasolo. In considering the topics of Rainaldi's biography, education, and milieu, as well as the roles of rhetoric and expression, I examine a large body of primary and secondary works. Visual material, including Rainaldi's buildings, drawings, and ephemera, are the subject of close analysis. Testaments, inventories, letters, contracts, and payments shed light on Rainaldi's career and his individual architectural projects. Finally, early modern publications, such as the biographies and guidebooks to Rome, demonstrate the architect's reputation among his contemporaries.

In the first chapter I analyze the biographies of Carlo Rainaldi and his father written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These publications are invaluable sources that document Rainaldi's character and way of living. Moreover, they decidedly shaped Rainaldi's reputation for posterity. As literary representations of the

architect, however, they require caution. Each author, Giovanni Battista Passeri, Filippo Baldinucci, Lione Pascoli, and Francesco Milizia, had different viewpoints and motives. Although the biographies together represent the architect in a remarkably consistent and positive light, they are not mere records of fact. The early lives by Passeri and Baldinucci depended on well-established biographical models and tropes. The later lives by Pascoli and Milizia, in turn, relied on the texts of Passeri and Baldinucci. Discrepancies and borrowings are not cause for dismissing the value of these accounts; rather, they point to concerns over the general status of artists in the early modern period.

Rainaldi's biographers emphasized his graceful, refined demeanor in his service to the popes and nobility. Indeed, Rainaldi, the man, excelled in the subtle talents of social engagement, courtesy, and flattery, skills that were crucial to the conduct of early modern society.³¹ I conclude by suggesting that Rainaldi's personal comportment may very well mirror his responsive approach to architecture.

Rainaldi's architectural training and intellectual formation are the subjects of the second chapter. Earlier studies have addressed Rainaldi's education only in a cursory manner, and no comprehensive treatment of this subject has been undertaken until now. I begin the chapter by examining the role of Rainaldi's family, particularly Girolamo Rainaldi, in establishing a foundation for Carlo's achievements. Descending from a family of architects and apprenticing with one's father was one of the most common paths toward the profession of architecture in early modern Italy. Indeed, drawings, ephemera, and designs for engravings produced in his adolescence and early twenties demonstrate how closely Rainaldi's career was tied to the fortunes of his father.

³¹ Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, 1986), 12-8; and Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca* (Rome, 1990).

Turning to the subject of Rainaldi's education at the Collegio Romano and the Sapienza, I examine the curriculum that the young architect likely pursued in rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics. The *Ratio studiorum*, a Jesuit handbook for education adopted at their wide network of colleges, supplies the evidence for the scope of Rainaldi's coursework. The architect's studies introduced him to a broad range of classical thought, including the works of Euclid, Aristotle, and Cicero. These intellectual experiences not only enabled Rainaldi to cut the figure of an honorable and cultivated gentleman, but they also stimulated his powers of architectural invention. Chapter Two thus lays the foundation for understanding the conceptual and theoretical significance of Rainaldi's architecture in the final chapters.

In the third chapter I consider Rainaldi's milieu. Rainaldi was socially ambitious and relied on a number of channels to advance his career and his position in society. He maneuvered with grace and verve in the erudite world of papal Rome. Early in his career, Rainaldi secured patrons like the noble Savoy and Orsini families who promoted his career and elevated his social position. Furthermore, these patrons formed a vital intellectual, musical, and artistic network that may have shaped the interests of the young Rainaldi.

The chapter continues by examining Rainaldi's domestic life, including his marriage, possessions, and autograph design for his own house. Although Claudio Varagnoli, who first published the design, has already discussed Rainaldi's domestic life, unpublished documents from the Roman notaries substantially amplify knowledge of Rainaldi's marriage and family. Rainaldi expressed his social ambitions through his behavior and comportment as well as his possessions and residence. By building the

house of a gentleman in a neighborhood where many artists resided, Rainaldi proclaimed both his high status and his architectural talent. I situate Rainaldi's design in relation to the theory of decorum and suggest that Rainaldi struck a sensitive balance between the opposing needs for magnificence and restraint.

Finally, the chapter concludes by exploring Rainaldi, the musician and composer. The evidence for Rainaldi's musical pursuits is diverse, coming from the biographies, surviving musical compositions, and unpublished documents. This evidence is placed in the context of Rainaldi's musical circle. Rainaldi was acquainted with the composer Pietro della Valle and a group of humanists, composers, and musicians who studied Greek texts, wrote scores, and built new instruments all in an attempt to reproduce the power of ancient music. Captivated by reports from ancient authors, many of Rainaldi's contemporaries and acquaintances believed that the ancient modes had an almost magical ability to arouse the passions and sway human behavior. Their interest in the expressive power of music may have encouraged Rainaldi to explore the emotional power of architecture.

In the fourth chapter I analyze Rainaldi's smaller ecclesiastical projects: his chapel, altar, and tomb designs. These works have not been considered as a whole in previous scholarship. More importantly, they allow us to examine the fraught relationship between architecture, style, and artistic identity. An analysis of Rainaldi's projects indicates that they do not conform to a clear, personal style or viewpoint. Instead, Rainaldi explored a wide range of stylistic modes as he manipulated his architectural designs for iconographic and expressive effects. I argue that disentangling Rainaldi's

architecture from a notion of personal style and artistic development allows us to understand more clearly the rhetorical motives behind much of his architecture.

In the final chapter I discuss the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli, which is arguably Rainaldi's finest and most sophisticated work. The architecture of the church elicits an impassioned response from the viewer, an effect that architectural historians and critics have widely recognized. Although scholars have acknowledged this powerful sense of expression, they have not sought to understand the mechanisms and motivations behind Rainaldi's affective approach to architecture. Building on Argan's interpretation of Santa Maria in Campitelli as an example of architectural rhetoric, I argue that Rainaldi's design was influenced by contemporary discussion of the theory of expression in both painting and music.

Methods and Challenges

Art and architectural historians have long explored both the professional and the creative dimensions of art and architectural careers in early modern Italy.³² This robust literature has developed into two principal, but overlapping, bodies of scholarship: one that addresses broad professional and sociological questions and another that explores the intellectual and theoretical concerns of artists.³³ Building on Francis Haskell's seminal

³² On the practice and profession of architecture in early modern Italy, see Leopold Ettlinger, "The Emergence of the Italian Architect during the Fifteenth Century," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostoff (New York, 1977), 96-123; Catherine Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance," in *The Architect*, 124-60; Nicoletta Marconi, *Edificando Roma Barocca: Macchine, apparati, maestranze e cantieri tra XVI e XVIII secolo* (Città di Castello, 2004); and Tommaso Manfredi, *La costruzione dell'architetto: Maderno, Borromini, i Fontana, e la formazione degli architetti ticinesi a Roma* (Rome, 2008).

³³ Alongside the sociological and theoretical currents is a less prominent psychoanalytic approach to the artist. See, as an example, Hans Sedlmayr, *L'architettura di Borromini*, trans. Marco Pogacnik (1930; Milan, 1996), 145-9; and the critique of this work by Rudolf Wittkower, "Francesco Borromini, His Character and Life," in *Studies in the Italian Baroque*, 153-76. For a more recent psychoanalytic approach to a different seventeenth-century artist, see Richard Spear, *The "Divine" Guido: Religion, Sex, Money, and Art in the World of Guido Reni* (New Haven, 1997).

work, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (1963), the former approach now includes everything from patronage and the art market to biography and social history.³⁴ Studies of the industry of art and the economic life of the artist, in particular, have gained traction in recent years.³⁵ Scholarship examining artists' theoretical concerns also has a broad range, encompassing the topics of iconography, art and architectural theory, the language of style, and the relationship of art to poetry, history, and rhetoric.³⁶

The sociological and intellectual approaches to the figure of the artist are by no means mutually exclusive, and, in this dissertation, I adopt both perspectives. The earlier chapters on Rainaldi's biography, education, and milieu explore Rainaldi's professional success and elevated position in society, while the final two chapters on Rainaldi's chapels, altars, and tombs and on Santa Maria in Campitelli, examine the theoretical

³⁴ Joseph Connors has observed that this bifurcation originates in seventeenth-century biographical writing. On the one hand, the lives written by Giovanni Baglione and Giovanni Battista Passeri focus on the person of the artist and his honors, achievements, and wealth. On the other hand, the lives penned by Giovan Pietro Bellori, are more concerned with *ekphrasis* and art theory. Connors notes that while Baglione's lives lead to the sociological approach of Francis Haskell, Bellori's lives serve as a foundation for the art theoretical approach of Panofsky. See Connors's review of the modern editions of lives by Baglione, Passeri, and Pascoli in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57 (1998): 470.

³⁵ Joseph Connors, "Virgilio Spada's Defence"; Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven, 1989); Bruno Contardi and Giovanna Curcio, eds., *In urbe architectus: Modelli, disegni, misure, la professione dell'architetto Roma, 1680-1750* (Rome, 1991); Andrew Ladis and Carolyn Wood, eds., *The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Renaissance and Baroque Workshop* (Athens, GA, 1995); Beverley Louise Brown, ed., *The Genius of Rome, 1592-1623* (London, 2001); Richard Spear, "Scrambling for Scudi: Notes on Painters' Earnings in Early Baroque Rome," *Art Bulletin* 85 (2003): 310-20; Patrizia Cavazzini, *Painting as Business in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome* (University Park, PA, 2008); and Richard Spear and Philip Sohm, eds., *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters* (New Haven, 2010).

³⁶ For examples of the art theoretical approach as it applies to individual artists in seventeenth-century Rome, see Denis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* (1947; Westport, CT, 1971); Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style*, 2nd ed. (1977; Fiesole, 2000); Elizabeth Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook* (Princeton, 1984); Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting* (Princeton, 1996); and Estelle Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal* (New Haven, 2007).

underpinnings of his architecture in rhetoric and expression. As tempting as it might be to associate the sociological and intellectual approaches with the terms of practice and theory, such a division robs them of their complexity. Just as theory and practice inform each other, Rainaldi's professional, social, architectural, and intellectual concerns intertwined. Rainaldi's education and training, which served as the foundation for his professional career, also encouraged him to explore the affective power of architecture. Likewise, the conceptual significance of his architecture served to advance his artistic reputation and social status.

This dissertation, though not a biography in a strict sense, takes a biographical approach to Rainaldi. I focus on questions surrounding Rainaldi's artistic and professional identity, as well as his position in Roman society. My ultimate goal, however, is not to describe or analyze Rainaldi's person but to examine how his architecture can be better understood by giving greater consideration to his personal interests.

Stressing both the life of Carlo Rainaldi and the historical genre of biography carries inherent challenges. Biography constituted the standard mode of writing about art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Giorgio Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, published in 1550 and in a longer edition in 1568, established a model in which the life of the artist provided an armature for the organization, discussion, and even interpretation of artworks. For example, in the life of Raphael, Vasari conflates Raphael's graceful demeanor with the sense of grace in his paintings; Vasari's praise of his virtue signifies both the painter's exemplary behavior and his artistic talent.³⁷ Later

³⁷ Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven, 1995), 376-9.

writers, like Passeri, Baldinucci, and Pascoli, imitated Vasari's *Vite*. In their lives of Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi, the distinction between artistic merit and moral conduct collapses as ideal comportment becomes an outward sign of excellence in all matters. The focus on virtuous behavior and high social status within the biographies reflects concerns that were important to Rainaldi; however, this emphasis ultimately precludes a deeper critical engagement with Rainaldi's architecture.³⁸ The authors write little about the nature of Rainaldi's churches, altars, and other monuments, and it is necessary to turn to other approaches to arrive at the theoretical concerns motivating his architecture. In particular, Chapters Four and Five examine the connections between architecture, art theory, rhetoric, and music as a way of articulating the intelligence of Rainaldi's work.

The reticence on the part of early modern authors is but one of the difficulties of a biographical approach. A second problem is the collaborative nature of architecture itself. Of the three arts of *disegno*, architecture is arguably the least personal. Diverse and often competing factors, including the wishes of the patron, consultations with other architects, the physical circumstances of the site, available materials, financial limitations, and a large body of workers, all played crucial roles in a building's completion. These forces are acknowledged in the discussion of individual works. At the same, I have sought to identify the distinct qualities of Rainaldi's approach to confronting the problems of architectural design.

The panegyric character of the genre of biography, which risks prejudicing architectural history, poses a final challenge. An emphasis on the life of the architect could conform to a Renaissance paradigm in which the cult of genius defines the scope of

³⁸ See Chapters One and Four below.

scholarly research and interpretation. In describing the “special allure” of biography in early modern studies, Jill Burke and Michael Bury have recently pointed to the danger of studying extraordinary figures, noting, “The meeting of great individuals of genius has sometimes been taken as the main explanatory model for the flourishing of the visual arts in the city.”³⁹ Scholarship, they argue, must balance the study of individuals (artists and their “charismatic” patrons) with a view to the “deeper social and cultural structures” that shaped the course of the arts. Bury and Burke’s admonition hints at the fundamental challenge of biographically informed methods of art and architectural history, namely, two distinct perspectives towards the artist must be accommodated simultaneously. One perspective defines the limits of the artist as a socially constructed product of his or her times; the other emphasizes the artist’s agency as he or she actively negotiates the boundaries of identity, society, and art.⁴⁰

In this dissertation I seek to balance a recognition of Rainaldi’s creative power with close attention to the historical context of his architecture and career. A growing body of important work on the cultural, intellectual, and social history of seventeenth-century Rome informs this study.⁴¹ By situating Rainaldi among a wide network of

³⁹ Jill Burke and Michael Bury, “Introduction,” *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, eds. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Burlington, VT, 2008), 2.

⁴⁰ Postmodern theory favored a constructivist view towards human identity, while an emphasis on human agency has become fashionable in the last decade in response to postmodernism. For a discussion of the role of agency in art history, particularly as it applies to feminism, see Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, “Introduction: Reclaiming Female Agency,” in *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History after Postmodernism*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005), 1-3.

⁴¹ Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele*; Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics*; Thomas Cohen and Elizabeth Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto, 1993); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994); James Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo: Christoph Clavius and the Collapse of Ptolemaic Cosmology* (Chicago, 1994); Eileen Reeves, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo* (Princeton, 1997); Francesco Calcaterra, *La spina nel guanto: Corti e cortigiani nella Roma barocca* (Rome, 2004); Renata Ago, *Il gusto delle cose: Una storia degli oggetti*

artists, patrons, and intellectuals and examining how he navigated the challenges of the architectural profession, I interpret his career as a figure deeply enveloped in the affairs of his world.

The complexity of a single life demands a host of approaches. The narrow formalist methods that dominated much of the twentieth century created an image of Rainaldi that was strange and disconnected from the seventeenth century. In this dissertation, architecture and biography illuminate each other. By interpreting Rainaldi's works and career from a variety of perspectives, I propose a richer portrait of the architect that reveals the complexity of his architectural inventions.

nella Roma del Seicento (Rome, 2006); Irene Fosi, ed., "La peste a Roma (1656-1657)," Special Issue, *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 14 (2006): 3-274; and Irene Fosi, "Roma patria comune? Foreigners in Early Modern Rome," *Art and Identity*, 27-44.

Chapter One:
The Lives of Carlo Rainaldi

Carlo Rainaldi made an interesting subject for early modern biographers because of his prolific architectural production and his proud character.¹ Three writers, Filippo Baldinucci, Lione Pascoli, and Francesco Milizia, included Rainaldi in their collections of artists' lives. An additional two biographies, written by Giovanni Battista Passeri and Francesco Milizia, treat the life of Carlo's father, Girolamo Rainaldi.² Two of these five accounts were penned during Carlo Rainaldi's lifetime, but none appeared in print until after his death in 1691. Although the four authors vary slightly in their details and one differs greatly in tenor, together they paint a cohesive picture of Carlo Rainaldi as an architect of the first rank who lived as a gentleman and earned the highest esteem of his contemporaries.

Art historians have long recognized the tropes and anecdotes common to artists' biographies.³ And, influenced by literary theory, they have brought an even greater sophistication to the study of this genre in the last three decades.⁴ The veracity of

¹ The biographies of Rainaldi are largely neglected by modern scholarship. Naturally, scholars have mined the biographies for data on the architect, but the literary character of the texts has not yet been studied. Hempel provides the only discussion of the works as a whole in his dissertation on Rainaldi, but his analysis, focuses only on the accuracy of the texts. Hempel, 10-3.

² I include Passeri's *vita* of Girolamo in this discussion because it contains important information about Carlo, and later biographers consulted it as a source.

³ The classic, early study of artistic biography is Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna, 1924). Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz identified topoi that run through the history of the artist in *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment*, trans. Alastair Laing (1934; New Haven, 1979). For a general study of biography during the early modern period, see the introduction by Thomas Mayer and D. R. Wolf in their edited volume, *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Casandra Fedele to Louis XIV* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1995), 1-37.

⁴ In addition to the works cited in the notes below, see: Giovanna Perini, "Carlo Cesare Malvasia's Florentine Letters: Insight into Conflicting Trends in Seventeenth-Century Italian Art Historiography," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 273-99; Giovanna Perini, "Biographical Anecdotes and Historical Truth: An Example

individual biographies as historical documents is no longer the driving question of scholarship. Instead, scholars examine how biographies express the diverse concerns and motives of their authors, while serving larger purposes of memorializing and instructing.⁵ Particular attention is paid to the ways in which texts imitate earlier literary models and create meaning through the novel use of well-worn anecdotes and tropes.

Following the example of recent art historians like Paul Barolsky, Giovanna Perini, and Catherine Soussloff, I examine Rainaldi's biographies not as unequivocal sources for Rainaldi's architectural oeuvre, but as literary texts that reveal contemporary perspectives about the status of the artist and the significance of his life and work. I trace the sources and genesis of each biography and discuss their structures and salient points. Ultimately, I seek a balanced approach. On the one hand, I assess the claims of the biographers against the historical record. On the other hand, I acknowledge that the value of the texts also lies in their construction of Rainaldi as a literary character.

The biographies of both Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi are presented in the order in which they were written. Although the later biographers often relied heavily on their predecessors, new facts and details appear unexpectedly over time. In their repetitions, omissions, and transformations, these five biographies naturally relate to each other, but they also recall the anecdotes and models of earlier writers, especially Giorgio Vasari.

from Malvasia's *Life of Guido Reni*," *Studi secenteschi* 31 (1990) 149-61; Catherine Soussloff "Lives of Poets and Painters in the Renaissance," *Word & Image* 6 (1990): 154-62; Paul Barolsky, *Why Mona Lisa Smiles and Other Tales by Vasari* (University Park, PA, 1991); Catherine Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis, MN, 1997); Anne Barriault, Andrew Ladis, Norman Land, and Jeryldene Wood, eds., *Reading Vasari* (Athens, GA, 2005); Martin Deelbeke, et al., *Bernini's Biographies* (2007); David Cast, *The Delight of Art: Giorgio Vasari and the Traditions of Humanist Discourse* (University Park, PA, 2009).

⁵ The criticism of Carl Goldstein's *Visual Fact over Verbal Fiction: A Study of the Carracci, and the Criticism, Theory, and Practice of Art in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (Cambridge, 1988) serves as a good example of how scholarly approaches to biographies have changed. See the discussions by Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, xiii, and Giovanni Perini, review of *Visual Fact*, by Goldstein, *Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991): 203-4.

The connections among all these texts point to a complex process through which Rainaldi was represented not only by his own actions but also through the lens of a literary type—the artist as gentleman. In particular, the authors emphasize specific qualities of Rainaldi’s character, including his affability and noble demeanor. In so doing, the biographers hint at a larger point; namely, Rainaldi’s success was founded not only upon his architectural inventions but upon his ability to maneuver through Roman society.

Giovanni Battista Passeri (1610/6-1679) wrote the earliest biography of Carlo’s father, Girolamo Rainaldi. Passeri’s work appeared posthumously in 1772 in the *Vite de pittori, scultori et architetti dall’anno 1641 sino all’anno 1673*.⁶ The author began the manuscript between 1653 and 1663, although he did not write the bulk of it until the 1670s.⁷ The accuracy of his account and other evidence suggest that Passeri consulted Carlo Rainaldi as a direct source for the biography of his father. The author and the architect were apparently well acquainted. In 1650 Passeri painted statues of Charity and Abundance for the decorations in Piazza Navona during the Feast of the Resurrection, a massive spectacle staged by Carlo Rainaldi.⁸ Moreover, the author frequented the meetings of the Academy of Saint Luke, as did Girolamo and Carlo.⁹ Passeri served as

⁶ Republished as *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, edited by Jacob Hess (1772; Leipzig, 1934). For Passeri’s life and writings, see Nicola Pio, *Le vite di pittori, scultori et architetti*, eds. Catherine Enggass and Robert Enggass (Vatican City, 1977), 72-3; Schlosser, 413; Dieter Graf, *Grove Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Passeri, Giovanni Battista.” For Passeri’s artistic production, see Anne Crookshank, “Two Signatures of Giovanni Battista Passeri,” *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964): 179-80; Ann Sutherland Harris, “A Lost Altarpiece by Giovanni Battista Passeri,” *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964): 179; Federico Zerzi, “Per Giovanni Battista Passeri,” *Paragone* 36 (1985): 41-6; Alessandro Brogi, “Un avvio per Giovan Battista Passeri, pittore ‘sacro’,” *Paragone* 38 (1987): 84-9; and Anthony Colantuono, “Invention and Caprice in an Iconographical Program by G. B. Passeri,” *Storia dell’arte* 87 (1996): 188-205.

⁷ Hess, ix-x.

⁸ Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, *La festa barocca* (Rome, 1997), 349.

⁹ For Carlo Rainaldi’s participation in the Academy of Saint Luke, see Chapter Two, “The Education of Architect.”

the secretary of the academy, and between 1662 and 1675 he delivered four discourses on art.¹⁰ His 1673 oration for the feast day of Saint Luke was given in the very year that Carlo Rainaldi presided as head of the academy.¹¹

Passeri's biography touches upon Carlo Rainaldi only briefly; yet, its relevance should not be overlooked. Passeri's close ties to Rainaldi suggest the possibility that the architect's own memories and concerns colored the text, albeit indirectly. Themes such as the importance of artistic ancestry, the status of the artist, and service to elite patrons were common in Passeri's collection of lives but also held personal significance for Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi.

The structure of Passeri's life is clear, and it conforms to the conventions established by earlier biographers. The text begins with Girolamo's youth and education, continues to the works and patrons that earned him his reputation, and concludes with a discussion of the architect's character and person.¹² After the preface, in which Passeri suggests that the path to Girolamo's success was largely staked out by his ancestors who also practiced architecture, the author recounts an anecdote from Girolamo's youth.¹³ Overcome with numerous projects, Domenico Fontana (1543-1607), Rainaldi's master, set his apprentice to the task of making drawings for the Duomo in Montalto. After Rainaldi executed the drawings, Fontana presented them as his own to Pope Sixtus V

¹⁰ Nicholas Turner, "Four Academy Discourses by Giovanni Battista Passeri," *Storia dell'arte* 19 (1973): 231-47.

¹¹ See Appendix B, note 2 in Gil Smith, *Architectural Diplomacy: Rome and Paris in the Late Baroque* (New York, 1993), 258.

¹² For the general structure of artists' lives, see Soussloff, *Absolute Artist*, Fig. 1.

¹³ On the importance of family lineage within the genre of biography, see Paul Barolsky, *Giotto's Father and the Family of Vasari's Lives* (University Park, PA, 1992).

Peretti. When Fontana saw that the pope was pleased with the designs, he revealed that the drawings were instead made by “a Roman lad who is all spirit.”¹⁴ Girolamo was introduced to the pontiff, and according to the anecdote, Sixtus V was so impressed with the work of one so young that he sent Rainaldi immediately to Montalto to build the church.

Passeri’s story repeats the familiar biographical trope of a precocious artist introduced for the first time to an important patron.¹⁵ Such stories abound for artists who preceded and succeeded Girolamo Rainaldi. Most notably, Michelangelo impressed Lorenzo the Magnificent with the sculpted head of a faun, and Bernini impressed Pope Paul V Borghese with a drawing of the head of St. Paul.¹⁶ The veracity of Passeri’s story is less at issue here than its value as an important marker in the narrative of Girolamo’s life. Through the kindness of his master and the tides of fortune, Girolamo Rainaldi comes to meet a powerful patron and to begin in earnest his career. Such an occurrence at this young age redoubles Girolamo’s honor in a memorable and familiar way.¹⁷

¹⁴ “un Giovinetto Romano che è tutto spirito.” Passeri, 213. On early work at the duomo in Montalto, see Fasolo, *L’opera*, 30-31.

¹⁵ On the trope of the discovery of talent and other myths from artists’ youths, see Kris and Kurz, 26-38.

¹⁶ For the anecdote about Michelangelo, see Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, vol. 7 (1568; Florence, 1879), 142, and the discussion by Paul Barolsky, *The Faun in the Garden: Michelangelo and the Poetic Origins of Italian Renaissance Art* (University Park, PA, 1994), 99-105. Catherine Soussloff discusses the anecdote for Bernini in relation to Michelangelo in “Imitatio Buonarroti,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989): 581-602, especially 585ff. The Bernini anecdote appears in the lives of the artist written by Filippo Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini and in Chantelou’s diary. For the differences between the versions of the story, see Steven Ostrow, “Bernini’s Voice: From Chantelou’s *Journal* to the *Vite*,” in *Bernini’s Biographies*, 122-3.

¹⁷ On the mnemonic role of anecdotes, see Soussloff, *Absolute Artist*, 152. For anecdote as a form of art criticism, see Perini, “Malvasia,” 151-2.

The anecdote also serves another purpose as it illustrates the proper professional behavior of architects. According to Passeri, Fontana's willingness to help others in the profession was unmatched: "This candor and goodness of treatment of the Cavalier Fontana in being so ready to help others of his same profession, I see resting in him alone."¹⁸ Although Passeri highlights the singularity of Fontana's generosity toward other architects, the remark does not serve as a foil to Girolamo's own behavior. As Passeri later notes, Girolamo Rainaldi was held in high regard by his colleagues. The story may, therefore, appear as an emblem for a courteous architectural practice, a standard by which to measure the Rainaldi and their rivals.

Passeri continues the *vita* with a chronological account of Girolamo Rainaldi's architecture. Not only does he describe his Roman works, but he also traces Rainaldi's projects in Fano, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, and Bologna. Scholarly research has confirmed Rainaldi's activities in these cities,¹⁹ and Passeri's accuracy regarding these foreign commissions lends further support to the idea that he relied directly on Carlo Rainaldi for the details of his father's career. In addition to cataloging his major works, this list contributes to the sense of Girolamo's achievements by emphasizing his service to many illustrious patrons, including several popes and the noble houses of Italy.

The *vita* continues by describing the funeral of the artist and his character. Girolamo was a "mild man, affable, and of fond quality."²⁰ After a brief sickness, he died on July 15, 1655 and was buried in Santi Luca e Martina, the church of the Academy of

¹⁸ "Questa candidezza, e bontà di trattare del Cavalier Fontana in esser così pronto ad aiutare gl'altri della medesima sua Professione, la vedo restare in lui unica." Passeri, 213.

¹⁹ For a summary of Girolamo Rainaldi's activities in north Italy, see Klaus Güthlein, "Carlo e Girolamo Rainaldi," 1:226-229.

²⁰ "uomo docile, affabile e d'amorevoli qualità." Passeri, 219.

Saint Luke. As a mark of their respect and esteem, all the members of the academy assisted at his funeral. Passeri writes, “the loss of a man so honored and worthy in his profession displeased many.”²¹ As Girolamo lived his life as an honorable gentleman, so too did he depart from this world.

The *vita* concludes with a brief description of the achievements of Girolamo’s son, Carlo Rainaldi. Passeri highlights Carlo’s musical ability, his rank of *cavaliere*, and his position as Prince of the Academy of Saint Luke, remarking that he was “loved and held in great esteem by Princes, and by everyone.”²² While the discussion of Carlo Rainaldi would naturally be of interest to readers of the *vita*, it also serves as a way of reinforcing the dignity of the Rainaldi family.²³ Carlo succeeds in the profession of his father, while surpassing him in social rank and musical ability. The talents of the Rainaldi family thus appear magnified through the figure of Carlo.

In his *notizia* of Carlo Rainaldi, Filippo Baldinucci makes a similar point about the fulfillment of Girolamo’s legacy through his son. Baldinucci indicates our debt to Girolamo not only for his fine works but “for having given to art and to the world a son of singular worth” (per haver dato all’arte, ed al mondo un figliuolo di singolar valore).²⁴

²¹ “e molto dispiacque la perdita d’uomo così onorato, e valoroso nella sua professione.” Passeri, 219.

²² “amato, e tenuto in grande stima da Principi, e dall’universale.” Passeri, 219.

²³ In a discussion of decorum in *De Officiis*, Cicero expresses a similar idea, “Men whose fathers or forbears achieved outstanding fame in some capacity are often eager to obtain celebrity in the same field; for example, Quintus Mucius, son of Publius, in civil law, and Africanus, son of Aemilius Paulus, in soldiering. Some sons complement the distinctions taken over from their fathers with some additional glory of their own; for example, the same Africanus crowned his fame in war with eloquence.” Cicero, *On Obligations (De Officiis)*, trans. P. G. Walsh (Oxford, 2000), 1.116.

²⁴ Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua per le quali si dimostra come, e per chi le belle arti di pittura, scultura e architettura, lasciata la rozzezza delle maniere greca e gotica, si siano in questi secoli ridotte all’antica loro perfezione*, (1681-1728; Florence, 1847), 5:327.

There is no evidence that Baldinucci had access to Passeri's unpublished manuscript; nonetheless, he emphasized many of the same themes, including the role of family, honor, and reputation in architecture. Moreover, both authors depict the Rainaldi as courteous, well-respected men—the ideal servants of popes and princes.

The fifth volume of the *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* (1681-1728), in which the life of Rainaldi appears, was published posthumously by Baldinucci's son, Francesco Saverio, and various editors in Florence in 1702, six years after Baldinucci's death in 1696. The text notes that the architect was still living in 1685, a fact suggesting that Filippo Baldinucci largely authored the biography himself around this time.²⁵ Furthermore, at the end of the *notizia*, Baldinucci states that more could be said in praise of Rainaldi were it not for the risk of offending the architect's modesty.

Baldinucci begins the life of Rainaldi with a much more extensive and ambitious preface than does Passeri. Invoking the timeworn tradition of the *paragone*, Baldinucci asserts “that among the arts, that have *disegno* as their father, to that of architecture, the majority of experts gave the first honor.”²⁶ Architecture's “most noble end” (*più nobile*

²⁵ For Baldinucci, see Schlosser, 417-21; Edward Goldberg, *After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton, 1988); Philip Sohm, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 2001), 165-84; Martin Deelbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven Ostrow, “Introduction,” in Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, trans. Catherine Enggass (University Park, PA, 2006), vii-xxxii. For the publication history of the posthumous volumes, see Goldberg, 180-2. The genesis of Baldinucci's life of Rainaldi is an interesting problem. Before composing the *notizia* of Rainaldi, Baldinucci traveled to Rome only once, in 1681 for a period of six weeks. Goldberg, 98, 108. It is possible that he made Rainaldi's personal acquaintance while conducting research on Bernini's project for the bell towers of Saint Peter's. In fact, Baldinucci discusses this topic at length in the biography of Rainaldi. It is also possible that the author used a Roman source for information about the architect. Typically, the author relied on correspondents to supply data for the *notizie*; unfortunately, there is no surviving letter or questionnaire about Rainaldi in Baldinucci's surviving preparatory material. See Manoscritti Magliabechi II II 110 at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence for these documents.

²⁶ “che fra le arti, che hanno per padre il disegno, a quella dell'architettura diede il primo pregio di maggioranza.” Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:324.

fine) is the conservation of human life, while its qualities of “delight, comfort, and charm” (*diletto, comodo, e vaghezza*) contribute further to its acclaim. Finally, Baldinucci praises architecture for its power to commemorate “the glories of great men” (*le glorie de’ grandi*), a point upon which he lavishes much attention.

Baldinucci then considers the social status of the architect throughout history. Here, he uses the ancient example of Dinocrates to foreshadow the figure of Michelangelo. Dinocrates received Alexander the Great’s acclaim for his artistic ability, but he also earned the king’s love.²⁷ He thus represents a high point in the status of his profession before all the arts languished with the fall of the Roman Empire. After centuries of decline, the practice of architecture once again reached a new pinnacle in the figure of Michelangelo.

In its interpretation of the history of architecture and its glorification of Michelangelo, Baldinucci’s *notizia* adopts the tenor of its model, Giorgio Vasari’s *Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1550 and 1568). As many scholars have noted, Baldinucci envisioned his biographical enterprise as a defense of Vasari.²⁸ This debt to Vasari continues as Baldinucci shifts from a discussion of Michelangelo to the proper subject of the *vita*, Carlo Rainaldi:

And so many were they who—[having] drawn from these beautiful advantages after that divine artist [Michelangelo]—obtained with all their power to learn it [architecture], and following his footsteps or accurately investigating and imitating most beautiful antiquity, they sought a great name in Italy, and particularly in Rome. Of these, if God will grant some time and life, it will fall upon us to relate. But among these, I do not doubt

²⁷ Baldinucci’s assertion of Alexander’s love of Dinocrates is likely based on Vitruvius’s discussion of the architect in his preface to Book 2 in the *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid Rowland (Cambridge, 1999), 33.

²⁸ See especially Goldberg, xv, and Sohm, 166.

at all to give worthy place to Carlo Rainaldi, who [is] more fortunate than the others in this, because [he was] bred and nourished in the bosom to this beautiful art.²⁹

Throughout the prologue, Baldinucci relies on the language and imagery of generation in order to emphasize Rainaldi's architectural lineage.³⁰ Specifically, he offers a metaphor of Rainaldi's origins, writing that Rainaldi was "bred and nourished in the bosom to this beautiful art." On the most basic level, the imagery of Rainaldi being nursed toward the study of architecture rests upon the historical circumstances of his career. The metaphor serves as an obvious reference to Carlo's training under the guidance of his father. Moreover, the language of generation lays a foundation for the actual genealogy of the Rainaldi family that follows the prologue. Passeri, too, suggested the importance of this ancestry, but it was Baldinucci who first traced the genealogy and individual careers of this long line of painters, architects, and engineers.³¹

The metaphor of Carlo Rainaldi's origins also operates on a deeper level of significance. The image of Rainaldi being brought up and nourished in architecture may recall an anecdote from Vasari's life of Michelangelo. Vasari relates that Michelangelo was nursed by the wife of a stonemason, and according to the artist himself, "I pulled

²⁹ "Molti perciò sono stati coloro, che tirati da belle prerogative, dopo quel divino artefice han procurato a tutto lor potere di apprenderla: e seguendo le pedate di lui, o accuratamente investigando ed imitando il più bello antico, si son procacciati gran nome in Italia, e particolarmente in Roma: dei quali se Iddio ne concederà tempo e vita, ci toccherà a ragionare. Ma fra questi io non dubito punto di dar degno luogo a Carlo Rainaldi, il quale in ciò più fortunato degli altri, perchè allevato e nutrito in seno a questa bell'arte." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:325.

³⁰ Earlier in the preface, for example, *disegno* appears as the "father" of the arts, a common metaphor in the art literature of the Renaissance, which saw painting, sculpture, and architecture as the sister arts. The paternity of *disegno* parallels the maternity of architecture who serves as a "madre benigna de' suoi artefici." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:323.

³¹ Goldberg comments on Baldinucci's adoption of genealogical methods of study in relation to his ability as a scholar. See pages 163-4.

from the milk of my nurse the chisels and the mallet with which I make the figures.”³²

Like Michelangelo, who imbibed the tools of sculpture from the stonemason’s wife, Rainaldi was steered toward an art from birth. Baldinucci’s transformation of the earlier anecdote thus hints at a metaphorical kinship between Michelangelo and Rainaldi.

Weaving arguments from the *paragone* with praise of Dinocrates and Michelangelo, Baldinucci’s grandiloquent preface passes through millennia of history. But what pertinence does any of this have for the life of Carlo Rainaldi? Ultimately, the preface argues that architecture’s worth derives, in part, from the person of the architect. Figures like Dinocrates and Michelangelo command the respect of posterity not simply for their innate talents or for the boldness of their architecture but for their service to kings. Through that service, which propagates the glory of princely patrons, the artist receives honor. The reciprocity of fame and honor, exchanged through the relationship between the ruler and the artist, becomes the principal theme of Rainaldi’s biography. Rainaldi followed the path of Dinocrates and Michelangelo by raising the status of the architect through his service to the popes, various Roman nobles, the dukes of Savoy, and King Louis XIV. As Rainaldi propagated the glory of these noble patrons, he received acclaim in return. The Savoy bestowed knighthood upon the architect, and Louis XIV commended Rainaldi by sending a jeweled portrait of himself, an “honor usually dispensed by that monarch only to men of sublime virtue.”³³

³² “tirai dal latte della mia balia gli scarpegli e’ l mazzuolo con che io fo le figure.” Vasari, 7:137. See Barolsky’s interpretation of this image in the context of the biographies by Condivi and Vasari, in *The Faun in the Garden*, 17-8.

³³ “onore solito dispensarsi da quel monarca solamente ad uomini di sublime virtù.” Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:333. Louis XIV also sent a jeweled portrait to Cortona. See Pascoli, 51.

After concluding the preface, Baldinucci relaxes this elevated tone, but the structure of the text continues to emphasize Rainaldi's service to noble and powerful men. Papal commissions are the greatest sign of achievement, and the architect's projects for Innocent X, Alexander VII, and Clement X appear before all other works. These are followed by Roman works for the Borghese and Bolognetti before Rainaldi's foreign patrons, the Savoy and Louis XIV, are introduced. Although this order is not precise, the shifts in chronology never wholly disrupt the strong narrative.³⁴

Baldinucci concludes by describing Rainaldi's personal character. He writes, "In short, many are the prerogatives, beyond that of his art, that adorn the soul of this artist, among which reside [in him] to a very great degree the goodness and integrity of his habits, accompanied by a courteous and most gentle comportment, and by a great inclination to pious works."³⁵ Baldinucci further emphasizes Rainaldi's musical ability: "He delights more than ordinarily in music, and for his diversion alone he played with excellence the double harp and lyre."³⁶ Rainaldi's delight in music, courteous disposition, and service to nobles suggest the image of a gentleman. Unwittingly perhaps, Baldinucci observed qualities that were fundamental to Rainaldi's practice of architecture. The architect's affable, gracious character suggests a mode of handling patrons and

³⁴ The life of Rainaldi has less chronological consistency than the much longer life of Bernini written by the same author, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino scultore, architetto, e pittore* (Florence, 1682). Baldinucci follows a tighter chronology of Bernini's life, before discussing the artist's character, views on art, and the question of whether he had caused cracks in the dome of Saint Peter's. The reign of each pope largely structures the discussion of works in the life of Bernini, whereas the type of patron structures the life of Rainaldi.

³⁵ "Molte in somma sono le prerogative, che, oltre a quella dell'arte sua, adornano l'animo di questo artefice, fra le quali risiede in grado molto eminente la bontà ed integrità de' costumi, accompagnata da un tratto cortese e gentilissimo, e molto inclinato all'opere di pietà." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:334.

³⁶ "Si diletta più che ordinariamente della musica: e per solo suo divertimento ha sonato per eccellenza l'Arpe doppia, e la Lira." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:334.

approaching commissions. In other words, Rainaldi's architectural responsiveness may parallel the traits of his personality.

The quality of research, lofty style, and clarity of Baldinucci's text remain unsurpassed by the later biographers. Nevertheless, the publication in 1730 of the first volume of the *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni* by Lione Pascoli (1674-1744) marks the appearance of another important biography of Carlo Rainaldi.³⁷ Because it lacks the early date and literary styling of both Passeri's and Baldinucci's accounts, Pascoli's biography has been less favored as a source by scholars. Indeed, Pascoli relied heavily on Baldinucci's published lives. Eugenio Battisti even suggested that Pascoli's entire biography of Rainaldi was a paraphrase of Baldinucci and that Pascoli added only a few details about the death of Carlo Rainaldi and the life of his cousin Domenico.³⁸ In spite of this dismissal, the editors of the modern critical edition of Pascoli's *Vite* have sought to rehabilitate its reputation. In fact, some significant differences between Pascoli's text and the earlier biographies emerge in Rainaldi's *vita*. In the extensive notes to the life, Anna Menichella has observed some of these differences. Pascoli includes a nearly exhaustive list of smaller commissions, such as chapels, altars, and tombs, and discusses Rainaldi's late works, which are absent from Baldinucci's *notizia*. The structure of Pascoli's biography, which discusses the family last, presents another difference, albeit minor. More importantly, the author adds information about Rainaldi's heirs. Armando Schiavo has suggested that Pascoli was well acquainted with Rainaldi's descendants who,

³⁷ I have consulted the modern critical edition of the text: Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, eds. Valentino Martinelli and Alessandro Marabottini (1730-1736; Perugia, 1992). The literature on Pascoli is scant. See Schlosser, 413-4; Eugenio Battisti, "Lione Pascoli scrittore d'arte," *Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. 8, vol. 8 (1953): 122-50; and the entry by Philip Sohm in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, s.v., "Pascoli, Lione."

³⁸ Battisti, 134.

he argues, supplied the author with much information.³⁹ Finally, details of great significance, such as Rainaldi's education at the Collegio Romano and the Sapienza, appear for the first time in Pascoli's text.

Pascoli's life of Rainaldi lacks the narrative force and clarity of Baldinucci's *notizia*. Structurally, the text makes little sense. After a brief introduction in which Pascoli offers platitudes and gives details about Rainaldi's birth and education, the author discusses commissions during the reign of Innocent X. However, Pascoli does not continue this chronology with the reign of the next pope. Instead, he interrupts the narrative with a list of Rainaldi's Roman works, both major and minor. The list is a jumble. Neither chronology, nor typology, nor even location within the city, accounts for the order of the projects.⁴⁰ After listing these works, Pascoli then returns to a chronological account, discussing commissions during the pontificates of Alexander VII, Clement IX, and Clement X, before treating Rainaldi's works abroad. Again this framework, in which the papal works precede foreign projects, follows Baldinucci. Ultimately, one senses that Pascoli struggled in grafting his new research onto a structure that he essentially borrowed from the earlier writer.

Although Pascoli's *vita* may be less accomplished than Baldinucci's *notizia*, his portrait of Rainaldi, the gentleman, is more inspired. Pascoli writes:

and so great was he that the most important men sought to intervene in his

³⁹ Armando Schiavo, *Palazzo Mancini* (Palermo, 1969), 106. Internal evidence supports this conclusion. For example, Pascoli correctly reports details of Rainaldi's testament. However, some of his information remains incorrect. He asserts that Rainaldi was devoted to chastity and for this reason never married. Documents confirm that although he never had children, he did marry. See Chapter Three below.

⁴⁰ The list of commissions appears, in large part, derived from Titi's guide to Rome, first published in 1674. Filippo Titi, *Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura, nelle chiese di Roma (1674-1763)*, eds. Bruno Contardi and Serena Romano, 2 vols. (Florence, 1987). However, Pascoli does not follow Titi in the order in which the works are listed.

domestic and familiar conversations and to go out with him in the evening to stroll now through a villa, now through another outside the gates, and then to return with him to his house in his same conversations. He was continuously given the most rare and exquisite edibles that turned up in the piazzas, and often also the most precious jewels that were to be found in the Pellegrino.⁴¹

Pascoli continues that the popes were generous towards him, thereby demonstrating his association with the most illustrious and powerful men. Pascoli's description of Rainaldi's domestic life emphasizes all the trappings of his status: "In as much as he kept horses in the stables, servants in the receiving room, carriages in the garages, all of these together comprised a noble and well-intended retinue. He wore the finest clothes, he was fairly proud of his linens, and his table was not sparing, nor was it ever set only for him."⁴² This description appears to match the historical circumstances, and one must keep in mind that Pascoli may have heard these details from Rainaldi's descendants. Forty years after Rainaldi's death, Pascoli confirms that the architect's reputation was that of a gentleman who was "very charming, sympathetic, and jovial, venerable and gracious."⁴³

The final two works in the series of biographies are individual lives of Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi written by Francesco Milizia (1725-1798) and published in the

⁴¹ "e tanto grande era, che i primarij signori si pregiavano d'intervenire nelle sue domestiche, e famigliari conversazioni, e d'uscire con lui la sera a passeggiare ora per una villa, ora per un'altra fuori delle porte, e di ritornar poi seco a casa nell'istesse sue conversazioni. Era continuamente regalato de' più rari, e squisiti commestibili, che capitavano nelle piazze, e sovente anche delle gioje più preziose, che si trovavano al Pellegrino." Pascoli, 415.

⁴² "Imperocchè teneva cavalli in istalla, servidori in sala, carrozze nelle rimesse, e tutti insieme componevano un nobile, e ben inteso treno. Vestiva panni fininissimi, era essai vago di biancheria, e la mensa non parca, nè mai apparecchiata solamente per lui." Pascoli, 415.

⁴³ "molto avvenente, simpatico, e gioviale, e venerando e grazioso." Pascoli, 417.

Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni in 1781.⁴⁴ In this text Milizia often criticizes the errors of seventeenth-century Roman architecture. Unlike the earlier biographers, he describes actual architectural works in some detail. As such, the biographies present a useful measure of late eighteenth-century taste; however, they convey little new information regarding the lives of the two architects. Milizia relies almost entirely on the earlier biographies.

In his biography of Girolamo Rainaldi, Milizia combines and heavily abridges the lives of Passeri and Baldinucci. His biography of Carlo Rainaldi, however, is longer and of greater historical interest. The author paraphrases earlier biographies, specifically those of Baldinucci and Pascoli, but differs from them in a few matters.⁴⁵ Although the biography starts out in much the same way as these earlier lives, Milizia diverges in the selection and order of Rainaldi's major commissions. The choices seem arbitrary, and the works appear in no discernible chronological, alphabetical, typological, or geographical order. The weak structure impedes a strong narrative from developing.

Ultimately, Milizia's life of Carlo Rainaldi seems inconsistent in its agenda. On the one hand, Milizia takes great pains to mention the honor Rainaldi achieved through his art, while on the other hand he denigrates his architecture. These two threads run side

⁴⁴ Francesco Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, vol. 2 (Bologna, 1827). On Milizia's life and work, see: William B. O'Neal, "Francesco Milizia, 1725-1798," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 13 (1954): 12-5; Emil Kauffmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Postbaroque in England, Italy, and France* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), 100-4; Pietro Zampetti, "Francesco Milizia: Uomo e critico d'arte," *Sensibilità e razionalità nel settecento*, ed. Vittore Branca, 2 vols. (Florence, 1967), 2:675-90; Italo Prozzillo, *Francesco Milizia: Teorico e storico dell'architettura* (Naples, 1971); Mariella Basile and Grazia Distaso, eds., *Francesco Milizia e la cultura del Settecento* (Galatina, 2002), especially: Pasquale Guaragnella, "Architetti barocchi nelle "Vite" di Francesco Milizia," 63-72; and Isabella Nuovo, "Riuso vasariano nelle 'Vite de più celebri architetti' di Francesco Milizia," 199-210.

⁴⁵ For example, Milizia adds a story about Cardinal Girolamo Gastaldi's vanity in patronizing the twin churches in the Piazza del Popolo. This report does not appear in the accounts by Baldinucci and Pascoli.

by side throughout the life. Milizia begins the biography by noting that after his studies Rainaldi “became a renowned architect and sustained the honor of his family.”⁴⁶ Of Sant’Agnese, he writes, “Rainaldi truly obtained great honor in the plan of this church, a charming, beautiful and well-proportioned Greek cross.”⁴⁷ Nonetheless, Milizia complains that the projecting pilasters in the corners made a “confusion of bases and capitals.” Although it pleased Alexander VII and many others, Milizia found particularly loathsome Santa Maria in Campitelli where “are assembled so many errors that the intelligent eye cannot tolerate the sight of them.”⁴⁸ Even his conclusion projects ambivalence as he writes:

He designed like a painter; he succeeded well in the invention of plans; he was full of ideas, and of great ideas; he executed promptly; and he decorated with firmness, but with little correctness, little simplicity, especially in the facades of churches. He was wrapped up in all those abuses and defects, into which necessarily one, who is in the dark regarding the true principles of architecture, loses one’s way.⁴⁹

Milizia’s praise is thus tempered by criticism as the encomiastic nature of the biographical genre clashes with the expression of his own taste.

In spite of his dismal view of Rainaldi’s architecture, Milizia appears captivated by Carlo Rainaldi’s character and echoes the tenor of Pascoli’s literary portrait. Rainaldi appears as an affable, gracious gentleman, who associated with the most distinguished

⁴⁶ “divenne rinomato architetto et sostenne l’onore della sua famiglia.” Milizia, 248.

⁴⁷ “Grand’onore veramente si fece il Rainaldi nella pianta di questa Chiesa di una vaga, bella, e proporzionata croce greca; e se gli angoli non fossero stati tanto tormentati con pilastri in risalto, che fanno confusione di basi e di capitelli, sarebbe stata questa un’opera compita.” Milizia, 248.

⁴⁸ “Assai peggio fece nella Chiesa di Santa Maria in Campitelli, dove sono aggruppati tanti errori, che l’occhio intelligente non può tollerarne la vista.” Milizia, 249.

⁴⁹ “Disegnava da Pittore, riusciva bene nell’invenzione delle piante, era fecondo d’idee, e di idee grandi, eseguiva prontamente, ed ornava con sodezza; ma poco corretto, poco semplice, specialmente nelle facciate delle chiese, si è involto in tutti quegli abusi e difetti, ne’ quali necessariamente si smarrisce chi de’ veri principii dell’architettura è all’oscuro.” Milizia, 252.

people. He was a charitable Christian, and he loved pomp and music. Ultimately, Milizia's life of Rainaldi expresses the possible contradictions inherent in the biographical genre; while Rainaldi's life is worthy of praise, his architecture is not.

Although their motives sometimes differ, the biographers depict Rainaldi in a similar fashion, attesting to his gentlemanly comportment, his affable manner, and his charity. As a biographical subject, Rainaldi's character fits the mold of a lordly and cultivated artist, a type common to many artists. In the seventeenth century, one thinks of Bernini and Rubens, but perhaps the most important model is Vasari's Raphael, who "lived not like a painter, but like a prince" (*non visse da pittore, ma da principe*).⁵⁰ It is not in specific details but in points of emphasis that Rainaldi's biographies echo this paradigm. Raphael's friendship with Julius II and Leo X is mirrored by Rainaldi's service to Innocent X and Alexander VII. His grace and civility are matched by Rainaldi's charity and courtesy. There is nothing to suggest that any of the biographers deliberately followed Vasari's life of Raphael. However, Raphael was the noble artist *par excellence*. He served as the model of combining "art and virtue" (*arte e virtute*), and his influence was felt over writers and artists alike.⁵¹

Michelangelo, although he figures prominently in Baldinucci's biography of Rainaldi, was a more problematic example of behavior.⁵² Because of the force of his art

⁵⁰ Vasari, 4:385. For Vasari's life of Raphael as a marker of the increasing social status of artists, see Rubin, *Vasari*, 357-401.

⁵¹ Vasari, 4:385. Giovanna Perini, "Una certa idea di Raffaello nel Seicento," in *L'idea del bello: Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, eds. E. Borea and C. Gasparri, 2 vols. (Rome, 2000), 1:153-61; and Perini, "Raphael's European Fame in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, ed. Marcia Hall (Cambridge, 2005), 261-75.

⁵² Michelangelo's critical reputation also began to decline in the seventeenth century, although this was less noticeable in Rome. See Giovanna Perini, "Il Poussin di Bellori," in *Poussin et Rome: Actes du*

and character, expressed through the concept of *terribilità*, and his confrontations with patrons, Michelangelo was an unsuitable biographical model for an architect like Rainaldi whose practice was based upon courtesy and accommodation.⁵³ Although Rainaldi was influenced by the architecture of Michelangelo, it is not surprising that Rainaldi's personal habits and trappings of success, as portrayed through the biographies, appear closer to the model of Raphael.

The biographies of Carlo Rainaldi are the most important source for his life and personality; nonetheless, there is much they do not reveal. All four authors omit the real struggles of his career, glossing over the lost commissions and failed projects that might sully his reputation. Such incidents did occur (though with rarity) and tested the mettle of the architect. Furthermore, the biographies do not offer a critical account of Rainaldi's architecture. The paucity of Baldinucci's language in describing Rainaldi's works serves as an example. The only adjectives Baldinucci employs are *bello* and *vago*, and their various superlatives. Pascoli's account is similarly imprecise, and only Milizia attempts to describe the works, though in terms of harsh criticism.

It may seem odd to modern readers that the biographies of Rainaldi appear so insensitive to the qualities of his architecture. This lapse is a function of the history and purpose of the genre as well as an early modern conception of style that linked the worth of an artist, in part, to his character.⁵⁴ Many art historians have justifiably challenged an

colloque de l'Académie de France à Rome, ed. Olivier Bonfait et al., (Paris, 1996), 301-2; and Silvia Ginzburg, "Giovanni Battista Agucchi et la sua cerchia," in *Poussin et Rome*, 286-8.

⁵³ Paul Barolsky, *Michelangelo's Nose: A Myth and Its Maker* (University Park, PA, 1990), 120-2.

⁵⁴ This problem is revisited in Chapter Four below.

inextricable connection between the life of an artist and his or her work.⁵⁵ But if one entertains the notion that the life of Rainaldi reflects upon his works, the biographers hint at a way to understand his architectural practice. The responsive quality of Rainaldi's work may be closely linked to the qualities of grace and courtesy emphasized in their accounts. In other words, the sense of decorum that guided Rainaldi's comportment also governed his architecture.

Rainaldi's personal demeanor need not be severed from the responsive quality of his architecture. The concept of decorum, or appropriateness, was elastic. Both in ancient and early modern Rome, decorum applied equally to artistic and moral concerns.⁵⁶ Cicero's *De Officiis*, which addresses duties, obligations, and comportment, draws many examples from the aesthetic realm. For instance, Cicero notes, "We maintain that the poets observe what is fitting when what is worthy of each character is reflected in both their actions and their words."⁵⁷ Just as in poetry, decorum guides architecture. Cicero writes, "The fact is that though a person's standing can be enhanced by a house, it should not be sought wholly from it. An owner cannot be ennobled by his house, but a house can be ennobled by its owner."⁵⁸ Advocating for moderation, Cicero further warns against imitating the splendor of the villas of Lucius Lucullus.

⁵⁵ See, as one example, Thomas Crow, *The Intelligence of Art* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999), 1-2. Crow poses interesting challenges to the biographical method and warns that the genre of biography sometimes creates artificial parallels between the life and work of the artist. Such parallels neatly displace an encounter with the work of art as an artist's name substitutes for an experience of the object. Some of these issues are also addressed in Gabriele Guercio, *Art as Existence: The Artist's Monograph and Its Project* (Cambridge, MA, 2006)

⁵⁶ Ellen Perry, *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2005), 36. Chapter Three addresses the matter of decorum more fully.

⁵⁷ Cicero *De Officiis* 1.97.

⁵⁸ Cicero *De Officiis* 1.139.

In the design of Rainaldi's own house, which is discussed below in Chapter Three, the personal and architectural pressures of decorum converged. Rainaldi, as an architect and a gentleman, artfully balanced restraint and grandeur. In his other projects for religious orders, cardinals, and popes, which are addressed in Chapter Four, Rainaldi's own character was not at stake to the same degree; yet, the concept of decorum was no less crucial. In responding carefully and flexibly to the dictates of particular commissions, Rainaldi became an ideal servant of princes and popes, and in so doing, advanced his own honor.

Chapter Two:

The Education of the Architect

In seventeenth-century Italy, architects came to the profession through different paths. Many, like Carlo Rainaldi, became architects by virtue of their father's profession. Others rose up from the ranks of stonemasons, gaining increasing responsibility on the building site before moving to design. Painters and sculptors also practiced architecture, and writers of art treatises linked painting, sculpture, and architecture as the three sister arts of *disegno*. Even professors of mathematics and dilettantes tried their hands at design. These different avenues reveal varied conceptions of the nature of architecture. Architecture was at once a body of specialized technical knowledge and an art of *disegno*, a manual craft and an intellectual pursuit.

In the early seventeenth century, architectural pedagogy had not yet become fixed through a standard curriculum or academy; Carlo Rainaldi's education in the profession of architecture reflects this circumstance.¹ Trained by his father in the technical and administrative aspects of the discipline, Rainaldi also received a broad humanist

¹ For the profession of architecture, as well as architectural education and training, in the early modern period, see Oskar Pollak, "Der Architekt im XVII. Jahrhundert in Rom," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur* 3 (1910): 201-10; Catherine Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism," 124-60; James Ackerman, "Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance," in *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 361-84 (essay first published in 1953); C. P. Scavizzi, *Edilizia nei secoli XVII e XVIII a Roma: Ricerca per una storia delle tecniche* (Roma, 1983), 65-6; Giovanna Curcio, "Giacomo e Giovanni Battista Mola: Due diversi modi di essere architetti a Roma nella prima metà del XVII secolo," in *Pier Francesco Mola, 1612-1666* (Milan, 1989), 28-39; Elisabeth Kieven, "'Mostrar l'inventione': The Role of Roman Architects in the Baroque Period: Plans and Models," in *The Triumph of the Baroque: Architecture in Europe 1600-1750*, ed. Henry Millon (London, 1999), 173-205; and Tommaso Manfredi, "Formazione e apprendistato degli architetti ticinesi a Roma da Domenico a Carlo Fontana," in *La Costruzione*, 7-25.

On education and the intellectual life of artists in general, see Charles Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 552-69; K. -E. Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," in *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, eds. Anton Boschloo, Elwin Hendrikse, Laetitia Smit, Gert and Jan van der Sman (The Hague, 1989), 14-32; and Alina Payne, "Architects and Academies: Architectural Theories of *Imitatio* and the Literary Debates on Language and Style," in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c.1000-c.1650*, eds. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge, 2000), 118-33, and 195-202.

education that prepared him in the intellectual foundations of architecture. Rainaldi's education reveals two distinct, though related, motives: the goal to become an architect of the highest rank and the desire to be a cultivated gentleman. Not only did courses in rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics shape his approach to architectural invention, but the polish, refinement, and grace Rainaldi acquired also made him an attractive choice for a broad array of noble and institutional patrons.

In this chapter I seek to understand Rainaldi's training, both his architectural apprenticeship and his humanist education, in relation to the advantages of such knowledge in seventeenth-century Rome. Rainaldi's education served many purposes: it gave him a strong technical foundation in architectural practice, heightened his powers of invention, and lent him an air of cultivated refinement. I provide an account of his youth that follows his life and work in the formative period from his birth in 1611 until the accession of Pope Innocent X Pamphilj in 1644. The latter event marks a watershed in Rainaldi's career when, at the age of thirty-three, he began to emerge from his father's workshop as an independent architect. This account is not strictly chronological; rather, I examine three main themes: the role of Rainaldi's family in establishing his position in the profession, the nature and purpose of his formal education, and finally the analysis of his earliest artistic works. As a way of concluding, I sketch Rainaldi's activities at the Academy of Saint Luke in the 1670s. Though his participation in the academy does not belong to the period of his early education, it sheds further light on his intellectual activities as well as his possible views of architectural pedagogy.

The topic of Rainaldi's education has received little attention in previous scholarship.² This neglect of Rainaldi's university education has had serious consequences for how Rainaldi has been portrayed in the literature. Overlooking the force and capacity of his intellect, scholarship has focused on questions of period style rather than the ways that Rainaldi's architecture intersects with vital theoretical concerns like the roles of rhetoric and expression in architecture.

The evidence for Rainaldi's architectural training and humanist education is fragmentary but significant. The early modern biographies offer a few tantalizing scraps about his academic pursuits, while surviving engravings and drawings attest to his early artistic activity. However, Rainaldi published nothing during his life, and no treatise records his thoughts on architecture. His extant writings are limited to technical expert opinions on particular construction problems, letters to his patrons, and his written defense after being dismissed from a project at Sant'Ignazio. For this reason, reconstructing Rainaldi's intellectual and artistic formation in these early years is an important step in addressing how Rainaldi might have understood the theoretical underpinnings of architecture.

The Role of the Architectural Family

Like many early modern architects, Carlo Rainaldi did not so much choose the profession of architecture as inherit it. He descended from a family of artists, knowledge about which extends back to the sixteenth century. Earlier members of the family were

² Furio Fasolo briefly mentions Rainaldi's education at the Collegio Romano but fails to reflect on the context of his intellectual formation. See Fasolo, *L'opera*, 91-2. Klaus Güthlein notes the rarity of Rainaldi's formal education, although the author does not examine the nature of Rainaldi's studies. See "Carlo e Girolamo Rainaldi," 228.

reportedly architects,³ but Baldinucci and later biographers only recorded the genealogy from the moment the family settled in Rome.⁴

Carlo's grandfather, Adriano Rainaldi (d.1594), came from Norcia in the region of Umbria and established himself in Rome sometime in the mid-sixteenth century. Adriano remains an obscure figure, and few details about his career have come to light. Baldinucci reports that he executed the frescoes and decoration of the choir of San Luigi dei Francesi and supplied the design for the high altar. In addition, he assessed the value of numerous large-scale frescoes, which were executed in the Vatican and Lateran palaces during the reign of Sixtus V.⁵ Adriano was active in Rome's community of artists, becoming a member of the *Università dei pittori*, the antecedent of the Academy of Saint Luke, in 1554.⁶ From 1567 until 1569, he served as its *console*, or judge of

³ Passeri, 212, writes that Adriano Rainaldi was himself the son of an architect. Paolo Buonora, "Cartografia e idraulica del Tevere (secoli XVI-XVII)," in *Arte e scienza delle acque nel Rinascimento*, eds. Alessandra Fiocca, Daniela Lamberini, and Cesare Maffioli (Venice, 2003), 179, has suggested that the Rainaldi may have been related to the Danti, the family of engineers, artists, and writers that included Ignazio Danti and Vincenzo Danti. The family surname was originally Rainaldi. I am grateful to the author for providing this information in a conversation at the Archivio di Stato di Roma in April 2009. Buonora's suggestion is supported by Adriano Rainaldi's known origins in Norcia, not far from Perugia, the hometown of the Danti. However, none of the early modern biographies mentions this connection as might be expected.

⁴ Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:325-326. Pascoli merely repeats Baldinucci's genealogy. Pascoli, 416.

⁵ Antonio Bertolotti, *Artisti modenesi parmensi e della Lunigiana nei secoli XV, XVI, e XVII: Ricerche e studi negli archivi romani* (Modena, 1882), 37, 46, 51, and 52.

⁶ See H. Brauer in *Allgemeines Lexikon*, s.v. "Rainaldi."

artistic disputes.⁷ Upon his death in 1594, Adriano was buried in Santi Luca e Martina, the academy's church.⁸

Adriano Rainaldi's modest professional achievements were matched and surpassed by successive generations through the figures of his son, Girolamo, and his grandson, Carlo. Although Girolamo and Carlo achieved the greatest prominence among the Rainaldi, other members of the family were active artists (Figure 2.1). Three of Adriano's sons, Tolomeo, Giovanni Battista, and Girolamo, followed in the professions of architecture or painting. Tolomeo Rainaldi established himself in Milan, where he worked as a civil and military engineer. Tolomeo's sons, Domizio and Giovanleo, in turn, became architects and took the surname Tolomei after their father.⁹ Giovanni Battista Rainaldi practiced as an architect and a painter and worked in Rome and the Papal States. His son, Domenico Rainaldi (1619-1698), remained in Rome and established a modest career as a painter and architect.¹⁰ Domenico collaborated at times with his more celebrated cousin, Carlo, and apparently remained close to him throughout his life. Girolamo Rainaldi was the most acclaimed of Adriano's three sons. Although based in Rome, he was active throughout Emilia-Romagna, working for several courts in northern

⁷Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, "I consoli dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca," http://www.accademiasanluca.it/sites/default/files/images/image/PDF/elenco_consoli_san_luca.pdf. Accessed on January 27, 2011. On the role of the consuls, see Jean Arnaud, *L'académie de Saint-Luc a Rome* (Rome, 1886), 5-6.

⁸ See Karl Noehles, *La Chiesa di SS. Luca e Martina* (Rome, 1969), 339, for a notice from 1635 in which Girolamo Rainaldi sought permanent veneration for the tomb of his father.

⁹ There are no full studies of the Tolomei, although Brauer's notice on the Rainaldi family includes some useful information, and Elena Bassi published a drawing by Tolomeo Rainaldi in "Due disegni architettonici inediti," *Rivista d'arte* 20 (1938): 189-95, especially 190. Eimer also published three drawings attributed to Tolomeo. See Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 1:Tables 70 and 71. Why the family changed its name from Rainaldi to Tolomei is unknown.

¹⁰ Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:325-326. Contardi and Curcio, 430.

Italy. At the age of seventy-four Girolamo became architect to Pope Innocent X and returned to Rome for the final decade of his life.

The Rainaldi were by no means unusual in the number of architects in their family. Although some artists like Michelangelo, Raphael, and Bernini had managed to parlay their talents in painting or sculpture into success in architecture, most architects originated from families active in stonemasonry, engineering, and architecture. Sons were easily assimilated as apprentices in architectural workshops and became the trusted assistants of their fathers. Knowledge of the practice of architecture and familiarity with the long history of particular construction sites were passed from generation to generation. Overlapping networks of patronage secured work for less talented members of the family. Such were the advantages of architectural families—advantages that were put to good use by the Rainaldi.

The number of architectural families active in the city of Rome demonstrates the importance of the family in the structure of the architectural workshop. Families like the Sangallo, the Fontana, and the Longhi represented some of the most significant architectural dynasties during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like all of these families, the Rainaldi were initially outsiders to Rome who came to the papal city in search of lucrative commissions.

In Rome the Rainaldi built their architectural practice on their reputation as honorable gentlemen. By all accounts, Girolamo Rainaldi invested himself in the success of his son as a means to continue the legacy of the Rainaldi family. His greatest contribution to Carlo was undoubtedly his expert knowledge of the profession of architecture. By following Girolamo's career, one can begin to comprehend Carlo

Rainaldi's broad exposure to the architectural traditions of Rome and northern Italy and his deep technical knowledge of the profession.

Girolamo Rainaldi first trained under the supervision of his own father and studied the works of antiquity as well as the architecture of Michelangelo and Baldassare Peruzzi.¹¹ He then entered the workshop of Domenico Fontana, a fact mentioned in the biographies and confirmed by his role as the engraver of Fontana's design for the catafalque of Sixtus V erected in 1591.¹² After Giacomo della Porta's death, Rainaldi received the position of Architect of the Roman People in 1603.¹³ Not only was Girolamo involved in the completion of the Capitoline Hill, but he also worked for Popes Clement VIII Aldobrandini and Paul V Borghese, participating in the construction of the Aldobrandini chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva and the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore.¹⁴

Although Girolamo Rainaldi's early career in Rome was by most accounts successful, his time outside the city did much to advance his reputation. A comparison to

¹¹ Passeri, 212.

¹² For the catafalque, see Fagiolo dell'Arco, 182-8.

¹³ Della Porta had died the previous year.

¹⁴ On the decoration of the Cappella Aldobrandini, see Howard Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580-1630* (London, 1971), 133-5; Katja Richter, "Die Cappella Aldobrandini in Santa Maria sopra Minerva: Zur malerischen Ausstattung einer römischen Familienkapelle um 1600," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 33 (1999-2000): 303-72; Xavier Salomon, "The Contract for Giuliano Finelli's Monument to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini," *Burlington Magazine* 146 (2004): 815-9; and Salomon, "I marmi colorati della Cappella Aldobrandini," *Antologia di belle arti* 67/70 (2007): 7-20. On the decoration of the Cappella Paolina, see Gerhard Wolf, "Regina Coeli, Facies Lunae, 'Et in terra pax': Aspekte der Ausstattung der Cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 27-28 (1991-1992): 283-336; and Steven Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge, 1996); and Michail Chatzidakis, "'Imagines Pietatis Burghesiana': Die Papstgrabmäler Pauls V. und Clemens' VIII. in der Cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore," in *Totenkult und Wille zur Macht: Die unruhigen Ruhestätten der Päpste in St. Peter*, eds. Horst Bredekamp and Volker Reinhardt (Darmstadt, 2004), 159-78.

the slightly older architect Carlo Maderno (1555/6-1629), whom Girolamo likely encountered while apprenticed to Fontana, is revealing. Maderno, born in a town on Lake Lugano, came to Rome to work with his uncles Domenico and Giovanni Fontana. He inherited numerous commissions upon the deaths of Domenico Fontana, Francesco da Volterra (1535-1594) and Giacomo della Porta (1532-1602).¹⁵ With the passing of the older generation, he established himself as the preeminent architect in the city and became architect of Saint Peter's. Girolamo Rainaldi's tack was different.¹⁶ He cultivated a number of foreign patrons, while always keeping one eye on the city of Rome. He worked for the Farnese in Parma, Piacenza, and Caprarola; the Este in Modena; the Gonzaga in Mantua; and the Jesuits in Bologna and Faenza.¹⁷ Sources disagree on the precise chronology of his activity in northern Italy from the 1620s through the 1640s,¹⁸ but during these decades, Girolamo split his time between Rome and northern Italy. Although he established a residence in Parma, he also kept a house in Rome. Girolamo Rainaldi's collaboration with other architects, like his friend, Francesco Peperelli (1585-

¹⁵ Hibbard, *Maderno*, 38.

¹⁶ Hibbard, *Maderno*, 54, saw Girolamo Rainaldi as an architect of limited capability who was largely left to "provincial" commissions, but I believe this underestimates the importance of Girolamo's activities outside Rome.

¹⁷ Klaus Güthlein, "Carlo e Girolamo Rainaldi," 226.

¹⁸ Hess asserts that Girolamo was in Parma from 1606 until 1610, 1622 until 1626, at the beginning of 1630, and 1640-4, 216n1. Adorni writes that Girolamo lived in Parma on and off between 1622 and at least 1633-4. Bruno Adorni, *L'architettura farnesiana a Parma 1545-1630* (Parma, 1974), 66. Fasolo dates Girolamo's absences from Rome based on the records of his activities on the Capitoline Hill. He suggests Girolamo was absent from Rome between 1623-1628 and again from 1634-5. Fasolo, *L'opera*, 268. Two notices from the meetings of the Virtuosi report that Girolamo, who was then serving as regent of the congregation, was called to Parma twice during 1640. Girolamo left Rome from April until June, and left again in November, 1640. See Tiberia, *La Compagnia . . . da Gregorio XV*, 202 and 204. Girolamo's presence in Parma is also documented by a series of letters he sent from Rome and Parma to his friends Alberto Zunti, the bishop of Castro, and his brother Sigismondo Zunti who lived in Parma. The three letters appear in Michelangelo Gualandi, *Nuova raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, sculture ed architettura*, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1844), 3:82-7. They are mentioned by Fasolo, *L'opera*, 77 and 344n1.

1641), and his son, Carlo Rainaldi, enabled him to maintain a geographically diffuse practice.¹⁹

Of his foreign patrons, Girolamo Rainaldi's relationship with the Farnese proved the most enduring, and he passed on this important source of patronage to his son. Girolamo's work for the family began as early as 1589 when he designed two catafalques for the exequies of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, one in the church of Il Gesù, the other in Santi Pietro e Paolo.²⁰ About a decade later Cardinal Odoardo Farnese commissioned him to build the Casa Professa of the Jesuits in Rome.²¹ In 1622 the cardinal, who served as regent to the young Duke Odoardo Farnese, facilitated Girolamo's appointment as architect to the Farnese. In this year Girolamo set up a residence in Parma and began receiving a monthly salary of 50 *scudi d'oro*. This arrangement ceased when he left the city permanently in September 1644 to become architect to Pope Innocent X.²² The Farnese also generously paid for his residence in Parma, his own travels and the travels of

¹⁹ According to an early testament from 1638, Girolamo wished to leave Francesco Peperelli, his "dilectissimo amico," a silver cup given to him by Ferdinando Orsini and a painting of Saint Peter with an angel. See A. Bertolotti, *Artisti bolognesi, ferraresi ed alcuni altri del già stato pontificio in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII* (Bologna, 1962), 138. Bertolotti located and transcribed part of the document, which can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Roma, 30 Notai Capitolini, ufficio 13, Julie Caesar Tosono, Testamenti, 14 October 1638. See Appendix, Document A, Part 3.

²⁰ Fagiolo dell' Arco, 176-9.

²¹ Fasolo, *L'opera*, 40-2. On Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's patronage in general, see Clare Robertson, "Two Farnese Cardinals and the Question of Jesuit Taste," *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven H. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (Toronto, 1999), 134-47; Arnold Witte, *The Artful Hermit: Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's Religious Patronage and the Spiritual Meaning of Landscape around 1600* (Amsterdam, 2004); Robertson, "Cardinal Odoardo Farnese: A Neglected Patron," *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (Milan, 2008); and Robertson, "Patronage Rivalries: Cardinals Odoardo Farnese and Pietro Aldobrandini," in *Art and Identity*, 95-112.

²² Adorni, 65.

his companions, and the expense of keeping six members of his household in Rome.²³

During his time in Parma, Girolamo designed the façade of the Palazzo della Pilotta (begun in 1622 but abandoned in 1624), created spectacles, altered various churches and oratories, and completed a number of smaller works.²⁴

Carlo Rainaldi joined his father at various points during this time abroad. He is first documented in Parma in 1628. At the age of seventeen, Carlo designed sets for the tourney of Mercury and Mars, a spectacle celebrating the marriage of Duke Odoardo Farnese to Margherita de' Medici.²⁵ Carlo Rainaldi's presence in northern Italy is securely documented again in the year 1632. In the summer he journeyed from Parma to Modena with his sister, his cousin, and his father, who had been commissioned by the Este to continue the construction of the Palazzo Ducale.²⁶ These ventures in Emilia-Romagna may have been supplemented by time in Lombardy, where Girolamo's brother, Tolomeo Rainaldi, worked as an architect in Milan.²⁷ Much has been made of the influence of northern Italian architecture on Carlo Rainaldi.²⁸ It was through these travels that the young architect may have encountered firsthand the works of Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527-

²³ Vitale Zanchettin, "I progetti ducali di Girolamo Rainaldi tra Parma e Modena," *Modena 1598: L'invenzione di una capitale*, eds. Massimo Bulgarelli, Claudia Conforti, and Giovanna Curcio (Milan, 1999), 181.

²⁴ Adorni, 66-8.

²⁵ See A.M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637*, trans. George Hickenlooper (New Haven, 1964), 154-60. See below, for the discussion of the spectacle.

²⁶ For the document indicating Carlo's presence, see Klaus Güthlein, "San Paolo," 136n29. For Girolamo's work in Modena, see Alice Jarrard, *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Court Ritual in Modena, Rome, and Paris* (Cambridge, 2003), 99-108.

²⁷ Klaus Güthlein, "San Paolo," 135-6, has plausibly suggested a journey to Milan.

²⁸ See especially Hempel, 17-8; Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 9-52; Whitman, 119 and 122; and Güthlein "San Paolo," 136.

1596) and Francesco Maria Ricchini (1584-1658), whose architecture, it has been argued, had a particular influence on Rainaldi, especially in his design of facades.²⁹

In joining his father in northern Italy and working with him in Rome, Carlo Rainaldi gained direct knowledge of the practice of architecture. Not only did Carlo become familiar with the distinct architectural traditions of northern Italy and Rome, but he likely received instruction from his father in drawing, accounting, design, construction, and the subtleties of handling patrons and managing the workshop. Over time, Carlo's position naturally shifted from student to collaborator, and the two men worked closely together until Girolamo's death in 1655.

It appears that Girolamo Rainaldi sought to ensure a prosperous and successful future for his son. In addition to architectural training, Girolamo provided Carlo with material support in a number of ways. For example, in 1639 Girolamo formally petitioned the Roman government for Carlo to succeed him in his position as Architect of the Roman People.³⁰ Furthermore, in his testament, Girolamo named his son as universal heir. It is likely that he passed to Carlo a large sum of money, all his architectural drawings and materials, and possibly several books.³¹ Girolamo Rainaldi also supported his son in intangible ways. He was probably responsible for instilling a passion for music in Carlo. According to Passeri, Girolamo Rainaldi "had great delight in music, playing

²⁹ Gütthlein, "San Paolo," 136.

³⁰ Klaus Gütthlein, "Der Palazzo Nuovo," 129.

³¹ Girolamo Rainaldi's inventory has never surfaced, and there are no indications that one was ever drafted. Girolamo's testament is dated April 22, 1646, and can be found in the Archivio Storico Capitolino, Sez. 34 vol. 28 Jacobus Bernasconus 1645-1653. It was first published by Gerhard Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:725-7. See Appendix, Document A for other versions of the testament and documents related to the Rainaldi family.

very comfortably the lute.”³² This pursuit of music was not just a diversion but, according to behavioral manuals, was a sign of refinement and learning.³³ If Carlo Rainaldi’s musical talent was one outward sign of his gentlemanly demeanor, then his education was surely another. Carlo’s humanist education should perhaps be interpreted in light of his father’s ambitions. Girolamo Rainaldi may have recognized that such learning was crucial for his son to succeed in the highest intellectual and social circles of *Seicento* Rome.

The Collegio Romano

Carlo Rainaldi’s biographers discuss his formal education only in passing if at all. Baldinucci remarks rather vaguely that Rainaldi “having learned from his father the first precepts, expanded his applications to all those studies that were able to lead his intellect to a well-founded and scientific grasp of architecture.”³⁴ Although the passage alludes to a rigorous education, Pascoli’s account is ultimately more specific. Pascoli writes, “Rainaldi studied humanities at the Collegio Romano, geometry at the Sapienza, and architecture under the discipline of his father.”³⁵ This particular knowledge of Rainaldi’s boyhood education probably came from Rainaldi’s descendants whom Pascoli

³² “hebbe gran diletto della musica, suonando assai comodamente il Lauto.” Passeri, 219.

³³ See, for example, Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier, The Singleton Translation*, ed. Daniel Javitch (New York, 2002), 55-7.

³⁴ “avendo appresi dal padre i primi precetti, dilatò le sue applicazioni a tutti quelli studj, che potevan condurre l’intelletto suo ad un ben fondato e scientifico possesso dell’architettura.” Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:328.

³⁵ “studiò al Collegio Romano l’umanità: alla Sapienza la geometria: l’architettura sotto la disciplina del padre.” Pascoli, 413. Milizia repeats that Rainaldi studied “belle lettere” and geometry, but this information is most certainly a reiteration of Pascoli and not independent confirmation. See Milizia, 248.

consulted.³⁶ A second contemporary source confirms that Pascoli did not exaggerate Rainaldi's intellectual credentials.

In 1650 Carlo Rainaldi designed the apparatus for the Forty Hours Devotion in the church of Il Gesù. An anonymous pamphlet describing the event appeared that same year. It states:

Lastly, but for the great adornment of this apparatus, the name of its inventor is written. He was Signor Don Carlo Rainaldi, Knight of Saints Maurice and Lazarus. He conceived it with vastness of thought; he carried it out with nobility of design; he exhibited it with the approval of applause. The fathers of the Company of Jesus who cultivated his intellect in the disciplines of philosophy and mathematics have justly enjoyed the fruits of his knowledge.³⁷

The text presents Rainaldi's work for Il Gesù, the principal church of the Society of Jesus, as a reflection of the knowledge he gained from his early Jesuit teachers. Although the pamphlet does not specify where Rainaldi received his education, when considered with Pascoli's account, it confirms that the architect attended the Collegio Romano. There the Jesuits taught Latin and Greek in addition to advanced subjects like philosophy and mathematics.

The fortuitous mention of Rainaldi's education in these two publications points to a rich context in which to understand the architect, but the biography and pamphlet raise more questions than they answer: When did Rainaldi attend the Collegio Romano? What texts did he study? Which scholars taught him? Why did he receive a formal education in

³⁶ See Chapter One.

³⁷ "Per ultimo mà per grande ornamento di questa machina vi si scriva il nome del suo Inventore. Egli fu il Sig. D. Carlo Rainaldi Cavaliere de'Santi Mauritio e Lazzaro. La concepette con vastità di pensiero, la portò con nobilità di disegno, l'ha esposta con approvazione di applauso. I Padri della Compagnia di Giesù che coltivarono l'ingegno di lui nelle filosofiche, e matematiche discipline hanno giustamente goduti i frutti del suo sapere." As quoted in Joseph Imorde, *Präsenz und Repräsentanz* (Berlin, 1997), 163-4.

the first place? A brief consideration of the history of the college suggests the benefits that a Jesuit education could provide a young architect like Rainaldi.

In 1551 the Jesuits founded the Collegio Romano.³⁸ Instruction in Latin and Greek began immediately; two years later faculties of philosophy and theology were added. Although the school instructed Jesuit students in theology, it freely welcomed other boys who had no religious vocation. The school was an immediate success, and enrollments increased rapidly during the remainder of the sixteenth century. Poised at the center of a growing network of scholars, the college soon became a model for other Jesuit schools in Europe and beyond.

According to the wishes of Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, the college was free of charge, a factor that certainly contributed to its success.³⁹ Even so, the Jesuits never intended to provide education for all Roman boys as the college did not teach basic skills like reading and writing. That service fell to the *maestri dei rioni*, who instructed for a fee in each of the districts of Rome.⁴⁰ Students who entered the Collegio

³⁸ On the early history of the college, see Ricardo Garcia Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome, 1954); Mario Fois, "Il Collegio Romano: L'istituzione, la struttura, il primo secolo di vita," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995): 571-3; and Frederick J. McGinness, "The Collegio Romano, the University of Rome, and the Decline and Rise of Rhetoric in the Late Cinquecento," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995): 601-24. For the architectural history of the college, see Benedetto Vetere and Alessandro Ippoliti, *Il Collegio Romano: Storia della costruzione* (Rome, 2003); and Alessandro Ippoliti, ed., *Il Collegio Romano: Storia e restauro* (Rome, 2006). On mathematical education and scientific inquiry at the college, see William A. Wallace, *Galileo and His Sources: The Heritage of the Collegio Romano in Galileo's Science* (Princeton, 1984); Peter Dear, "Jesuit Mathematical Science and the Reconstitution of Experience in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 18 (1987): 133-75; and Rivka Feldhay, "The Cultural Field of Jesuit Science," in *The Jesuits*, 107-30. See below for the discussion of individual figures at the college.

³⁹ Fois, 577.

⁴⁰ On the *maestri dei rioni*, see Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1989), 78-82.

Romano had already mastered these skills in order to begin instruction in Latin.⁴¹ The emphasis on classical languages precluded most children from poor families for whom a humanist education was deemed unnecessary. Those few disadvantaged families who chose to enroll their sons must have seen this education as a way to advance in society. After studying at the Collegio Romano, such young men could expect to enter careers as secretaries, civic officials, or clerics.⁴²

The early Collegio Romano had proved something of a testing ground for the methods of Jesuit education,⁴³ but by the end of the sixteenth century, the curriculum was firmly established. In 1599 the Jesuits issued the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, the guide for the administration of all colleges.⁴⁴ It prescribed the educational curriculum beginning with the highest classes in theology and concluding with the lowest classes in grammar. Although the *Ratio studiorum* discussed broad pedagogic goals, much of the text was concerned with practicalities such as required textbooks, regulations for feast days and vacations, and the punishment of unruly students.

The *Ratio studiorum* standardized the educational curriculum at Jesuit schools across the globe and therefore represents a crucial source for understanding the scope of instruction at the Collegio Romano. Instruction at the college began in the lower school

⁴¹ Grendler, 373.

⁴² Grendler, 372.

⁴³ Fois, 575.

⁴⁴ Minor revisions were issued to the text in 1616. Claude Pavur, trans., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education* (St. Louis, MO, 2005), 7. For the development and significance of the plan, see Edward Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio studiorum* (New York, 1933), 23-36; and John W. Padberg, "Development of the *Ratio studiorum*," in *The Jesuit Ratio studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent Duminuco (New York, 2000), 80-100.

where students were introduced to Latin and Greek through a series of five classes. The first three classes in grammar covered the mechanics of the languages. The Latin lessons were based heavily on the works of Cicero, although students also read the poetry of Catallus, Horace, Ovid, and Vergil. Greek, introduced in the second year, included the works of Aesop and John Chrysostom. After completing the three grammar classes, students proceeded to humanities, whose curriculum was less rigidly defined than the other courses. Humanities allowed students to refine their knowledge of Latin and Greek. It also introduced the basic principles of rhetoric. According to the wishes of the professor, students read Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Vergil, Horace, Plato, and Plutarch, among other authors, “provided that they have been expurgated of everything indecent and offensive.”⁴⁵ The program culminated with the course in rhetoric, which sought to teach eloquence in oratory and poetry through the careful study of Cicero’s *De oratore* and Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. Although the lower school curriculum aimed to provide mastery of Latin and Greek, students also learned about geography, history, law, and religion through the particular selection of classical works.⁴⁶

A grammar student usually entered the college at the age of ten. On average, he mastered the grammar classes in one year each, humanities in two years, and rhetoric in one year. Examinations were held periodically allowing a precocious student to advance more rapidly through the program. A typical student, however, finished the curriculum at the age of sixteen, after which he could continue to advanced work in philosophy and

⁴⁵ *Ratio studiorum*, 167.

⁴⁶ Fois, 581.

theology, his ability and inclination permitting.⁴⁷ If Rainaldi did enroll at the college and was, in fact, a typical student, he would have entered around 1621 and finished rhetoric in 1627, one year before his earliest known artistic works in Parma.⁴⁸

Assuming that Rainaldi followed the curriculum of the *Ratio studiorum*, one can only speculate which works captivated his attention. It is unlikely that Rainaldi engaged on a deep level with the philosophical and aesthetic implications of classical texts when he first learned Latin and Greek as a child, but his studies of humanities and rhetoric may have proved more influential. Horace's *Ars poetica* could have guided the young architect on matters of license, and he probably noted the author's dictum *ut pictura poesis*, which took on a life of its own in Renaissance art theory.⁴⁹ He appears to have paid close attention to the study of rhetoric, long seen as an influence on the art of the seventeenth century,⁵⁰ and he likely encountered ancient reports about the affective power of music in the works of Aristotle or Plutarch.⁵¹

Even more significant than the study of individual works was the approach to education. Students learned grammar and rhetoric through the imitation of ancient authors, especially Cicero. It was believed that by imitating Cicero's style, students

⁴⁷ Grendler, 378.

⁴⁸ Because the Jesuits of the Collegio Romano did not keep rosters of lay students during this period, the precise years that Rainaldi studied at the college cannot be known. The triennial catalogues only list Jesuits students enrolled at the various Roman colleges. I would like to thank Paul Oberholzer, S.J. for assistance in navigating these sources at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.

⁴⁹ Rensselaer Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York, 1967).

⁵⁰ On rhetoric and early modern art, see Chapter Four, note 11 below.

⁵¹ For example, Aristotle writes, "music has the power to produce a certain quality in the character of the soul." *Politics*, trans. Richard Kraut (Oxford, 1997), Book 8, Chapter 5, 1340 b10. For early modern interest in the affective power of music, see also D.P. Walker, "Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *Music Review* 2 (1941): 9-13; and Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, 1985), 12.

would achieve eloquence in a pure standard of Latin.⁵² The role of imitation as a pedagogical practice may have neatly paralleled the study of young architects like Rainaldi. Through the observation of ancient and modern Roman architecture, architects mastered the language of their predecessors in order to surpass them.

Upon completing the grammar curriculum, Rainaldi would have proceeded to the course in philosophy.⁵³ His studies likely took place between 1627 and 1633. Although Rainaldi traveled to northern Italy at least twice during this period, his absences from Rome seem to have been sporadic. By 1633 the period of his formal education was probably complete. In that year, he was busy in Rome as a draftsman, and in the following year he presented a design for an altar in Santa Maria della Consolazione in Todi.⁵⁴ These circumstances suggest that Carlo Rainaldi's architectural career had begun in earnest.

As with the grammar curriculum, the *Ratio studiorum* prescribed in detail the organization and scope of the philosophy curriculum.⁵⁵ The study of philosophy lasted three years and was devoted to the works of Aristotle. The first year covered logic; the manuals of Francisco Toledo and Pedro da Fonseca introduced the subject, followed by Aristotle's *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, and *Prior Analytics*.⁵⁶ The study of natural

⁵² McGinness, 612. See the debate among Renaissance humanists about whether it was more appropriate to imitate a single author or many authors, Grendler, 214-5. The implications of imitation as an aesthetic doctrine for Rainaldi are discussed below in Chapter Four (see notes 114-5 for the relevant literature).

⁵³ As in note 37 above.

⁵⁴ Jurgen Zanker, *Die Wallfahrtskirche Santa Maria della Consolazione in Todi* (Bonn, 1971), 34 and document 157. Also cited in Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:630.

⁵⁵ *Ratio studiorum*, 100-4.

⁵⁶ Fois, 586.

philosophy comprised the second year. Aristotle's *Physics*, *On the Heavens*, *On Generation*, and *Meteorology* were the required texts. Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, *On Generation*, and *On the Soul* occupied the final year.

The study of philosophy, particularly the second-year course in natural philosophy, could have been fundamental to Rainaldi's education. During this year, the Jesuits introduced the study of mathematics.⁵⁷ The *Ratio studiorum* called for forty-five minute lessons taught daily not by the philosophy professor but by a mathematician. The *Ratio studiorum* further suggested that students with an interest and ability in mathematics should continue their work in private classes.⁵⁸ Geometry and astronomy were the principal topics, treated in Euclid's *Elements* and Sacrobosco's *Sphere* as well as their subsequent commentaries. The choice of these subjects owes a great deal to the influence of Christoph Clavius, the Jesuit mathematician and philosopher who advocated the rigorous study of mathematics at the college. Clavius published several editions of the *Elements* (1574), and his commentary on the *Sphere* (1570) became the principal astronomy textbook of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁵⁹

An education at the Collegio Romano could have introduced Rainaldi to the scholarship of many prominent mathematicians, if not the men themselves. Although Clavius died in 1612, his editions of the *Elements* and the *Sphere* continued to be used at the college. Moreover, a number of his pupils and other important Jesuit scholars lectured in the discipline in the 1620s and early 1630s. These included Orazio Grassi (1583-1654),

⁵⁷ *Ratio studiorum*, 109-10.

⁵⁸ *Ratio studiorum*, 20.

⁵⁹ Lattis, xv.

Christoph Grienberger (1561-1636), Christoph Scheiner (1573-1650), and Athanasius Kircher (1601/2-1680). Although nothing definitive is known about Rainaldi's interaction with these men, one wonders, in particular, if Rainaldi established a connection with Orazio Grassi, one of the most important architects of the Jesuit order. In addition to his post as mathematics professor, Grassi served as *consiliarius aedificorum*, architectural adviser to the Society, and approved plans for Jesuit buildings throughout the world.⁶⁰ He was himself responsible for a number of architectural projects, including Sant' Ignazio in Rome. It has even been suggested that Grassi taught a course in architecture at the college.⁶¹

Christoph Grienberger held the chair of mathematics between 1628 and 1633, the period when Rainaldi most likely pursued the subject.⁶² Grienberger produced little original scholarship but gained a reputation as a careful and knowledgeable editor and reviewer of the publications of his fellow Jesuits. Christoph Scheiner, who sparked a rivalry with Galileo and eventually accused him of plagiarism, was yet another important mathematician at the college. Scheiner received support from Rainaldi's future patron, Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini. His work on the sunspots, the *Rosa ursina* (Bracciano,

⁶⁰ Orazio Grassi served as mathematics professor between 1616 and 1628, though not continuously. See Richard Bösel, *Saur Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon* (Munich, 1983-), s.v. "Grassi, Orazio." For Grassi's architecture, see Bösel, *Orazio Grassi: Architetto e matematico gesuita* (Rome, 2004).

⁶¹ See L. Müller Profumo, "Orazio Grassi, un savonese 'homo universalis'," *La Casana* 30 (1988): 48-53, with earlier bibliography. The suggestion that Grassi taught a course on Vitruvius is based on his two small unpublished treatises on Book One and Book Nine of Vitruvius. C. Preti and M.G. Ercolino contest this view and suggest that the unpublished texts relate to a Vitruvian lexicon that Grassi was preparing. See Preti and Ercolino's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960-), s.v. "Grassi, Orazio."

⁶² Grienberger occupied the chair a number of times: 1595-98, 1602-5, 1612-16, 1624-25, and 1628-33. Lattis, 24. For his career, see Michael John Gorman, "Mathematics and Modesty in the Society of Jesus: The Problems of Christoph Grienberger," in *The New Science and Jesuit Science: Seventeenth Century Perspectives*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Boston, 2003), 1-121.

1626-1630), was dedicated to the duke, and the title and frontispiece played on the Orsini name (the bear) and arms (the rose) (Figure 2.2). In addition to his interests in mathematics and astronomy, Scheiner worked on optics and created scientific instruments including the pantograph, a device that reproduced and enlarged drawings.⁶³

One of the most prominent figures at the college was the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher, who arrived in Rome in 1633.⁶⁴ Kircher and Rainaldi both later benefited from the patronage of Popes Innocent X and Alexander VII, and Rainaldi was likely aware of Kircher's work. After his arrival in Rome, Kircher quickly became an academic celebrity. His gallery of strange and wonderful objects at the Collegio Romano drew visitors from all over Europe, and his publications, such as the *Obeliscus Pamphilius* (1650) and *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652-1654), had much to interest antiquarians, scholars, and artists.⁶⁵

In 1650 Kircher published a massive music treatise, the *Musurgia universalis*, which formed part of his larger goal to integrate the many branches of human knowledge with Christian thought. The treatise covered everything from acoustics to musical

⁶³ Dear, 155-9; Reeves, 5-6, and 201; and Albert van Helden, *Encyclopedia of the Scientific Revolution from Copernicus to Newton*, ed. Wilbur Applebaum (New York, 2000), s.v. "Scheiner, Christoph."

⁶⁴ Kircher assumed the post of mathematics professor in 1633, although he was hired for his linguistic ability and was soon released from his duty teaching mathematics. See Paula Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Athanasius Kircher and the Roman College Museum," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995): 637-8. The literature on Kircher is as vast as his own substantial contributions to scholarship. For bibliography, see the recent study by Joscelyn Godwin, which treats all of Kircher's intellectual pursuits, *Athanasius Kircher's Theatre of the World: The Life and Work of the Last Man to Search for Universal Knowledge* (Rochester, VT, 2009).

⁶⁵ Ingrid Rowland, "'Th' United Sense of th' Universe': Athanasius Kircher in Piazza Navona," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 46 (2001): 153-81.

instruments to the affective power of music.⁶⁶ In particular, Kircher reaffirmed the ancient idea of the harmony of the spheres, suggesting that the mathematical basis of music reflected God's ordering of the universe.⁶⁷ Kircher, like many of his contemporaries, was interested in the passions and specifically the means by which music aroused them. Kircher sought to link the underlying mathematical basis of the universe with music and its effect on the body. Music, the expression of mathematical intervals, entered the ear, stimulating the organs of sensation and the humors of the body.⁶⁸ It is unknown whether Rainaldi ever encountered the *Musurgia universalis*, but his musical activities, which are discussed in the following chapter, suggest that the treatise would have held his interest.

The study of geometry was fundamental to architectural practice in the early modern period. According to Pascoli, Rainaldi studied geometry at La Sapienza, the University of Rome founded in the thirteenth century. However, this biographical detail is puzzling. At the Sapienza, the study of medicine and law overshadowed mathematics, and lectures in the discipline were not even delivered consistently. Algebra held greater

⁶⁶ Margaret Murata, "Music History in the *Musurgia universalis* of Athanasius Kircher," *The Jesuits*, 190-207; George Buelow, *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Kircher, Athanasius"; and Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher*, 157-78.

⁶⁷ According to Pythagorean and Platonic thought, a universal harmony underlay the cosmos. This notion, known as the harmony of the spheres, was widely accepted in the ancient and medieval periods. See D.P. Walker, "The Harmony of the Spheres," in *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance* (London, 1978), 1. During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a greater diversity of thought on the subject. Although Kircher advocated the existence of the harmony of the spheres, other figures, like Francisco de Salinas and Giovanni Battista Benedetti, rejected it outright. See Claude Palisca, "Universal Harmony," *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Urbana, IL, 2006), 25-6.

⁶⁸ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, ed. Ulf Scharlau (1650; Hildesheim, 1970), Volume 1, Book 7, Part 1, Chapter 7 ("Quomodo numerus harmonicus affectus moveat"). For a discussion of Kircher's work on the *affetti*, see Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln, NE, 1997), 36-40.

importance than geometry, the study of which was limited to Sacrobosco's *Sphere* and the early books of Euclid's *Elements*.⁶⁹ If Rainaldi did, in fact, have ties to the university, his studies may have been informal in nature and supplemented by the curriculum at the Collegio Romano.

In its reliance on geometry and the tools of the compass and square, architecture was closely allied with the mathematical arts. As architects and theorists sought to increase the status of architecture during the Renaissance, they tied it to the liberal arts, particularly the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Rainaldi's study of geometry was certainly rooted in this long tradition, but it may also have anticipated the future dominance of mathematics in architecture and engineering.⁷⁰

Despite the fundamental role of mathematics in Rainaldi's education, instruction in geometry would not alone explain his enrollment at the Collegio Romano. Euclid's *Elements* was available in the Latin translation of 1572 by Federico Commandino and in the vernacular translation of 1575 by Commandino's students. Early modern treatises on mathematics and geometry were abundant, and Girolamo Rainaldi could have easily tutored his son on the practical applications of geometry. It is possible that studying at the Collegio Romano had a much broader impact for the young architect.

⁶⁹ Ugo Baldini, "Christoph Clavius and the Scientific Scene in Rome," in *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar: Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate its 400th Anniversary, 1582-1982*, eds. M.A. Hoskin, George Coyne, and O. Pedersen (Vatican City, 1983), 141; and F. Favino, "Matematiche e matematici alla 'Sapienza' tra '500 e '600: Un'introduzione," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 7 (1999): 395-420. One should note that music was never formally taught at La Sapienza, although it was important to the institution. See Jean Lionnet, "La 'Sapienza' e la musica nel Seicento," in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis: Spazio urbano e cultura dal quattro al seicento*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Rome, 1989), 376-87. For the friction between the Sapienza and the Collegio Romano, see Joseph Connors, "Borromini's S. Ivo alla Sapienza: The Spiral," *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996): 668-82, especially 678-9.

⁷⁰ Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1983).

Learning Latin and Greek, reading the works of Cicero and Aristotle, achieving eloquence in speech and pen—all of these activities would prepare Carlo Rainaldi to move deftly through the circles of elite Roman society. Such an education provided the intellectual capacity and refinement required to cultivate noble patrons. The Collegio Romano itself was a site of interaction among the young men of Rome’s middle and upper classes. Notable figures like Popes Urban VIII and Innocent X had studied at the college earlier, and the adolescent Rainaldi might have established ties with young men who would make their marks as clerics and scholars. Moreover, an education at the Collegio Romano provided an easy introduction to the Society of Jesus, which continued to grow in importance both as a religious entity and as an architectural patron. Girolamo Rainaldi himself had built the Casa Professa of the Jesuits in 1599,⁷¹ and Carlo Rainaldi would have the opportunity to work for the Jesuits a number of times. In late 1647 or early 1648 he supplied drawings and studies related to the church of Sant’Ignazio.⁷² In 1650 he designed the apparatus for the Forty Hours Devotion at Il Gesù. Finally, in 1657, the Jesuits selected him to design a chapel dedicated to Aloysius Gonzaga in Sant’Ignazio. As a result of a bitter dispute over the project, Rainaldi finally severed ties with the order.⁷³

A further byproduct of Rainaldi’s education, though perhaps not the primary motivation for his enrollment, was his artistic development. The college was a world of

⁷¹ Girolamo Rainaldi was apparently chosen not by the Jesuits but by his longtime patron Cardinal Odoardo Farnese.

⁷² In January, 1648, the Jesuits presented Rainaldi with a gift for various drawings. The reference is published in Francis Haskell, “The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes,” in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, eds. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma Jaffe (New York, 1972), 54 and note 10. See also Appendix, Document L, below.

⁷³ This failed project is discussed in Chapter Four below.

spectacle in which the Jesuits relied on competitions, dramas, and other events to promote instruction.⁷⁴ Rainaldi may have witnessed a number of dramatic productions, possibly even the celebrations for the canonization of Saint Ignatius Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier in 1622. These festivities culminated with an opera representing the apotheosis of the two saints. Orazio Grassi designed the settings and machines for the *Apotheosis sive Consecratio sanctorum Ignatii et Francisci Xaverii*, and Johann Kapsberger composed the music.⁷⁵ The boys of the college frequently put on their own plays, and prizes were awarded to students who performed and composed.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, thesis defenses for the advanced students became extraordinary productions often with elaborate musical settings.⁷⁷

Music also played an important role in the life of the college, and Rainaldi may have received formal instruction in composition and theory from the Jesuits. H. J. Marx has suggested that the composer Virgilio Mazzocchi, *maestro di cappella* of Il Gesù and later of the Cappella Giulia at San Pietro, instructed Rainaldi.⁷⁸ Mazzocchi taught at the

⁷⁴ On the role of theater, music, and spectacle at Jesuit colleges, see Per Bjurström, “Baroque Theater and the Jesuits,” in *Baroque Art*, 99-110; Thomas Culley, “The German College in Rome: A Center for Baroque Music,” in *Baroque Art*, 111-28; Louise Rice, “Jesuit Thesis Prints and the Festive Academic Defence at the Collegio Romano,” in *The Jesuits*, 148-69; and Bruna Filippi, “The Orator’s Performance: Gesture, Word, and Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano,” in *The Jesuits II*, eds. John W. O’Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (Toronto, 2006), 512-29.

⁷⁵ Bjurström, 101. Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven, 1994), 185.

⁷⁶ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 185.

⁷⁷ Rice, “Jesuit Thesis Prints,” 164.

⁷⁸ Carlo Rainaldi probably studied at the college during the period when Mazzocchi taught music. Moreover, Rainaldi’s knowledge of counterpoint suggests that he received fairly advanced instruction in music. The two figures were also connected later in life through their mutual acquaintance with Pietro della Valle. Marx, “Carlo Rainaldi,” 51. See Chapter Three below for further discussion of this circle.

Collegio Romano in the period from 1626 to 1629 and had several pupils.⁷⁹ His elementary students received daily lessons in singing, playing the keyboard, and practicing counterpoint, while advanced students composed psalms, motets, and *canzonette*.⁸⁰

It has been said that men in the seventeenth century became architects not through a system of formal training, but through practicing architecture.⁸¹ This is true to a great extent; however, in considering the wide-ranging lessons and opportunities of the Collegio Romano, Rainaldi's broad education appears to recall an older formula of architectural pedagogy. In particular, Rainaldi's studies parallel Vitruvius's guide to the ideal education of the architect. Vitruvius writes:

To be educated, he must be an experienced draftsman, well versed in geometry, familiar with history, a diligent student of philosophy, know music, have some acquaintance with medicine, understand the rulings of legal experts, and have a clear grasp of astronomy and the ways of Heaven.⁸²

Vitruvius himself recognizes the difficulty of studying so many disciplines. Nevertheless, he defends the possibility of this ideal. The architect can master these diverse fields, not because they share material knowledge, but because the common method of study heightens his facility. As Vitruvius argues:

For a well-rounded education, just like a single body, is composed of quite different parts. And thus those who are educated from an early age in the various types of study recognize the same salient points in all types of

⁷⁹ Wolfgang Witzemann, *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Mazzocchi."

⁸⁰ Marx, "Carlo Rainaldi," 51.

⁸¹ Pollak, 207; Kieven, "Mostrar," 173.

⁸² Vitruvius 1.1.3.

writing, and the relationship of all the branches of knowledge, and because of this they come to know all manner of subjects with greater ease.⁸³

Rainaldi's education covered most of the subjects set forth by Vitruvius. From his father, Carlo would have learned drawing, the practice of building, and the civic statutes and ordinances that confronted architects. He also gained appreciation for the practice, if not the theory, of music. In the lower classes of the Collegio Romano, Carlo learned literature and history, and in his philosophy class, he gained knowledge of geometry, astronomy, and physiology.

By placing a formal humanist education alongside architectural apprenticeship, Girolamo Rainaldi—unwittingly perhaps—united for his son the Vitruvian principles of theory and practice. As Vitruvius argues, mastery of both is necessary for architects to become successful. Those who lack education, lack influence, while those who trust only in theory, chase after shadows.⁸⁴ Carlo Rainaldi's ideal education may have been old-fashioned, looking back not just to Vitruvius but to the architectural treatises of the early Renaissance. Fifteenth-century writers like Francesco di Giorgio strongly advocated the broad education of the architect. However, by the sixteenth century, writers like Pietro Cataneo challenged the Vitruvian paradigm, emphasizing drawing, geometry, and perspective at the expense of law, medicine, music, and philosophy.⁸⁵ Architecture's ties to the liberal arts were gradually shed once architecture was raised from its status as a mechanical art. This trend continued in the seventeenth century as the discipline of architecture became increasingly specialized.

⁸³ Vitruvius 1.1.12.

⁸⁴ Vitruvius 1.1.2

⁸⁵ Liisa Kanerva, *Between Science and Drawing: Renaissance Architects on Vitruvius's Educational Ideals* (Helsinki, 2006), 47-9.

Rainaldi was one of the only major architects in seventeenth-century Rome believed to have attended either the Collegio Romano or the Sapienza.⁸⁶ Little is known about the formal education of his rivals. Many displayed a deep intellectual curiosity, but their paths to the profession of architecture were often circuitous.⁸⁷ Gianlorenzo Bernini received instruction in sculpture from his father. In emulation of Michelangelo, Bernini sought to master architecture as well. Other architects followed the traditional path of apprenticeship. Some, like Martino Longhi, descended from families of architects.⁸⁸ Other architects like Francesco Borromini came from families of stonemasons. There were also dilettante architects, educated men like the Abbate Elpidio Benedetti or Orazio Spada who tried their hands at design but lacked technical knowledge and imagination.⁸⁹ Serious intellectuals constituted yet another class of architects. Their knowledge of mathematics was often immense, and in conceiving of architecture as applied

⁸⁶ According to Pascoli, Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi also attended the Collegio Romano. The biographer reports that de' Rossi studied humanities and rhetoric, but he does not mention any advanced subjects like philosophy or mathematics. Pascoli, 429.

⁸⁷ George Bauer, "Bernini and the Baldacchino: On Becoming an Architect in the Seventeenth Century," *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 26 (1996): 144-65.

⁸⁸ Rainaldi's education is perhaps most similar to Longhi's. According to Passeri, 225, Longhi studied both letters and philosophy. John Varriano makes some reference to Longhi's poetry and theoretical interests in "The Roman Ecclesiastical Architecture of Martino Longhi the Younger," (PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1970). For Longhi's writings, see also, Antonia Pugliese and Salvatore Rigano, "Martino Longhi il Giovane, Architetto," in *Architettura Barocca a Roma*, ed. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco (Rome, 1972), 12, and 38-44; and the *Discorso di Martino Longhi delle cagioni delle ruine della facciata, e campanile del famoso tempio di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Rome, 1645), an excerpt of which is published in *Architettura Barocca*, 115-28.

⁸⁹ On the role of amateurs in general, see Patricia Waddy, "The Design and Designers of Palazzo Barberini," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976): 151-85, especially 181-2. For Orazio Spada, see David Butler, "Orazio Spada and His Architects: Amateurs and Professionals in Late-Seventeenth-Century Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53 (1994): 61-79. For Benedetti, see the entry by A. Merolla in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Benedetti, Elpidio"; Tod Marder, "Bernini and Benedetti at Trinità dei Monti," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 286-9; and John Varriano, "Plautilla Bricci 'Architettrice' and the Villa Benedetti in Rome," *An Architectural Progress in the Renaissance and Baroque: Sojourns in and out of Italy*, eds. Henry Millon and Susan Munshower, 2 vols. (University Park, PA, 1992), 1:266-79.

mathematics, they were able to create important works.⁹⁰ Many of these professor-architects belonged to religious orders: Orazio Grassi was a Jesuit, Guarino Guarini, a Theatine. Others, like Christopher Wren, were laymen. Although Rainaldi shared a similar intellectual formation with these men, never did he hold a university professorship, nor did he contribute any works of scholarship. As I will suggest in the final chapters, the product of his education was his architecture.

Early Artistic Activities

Most men did not become established in the profession of architecture until relatively late in life, after they had learned the practice of the discipline from an established master.⁹¹ Rainaldi's earliest artistic activities reflect this circumstance as Girolamo Rainaldi brokered early commissions and opportunities for Carlo. These projects were small in scale and included drawings and designs for engravings and spectacle productions. Such works illustrate both Carlo Rainaldi's education in the workshop of Girolamo and his gradual attempts to forge an independent reputation. Yet, even as Carlo began to attain a level of prominence in Rome, the two men continued to work side-by-side until Girolamo's death in 1655.

The earliest known works by Rainaldi date to 1628, the year in which he traveled to Parma with his father, who served as architect of the Farnese family. On October 11, 1628, Duke Odoardo Farnese wedded Margherita de' Medici in Florence. In Parma the festivities marking the occasion did not occur until the new duchess arrived in December.

⁹⁰ For the relationship between mathematics and architecture in England with particular reference to the career of Sir Christopher Wren, see Anthony Gerbino and Stephen Johnston, *Compass and Rule: Architecture as Mathematical Practice in England, 1500-1750* (New Haven, 2009), 83-96.

⁹¹ Kieven, "Mostrar," 173.

Marcello Buttigli recorded the celebrations in his *Descrittione dell'apparato fatto per honorare la prima e solenne entrata in Parma della serenissima principessa Margherita di Toscana, duchessa di Parma, Piacenza, et cetera*, which was published in 1629.

Buttigli had advised Giovanbattista Magnani and Girolamo Rainaldi, the two Farnese architects, on the literary program for the celebrations.⁹²

On December 21, 1628, the Teatro Farnese opened for the first time with a spectacular tourney between Mercury and Mars that lasted some seven hours.⁹³

According to Buttigli, Carlo Rainaldi designed sets for the spectacle. He was just seventeen years old at the time. Specifically, Buttigli states that Rainaldi created the city of Cnidus, which rose up from the sea upon the command of the goddess of love. Towers emerged at either side of the stage, while palaces appeared at the center. A monumental column with a spiral relief represented not the victories of an empire but the triumphs of Cupid. Two pyramids appeared prominently in the city, as did a temple of Venus and a fountain to Neptune. Once Cnidus had appeared, pages and drummers marched through the streets, and the jousting party descended from the city into the arena. Although no images of the tourney are known, one imagines that Rainaldi relied on his experience of Rome to create a vivid cityscape that juxtaposed temples, fountains, palaces, pyramids, and a monumental column.

The surviving description of the tourney provides limited knowledge of Rainaldi's artistic development, but the experience must have been formative for the young architect

⁹² Nagler, 142.

⁹³ My description of the tourney follows that of Buttigli's *Descrittione*, 264-351. A summary of the spectacle can also be found in Nagler, 154-160. Achillini's *libretto* for the event, *Mercurio e Marte torneo regale fatto nel superbissimo teatro di Parma nell'arrivo della Sereniss. Principessa Margherita di Toscana moglie del Sereniss. Duca Odoardo Farnese* (Parma, 1628) is reprinted in Angelo Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637* (New York, 1968), 481-518.

who came to excel in the art of spectacle. In Parma Rainaldi likely made important contacts with a number of significant artistic figures. The Marchese Enzo Bentivoglio, who later staged work for the Barberini in Rome, directed the entire celebration. Claudio Achillini, the Marinist poet, devised the program. The stage designer Francesco Guitti and the composer Claudio Monteverdi, arguably the most significant men in their respective arts at the time, also shared in the elaborate production.⁹⁴

While working in Parma, Rainaldi designed two engravings that supplement the picture of his artistic activity in northern Italy (Figures 2.3 & 2.4).⁹⁵ Both plates were engraved in Milan around 1628. They specify Rainaldi as the inventor and Carlo Bianchi as the engraver. Rainaldi prepared one print for the thesis defense of Carlo Santarelli.⁹⁶ A massive architectural setting surrounds a tablet with the dedication of the thesis. Paired columns articulate a space that in stages becomes increasingly narrow. The whole structure is open to the sky as the sun radiates behind the Farnese coat-of-arms, held aloft by *putti*. The festive quality of the engraving is conveyed by the rich architectural ornament that enlivens the image. The Corinthian columns, carved with both spirals and flutes, are dressed with swags and festoons. A foliate pattern incorporating the fleur-de-

⁹⁴ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 205-6.

⁹⁵ Simon Jervis, "A Seventeenth-Century Book of Engraved Ornament," *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 893-903. The two prints are found in a bound collection of architectural and ornamental prints in the Réserve Précieuse of the Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Brussels (VB 5335). Jervis suggests that the collection was assembled for the Jesuit library in Melchin, as the first engraving of the collection is inscribed, "Bibliotheca majoris Mechliniae." Jervis does not discuss the iconography of the engravings or the identification of the allegorical figures. The interpretations below are my own.

⁹⁶ Jervis suggests that Carlo Santarelli may have been related to the Jesuit Antonio Santarelli who published the *Tractatus da haeresi, schismate, apostasia, sollicitatione, in sacramento poenitentiae, et de potestate Romani Pontificis in delictis puniendis* (Rome, 1625). Jervis, 900. Antonio Santarelli also published the *Trattato del giubileo dell'Anno Santo e de gl'altri giubilei* (Rome, 1625). Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Ernest Graf (St. Louis, MO, 1923-1969), 29:7.

lis of the Farnese arms adorns the frieze. Large vases filled with flowers sit on fanciful consoles, and smaller vases top the balustrade.

The coat-of-arms and numerous fleurs-de-lis clearly flatter the designated patron of the defense, Francesco Maria Farnese, the brother of Duke Odoardo Farnese. An allegorical figure sits below the tablet. An inscription, which rests at her feet, reads “disciplina disciplinarum,” a nod to St. Isidore of Seville who called philosophy “the art of arts and the science of sciences” (*Philosophia est ars artium et disciplina disciplinarum*).⁹⁷ The figure represents Cognition, who, according to Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, holds a torch in her left hand and points to a book with her right.⁹⁸ In Rainaldi’s engraving, the book is lacking. Instead, the figure points to the title of the thesis, suggesting this work as the source of her knowledge.

Discerning the iconography and function of the second print is more difficult. As Jervis has suggested, Rainaldi probably intended the engraving as a title page, but the tablet lacks an inscription or title, which would definitively identify the work. However, the image itself holds some clues to its proper identification. The engraving depicts a monument of three bays divided by four Corinthian columns. The central columns form an aedicula as they project forward slightly and support a c-scroll pediment. As in the previous engraving, Rainaldi adopts a rich ornamental vocabulary that contributes to the exuberance of the print, although the interior setting provides a touch of restraint. Allegorical figures populate the engraving, and two *putti* support a medallion with the generic profiles of Duke Odoardo Farnese and Margherita de’Medici. The combination

⁹⁷ Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum*, 2.24.9.

⁹⁸ See the facsimile of the 1603 Roman edition of Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, intro. Erna Mandowsky (Hildesheim, 1970), 71.

suggests that the engraving celebrated the nuptials of 1628, and Jervis has associated the print with the publication of Buttigli's *Descrittione* of 1629.⁹⁹

No scholar has addressed the iconography of the engraving, but the imagery is fairly straightforward. Public Happiness, who holds a caduceus and a cornucopia, and the Golden Age, who holds an olive branch and beehive, sit to either side of a female figure.¹⁰⁰ This central figure, who lacks attributes, probably represents the city of Parma. Mercury, the figure at the lower right with the winged *petasus*, carves the spirals of the column with a hammer and chisel. Minerva sits across from him, and two Rivers, likely the Arno and the Parma, crouch beneath the tablet. The iconography suggests that the union of Odoardo Farnese and Margherita de' Medici will bring a return to the Golden Age in which commerce (Mercury) and the arts (Minerva) will flourish. The inscription in the medallion below the tablet, which reads "Resurgae Parma," supports this interpretation.

Carlo Rainaldi's experiences in northern Italy were important for his artistic formation, but training in his native city largely formed the foundation for his architectural practice. Two sets of juvenile drawings attest to his early architectural activities in Rome, and both are found among the Barberini manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Although the works do not date to the precise period of Rainaldi's formal education, they are the earliest drawings known from his hand and suggest the nature of his professional activities in this formative period of his career.

⁹⁹ Jervis, 900.

¹⁰⁰ For these figures, see Ripa, 154-5 (Felicitas Publica) and 136 (Eta dell'Oro). It should be noted that Public Happiness is usually seated on a regal throne, which has been omitted here, probably as a result of her position in the engraving.

The first group comprises eight drawings, first published by Simona Benedetti in 2001 (Catalog 1-8 & Figures 2.5-2.12). The sheets are included among various early seventeenth-century drawings bound in a single volume (Barb. lat. 9910).¹⁰¹ Each of Rainaldi's drawings measures approximately 25 x 36.5 cm, although the precise dimensions vary by sheet. Unlike the drawings in the rest of the volume, the edges of the eight sheets are gilt. This fact suggests that the drawings were bound together as a group at some point, perhaps when presented to their patron. The drawings are executed with brown ink, brown wash, and grey wash, with some traces of graphite, a combination of media consistent throughout Rainaldi's oeuvre.¹⁰²

The first six drawings depict various monuments from the Palazzo Senatorio, the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and Santa Maria in Aracoeli, all important buildings on the Capitoline Hill in Rome (Figures 2.5-2.10). All are related to Pope Urban VIII, the Barberini family, and their circle. The drawings include a fireplace surmounted by an ancient bas relief (f.53), a plaque dedicated to Taddeo Barberini (f.54), a monument to Virginio Caesarino (f.55), a plaque dedicated to Urban VIII and the conservators (f.56), a memorial to Carlo Barberini in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (f.57), and a statue of Carlo Barberini (f.58). Rainaldi discretely signed each drawing.

The shared format, technique, and subject matter of the drawings indicate that Rainaldi executed them as a group. The monument to Virginio Caesarino, which dates to 1627, is the earliest object depicted; the plaque to Urban VIII and the conservators, which

¹⁰¹ Simona Benedetti, "Inediti giovanili di Carlo Rainaldi," *Palladio* 14 (2001): 59-76.

¹⁰² It is possible that the drawings served as preparation for a printed work of Barberini monuments; however, the gilt edges of the drawings also suggest that they were valued in their own right.

dates to 1633, is the latest.¹⁰³ This last monument provides a secure *terminus post quem* of 1633, but there is no reason to suppose that Rainaldi completed the drawings much later than this year.

Rainaldi did not design the six monuments himself, but his drawings do reveal a great deal about his artistic formation. First, despite the rivalry of the two figures later in life, Carlo Rainaldi was forced to examine Bernini's works in preparing these drawings. The memorial to Carlo Barberini in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (f.57) was designed by Bernini in 1630 after the death of Carlo Barberini.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the statue of Carlo Barberini in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (f.58) combined an ancient body restored by Alessandro Algardi with a new portrait head by Bernini.¹⁰⁵ Second, the drawings show that Rainaldi's early artistic activities were closely tied to Girolamo's position as Architect of the Roman People. All six drawings represent works from the Capitoline Hill, a construction site that Girolamo Rainaldi supervised from 1603 until his death in 1655. It is not surprising then that drawings from this site are among the earliest of Carlo's corpus to survive. Finally, the drawings reveal Rainaldi's developing ability as a draftsman. He is clearly stronger at this point in rendering architecture than sculpture. For example, he creates an awkward contrapposto in the statue of Carlo Barberini (f.58) and faces difficulty in foreshortening the figure's arms. Again in the memorial to Carlo Barberini in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (f. 57), Rainaldi fails to capture the three-dimensional quality of Bernini's female allegories. The twisting of the bodies is nearly

¹⁰³ Benedetti, "Inediti," 60.

¹⁰⁴ Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Memorial Plaque for Carlo Barberini," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (1983): 6-10.

¹⁰⁵ Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 155-7.

absent, and Rainaldi avoids the need for foreshortening and overlapping by altering the position of the arms.

The drawings demonstrate a high level of skill in spite of their minor shortcomings. Rainaldi represents the proportions accurately. Through the use of shading, he achieves a sense of three-dimensionality in the architecture. He renders decorative details such as the numerous escutcheons, garlands, and ribbons in a careful, yet lively manner; smaller details, like the facial features of the *putti* (f.53), he executes with confident, rapid strokes. This cursory rendering of the details of the face, formed by a few quick marks, becomes a characteristic of Rainaldi's technique.

In addition to the six monuments are two designs (f.59 and f.60) of Rainaldi's own invention. The first is a monument dedicated to Urban VIII (Figure 2.11), which also displays the coats-of-arms of the Popolo Romano and a Barberini cardinal, most likely Cardinal Francesco, who headed the Congregazione della Sanità during this period. Whereas Rainaldi discretely included his initials in the first six drawings, he conspicuously signed this drawing, "Carolus Rainaldus inv. et fecit." Although no physical context is given, the monument appears to stand against a wall. It is divided into three areas: an attic, a large tablet for an inscription, and a pedestal. The sun, an important emblem of the Barberini, rests at the center of a segmental pediment and crowns the monument. Just beneath it, a small rectangular tablet bears an escutcheon with the papal tiara, the papal keys, and three Barberini bees. Behind it hangs a festoon. To either side of the tablet are volutes of somewhat unorthodox form, upon which rest two Barberini bees, menacing in their size. A tablet for an inscription covers the largest area of the monument. Wide, richly ornamented Ionic pilasters frame the tablet. An escutcheon is

perched at the top of each pilaster. The left escutcheon bears the coat-of-arms of the civic government; the right escutcheon, the Barberini arms. Below each is a shell from which hang ribbons and garlands of fruits and flowers. A low pedestal supports the whole monument. Although the monument was apparently never executed, the dual heraldry of the Popolo Romano and the Barberini family suggests that it was intended for the Capitoline Hill.

Rainaldi's second design, signed "Carolus Rainaldus Inventor et fecit," depicts an elaborate wall plaque with a blank area for an inscription (Figure 2.12). The dedication to the Senate and People of Rome again suggests that the work was intended for the Capitoline Hill. Barberini heraldry appears in the form of three bees, two in the pediment and one below the main tablet. The frame surpasses the previous monument in its festive abundance of ornament. Garlands of fruits and flowers hang from the mouths of five small masks, and small volutes adorn nearly every angle.

The freedom in the treatment of architectural ornament in both of these drawings is most closely associated with Rainaldi's ephemeral designs. In the drawings Rainaldi does not manipulate structure so much as play with the movement of ornament on the surface. The two-dimensionality of the drawing medium reinforces the emphasis on ornament over structure. In this regard, the designs foreshadow Rainaldi's spectacles but do not yet anticipate the powerful sophistication of his later investigations into the shaping of centrally planned space or the affective dimensions of architecture.

Another set of drawings from the Vatican Library (Barb. lat. 4411) further documents Rainaldi's early artistic projects (Catalog 9-35 & Figures 2.13-2.39).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Wittkower mentioned the drawings, suggesting that the frontispiece of the volume (Catalog 9) illustrates the principle of ambiguity in Rainaldi's architecture. See "Carlo Rainaldi," 48-9. Guglielmo

Twenty-seven drawings, most of which measure roughly 42 x 27.5 cm, comprise a volume recording preparations made in Rome for the plague. All of the drawings are signed by Rainaldi, and one gives the year 1633, presumably the date of the entire manuscript.¹⁰⁷

In 1629 a devastating plague began in Mantua, and for the next two years it spread across northern Italy.¹⁰⁸ To prevent the pestilence from breaching the city walls, Rome had taken various precautionary measures, and the city was spared. Rainaldi prepared the drawings after the threat of plague had subsided as a record of the city's successful actions. Securing the gates of Rome and building new *lazzaretti* were the most common steps taken by the Congregazione della Sanità and the Senate and People of Rome. The volume documents other solutions as well. Folio 16, for instance, shows a rope stretched across the Tiber near the point of Monte Testaccio (Catalog 24 & Figure 2.28). The rope prevented ships from sailing up the river under cover of darkness and inadvertently infecting the city.¹⁰⁹

The precise circumstances under which Rainaldi created the drawings are unknown. Benedetti has suggested that Rainaldi could have drafted the works at the

Matthiae examined the origin and purpose of the drawings in "Le porte di Rome in un codice di Carlo Rainaldi," *Capitolium* 22 (1947): 68-72. He also discussed the drawings in relation to Rainaldi's architectural development and his mannerist tendencies in "Un contributo," 49-50. Most recently, Simona Benedetti has examined the drawings in relation to the activities of the Congregazione della Sanità in "La peste a Roma: Disegni di Carlo Rainaldi," *Palladio* 17 (2004): 29-54. Both authors agree that the drawings were produced after the plague was over, i.e. 1633, the only date given in the volume.

¹⁰⁷ Folio 20 lists the year. The similar technique and shared format of the drawings suggests that Rainaldi executed them all at the same time.

¹⁰⁸ For the history of the plague in northern Italy, see Carlo Cipolla, *Fighting the Plague in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Madison, WI, 1981). On the Roman response, see Pastor, 29:368-70; Nussdorfer, 145-61; Sheila Barker, "Art in the Time of Danger: Urban VIII's Rome and the Plague of 1629-1634," (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2002).

¹⁰⁹ Nussdorfer, 149-50.

behest of his father. The civic government of Rome, whom Girolamo served as architect, was partially responsible for managing and executing preventive measures against the plague. Returning from one of his absences from the city, Girolamo may have wished Carlo to apprise him of the situation through drawings.¹¹⁰ Against this suggestion, however, is the evidence of the drawings themselves. They are not rough, casual studies but carefully executed works that appear intended for presentation to a patron. The location of the drawings in the Barberini archive and the prominent use of Barberini heraldry suggest that Cardinal Francesco Barberini, prefect of the Congregazione della Sanità, may have commissioned the works to commemorate his role and the role of Pope Urban VIII in securing the health of the city. Given the appearance of the arms of the Popolo Romano in the frontispiece, it is also possible that the civic government commissioned the drawings as one of the many gifts it bestowed upon the pope and his family.¹¹¹ In either case, Carlo Rainaldi was probably entrusted with the drawings because of his father's position as Architect of the Roman People.

Although the manuscript reveals much about the plague, it is equally important from the point of view of architectural history, providing important details about the young Rainaldi's activities. Carlo Rainaldi's work in cartography, a little acknowledged aspect of his career, is suggested by a few drawings (ff. 2, 6, 16) which show the area around the walls of Rome (Catalog 10, 14 & 24, & Figures 2.14, 2.18, & 2.28). It should be noted that Rainaldi completed other cartographic studies later in his life and played an

¹¹⁰ Benedetti, "La peste," 40-1.

¹¹¹ For the various gifts and concessions given to the Barberini, see Nussdorfer, 178-85.

important role in the territorial dispute between Tuscany and the Papal States over the Chiana.¹¹²

The project also afforded Rainaldi an opportunity to examine closely various works of architecture scattered about the city, especially the gates of Rome. The Porta del Popolo, Porta Pia, Porta San Giovanni, Porta San Paolo, Porta Portese, Porta San Pancrazio, Porta Cavalleggieri, and Porta Angelica are all represented. Rainaldi renders in detail the architectural and ornamental elements of these gates and gives a schematic indication of the preparations for the plague. For instance, folio 7 (Catalog 15 & Figure 2.19) depicts in precise detail the Porta del Popolo. Rainaldi carefully illustrates the Medici arms, each triglyph, and all of the moldings, while small dots indicate the structures added to the gate in preparation for the plague. One sees areas for soldiers and a commissioner, as well as a prison, and four different gates blocking access to the Porta del Popolo. In addition to the city's gates, Rainaldi depicted other Roman structures, including San Saba, San Lazzaro, San Pancrazio, the hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili, Sant'Andrea in Via Flaminia, and various *lazzaretti*.

As with the group of Capitoline drawings, Rainaldi's architectural inventions are limited in scope. Guglielmo Matthiae has proposed that a modest hospital building depicted in the manuscript (f.4) was an early work designed by Carlo Rainaldi (Catalog 12 & Figure 2.16). Matthiae's argument rests on the fact that this is the only hospital in the manuscript for which Rainaldi has provided an elevation. On stylistic grounds, he argues further that the window surrounds are similar to those designed by Girolamo

¹¹² See the "Piante delle Chiane dal Ponte di Valiano sino al Muro Grosso a Carnaiola," signed by Rainaldi and dated 1660. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi PVII 13 ff. 115v-116. Balducci discusses Rainaldi's drawings of the territory around the Chiana, *Notizie*, 5:331-2.

Rainaldi at the Villa Taverna in Frascati.¹¹³ However, Rainaldi signed the drawing with his initials alone. In his other juvenile drawings, he is careful to note his role as the inventor. Matthiae's attribution thus remains unverifiable.¹¹⁴

In the frontispiece Rainaldi prominently displays his capacity for architectural invention (Catalog 9 & Figure 2.13). The drawing is signed at the lower right, "Carolus Rainaldus fecit." It is closely related to the Capitoline drawings in terms of medium, technique, and the use of elaborate ornament. The frontispiece appears as a shallow wall monument of three bays. Unfluted Ionic columns project forward and demarcate each bay. Narrow volutes adorn the monument on each side. The escutcheon of Urban VIII stands above the center bay. Linked by swags to double scrolls at either side, the escutcheon is rather clumsy and formless as it sits on a precariously narrow base. Ultimately, the form of the monument oscillates between a realizable architectural design and a fantastic display limited to the freedom of paper. Although the projecting columns give the design a sound structure, details such as the escutcheon and swags could not be executed without hidden support.

Not surprisingly, Rainaldi's early drawings and engravings demonstrate that from an early age he was trained to be an architect. All of Carlo's early surviving works are linked closely to the projects and responsibilities of his father. These works indicate that Girolamo may have arranged opportunities for Carlo to prove his artistic merit.

Rainaldi's early works further intimate that he was trained not just to render architecture

¹¹³ Matthiae, "Un contributo," 50.

¹¹⁴ Without citing any specific arguments, Barker assumes that all the buildings newly erected for the plague and depicted in the manuscript are works by Carlo Rainaldi. Barker, "Art in the Time of Danger," 201-5. When the Congregazione della Sanità began taking measures to protect the city in 1630, Rainaldi was just nineteen years old. It is unlikely that such a large and weighty task would have been entrusted to him alone. Moreover, Rainaldi did not sign any of the drawings of buildings as the inventor.

but also figures. With this skill, Rainaldi had the ability to design engravings as well as architectural sculpture for his churches, funerary monuments, triumphal arches, and other ephemera. Training in the arts of *disegno* thus complemented his technical apprenticeship and his broad humanist education.

Postscript: Rainaldi at the Academy of Saint Luke

During the early seventeenth century, architectural training was relatively fluid. Under the right circumstances and usually with guidance from an architectural master, painters, sculptors, stonemasons, intellectuals, and even dilettantes could all achieve some success. Rainaldi's own path to the profession represents a combination of diverse trajectories. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the professional scene had changed, and a system of formal architectural training began to coalesce at the Academy of Saint Luke. Some curricular changes at the academy were, in fact, introduced while Rainaldi presided as *principe*, or prince.¹¹⁵ Although Rainaldi's involvement at the academy does not belong to the period of his training and education, it is worth considering this topic as a reflection of his pedagogical views.

For most of his career, Rainaldi was not particularly active at the academy. Although the precise date when he became a member is unknown, it is likely that he was nominated around 1640. In that year, his father held the post of *principe*, and, on February 10 of the following year, Carlo was elected to the other major artistic organization in Rome, the Congregazione dei Virtuosi.¹¹⁶ The earliest meeting at the

¹¹⁵ On the academy, see Missirini (1823); Arnaud (1886); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art: Past and Present* (Cambridge, 1940), 55-66; Pietrangeli (1974); Henry Millon, "Filippo Juvarra and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Projects and Monuments in the Period of the Roman Baroque*, eds. Hellmut Hager and Susan Scott Munshower (University Park, PA, 1984), 13-22; Smith, *Architectural Diplomacy*; Kieven, "Mostrar," 173-205; and Lukehart (2009).

academy for which Rainaldi's attendance is recorded occurred in 1652,¹¹⁷ and he does not appear in the records of the academy again until 1663.¹¹⁸ Only in the 1670s did Rainaldi actively contribute to the affairs of the academy. In 1670 he was nominated, but not elected, to the post of *principe*;¹¹⁹ and in 1673 he at last assumed this prominent role.¹²⁰ After serving as head, Rainaldi's attendance at the monthly meetings again grew sporadic, although he did serve as *stimatori d'architettura* intermittently from 1674 until 1684.¹²¹ Given his father's devotion to the academy, it seems strange that Rainaldi was not more involved. Perhaps only after the death of Pietro da Cortona, who was closely tied to the institution, did Rainaldi see an opportunity to participate more fully.¹²²

As *principe* of the academy, Rainaldi's duties included presiding over the monthly meetings, helping to select the orator for the annual celebration on the feast day of Saint Luke, representing the institution to patrons and various dignitaries, and directing

¹¹⁶ Busta 69, f. 303 in the Archivio Storico di Accademia di San Luca (ASASL) records the election of members to the academy. However, the list was comprised after the seventeenth century, and it contains many inaccuracies. Rainaldi appears with a group of 62 artists elected on April 3, 1633. A note in the margin indicates that not all these members were elected on this date. The next entry in the list does not appear until 1650, suggesting that the 62 members were elected at various points between 1633 and 1650. I am grateful to Angela Cipriani, curator of the archive, for discussing this matter with me in May 2009. For a summary and abridged transcription of the meeting of the Virtuosi at which Rainaldi was elected, see Tiberia, *La Compagnia . . . da Gregorio XV*, 206-7.

¹¹⁷ ASASL, Libro 43, f. 78, November 7, 1652.

¹¹⁸ ASASL, Libro 42a, Libro di entrata e uscita, f. 64. In this year, Rainaldi contributed dues for the annual feast of Saint Luke.

¹¹⁹ ASASL, Libro 43, f. 200, November 25, 1670; and Libro 44, f. 59, November 25, 1670.

¹²⁰ ASASL, Libro 43, f. 219, December 18, 1672.

¹²¹ Two *stimatori* always held the post. In 1674, 1678, 1679, and 1684, Rainaldi shared the position with Mattia de' Rossi. In 1680, 1681, and 1683, he shared the position with Carlo Fontana. See ASASL, Libro 46, ff. 2v, 19r, 25r, 31v, 39r, 48v, and 51v.

¹²² Domenico Rainaldi was much more involved in the affairs of the academy and attended meetings regularly from 1662 until 1697 (he died in 1698). One wonders if Carlo relied on his cousin to keep abreast of developments and news. For Domenico's first meeting, see ASASL, Libro 43, 19 November 1662 f.138v; ASASL Libri 44 & 46 note his attendance until his death in 1698.

the mission of the academy. The academy's archives reveal few details that would suggest concretely the scope and tenor of Rainaldi's leadership. However, on April 30, 1673, the academy did specify a new pedagogical curriculum.¹²³ Morning lessons included life drawing and anatomy taught by Carlo Cesi, while Mattia de' Rossi and Pietro del Po taught architecture and perspective in the afternoon. This was the first time in the academy's history that a formal course in architecture was prescribed. Although one cannot attribute the impetus of this development to Rainaldi himself, he must have approved of this new direction.

One could interpret the introduction of a formal course in architecture as both the culmination of a gradual process and as a marked shift in architectural pedagogy. On the one hand, the new curriculum established the full incorporation of architecture into the activities of the academy, which was once dominated almost exclusively by painters and sculptors.¹²⁴ Furthermore, the new curriculum reaffirmed the longstanding concept that painting, sculpture, and architecture—the arts of *disegno*—were conceptually unified. On the other hand, the curricular change initiated a course of formal, institutional training for architects, thereby beginning a process that would cleave architecture from its sister arts.¹²⁵ As men trained specifically to become architects and as the social status of the

¹²³ These changes are noted by Missirini, 131; and Kieven, "Mostrar," 191-2. See ASASL Libro 43, f. 222, 30 April 1673.

¹²⁴ On the disparity between the number of painters and sculptors and the number of architects who served as *principe* in the early years of the academy, see Kieven, "Mostrar," 188. The first men elected who practiced architecture solely were Girolamo Rainaldi in 1641 and Giovanni Battista Soria in 1648.

¹²⁵ On the effect of these educational reforms, see Giovanna Curcio, "La città degli architetti," in *In Urbe Architectus*, 143-54. One should also keep in mind that the Royal Academy of Architecture in France was founded in 1671; this development likely influenced the Italians, especially as the Frenchman Charles Errard served as *principe* of the Academy of Saint Luke in 1672. For the influence of the French academies on the Academy of Saint Luke in the 1670s, see Smith, *Architectural Diplomacy*. On the Royal Academy, see Myra Nan Rosenfeld, "The Royal Building Administration in France from Charles V to

architect became more secure, they relied less heavily on the idealistic and ennobling concept of *disegno*. In the lessons of the academy, the technical aspects of architecture, no longer viewed as the sully marks of a manual craft, assumed greater significance than theory.¹²⁶

If Carlo Rainaldi was not a pivotal force in the transformation of architectural pedagogy in seventeenth-century Europe, he, at least, witnessed this changing landscape. His own training reveals echoes of somewhat impractical and ambitious Vitruvian and Renaissance paradigms. These were placed alongside the opportunities of a family workshop and the slow path of apprenticeship. A fine humanist education with the Jesuits rounded out Rainaldi's broad preparation. And, at the Academy of Saint Luke, Rainaldi glimpsed the future of architectural education.

Louis XIV," *The Architect*, 161-79, especially 177-8; and Anthony Gerbino, "The Rebirth of French Classicism I: The Académie Royale d'Architecture," in *François Blondel: Architecture, Erudition, and the Scientific Revolution* (London, 2010), 41-70. For the role of architecture in the academies in general, see Pascal Dubourg Glatigny, "Les académies et la question des techniques en architecture (de la fin du XVIIe siècle à 1750)," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 6 (2008): 3-8.

¹²⁶ For the changing trajectory of architectural training in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, see Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, "From Wren's Lodge to the Neoclassical Academy, 1660-1830," in *Architecture, Art or Profession? Three Hundred Year of Architectural Education in Britain* (Manchester, UK, 1994), 7-37. For France, see Gerbino, *Blondel*, 41-70.

Chapter Three:

Rainaldi and Roman Society: Patrons, Family, and Musical Associates

In 1673 the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728) traveled for the first time to Rome where he studied architecture in the studio of Bernini. During his time in Italy, the young Swede recorded his impressions of the most important Roman architects and their works. Of Carlo Rainaldi, Tessin mentioned not a single building and only quipped, “The Cavaliere Rainaldi is even worse [than Mattia de’ Rossi]; he plays better on the harp.”¹ Tessin’s remark is interesting for a number of reasons. First, it demonstrates that although he included Rainaldi among the most important Roman architects, Tessin had little regard for his architecture.² Second, the remark indicates the extent to which Rainaldi’s musical talent was known to other architects. If a young foreigner in Bernini’s circle recognized Rainaldi’s musical proclivities, then this reputation was certainly widespread. Finally, the comment belongs to a long tradition of insults hurled at artists by their rivals.³ In praising Rainaldi’s music, Tessin denigrates his architecture and hence his artistic reputation.

¹ “Der Cav: Rainaldi ist noch schlechter, spielt best auff der harffe.” Tessin’s comments are published in Björn R. Kommer, *Nicodemus Tessin der Jüngere und das Stockholmer Schloß* (Heidelberg, 1974), 157. In her extensive notes to Pascoli’s *vita* of Rainaldi, Anna Menichella gives a slightly different quotation, writing that Carlo was “migliore nell’arpa che nell’architettura.” Pascoli, 428n38. On Tessin’s time in Rome, see Elisabeth Kieven, “‘Il Gran teatro del mondo,’ Nicodemus Tessin the Younger in Rome,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 72 (2003): 4-15.

² Tessin separates Bernini, Carlo Fontana, Mattia de’ Rossi, and Rainaldi from a second class of architects and *muratori* active in the city. This second group includes Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi, Felice della Greca, and Camillo Arcuccio, among others. On the whole, Tessin’s remarks are ungenerous towards most Roman architects. Kommer, 157.

³ See for example the trial of Caravaggio, Onorio Longhi, Orazio Gentileschi, and Filippo Trisegni for libel against Giovanni Baglione in 1603. Maryvelma Smith O’Neil, *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome* (Cambridge, 2002), 7-39, 337-62. On the significance of insults in general, see Peter Burke, “Insult and Blasphemy in Early Modern Italy,” *Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1987), 95-109.

Tessin's remark, although derisive, indicates the interplay between architecture and music in Rainaldi's career. Rainaldi employed the two arts, along with his other talents, to advance his professional and social prospects. Moreover, both arts were vital to the vibrant and erudite culture of *Seicento* Rome. Networks of elite ecclesiastical and noble patrons supported both architecture and music, which were brought together in the sacred setting of the liturgy and in the secular settings of performances at academies and Roman palaces.

This chapter, which surveys the milieu in which Rainaldi operated as an architect, gentleman, and musician, has two goals. First, examining Rainaldi's position in society sheds light on the role of social and artistic decorum in his architectural practice. Through the acquisition of honorary titles and the display of gentlemanly conduct, Rainaldi promoted his artistic reputation and cultivated elite patrons. Rainaldi's courteous comportment, which helped to advance his career, may very well mirror the responsive qualities of his architecture. Second, understanding Rainaldi's cultural and social milieu is a crucial step in establishing his broader intellectual and artistic interests. These interests serve as a guide to the interpretation of his works in the following chapters on rhetoric and expression.

I begin this chapter by discussing Rainaldi's early career. In his thirties and forties, Rainaldi established a vital network of patrons that included the Savoy and the Orsini. These families played an important role in elevating his social status: the Savoy knighted Rainaldi, while the Orsini brokered his marriage to a noblewoman. I then turn to Rainaldi's domestic life and his marriage to Margherita Maffei. In particular, I analyze Rainaldi's design for his own house as well as the role of his domestic life, a topic that

newly discovered documents help to illuminate. Rainaldi's family, house, and possessions shaped and expressed his identity and ambitions. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a broad look at Rainaldi's musical circle. Rainaldi had contacts with a network of scholars, composers, and musicians invested in recovering the power of the ancient Greek modes of music. Their musical scholarship and activities, aimed at achieving greater emotional force, parallel Rainaldi's interest in the role of architectural expression.

Early Patrons

As reported by all of Rainaldi's biographers, Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy (1593-1657) knighted Rainaldi in the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, bestowing the cross upon the architect in a public ceremony.⁴ Baldinucci writes:

It was no surprise, therefore, that Rainaldi, who for so many and such beautiful works displayed to the public, made himself famous, and was employed often in the services of Carlo Emanuel, Duke of Savoy . . . and finally, it causes no marvel the knowledge that presently he is found in possession of the honor of the knighthood of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, conferred upon him by the same most serene highness, Carlo, Duke of Savoy, by means of Cardinal Maurizio, in order to reward the service given to them in the time that he was at the court of Rome.⁵

Pascoli adds that the cross was one honor among many Rainaldi received from the Savoy.⁶ Although most Roman artists and architects were knighted by popes with the

⁴ The Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, filled by the ranks of Turin's nobility, was approved by papal bull in 1572 and charged with defending the Mediterranean from Muslim encroachment. For the other functions of the order, see Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 2002), 45.

⁵ "Non è stata dunque maraviglia, che il Rainaldi, il quale per tante e così belle opere esposte al pubblico, si è fatto celebre, fosse impiegato molto ne' servij di Carlo Emanuel duca di Savoia . . . [brief remarks on the competition for the Louvre appear here] e finalmente non cagiona maraviglia il sapere, che egli al presente si trova in possesso dell'onore di cavaliere de'santi Maurizio e Lazzerò [sic], conferitogli dall'altezza serenissima dello stesso Carlo duca di Savoia, per mezzo del cardinal Maurizio, per guiderdone della servitù prestatali nel tempo ch' e' fu alla corte di Roma." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:333.

⁶ Pascoli, 415.

Ordine del Speron d'Oro or the *Ordine di Gesù Christo*, Rainaldi's Savoyard title was viewed with no less regard.⁷

Little is known about the circumstances that gave rise to Rainaldi's honor. He was knighted in 1649 or early 1650, a fact confirmed by the appearance of his title, *cavaliere*, in documents from this time forward; however, the only known project Rainaldi completed for the Savoy postdates his knighthood.⁸ The works that earned Rainaldi his knighthood are as yet unknown, but they appear to have been executed in the service of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, who was an early advocate for the architect.

Maurizio of Savoy was the son of Carlo Emanuele I, brother of Vittorio Amedeo I, and uncle of Carlo Emanuele II. At the age of fourteen, he became a cardinal in the tradition of cardinal princes. He resided in Rome for much of the 1620s and 1630s, leaving the city permanently in 1637. At the conclave of 1623, the cardinal served as protector of French interests and helped to elect Maffeo Barberini as Pope Urban VIII.⁹ During the Barberini pontificate, he played an important role in the cultural life of the city. Around 1625 the cardinal founded the Accademia dei Desiosi, which met in his

⁷ For the *Ordine del Speron d'Oro* and the *Ordine di Gesù Christo*, see Sebastian Schütze, "Arte Liberalissima e Nobilissima. Die Künstlernobilitierung im päpstlichen Rom: Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Künstlers in der frühen Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 (1992): 319-52. Rainaldi's biographers and other early modern sources highly praise the architect for this honor and almost always emphasize the particular order to which he belonged. It should be noted that a patent of nobility has never been found for Rainaldi.

⁸ Between 1659 and 1667 Rainaldi made minor changes to the national church of the Savoy in Rome, Santissimo Sudario dei Piemontesi, and in 1682 he began a major restoration that was completed a decade later. See Fasolo, *L'opera*, 195, 312-3, and 321-3. Earlier works for the Savoy may exist, although these await discovery.

⁹ See Pastor, 25:329 and 28:3 and 19. For Cardinal Maurizio's involvement in a dynastic war with the regent of Piedmont, Cristina of France, see Martha Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680: Urban Design, Military Culture, and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital* (Chicago, 1991), 116-20.

apartments at the Palazzo Orsini at Monte Giordano.¹⁰ The regular membership comprised mostly courtiers, but more illustrious figures also attended meetings, including the antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo, the author Agostino Mascardi, the future cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, and the poet and future pope Giulio Rospigliosi.¹¹ Such an eminent roster led one scholar to describe the academy as “the intellectual wing of Urban VIII’s circle”; yet, the academy’s activities were not always so restrained.¹² In addition to the recitations of poetry and other literary works, members enjoyed the performance of music and dramas, as well as merriment in the form of games, jokes, and feasts.¹³

Cardinal Maurizio displayed an occasional interest in architecture, although his impact on the papal city was minimal.¹⁴ The cardinal rented one wing of the Palazzo Orsini at Monte Giordano where he initiated only minor restorations.¹⁵ Furthermore, he never undertook any major building projects at his titular churches, Sant’Eustachio and Santa Maria in Via Lata.¹⁶ It is surprising that a patron who so seldom commissioned works of architecture played a pivotal role in the ennoblement of a young architect.

¹⁰ The literature usually gives 1623 as the founding of the academy, although the academy’s diary gives 1626 as its official foundation. In any case, the group appears to have met, at least informally, by 1625. Riccardo Merolla, “L’*accademia dei desiosi*,” *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995): 142.

¹¹ Merolla, 127, 138-9, and 144.

¹² Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 104.

¹³ Merolla, 130.

¹⁴ Later in life, Cardinal Maurizio helped initiate the project to build a new chapel for the Holy Shroud in Turin, pressing Cristina of France and Carlo Emanuele II to undertake the work. However, he did not live to see Guarino Guarini’s chapel begun. See John Beldon Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud: Relic and Ritual in Turin* (Chicago, 2003), 90.

¹⁵ Matthias Oberli, “*Magnificentia Principis*”: *Das Mäzenatentum des Prinzen und Kardinals Maurizio von Savoyen (1593-1657)* (Weimar, 1999) 73-4, and 78-9.

¹⁶ Carla Appetiti, *Sant’Eustachio*, Le chiese di Roma illustrate, 82 (Rome, 1964); and Luigi Cavazzi, *La diaconia di S. Maria in Via Lata e il Monastero di S. Ciriaco: Memorie storiche* (Rome, 1908), 408.

Cardinal Maurizio's promotion of Carlo Rainaldi to the rank of *cavaliere* perhaps had less to do with architecture than with his interests in music and spectacle. The cardinal was a central figure in the musical circle of the Barberini. Performances occurred at the meetings of the Accademia dei Desiosi, and the cardinal supported several musicians, most notably Michelangelo Rossi, Stefano Landi, and Sigismondo d'India.¹⁷ His patronage extended to the production of secular operas and the celebration of major political events through spectacles.¹⁸ Although Rainaldi's name has not been linked to any of these activities, the young architect may have secured the cardinal's attention through his involvement in spectacles or through a shared passion for music.

Mutual ties to the noble Orsini family also connected Cardinal Maurizio and Carlo Rainaldi. Both the cardinal and the architect resided at the Palazzo Orsini at Monte Giordano, though at separate times. The cardinal rented a wing of the palace from 1622 until 1637,¹⁹ and Rainaldi is known to have lived at the palace two decades later.²⁰ The relationship of both men to each other and to the Orsini suggests an elite circle of patrons

¹⁷ For bibliography on these figures, see the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "D'India, Sigismondo"; "Landi, Stefano"; and "Rossi, Michelangelo."

¹⁸ For Maurizio's musical patronage, see Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 81, 106, 108, 184, and 227. See also the cardinal's biographical entry in Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1988), 163.

¹⁹ For the rental agreement, see Kristin Triff Burgard, "Two Seventeenth-Century Plans of the Palazzo di Monte Giordano in Rome," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 42 (1998): 515. On the palace itself, see Kristin Triff, "Patronage and Public Image in Renaissance Rome: Three Orsini Palaces," (PhD diss., Brown University, 2000).

²⁰ Carlo Rainaldi resided at the Palazzo Orsini at Monte Giordano from 1657 until 1661, although he may have lived there much earlier. A list of architects active in Rome, compiled by Virgilio Spada in 1657, states, "Carlo Rainaldi . . . è provisionato da' SS.ri Orsini nel palazzo d'quali habita, come Architetto, Ha moglie, ma non figli." Archivio di Stato, Archivio Spada, vol. 495, 13 (*Diverse*), 14 November 1657. The quotation is published in Minna Heimbürger Ravalli, *Architettura, scultura, e arti minori nel barocco italiano: Ricerche nell'archivio Spada* (Firenze, 1977), 301-302n24. A copy of the notice is also found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi H.II.43, cc. 104-105. The *stati d'anime* further confirm Rainaldi's residence at the Palazzo Orsini during this period. See Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 1:125n11a.

that Rainaldi used to advance his career.²¹ In fact, various members of the Orsini family patronized Carlo Rainaldi, his father Girolamo, and his cousin Domenico.²² Research by Carla Benocci on Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini, considered together with newly discovered documents related to Rainaldi's wife, has begun to clarify this patronage network.²³

The Orsini commanded respect as one of the two most powerful families from the old Roman nobility, but their material fortune declined precipitously in the seventeenth century. The most important branch, which carried the titled Dukes of Bracciano, expired by the end of the century. Nevertheless, a vibrant artistic culture flourished around the Orsini court during the 1630s and 1640s as the family continued its patronage of art and music under the aegis of Paolo Giordano II, the Duke of Bracciano (1591-1656).

Paolo Giordano II spent most of his youth in Florence where his granduncle Ferdinando I Medici ruled.²⁴ There, he cultivated a passion for music, theater, and spectacle and encountered artists and musicians like Giulio Parigi, Jacques Callot, and Girolamo Frescobaldi.²⁵ From 1609 to 1610 Paolo Giordano and his brother Ferdinando traveled to the major courts of Europe and established diplomatic ties throughout the

²¹ In addition to a palace, the cardinal and Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini perhaps shared similar taste in artists. Cardinal Maurizio's portrait was sculpted by François Duquesnoy, and, according to one inventory, the duke's likeness was rendered by the same artist. See Lingo, *François Duquesnoy*, 111 and 203n61.

²² No specific works by Girolamo Rainaldi for the Orsini are known. However, his testament indicates that he received a silver cup from Ferdinando Orsini, the brother of Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini. See Bertolotti, *Artisti bolognesi*, 138. For Domenico's work for the Orsini, see Contardi and Curcio, 429-430.

²³ Carlo Benocci, *Paolo Giordano II Orsini nei ritratti di Bernini, Boselli, Leoni e Kornmann* (Rome, 2006).

²⁴ Benocci, 11.

²⁵ Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 95.

continent.²⁶ With the death of his father, Duke Virginio Orsini, in 1615, Paolo Giordano assumed the title of Duke of Bracciano and inherited the family's tremendous debts, which plagued him for the rest of his life. A strategic marriage in 1621 to the wealthy widow Isabella Aragoni Appiani, the Princess of Piombino, relieved this situation somewhat.²⁷ However, the duke never had the vast sums required to indulge the high levels of artistic patronage characteristic of papal families like the Barberini. Throughout his life, Orsini remained a friend to all the arts, especially music, theater, and poetry; he even published volumes of his own verse.²⁸ The duke was particularly well-connected to the luminaries of his day. He befriended figures like Gianlorenzo Bernini and Queen Christina of Sweden and corresponded frequently with the rulers of Europe, including Cardinal Mazarin, who later expressed interest in Rainaldi.²⁹

Paolo Giordano Orsini shared with Rainaldi a passion for music. Despite the duke's increasing financial difficulties in the 1640s and 1650s, he continuously employed musicians as part of his *famiglia*.³⁰ Moreover, the duke corresponded with the most

²⁶ Benocci, 11-12.

²⁷ Benocci, 13.

²⁸ Orsini wrote two volumes, the *Rime* and the *Satire* published in Bracciano in 1628. See the modern edition of his poetry, Paolo Giordano Orsini, *Rime diverse*, ed. Anna Maria Luisetti, preface by Giorgio Bárbieri Squarotti (Turin, 1996).

²⁹ For Bernini's portrait of the duke, see Rudolf Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 4th ed. (1955; London, 1999), 256-7. On his relationship to Queen Christina, see Baron C. de Bildt, "Cristina di Svezia e Paolo Giordano II, Duca di Bracciano," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 29 (1906): 5-32. On Orsini's correspondence with Mazarin, see Benocci, 26. Rainaldi's connection to Mazarin is seldom mentioned in the literature. In late 1659 or early 1660, Cardinal Mazarin commissioned Rainaldi to enlarge and restore the Palazzo Mancini for his sister's family on the via del Corso. The cardinal died in 1661 before construction could begin. Nevertheless, a letter from Rainaldi to Mazarin survives. See Schiavo, 115. For the construction of the palace, see L. Maggi, "Giovanni Battista Contini e il palazzo Mancini al Corso in Rome," *Palladio* 12 (1999): 51-64. Rainaldi also sent designs to Paris for Mazarin's Collège des Quatre Nations, although the drawings have been lost. See Hilary Ballon, *Louis Le Vau: Mazarin's Collège, Colbert's Revenge* (Princeton, 1999), 33.

³⁰ Benocci, 26.

celebrated composer of the early seventeenth century, Claudio Monteverdi. Although the two figures probably never met, the duke entrusted the composer with the task of overseeing the publication of a book of music by Francesco Petratti.³¹

A few fortuitous details suggest that music reinforced the bond between Rainaldi and Orsini. Rainaldi wrote at least one musical work for the family, “Ho il cuor costante,” a cantata for soprano and basso continuo (now preserved in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena).³² Moreover, Rainaldi’s interest in novel musical instruments also testifies to a certain affinity with Orsini. The biographer Passeri mentions the *rosidra* among the five instruments Rainaldi knew how to play. According to early modern sources, Paolo Giordano II invented the *rosidra* and so named it after his family device of the rose.³³ The instrument was apparently a type of hydraulic organ, and it is tempting to imagine that Virtuivius’s mention of such organs provided the duke with some inspiration.³⁴ This was not Orsini’s only experiment with musical instruments. Marin Mersenne and Michele Todini both mentioned the duke’s modifications to the “sordellina,” an instrument similar

³¹ Denis Stevens, “Monteverdi, Petratti, and the Duke of Bracciano,” *Musical Quarterly* 64 (1978): 275-94.

³² Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms. Mus. G 167 4cc. An annotation on the sheet records, “Musica di Carlo Rainaldi; del Duca di Bracciano.” Marx, “Carlo Rainaldi,” 57-9, notes that this annotation does not conclusively link the cantata to Orsini patronage, but given the architect’s other ties to the family, such caution does not seem warranted. The volume in which the cantata appears is dated 1662, but the cantata itself may have an earlier date. In any case, the work was either written for Duke Paolo Giordano II or for his successor, Duke Ferdinando.

³³ H.J. Marx, “Carlo Rainaldi,” 52, has stated that the *rosidra* is not an instrument known to modern musicologists, mistaking it as a humanist name for the lute. Orsini’s creation of novel instruments is mentioned by Francesco Angeloni, *La Historia Augusta da Giulio Cesare insino a Costantino il Magno illustra con la vertià delle antiche medaglie* (Rome, 1641), 376. Pietro Antonio Gaetani writes that Orsini “inventò un nuovo istrumento da suono, cui denominò la Rosidra, preso il nome dalla Rosa, che è la Divisa della Famiglia Orsina,” in *Museum Mazzuchellianum seu Numismata Virorum Doctrina Praestantium* (Venice, 1763), 2:51. Both works are cited by Benocci, 9 and 25.

³⁴ Stevens, 281.

to the musette and akin to the bagpipe.³⁵ Rainaldi's knowledge of the *rosidra* likely came from Paolo Giordano II directly, and one wonders if the architect played any role in its development.

It is easy to imagine why Rainaldi attracted the interest of this circle of patrons. The educated and gracious architect shared the musical appetites of the cardinal and duke. Although Rainaldi's ties to the Savoy and the Orsini never resulted in any major architectural commissions, their significance in supporting his early career cannot be overstated. While Cardinal Maurizio elevated Rainaldi to *cavaliere*, Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini supported Rainaldi's marriage a young noblewoman, thereby confirming the architect's high status.

The House of Rainaldi

In 1642 Carlo Rainaldi married Margherita Maffei. Little was known about Maffei until recently;³⁶ however, her unpublished dowry, testament, and inventory reveal much about her wealth and position in Roman society.³⁷ Margherita Maffei was born around 1627, thus making her Rainaldi's junior by sixteen years.³⁸ Her father was a Roman by the name of Scipione Maffei, and Margherita had at least one sibling, a brother named Carlo. She brought to the marriage a large, though not exorbitant, dowry of 3030 *scudi*. To give some impression of its value, a *muratori*, or skilled mason, earned on

³⁵ Benocci, 25.

³⁶ Eimer mentions Margherita Maffei and her relationship to the Orsini, *La fabbrica*, 1:124-5. Menichella, in her notes to Pascoli's *vita*, mistakenly gives Maffei as Rainaldi's mother, 417n2. Varagnoli repeats Eimer's findings and suggests her ties to the noble Maffei family, "La casa," 70.

³⁷ Appendix, Documents B, C, and D.

³⁸ Varagnoli, "La casa," 77n26, gives an approximate year of birth based on the reports of the *stati d'anime* for Santa Maria del Popolo.

average 85 *scudi* a year.³⁹ It would take such a worker over 35 years to amass an equivalent amount. Women of the artisan class typically held dowries of a few hundred *scudi*.⁴⁰ At the opposite extreme, the dowries of the most important noblewomen ran into the tens of thousands.⁴¹ Roughly half of Maffei's dowry was given to her by Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini, while silver, jewels, clothes, linens, and other domestic items comprised the rest. The duke's contribution to the dowry suggests that Rainaldi and Maffei met at the Palazzo Orsini at Monte Giordano and that the Orsini brokered the marriage.

In addition to the tangible benefits of a sizeable dowry, the marriage to Maffei connected Rainaldi to a noble name. The Maffei originated in Volterra, and a branch from Verona was established in Rome by the mid-fifteenth century. The family had an important library in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and collected antiquities, which were displayed in the Palazzo Maffei near the Pantheon. In the 1570s Giacomo della Porta redesigned the palace, although it did not remain in the family for long.⁴² Margherita Maffei's precise genealogy remains unknown, but it appears she descended from this noble family. Her testament bears the Maffei seal, a stag above three diagonal stripes, and it mentions two silver candelabra that bore her family's coat-of-arms.

³⁹ Richard Spear, "Scrambling for Scudi," 312.

⁴⁰ Nussdorfer, 110.

⁴¹ A dowry of 100,000 *scudi* was standard for marriages between members of papal families and the most prominent noble families. See Irene Fosi and Maria Antoinetta Visceglia, "Marriage and Politics at the Papal Court in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, eds. Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge, 1998), 219. See also the list of values of dowries compiled by Calcaterra, 142-6.

⁴² Camilla Peretti purchased the palace in 1591. For the family and the palace, see Anna Bedon, "I Maffei e il loro palazzo in via della Pigna," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* n.s. 12 (1988): 45-64.

Margherita Maffei's position in the Orsini court further attests to an aristocratic lineage.⁴³ Maffei served as a *dama di compagnia*, or companion, to Isabella Aragoni Appiani, the Princess of Piombino and the wife of Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini.⁴⁴ Roman women of the highest status had as many as ten female companions, who resided in the main palaces in close proximity to their mistresses. Companions were often unmarried noblewomen of lesser rank, and they typically lived in seclusion from the men of the *famiglia*.⁴⁵ Maffei's case was somewhat different as she lived with her husband, their cousin, and two servants at the Palazzo Orsini.⁴⁶ Her noble name, her marriage to the Cavaliere Rainaldi, and a legacy of 500 *scudi* that she eventually inherited from Isabella Appiani all suggest that Maffei occupied a position of favor with the princess.

Although there were obvious strategic advantages to the marriage, it appears that Rainaldi and Maffei shared genuine affection for one another. In her testament Margherita referred to Carlo as her "most delightful consort" (*mio diletissimo consorte*), a touching, if formulaic, reference. Looking after her husband's eternal salvation, she offered numerous masses at the church of Santa Maria di Montesanto not only for herself, but for her husband and their ancestors. Maffei also displayed concern for the material welfare of the Rainaldi family. She left six shirts, four drapes, some bed sheets, and a small annuity of six *scudi* to Rainaldi's sister, a nun in the convent of Sant'Apollonia.

⁴³ In his poem, "La sera," Paolo Giordano II recounts the arrival of notable guests for an evening at his villa. The list includes one Benedetto Maffei, although his identity and relationship, if any, to Margherita are unclear. Orsini, 149.

⁴⁴ The *stati d'anime* list Maffei as a "Dama della Sig^{ra} Principessa." See Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 1:125n11a.

⁴⁵ Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan* (New York, 1990), 26. For the experiences of Roman noblewomen, see Benedetta Borello, *Trame sovrapposte: La socialità aristocratica e le reti di relazioni femminili a Roma (XVII-XVIII secolo)* (Naples, 2003).

⁴⁶ Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 1:125n11a.

Maffei willed another four shirts, four drapes, and fifty *scudi* to Rainaldi's cousin, Costanza Verovia. Maffei was viewed fondly by her husband's family in turn. Verovia, who predeceased Maffei, left her a house near the Quirinal Hill, and Girolamo Rainaldi bequeathed to Maffei a necklace that held his watch and a square diamond set in an ancient ring.⁴⁷

Rainaldi's biographers make no mention of Margherita Maffei, and little survives that reveals her personal identity. However, one document suggests that she exhibited an interest in art and antiquity. Maffei commissioned works from the sculptor Matteo Bonucelli.⁴⁸ These works, which may have included the restoration of ancient statues, copies of ancient works, or new sculptures, were intended for a house on the slope of the Quirinal Hill, presumably the same house Maffei inherited from Verovia.⁴⁹ That Maffei commissioned works for this house suggests she may have been acting largely of her own accord.

Rainaldi and Maffei remained married for twenty-five years until Maffei passed away in 1667. On August 23, at about ten in the morning, Margherita Maffei died of a fever in the couple's home. She was buried according to her wishes in the church of

⁴⁷ Maffei's testament was not updated after the death of Costanza Verovia. For Girolamo Rainaldi's gift to Maffei, see the 1646 testament. Appendix, Document A, Part 1.

⁴⁸ This work is mentioned by Beatrice Cacciotti in "Le antichità dei Chigi nel palazzo di famiglia al Corso dal XVII al XX secolo," *Bolletino d'arte* 85 (2000): 40n46; and in Stefania d'Agostino, "I restauri delle sculture," in *Villa Doria Pamphilj: Storia della collezione*, ed. Beatrice Palma Venetucci (Rome, 2001), 83n33. I thank Sarah McPhee for bringing the reference to my attention. Cacciotti refers to a document in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Chigi, n.1892, carte s.n..

⁴⁹ Costanza Verovia appears in Girolamo Rainaldi's testament as his niece. Also, the 1658 *stati d'anime* of the parish of Santi Simone e Giuda records "S^{ra} Costanza cugina del sopradetto" as living with Rainaldi and Maffei. This must refer to Verovia. Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 1:125n1 1a.

Santa Maria di Montesanto. Maffei had a particular devotion to this church, specifying it as her universal heir upon the eventual death of her husband.⁵⁰

With Rainaldi's technical knowledge and much of Maffei's capital, the couple acquired and restored a house in 1661, six years before her death. The house was located on the via del Babuino, halfway between the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza di Spagna. Several factors explain the impetus for their move. The deaths of the Duke of Bracciano in 1656 and the Princess of Piombino in 1661 may have forced the couple to reexamine their living situation.⁵¹ As a companion to the princess, Maffei was compelled to stay at the palace. Although Rainaldi continued to work for other members of the Orsini family, the couple may no longer have felt obligated to remain in such close proximity to their patrons. Rainaldi was fifty years old, his wife thirty-three. Their move to the via del Babuino corresponds to a period when Rainaldi made increasing strides in forging an independent reputation and winning important architectural commissions. Although Pope Alexander VII bore no particular attachment to Rainaldi, his reign was characterized by a marked increase in architectural and urban projects.⁵² Rainaldi benefited from this

⁵⁰ It is interesting that Maffei's attachment to Santa Maria di Montesanto began before Alexander VII decided to incorporate the church in a project to build two twin churches in the Piazza del Popolo. Only in the 1660s did the Carmelites transfer to the new church designed, in part, by Carlo Rainaldi. On the history of this project, see Hager, 189-306.

⁵¹ Rainaldi and Maffei remained at the service of the duke until his death. On May 13, 1656, Ferdinando Orsini paid 41 *scudi* to Margherita Maffei and Carlo Rainaldi "per provisione de mesi 4 e giorni 3 dal primo gennaio e per tutto il 3 maggio stante prossimo a ragione di sc. 10 il mese tra tutti dua, per servizio prestato alla bona memoria del signor duca mio fratello, compresoci la quarantena." Archivio Storico Capitolino, Archivio Orsini, II series, reg. 1848, f.8, cited by Benocci, 29. On May 24, 1656, Paolo Giordano II died, as Benocci suggests, from the effects of the plague that reached Rome in that year.

⁵² Alexander VII's diary gives some indication of his level of esteem for various Roman architects. Bernini received over four hundred mentions; Cortona, fifty-two; Borromini, twenty-seven; and Rainaldi, a scant four. On this point, see Marder, *Bernini*, 123. See entries 249, 278, 282, and 334 for Rainaldi in Richard Krautheimer and Roger B. S. Jones, "The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975): 199-225. Based on the diary entries, Krautheimer infers that the pope had "little sympathy" for Rainaldi. Although Borromini's name appears

building boom and received a number of prestigious commissions in the late 1650s and early 1660s, including the design of Santa Maria in Campitelli, the design of the twin churches of the Piazza del Popolo, and the completion of the façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle. His newfound professional independence and increasing financial solvency could have spurred the architect to acquire a house that would reflect his high status and professional success.⁵³

According to a contract first published by Claudio Varagnoli, Rainaldi and Maffei agreed in July 1661 to acquire a house from the Archconfraternity of the Santissima Annunziata, a religious organization that owned and rented property throughout the city.⁵⁴ The house was located on the via del Babuino between the vicolo del Babuino and the via d'orto di Napoli (Figure 3.1). Next to the house stood the fontana del Babuino, an ancient statues of Silenus that served as one of the speaking statues of Rome (Figure

more frequently in the diary, Alexander VII generally avoided him. See Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655-1667* (Princeton, 1985), 42-6.

⁵³ In many contexts, architectural historians have explored the relationship between domestic architecture and the social identities of its inhabitants. See Elizabeth S. Cohen and Thomas V. Cohen, "Open and Shut: The Social Meanings of the Cinquecento Roman House," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9 (2001-2): 61-84; Charles Burroughs, *The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade: Structures of Authority, Surfaces of Sense* (Cambridge, 2002); Maria Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis, eds., *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006); Monika Schmitter, "Odoni's Façade: The House as Portrait in Renaissance Venice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 66 (2007): 294-315. On artist's houses specifically, see Nikia Speliakos Clark Leopold, "Artists' Homes in Sixteenth-Century Italy," (PhD diss, Johns Hopkins University, 1979); and Eduard Hüttinger, ed., *Künstlerhäuser: Von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart* (Zürich, 1985).

⁵⁴ Appendix, Document E. The archconfraternity rented out properties in the city in order to raise funds for the dowries of poor women. See Deborah Nelson Wilde, "Housing and Urban Development in Sixteenth Century Rome: The Properties of the Arciconfraternita della SS.ma Annunziata," (PhD diss., New York University, 1989), 2-9. For the property, see pages 705-10 (House no. 36). See also Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), 181-2; and Marina D'Amelia, "Economia familiare e sussidi dotali: La politica della Confraternita dell'Annunziata a Roma (secoli XVII-XVIII)," in *La donna nell'economia, secc. XIII-XVIII: Atti della "Ventunesima Settimana di Studi," 10-15 aprile 1989*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence, 1990), 195-215.

3.2).⁵⁵ The location of the house was particularly close to the Piazza del Popolo, where Rainaldi began construction of the twin churches just months after acquiring the new residence. A decade later, the house again proved conveniently located when Rainaldi began work on the Church of Gesù e Maria.

Rainaldi and Maffei did not buy the house outright from the archconfraternity. Instead, they agreed to pay 1000 *scudi* to renovate the structure. The couple retained the house for the duration of their lives, but upon their deaths, the property reverted to the archconfraternity. According to her inventory, Maffei paid 400 *scudi* toward the renovation of the house; this amount was the larger part of 500 *scudi* that she inherited from the Princess of Piombino (Appendix, Document D).

The 1661 contract includes a *capitolato* that describes the improvements Rainaldi intended for the property. According to the document, the renovations are largely concerned with the appearance of the house. The main portal will be moved to the center of the facade; pilasters added; windows decorated; the whole house colored; cracks filled; the courtyard planted, and so forth. In December of 1661 part of the main apartment collapsed,⁵⁶ and nearly a year later, on November 2, 1662, the couple signed a second contract with greater attention to the structural renovations.⁵⁷ The archconfraternity and the couple shared the cost of these renovations. Moreover, Rainaldi and Maffei received the rights to one-third of any marbles, statues, and other precious materials found on the property.

⁵⁵ The fountain, originally located on the eastern side of the via del Babuino, was dismantled and moved from the street in 1877. In 1957 it was returned to the via del Babuino, but was placed on the western side of the street. Cesare D'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma*, 3rd ed. (1957; Rome, 1986), 134.

⁵⁶ Appendix, Document F.

⁵⁷ Appendix, Document G. Varagnoli, "La casa," 70 and 76n22.

A design for a stately new façade on the via del Babuino survives with the contract (Catalog 36 & Figure 3.3). The drawing for the facade measures 39.5 x 26.5 cm. Beneath the house are the prominent signatures of Margherita Maffei Rainaldi and Carlo Rainaldi. The materials—graphite, brown ink, and brown wash—are consistent with Rainaldi’s known corpus of drawings, as is the technique. Doors and windows are filled in with thick brown wash. Organic forms, such as the ornamental shells and the potted trees, are executed rapidly and confidently. Given the personal nature of the project and his signature on the page, the drawing appears to be a work by Rainaldi himself, not an assistant.

Whether Rainaldi executed the renovations in strict conformity to the drawing is unknown. During the eighteenth century, the house was incorporated into the Palazzo Boncompagni Ludovisi.⁵⁸ Furthermore, seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century maps of Rome do not record the appearance of anything that resembles Rainaldi’s ambitious design.⁵⁹ Giovanni Maggi’s 1625 map of Rome appears as a relatively accurate representation of the *isola* before Rainaldi acquired his house (Figure 3.1).⁶⁰ At the left side of the block, the Fontana del Babuino appears. Next to it a low wall fronts the property. There are trees immediately behind the wall, indicating the presence of a courtyard, and buildings towards the back of the property. Giovanni Battista Falda’s 1676

⁵⁸ On the palace, which is also known as the Palazzo Boncompagni Cerasi, see Giorgio Carpaneto, *I palazzi di Roma*, 3rd ed., (Rome, 1991), 76-8; and Claudio Varagnoli, “La nobiltà dissimulata, ossia il Palazzo Boncompagni Ludovisi al Babuino,” in *Roma: Le case, la città*, ed. Elisa Debenedetti (Rome, 1998), 37-59. Maria Eleonora Boncompagni Ludovisi acquired the property from the Archconfraternity of the Annunziata in 1737, and her new residence was completed in 1744.

⁵⁹ Varagnoli, “La casa,” 65 and 71.

⁶⁰ The maps by Gottfried Van Schayck (1630), Antonio Tempesta (published by Giovanni Giacomo de’ Rossi) (1661/62), Giovanni Blaeu (1663), Federico Agnelli (1666), and Giovanni Battista Falda (1667) do not depict this particular block in great detail. See Amato Pietro Frutaz, ed., *Le piante di Roma*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1962), plates 324, 339, 342, 344, and 345.

plan of Rome is more detailed (Figure 3.4). Again, the Fontana del Babuino appears at the left side of the *isola*. There is a wall along the street with a courtyard behind it. At the right side of the courtyard, the map suggests a covered corridor that leads to the main residence near the back of the property. The map appears to provide an accurate view of the property, and because it was published sixteen years after Rainaldi initially acquired the house, it suggests that he did not complete the restoration according to his design.

Whether or not Rainaldi restored the house completely, the drawing provides ample evidence for how he sought to represent himself through the medium of architecture. Moreover, the design illustrates Rainaldi's responsive approach to architecture, as he considered a number of important factors, including the location of the house, the layout of the property, his personal domestic needs, and the restraints of decorum.

The design of the Casa Rainaldi negotiates between three main factors: the confines of the property, the preexisting fabric, and the desire for a stately new edifice. Rainaldi preserved the original arrangement of the property, which can be seen in seventeenth-century maps of Rome (Figures 3.1 & 3.4). A wall along the via del Babuino fronted the property. Behind this lay a courtyard. The main building, which Rainaldi preserved and incorporated in the design, stood at the back of the property towards the via Margutta.

If the order of items listed in the contract is a fair indication, then Rainaldi's first concern was the appearance of the facade. In the drawing, Rainaldi creates a handsome symmetrical facade of two stories that forms a screen before a courtyard and the main residence. A rusticated portal stands at the center and provides a glimpse into the

courtyard. A fountain and niche stand on axis with this portal. The ground floor of the structure is seven bays wide. Tuscan pilasters, the simplest of the architectural orders, demarcate the bays. Each of the outer bays includes a door surmounted by an open pediment into the summit of which an oval window is set. According to the contract, the door at the left of the drawing is false, while the door at the right leads to a covered corridor. The corridor links the façade to the main apartment at the back of the property. The second story of the facade comprises two rooms and a balcony. The two rooms perched above the outer bays resemble *altane*. Their function is unknown as the contract refers to them only by the general term “stanze.” The rooms have tall windows capped by open bed segmental pediments decorated with scallop shells. A low balcony runs between the two rooms and carries eight planted vases. The central bay is open, screened by an iron grille that projects over the main portal. Behind the façade and beyond the courtyard, the main apartment rises. Little of this structure is visible in the drawing. Five windows with simple moldings stretch across the facade. According to the contract, a total of ten windows would have faced the courtyard; these are visible in Falda’s 1676 plan of Rome (Figure 3.4).

Rainaldi’s design strikes a delicate balance between decorum and display. The design vastly improves the appearance of the house giving it clear symmetry and order. In the contract, Rainaldi further emphasizes the need to adorn and decorate the facade. Such ornament includes the rusticated portal, the pilasters, and the moldings around the windows. By and large, however, the ornament is modest. An example from Rainaldi’s ecclesiastical architecture serves as a good contrast to the relative restraint of his domestic design. The moldings of the central window of the façade of Santa Maria in

Campitelli are similar in form to those of the upper windows of the Casa Rainaldi (Figure 3.5). At Santa Maria in Campitelli, however, Corinthian columns frame the window, and the pediment comprises a greater number of moldings. A garland links the column capitals to the scallop shell, providing a further touch of decorative richness. The difference between these windows is important. The ornate moldings of Santa Maria in Campitelli were appropriate for a church, but were far too rich for the house of a gentleman of Rainaldi's station. The use of full Corinthian columns on Rainaldi's facade would have been unthinkable given his status.⁶¹

Balanced against this architectural modesty is the typological form of the house, which recalls various noble villas and palaces.⁶² Naturally, Rainaldi's design was governed by the layout of the property, but the architect may have exploited the division between the facade and the main apartment to reflect similar arrangements in villa architecture. Instead of creating a two or three story block along the via del Babuino, Rainaldi designed a single story screen with two projecting towers. This form is more suggestive of a villa than an urban palazzo as it recalls models like the rear facade of the

⁶¹ For Vitruvius's remarks on decorum in general, see Book 1, Chapter 2.5; for private buildings, see Book 6, Chapter 5. Alberti discusses residences in Book 5 and again in Book 9. Although Alberti extols the frugality of the ancients, he admits the necessity of ornament to show wisdom and power and "to distinguish family and country." Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert (Cambridge, MA, 1988), Book 9, Chapter 1. See also the discussion of classical and Renaissance texts in Georgia Clarke, *Roman House-Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, 2003), 54-62. Although Serlio's sixth book on architecture was never published, it provides further evidence of the widespread views on the architectural decorum of domestic residences. Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, vol. 2., *Books VI and VII of 'Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura et Prospetiva'*, eds. and trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, 2001), xxi-xxvi. See also the discussion of Serlio's treatise in James Ackerman and Myra Nan Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in Renaissance Urban Planning," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, 21-49; and Mario Carpo, "The Architectural Principles of Temperate Classicism: Merchant Dwellings in Sebastiano Serlio's Sixth Book," *Res* 22 (1992): 135-51.

⁶² On the design of villas in early seventeenth-century Rome, see David Coffin, "Garden Parks," *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton, 1991), 139-58.

casino at the Villa Borghese (Figure 3.6).⁶³ Although Rainaldi's facade is much smaller and dispenses with the ancient sculptural fragments embedded in the villa's facade, it appears to imitate the villa in terms of its massing. The design of Rainaldi's house thus evokes the architecture of nobility, while its smaller size and restrained ornament carefully maintain a sense of architectural decorum.⁶⁴

Why did Rainaldi look to villa architecture in the design of his urban house? It appears that the architect responded, in part, to the setting of the neighborhood.⁶⁵ In the sixteenth century, the area at the base of the Pincio was home to many gardens and *vigne*, and the villa Medici towered on the hill above. Many of the elements of Rainaldi's design evoke this suburban ambience: the villa-like composition, the location adjacent to the fontana del Babuino, and the verdant courtyard and fountain visible from the street. Although the neighborhood was slowly becoming more densely populated and urban in character, Rainaldi turned to the example of villas in order to craft an architectural image that both conformed to its surroundings and proclaimed its noble heritage.

The design of the house also evokes sources outside Rome. Claudio Varagnoli has argued that Rainaldi's design bears a strong resemblance to Galeazzo Alessi's Villa Grimaldi-Sauli built in Genoa in 1554 (Figure 3.7). Like the Genoese villa, Rainaldi's house adopts a facade advanced forward in space and separated from the main apartment

⁶³ Varagnoli "La casa," 74, suggests the Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine hill as a source for Rainaldi's two symmetrical *altane*. Indeed, Girolamo Rainaldi was involved in the construction of the garden, but the overall effect of the structure with its terraces and staircases is quite different from Rainaldi's house. On the Farnese Gardens, see Hildegard Giess, "Studien zur Farnese-Villa am Palatin," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 13 (1971): 179-230; and Vincenzo Cazzato, ed., *Gli Orti farnesiani sul Palatino* (Rome, 1990).

⁶⁴ On the relationship of villa architecture to the status of its owner, see Tracy Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era* (Cambridge, 2002), 154-61.

⁶⁵ Varagnoli, "La casa," 62-4.

by a courtyard.⁶⁶ Moreover, Rainaldi's facade repeats the form of a single story with two lateral *altane*. There are important differences, however, between the Casa Rainaldi and the Villa Grimaldi-Sauli. The villa is more exuberant in terms of decoration. With elaborate portals and windows, an escutcheon above the door, busts above the windows, and Ionic pilasters decorating the *altane*, Alessi's façade is much richer in its effect. This difference reflects the social status of the patrons, a noble family versus a gentleman architect.

How did Rainaldi gain knowledge of Alessi's design? It is possible that the architect visited Genoa during his travels to northern Italy, but Peter Paul Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, published in 1622, was his most likely visual source.⁶⁷ Rubens's lavish publication included 139 engraved plates that depicted in measured plans, sections, and elevations the noble palaces and villas of Genoa.⁶⁸ The Villa Grimaldi-Sauli appears in four plates: the ground floor in plan (plate 49), the first floor in plan (plate 50), the main facade in elevation (plate 51), and the street facade in elevation (plate 52).⁶⁹ It is

⁶⁶ The form also recalls French models, specifically Parisian hôtels. In the typical hôtel, an entrance-screen with a large portal stands before a courtyard. Beyond the courtyard is the main structure, the *corps-de-logis*. It is possible that Rainaldi was aware of this architectural type; however, the publication of the Villa Grimaldi-Sauli in Rubens's volumes and its similarity to the Casa Rainaldi in terms of massing make it a closer architectural source. On the development of the hôtel in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Rosalys Coope, *Salomon de Brosse and the Development of the Classical Style in French Architecture from 1565 to 1630* (University Park, PA, 1972), 57; Allan Braham and Peter Smith, *François Mansart*, 2 vols. (London, 1973), 1:31-2; and Robert Neuman, *Robert de Cotte and the Perfection of Architecture in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago, 1994), 124-6.

⁶⁷ Varagnoli, "La casa," 73.

⁶⁸ Mario Labó, *I Palazzi di Genova di Pietro Paolo Rubens e altri scritti d'architettura* (Genova, 1970); Ida Maria Botto, "P.P. Rubens e il volume i "Palazzi di Genova," *Rubens e Genova* (Genova, 1977), 59-84; Piet Lombaerde, ed., *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's "Palazzi di Genova" During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems* (Turnhout, Belgium, 2002).

⁶⁹ It is unknown whether Rainaldi possessed Rubens's publication himself. He may have encountered a copy of the work in his youth. The volume is included in the 1641 inventory of Francesco Peperelli, Girolamo Rainaldi's close collaborator and friend. See Elena Longo, "Per la conoscenza di un architetto del primo seicento romano: Francesco Peperelli," *Palladio* 3 (1990): 44.

interesting that Rainaldi turned for inspiration to a noble villa published in one of the most important architectural books on Italian palaces in the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ If Rainaldi's house was built as planned, the educated viewer, including rivals like Bernini or Cortona, could have recognized Rainaldi's attempt to associate his gentlemanly house with a noble villa. Furthermore, Rainaldi's choice connected him to a publication by Rubens, an artist who was widely known for the attention and respect he garnered from princes and nobles.

Rainaldi's design nimbly expresses his social ambition as it maintains a sense of architectural decorum. Decorum, or the concept of appropriateness, was fundamental to Roman art and society both in ancient and early modern times; yet, its definition was somewhat vague and indeterminate.⁷¹ Vitruvius offered one of the fullest explanations of architectural decorum: "decorum is the refined appearance of a project that has been composed of proven elements with authority."⁷² He expanded and clarified this definition by relating decorum to function, tradition, and nature. Function dictates that temples should be built in the appropriate architectural order; an elegant Corinthian temple, for instance, would suit the delicacy of the goddess Venus. Tradition prescribes that the characteristics of one order should not be mixed with another; triglyphs are not permitted in an Ionic entablature. Finally, nature guides the correct placement of temples and buildings; for example, temples dedicated to Asclepius should be placed in healthful regions. Vitruvius clarified the concept of decorum through the use of examples, thereby

⁷⁰ Although the book was distributed widely across Europe, its influence was mixed. See Piet Lombaerde's introduction and the essays in *Reception*, 7.

⁷¹ Perry, 31-8.

⁷² Vitruvius 1.2.5.

suggesting that decorum was governed by individual context and was fundamentally relational and elastic. Even in the early modern period, competing pressures on decorum prevented absolute standards of appropriateness from developing.

In the design of the Casa Rainaldi, Rainaldi struck a note of moderation that may recall Cicero's advice about the decorum of houses.⁷³ Rainaldi exhibited his wealth and honor without overstepping his station. Although the house would not have approached in grandeur either the palaces or villas of the nobility, its design would have sent a clear message to Rainaldi's contemporaries: Rainaldi was a gentleman of considerable means.

The location of the house on the via del Babuino was essential to Rainaldi's message. In the seventeenth century, the area surrounding the Trinità dei Monti and the Piazza del Popolo was home to a number of important sculptors, painters and architects, among them Nicolas Poussin, François Duquesnoy, and Salvator Rosa. To the southeast of this area lived Gianlorenzo Bernini on the via della Mercede, Mattia de' Rossi on the via Felice, and Andrea Sacchi on the via Rasella.⁷⁴ It is no coincidence that Rainaldi chose this specific area in Rome and that he undertook renovations to improve the appearance of his house. Placed in this newly fashionable quarter, the house would have celebrated to the larger community of native and foreign artists Rainaldi's identity as a gentleman and architect of the first rank.

⁷³ See Chapter One.

⁷⁴ For artists' houses in this area of Rome, see Donatella Sparti, "La maison de Nicolas Poussin, via del Babuino, à Rome," *Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665): Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel, du 19 au 21 octobre 1994*, ed. Alain Mérot (Paris, 1996), 45-77, especially 47; and Donatella Sparti, *La casa*, 26. In 1639 Salvator Rosa rented the house attached to the fontana del Babuino, that is, the house adjacent to the property Rainaldi and Maffei eventually acquired. However, Rosa moved to the strada Felice, now the via Sistina, before Rainaldi moved to the via del Babuino. Passeri, 389.

Bricks and mortar alone did not define the message of Rainaldi's house. The architect's marriage, servants, possessions, and activities all expressed his considerable means and high accomplishment and status. The architect apparently prized his possessions. According to his testament, Rainaldi kept an inventory of "jewels, silver, furniture, and other things" written in his own hand.⁷⁵ Although the inventory has never been located, the mere fact that he maintained such a list suggests the high value he placed on his possessions. Rainaldi gave this inventory to his sister Anna Vittoria Rainaldi presumably for safekeeping and in preparation for his eventual death. The architect named Anna Vittoria Rainaldi his heir usufruct and charged her with the task of supporting Girolama Campana, his first cousin once removed. The testament required all of Rainaldi's property to be sold and invested in *luoghi di monti camerali non vacabili* (bonds which could be sold or inherited), and eventually upon the death of Anna Vittoria Rainaldi, Campana became Rainaldi's universal heir.

Rainaldi and Maffei bore no children of their own, and Girolama Campana, whom they referred to as their "niece," must have been dear to them. Campana was the daughter of Rainaldi's cousin, Vittoria Rainaldi Campana, and after the death of Margherita Maffei, Vittoria and Girolama lived together with Rainaldi at his house on the via del Babuino (see Figure 2.1).⁷⁶ In 1692 Girolama Campana married Maurizio Nicolini with whom she had several children, according to the biographer Pascoli.

Upon his death in 1691, Rainaldi was buried in the church of San Francesco delle Stimate, in the habit of the Archconfraternity of the Stigmata and with the cross of

⁷⁵ The testament is published in Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:727-30. See Appendix H.

⁷⁶ Varagnoli, "La casa," 77n29.

Saints Maurice and Lazarus placed upon his chest.⁷⁷ Rainaldi's testament specified that masses were to be said in the churches of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura and San Gregorio, in addition to the Chapel of the Column of the Flagellation at Santa Prassede. Furthermore, the testament required masses in several churches that held personal significance for the architect. One hundred masses were said at San Francesco delle Stimate where Rainaldi belonged to the confraternity. One hundred masses were said at the Church of Gesù e Maria, and fifty at both Santa Maria di Montesanto and Santa Maria dei Miracoli. It is significant that Rainaldi was responsible, at least in part, for the architecture or decoration of these latter three churches.

In the absence of Rainaldi's inventory, only a short list of the architect's possessions can be surmised. Rainaldi's testament, contemporary biographies, and other documents mention a range of objects that he owned. Few of these objects relate directly to his architectural practice; however, knowledge of these possessions helps to enrich the intellectual and social portrait of Rainaldi.

Rainaldi's testament refers to a number of gems and pieces of jewelry that he owned, including a rose of diamonds, a pair of diamond pendants, and a pearl necklace. Moreover, Pascoli reports that Rainaldi often received presents, including precious gems.⁷⁸ Baldinucci describes one such object: a jeweled portrait of King Louis XIV.⁷⁹ The king sent Rainaldi this gift after the architect submitted designs in the competition to complete the Louvre. Baldinucci noted that such an honor was reserved for "men of

⁷⁷ For these details, see the architect's testament (Appendix, Document H).

⁷⁸ Pascoli, 415.

⁷⁹ Baldinucci, 323.

sublime virtue.” With the portrait and his collection of jewels, Rainaldi ordered the fabrication of a beautiful monstrance for the host and gave it to the Archonfraternity of the Stigmata, of which he was a devoted member.⁸⁰ One may discern complex motives in Rainaldi’s gift. The jeweled monstrance simultaneously called attention to his professional success, fame, and wealth as it represented his virtue through works of piety and charity.

With limited evidence, one can only speculate on the nature of Rainaldi’s other possessions, such as musical instruments, books, and works of art. Rainaldi was highly literate and considering his fine education, one suspects that he possessed a number of books. Although no surviving documentary evidence supports this assumption, architects typically kept libraries. Carlo Maderno had a modest collection of books.⁸¹ The libraries of Paolo Maruscelli, Francesco Borromini, and Gianlorenzo Bernini were much larger and comprised topics as diverse as geometry, history, religion, science, poetry, and metallurgy.⁸² Rainaldi’s surviving writings only rarely mention specific literary texts; on

⁸⁰ Rainaldi’s membership in the confraternity is mentioned by Baldinucci and Pascoli. Rainaldi’s testament also conveyed his wish to be buried in the church of San Francesco delle Stimate. See Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:728. Fasolo writes that the monstrance was carried off as plunder by the French in 1811, although he gives no source. Fasolo, *L’opera*, 252. The whereabouts of the monstrance remains unknown.

⁸¹ Hibbard, *Maderno*, 98 and 103.

⁸² For the collections of Maruscelli and Borromini, see Joseph Connors, *Borromini and the Roman Oratory: Style and Society* (New York, 1980), 112 and 140n44. For Bernini, see Sarah McPhee, “Bernini’s Books,” *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000): 442-8. On artists’ and architects’ libraries in general, see Jan Białostocki, “The Doctus Artifex and the Library of the Artist in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries,” in *The Message of Images: Studies in the History of Art* (Vienna, 1988), 150-65; and Sarah McPhee, “The Architect as Reader,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58 (1999): 454-61. For bibliography on the libraries of Italian architects in this period, see also Maria Sofia De Fede and Fulvia Scaduto, *La biblioteca dell’architetto: libri e incisioni (XVI-XVIII secolo) custoditi nella Biblioteca Centrale della Regione siciliana* (Palermo, 2007); and Robin Thomas, “From the Library to the Printing Press: Luigi Vanvitelli’s Life with Books,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69 (2010): 528n3.

at least one occasion, the architect cited the authority of Vitruvius.⁸³ Although his other writings do not supply evidence for the books he might have owned, they do suggest his keen intellect. For example, after being dismissed from a project for the Jesuits, Rainaldi forcefully and eloquently defended his reputation in a letter to Gian Paolo Oliva, General Father of the Society of Jesus.⁸⁴

Rainaldi did own some works of art, and his testament specifically mentions two paintings. The architect bequeathed one painting to the otherwise unknown Andrea Stanghellini to preserve the memory of their friendship. Unfortunately, the testament does not describe the work. Rainaldi bequeathed another painting to Cardinal Lorenzo Brancati di Lauria, his “particular patron” (*particular padrone*).⁸⁵ The work was painted “by the celebrated hand of Marcello Venusti” (*dalla celebre mano di Marcello Venusti*)

⁸³ See Francesco Divenuto, “La nuova cupola del Gesù di Roma,” *Quaderni dell’Istituto di storia dell’architettura* 23 (1994): 81-96, especially 89-90. Rainaldi’s *perito* for the Duke of Parma concerns a proposal to remove the ribs from the dome of the cupola of Il Gesù. Rainaldi cautions against it and concludes, “E per ciò suggerisco per fine il dotto precetto di Vitruvio, che l’architetto deve esser timido, et non ardito.” Divenuto has transcribed the *perito* from 1672. It is found in the Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnese, 1348 II/b, ff.5-8.

⁸⁴ The project for the Chapel of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga in Sant’Ignazio is discussed below in Chapter Four. For the letter, see Appendix, Document O.

⁸⁵ Cardinal Lorenzo Brancati di Lauria (1612-1693) was nearly an exact contemporary of Rainaldi. He was a man of humble origins and entered the order of the Friars Minor Conventuals, a branch of the Franciscans, in 1630. He distinguished himself as a scholar and intellectual and in 1654 assumed the chair of Sacred Scripture at the Sapienza, eventually becoming first custodian (*primo custode*) of the Vatican Library under Clement X. In 1681 Innocent XI named him a cardinal. See the entry by G. Pignatelli in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. “Brancati, Lorenzo.” In 1650 Brancati was named guardian of the church of SS. Apostoli. Sixteen years later, he began a conservative program of restoration directed by Rainaldi. The architect designed a new ciborium for the high altar, which was executed between 1666 and 1669 (now located in the abbey of Casamari), built a lantern over the choir, opened two new windows in the apse, paved the tribune with black and white checkered marble tiles, and restored the façade arcade. For the restoration, see Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, “Il cardinal Brancati, Carlo Rainaldi e i lavori ai Santi Apostoli a Roma,” *Memor fui dierum antiquorum: Studi in memoria di Luigi De Biasio*, eds. Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini and Attilio Mauro Caproni (Udine, 1995), 361-74. The author does not examine the relationship of the architect to the cardinal or mention the cardinal’s appearance in Rainaldi’s final testament. The close friendship between the architect and the cardinal is confirmed by the fact that the cardinal watched over Rainaldi’s niece, Girolama Campana, after Rainaldi’s death. Brancati signed Campana’s dowry agreement on October 18, 1692. See Appendix, Document I.

and represented the Virgin.⁸⁶ Knowledge of these paintings alone cannot reveal whether Rainaldi actively collected works of art, although it would not be surprising. There was a large market for paintings in seventeenth-century Rome, and a canvas by Venusti was a handsome addition to any collection.⁸⁷

Musical instruments held an important place among Rainaldi's possessions. One unpublished document reveals that Rainaldi owned two harpsichords of great monetary value, which he bequeathed to Girolama Campana as part of her dowry. According to an estimate prepared by the instrument maker, Giuseppe Buoni da Cortona, Rainaldi kept the two instruments at his house on the via del Babuino.⁸⁸ One harpsichord had two registers and was valued at 100 *scudi*. The second harpsichord was most unusual. Built by the Ramerini family, the instrument had three registers and played "piano e forte," soft and loud. The Ramerini, a successful family of instrument makers who specialized in building organs and harpsichords, kept their studio on the via del Babuino, near the via dei Greci and just across the street from Rainaldi's own house.⁸⁹ Jacopo Ramerini, the head of the workshop, was employed as an organist and harpsichordist between 1647 and

⁸⁶ The testament of Cardinal Lorenzo Brancati di Lauria, which to the best of my knowledge is unpublished, mentions several works of art, which he bequeathed to other cardinals and clerics. Most are described vaguely, and none can be securely identified as the painting he inherited from Rainaldi. For Brancati di Lauria's will, see ASR, 30 Notai Capoloni, uff. 29, De Comitibus, 30 November 1693, vol. 287 (Testamenti).

⁸⁷ On the art market in seventeenth-century Rome, see Patrizia Cavazzini, "The Market," in *Painting as Business*, 119-52; and Richard Spear, "Rome: Setting the Stage," in *Painting for Profit*, 33-113.

⁸⁸ Document H. The harpsichords became part of the dowry of Rainaldi's niece, Girolama Campana. The estimate was prepared by Giuseppe Buoni da Cortona, who is sometimes confused in the secondary literature with Giovanni Battista Boni da Cortona. See Frederick Hammond, "Some Notes on Giovanni Battista Boni da Cortona, Girolamo Zenti, and Others," *The Galpin Society Journal* 40 (1987): 41.

⁸⁹ Patrizio Barbieri, "Cembalaro, organaro, chittararo e fabbricatore di corde armoniche nella Polyanthea technica di Pinaroli (1718-32)," *Recercare* 1 (1989): 154.

1658 by Rainaldi's patrons, the Pamphilj. He occupied the studio on the via del Babuino from 1650 until his death in 1674.

Buoni da Cortona estimated the value of the Ramerini harpsichord at the large sum of 500 *scudi*, noting that a prelate even offered Rainaldi 1000 *scudi* for it during his lifetime. A fair harpsichord could be acquired for as little as 25 *scudi*,⁹⁰ and the value of this second harpsichord must have related both to its presumably splendid decoration and to its innovative design.⁹¹ By manipulating the dynamics of the instrument, its ability to play softly or loudly, Ramerini created an instrument that could have served the expressive properties of Rainaldi's own music. It would be at least another decade before Bartolomeo Cristofori's experiments in Florence led to the invention of the first true pianoforte; yet, Rainaldi's harpsichord demonstrates the desire to control the instrument's dynamics and places him at the vanguard of the Roman musical scene.

As was common in early modern Italy, Rainaldi's possessions were sometimes imbued with deep personal significance.⁹² The bequeathing of precious items allowed Rainaldi to renew and memorialize ties of kinship, friendship, and patronage even after his death. More importantly, material goods helped to define and to articulate the artist's identity. Just as a handsome facade could express Rainaldi's social status and

⁹⁰ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 3.

⁹¹ Hammond has argued against a prevailing view that there was little technical innovation in seventeenth-century Italian harpsichord design. Hammond, "Some Notes," 42. The estimate describing Rainaldi's harpsichord supports the view that there was at least some experimentation in harpsichord design in this period.

⁹² On the personal value of objects in *Seicento* Rome, see Ago, *Il gusto*. On the role of gifts in patronage networks, see Sharon Kettering, "Gift-giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2 (1988): 131-51.

architectural invention, a rare harpsichord could display his musical discernment and talent.

Rainaldi's Musical Circle

The discovery of Rainaldi's harpsichords greatly supplements knowledge of Rainaldi's musical activities. Although this aspect of his life has received increasing attention in the last fifty years, Rainaldi's role as a composer and musician have been the subject of far less scrutiny than his career as an architect. Figures like Leonardo, Bramante, and Domenichino practiced both architecture and music, but Rainaldi is the only major early modern architect whose musical compositions survive.⁹³ At least twenty-two musical works belong to Rainaldi's oeuvre, and many other compositions surely await discovery.⁹⁴

Music played an important role in Rainaldi's education, in his self presentation as an honorable gentleman, and in his creative life. The study of music befitted an architect of Rainaldi's education and status. In the *Ten Books on Architecture*, read widely by early modern architects through translations and commentaries, Vitruvius recommended the study of music as part of the ideal education of the architect.⁹⁵ Knowledge of music would provide an architect with a solid grasp on mathematical relations and allow him to calibrate catapults and other war machines. Aside from these practical considerations,

⁹³ Emanuel Winternitz, *Leonardo Da Vinci as a Musician* (New Haven, 1982); for Bramante, see Vasari, 4:164; for Domenichino, see Richard Spear, *Domenichino*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1982), 1:40-6.

⁹⁴ See Marx, "Carlo Rainaldi," 48-76. The essay is republished along with a recording of *Pallido Muto* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4163) and the *Lectio III* from the *Lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetae* (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 43) in Eimer, *La fabbrica*, vol. 1. A more complete list of compositions is provided by Marx in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Rainaldi, Carlo." Other studies that address Rainaldi's music include, Eimer, "Carlo Rainaldi," 159-64; and Tozzi, 310-1.

⁹⁵ Vitruvius 1.1.8.

Vitruvius hinted at an analogy that linked architecture to music through their shared foundation in mathematical proportion. For Vitruvius proportion connected the human body, architecture, music, and the cosmos, links which suggested an underlying harmony in the universe.⁹⁶ As Rudolf Wittkower has shown, Renaissance theorists echoed these ideas in their own works, although the power of this analogy gradually weakened over the course of the seventeenth century.⁹⁷

Rainaldi's father Girolamo must have first introduced his son to music. Passeri reports Girolamo's delight in music and his ability to play the lute.⁹⁸ Although Carlo was not the subject of his biography, Passeri wrote enthusiastically of Carlo's musical abilities:

Girolamo left an only son—heir of his possessions and of his rare operations—who is still living, honored by the habit of Saints Maurice and Lazarus of the Religion of Savoy and called Don Carlo Rainaldi. He is also the distinguished Architect of the Roman People. He is loved and held in great esteem by Princes, and by everyone, and accompanied in a rare manner, by the ornament of music, composing with taste and uncommon artifice short arias for one and two voices, playing exquisitely the harpsichord, organ, double harp, lyre, and rosidra with a manner of rare taste, and suavely.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Ingrid Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 99.

⁹⁷ A wide variety of opinion about harmony and proportion characterized the field of seventeenth-century architecture. Some architects, like Inigo Jones and Philibert de l'Orme, clung to the notion of universal harmony. Others like Bernini and Guarini, did not discount universal harmony, but concerned themselves more with how proportions appeared to the eye than with the ideal proportion of the cosmos. See Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, 101-54, especially 150n2.

⁹⁸ Passeri, 219.

⁹⁹ "Ha lasciato [Girolamo] un sol figliuolo erede delle facultà sue, e delle sue rare operazioni, il quale vive al presente, onorato dell' Abito de Santi Maurizio, e Lazzaro della Religione di Savoia chiamato Don Carlo Rainaldi anch'egli Architetto insigne del Popolo Romano, amato, e tenuto in grande stima da Principi, e dall'universale, accompagnato raramente, dall'ornamento della musica componendo con gusto, et artificio non ordinario le Ariette ad una, et a due voci, suonando esquesitamente, il Cimbalo, Organo, Arpa doppia, Lira, Rosidra con maniere di gusto raro, e suavamente." Passeri, 219. Although Passeri discusses Carlo Rainaldi in the briefest of terms, a full third of his description of the architect (37 of 104 words) is devoted to Carlo's music.

Rainaldi's other biographers, Filippo Balducci, Lione Pascoli, and Francesco Milizia, also deemed Rainaldi's musical talents worthy of mention and echoed such praises.¹⁰⁰

Balducci writes that Rainaldi played music "only for his diversion" (per solo suo divertimento), a statement which does not diminish the importance of music to his creative life, but rather suggests that Rainaldi was never paid for his activities.¹⁰¹

Rainaldi pursued music as a gentleman or scholar, not as a professional, an important distinction given that the status of musicians in early modern Rome was typically quite low.¹⁰² Nonetheless, Rainaldi was at least occasionally involved with the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia, Rome's confraternity of musicians. In January 1689, the *infermiere* of the congregation delivered bread and cookies to Rainaldi who was ill, a practice usually reserved for confraternity members.¹⁰³ Rainaldi also designed a chapel for the congregation in the church of San Carlo ai Catinari; however, he died before executing any of the work, and Antonio Gherardi eventually built the chapel according to his own design.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Balducci, *Notizie*, 5:333; Pascoli, 417; and Milizia, 252.

¹⁰¹ "Si diletta più che ordinariamente della musica: e per solo suo divertimento ha sonato per eccellenza l'Arpe doppia, e la Lira." Balducci, *Notizie*, 5:333.

¹⁰² Lorenzo Bianconi, "Social Condition of the Musician," in *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (1982; Cambridge, 1987), 82-90.

¹⁰³ See Giazotto, *Quattro secoli*, 1:223.

¹⁰⁴ See Thomas Pickrel, "Antonio Gherardi: Painter and Architect of the Late Baroque in Rome," (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1981), 111-22, Catalog B-5, and Document 23-A; and Pickrel, "L'élan de la musique: Antonio Gherardi's Chapel of S. Cecilia and the Congregazione dei musici di Roma," *Storia dell'Arte* 61 (1987): 237-54, especially 241-2. The chapel was commissioned in 1685, but Rainaldi completed little work on it before his death in 1691. The Congregation swiftly transferred the project to Antonio Gherardi.

Rainaldi's musical compositions themselves support the view that he was never actually a professional musician. Except for two lamentations and one psalm, Rainaldi's surviving musical compositions were not intended for sacred settings. Rather, they belong to the newly developed genre of the cantata, which became popular beginning in the 1630s. Written for one or two voices with *basso continuo*, the compositions lent themselves to performance before a small, intimate group, such as an academy or other "restricted audience of connoisseurs."¹⁰⁵ Rainaldi certainly frequented formal academies like the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia. However, his compositions were probably performed in more aristocratic settings among Rainaldi's friends and patrons. One of his cantatas bears a dedication to the Duke of Bracciano, and it is easy to imagine Rainaldi performing the work at the Palazzo di Monte Giordano in Rome or at the Orsini Castle at Bracciano.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, nothing definitive can be gleaned about the performance of Rainaldi's other works.

Rainaldi's music belongs to the new style advocated by Claudio Monteverdi, the so-called *seconda prattica* or *stile moderno*.¹⁰⁷ This new style rejected the complex polyphony typical of sixteenth-century composers like Palestrina.¹⁰⁸ Inspired, in part, by

¹⁰⁵ Bianconi, 88. For the development of the cantata, see also William Porter, "Northwestern University's Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of Roman Cantatas," *Essays in Honor of John F. Ohl: A Compendium of American Musicology*, eds. Enrique Alberto Arias, Susan Filler, William Porter, and Jeffrey Wasson (Evanston, IL, 2001), 93.

¹⁰⁶ See note 32 above.

¹⁰⁷ Marx, "Carlo Rainaldi," 62. Rainaldi may have even met Monteverdi in 1628, a point which has not been addressed in the literature on Rainaldi. See Chapter Two above. For Monteverdi's time in Parma in late 1628, see Denis Arnold, *Monteverdi*, rev. ed. (1963; London, 1975), 40-1.

¹⁰⁸ For an overview of the music in this period, see Claude Palisca's classic text, *Baroque Music*, 3rd ed. (1968; Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1991), 8-29. The literature on Monteverdi is vast. For bibliography, see Massimo Michele Ossi, *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi's Seconda Prattica* (Chicago, 2003); and John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi* (Cambridge, 2007). Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987) is

the Florentine Camerata and its studies of ancient Greek music, the *stile moderno* emphasized a close consideration of the meaning of the text, the inclusion of dissonance, and the use of musical figures to represent words. Through these devices, Monteverdi and other composers of the early *Seicento* sought to increase and control the emotional responses of listeners. Rainaldi's own music reflects a similar interest in the arousal of the passions, and, according to Hans Joachim Marx, Rainaldi placed rhythm and melody at the service of expression.¹⁰⁹

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was a period of musical experimentation. In his early career, Rainaldi was directly acquainted with the composer Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) and a circle of humanists, musicians, and instrument makers who studied the Greek system of musical genera and modes and sought to recover their pathetic power.¹¹⁰ Rome in the 1630s and 1640s was a particular locus for the study of the expressive power of ancient music. Such interests centered on the endeavors of the humanist Giovanni Battista Doni (1595-1647), the secretary of Cardinal Francesco Barberini and author of various important musical treatises and texts.¹¹¹ Doni sought to recapture the power of ancient music, and his activities fueled musical research in the first half of the *Seicento*. In his unpublished "Trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica," written in the early 1630s, Doni compiled and analyzed all the known references to the

especially interesting as it relates Monteverdi's work to late Renaissance humanism, the survival of medieval scholasticism, and the shifting worldviews brought about by the discoveries of Galileo and others.

¹⁰⁹ Marx, "Carlo Rainaldi," 66.

¹¹⁰ See below for the evidence of Rainaldi's connection to della Valle.

¹¹¹ See the short biography of Doni in Chapter Seven "The Theorist: Giovanni Battista Doni," in Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 99-102; Claude Palisca's entry in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Doni, Giovanni Battista"; and G. Formichetti's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Doni, Giovanni Battista."

Greek genera and modes. His *Compendio del Trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (Rome, 1635) was a shorter, less pedantic and more polemical text, in which Doni engaged in the debate over the nature and quality of contemporary music.¹¹² Doni believed that the music of the Greeks was superior to modern music, and he hoped to reform musical practice by emulating ancient Greek music.¹¹³ To this end, he commissioned experimental instruments from Giovanni Pietro Polizzino (1602-1658), and encouraged composers like Pietro della Valle and Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597-1646) to structure their music around that of the ancients.¹¹⁴

Virgilio Mazzocchi, born in Civita Castellana near Viterbo, was a composer of sacred vocal music.¹¹⁵ His brother, the composer Domenico Mazzocchi, was attached to the court of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini beginning in 1621, while Virgilio, possibly through Aldobrandini's influence, eventually entered the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. In the late 1620s, Virgilio acted as *maestro di cappella* at the church of Il Gesù. He also taught music at the Collegio Romano during this period, and, as Marx has suggested, it is very likely that he was Carlo Rainaldi's musical instructor.¹¹⁶

Pietro della Valle, also known as "Il Pellegrino," was also closely tied to Doni and

¹¹² An excerpt is published in Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma: Testimonianza dei contemporanei* (1903; Bologna, 1969), 186-221. For interpretations of Doni's work, see Claude Palisca, "Giovanni Battista Doni's Interpretation of the Greek Modal System," *The Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997): 3-18; and Maurizio Padoan, "Nature and Artifice in G.B. Doni's Thought," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23 (1992): 5-26.

¹¹³ Walker, "Musical Humanism," 5.

¹¹⁴ Palisca, "Lyra Barberina," 470-1; and Patrizio Barbieri, "Gli strumenti poliarmonici di G.B. Doni e il ripristino dell'antica musica greca (c.1630-50)," *Analecta Musicologica* 30 (1998): 79-114.

¹¹⁵ See the entry by Wolfgang Witzemann, *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Mazzocchi, Virgilio." See also Witzemann, *Domenico Mazzocchi, 1592-1665: Dokumente und Interpretationen*, *Analecta Musicologica* 8 (Köln, 1970).

¹¹⁶ Marx, "Carlo Rainaldi," 51.

Mazzocchi.¹¹⁷ A Roman noble, della Valle earned his moniker when he traveled to the east from 1614 until 1626. He chronicled his journey through Turkey, the Holy Land, Persia, and India in letters to his friend Mario Schipano; these letters were published in 1652 and were soon translated into French, German, Dutch, and English.¹¹⁸ Around 1635 della Valle entered Doni's orbit, and the two began a correspondence that lasted until Doni's death in 1647. Under Doni's influence, della Valle sought to compose music using the ancient modes, including an oratory he prepared in 1641 for the feast of the Purification. Della Valle set each of the five sections of the oratory to a different mode.¹¹⁹ In order to perform such works, della Valle commissioned novel instruments, such as a triharmonic harpsichord and a panharmonic violone.

Della Valle was personally acquainted with Rainaldi, and Doni knew of the architect, at least by reputation. In a letter to Doni, dated December 17, 1640, Pietro della Valle writes, "Lately, Carlo Rainaldi promised me that he wants to come to do a bit of study on my harpsichord."¹²⁰ Hans Joachim Marx has noted that the letter likely refers to

¹¹⁷ Giovanni Pietro Bellori, under the pseudonym, F.M. Bonino, wrote a short *vita* of della Valle in 1662 as a preface to Pietro della Valle's *Viaggi*, 2nd ed. (Roma, 1662). See also, Ignazio Ciampi, *Della vita e delle opere di P. Della Valle il Pellegrino* (Rome, 1880). For della Valle's testament, see Remo Giazotto, "Il Testamento di Pietro Della Valle," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 3 (1969): 96-100. Sarah McPhee has informed me that della Valle's widow occupied an apartment in a house near the Quirinal Hill. A portion of this house was owned by Rainaldi and his wife, Margherita Maffei. The descendants of Costanza Bonarelli also claimed ownership of part of the house. See Sarah McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved: A Portrait of Costanza Piccolomini* (New Haven, 2012).

¹¹⁸ There is a modern, abridged edition of the letters in English. George Bull, *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro Della Valle* (London, 1989).

¹¹⁹ The oratory was intended for the Oratory of the Filippini, but was instead performed in della Valle's home. See the entry by Robert Holzer in *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Della Valle, Pietro."

¹²⁰ "Carlo Rainaldi mi promise ultimamente di voler venire a fare un poco di studio su 'l mio cembalo." The letter is published in its entirety in A. Solerti, "Lettere inedite sulla musica di Pietro della Valle a G.B. Doni ed una Veglia drammatica musicale del medesimo," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 12 (1905): 288.

della Valle's triharmonic harpsichord, which allegedly played the three ancient musical genera (the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic).¹²¹ This brief mention of Rainaldi is significant for a number of reasons. That della Valle sought Rainaldi to examine the harpsichord suggests that the architect had some expertise in musical instruments and ancient theory. Moreover, the letter indicates a network of musicians and composers around della Valle and Doni that included Rainaldi and his possible music teacher, Virgilio Mazzocchi. On April 2, 1640 Mazzocchi performed on Pietro della Valle's triharmonic harpsichord the *Dialogo di Esther*, written by della Valle himself. This harpsichord was presumably the very one that della Valle wished Rainaldi to play.¹²² Finally, the letter securely links Rainaldi to erudite discussions of ancient Greek music occurring in Rome at this moment.

Through the careful, if sometimes imaginative, study of ancient music, Doni and his circle hoped to encourage a vital modern practice. As Doni accepted the power of ancient music, he also believed that modern music could match its affective force through diligent study, instrumental experimentation, and the use of the correct modes. However, the endeavor to recapture the almost magical power of ancient music was ultimately a frustrating, if not futile, pursuit: a kind of musical alchemy. Despite his best efforts, Doni had never actually heard the music of the ancient Greek modes. No one in the seventeenth century had.¹²³ Although Doni, della Valle, and Mazzocchi were not able to

¹²¹ Marx, "Carlo Rainaldi," 53.

¹²² *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Mazzocchi, Virgilio."

¹²³ One is reminded of Gioseffo Zarlino's statement that discussing the modes "is very difficult, especially since I want to discuss certain things according to the usage of the ancients. The difficulty arises because, as I have said at other times, modern music is practiced differently from ancient music, and because there is no example or vestige of ancient music which can lead us to a true and perfect knowledge

match the powerful effects of ancient Greek music, they sought to bring greater pathos to modern music through their scholarly activities and experiments with instruments.

Rainaldi might have taken from Doni and his circle not only academic knowledge of ancient music, but their same desire to place theory into practice.¹²⁴

The world around Rainaldi was intellectually exhilarating. Rainaldi's associates formed a vibrant network of *cognoscenti* who pursued the study of ancient music and the creation of novel instruments in an effort to move the soul. Rainaldi's own studies of architecture, music, and rhetoric, in addition to his contact with noble patrons and musical colleagues, may have stimulated his powers of architectural invention. Like his associates, Rainaldi sought to master the language of persuasion and expression in order to move his viewers. How Rainaldi pursued this goal through architecture is the subject of the following chapters.

of it." Gioseffo Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part Four of "Le Istitutioni Harmoniche,"* 1558, ed. Claude Palisca, trans. Vered Cohen (New Haven, 1983), 1. On Zarlino's treatise, see Chapter Five below.

¹²⁴ On the relationship of theory to practice with special attention to della Valle, see R.R. Holzer, "'Sono d'altro garbo ... le canzonette che si cantano oggi': Pietro della Valle on Music and Modernity in the Seventeenth Century," *Studi musicali* 21 (1992): 253–306.

Chapter Four:

Chapels, Altars, and Tombs: Style and Rhetoric

The problem of Rainaldi's individual style is troublesome for two reasons. First, traditional stylistic analysis has failed to interpret the range and complexity of Rainaldi's architecture in a compelling way. The attempt to affix a set of architectural principles to Rainaldi forced his architecture into a position of ambiguity and contradiction. As discussed in the introduction, Wittkower, in particular, reduced Rainaldi's architecture to a simple formula that synthesized mannerist and baroque elements. Combining the traditions of his father and the innovations of his contemporaries, his architecture became a hybrid that never quite resolved itself. Such a formula, repeated in various guises by a number of architectural historians, is too simplistic because it denies the ways that Rainaldi's work participated fully in the artistic interests and dialogues of the seventeenth century. This is not to say that Rainaldi was uninfluenced by the architecture of his father; Carlo was very much indebted to both Girolamo's technical training and to his architectural vocabulary. To suggest, however, that this influence is the most interesting thing about Carlo's oeuvre represents the limits of formal analysis based on a narrow conception of baroque style.

Second, art historians long ago questioned the methods and value of studying individual style.¹ Scholars rightly noted that studies of personal style had relied upon

¹ In this chapter I am less concerned with the problem of period style. The approaches and challenges to this concept are too numerous to list here, but some of the major comments on period style include: Meyer Schapiro, "Style," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (New York, 1998), 143-9 (essay first published in 1953); George Kubler, *The Shape of Time* (New Haven, 1962); James Ackerman, "Style," in *Distance Points*, 3-22 (essay first published in 1963); Ernst Gombrich, "Style," in *The Art of Art History*, 150-63 (essay first published in 1968); and Svetlana Alpers, "Style is What You Make It: The Visual Arts Once Again," in *The Concept of Style*, ed. Berel Lang, 2nd ed. (1979; Ithaca, NY, 1987), 137-62. Once challenged by the New Art History, the concept of period style received less critical attention.

difficult assumptions and ideologies, including problematic notions of genius; of stable, though evolving, artistic identities; and of art as a necessary expression of the self.² As art historians shed some of these beliefs and complicated others, stylistic analysis itself became suspicious.³ Where the social history of art gained hold, formal questions became less pressing.

Casting aside many of the problematic assumptions of traditional stylistic analysis, art historians have recently sought different ways to describe, analyze, and interpret works. In recent decades, scholars have turned increasingly to the vocabulary and usage of early modern art theory, criticism, and biography, as well as related ancient and early modern texts on rhetoric and poetry, as a means of understanding art. Such approaches have largely met with success, lending the field both a richer context and more dexterous interpretations.⁴ Moreover, the concept of style itself has begun once again to receive serious critical attention. Early modern art historians have recognized that the concept of style, though understood in different and sometimes contradictory ways, was crucial for artists and their contemporaries.⁵

² A.L. Rees and Frances Borzello, eds., *The New Art History* (London, 1986), 4 and 8; and Guercio, 254 ff.

³ For some of the problems in traditional formal or stylistic analysis, see David Summers, "'Form,' Nineteenth-Century Metaphysics, and the Problem of Art Historical Description," *Critical Inquiry* 15 (1989): 372-406.

⁴ In addition to the works on rhetoric and style listed in, note 11 below, I would cite as examples of scholarship particularly concerned with artistic language, David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, 1981); Elizabeth Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting* (1984); Alina Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge, 1999); Hellmut Wohl, *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art: A Reconsideration of Style* (Cambridge, 1999); and Michael Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁵ See especially Sohm; and Claire Farago, "Introduction: Seeing Style Otherwise," *Leonardo da Vinci and the Ethics of Style*, ed. Claire Farago (Manchester, UK, 2008), 1-36.

This repositioning of style in historical terms has typically centered on texts themselves or on instances when art stands in a close relationship to a text, not necessarily a literary source so much as an interpretive lens. Less apparent, however, is how these approaches might be deployed when a particular work lacks a substantial or articulate textual point of reference. Such is the case for Rainaldi's architecture. Unlike Bernini, whose views are recorded in lengthy biographies and in Chantelou's diary, Rainaldi was rarely discussed.⁶ Only a few short texts are devoted to the architect, and these do not supply a rich period vocabulary or a set of critical concepts with which to approach his architecture. The biographies, which I examined in the first chapter, are a significant record of his career, but they are less satisfying as a critical or interpretive account of his work. Baldinucci, Pascoli, and Milizia, by and large, emphasize Rainaldi's honor—not the distinct qualities of his architecture. Letters by the architect are equally opaque regarding his style. In his writings, Rainaldi was concerned with securing patronage, executing commissions, or defending his character. He never offered a theory behind his architectural production. Similarly, there is a limit to extrapolating from contemporary architectural treatises, as architects like Rainaldi still largely operated under the principles of Renaissance theory.⁷

⁶ In addition to biographers and authors of guidebooks, other late seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century writers occasionally mentioned Rainaldi, usually critically. Augustin Charles d'Aviler, for example, accuses Borromini, Cortona, and Rainaldi of introducing too much license into architecture and of abandoning the precepts of ancient architecture with their "Cartouches, Frontons brisez, Colonnes nichées & autres extravagances." Augustin Charles d'Aviler, *Cours d'architecture qui comprend les ordres de Vignole, Avec des Commentaires, les Figures & Descriptions de ses plus beaux Bâtimens, & de ceux de Michel-Ange* (Paris, 1696), i iii. Typically, writers displayed far less animosity towards Rainaldi than Borromini, if they even bothered to mention Rainaldi at all.

⁷ This is not to say that seventeenth-century architects were unconcerned with architectural theory, as some, like Blunt have suggested. See Anthony Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," *Art History* 1 (1978): 67-89. On the state of architectural theory in seventeenth-century Italy, see Werner Oechslin, "Architectura est scientia aedificandi: Reflections on the Scope of Architectural and Architectural-Theoretical Literature," in *Triumph of the Baroque*, ed. Henry Millon (London, 1999), 207-

Early modern guidebooks and descriptions of churches provide one further textual source for understanding Rainaldi's architecture. Titi's description of the Church of Gesù e Maria is one of the lengthiest discussions of any single Rainaldi design and serves as a good example of how contemporaries responded to his architecture. In the 1686 edition (as the decoration of the church was just coming to completion), Titi wrote:

By way of the vicolo de' Greci, returning to the via del Corso, one finds the above mentioned church of the Reformed Hermit Fathers of Saint Augustine, built recently by the architect Carlo Milanese and now finished with a facade by Cavalier Rainaldi, who in the churches made to his design at Monte Porzio [Catone] and Monte Compatri, *castelli* outside of Rome, showed the magnificence of his great art and excellent virtue. Today, the church—by means of the copious pious bequests of the Signori Bolognetti and with the architecture of the said Rainaldi—is embellished to the greatest mark, while the whole is being encrusted with polychrome marbles [pietre mischie] of value, with gilt stuccoes, tomb sculpture, painting, and other rich ornaments everywhere that will make the church one of the marvelous and gallant of Rome.⁸

The passage illustrates the values Titi placed on Rainaldi's design. In part, its significance derives from the great expense of the polychrome marbles, furnished by the generous offerings of the Bolognetti. Titi also praises the church as marvelous and gallant. Finally, the church demonstrates Rainaldi's talent (*virtù*). Titi's guide suggests the salient points of the architecture: the expense, the ornamental richness, the marvel of the design, and the worth of the architect. But the description is limited by its lack of specificity. The brief entries typical of guidebooks contribute to a generalizing, fawning

17; and Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callander, and Anthony Wood (Princeton, 2004), 101-8.

⁸ "Per il vicolo de' Greci ritornando nel Corso si trova la sudetta Chiesa de' PP. Eremitani Riformati di S. Agostino fabricata ultimamente da Carlo Milanese Architetto, & hora finita con la facciata del Cavalier Rainaldi, che nelle Chiese fatte con suo disegno à Monte Portio, e Monte Compatri Castelli fuori di Roma hà fatto pompa della grand'arte, & eccellente virtù sua. In hoggi la Chiesa col mezzo di copiose limosine de' Signori Bolognetti e con l'architettura del detto Rainaldi s'abbellisce al maggior segno, mentre si v`a incrostando tutta di pietre mischie di valore, con stucchi dorati, sculture ne'sepolcri pitture, & altri ricchi ornamenti da per tutto, che renderanno la Chiesa una delle maravigliose, e galanti di Roma." Titi, 200 (from the 1686 edition).

quality. Such descriptions lack the precision necessary to distinguish between the varied looks of Rainaldi's monuments. The biographers and guidebooks simply do not account for formal or stylistic differences in Rainaldi's designs.

In these final two chapters, I turn to Rainaldi's knowledge of particular disciplines (rhetoric in this chapter and art and music theory in the following chapter) as a way of coping with the interpretive silence surrounding his works of architecture. This chapter, in particular, focuses on Rainaldi's chapel, altar, and tomb designs, which represent an astonishing diversity of styles or modes. Not only are these designs a neglected aspect of his career ripe for investigation, but they allow us to examine the relationship between architecture, style, and artistic identity. Rather than embody a rigid taxonomy of architectural forms or a static set of architectural principles, these works respond to particular rhetorical, iconographical, and theoretical concerns.

One might argue that the chapel, altar, and tomb designs provide a clearer and more cogent statement of Rainaldi's individual style. Less subject to the vicissitudes that shaped the monumental commissions, these smaller projects were conceived and executed by Rainaldi without the intervention of other architects.⁹ Yet, Rainaldi's small works prove problematic. The diversity of Rainaldi's monuments has prevented scholars from constructing around the architect a stable artistic personality or individual style.

⁹ Rainaldi ultimately had less control over the execution of his churches than his chapels, altars, and tombs. The larger a project, the longer it took to complete and the greater the chance that another architect might intervene. None of Rainaldi's major papal commissions was executed by him alone. Other architects supplied the initial designs, provided assistance, or even commandeered these projects. Maderno began Sant' Andrea della Valle, and Bernini, the tribune of Santa Maria Maggiore. Bernini and Fontana both intervened in the project for the twin churches. The history of Sant' Agnese in Piazza Navona is even more complicated; direction of the project transferred from Girolamo Rainaldi to Carlo Rainaldi to Borromini then back to Carlo Rainaldi and finally to a committee of architects. Even at Santa Maria in Campitelli, Rainaldi's most celebrated church, Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi became co-architect, although his role was apparently minor. See Chapter Five, note 2 below. Most of Rainaldi's chapels, altars, and tombs never suffered the intervention of other competing architects.

This absence of a coherent style partially explains his secondary position in the field of Roman baroque architectural history. I will argue that the range of Rainaldi's monuments, in fact, reveals an architect who is more complex and responsive than has been previously acknowledged.

In this chapter I describe, analyze, and interpret Rainaldi's work within the framework of seventeenth-century knowledge and theory.¹⁰ Rainaldi's chapels, altars, and tombs do not conform to a single stylistic trajectory; instead, they respond to distinct theoretical and iconographical pressures. His best monuments demonstrate a keen awareness of the process of creating sacred meaning through structure, ornament, and material, often requiring contemplative interaction on the part of the viewer. Moreover, by addressing the viewer, the works display a rhetorical approach.¹¹

¹⁰ Philip Sohm has identified four distinct definitions of style that were published within Italian art theory in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The one that comes closest to the notion of style advanced here is that given by Poussin. Sohm has argued that Poussin's remarks on the *maniera magnifica* distinguish between *stile* and *maniera*, favoring the latter at the expense of the former. *Stile* manifested the artist's *ingenium*. It was innate, reflecting his or her inner nature and character. *Maniera*, on the other hand, manifested *ars*. Unlike *stile*, *maniera* could be controlled or manipulated by the artist. Sohm argues that Poussin's letter to Chantelou regarding the modes of music, which will be discussed in the final chapter, reflects this conception of style. Free to choose among different modes of painting, the artist could control style for expressive or ethical effects. Sohm, 134-43. Poussin's discussion of the *maniera magnifica*, which incorporated comments from Agostino Mascardi's *Dell'arte historica* (Rome, 1636), was published along with other notes in the life of the artist by Bellori. See Anthony Colantuono, "Poussin's *Osservazioni sopra la pittura: Notes or Aphorisms*," *Studi secenteschi* 41 (2000): 285-311.

¹¹ Giulio Carlo Argan emphasized the influence of rhetoric in architecture as part of a larger project to define the baroque style. In several forums the author argued for the wide influence of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* on seventeenth-century figural arts. See especially, Giulio Carlo Argan, "La 'Rettorica' e l'arte barocca," in *Retorica e barocco: Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, Venezia 15-18 giugno 1954*, ed. Enrico Castelli (Rome, 1955), 9-14. Also, Argan, *L'architettura barocca*, 3rd ed. (1957; Milan, 1963), 27; *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Florence, 1970), 259; "Rettorica e architettura," in *Immagine e persuasione: Saggi sul barocco*, ed. Bruno Contardi (Milan, 1986), 25-9. Evonne Levy discusses the influence of Argan's views on scholarship of the baroque in *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2004), 48-52. Examples of broader discussion on the relationship between classical rhetoric and early modern art include: Rensselaer Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis* (1967); Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450* (Oxford, 1971); Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Phantasia': the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347-98; Summers, *Michelangelo* (1981); Carl Goldstein, "Rhetoric and Art History in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 641-52; Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color: Rhetoric and Painting in the French*

During the seventeenth century the study of rhetoric was based closely on classical sources, including Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Cicero's *De oratore*. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* provided the most important Christian treatment of the subject, but it was probably rhetoric manuals and textbooks, like Cypriano Soares's *De arte rhetorica*, that had the widest influence.¹² At the Collegio Romano, where Rainaldi studied as a boy, rhetoric concluded the study of grammar and humanities, serving as a foundation for advanced studies in philosophy or theology. The *Ratio studiorum* prescribed the study of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* as well as Cicero's *De oratore*. According to Cicero, rhetoric had three principal aims: to instruct (*docere*), to delight (*delectare*), and to move or persuade (*movere*).¹³ Cicero, and Augustine following him, associated these purposes with different styles.¹⁴ They limited instructing to the plain style, delighting to the middle style, and moving to the grand style. In addition to the aims of rhetoric, classical authors specified the five canons or components of rhetoric—invention (*inventio*), arrangement

Classical Age (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993); Marc Fumaroli, *L'École du silence: Les sentiments des images au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1994); and Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007). For the connections between rhetoric and architecture, see especially Christine Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence 1400-1470* (New York, 1992); Payne, *The Architectural Treatise* (1999); and Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley, eds., *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c.1000-c.1650* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹² On Soares, see Thomas Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (Chicago, 1994), 153. The following editions on rhetoric were consulted: Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, trans. John Henry Freese (Cambridge, MA, 1982); Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, trans. James M. May and Jakob Wisse (New York, 2001); Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1986); Augustine, *The Rhetoric of Saint Augustine of Hippo: De Doctrina Christiana and the Search for a Distinctly Christian Rhetoric*, ed. and trans. Richard Leo Enos et al. (Waco, TX, 2008); and Cypriano Soares, *De arte rhetorica libri tres* (Seville, 1569). I have consulted an electronic version of this latter work: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k838>.

¹³ Kennedy, 114. These goals constitute the so-called *officia oratoris* (duties of the orator). Cicero *On the Ideal Orator* 2.115. *Flectere* (stir) is sometimes given instead of *movere*. It should also be noted that Cicero once included proving (*probare*) instead of instructing (*docere*). See Cicero, *Orator*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA, 1939), 69.

¹⁴ Cicero *Orator* 69; and Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana* 4.33-58.

(*dispositio*), style (*elocutio*), memory (*memoria*), and delivery (*pronuntiatio*)— alongside a host of figures of speech.

Throughout his oeuvre, Rainaldi commanded a wide range of styles that drew from ancient and modern Rome. On the one hand, Rainaldi looked to the past, relying upon ancient models from the Pantheon to the Imperial baths, in addition the Roman works of Michelangelo.¹⁵ On the other hand, Rainaldi engaged fully with the present, incorporating the powerful sense of movement and grandeur that characterized the work of his rivals, Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona. Rainaldi's architectural vocabulary alternately shifted from exuberant ornament to chaste, severe forms. On rare occasions, he adopted the playful license of Borromini and Martino Longhi the Younger.¹⁶ These vast differences among Rainaldi's works need not be interpreted as the sign of a derivative or feeble mentality. Instead, the pursuit of different modes or styles may have deepened the persuasive and emotional effects of Rainaldi's architecture and, in some cases, enhanced the significance of his monuments.

The diversity of Rainaldi's monuments raises the question of whether the architect was eclectic in his practice. As a critical term in *Seicento* studies, eclecticism signified a rigid, formulaic doctrine of selection by which painters, particularly the Carracci, chose and synthesized the best characteristics of their Renaissance predecessors. In *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* (1947), Denis Mahon defended the

¹⁵ For the influence of the Pantheon on Rainaldi's architecture, see the discussion of the monument to Pope Clement IX below. Rainaldi's study of the Imperial baths was important for the design of Santa Maria in Campitelli. In addition, Michelangelo's contributions to the Capitoline Hill and to Saint Peter's, in particular, shaped the Roman vocabulary of Santa Maria in Campitelli. See Chapter Five.

¹⁶ The volutes on the façade of Santa Maria in Campitelli, which are ornamented with the heads of angels, recall Longhi's architecture, as well as the ornament of Borromini. See Chapter Five below.

Carracci by dismissing the eclectic label and its attendant pejorative connotations.¹⁷ But, as Charles Dempsey noted some three decades later, Mahon's argument denied the central role of imitation in the Carracci practice. The Carracci intensively studied the Renaissance masters, not simply to synthesize and perfect their manners, but to achieve a more perfect imitation of nature. Dempsey writes, "Thus, from the point of view of the Carracci, in order to understand the perfections of the great masters one must also understand nature, imitating nature with their guidance, but not imitating them."¹⁸ If the older view, which Mahon railed against, had interpreted the Carracci as vacant copyists, Dempsey recognized the intellectual force behind the Carracci's imitative practice.

Dempsey suggested that the imitation of a broad range of styles could be a sign of deep intellectual engagement, a way of theorizing through practice. Although the painterly concerns of the Carracci were quite different from the architectural concerns of Rainaldi, the lessons of the debate over eclecticism suggest that Rainaldi's own pursuit of imitation should be reinterpreted. The architect's use of diverse sources does not appear to engender a stale, formulaic theory of architectural study; nor, is it the product of a weak or impressionable mind. Rather, this eclecticism may represent a subtle and responsive approach to architecture.

This chapter has two aims. The first is to describe and analyze the stylistic diversity of Rainaldi's works. The second is to understand the influence of rhetoric on

¹⁷ Denis Mahon, who opposed the eclectic view, launched the debate in *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, 193-229. For a critique of Mahon's argument, see the review by Rensselaer Lee in the *Art Bulletin* 33 (1951): 204-12, to which Mahon later responded in "Art Theory and Artistic Practice in the Early Seicento: Some Clarifications," *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 226-32. See also Mahon, "Eclecticism and the Carracci: Further Reflections on the Validity of a Label," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 303-41.

¹⁸ Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 55.

Rainaldi. I suggest that these two threads are related: by designing in different modes, Rainaldi ultimately manipulated style for persuasive, and sometimes expressive, effects. I begin the chapter by surveying the state of scholarship on these rather neglected works before providing a general account of the range and nature of the chapels, altars, and tombs. After this overview, I advance case studies of particularly notable and interesting monuments that illustrate Rainaldi's concerns with rhetoric, persuasion, and art and architectural theory.

The Chapels, Altars, and Tombs: An Overview

Often obscured by his churches, Rainaldi's chapel, altar, and tomb designs, in fact, count among the most interesting and important of his projects.¹⁹ Not only were these works commissioned by elite Roman patrons and powerful institutions, but they record Rainaldi's solutions to particular architectural problems. Through these projects Rainaldi explored the role of material; the significance of architectural ornament; the interaction of small, semi-autonomous altars and tombs with their larger ecclesiastical spaces; and the relationship of architecture to painting, sculpture, and other forms of decoration. Moreover, examination of these works provides a broader sense of the

¹⁹ Not only have architectural historians favored Rainaldi's monumental, papal commissions over his smaller projects, but art historians have often overlooked baroque altars in favor of the painted or sculpted altarpieces they display. There are, for example, good studies of individual altarpieces like Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* and Domenichino's *Last Communion of Saint Jerome*, but they seldom discuss their architectural settings. On seventeenth-century altarpieces, see Pamela Askew, *Caravaggio's Death of the Virgin* (Princeton, 1990); Louise Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter's: Outfitting the Basilica, 1621-1666* (Cambridge, 1997); Elizabeth Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (New Haven, 2005); and Pamela Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni* (Burlington, VT, 2008). General studies of the architecture of baroque altars include, T.H. Fokker, "L'altar maggiore nella chiesa barocca," *Religio: Rivista di studi religiosi* 14 (1938): 438-44; Emilio Lavagnino, Giulio Ansaldi, and Luigi Salerno, *Altari barocchi a Roma* (Rome, 1959); Karl Noehles, "Altari Scenografi nel Settecento Romano," *Bolletino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio Vicenza* 17 (1975): 161-73; Felix Ackermann, *Die Altäre des Gian Lorenzo Bernini: Das barock Altarensemble im Spannungsfeld zwischen Tradition und Innovation* (Petersberg, Germany, 2007).

ancient, Renaissance, and contemporary works that he studied, demonstrating that Rainaldi's architecture was indeed deeply engaged in seventeenth-century artistic concerns.

Architectural historians have published analyses of many of Rainaldi's known chapels, altars, and tombs, but their focus has been necessarily narrow.²⁰ Such studies typically describe and analyze individual monuments, sometimes including unpublished documents and, more rarely, preparatory drawings. Although these essays often relate particular formal motifs to other works by Rainaldi, they do not provide a sense of the remarkable breadth of his corpus. Even monographs on Rainaldi have adopted a fairly restricted approach to the chapels, altars, and tombs. Eberhard Hempel's dissertation on Rainaldi includes short sections on the smaller church buildings and projects.²¹ The author analyzed Rainaldi's architectural sources and related the works to the perceived goals of the baroque period. However, these discussions were not based upon surviving documents, and much new material has surfaced that substantially alters the histories of

²⁰ Studies of individual monuments by Rainaldi include: Pio Paschini, "Un opera del Rainaldi in Laterano," *Roma* 4 (1926): 182-3; Guglielmo Matthiae, "Due chiesette romane del Seicento," *Palladio* 5 (1941): 39-45; Furio Fasolo, "L'altar maggiore di Santa Maria della Scala," *Fede e arte* 8 (1960): 302-15; Bernhard Kerber, "Ein unbekanntes Altarprojekt von Carlo Rainaldi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 27 (1964): 238-40; Cathie Kelly, "A Lost Work of Carlo Rainaldi Recovered: The Altar of S. Antonio di Padova in SS. Apostoli in Rome," *Architettura, storia e documenti* 2 (1985): 51-64; Johanna Heideman, "The Cappella di S. Giacomo, Later Dedicated to S. Michele Arcangelo, in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome: A Contribution to the Oeuvre of Carlo Rainaldi and Ottocento 'Addenda'," *Antichita Viva* 26 (1987): 24-35; Thomas Pickrel, "L'élan de la musique" (1987); David Butler, "The Spada Chapel in Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome: A Study of Late Baroque Patronage, Taste, and Style," (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 1991); Paola Ferraris, "Antonio Gherardi e la Cappella di Santa Cecilia in San Carlo ai Catinari a Roma," *Studi di storia dell'arte* 2 (1991): 213-41; Cathie Kelly, "Carlo Rainaldi, Nicola Michetti and the Patronage of Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripante," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (1991): 57-67; and Butler, "Orazio Spada," 61-79. Scholars have also studied some of Rainaldi's monuments in the context of the larger buildings to which they belong. See Irving Lavin, "Decorazione barocca in S. Silvestro in Capite," *Bolletino d'Arte* 42 (1957): 44. Hager's study of the twin churches briefly examines the Aquilanti chapel in Santa Maria di Montesanto. Hager, 255. Alison Lee Palmer's dissertation (1994) on the Church of Gesù e Maria contains a wealth of information on Rainaldi's projects for that church.

²¹ Hempel, 64-83.

individual monuments. Furio Fasolo addressed the chapels, altars, and tombs both in relation to Rainaldi's early collaboration with his father and in the context of his late patronage.²² However, the author glossed over a number of Rainaldi's most interesting works. Despite the contributions of these monographs and essays on individual monuments, a close study of the chapels, altars, and tombs has never been undertaken.

During his lifetime, Rainaldi supplied designs for nearly thirty chapels, altars, tombs, and other monuments for churches (see Checklist). Of the designs that were actually executed, only about twenty projects that are safely attributable to the architect remain standing. Overwhelmingly, these works are found in Rome and its environs, although a ciborium and an altar from Santi Apostoli were moved to Casamari and Narni, respectively. Rainaldi likely designed other monuments farther afield, but because biographers and other early modern sources did not record them, knowledge of Rainaldi's authorship of these distant works has been all but lost. Two of Rainaldi's high altars were destroyed during the modernization of Rome. In 1887 Sant'Anna dei Funari was razed to make way for via Arenula, and between 1928 and 1929, the Church of Santi Angeli Custodi was demolished when the via del Tritone was widened.²³ A few projects, like chapels and altars planned for Sant'Ignazio, Il Gesù, and San Carlo ai Catinari, were never realized; they have come to light only through surviving drawings and documents.²⁴

²² Fasolo included individual chapters on two early works, the high altar of San Girolamo della Carità and the ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala. He also discussed the smaller works in a chapter on "minor works." Fasolo, *L'opera*, 93-104, 105-18, and 185-210.

²³ Pascoli, 422n15; Matthiae, "Due Chiesette," 41.

²⁴ The reasons Rainaldi never executed certain commissions vary: he was passed over as architect for an altar at the church of Il Gesù; he was fired from a project to build a chapel at Sant'Ignazio; and he died before he could begin construction for a chapel at San Carlo ai Catinari.

Rainaldi's designs for chapels, altars, and tombs date from all periods of his career. The earliest known project is an altar for Santa Maria della Consolazione in Todi.²⁵ Rainaldi designed the work in 1634 when he was only twenty-three years old, but he never executed it. Given the career of his itinerant father from the 1620s through the 1640s, it is not surprising that this early project was located outside Rome. The latest projects date from the final decade of Rainaldi's life. These include designs for the decoration of the Church of Gesù e Maria and San Silvestro in Capite, in addition to a chapel dedicated to Saint Cecilia at San Carlo ai Catinari. It appears that Rainaldi took on small scale projects with more frequency as he advanced in age.²⁶ As the papacy exhausted its wealth and monumental commissions stalled, Rainaldi may have turned to the patronage of nobles and cardinals, who commissioned smaller, less expensive projects. Additionally, the increase in projects may reflect Rainaldi's advancing reputation, which garnered him more notice and work in the final decades of his life.

The most important source of knowledge about Rainaldi's chapel, altar, and tomb projects is Filippo Titi's *Studio di pittura, scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*. Titi published the first edition of the guidebook in 1674 during Rainaldi's lifetime. It is likely that the author was personally acquainted with the architect, and his attributions of

²⁵ Zanker cites the following document from December 1, 1634 in the Archivio della Consolazione in Todi, Libro 142, fol.128, " Il sig.^{re} Marcello Valentini uno dei Fabricieri ha hauto bolletta per scudi sei e baj. 30 ad effetto di pagarli al Sig.^{re} Carlo Rainaldi Architetto Romano che le li devono per sua mercede del disegno dell'Altare da esso fatto per servitio della fabrica. -sc.6-30-." Zanker, 79 and Document 157.

²⁶ It would be wise not to read too much into the lack of projects from Rainaldi's early career. Such a discrepancy may reflect the circumstances of historical survival rather than serve as firm evidence for patterns of patronage. Certainly, the early modern authors who wrote about these smaller works from the 1670s onward, including Titi and Pascoli, were more aware of Rainaldi's later commissions.

works to Rainaldi are reliable.²⁷ The life of Rainaldi written by Lione Pascoli duplicates many of the references made by Titi but also contributes a few important additions that do not appear in any of the versions of Titi's guide.²⁸ Filippo Baldinucci's life of the architect, although drafted while Rainaldi was still living, scarcely mentions the chapels, altars, and tombs at all. However, the author occasionally records details of these works in the *notizie* of painters and sculptors who contributed to Rainaldi's projects.²⁹

In addition to these guidebooks and biographies, primary documents record the historical circumstances of certain commissions, and some preparatory drawings survive.³⁰ For the most part, the record is thin; however, the occasional controversy or dispute over a commission generated scores of documents. For example, when the Jesuits fired Rainaldi from a project to build the Lancellotti chapel in Sant'Ignazio, they maintained payment records, legal opinions, copies of court documents, and letters that spanned the course of decades (Appendix, Documents K-O). Religious orders, like the Poor Clares at San Silvestro in Capite, kept voluminous records of their building

²⁷ See Chapter Five, note 109 below.

²⁸ For example, Pascoli, 414, adds that Rainaldi designed the tabernacle of San Silvestro in Capite.

²⁹ As an example, see the life of Ercole Ferrata for the tomb of Cardinal Bonelli in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 5:392.

³⁰ Other publications that treat works by Rainaldi include volumes of prints. Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's *Disegno di vari altari e cappelle nelle chiese di Roma con le loro facciate fianchi piante e misure di più celebri architetti* (Roma, 1713) is the most important visual source for Roman chapels. However, only one of its fifty plates depicts a work by Rainaldi, the high altar of the Church of Gesù e Maria (Plate 48). Works by Bernini appear most frequently (10 plates). Carlo Fontana, Pietro da Cortona, and Ciro Ferri are also well represented. Francesco Borromini and Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi both receive two plates. The three volumes published by Domenico de' Rossi between 1702 and 1721 under the titles *Studio di architettura civile . . .* include more works by Rainaldi. A print of the funerary monument dedicated to Cavalier Fra Mario Bolognetti in the Church of Gesù e Maria appears in part two (Plate 54), in addition to a section of the church interior in part three (Plate 33), which illustrates the monuments on the left wall of the nave. Other large works by Rainaldi, such as the twin churches, are also included in the volumes.

activities.³¹ Such documents often reveal the circumstances of a commission, the exact costs associated with a project, and the artists and craftsmen who participated.

Preparatory drawings are rarer, and although no three-dimensional models are known to survive, they are mentioned in contemporary documents.³²

Rainaldi collaborated with a consistent group of artists both for smaller commissions and decorative projects as well as larger papal commissions. From the late 1660s onward, Rainaldi's architectural practice offered an attractive alternative to patrons who could not afford or preferred not to commission Bernini and his workshop.

Typically, the artists with whom Rainaldi collaborated fell outside the inner circle of Bernini's domineering studio. Ercole Ferrata (1610-1686), the most talented pupil of Alessandro Algardi, worked according to Rainaldi's design in preparing statues for Sant' Andrea della Valle and for the tombs of Pope Clement IX and Cardinal Bonelli.³³

Domenico Guidi (1625-1701), another pupil of Algardi, contributed to these same projects.³⁴ Rainaldi's most extensive collaboration involved Cosimo Fancelli (1620-

³¹ The archives of the church can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Roma (Clarisse Francescane in S. Silvestro in Capite) with documents dating from 761 through 1871. For documents related to the decoration of the church in this period, see especially *buste* 4993, 5090, 5091, 5107, and 5111.

³² See for example, Rainaldi's letter describing the dispute over the Chapel of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga in Sant' Ignazio, in which the architect describes that he produced "un modello di rilievo rappresentante al vivo tutte le parti di essa Cappella." Appendix, Document O. On baroque models, see Henry Millon, ed. *Triumph of the Baroque* (London, 1999).

³³ It should also be noted that Ferrata prepared works for other churches designed or renovated by Rainaldi, including Sant' Agnese in Piazza Navona, Santa Maria dei Miracoli, and the Church of Gesù e Maria, although the sculptor was probably not working from Rainaldi's designs in these cases. For Ercole Ferrata, see Pascoli, 327-38; Vincenzo Golzio, "Lo 'Studio' di Ercole Ferrata," *Archivi* 2 (1935): 64-74; Mark Weil, *The History and Decoration of the Ponte S. Angelo* (University Park, PA, 1974), 81-4; and Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1985), 1:216-8.

³⁴ Pascoli, 348-53; David Bershada, "A Series of Papal Busts by Domenico Guidi," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970): 805-9; Bershada, "Domenico Guidi and Nicolas Poussin," *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971): 544-7; Weil, 85-8; and Montagu, *Algardi*, 1:214-6.

1688).³⁵ Fancelli was initially a pupil of Bernini, and eventually became a close collaborator and friend of Pietro da Cortona. After Cortona's death, Fancelli worked frequently with Rainaldi. In addition to statues for Sant'Andrea della Valle and the tombs of Clement IX and Cardinal Bonelli, he provided two statues for the Cappella di San Venanzio in the Lateran Baptistery and two angels for the high altar of Rainaldi's church of San Gregorio Magno in Monte Porzio Catone. Other sculptors whom Rainaldi employed on a more occasional basis included Paolo Naldini, Michele Maglia, and Francesco Cavallini.³⁶

Of the painters with whom he worked, Rainaldi probably most admired Giacinto Brandi (1621-1691). Brandi first received artistic training from Algardi before finding a place in the workshop of Giovanni Lanfranco. Brandi's works often appear in churches and in altar settings by Rainaldi. He supplied one altarpiece for San Carlo ai Catinari, as well as the high altars of several churches: Santa Maria del Suffragio, the Church of Gesù e Maria, Santi Angeli Custodi, and San Gregorio Magno in Monte Porzio Catone.³⁷ Brandi also received commissions to paint the vaults of San Silvestro in Capite and the Church of Gesù e Maria where Rainaldi oversaw both decorative schemes.

³⁵ For Cosimo Fancelli, see the life of Jacopantonio Fancelli in Pascoli, 919-20; Weil, 79-80; Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 78-82; and Rosella Vodret Adamo, "La vicenda storica di Monte Porzio Catone e la committenza artistica di una grande famiglia romana: i Borghese," *L'arte per i papi e per i principi nella campagna romana grande pittura del '600 e del '700*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1990), 2:168-9. Cosimo Fancelli was connected to Rainaldi in other ways as well. His brother, Francesco Fancelli, was head *scarpellino* for the renovation of the Palazzo Borghese, which was directed by Rainaldi. Francesco Cavallini, Cosimo's pupil, worked for Rainaldi at the Church of Gesù e Maria. Howard Hibbard discusses some of these connections in, "Palazzo Borghese Studies I: The Garden and Its Fountains," *Burlington Magazine* 100 (1958): 205-15, especially 210; and "Palazzo Borghese Studies II: The Galleria," *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962): 9-20, especially 16.

³⁶ For Maille and Naldini, see the entries in Valentino Martinelli, ed., *Le statue berniniane del Colonnato di San Pietro* (Rome, 1987), 213-5 and 221-3, as well as the life of Naldini in Pascoli, 907-16.

³⁷ Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 7:129-38; and Antonella Pampalone, "Per Giacinto Brandi," *Bollettino d'Arte* 58 (1973): 123-66. Wittkower called Brandi "a prolific but facile painter who . . . contributed little that deserves special attention," *Art and Architecture* 2:181n32.

Apart from the professional collaborations and a common participation in the activities of the Academy of Saint Luke and Congregazione dei Virtuosi, there is little that connects Rainaldi personally to any of these sculptors and painters.³⁸ It would be wise, therefore, not to read too much into these associations. In part, the frequent collaborations simply reflect coinciding circles of patronage. Yet, Rainaldi's collaborations are noteworthy because his circle formed one of the few successful alternatives to Bernini's massive workshop, especially after the deaths of Cortona and Borromini.

Rainaldi designed smaller works for a variety of patrons. The architect produced funerary monuments for one pope, three families of cardinals, and one bishop. His altars and chapels, commissioned both by religious institutions and wealthy individuals, stand in some of the most ancient and venerable churches in Rome, including Santa Maria Maggiore, the Lateran Baptistery, Santi Apostoli, and Santa Maria in Aracoeli. They are also found in the churches of new religious orders like the Barnabites and the Oratorians. Many works were commissioned as isolated monuments. Others belong to larger projects to restore or finish churches. And, still others appear in Rainaldi's own churches like Santa Maria in Campitelli and Santa Maria del Suffragio.

The material splendor and the expense associated with Rainaldi's designs vary widely. The cost of the most sumptuous chapels, which incorporated rare and precious marbles, could rival the budget of constructing a small church. In other cases, Rainaldi was praised for his economical solutions. He sometimes incorporated materials left from ephemeral celebrations or sought to duplicate the look of expensive marble with cheap

³⁸ For example, there is no mention of any of Rainaldi's professional associates either as inheritors or witnesses in his testament. For Rainaldi's participation in Roman academies, see Chapter Two above.

stucco.³⁹ At the Church of Gesù e Maria, for example, he reused materials from the triumphal arch erected for the *possesso* of Pope Clement X to build a temporary high altar.⁴⁰

Rainaldi responded to the restraints imposed by his patrons, whether they were austere religious orders or wealthy prelates. Cost alone, however, did not determine the look of his designs, and, in fact, his corpus demonstrates a range of modes from restrained, archaizing designs; to grand, magnificent designs; to playful, exuberant ones. Although this variety verges on the eclectic, it does not suggest a carelessness or lack of talent. At their finest, Rainaldi's chapel, altar, and tomb designs display a profound sensitivity to matters of decorum and a thoughtful engagement with past traditions and recent innovations. Together, they provide a clearer understanding of how Rainaldi operated as an architect and how he sought to address the viewers of his sacred spaces and monuments.

The Ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala (1647)

The ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala in Rome represents one of Rainaldi's earliest attempts to synthesize architectural form with theological significance. The monument immediately commands the viewer's attention forcefully directing her gaze to the apse of the church (Figures 4.1-4.4).⁴¹ Ornamented with precious marbles and gilt

³⁹ See Chapter Five, note 106 below for the columns in the interior of Santa Maria in Campitelli, which combine marble and stucco.

⁴⁰ See note 118 below.

⁴¹ For the ciborium, see Titi, 25-6; Pascoli, 414; Gregorio Roisecco, *Roma antica, e moderna* (Rome, 1750), 172; Hempel, 80-1; *Cenni storici sui conventi dei PP. Carmelitani Scalzi della Provincia Romana* (Rome, 1919), 16; Furio Fasolo, "L'altar maggiore," 302-315; Fasolo, *L'opera*, 93-104; Portoghesi, *Roma barocca*, 288; Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 1:41-2; Buchowiecki, 4:674-6; Gütthlein, "Carlo e Girolamo Rainaldi," 234.

alabaster columns, the ciborium assumes the guise of a small temple. Twelve columns form the central structure and frame the exposition of the host. These columns support an undulating entablature that extends the sense of movement initiated by the outer concave bays. A richly decorated attic story, a small balustrade, a ribbed cupola, and a lantern surmount the ciborium, while terracotta statuettes, made to appear like bronze, stand atop the outer columns and contribute to the sense of upward movement.

Furio Fasolo discovered the contract for the stonework of the ciborium and provided the correct date of 1647. The Discalced Carmelites of Santa Maria della Scala commissioned the monument, and the *scarpellino* Giovanni Maniscalchi executed the project “conforming to the designs and plan made by Signor Carlo Rainaldi” (conforme alli disegni et pianta fatti dal sig. Carlo Rainaldi).⁴² The Carmelites at the church had already employed Carlo’s father in the first decade of the seventeenth century, commissioning from him the design of the chapel of the Madonna, the second chapel on the left of the nave.⁴³ Girolamo Rainaldi’s rapport with the order likely served as the impetus for his son’s later project, a pattern typical of Carlo Rainaldi’s career.

Although the monument is one of Carlo Rainaldi’s earliest prominent commissions in Rome, Eberhard Hempel and others once mistook the ciborium for a work of the architect’s maturity.⁴⁴ The difficulty in providing a correct date indicates that the monument itself may be stylistically problematic. On the one hand, the structure of

⁴² Archivio di Stato di Roma, Carmelitani Scalzi di Santa Maria della Scala, B. 1220 cited in Fasolo, “L’altar maggiore,” Appendix B. The total cost of the project was 12,000 scudi. *Cenni storici*, 15.

⁴³ Fasolo, “L’altar maggiore,” 302. See also, Appendix, 315. Girolamo Rainaldi’s altar surrounds Carlo Saraceni’s *Death of the Virgin*, which replaced Caravaggio’s rejected painting of the same subject now in the Louvre. For Girolamo’s chapel, see Eve Borsook, “Documents Concerning the Artistic Associates of Santa Maria della Scala in Rome,” *Burlington Magazine* 96 (1954): 270-1.

⁴⁴ Hempel, 80.

the ciborium with its concave wings participates fully in the architectural developments of the 1630s and 1640s; the emphatic use of freestanding columns even foreshadows Rainaldi's later architectural interests. On the other hand, the ciborium's material qualities recall the architecture of an earlier generation that included Girolamo Rainaldi. The mixed use of stylistic idioms is not a sign of confusion; rather, it appears that Carlo Rainaldi evoked the material splendor of late sixteenth-century tabernacles in order to enhance the sacred meaning of the monument.

The ciborium demonstrates that Rainaldi kept abreast of the stylistic innovations of his rivals. By flanking the central structure with two concave wings, Rainaldi created a sense of movement that acknowledges the works of Pietro da Cortona and Francesco Borromini. In the 1630s Cortona at Santi Luca e Martina and Borromini at San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane experimented with the activation of the church façade by introducing bold curves into their works. The juxtaposition of rectilinear and curvilinear elements in the ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala represents Rainaldi's own response to the introduction of the curved façade in ecclesiastical architecture. Although Rainaldi sought to introduce movement into his architecture like his rivals, his treatment is quite different. The contrasts between column and void, and light and shadow, create a punctuated rhythm in the monument, which appears less elastic than the facades of Santi Luca e Martina or San Carlino.

While the general sense of movement recalls Rainaldi's rivals, the lavish use of material reveals a clear debt to the architecture of his father. The incorporation of precious marbles and gilding and the employment of heavy moldings in the window surrounds betray the influence of Girolamo Rainaldi's architecture. Details like the s-

scroll pediment also evoke Girolamo's mannerist vocabulary. The heavy encrustation of architectural detail found in the ciborium appears throughout Rainaldi's oeuvre in the late 1640s and early 1650s, resurfacing in the high altar of San Girolamo della Carità (1652) and in the altar of Sant'Antonio da Padova in San Lorenzo in Lucina (1652). Some of Rainaldi's late works, like the high altar of the Church of Gesù e Maria (1678), also share this sumptuous quality, even if the ornamental vocabulary has drastically changed.

As Fasolo has noted, the form of the ciborium as a centrally planned *tempietto* represented an important choice for Carlo Rainaldi. By engaging the typology of altar tabernacles as *tempietti*, Rainaldi inserted himself in the architectural tradition of his father's generation of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Two precious tabernacles likely served as a starting point for Rainaldi's conception: the sacrament tabernacle of the Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore (Figure 4.5) and the Altar of the Sacrament in the transept of San Giovanni in Laterano (Figure 4.6). Rainaldi must have been familiar with the former example, designed by Domenico Fontana and executed by Bastiano Torrigiano and Ludovico del Duca in 1587, because his own father constructed the high altar of the Cappella Paolina, the Cappella Sistina's pendant chapel.⁴⁵ At the Cappella Sistina, four bronze angels effortlessly bear the weight of a richly ornamented tabernacle, designed as a centrally planned, octagonal *tempietto*. Marble inlays and gilt bronze contribute to the lavishness of the tabernacle, whose decoration includes miniature relief panels and statuettes. The Altar of the Sacrament at San Giovanni in Laterano also would have loomed large in Rainaldi's mind. In that monument, designed by Pier Paolo Olivieri, four monumental bronze columns form an

⁴⁵ For the construction and design of the tabernacle in the Cappella Sistina, see Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality*, 46-7.

aedicula that frames a second smaller marble aedicula. The tabernacle itself, positioned within this smaller aedicula, represents a centrally planned *tempietto* of marble, gilt bronze, and silver relief panels.⁴⁶

These two sumptuous works attest to the growing emphasis on the Eucharist during the Counter-Reformation.⁴⁷ They also provided Rainaldi with a vocabulary of ornamental richness. The material splendor of the ciborium, however, is not merely a formal motif; nor is it simply the vestige of his father's legacy. The rich ornament serves an important theological and rhetorical purpose, demonstrating that the ciborium is the house of God on earth, or the *tabernaculum Dei cum homnibus*, according to the inscription displayed in the black marble cartouche above the pediment.⁴⁸

From across the distance of the nave, the ciborium appears almost as a miraculous, glimmering vision of the house of God. The monument responds to a long Christian tradition associating sacred architecture with the celestial paradise.⁴⁹ Moreover, the use of a monumental architectural form (a temple) in the small scale of a high altar adds to its sacred power, visually enticing the viewer, but denying her physical access to

⁴⁶ The tabernacle itself was designed by Pompeo Targone, who collaborated with Girolamo Rainaldi in constructing the Altar Tabernacle of the Virgin in the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore. Ostrow, 145. For a discussion of the Altar of the Sacrament, see Jack Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge, 1995), 130ff.

⁴⁷ Freiberg, 130.

⁴⁸ The inscription is from Revelations 21:3.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the idea that church architecture presented an image of paradise, see Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," *Romanesque Art* (New York, 1977), 15; and Steven Ostrow, "Marble Revetment in Late Sixteenth-Century Roman Chapels," in *IL 60: Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. M. Aronberg Lavin (New York, 1990), 253-66, especially 263-4.

the *tempietto*.⁵⁰ The space is reserved for the Eucharist and the presence of the divine alone.

In the ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala Rainaldi affirmed the value of rich, architectural ornamentation while balancing the traditions of his father with the novel forms of his contemporaries. Each element serves the sacred purpose of creating a suitable temple or home for the presence of God. This above all explains the rich, precious quality of the work. A temple that no human can enter, the ciborium is architecture in service of the divine.

The High Altar of San Girolamo della Carità (1652-1657)

The high altar of San Girolamo della Carità provides an opulent setting for Domenichino's most celebrated and controversial painting, *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome* (1614) (Figures 4.7-4.11).⁵¹ Here, I suggest that Rainaldi directly engaged with this painting as he sought to reconcile the architecture of the chapel—both its structural form and its color—with Domenichino's work. Rainaldi's method may recall the rhetorical figure of speech known as amplification. Responding to qualities in the painting, the architecture figuratively expands the fictive space of the canvas.

Financed through a bequest of 6,000 scudi by Fantino Renzi,⁵² construction of the chapel began in 1652. The confraternity of San Girolamo della Carità placed the painting

⁵⁰ François Bucher, "Micro-architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style," *Gesta* 15 (1976): 71-89.

⁵¹ On the painting, see Elizabeth Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair*, especially 73-8 for the commission. At present, the chapel holds a copy of the painting by Vincenzo Camuccini. The Vatican Pinacoteca displays the original.

⁵² For the testament, see Fasolo, *L'opera*, 275. Renzi (also Renti) provided 24,000 *scudi* to build the façade of the church in addition to the chapel. Domenico Castelli built the façade. Fasolo suggested that the chapel was designed during Renzi's lifetime in the 1640s as a collaboration between Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi and only later executed by Carlo Rainaldi, but there is no documentary evidence to support

in the new altar in 1659 upon the completion of the chapel.⁵³ Although Furio Fasolo argued that Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi collaborated on the work, there is evidence to suggest that Carlo himself was responsible for the design. The advanced age of Girolamo, who was eighty-three years old when the project was begun, and Titi's attribution of the chapel to Carlo support the idea that Carlo acted alone.⁵⁴

The high altar of San Girolamo della Carità represents an exuberant mode in Rainaldi's architecture, one that relies upon lavish materials and playful ornament to captivate the viewer. Placed within a barrel vaulted chapel, the altar is at once bold in its structure and jubilant in its decoration. Four tall Composite columns of *rosso di Francia*, with gilt bronze capitals and bases, stand on a series of pedestals.⁵⁵ The two central columns, which frame the painting, project forward from the two lateral columns. Domenichino's altarpiece rises above the column capitals into the level of the brown alabaster frieze; its placement thus ensures that it is not overwhelmed by the columns. The main body of the altar, formed by the stable aedicula, stands in contrast to the livelier architectural ornament in the attic. A prominent cartouche of black marble set against a

this. The first payments for the chapel began in 1652, at a time when Carlo Rainaldi was largely taking over his father's practice. Contemporary guidebooks attribute the altar to Carlo Rainaldi alone, and Rainaldi's letter to Padre Oliva implies that the work is his own. See Appendix, Document O.

⁵³ A note in the archive, which to the best of my knowledge is unpublished, reads "Quadro di S. Girolamo che sta in ginocchi per comunicarsi dipinto da Domenico Zampari Bolognese l'anno 1614 fu trasportato all'Altare Maggiore fabricato di nuovo li 22 Sett[embr]e 1659 . . ." Archivio di Stato di Roma, Istituti riuniti di S. Girolamo della Carità, vol. 182, f.123.

⁵⁴ Titi writes in the 1686 edition, "Nell Quadro dell'Altare maggiore vi è colorito S. Girolamo, quale giunto all'ultimo della vecchiaia viene dal Sacerdote con assistenza d'altri ministri comunicato, opera del Domenichino, che garreggia con le meglio di Roma, e l'Architettura di questa Capella, e dell'Altare, riccamente ornato con metalli è disegno del Cavalier Rainaldi." Titi, 68.

⁵⁵ The columns are called red French marble in Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 4 vols. (Vienna, 1967-1997) 2:161. Pullen describes them as *Taormina brecciato*, a marble "very like . . . and possibly identical" to rosso di Francia. Henry William Pullen, *Handbook of Ancient Roman Marbles* . . . Reprint (1894; Whitefish, MT, 2007), 74.

background of *giallo antico* sits above a broken, open bed pediment.⁵⁶ Two gilt cherubs sit upon the straight pediment, and a second segmental pediment almost bends to fit the cartouche below and the barrel vault above.⁵⁷

The decoration of the lateral walls of the chapel radiates from the bold high altar. The dark green marble plinth and the brown alabaster frieze of the altar continue on the chapel walls. The four red marble columns have flattened into four pilasters. Between the pilasters on each wall, panels of colored marbles appear above bronze portrait busts of Fantino Renzi and his nephew Scipione Gisleni. A barrel vault with gilt flowered coffers covers the space. The whole chapel appears as part of a triumphal arch motif, positioned between two colossal pilasters and placed under an arch.⁵⁸ Although they date to the eighteenth century, the figures of Charity and Faith in the spandrels reinforce this effect. The chapel, raised by three steps, spills into the space of the transept, and a low altar rail with concave corners demarcates the two spaces.

Because the painting was executed long before the chapel, Rainaldi had the opportunity to consider the altarpiece carefully and attempt to reconcile his architecture with the painting. The decoration of the chapel appears to echo specific elements in *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome*. The chapel uses columns and pilasters, a combination that also appears in the painting. More strikingly, the four columns of the altar and the

⁵⁶ The gilt inscription reads, D.O.M./ DIVO HIERONYMO/ ECC[LESIAE] DOCTORI/ DICATUM.

⁵⁷ Fasolo, *L'opera*, 100, has cast doubt upon Rainaldi's authorship of the design of the upper part of the altar for stylistic reasons. But it is possible that Rainaldi was simply introducing *varietà* in the monument by forming a contrast between the lower aedicula and the attic story.

⁵⁸ The figures of Charity and Faith above date to the eighteenth century. Olga Melasecchi, "San Girolamo della Carità," *Roma Sacra: Guida alle chiese della città eterna*, 4 (1998): 33-7.

two represented in the painting all employ cabled fluting.⁵⁹ In this way the actual physical columns correspond to the painted ones. The knitting together of the two-dimensional painting with the three-dimensional chapel continues with the *putti*, who sit atop the pediment. They connect the fictive space of the painting to the real space of the chapel. Finally, the gilt architectural details emphasize the gold and yellow tones that appear throughout the painting: in the priest's richly brocaded chasuble, in the acolyte's sash, and in the large candlestick. The correspondence of such elements suggests that Rainaldi sought to harmonize the architecture of the chapel with the painting.

At San Girolamo della Carità, Rainaldi attempted to relate the architecture of the chapel to *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome* through small, rather superficial details. The chapel design thus hints at the figure of speech of *amplificatio*. In classical rhetoric, amplification involved a host of techniques to expand and enhance the impact of a word or idea.⁶⁰ Building on cues from Domenichino's painting, Rainaldi designed a high altar that attempted to extend the space of the canvas. Just as the altar amplifies the altarpiece, the chapel walls echo the altar, though taking on a slightly different form. The altar's rhythm (a-b-c-b-a) has changed (a-a-c-a-a) as the volumetric columns are exchanged for flat pilasters, and the space of the canvas for tablets of colored marble. The walls thus become a variation on the theme of the altar.

One might interpret Rainaldi's altar as a response to the painting, a kind of art criticism analogous to the ekphrases of Bellori. Rainaldi showed himself sensitive to the material qualities of the painting but had not yet developed a compelling way to enhance

⁵⁹ Because Rainaldi used columns of all types throughout his career, including columns with cabled fluting and full fluting as well as smooth columns, the use of cabled fluting in this instance seems especially deliberate. It is not a form he relied upon constantly.

⁶⁰ Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1.9.38; Cicero *On the Ideal Orator* 3.104-5; Soares, 12-6.

the meaning of the work. The altar reveals the limits of Rainaldi's rhetorical approach at this early stage of his career. The precious materials and ornamental richness of the chapel lend the architecture a sense of joy that seems at odds with the more sober subject of Domenichino's painting. Later in his career Rainaldi would seek to reconcile painting and architecture in more careful and meaningful ways. Over time, he would also become more interested in the decorative solutions proposed by Bernini in his chapels and altars. In the Renzi chapel, the architecture and painting, though complementary, remain distinct. As Rainaldi continued to design altars and major decorative schemes, however, his desire to synthesize architecture, painting, and sculpture increased, and his attempts at unifying the arts of *disegno* became greater in scale and deeper in significance.⁶¹

The Lancellotti Chapel of Sant' Ignazio (1656-1657)

Rainaldi's sensitivity to the qualities of material and his possible exploration of their rhetorical and symbolic potential have a long precedence in the history of architecture.⁶² In addition to the visually harmonious qualities of some of Rainaldi's monuments, there is good evidence for the architect's deliberate and careful use of precious stones and marbles. Documents concerning Rainaldi's dismissal from a project at Sant' Ignazio shed light on the costs of material and the network of marble dealers upon whom he relied.⁶³ Although Rainaldi's quarrel with the Jesuits represents an interesting episode in the history of patronage, it also suggests his selective approach to materials.

⁶¹ For the phenomenon, see Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 2 vols. (New York, 1980), 1:6-15; and Giovanni Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, trans. Linda Lappin (1990; Chicago, 1995), 47-50, 85-6, and 99-101.

⁶² Fabio Barry "I marmi loquaci: Painting in stone," *Daidolos* 56 (1995): 106-21.

⁶³ In choosing materials Rainaldi relied upon colleagues in northern Italy, including Tommaso Luraghi and Bartolomeo Avanzini. Luraghi, a marble merchant from Modena, was also a practicing architect. See the entry by B. Pinto in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Lurago." In the matter of

In 1656 Ludovico Bompiani, rector of the Collegio Romano, commissioned Carlo Rainaldi to design and build a chapel dedicated to Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga. The commission fulfilled the terms of a bequest made twenty-seven years earlier by the Marchese Scipione Lancellotti. Although the Jesuits approved Rainaldi's design for the chapel, which was to occupy the second chapel on the right of the church,⁶⁴ Rainaldi never completed the project. A bitter dispute erupted between the architect and the rector.⁶⁵ Bompiani accused the architect of financial improprieties and dismissed him from the project. Rainaldi, in turn, filed suit against the order. A feud persisted for decades as the Jesuits kept the architect buried in litigation, and the architect used his influence to oppose the Jesuits' artistic endeavors.⁶⁶ In the end, the Jesuits prevailed. By

the Lancellotti chapel, Luraghi was responsible for the acquisition and delivery of the columns and played no role in the design (See Appendix, Document N, Part 3). The architect Bartolomeo Avanzini apparently acted as a proxy or agent for Rainaldi in acquiring the marble for the chapel (See Appendix, Document N, Part 3). Avanzini (1608-1658) served as court architect in Modena. He was trained in Rome, possibly in the studio of Girolamo Rainaldi. In 1634 he was called to Modena where he took up the construction of the Ducal Palace, for which Girolamo Rainaldi had supplied the initial design. Upon Avanzini's death, Antonio Luraghi, Tomasso's brother, inherited Avanzini's drawings and took over his unfinished projects. Surprisingly, none of the previous scholarship has mentioned Avanzini's involvement in the chapel dispute. For Avanzini's career, see A. Ghidiglia Quintavalle in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Avanzini, Bartolomeo"; Alessandra Fabretti in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Avanzini, Bartolomeo"; and Jarrard, 108 and 249n29.

⁶⁴ The chapel was the second on the right side of the nave where Nicola Michetti's Sacripante chapel now stands. Rainaldi was not involved in the design of the altar of Saint Aloysius Gonzaga as it stands today in the right transept.

⁶⁵ Over the course of seventy years, the Jesuits accumulated notes, legal briefs, and accounts concerning the chapel. Only scraps of this material have been published, and the principal documents are transcribed here in the appendices along with a summary of the case. Kerber, 238-40, first published a drawing for the chapel and the contract for the stonework. His discussion of the incident is surprisingly brief. Francis Haskell discussed Rainaldi's dismissal in the context of the architect's later hostility toward the Jesuits. See "The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes," in *Baroque Art*, 54. Gerhard Eimer illustrated the plan of the chapel but erroneously ascribed it to the church of Il Gesù. Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:623. John Pinto outlined the early history of the chapel but focused on its eventual completion by Nicola Michetti in "An Early Design by Nicola Michetti: The Sacripante Chapel in the Roman Church of S. Ignazio," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 38 (1979): 375-81. Filippo Trevisani reprised the incident in his study of the chapel of Francis Xavier in Il Gesù in his essay "Giovanni Battista Negroni committente dell'altare di S. Francesco Saverio al Gesù di Roma," *Storia dell'arte* 38/40 (1980): 361-9.

⁶⁶ In 1671, the Jesuits suspected that Rainaldi had advised his patron Duke Ranuccio II Farnese (1630-1694) against funding a project to complete the decoration of the tribune and high altar of the church

transferring the location of the chapel to the right transept of Sant'Ignazio after Rainaldi's death, the order circumvented the original terms of the contract. In place of his design, Andrea Pozzo and Pierre Le Gros created one of the most splendid altars of Baroque Rome (Figure 4.12).

Previous scholarship has examined the Lancellotti chapel only briefly, and it is worth reviewing the history of the project here.⁶⁷ On December 4, 1629, the Marchese Scipione Lancellotti (1609-1663) secured the rights to build the chapel of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga in the church of Sant'Ignazio in Rome.⁶⁸ The Lancellotti family particularly venerated Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga,⁶⁹ and promoted the site of his cult through various donations and bequests.⁷⁰ In 1605 Tiberio Lancellotti (1577-1629),

of Il Gesù. On this incident, see Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma descritto ed illustrato* (Rome, 1952), 106-23; and Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 78-80. In "The Role of Patrons," Haskell specifically argues that Rainaldi's feud with the Jesuits about the Lancellotti chapel explains his opposition to the tribune project. Haskell, "The Role of Patrons," 54. Rainaldi also opposed a related project to decorate the dome of Il Gesù in 1672, which necessitated removing the sixteen brick ribs from the dome. See Divenuto, 89-90.

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⁶⁸ For studies of the complicated design history of the church, see Dagobert Frey, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Römischen Barockarchitektur* (Augsburg, n.d. [1924?]), 11-43; Buchowiecki, 2:199-220; Richard Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien (150-1773). Teil 1. Die Baudenkmäler der Römischen und der Neapolitanischen Ordensprovinz* (Vienna, 1985), 191-200; and Bösel, *Orazio Grassi*, 108-28. For Cardinal Ludovisi's role, see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 72-5.

⁶⁹ The desire to build a sumptuous chapel dedicated to Aloysius Gonzaga reflects the growth of his cult in the early seventeenth century. Gonzaga (1568-1591) was an important figure in the spiritual history of the Jesuit order and particularly of the Collegio Romano. The young Jesuit novice, who descended from the noble Gonzaga family, forfeited his inheritance to follow a religious life. Renowned for his intense devotion and humility, he inspired his fellow pupils and superiors at the Collegio Romano. When an epidemic of fever struck Italy in 1591, Gonzaga, despite his own frail health, insisted on serving the poor victims. He fell ill with the fever, finally succumbing three months later at the age of twenty-three. Gonzaga's body was placed in the most richly adorned chapel in Santissima Annunziata, which then served as the church of the Collegio Romano. In 1605 Pope Paul V beatified Aloysius Gonzaga, and more than a century later, on December 31, 1726, Gonzaga was canonized by Pope Benedict XIII. For the saint's life, see Pierre Joseph Orléans, *The Life of Aloysius Gonzaga: Of the Society of Jesus*, trans. John Panting (Preston, 1761), and S. Giordano in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Gonzaga, Luigi."

⁷⁰ For the Lancellotti family, see Patrizia Cavazzini, *Palazzo Lancellotti ai Coronari: Cantiere di Agostino Tassi* (Rome, 1998), 5-12.

Scipione's father, commissioned an altar dedicated to Gonzaga in Santissima Annunziata, the initial church of the Collegio Romano, and in 1620 he gave money for the completion of the chapel where Gonzaga's body lay.⁷¹ His wife, Laura Marsciana Lancellotti (d.1618), credited the intercession of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga with saving her life and offered 1000 *scudi* to the Jesuits as an ex-voto in 1617.⁷² Scipione Lancellotti carried on this familial interest. Four months after the death of his father, Scipione agreed to pay for a new chapel in Sant' Ignazio, where construction had started only three years earlier.⁷³ His bequest of 5000 *scudi* would be given to the Jesuits once construction of the church was complete and the chapel ready to be decorated. In the meantime, the sum was invested at an annual return of five percent. The second chapel on the right side of the church was marked as the initial site (Figure 4.13); only after the Jesuits dismissed Rainaldi did they transfer the location of the project to its present position, the right transept of the church.

Most of the construction of Sant' Ignazio was completed for the jubilee year of 1650, and on March 22, 1656, Lancellotti fulfilled the bequest for the chapel. The rector of the Collegio Romano, Ludovico Bompiani, then sought to have the chapel built. For reasons that are not specified in the surviving documents, Carlo Rainaldi received the commission. The Jesuits, not the marchese, apparently called upon him. Although the

⁷¹ Buchowiecki gives 1605 as the year of the altar, but he does not cite any documents regarding the project. Buchowiecki, 2:200. In 1623, an altar in the chapel of Aloysius Gonzaga was made to the design of Orazio Grassi; the altar was eventually transferred to the sacristy of Sant' Ignazio where it remains. See Bösel, *Orazio Grassi*, 33. For the 1620 donation, see Cavazzini, *Palazzo Lancellotti*, 11n66.

⁷² Cavazzini, *Palazzo Lancellotti*, 10.

⁷³ Appendix, Document O.

choice of Rainaldi must have been acceptable to both parties, the marchese was not involved in this decision, or many others concerning the design of the chapel.⁷⁴

It is easy to understand why Rector Bompiani chose Carlo Rainaldi: the architect's long experience with the Society of Jesus likely recommended him for the commission. After completing his studies at the Collegio Romano, Rainaldi cultivated many ties to the order. In his early career he provided the Jesuits with designs, surveys, and expert opinions for numerous projects. Sometime after 1647, he executed designs for the restoration of Sant'Apollinare, the church of the Jesuit Collegio Germanico in Rome.⁷⁵ In 1648 he supplied drawings in "the service of the *fabbrica*" of Sant'Ignazio.⁷⁶ And two years later, he designed the apparatus for the Forty Hours devotion in the church of Il Gesù.⁷⁷ For many of these projects, Rainaldi worked without payment. At Sant'Apollinare, Rainaldi was "architetto gratis,"⁷⁸ and at Sant'Ignazio Rainaldi received gifts, not money. Although remuneration was not his primary motive, he, nevertheless, benefited from these projects. Rainaldi donated his services to the Society while he was

⁷⁴ Two reasons account for the marchese's relative lack of involvement. First, Lancellotti left Rome for Naples permanently in 1632 after he had acquired the fiefdom of Lauro. See Cavazzini, *Palazzo Lancellotti*, 4. Second, the Jesuits exercised considerable power over their artistic projects by the mid-seventeenth century. As Francis Haskell has noted regarding the construction of Sant'Ignazio, the Jesuits managed to choose their own architect over Cardinal Ludovisi's favorite, and as the century progressed they were able to impose their own will on most artistic projects. See Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 73.

⁷⁵ Richard Bösel and Jörg Garms, "Die Plansammlung des Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum, I: Die Gebäudekomplex von S. Apollinare in Rom," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 24 (1982): 348 and 369.

⁷⁶ An account book for the Fabbrica of Sant'Ignazio records two payments to Rainaldi: one from January 13, 1648 to Carlo, and another from April 3, 1648 to Girolamo and Carlo. The nature of these works cannot be discerned from the brief entries. See Appendix, Document L. Haskell first mentioned Rainaldi's work in this context, but he did not transcribe the records. See Haskell, "The Role of Patrons," 54.

⁷⁷ Fagiolo dell'Arco, 344-6.

⁷⁸ Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur*, 231n17.

still establishing himself as an independent architect, thereby gaining experience, building his reputation, and forging relationships with future patrons. For their own part, the Jesuits profited from this architectural expertise at little or no cost.

The commission to build the chapel of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga tried this relationship. But among the many factors that contributed to the dispute, Rainaldi's design itself was apparently not to blame. In 1656 Rainaldi prepared a few designs from which Bompiani and the Jesuits at the college chose the most suitable.⁷⁹ Rainaldi then had a model of the chapel made. It must have proved satisfactory as Bompiani in consultation with a professor at the college, Padre Giovanni Battista Giattini, approved this final design.⁸⁰ On March 18, 1657, Bompiani and Rainaldi signed the contract for the stonework.⁸¹

A single plan of the approved chapel design survives (Catalog 37 & Figure 4.14).⁸² Because Rainaldi's design was never executed, the drawing and the accompanying contract provide the only definitive information about the chapel. In plan, the chapel is square with one wide entrance from the nave and two slightly narrower entrances from the adjacent side chapels. Six columns stand in these three entrances. A large altar structure spans the rear third of the chapel. A broad rectangular platform with concave corners forms the base. A balustrade repeats this shape and carefully demarcates the altar from the open space of the chapel. Three rectangular steps lead to the mensa,

⁷⁹ Appendix, Document O.

⁸⁰ Giattini was known for his command of mathematics, which he taught from 1633 until 1635 and again from 1647 until 1649. He also taught scripture, theology, cases, metaphysics, physics, and logic in the 1630s and 1640s. See the list of professors at the Collegio Romano in Villoslada, especially page 335.

⁸¹ Appendix, Document K.

⁸² Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico, B. 1238/8 unnumbered.

which is marked by a cross; behind it is a rectangular pedestal for a painting or relief sculpture. A dome and a lantern, indicated in the drawing by two concentric circles, crown the whole space. While the altar is rectilinear and simple in plan, the articulation of the chapel walls is more complex as a series of full pilasters, quarter pilasters, engaged columns, and convex moldings frame the space for the altar image.⁸³

The plan of the church dictated important aspects of Rainaldi's design. Most obviously, it defined the size and shape of the Lancellotti chapel, which conformed to the other side chapels. The church plan also necessitated the open character of the design. Because of their wide lateral entrances, the side chapels in effect become aisles. A visitor to the church can proceed freely from the first chapel, through the second and third chapels, to the transept. The flow of movement therefore limited the size of Rainaldi's altar. The altar balustrade aligns precisely with the pedestals of the freestanding columns at the side entrances, leaving the center of the chapel open, the path clear.

The chapel is both a passage and a destination, and the design reflects this inherent tension. The open character of the space and the position of the balustrade encourage movement through the chapel. This sense of movement is counteracted by the prominent altar and the centralized plan of the space. The overarching circular dome and the underlying geometry of the chapel, an octagon within a square, further emphasize a sense of containment. Unfortunately, in the absence of an elevation drawing or model, nothing can be said about how the decoration would have resolved or contributed to this tension.

⁸³ The surviving documents do not mention the image intended for the altar. The subject was certainly Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga, but no artist is associated with the project.

Aside from the plan, the contract for the stonework is the only other source of evidence about the chapel's decoration.⁸⁴ The chapel would have employed the Ionic order for all the columns and pilasters. Again, this choice was dictated by the general design of the church. The columns of the chapels' main entrances needed to match each other since they were all visible from the nave. Because the cost of the project was at the center of the conflict between Rainaldi and the Jesuits, a great deal more is known about the materials intended for the chapel.⁸⁵ The contract reveals that Rainaldi was attentive to the selection of marble. In addition to common materials like white marble, bigio, and bardiglio, the surviving contract lists colorful stones: breccia from Verona for the columns, oriental alabaster for the pedestals at the side of the altar and for the small pilasters of the balustrade, broccatello for the friezes of the pedestals and balustrade, and black and white Carrara marble for the balusters. The contract also called for black marble from Carrara or Porto Venere and a black and yellow marble from Carrara, but the precise use of these materials is not specified.

In the absence of an elevation drawing or model, it is difficult to speculate on the overall effect of Rainaldi's design, but one imagines, based upon the expense of the marbles, that the chapel would have been stunning. If the surviving documents do not permit a reconstruction of Rainaldi's full intentions, they at least provide evidence for his

⁸⁴ Kerber first published this contract. A copy is included in the appendices. See Appendix, Document K.

⁸⁵ Although the circumstances under which Rainaldi was dismissed are somewhat hazy, it appears that the Jesuits suspected Rainaldi of financial improprieties. As the cost of the project rose, Rector Bompiani learned that Rainaldi had established with his *scarpellino*, Giovanni Manescalchi, a lower set of prices for the marble than those agreed upon in the initial contract (Appendix, Document N, Part 4 & 5). It is implied that Rainaldi pocketed the difference, but whether this was actually the case is unknown. In August 1657 Rainaldi filed a suit before Monsignor Areosto, Auditor of the Reverenda Camera Apostolica, to have the contract restored. Although Rainaldi won this initial lawsuit, the dispute with the Jesuits was never fully settled. Hoping to resolve the matter conclusively, Rainaldi finally wrote to Gian Paolo Oliva, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, in 1678. Rainaldi's letter, which has not been previously published, is a methodical, and at times elegant, defense of his position (Appendix, Document O).

involvement in the selection of marbles. Relying on his contacts in northern Italy, Rainaldi, it seems, sought very specific kinds of stone. Over the course of his long career, he must have gained some expertise in the properties of various stones—knowledge which he put to good use in creating many splendid chapels and altars.

The High Altar of San Lorenzo in Lucina (c.1670-1675)

The high altar of San Lorenzo in Lucina shares many of the same formal concerns with the high altar of San Girolamo della Carità (Figures 4.15-4.19).⁸⁶ Employing expensive stone and marbling, both appear as the architectural climax of their respective churches, and both seek to harmonize painting and architecture. Yet, separated by no more than two decades, the two works are vastly different in their appearance. Where the high altar at San Girolamo della Carità is jubilant, the altar at San Lorenzo in Lucina is grave and restrained. This contrast between the two altars emblemizes the difficulty in defining Rainaldi's style. The differences between the two monuments do not merely stem from a chronological shift in Rainaldi's personal style. Instead, they represent two distinct approaches to architecture. At San Girolamo della Carità, Rainaldi relied on precious materials and playful ornament to command the interest of the viewer. At San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rainaldi shied away from complex ornament and sought to imbue with meaning the architectonic form of the altar itself.

⁸⁶ For the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, see Richard Krautheimer, Spencer Corbett, and Wolfgang Frankl, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, Volume 2 (Vatican City, 1959): 159-84; Maria Bertoldi, *S. Lorenzo in Lucina*, *Le chiese di Roma illustrate*, n.s. 28 (Rome, 1994); Francesco Bertozzi, "S. Lorenzo in Lucina," *Roma sacra* 1 (1995): 6-17. For the high altar, see Titi, 194; Hempel, 76-8; Fasolo, *L'opera*, 248 and 379; and Buchowiecki, 2:278. For Rainaldi's projects for the church and convent, see Fasolo, *L'opera*, 193, 202, and 206-9; and Dorothy Metzger Habel, "Carlo Rainaldi's Facade Project for San Lorenzo in Lucina," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43 (1984): 65-70. Prior to working on the high altar, Rainaldi had already designed the second chapel on the right of the church, for Francesco Nuñez Sanchez. The chapel was executed between 1652 and 1655. See Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:654-8. Rainaldi's cousin Domenico completed a modest painting of the Holy Family for the oval in the pediment.

The high altar of San Lorenzo in Lucina serves as a monumental display for Guido Reni's *Crucifixion*, dated circa 1637-1638. The Marchese Cristina Dugliolo Angelelli bequeathed the painting to the church upon her death in 1669.⁸⁷ The design and construction of the new altar was begun around 1670 and was finished for the Jubilee of 1675. Filippo Titi attributed the work to Rainaldi in the first edition of his guidebook published in 1674, shortly before the completion of the altar.⁸⁸ Although no payment or other document has ever surfaced to confirm his attribution, Rainaldi worked for the church on other occasions, and the technical details of the monument correspond to altars and tombs by Rainaldi from the early 1670s.⁸⁹

Sitting on a high pedestal, the large, freestanding altar amply fills the space under the arch of the chancel. A low marble altar-rail with grey marble balusters and red jasper die sweeps into the nave of the church. The balustrade juxtaposes rectilinear portions with convex ones, echoing the shifts in movement present in the altar itself. Paired freestanding Corinthian columns of black African marble constitute the center of the

⁸⁷ The bequest was made in a codicil to the testament. It reads “. . . et di piu lascia alla medema chiesa come sopra [San Lorenzo in Lucina] Un quadro grande con Nostro Signore Crocefisso mano di Guido Reni, quale intende et vole che si debba esporre in detta chiesa et in termine di dieci anni doppa la sua morte debba collocarse, et mettersi all'Altare maggiore di detta Chiesa . . .” The testament and codicil are transcribed in Francesca Curti, *Committenza, collezionismo e mercato dell'arte tra Roma e Bologna nel Seicento: La quadreria di Cristiana Dugliolo Angelelli* (Rome, 2007), 113-6, Document 5. For Reni's *Crucifixion*, see D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works with an Introductory Text* (New York, 1984), 168, and Cat. 2 (288-9); and Curti, 71 and 74. Of the painting, Passeri writes: “La Sig.a Marchese Christina Duglioli Angelelli haveva, tra le altre cose degne di pittura, nella sua Casa, un Crocefisso di mano di Guido, però una sola figura di Giesù Christo posto in Croce, non ancor morto; ma agonizante, di proporzione più del naturale; ma poco: dipinto ad oglio in tela. Quando mori ne fece un dono alla Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Lucina quale era sua Parocchia con obbligo di tenerlo sempre esposto in detta Chiesa, et è quello che oggi vien collocato nel maggior Altare. Opera in vero, nello stile di Guido, mirabile.” Passeri, 100.

⁸⁸ Titi writes in the 1674 edition, “La Marchese Angelelli lassò per testamento à questa Chiesa un Quadro grande con dentro dipinto Christo Crocefisso dal famoso Guido Reni, acciò fosse posto nell'Altare maggiore, quale al presente si stà facendo con bella architettura del sudetto Cav. Rainaldi.” Titi, 194.

⁸⁹ For documents related to the church during this period, see Archivio di Stato di Roma, San Lorenzo in Lucina, B. 1565.

altar. At either side, a half column brackets the altar. Through the use of concave and convex elements, the altar achieves a graceful sense of movement. The four Corinthian columns stand on a slight concave curve, as the convex center of the altar bulges forward. The entablature and the segmental pediment crowning the altar repeat this movement. Architectural ornament enriches the design. Within the black marble frieze, vertical grooves and anthemia appear, adding subtle texture to the altar. The white marble cornice employs both a course of dentils and a course of modillions alternating with rosettes.⁹⁰ All these details contribute to the power of the design without detracting from the *Crucifixion*.⁹¹

Rainaldi was careful to achieve a balance between the painting and his architectural design, not only through the restrained use of ornament but also through color. Rainaldi's choice of marbles complements Reni's restricted palette. In the *Crucifixion*, the dark grey sky, dominating two-thirds of the background, contrasts with the pale flesh of the Savior. Hints of purple intensify the clouds, while a barren landscape of muted greens and browns rests at the foot of the cross. The subtlety of Reni's palette was not lost on Rainaldi. The six columns and the frieze use a black marble, whose white veins create a more muted grey color.⁹² The colored marble thus matches and expands the dark grey field of the sky. The piers against which the outer engaged columns stand

⁹⁰ The combination of modillions and dentils is common to nearly all of Rainaldi's altars. Though the two forms appear together frequently in the seventeenth century, this combination is by no means universal.

⁹¹ The altar is now partially obscured by later additions. As Fasolo discovered, the work was altered about a decade after its construction when the tabernacle, stairs, and inscriptions were added. The altar mensa, which now covers the two Angelelli coats-of-arms on the plinths of the columns, is also a later addition. The church paid a *muratore* for this work in 1682. For the document, see Fasolo, *L'opera*, 382-3.

⁹² Pullen identifies the columns as *Bianco e Nero di Porto Ferrajo*, a marble from the island of Elba. Pullen, 48 and 163.

are a grey-purple marble, which enhances the violet hue in the storm clouds. Brown and yellow hues dominate the *breccia* frame around the painting and complement the neutral brown of the cross and the landscape. Finally, the plinths of *verde antico* beneath the columns reinforce the faint greens of the landscape. Rainaldi's use of colored marbles at San Lorenzo in Lucina demonstrates his thoughtful approach to design and his careful consideration of the role of color in architecture.

In addition to the harmonious color palette, Rainaldi sought to complement the *Crucifixion* through the introduction of movement. The juxtaposition of convex and concave elements, although common in the architecture of Rainaldi and his contemporaries, is not simply an element of period style. More significantly, the movement in the altar appears to echo the body of Christ in the *Crucifixion*. As Christ arches his back from the wood of the cross and attempts to fill his chest with air, the center of the altar pushes outward. As Christ's arms are stretched along the wood of the cross, the altar responds by shifting from convex to concave. The architecture of the altar thus embodies the tension inherent in the suffering body of Christ.

That Rainaldi conceived of the high altar of San Lorenzo in Lucina in anthropomorphic terms is not surprising. A deep tradition stretching back to antiquity linked architecture to the human body. As the most obvious example, Vitruvius recounted how the architectural orders had their origins in different body types.⁹³ In addition to ancient precedent, it was common in medieval and Counter-Reformation Europe to

⁹³ For the history of this metaphor, see especially Joseph Rykwert, *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, 1996).

compare the plan of the church to the body of Christ.⁹⁴ The seventeenth-century also witnessed inventive applications of the metaphor, such as Bernini's justification for the design of Piazza San Pietro, in which he suggested that the porticoes were the arms of the Church embracing the faithful.⁹⁵

The architectural gesture of Rainaldi's high altar engages many purposes. Rhetorically, the altar visualizes the figure of speech of *amplificatio*. Through his architecture Rainaldi expands upon the space and theme of Guido Reni's painting. If the Renzi Chapel had only hinted at *amplificatio*, the high altar of San Lorenzo fulfilled amplification's rhetorical potential. In *On The Ideal Orator*, Cicero noted that amplification was particularly suited to stirring the feelings of an audience.⁹⁶ At San Lorenzo in Lucina, the altar magnifies the empathetic response of the viewer, who

⁹⁴ For this view in medieval Europe, see the well-known treatise by William Durandus from the thirteenth century, *The Rationale divinatorum officiorum: The Foundational Symbolism of the Early Church, Its Structure, Decoration, Sacraments and Vestments Books I, III, and IV* (Louisville, KY, 2007), 1.1.14. More recently, Carlo Borromeo had encouraged the use of a cruciform plan for all churches. See the discussion in Evelyn Carole Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae*, 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis," (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1977), 51-7.

⁹⁵ For Bernini's metaphor, see Kitao, 14 and note 40; Andreas Haus, "Piazza S. Pietro, Concetto e forma," in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini architetto e l'architettura europea del Sei-Settecento*, ed. Gianfranco Spagnesi and Marcello Fagiolo, 2 vols. (Rome, 1983) 1:291-315, esp. 311; and Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, ed. Anthony Blunt, trans. Margery Corbett (Princeton, 1985), July 15. See also the use of the human form in the anonymous counter-project to Piazza San Pietro described in Rudolf Wittkower, "A Counter-Project to Bernini's Piazza S. Pietro," *Studies*, 61-82. The Cappella Alaleona (Figure 4.20) provides another example of architectural design enhancing the narrative subject. There Bernini separated the columns of the altar by abandoning a continuous pediment. Not only does the open space allow for the insertion of angels and the cross, but also, I would argue, it echoes the physical distance between Christ and Mary Magdalene in the *Noli me tangere* narrative. For the chapel, see Ackermann, 55-72.

⁹⁶ "It [amplification] is a requirement for all the elements that are employed, as Antonius has said, in order to secure belief in a speech: whether we expound something, or win over the audience's minds, or stir their feelings. But amplification is most effective in dealing with the last-mentioned element." Cicero *On the Ideal Orator* 3.104-5. Aristotle, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of amplification in enhancing the beauty of a subject. He writes, "Speaking generally, of the topics common to all rhetorical arguments, amplification is most suitable for epideictic speakers, whose subject is actions which are not disputed, so that all that remains to be done is to attribute beauty and importance to them." See *Rhetoric* 1.9.38.

identifies with the suffering body of Christ and responds, in turn, to the physical cues of the architecture. Rainaldi's design also fulfills an important liturgical purpose. The painting of the *Crucifixion* and the altar itself render more palpable Christ's sacrifice, which is fulfilled in the transubstantiation of the host at the high altar. Christ's presence is thus manifest not only in the tabernacle, but through the painting and architecture of the high altar and the liturgy of the mass enacted there.

Rainaldi's monument is a confident and mature work that displays his mastery of *invenzione*. Although the design of the high altar illustrates that he accepted a commonplace view of the anthropomorphic character of architecture, the transformation of this idea into a brilliant *concetto* demonstrates his fine intellectual capacity. Rainaldi used the altar to expand the pictorial and symbolic field of the painting, and in so doing created one of the more intriguing works of his career.

The Monument to Pope Clement IX (1671)

Despite his limited experience with the figural arts, Rainaldi's training as an architect prepared him to design tombs and ephemeral monuments that incorporated numerous allegorical and other sculptural figures. In his architectural drawings, Rainaldi would have indicated the placement and gestures of figures, from which sculptors executed his conceptions.⁹⁷ Five individual monuments or funerary chapels that are attributed to Rainaldi survive intact.⁹⁸ All date from the 1670s and 1680s when Rainaldi was far advanced in his career.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ On the phenomenon of architects providing designs for sculptors, see Montagu, "The Sculptor as Executant," *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 77-98, especially 92-7 for Rainaldi.

⁹⁸ In addition to the four works mentioned below, Rainaldi completed a funerary chapel for the Mancini family in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, but his design was altered in the nineteenth century. See Heidemann. On tomb designs in general, see: Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York, 1964); Phillipe Ariès, *Images of Man and*

The most important of Rainaldi's tombs, which I focus upon here, are the monument to Pope Clement IX in Santa Maria Maggiore and the monuments to the Bolognetti family in the Church of Gesù e Maria. Both works transform earlier artistic models in interesting ways. Rainaldi's other tombs, by contrast, relied upon, without surpassing, the ideas of his elder rival Bernini. For example, in the Cappella di San Venanzio in the Lateran Baptistery (1673), Rainaldi designed an austere altar flanked by two funerary memorials dedicated to the prelate Francesco Adriano Ceva and his uncle Cardinal Adriano Ceva (Figure 4.21).¹⁰⁰ There, one finds traces of Bernini's Cornaro and Raimondi chapels and the tomb of Cardinal Pimentel. Similarly, Rainaldi's memorial to Cardinal Carlo Bonelli in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Figure 4.22) depends upon Bernini's monument to Maria Raggi in the same church.¹⁰¹

Death, trans. Janet Llyod (1977; Cambridge, 1985). For baroque tombs in Italy, see: Quinto Tossati, "L'evoluzione del monumento sepolcrale nell'età barocca: Il monumento a piramide," *Bolletino d'Arte* 7 (1913): 173-86; Leo Bruhns, "Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung in der römischen Grabplastik des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1940): 253-432; Cristina Ruggero, "Decorum, Varietas, Magnificentia: Römische Kardinalsgrabmäler des Barock," in *Praemium Virtutis: Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus*, eds. Joachim Poeschke, Britta Kusch-Arnhold, and Thomas Weigel (Münster, 2002), 299-320; and Cristina Ruggero, "Monumenta Cardinalium: Studien zur barocken und spätbarocken Skulptur am Beispiel römischer Kardinalsgrabmäler (1650-1750 ca.)," (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 2003).

⁹⁹ That no early tomb designs are known may simply be a coincidence. On the other hand, the deaths of Borromini in 1667 and Cortona in 1669 opened more opportunities for other architects like Rainaldi to design large scale funerary monuments.

¹⁰⁰ For the chapel and tombs, see Hempel, 81-3; Paschini, 182-3; Buchowiecki, 1:93-4; and Ruggero, "Monumenta," 2:376-84. See G. De Caro, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Ceva, Francesco Adriano," for a biography of the cardinal.

¹⁰¹ Titi attributed the design of the monument to Rainaldi in the 1674 edition of the guidebook, so the work must have already been begun (as the inscription of the monument itself reveals). Titi writes, "Il Sepolcro fatto ultimamente sopra la detta Porticella, che è del Card. Bonelli ne fù l'Architetto il Cav. Rainaldi; la scoltura di mezzo è d'Ercole Ferrata, la Carità di Filippo Romano, l'altre di Michele, e Francesco allievi del Ferrata, e quelle, che sedono le fa il Fancelli, & il Rossi." Titi, 90. Fasolo misattributed the tomb of Cardinal Alessandro Bonelli to Girolamo Rainaldi and did not mention the monument to Cardinal Carlo Bonelli at all. Fasolo, *L'opera*, 48 and 338n20. Other literature on the work includes: Hempel, 81-2; Hibbard, "Palazzo Borghese Studies- II," 16n39; Ruggero, "Decorum," 312-6; and Ruggero, "Monumenta," 2:359-61.

Rainaldi's monument to Pope Clement IX Rospigliosi (1667-1669) in Santa Maria Maggiore (Figure 4.23) has far greater historical and artistic significance than the Ceva and Bonelli tombs. The papal monument was commissioned by the pope's successor Clement X Altieri (1670-1676).¹⁰² Clement IX had planned to have Bernini build a large funerary chapel in the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore, but Clement X abandoned the scheme because it was too costly. Instead, the Altieri pope commissioned Rainaldi to rebuild the tribune and design a funerary memorial for his predecessor.¹⁰³

The monument to Clement IX was Rainaldi's only papal funerary monument, and the great importance of the commission suggests that his work was a carefully considered contribution to the tradition of the papal tomb.¹⁰⁴ The monument consists of a three-bay structure that serves as a statuary display. A high pedestal lifts the monument to a commanding height. Ionic pilasters frame its outer edge; at the center two freestanding Ionic columns project forward to support a segmental pediment, forming an aedicula that

¹⁰² Two preparatory sketches (Figures 4.24 & 4.25) preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid testify to Rainaldi's early ideas (Barcia 8194 and 8195). See *Dibujos italianos de los siglos XVII y XVIII en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1984), cat. 118 & 119. DeMarques first identified the two drawings as sketches for the monument to Clement IX and attributed the works, with some reservation, to Rainaldi's hand. Few *comparanda* for this type of drawing exist in Rainaldi's known corpus, and the only plausible alternative is to attribute the drawings to Domenico Guidi, who eventually sculpted the figure of the pope. However, the clumsiness of the figures suggests that the draftsman is Rainaldi.

¹⁰³ Alessandra Anselmi, "I progetti di Bernini e Rainaldi per l'abside di Santa Maria Maggiore," *Bollettino d'Arte* 86 (2001): 27-78. A series of letters between Edward Altham in Rome to Charles Cheyne in England regarding the execution of the tomb of Lady Jane Cheyne sheds some light on the precise date of the project. On 8 August 1671 Altham lamented the lack of workmen, mentioning "a great monument to be made for Pope Clement the ninth at S^t Maria Maggiore, which all of a sudden is to be finished with great haste." See Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 42.

¹⁰⁴ For papal tombs of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Ferdinand Gregovius, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Päpste: Marksteine der Geschichte des Papsttums* (1857; Leipzig, 1911), 62-94; Antonio Muñoz, "La scultura barocca a Roma: V. Le tombe papali," *Rassegna d'arte antica e moderna*, 18 (1918): 78-104; Rudolf Preimesberger, "Das dritte Papstgrabmal Berninis," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1978): 159-81; Kaspar Zollikofer, *Berninis Grabmal für Alexander VII. Fiktion und Repräsentation* (Worms, 1994); Edward Olszewski, *Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740) and the Vatican Tombs of Pope Alexander VIII* (Philadelphia, 2004); Phillip Fehl, *Monuments and the Art of Mourning: The Tombs of Popes and Princes in St. Peter's* (Rome, 2007), 60-111.

surrounds the figure of the pope. The entablature of *verde antico* links the lateral bays to the central aedicula and forms a rich contrast to the overall color scheme of rose and yellow marble. The statues, executed by sculptors with whom Rainaldi frequently collaborated, commemorate Clement IX's reign. The figure of the pope, executed by Domenico Guidi, sits on the papal throne and offers a gesture of benediction as he turns his gaze to the right. To the left, the figure of Charity, executed by Ercole Ferrata, nurses her child as another peeks out from behind her clothing. A sculpted roundel that depicts an unidentified papal ceremony in Saint Peter's is placed above the figure (Figure 4.26).¹⁰⁵ To the right, the figure of Faith, sculpted by Cosimo Fancelli, lifts a chalice in her right hand and bears a cross in her left. A *putto* offers her the papal tiara. The roundel above displays a view of the Ponte Sant'Angelo, the most important artistic commission of Clement IX's reign.¹⁰⁶ Two papal escutcheons proudly bearing the four diamonds of the Rospigliosi arms contribute to the celebration of the pontiff. One last detail, a diamond that forms the apex of the papal throne behind Clement IX's head, adds to the heraldry of the monument.

¹⁰⁵ The scene depicts several bishops gathered around Clement IX in Saint Peter's Basilica (Bernini's Baldacchino appears in the background). No scholar has proposed a convincing identification of the subject. Buchowiecki, for example, simply calls it "eine päpstliche Funktion in St. Peter." Buchowiecki, 1:262. There are few events in Clement IX's short pontificate that would warrant such a commemoration. The roundel perhaps attests to Clement IX's role in securing a temporary resolution in the Jansenist controversy in France, known as the Clementine Peace. See Pastor, 31:401. More likely is the possibility that the scene represents the canonization ceremony of Saint Peter of Alcantra and Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi. The papal medal commemorating the event depicts the two saints kneeling on a cloud, and does not correspond to the sculpted medallion. However, the unidentified scene recalls other papal medals that commemorate canonizations. With the pope enthroned in the presence of bishops at left and the baldacchino at right, the composition corresponds directly to the annual medal representing the canonization of Saint Andrew Corsini in 1629. For the medals, see Nathan Whitman and John Varriano, *Roma Resurgens: Papal Medals from the Age of the Baroque* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983), Catalog 51 and 113.

¹⁰⁶ The composition of the sculpted medallion is similar, though not identical, to a medal designed by François Chéron in 1669, depicting Clement IX on the obverse and the Ponte Sant'Angelo on the reverse with the inscription, "AELIA PONTE EXORNATO." Both compositions include the allegorical figure of the Tiber at the lower left and a view of the bridge, which excludes the Castel Sant'Angelo. For the medal, see Whitman and Varriano, Catalog 112.

Rainaldi was under some pressure to integrate this monument into the space and existing decoration of the church. When finished the monument was placed on the right side of the choir of the church, just past the Cappella Sistina. The original position of the monument can be seen in the frontispiece of an illuminated choir book, produced during the reign of Clement XI Albani (1700-1721) (Figure 4.27).¹⁰⁷ Although the artist drastically simplifies the monument, eliminating the lateral bays and their allegorical figures, the frontispiece attests to the position of the work before the massive restoration of Santa Maria Maggiore in the 1740s when Ferdinando Fuga moved the monument adjacent to the rightmost entrance of the nave.

The monument's design and original position demonstrate that it was conceived as a pendant to the tomb of Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292), also originally located in the choir and moved by Fuga to the leftmost entrance of the nave (Figure 4.28). In 1573 the remains of Pope Nicholas IV were rediscovered during the remodeling of the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore. Cardinal Felice Peretti, who would later become Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590), held the thirteenth-century pontiff in great esteem and commissioned a monument to commemorate him. Not only was Nicholas IV the first Franciscan elected to the papal throne, he also shared with Cardinal Peretti the homeland of Le Marche. By April 1573, the canons of the church granted Peretti the right to build the monument in the choir of the church.¹⁰⁸ Domenico Fontana, who would become Sixtus V's most important architect and the teacher of Girolamo Rainaldi, provided the design of the tomb.

¹⁰⁷ Steven Ostrow and Christopher Johns, "Illuminations of S. Maria Maggiore in the Early Settecento," *Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990): 530.

¹⁰⁸ For the details of the commission, see Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality*, 7-9.

The monument to Nicholas IV serves as a clear architectural source for Rainaldi's work. Like the monument to Clement IX, it is a shallow architectural structure of three bays that displays a statue of the pope with two allegorical figures. Ionic pilasters frame the outside of the monument, while engaged Ionic columns step forward slightly at the center of the monument. The entablature projects forward *en ressaut* above each column and steps back again above the central niche. A segmental pediment, filled with garlands, surmounts the area above the two columns. Much of the surface of the monument is covered in relief decoration. Nicholas IV's arms decorate the attic story, while Cardinal Peretti's arms are displayed below the allegorical figures. The statues of Religion, Justice, and Nicholas IV, all sculpted by Leonardo Sormani, receive the defined space of separate, framed niches.

Rainaldi's monument to Clement IX clearly imitated Fontana's monument to Nicholas IV, but this imitation involved much more than mere copying. The concept of imitation was fundamental in the classical curriculum of institutions like the Collegio Romano, as pupils copied literary masters in order to learn. More importantly, imitation played a significant role in early modern art theory and practice. As Elizabeth Cropper has discussed, imitation remained central to artistic practice in the seventeenth century even as it came under scrutiny.¹⁰⁹ Unlike modern notions of copying, imitation was, in fact, a creative and thoughtful process. In order to understand fully the invention of most imitative works of art, the beholder was required to recall its model and actively compare the works in her mind.¹¹⁰ In the case of the monuments to Nicholas IV and Clement IX,

¹⁰⁹ Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair*, 161.

¹¹⁰ Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair*, 99.

the viewer was at least spared the task of recall as she compared the works directly before her. This literal proximity of the monuments only heightened the implicit *paragone* of the works.

Rainaldi's monument is linked to its predecessor through the concept of *imitatio*, but it also attempts to surpass its model through subtle changes. In this way, the monument is better understood as an emulation, rather than an imitation.¹¹¹ Rainaldi asserted his independence from his model by giving his monument a clearer, bolder look. Rainaldi's allegorical figures are not defined by framed niches, which limit the size of the statues in Nicholas IV's monument; rather, they move out from the space between the pilasters and the freestanding columns, and they engage the viewer. Rainaldi employed freestanding columns in the central bay of the monument, which project forward in a pronounced way, forming a prominent aedicula that emphasizes the figure of the pope. The figure of Clement IX is further accentuated by a high pedestal in contrast to the statue of Nicholas IV, whose own base barely rises above that of the allegorical figures. Structurally, Rainaldi simplified the pediment, abandoning the decorative details of Fontana's monument. The entablature of the central bay no longer breaks forward but fills the space between columns, thus restoring the traditional structural function of the column in a post-and-lintel system. The dentils of the entablature and pediment are made larger in conformity to Roman models. Even Rainaldi's choice of colored marbles serves to make the monument more legible. Each architectural component is constructed from a distinct type of marble: the plinth is *settebasi policroma*, the columns and pilasters are

¹¹¹ Perry, 78.

veneered with *portsanta*, the niches are *giallo antico* with a black marble background, and the frieze is *verde antico*.¹¹²

Rainaldi took obvious steps to clarify the architectural and decorative scheme of the earlier monument. By forming at the center of the monument a true aedicule that restores the structural function of the column, Rainaldi drew upon the example of ancient Roman architectural sources. In particular, he imitated the aedicular niches of the Pantheon, a venerable building to follow (Figure 4.29). Through the aedicular structure, restrained use of ornament, and the low, broad arc of the segmental pediment, Rainaldi's monument reveals a clear debt to the Pantheon.

The monument to Pope Clement IX thus relies upon sources from two distinct periods, but it is not a pastiche of varied styles. Instead, the work appropriately conformed to its pendant tomb while adopting the more sober language of the late seventeenth century. With the disengagement of sculpture from architecture and the clarification of the structural and decorative scheme, Rainaldi's design imitated the overarching structure of its sixteenth-century model, but surpassed it in boldness.

Rainaldi's use of different sources may recall a particular theory of imitation. In the early modern period, scholars of language fell into two camps: one that espoused the imitation of a single author (usually Cicero) and another that advocated the imitation of many authors.¹¹³ The latter view was based upon the advice of Quintilian who recommended that young orators read and copy many different authors. Through diligent

¹¹² For the identification of the marbles, see Pullen, 167.

¹¹³ Grendler, 214-5.

study and the recognition and mastery of one's own talents, one could achieve success.¹¹⁴ Quintilian's advice on imitation influenced early modern art, and one finds echoes of his ideas in Giorgio Vasari's portrayal of Raphael. According to Vasari, Raphael began by copying the manner of Perugino. After surpassing him, he studied the works of Leonardo in order to achieve his sense of expression and grace. Raphael, however, recognized that he could not surpass Leonardo in all respects, so he turned to the works of Michelangelo. Through the study of the nude, Raphael pushed his art still higher, but again he came to understand that he could not rival Michelangelo in every regard. Instead, Raphael decided that if he could not rival Leonardo and Michelangelo in particular qualities, then he would surpass them by achieving excellence over the whole of art.¹¹⁵

Rainaldi's monument to Clement IX may not offer a precise or dogmatic theory of selection, but it does suggest that Rainaldi subscribed to a catholic view of imitation. Indeed, Rainaldi's entire corpus appears to stake out the viability of a broad range of models as opposed to a single one. It is significant that Rainaldi's imitation of diverse sources was not a means towards achieving a unified personal style; rather, Rainaldi may have employed different architectural idioms as a way of exploring the rhetorical and expressive properties of style.

The Decoration of the Church of Gesù e Maria (begun 1678)

At the end of Rainaldi's career stands one of his most splendid monuments: the interior decoration of the Church of Gesù e Maria on the via del Corso (Figures 4.30-

¹¹⁴ Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 10.2.23-6. See also the passage in which Quintilian extols the particular strengths of sculptors and painters, thereby suggesting that no single model of imitation suffices. Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 12.10.3-9.

¹¹⁵ For the description of Raphael's imitation of the other masters, see Vasari, 4:373-7. For a discussion of this practice, see Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 68; Rubin, 387-99; and Cropper, *Domenichino Affair*, 105.

4.36).¹¹⁶ Rainaldi converted a prosaic early seventeenth-century nave into a richly marbled space that at once commemorates the Bolognetti family, glorifies the mystery of the Eucharist, and celebrates the coronation of the Virgin, the subject of the high altar. Assisted by a group of sculptors that included Francesco Cavallini, Francesco Aprile, and Michele Maglia, Rainaldi designed four funerary monuments dedicated to six members of the Bolognetti family. In the process of witnessing the transformation of the host, each member of the Bolognetti family reacts with wonder and piety. Ercole Bolognetti (Figure 4.37) clutches a rosary and leans almost precariously from his *prie-dieu* in order to peer down the nave toward the high altar, while a sense of imminent conversation marks the expressions of Pietro and Francesco Bolognetti (Figure 4.38). Closer to the altar, Giorgio Bolognetti, Bishop of Rieti and patron of several works by Rainaldi, kneels in perpetual adoration, while opposite him Cavaliere Mario Bolognetti falls to one knee and clutches his chest with his right hand (Figures 4.39 & 4.40). The dramatic gestures of the figures in the Bolognetti monuments lead the viewer to consider the dual objects of the family's collective attention: the transformation of the host enacted at the magnificent high altar and the coronation of the Virgin represented there.

The church interior appears as a carefully orchestrated drama; however, the history of Rainaldi's design unfolded incrementally, as a series of distinct, but related,

¹¹⁶ For the history and decoration of the church, see Hempel, 68-71; Fokker, 443-4; Fasolo, *L'opera*, 229-52; Ignazio Barbagallo, *La Chiesa di Gesù e Maria in Roma: Cenni storico-artistici* (Rome, 1967); Filippo Trevisani, "Carlo Rainaldi nella chiesa di Gesù e Maria al Corso," *Storia dell'arte* 11 (1971): 163-71; Allison Lee Palmer, "The Gesù e Maria"; Palmer, "The First Building Campaign of the Church of Gesù e Maria on the Via del Corso in Rome: 1615-1636," *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 27 (1997): 1-20; and Mascia Meleo and Jacopo Curzietti, "Nuovi documenti per la decorazione seicentesca della Chiesa di Gesù e Maria al Corso a Roma," *Studi di storia dell'arte* 17 (2006): 233-48. The discussion of the design and building history that follows relies upon Palmer's dissertation on the church; the emphasis on the rhetorical devices and expressive properties of the church is my own contribution.

projects. Rainaldi first began work for the Discalced Augustinians of the church in 1671 when he directed the completion of the façade according to an earlier design by Carlo Butio.¹¹⁷ Three years later with their coffers much diminished, the Augustinians sought an inexpensive design from Rainaldi for a new high altar in anticipation of the approaching jubilee year. Rainaldi suggested that the Augustinians acquire the materials from the triumphal arch he had erected on the Capitoline Hill for the *possesso* of Pope Clement X.¹¹⁸ The order accepted this economical proposal, and Rainaldi adapted the old arch for the new altar.

The temporary high altar, though comprised of wood and canvas, was attractive enough to draw the attention of Bishop Giorgio Bolognetti (1595-1686). The bishop was papal nuncio to France from 1634 to 1639 and the bishop of Rieti from 1639 until 1660 when he retired to Rome.¹¹⁹ In 1678 the wealthy prelate stumbled into the Church of Gesù e Maria. Struck by the ingenuity of the temporary high altar, he questioned the

¹¹⁷ Architectural historians long assumed that the simple façade, which draws on Palladio for inspiration, was entirely Rainaldi's conception. They attributed the flat severity of the façade to a new stylistic direction in Rainaldi's work that was more conservative than his projects in the 1650s and 1660s. Alison Palmer has shown, however, that Rainaldi was largely following a design by the original architect of the church. Palmer, "Gesù e Maria," 96-109.

¹¹⁸ Rainaldi himself had designed the arch in 1670. After the *possesso*, it was dismantled and stored at the Campidoglio. No images of this temporary high altar are known; however, a print of the original arch does survive (See Figure 4.41). The structure had a single arch at the center with paired columns at either side. Between the columns stood allegorical figures of Justice and Nobility and *putti* holding roundels with the Altieri star. A large attic story carried an inscription, four *putti*, and the arms of the civic government, sponsor of the arch. A series of allegorical figures that included Atlas and Hercules, two fames, and the figures of Charity and Religion crowned the monument. In his temporary altar Rainaldi recycled the columns and had the medallions repainted as portraits of Saint Augustine, Saint Monica, and other saints important to the Augustinians. The history of the temporary arch is described in Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 185; and Palmer, "Gesù e Maria," 112-3. On the triumphal arch itself, see Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco and Silvia Carandini, *L'effimero barocco: Strutture della festa nella Roma dell'600*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1977), 2:90, and Fagiolo dell'Arco, 482-3.

¹¹⁹ G. De Caro in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Bolognetti, Giorgio"; and Palmer, "Gesù e Maria," 115-8.

Augustinian fathers about it and arranged a meeting with the architect.¹²⁰ Rainaldi knew of Bolognetti by reputation. Aware that he had vast sums at his disposal, the architect counseled the Augustinians to make every effort to please the bishop.

From 1678 to 1680 Rainaldi constructed a magnificent new permanent altar at the church, but it was only in August, 1680, that the Discalced Augustinians granted patronage of the whole choir to the bishop. Rainaldi extended his design to include new statues, stucco decorations, and paintings, which drew the high altar and choir into a unified scheme celebrating Christ and the Virgin. One year later, the Augustinians awarded Bolognetti patrimony rights over the entire church, and once again, the decorative scheme enlarged. Rainaldi designed four funerary monuments for the Bolognetti and directed a project to add marble revetments in the nave, while his longtime collaborator Giacinto Brandi painted the vaults of the nave. The entire scheme is one of the finest examples of the *bel composto* in late seventeenth-century Rome, and it is surprising that Rainaldi conceived it piecemeal. Designing around the nucleus of the high altar, he managed to seamlessly expand the decorative scheme as the bishop extended his rights over the church.

In the Church of Gesù e Maria, Rainaldi adopted a number of rhetorical figures as he sought to persuade the viewer of the truth of the Catholic faith. In particular, the decoration of the church employs rhetorical *communicatio*, a device in which the orator directly addresses an audience.¹²¹ Through its expensive marbles, exuberant stuccos and paintings, and its dramatic sculptural figures, the decoration of the church makes an impassioned appeal to the viewer.

¹²⁰ Palmer, "Gesù e Maria," 118-23.

¹²¹ Cicero *Orator* 137; Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 9.2.20-5; and Soares, 56.

Upon entering the space, the viewer is struck by the rich polychrome marbling of the nave, which prepares her for the sumptuous high altar and choir. The piers are adorned with large pilasters of jasper, each surrounded by a listel of black marble. Between these pilasters stand walnut confessionals, above which are placed four memorials to members of the Bolognetti family. The memorials are fictive *coretti*, formed by the segmental pediment above the confessionals and by a screen of four small Ionic columns between Ionic pilasters. The concave arrangement of the columns helps to achieve the illusion of depth.

Pietro and Francesco Bolognetti appear at the first memorial on the right. Only their upper bodies are visible as the figures kneel at *prie-dieux*. Pietro, turns away from the altar and addresses Francesco. His left hand gestures toward the altar, thus directing the viewer's gaze down the nave. The gesture, though made by Pietro to Francesco, also seems to implicate the viewer. In this way, the monument suggests the rhetorical figure of *anacoenosis*, in which a speaker addresses a question to his audience. That such a device is placed at the entrance of the church creates an immediate dialogue between the architecture, sculpture, and viewer. The pendant memorial at left conveys an equal sense of drama. Ercole and Luigi Bolognetti appear captivated by the scene at the high altar. Ercole leans out from the *coretto* as he clutches his rosary to peer down the nave. His bold action emphasizes the importance of looking and encourages the viewer herself to gaze down the nave and the understand the source of wonder and amazement.

The figures of Mario Bolognetti and Giorgio Bolognetti, who occupy the other two piers, are full portraits. At right Mario Bolognetti kneels, while turning toward the altar in a dramatic *contrapposto* pose. The armor strewn about his feet and the Maltese

cross held by one of the *putti*, identify his rank as *cavaliere*. In contrast to the active knight is the contemplative bishop in the memorial across the nave. Giorgio Bolognetti kneels toward the nave, only turning his head to gaze upon the altar—his hands clasped in prayer. The pair embodies the rhetorical figure of antithesis, not only in the juxtaposition of dynamic and tranquil poses, but in the contrast of their military and ecclesiastical professions and their active and contemplative lives.¹²²

The piers share the space of the visitor, forming a prelude to the dramatic climax of the church at the high altar. Three steps elevate the choir from the nave, and an altar rail of black and white Carrara marble with jasper balusters divides the two spaces. The center of the balustrade curves outward, echoing the form of the high altar. Large black and white marble fluted pilasters with white marble capitals stand against the choir wall; an arch springs from the projecting entablature. At the apex are two angels holding aloft the Bolognetti arms.

The large altar is a grand monument in its own right; it appears even more impressive in the richly decorated setting of the choir. Giacinto Brandi painted the *Coronation of the Virgin* specifically for this space. Christ crowns his mother as a choir of angels encircles the pair. Yellow and orange hues dominate the background, and this warm color palette balances with the marble altar, predominantly adorned with fine Sicilian jasper.

The altar consists of three distinct zones: the base with mensa, the aedicula around the painting, and the prominent attic story. Three steps lead to the mensa, which is adorned in a geometric pattern with alabaster, *verde antico*, and porphyry. A rich little tabernacle, designed as a small temple front, sits atop the mensa. Its concave form

¹²² On antithesis, see Aristotle *Rhetoric* 3.9.8; Cicero *On the Ideal Orator* 2.263; and Soares, 53.

provides a small counterpoint to the convex altar. Above the base of the altar rise four Corinthian columns, which frame the altarpiece. The columns of Sicilian jasper are staggered on a series of convex arcs: the inner columns advance from the center of the altar, the outer columns advance in turn from the inner columns. Details such as the bronze capitals and bases and the fine carving of the entablature add to the material splendor of the altar. In contrast to some of his earlier works like the high altar at the Cappella di San Venanzio with its stark entablature (Figure 4.21), Rainaldi employed a succession of moldings and ornamental forms (Figure 4.32 & 4.33). At the center of this textural symphony of white marble is a frieze of Sicilian jasper. The prominent cornice of this entablature serves as a platform for the architectural and figural composition of the attic story. Short piers rise above the inner columns and support a convex segmental pediment. Kneeling angels face the center of the attic where two more angels hold a lapis globe adorned with the monograms of the Virgin and Christ.¹²³ At either side of the altar are two large statues that stand gazing upon the *Coronation of the Virgin*. Carved by Giuseppe Mazzuoli, they represent Saint John the Baptist on the left and Saint John the Evangelist on the right. Architecture and sculpture together give the high altar its power. The altar pulsates with energy from its convex architectonic form, rich ornament, and sculpture.

The decoration of the rest of the choir did not proceed until 1680; nevertheless, Rainaldi's design moves from the high altar to the space of the choir without any abruptness. Like the Renzi chapel in San Girolamo della Carità, the entablature continues at the same level along the rear and lateral walls. A continuous jasper frieze helps to

¹²³ Paolo Naldini carved the four large angels in the attic story of the altar; Francesco Cavallini, the two *putti* sitting atop the pediment.

unify the space. Corinthian pilasters adorn the lateral walls, which echo the pulsating quality of the altar. Bronze grills of concave form contrast with the convex movement of the lateral walls. The materials of the choir—gilt bronze and revetments of black and white Carrara marble and red Sicilian jasper—contribute to the sense of continuity between the altar, choir, and nave. The figural decoration continues into the vault where a host of gilt stucco angels carries a garland, which frames a canvas painting of the Holy Spirit.¹²⁴ The *di sotto in sù* composition hovers above the altar, and through its corresponding scale and palette it extends the fictive space of the *Coronation of the Virgin*.

The Church of Gesù e Maria represents Rainaldi's most successful and satisfying integration of architecture with rich decoration. Like Santa Maria in Campitelli, where we will see Rainaldi condition a spiritual experience for the viewer by manipulating the plan, scale, and lighting of the church, the Church of Gesù e Maria establishes a spiritual narrative for the visitor. But with the plan of the church already fixed before Rainaldi's intervention and with the support of an extravagant bishop, Rainaldi turned to sculpture, painting, exuberant ornament, and rich marble revetments to shape experience.

By combining architecture, sculpture, and painting, Rainaldi explored ways to directly engage his viewers. Rainaldi created a community of fictive, sculpted viewers to accompany the real visitors to the church. The figures of the Bolognetti provide visual cues, directing attention throughout the church, but they also serve as emotional prompts,

¹²⁴ Scholars had always assumed that Giacinto Brandi supplied the work. Mascia Meleo recently discovered payments that suggest that Antonio Gherardi, instead, may have been responsible for the painting in the chapel vault. "Antonio Gherardi Pittore" received 300 *scudi* for work on the chapel. A separate payment exists for Brandi's altar. Gherardi was from Rieti and moved to Rome in 1656. He may have made the acquaintance of Giorgio Bolognetti in Rieti. See Meleo, Appendix A, Documents 5, 6, and 7, and pp. 237-8.

stimulating the passions of the faithful. Standing in the nave and enveloped by the glimmering sheen of marble veneers, visitors share the space of the Bolognetti family. Approaching the altar, the faithful participate in the astonishment, wonder, and piety of the sculpted figures, joining in the celebration of the Virgin's coronation and the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Conclusion

In the past, scholars attempted to map a neat chronological development onto the projects of Rainaldi's career. Harsh judgments of Rainaldi stemmed, in part, from an overly deterministic sense of style as a cohesive and organic expression of the architect's self. The range of Rainaldi's works demonstrates that the chapels, altars, and tombs neither manifest a set of fully defined formal motifs or principles nor represent moments in a clear narrative of style. Rather, they are individual solutions to Rainaldi's encounter with particular architectural and artistic problems.

The taste of his patrons, available materials, and architectural settings dictated, in part, the visual appearance of his monuments. Such factors, however, do not fully explain why Rainaldi felt free to pursue a diverse array of stylistic forms. Some of Rainaldi's monuments are severe and restrained in character. The high altar of San Lorenzo in Lucina, for example, emphasizes independent masses and volumes and simplifies ornament. Such an approach lends the work gravitas, permanence, and stability; the sober architectural setting corresponds to the subject of *The Crucifixion*. Another group of monuments is exuberant and reminiscent of ephemeral architecture. Rainaldi employed broken pediments, playful volutes, and fanciful ornament to give works like the high altars of Santa Maria della Scala and San Girolamo della Carità a joyful character. There,

decorative embellishments flourish at the expense of solid masses, and the choice of colored marbles favors a polychrome palette. Still other works, like the high altar of Gesù e Maria, have a sense of opulence and splendor, combining the visual solidity of the severe monuments with the richness of the more exuberant ones. The magnificence of these works evokes both a sense of wonder and piety on the part of the faithful.

Rainaldi's investigation into different styles or modes of architecture is best explained by two factors. First, Rainaldi's career was modeled on the virtues of courtesy and service. Rainaldi set aside the pursuit of a radically idiosyncratic personal style in favor of a more responsive and self-effacing architecture. His works served the needs of his patrons within the limitations of money, function, and tradition. In other words, Rainaldi's employment of different styles represents a kind of decorum. Second, Rainaldi's mastery of different architectural idioms enabled him to increase the persuasive force of his work. Rainaldi developed the symbolic, narrative, and expressive potential of architecture through the careful manipulation of form, tradition, and material. Just as a magnificent altar could serve as an image of heavenly paradise, a heavy, severe altar could be a reminder of Christ's sacrifice.

By acknowledging the stylistic diversity of the chapels, altars, and tombs and by conceptualizing this variation in terms of rhetoric and meaning, a more complex understanding of how Rainaldi operated as an architect has been proposed. The multiformity of his oeuvre is not a sign of confusion or artistic weakness—the result of a lesser architect entering “the influence of his greater contemporaries.”¹²⁵ Instead, this multiformity is the product of a keen mind, one capable of recognizing and exploring the

¹²⁵ Wittkower, “Carlo Rainaldi,” 10.

rhetorical potential of architecture. Sensitive to matters of decorum and taste, thoughtful about the choice of material and ornament, Rainaldi manipulated the appearance of his works to great effect and asserted his authority over style.

Chapter Five:

An Epilogue on the Role of Expression at Santa Maria in Campitelli

The church of Santa Maria in Campitelli is widely considered the finest and most important work by Carlo Rainaldi.¹ One of the few monumental commissions that Rainaldi directed from the initial design through completion, Santa Maria in Campitelli stands as the most carefully considered example of Rainaldi's architecture.² The staccato

¹ The earliest history of the church is Ludovico Marracci, *Memorie di S. Maria in Portico di Roma, dal giorno nel quale apparve quella mirabile immagine nel Palazzo di S. Galla Patritia Romana nel Portico d'Ottavia appresso il Teatro di Marcello, fin'al tempo, nel quale fu trasportata [sic] nella sua nuova chiesa di Campitello* (Rome, 1667). The second edition, to which I refer in all subsequent notes, appears under a slightly different title: *Memorie di S. Maria in Portico di Roma, dal giorno 17 di Luglio dell'Anno 524 nel quale apparve quella mirabile Immagine nel Palazzo di S. Galla Patritia Romana nel Portico d'Ottavia appresso il Teatro di Marcello, fino al presente Anno Santo 1675* (Rome, 1675). Marracci (1612-1700), a scholar of Arabic and a professor at the Sapienza, is better known for his work translating the Qu'ran into Latin. For bibliography, see L. Saracco's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Marracci, Ludovico." Carlo Antonio Erra's *Storia dell'immagine, e chiesa di S. Maria in Portico di Campitelli* (Rome, 1750) largely follows Marracci's account. Erra also published a two-volume history of the congregation, which offers an abbreviated history of Santa Maria in Campitelli with a few amendments to his earlier book. Erra, *Memorie de' religiosi per pietà, e dottrina insigni della Congregazione della Madre di Dio* (Rome, 1759-60). For accounts of the church by modern architectural historians, see Hempel, 35-47; Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 32-48; Fasolo, *L'opera*, 155-72; Argan, "Campitelli"; Portoghesi, 291; Gianfranco Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi* (Rome, 1964), 115-9 and 234-9; Hager, 297-8; Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:540-6; Buchowiecki, 2:527-50; Joseph Connors, "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989): 245-60; and Gütthlein, "Campitelli." Other studies of the church include P. Francesco Ferraironi, *S. Maria in Campitelli*, *Le chiese di Roma* illustrate, 33 (Rome, 1934); and Maria Pedroli Bertoni, *S. Maria in Campitelli*, *Le chiese di Roma* illustrate, n.s., 21 (Rome, 1987).

² It should be noted that Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi (1616-1695) shared the management of the building site with Carlo Rainaldi as joint architect from 1662 until 1669. As Gianfranco Spagnesi first noted, de' Rossi cosigned several *misure e stime* for the church. Spagnesi, 115-9 and 234-9. In addition to the documents published by Spagnesi, see Gütthlein, "Campitelli," Documents 7, 9, and 10. It remains unclear if de' Rossi played a significant role in the actual design of Santa Maria in Campitelli; however, most scholars have either discounted his influence or sidestepped the problem entirely. Blunt writes, "it does not seem likely that he exercised much influence on the design of the church as a whole." Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome* (New York, 1982), 83. Gütthlein, "Campitelli," 216, judiciously asserts that the nature of de' Rossi's share cannot be known from the surviving documentation. Early modern guides and biographies by Titi, Baldinucci, and Pascoli and early histories of the church by Marracci and Erra all ascribe the church to Rainaldi alone and fail to mention de' Rossi's involvement. Moreover, all of the surviving drawings for Santa Maria in Campitelli can be safely attributed to Rainaldi and his workshop.

Rainaldi and de' Rossi probably had a good working relationship, as attested by the smooth and timely completion of the church (interrupted only from 1667 until 1673 because of the death of one of its principal patrons, Alexander VII). Furthermore, de' Rossi was trained in the workshop of Francesco Peperelli, a close friend of Girolamo Rainaldi, and in 1657, he signed an affidavit affirming Carlo Rainaldi's prices for the cost of a chapel designed for the Jesuits (see Appendix, Document N, Part 2). In

rhythm of its bold façade strikes the viewer at once as both formidable and jubilant (Figure 5.1), while the choreography of light and space within the church builds to an architectural crescendo around the miraculous image of the Virgin (Figures 5.2 & 5.3). Through his design Rainaldi created an experience that unlocked the power of space, light, and ornament to excite the emotional and spiritual response of the faithful.

Scholars have long recognized the significance of Santa Maria in Campitelli within Rainaldi's oeuvre and in the wider history of baroque architecture, and many have commented on its expressive qualities. In an important and provocative essay from 1960, Giulio Carlo Argan first suggested that the affective character of the design reflects the influence of rhetoric, a subject studied broadly during the seventeenth century. Argan claimed that at Santa Maria in Campitelli, "For the first time the baroque principle of art as persuasion is applied to architecture."³ Rainaldi rejected standard longitudinal and centralized plans and created a form that responded to the needs of the devotional experience. Argan further asserted that Rainaldi stood out among his rivals as the first architect to have conceived architecture as a solution to concrete problems.⁴ At Santa Maria in Campitelli, Rainaldi concerned himself not with the adaptation of an established plan but with an end result, building a persuasive argument for the belief in the power of the sacred image and the Holy Church.

addition to the *vita* by Lione Pascoli (pp. 429-42), see Spagnesi's book, which remains the fundamental account of de' Rossi, and, for more recent scholarship, the entry in Contardi and Curcio, 356-7.

³ "Per la prima volta il principio barocco dell'arte come persuasione è applicato all'architettura." Argan, "Campitelli," 85.

⁴ Argan, "Campitelli," 76. If Wittkower portrayed Rainaldi as a baroque architect clinging to mannerism, Argan represented him as a baroque architect foreshadowing modernism. Neither characterization is satisfactory. What I take from Argan is not this representation of Rainaldi but his argument about the rhetorical and affective power of the church.

Argan suggested a new approach to studies of Rainaldi, one that attempted not to trace his mannerist sources but to understand his architecture in relation to a specific intellectual current in the seventeenth century. This is not to say that Argan's method was a contextual one, however. The author based his claims solely on a formal analysis of the architecture; he failed to mine Rainaldi's biography for any indication of the architect's intellectual passions and pursuits. Thus, his rhetorical interpretation of Santa Maria in Campitelli remained vague—more redolent of a general period interest or style than of Rainaldi's actual education and engagement with theoretical matters.

Argan hinted at, though he did not pursue, other ways to understand Santa Maria in Campitelli. Perhaps most intriguing is his comparison of architecture to music. In its aim to produce “a collective emotion” (*un'emozione collettiva*), Santa Maria in Campitelli shares with music the goal of determining the state of the soul.⁵ This comparison reaffirmed a longstanding analogy between the two arts; yet, Argan never developed this metaphor, perhaps failing to realize how powerfully architecture and music were actually linked in Rainaldi's creative life.⁶ Nowhere in the essay did Argan address Rainaldi's

⁵ Argan, “Campitelli,” 85.

⁶ The analogy received its pithiest form in the expression that architecture is “frozen music,” usually attributed to Goethe. There is some debate as to who uttered the phrase first. Friedrich von Schelling offered a lengthy discussion of the notion that architecture was frozen or concrete music as part of a series of lectures on aesthetics from 1802 to 1803. However, the lectures were not published until 1859. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *The Philosophy of Art*, ed. and trans. Douglas Scott (Minneapolis, MN, 1989), 177. For Goethe's comment in 1829 that he “found a paper . . . in which I call architecture ‘petrified music’,” see Johann Peter Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, ed. J. K. Moorehead, trans. John Oxenford (London, 1971), 303 and note 1.

For a general survey of the parallels between music and the visual arts, see Peter Vergo, *That Divine Order: Music and the Visual Arts from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2005). For literature on the relationship between architecture and music with particular reference to the medieval and Renaissance periods, as well as seventeenth-century France, see Vasco Zara, “Musica e architettura tra medio evo e età moderna: Storia critica di un'idea,” *Acta musicologica* 77 (2005): 1-26. On the problem of harmonic proportion, see Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles* (1962); Deborah Howard and Malcolm Longair, “Harmonic Proportion and Palladio's ‘Quattro Libri’,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41 (1982): 116-43; Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture* (1983); Branko Mitrović, “Palladio's Theory of Proportions and the Second Book of the Quattro Libri dell'Architettura,” *Journal of*

musical accomplishments, which were then known to scholars almost exclusively through the early modern biographies.⁷ Rather than connect architecture to music through Rainaldi's musical activities, Argan compared architecture to music only to highlight the affective power of Santa Maria in Campitelli.⁸

The limits and challenges posed by Argan's essay indicate the need for a fuller discussion of the rhetorical and expressive qualities of Santa Maria in Campitelli. Because architectural historians, on the whole, have been more invested in expounding the church's architectural sources than in recognizing the subjective, emotional effects of its architecture,⁹ a productive dialogue about the emotional power of Rainaldi's design

the Society of Architectural Historians 49 (1990): 279-92; and Branko Mitrović, "Objectively Speaking," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52 (1993): 59-67. On the relationship of geometry and structure to architecture and music, see the following examples: James Smith Pierce, "Visual and Auditory Space in Baroque Rome," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 18 (1959): 55-67; and George Hersey, *Architecture and Geometry in the Age of the Baroque* (Chicago, 2000), especially chapter two, "Frozen Music," 22-51. On architecture, music, and acoustics, see Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, eds., *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento* (Milan, 2006); and Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven, 2009).

⁷ In addition to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century biographies, a letter from Pietro della Valle to Giovanni Battista Doni published by Angelo Solerti attests to Rainaldi's musical knowledge. See A. Solerti, "Lettere inedite," 288. Shortly after Argan's essay was published, Furio Fasolo reproduced parts of two scores by Carlo Rainaldi in his monograph on the architect. Fasolo, *L'opera*, Plate 29.

⁸ By emphasizing the affective character of the church, Argan managed to suggest a rhetorical motive—the attempt to persuade the viewer—that could unite architecture to painting and sculpture. The impulse to connect Santa Maria in Campitelli to rhetoric was followed by other scholars, including John Rupert Martin, who used Santa Maria in Campitelli as one of two examples that demonstrate "the Baroque concept of art as persuasion . . . applied to architecture," a phrase that betrays the author's debt to Argan. John Rupert Martin, *Baroque* (Boulder, CO, 1977), 112. Incidentally, Martin's second example is Sant'Agnese in Agone, for which Rainaldi was also partially responsible. Varriano writes more generally of the "boldness of expression" at Santa Maria in Campitelli. Varriano, *Italian Baroque*, 139.

⁹ David Freedberg's seminal text, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1989), sought to redress the neglect of emotional responses to art. As Freedberg has noted more recently, the study of emotion is attracting greater attention in art history. Interest in emotional responses to art has a long pedigree as evidenced by the importance of empathy theory in German scholarship of the late nineteenth century. Empathy theory, however, was superseded by a more rationalist approach to art history, which dominated the twentieth century in the guises of formalism, connoisseurship and contextual studies, according to Freedberg. See "Empathy, Motion and Emotion," in *Wie sich Gefühle Ausdruck verschaffen: Emotionen in Nahsicht*, eds. K. Herding and A. Krause Wahl (Berlin, 2007), 23 and 27. For an example of empathy theory as it relates to architecture, see Heinrich Wölfflin, "Prolegomena to

has never been fully realized. The expressive dimension of Santa Maria in Campitelli remains to be historicized and theorized. Rainaldi's goal of arousing the passions of the faithful must be defined and related to a historical context that draws on seventeenth-century developments in art and architectural theory, the study of rhetoric, and musical theory.

In this chapter I propose that Rainaldi sought to arouse the passions of the faithful through architectural form, and I consider why he strove for expressive effect. Santa Maria in Campitelli commemorates the Virgin's intercession in the plague of 1656, and in two ways, I suggest, the church itself becomes an architectural salve for the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the viewer. First, the use of forms and motifs associated with salutary benefits, such as the brightly lit interior, the whitewashed walls, and an architectural vocabulary derived, in large part, from the Roman baths, may have been understood to promote the physical health of the visitor. Second, and more importantly, the design of the church recreates for the viewer the original appearance of the holy image of the Virgin. The visitor becomes a witness to the sacred drama of the Virgin's miracle, as the architecture stirs feelings of wonder, joy, and reverence.

It is not sufficient to claim that the drama of Santa Maria in Campitelli merely reflects a general trend in baroque architecture; rather, I suggest that the design responds to ideas that engaged the architect and his intellectual circle. The notion that Santa Maria in Campitelli is like music may ring truer than Argan realized.¹⁰ I propose that the study

a Psychology of Architecture," *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics 1873-1893*, eds. and trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikononou (Santa Monica, CA, 1994), 149-90.

¹⁰ John Varriano also used musical terminology to describe the façade of Santa Maria in Campitelli comparing the articulation of projecting and recessed columns to musical counterpoint. Varriano, *Italian Baroque*, 141.

and recovery of ancient music, a pursuit that occupied the architect and his circle, held special significance for Rainaldi and encouraged him to pursue an affective approach to architecture.

The ethical and emotional effects of ancient music captivated the imagination of Rainaldi's contemporaries. Ancient stories noted the power of music to incite the noblest or basest of behaviors. For example, Timotheus roused Alexander the Great against the king's will to a vicious frenzy through song, a story repeated in numerous sources including Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528).¹¹ Authorities like Plato and Aristotle also recognized the ethical force of music. Aristotle, for example, claimed that "music has the power to produce a certain quality in the character of the soul."¹² Both Aristotle and Plato advocated the use of particular musical modes in education.¹³ Even beyond its ethical role, music had an almost magical power according to some legends.¹⁴ Amphion summoned stones with his lyre when he built the walls of Thebes, while Pythian used music to cure a plague at Sparta.¹⁵ Such reports intrigued early modern

¹¹ Castiglione, 95. Castiglione did not actually give Timotheus's name, which appears in other sources including pseudo-Plutarch's *De musica*. Carlo Valgوليو published a Latin translation of *De musica* in 1507. For the history of the translation and subsequent editions, see Claude Palisca, *Humanism*, 88.

¹² Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Richard Kraut (Oxford, 1997), 8.5.1340b10.

¹³ In the *Republic*, Plato allowed only those musical modes, the Dorian and Phrygian, that encouraged virtue. Plato, *Republic*, trans. R.E. Allen (New Haven, 2006), 3.398c-399c. Aristotle argued that the purposes of music are education, purification (or catharsis), and recreation. He believed that the Dorian mode was most proper to education. See Aristotle *Politics* 8.7.1342a-b.

¹⁴ For the belief in the magical properties of music in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago, 1993), especially Chapter Three, "Modes and Planetary Song: The Musical Alliance of Ethics and Cosmology," 67-100. Tomlinson argues that an understanding of the magical properties of music persisted deep into the seventeenth century. At the same time, some scholars explained music's power in more rational or physiological terms. The precise cause of music's affective power is not as important to my argument as its widespread recognition.

¹⁵ For these and similar stories, see Joscelyn Godwin, *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth: The Spiritual Dimension of Music from Antiquity to the Avant-Garde* (London, 1987), especially Chapter One,

scholars and musicians of Rainaldi's circle, including Giovanni Battista Doni, Virgilio Mazzocchi, and Pietro della Valle. Determined to achieve these powerful but elusive effects, these men penned treatises, composed music, and crafted new instruments in an effort to recreate ancient music.¹⁶

Perhaps encouraged by this alleged efficacy of ancient music, Rainaldi sought through architecture to excite the beholder's emotions—using space, material, ornament, and light to shape a deeply spiritual and moving experience. In this chapter I do not contend that Santa Maria in Campitelli corresponds to a specific musical composition by Rainaldi,¹⁷ nor do I argue that it necessarily displays a special musical iconography or structure (although there are some parallels, which I will address); instead, I suggest that the church shares a metaphorical connection to music.¹⁸ At Santa Maria in Campitelli, the

"The Marvellous Effects of Music," 11-45; and Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's "Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière"* (New Haven, 1994), 53.

¹⁶ On the problem of actually reproducing these effects, see Walker, "Musical Humanism," 9-13, and 111-21; Claude Palisca, "G. B. Doni, Musicological Activist, and his *Lyra Barberina*," in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford, 1994), 470. See also the discussion of this circle in Chapter Three.

¹⁷ It would be unwise to attempt to link Rainaldi's surviving musical works to his architecture directly. Rainaldi usually composed profane cantatas intended for academies and other small gatherings, not great choral works for churches.

¹⁸ I do not examine the links between liturgy, music, and architecture at Santa Maria in Campitelli. Although early accounts like the diary of Father Guinigi and the history of Santa Maria in Campitelli by Ludovico Marracci refer to music played at both the foundation ceremony and the consecration of the church, they mention only standard liturgical compositions, including the *Litany of the Virgin* and the *Te Deum Laudamus*. Neither account gives the particular musical settings for these hymns. Furthermore, it appears that no specific work was composed for the dedication of the church, at least none deserving mention by the early modern sources. Such considerations do not preclude the possibility that Rainaldi designed Santa Maria in Campitelli with musical performances in mind, but this is an altogether separate problem from the one addressed in this chapter. It should also be noted that the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli was never considered one of the great musical centers of Rome. While music was performed at nearly every church in Rome, the churches with the largest choirs, most important *maestri di cappella*, or most influential and significant musical performances include the great basilicas like San Pietro and Santa Maria Maggiore, college churches like Sant'Apollinare, and smaller churches whose orders were heavily involved in music like the Oratory of San Filippo Neri. For a survey of the musical scene in churches, see Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, especially Chapter Ten, "The Musical Patronage of Churches," 133-64.

overall effect of the building came to approach the power of music. By turning to the example of ancient song, the architect may have reimagined sacred architecture as an instrument for stirring the passions of the soul.

Theories of Expression

All architecture is experiential, but Santa Maria in Campitelli activates the experience of the viewer in a way that is more compelling and deliberate than many other contemporary buildings. Drawing in the viewer from the muddy, clamorous streets of Rome and leading her from the empty quiet of the dark nave into the brilliant sanctuary, the design supports a narrative that recreates the miraculous appearance of the icon while heightening feelings of wonder, joy, grace, and reverence. Santa Maria in Campitelli is not “a cold rhetorical artifice,” as Paolo Portoghesi once called it, but a sensitive and deeply spiritual plea to the passions of the faithful.¹⁹

In the seventeenth century, conditioning an emotional response through architecture was a vital goal that occupied Rainaldi and other leading architects like Bernini.²⁰ Despite the wide interest in the passions among architects, the role of expression in seventeenth-century architecture has not been sufficiently explored and theorized. In particular, the question of why architects became so interested in emotion during the seventeenth century deserves further study. It would be a mistake to attribute this development merely to a general trend in style or a change in taste. Instead, such a change accompanies a broad discussion about the nature, causes, and effects of the

¹⁹ Portoghesi, *Roma barocca*, 293.

²⁰ Surveys of the baroque often mention the expressive goals of architecture, attributing the impulse to a general trend affecting all the arts. See, for example, Martin, 112-8.

passions addressed in fields as diverse as philosophy, science, art, music, and poetry.²¹

For Rainaldi, the adoption of an affective concept of architecture parallels his interest in musical expression and may reflect his study of musical practice and theory. The particularly emotive character of early seventeenth-century music, and the corresponding discussion of the *affetti* within music theory could have provided useful analogies as he explored the expressive character of architecture.

Since antiquity the passions had occupied a central place in western thought, although their value was often contested. The passions held an important place in the theory of rhetoric, although classical rhetoricians held a variety of opinions about their role as both an object and tool of persuasion. Against the prevailing view of appeals to the passions as “charms and enchantments,” Aristotle, maintained that emotional response was subject to persuasive reasoning, and therefore, a fundamental aspect of rhetoric.²² Cicero admitted the role of the passions in rhetorical persuasion, although he continued to view the passions with some suspicion in other writings.²³

Descartes, who wrote the most important seventeenth-century treatise on the passions, denied that the ancients had anything worthy to say about the topic. In his *Traité des passions de l'âme* (1649), Descartes systematized the study of the passions. He listed six primary passions (admiration, love, hatred, desire, joy, and sadness) from which

²¹ Gerard LeCoat offers a useful summary of the major intellectual and cultural developments that shaped the understanding of the passions, especially in philosophy and medicine. See “Comparative Aspects of the Theory of Expression in the Baroque Age,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 5 (1971-2): 207-23, especially 223. For an overview of ancient and Renaissance thought on the passions with particular regard to music, see Claude Palisca, “Theories of the Affections and Imitation,” in *Music and Ideas*, 179-202.

²² For Aristotle’s views on emotion in relation to rhetoric, see Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 2.2-17; W. W. Fortengbaugh, *Aristotle on Emotion: A Contribution to Philosophical Psychology, Rhetoric, Poetics, Politics and Ethics*, 2nd ed. (1975; London, 2002), 16-8. The quotation is from this latter source.

²³ For Cicero’s views on the passions, see the introduction by Margaret Graver to *Cicero on the Emotions: Tusculan Disputations 3 and 4*, trans. Margaret Graver (Chicago, 2002), xi-xxx.

all other emotions stemmed. Descartes also described the physiological process through which the passions were aroused. The sensations of outside objects or the perceptions of the imagination are transmitted by spirit, which moves through the nerves to a small gland in the brain where the soul resides.²⁴ Once moved, the soul causes the body to react reflexively with certain gestures, facial expressions, and other responses like weeping or sighing. For Descartes, the passions are not necessarily bad, but they must be controlled: “the principal use of prudence or self-control is that it teaches us to be masters of our passions, and to so control and guide them that the evils which they cause are quite bearable, and that we even derive joy from them all.”²⁵

It is unknown whether Rainaldi was acquainted with the theories of Descartes. Multiple and possibly contradictory texts may have informed the architect’s understanding of the subject. Rainaldi’s knowledge of the passions likely stemmed from those fields closest to his own interests, such as painting and music. The topic of the passions appeared frequently in art treatises of the early modern period, often building on the study of ancient rhetoric and poetry.²⁶ During the fifteenth century, Alberti had already broached the topic of the passions in his treatise on painting,²⁷ and by the

²⁴ Descartes, *The Philosophical Works*, trans. Elizabeth Haldance and G.R.T. Ross, 2 vols. (1911; London, 1977), 1:345-8.

²⁵ Descartes, 1:427.

²⁶ For general discussions of the passions and the theory of expression in art, see Rensselaer Lee, 23-32; Martin, 73-118; Sible De Blaauw, Pieter-Matthijs Gijsbers, Sebastian Schütze, and Bert Treffers, eds., *Docere, Delectare, Movere: Affetti, devozione e retorica nel linguaggio artistico del primo barocco romano, Atti del convegno organizzato dall’Istituto Olandese a Roma e dalla Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut) in collaborazione con l’Università Cattolica di Nijmegen, Roma, 19-20 gennaio 1996* (Rome, 1998); and Montagu, *Expression*, 58-67.

²⁷ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John Spencer (New Haven, 1956), 77-8.

seventeenth century, theorists, like Charles Le Brun, attempted to codify expression as seen in the movements and gestures of the body and face.²⁸

Not just in theory but also in practice did the goal of representing the *affetti* deeply engage artists. In *Seicento* Rome, no artist was more celebrated for his ability to express the passions than Domenichino (1581-1641). One often repeated anecdote serves to illustrate his acclaim.²⁹ In 1609 Domenichino and Guido Reni painted pendant scenes from the life of Saint Andrew in the chapel of the eponymous saint next to the church of San Gregorio Magno. A learned man asked Annibale Carracci his opinion of the two paintings. Annibale replied that he had not known how to judge between the two works until he encountered an old woman and a young girl regarding the pictures. The old woman said nothing while she stood in front of Guido Reni's painting, but in front of Domenichino's, she explained all the figures to the young girl, pointing out the significance of each gesture and expression. At that moment, Annibale understood which picture had greater merit, and the incident demonstrated "how far Domenico excelled over others in the action and in the affetti, which are the principal things to be looked for in this art."³⁰

It is perhaps no coincidence that Domenichino, with his interest in expressing emotion, also engaged in musical activities. Music has always been closely linked to the

²⁸ See especially Charles Le Brun's *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions proposée dans une conférence sur l'expression générale e particulière* published posthumously in 1698. For a study of this text, see Montagu, *Expression*.

²⁹ See the version given by Giovanni Antonio Mosini in 1646, published in Mahon, *Studies*, 271-2. Giovanni Pietro Bellori also recounted a version of the story. See Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*, ed. Evelina Borea (1672; Turin, 1976), 319. For scholarly discussion of the anecdote, see Mahon, 148-50; Spear, *Domenichino*, 1:54-5, and 155-7; and Montagu, *Expression*, 58-60.

³⁰ Giovan Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl (Cambridge, 2005), 246.

passions,³¹ and the painter was just one artist among many in early modern Rome who displayed a gift for music.³² Domenichino's musical studies apparently elided with his practice of architecture and his interest in the antique.³³ The biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri, who greatly admired the artist, reported that through his study of Vitruvius Domenichino began to consider the forms of ancient music. Passeri cited Domenichino's musical studies as evidence of his profound intellect, writing, "he made known the subtlety of his intellect [ingegno] in a thing far from his own profession."³⁴ The painter's exploration of music centered on the production of new musical instruments that could play in the manner of the ancients. Giovanni Battista Doni specifically mentioned Domenichino's inventive musical instruments in his *Compendio del Trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (1635) and in his posthumous *Della musica scenica* (1763).³⁵ Domenichino himself described three such instruments in a letter written to the painter Francesco Albani and published by Bellori. Domenichino writes:

Lately, out of necessity, not having any society or diversion, I ventured to take a little pleasure in music, and in order to hear some, I set myself to making instruments; and I have made a lute and a harpsichord, and now I am having a harp made with all its genera, diatonic, chromatic, and

³¹ For an aesthetic argument on the particularly close association between music and emotion, see Aaron Ridley, *Music, Value and the Passions* (Ithaca, NY, 1995).

³² Federico Barocci is an earlier example. According to Bellori, Barocci once called music, painting. See "Ut Pictura Musica" in Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven, 2008), 209-23. In addition, scholars have noted Salvator Rosa's interest in music. See, for example, Jonathan Scott, *Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times* (New Haven, 1995), 75-6. Coincidentally, Rainaldi's house on the via del Babuino was next to the house where Salvator Rosa once lived. They did not overlap as neighbors, however. See Chapter Three, note 74 above.

³³ Domenichino's musical activities are discussed in Spear, *Domenichino*, 1:40-6; and Renato Meucci, "Domenichino 'musicologo' e le origini della Sonata a tre," in *Domenichino, 1581-1641*, ed. Richard Spear (Milan, 1996), 311-7.

³⁴ "fece egli conoscere la sottigliezza del suo ingegno in una cosa lontana dalla propria professione." Passeri, 67.

³⁵ Spear, *Domenichino*, 42.

enharmonic, something that has never been done or invented. But because it is something new to the musicians of our time, I have not yet been able to have it played.³⁶

Domenichino's letter is interesting because it illustrates the artist's confidence in recreating the ancient musical genera.³⁷ At the same time, it demonstrates the great challenge at the core of this musical recovery: Domenichino had difficulty finding someone actually capable of playing the instrument. With respect to music, practice and theory were sometimes quite separate endeavors.

Whether Rainaldi was personally acquainted with Domenichino and his musical experiments is unknown. In 1631, when Rainaldi was twenty years old, Domenichino left for Naples, only returning briefly to Rome between 1634 and 1635.³⁸ Rainaldi certainly knew the Roman paintings of Domenichino, however, as he designed an altar for the painter's much acclaimed altarpiece, *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome*, in the church of San Girolamo della Carità.³⁹ Moreover, Rainaldi may have been aware of Domenichino's musical activities through Passeri, who was active at the Academy of Saint Luke and delivered an oration there in 1673, the year in which Rainaldi presided as *principe*.⁴⁰

³⁶ The letter is dated December 7, 1638. Bellori, *Lives*, 271.

³⁷ The three genera (the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic) were the different tunings of the Greek lyre. Each represented a different sequence of four notes (the tetrachord). On the genera, see Claude Palisca, "Humanist Revival of the Modes and Genera," *Music and Ideas*, 71-98.

³⁸ Spear, *Domenichino*, 19-21.

³⁹ For the history of this architectural project, see Fasolo, *L'opera*, 93-104. See also Chapter Four here. On the painting, see Spear, *Domenichino*, 175-8; and Cropper, *Last Communion*, with recent bibliography.

⁴⁰ See Smith, *Architectural Diplomacy*, 258. Passeri's biographies were published posthumously, but he worked on them in the period 1670-75. Rainaldi himself likely supplied Passeri with information for the biography of Girolamo Rainaldi. See Chapter One above. Bellori, who was active in the period when

The example of contemporary painters, like Domenichino, may have inspired Rainaldi to consider an affective approach to architecture. Central to both rhetoric and painting was the assumption that in representing a particular passion one would excite that same feeling in the listener or viewer.⁴¹ Such an idea, however, posed a limitation for architects who were not ostensibly engaged in the pursuit of *mimesis*. How could an architect arouse the passions without representing the human figure? Architectural theory supplied no ready answer.⁴² Although Palladio had addressed how architecture imitates nature,⁴³ he did not discuss *mimesis* as the imitation of *human* nature, a concept which could have incorporated the passions. In the absence of an architectural discourse about the role of the passions, the study and practice of music proved the most fully developed exploration of the relationship between a non-figural art and emotion.⁴⁴ This non-figural

Rainaldi attended the Academy and was also knowledgeable about music, may have been another source of information for Rainaldi about the musical activities of Domenichino.

⁴¹ Montagu, *Expression*, 58.

⁴² For a survey of the state of architectural theory in seventeenth-century Italy, see Krufft, 101-8.

⁴³ Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books on Architecture*, eds. Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 1.20. Palladio writes, "I assert therefore that, since architecture imitates nature (as do all the other arts), it cannot endure anything that alienates and distances it from what nature herself permits; so we see that those ancient architects who began to make of stone those buildings that they once made of wood established a rule that columns should be less thick at the top than at the bottom, taking as their mode trees which are always more slender at the top than at the trunk and near the roots." The correspondence between architectural and natural forms goes back at least as far as Vitruvius, who introduced the idea of a hut of twigs and mud as the origin of construction. See Vitruvius 2.1.1-8. For an interesting discussion of the relationship of Palladio's treatise and architecture to nature, see Bruce Boucher, "Nature and the Antique in the Work of Andrea Palladio," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59 (2000): 296-311.

⁴⁴ I am comparing architecture to music because of their non-figural aspects. There is a separate discussion about the mimetic properties of music that should also be acknowledged. A debate over whether music was imitative or not arose in the sixteenth century. It was based upon Aristotle's claim that music is, indeed, a form of imitation: "Epic poetry and Tragedy, as also Comedy, Dithyrambic poetry, and most flute-playing and lyre-playing, are all, taken as whole, modes of imitation." Aristotle, *Poetics* in *Aristotle's Poetics, Demetrius on Style, Longinus on the Sublime*, trans. John Warrington (London, 1963), 1447a. For discussion of the topic in the early modern period, see Claude Palisca, "The Poetics of Musical Composition," *Music and Ideas*, 58-62. Even some figures who accepted that music was a form of imitation categorized it differently than the figural arts. The humanist Girolamo Mei (1519-1594), for

status of music appears to be one of the many reasons that the French painter, Nicolas Poussin, once turned to music theory to justify his art.⁴⁵

On November 24, 1647, Poussin responded to a letter from his patron, Paul Fréart de Chantelou.⁴⁶ The patron had expressed his disappointment with Poussin's latest painting, the *Ordination*, part of a series of seven sacraments; he had even suggested that the *Finding of Moses* sent in the same year to Jean Pointel was far more pleasing. Poussin responded to this alleged slight by questioning Chantelou's sense of judgment and defended his art by invoking the ancient Greek modes of music. Poussin writes:

If you find the painting of the Finding of Moses which belongs to M. Pointel so attractive, is this a reason for thinking that I did it with greater love than I put into your paintings? Cannot you see that it is the nature of the subject which has produced this result and your state of mind, and that the subjects that I am depicting for you require a different treatment? The whole art of painting lies in this . . .

Those fine old Greeks, who invented everything that is beautiful, found several Modes by means of which they produced marvelous effects.

example, distinguished between the arts that imitate objects (painting and sculpture) and those that imitate actions (dance, music, poetry).

⁴⁵ It should be noted that Poussin worked in Domenichino's studio upon his arrival in Rome and was one of Domenichino's greatest admirers. It is, therefore, likely that he would have known of Domenichino's musical activities.

⁴⁶ For recent bibliography on the letter, see Philip Sohm, *Style*, 136 and 254nn111-114; and Hector Reyes, "The Rhetorical Frame of Poussin's Theory of the Modes," *Intellectual History Review* 19 (2009): 287-302. Some of the major comments on the letter include: Paul Alfassa, "L'Origine de la lettre de Poussin sur les modes d'après un travail récent," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1933): 125-43; Jan Bialostocki, "Das Modusproblem in den bildenden Künsten," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1961): 128-41; Dennis Mahon, "Poussiniana: Afterthoughts Arising from the Exhibition," *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 60 (1962): 1-138; Kurt Badt, *Die Kunst Nicolas Poussin* (Cologne, 1969); Wilhelm Messerer, "Die 'Modi' im Werk von Poussin," in *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler, 28 Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, eds. J.A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, Marcell Restle, and Herbert Weiermann (Munich, 1972), 335-56; Thomas Puttfarcken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art* (New Haven, 1985), 29-33; Oskar Bätschmann, *Nicolas Poussin: Dialectics of Painting* (London, 1990), 39-42; Jennifer Montagu, "The Theory of the Musical Modes in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 233-48; Jacques Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin* (Paris, 1994), 62-6; Jennifer Montagu, *Expression*, 12-4; Frederick Hammond, "Poussin et les modes: Le point de vue d'un musicien," *Poussin et Rome*, 75-91; Thomas Puttfarcken, "Poussin's Thoughts on Painting," in *Commemorating Poussin: Reception and Interpretation of the Artist*, eds. K. Scott and G. Warwick (Cambridge, 1999), 53-75; David Freedberg, "Composition and Emotion," in *The Artful Mind: Cognitive Science and the Riddle of Human Creativity*, ed. M. Turner (New York, 2006), 73-89.

This word Mode means, properly, the *ratio* or the measure and the form that we employ to do anything, which compels us not to go beyond it, making us work in all things with a certain middle course or moderation. And so this mediocrity or moderation is simply a certain manner or determined and fixed order in the process by which a thing preserves its being.

As the Modes of the ancients were composed of several things put together, the variety produced certain differences of Mode whereby one could understand that each of them retained in itself a subtle distinction, particularly when all the things that pertained to the composition were put together in proportions that had the power to arouse the soul of the spectator to diverse emotions. Observing these effects, the wise ancients attributed to each [Mode] a special character and they called Dorian the Mode that was firm, grave, and severe, and they applied it to matters that were grave, severe, and full of wisdom.⁴⁷

The letter continues by describing the other modes, the Phrygian, the Lydian, the Hypolydian, and the Ionic. Poussin even mentioned that he hoped to soon paint a work in the Phrygian Mode.

Anthony Blunt first observed that Poussin's letter borrowed this theory of the modes from the fourth book of Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558 and 1573).⁴⁸ Zarlino's treatise was one of the most widely read musical works of the late sixteenth century; the fourth book compiled and assessed references to the ancient modes.⁴⁹ Scholars have presented quite contradictory interpretations of Poussin's intent regarding the letter and his use of Zarlino's text. Because Poussin followed the Italian treatise so closely, some art historians have questioned its value as a record of the artist's theory of painting. Denis Mahon, in particular, dismissed the letter as "a literal and

⁴⁷ Translation by Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 2 vols. (New York, 1967), 1:367-70.

⁴⁸ Blunt's discovery was published by Alfassa, 125-43.

⁴⁹ Poussin specifically consulted the 1589 edition of the treatise, a copy of which could be found in the Barberini collection. See Hammond, "Poussin et les modes," 76.

uninspired rendering in French of certain passages in an Italian book on music.”⁵⁰

According to Mahon, Poussin copied Zarlino’s text merely as a convenient defense against Chantelou’s disappointment; the musical modes had little to do with Poussin’s actual practice. The notion that Poussin simply transcribed, translated, and pilfered Zarlino’s treatise stunted a serious analysis of the text. However, a number of scholars reinvigorated the discussion by asking new questions of the letter. In particular, Elizabeth Cropper inquired how Poussin’s letter reflected his interests as an engaged and knowledgeable reader, an approach that has deepened our understanding of Poussin.⁵¹

Why did Poussin find the ancient musical modes so appealing? Some scholars have taken a literal interpretation of Poussin’s letter and have sought to identify “modal” works in Poussin’s oeuvre.⁵² Such attempts have not yielded convincing results. Although Poussin lists a number of modes and their expressive qualities, it is unclear which formal elements would have governed the modes.⁵³ Furthermore, the concept of the Greek modes of music was somewhat fluid in the seventeenth century. As Frederick Hammond has observed, the recovery of the modes was an arduous task. Not only did scholars face the challenge of distinguishing the Greek modes from the Medieval church

⁵⁰ For a more subtle position, see Hammond, *ibid*, who focuses on the small changes and omissions to demonstrate that Poussin’s letter was not a mere translation. For Mahon’s statement, see Mahon, “Poussiniana,” 122.

⁵¹ Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting*, 140.

⁵² For criticism of such an approach, see Alain Mérot, *Nicolas Poussin* (London, 1990), 202-3. For an example of this approach, see Thuillier, 62-6, who identifies a work for each of the five modes.

⁵³ Cropper has suggested that color is most analogous to the sense of mode Poussin adopts. See Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting*, 143-4.

modes, which shared the same names,⁵⁴ but ancient texts themselves disagreed on the number, nomenclature, and effects of the modes.⁵⁵

Had Rainaldi himself read Zarlino, his views on the modes may have been quite muddled. In “Della Natura, o Proprietà delli Modi,” the fifth chapter of the fourth part of *Le Istitutioni harmoniche*, Zarlino compiled numerous ancient references in an attempt to discern the unique properties of each mode. Recognizing that the modes were “capable of inducing different passions in the souls of the listeners, producing in them new and diverse habits and customs,” Zarlino suggested the emotional properties of the individual modes.⁵⁶ His discussion, however, pointed to the many contradictions presented by the ancient sources. For example, the Phrygian mode was appropriate for “pleasant, merry, and light things,” but it was also capable of “sparking the soul and inflaming it with anger and wrath, and of provoking lasciviousness and lust.”⁵⁷ Whereas some authors associated it with war, claiming that the Spartans employed this mode to rally their soldiers to battle, Apuleius insisted it was a religious mode. Ancient sources gave complicated and sometimes irreconcilable views of the modes; nonetheless, all agreed upon the efficacy of music to sway the passions and influence behavior.

It does not appear that Poussin turned to *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* in order to adopt a rigid or dogmatic system of modal painting. Instead, it seems that he found in

⁵⁴ The church modes were eight scales of music used for plainchant. See Palisca, “Humanist Revival,” 71-2.

⁵⁵ Hammond, “Poussin et les modes,” 79-80. In the absence of an inventory of his books or other documentary source, one cannot state to any degree of satisfaction, the particular taxonomy of the modes to which Rainaldi may have subscribed. Even if one assumes that Rainaldi followed Zarlino’s discussion of the modes, other problems arise. For example, the Hypolydian mode is reserved for representing heaven and divine matters. Would all sacred architecture, then, conform to this mode?

⁵⁶ Zarlino, 20.

⁵⁷ Zarlino, 21-3.

music theory a means to “arouse the soul” apart from the typical rhetorical theory of persuasion. As Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey have noted, Poussin wished the viewer—even before discerning the subject of a work—to identify with the figures in a composition. Such a response is “in essence psychological, and on an instinctive level precedes rational analysis and reading of a dramatic narrative as orchestrated by the portrayal of the *affetti*.”⁵⁸ Although Poussin relied on the visual language of gesture and signs that were associated with the *affetti*, he also pursued a concept that could generate an immediate emotional response to a painting. That immediate response was akin to the experience of listening to and being affected by music. The language of the modes, which linked musical form to particular emotional responses, thus served as a foundation for Poussin’s exploration of expression.

There is no conclusive evidence to suggest that Rainaldi ever had knowledge of the ideas of Poussin, but, in a certain sense, this is beside the point.⁵⁹ Poussin’s letter is significant here not as a direct influence on Rainaldi but because it demonstrates the capacity of seventeenth-century artists to imagine a transposition of an ancient musical system into a painterly or artistic practice. If Poussin found encouragement in the theory

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, “The Greek Style, the Exquisite Taste, and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism,” in *Nicolas Poussin*, 47. The essay is a revised version of Charles Dempsey, “The Greek Style and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism,” in *Pietro Testa, 1612-1650, Prints and Drawings*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Philadelphia, 1988), xxxvii-lxv. Freedberg makes a similar claim through a different route. Where Cropper and Dempsey focus on the language of art theory, Freedberg examines Poussin’s intuitive understanding of the psychology of viewer response. Freedberg, “Composition and Emotion,” 81.

⁵⁹ It should be noted that Rainaldi may have been familiar with Poussin’s ideas, either through the painter himself or through contact with the French at the Academy of Saint Luke. Beginning in 1661, Rainaldi lived near Poussin. For literature on Poussin’s house, see Chapter Three, note 74 above. The painter and architect surely knew each other by reputation. Jean-Baptiste Colbert had planned to have Poussin approach Rainaldi, along with Bernini and Cortona, in order to solicit his design for the completion of the Louvre. However, Poussin was ill at the time, and he was never charged with the task. See Cecil Gould, *Bernini in France: An Episode in Seventeenth-Century History* (Princeton, 1982), 10-11; and Marder, *Bernini*, 262-3.

of the ancient modes, is it not possible that an architect, whose musical activities were far more extensive, might do the same?

Art theory and the attempts of painters to portray the *affetti* could have shaped Rainaldi's understanding of the passions, but music itself may have held the greatest influence over Rainaldi. The architect's study of music could have provided the crucial link to a notion of art that aroused the passions outside the primary aim of figural representation. While the persuasiveness of rhetoric, painting, and sculpture might have encouraged Rainaldi to pursue an affective approach to architecture, music with its looser claims on representation was most similar to architecture when it came to emotion.⁶⁰ Music, like architecture, occupied an unsettled or awkward position with regard to questions of representation and mimesis.⁶¹ Both relied on abstract formal means to condition a response. Moreover, stories about the efficacy of ancient music inspired Rainaldi's circle to explore this expressive potential in both musical theory and practice. The remainder of this chapter examines how the design of Santa Maria in Campitelli might be understood as the practical output of the theoretical investigations of Rainaldi's circle.

The History and Design of Santa Maria in Campitelli

⁶⁰ For the viewpoint that architecture is representational, a notion occasionally expressed in the early modern period, see Van Eck, 46-50.

⁶¹ Some early modern scholars, who discounted the ethical force of music, believed that it was the text or libretto that aroused the passions. See Walker, "Musical Humanism," 8-9. This view, however, was by no means universal. Already in Aristotle, there is an awareness of the potential power of instrumental music over the passions, as rhythm and tune carry a resemblance to the passions themselves. See *Politics* 1340a18.

At the end of May 1656, an outbreak of plague reached Rome from Naples.⁶²

Many Romans sought protection by venerating the miraculous images and relics scattered about the churches of the city. Among the most important of such objects was an image of the Virgin kept in Santa Maria in Portico, a medieval church located between Santa Maria in Cosmedin and San Nicola in Carcere and conceded to the Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio in 1601 (Figure 5.4).⁶³ The image, known by the title *Romanae Portus Securitatis*, depicted the Virgin and Child in gold on a blue stone (Figure 5.5).

According to the history of the image as reported by Leonardi, Marracci, and Erra, a noblewoman named Galla Patritia fed the poor at her home every day. On July 17, 524, while Galla Patritia was sitting at a table attending her guests, a servant called to her. A brilliant light had appeared in a distant room of the house. The image of the Virgin, which hovered in the room as it was held aloft by seraphim, was the source of this mysterious light. Galla Patritia quickly ventured to the Lateran to seek the counsel of Pope John I, who proceeded to her home with a retinue of prelates. As they beheld the image, all of the bells of Rome began to ring at once.

⁶² For the history of this plague, see Pastor, 30:31-5; and the collection of essays edited by Irene Fosi, *La peste*, 3-274. During this epidemic, which cost Rome nearly 15,000 lives, Girolamo Gastaldi directed the Congregazione della Sanità, the office of the papal administration charged with fighting the plague. Gastaldi is better known to architectural historians for funding the completion of the twin churches in the Piazza del Popolo after the death of Pope Alexander VII. He also published a lengthy study of the plague that addressed the measures taken in Rome to stop it. See Hieronymi Card. Gastaldi, *Tractatus de avertenda et profliganda peste* (Bologna, 1684). For Gastaldi's life, see M. Marsili's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Gastaldi, Girolamo."

⁶³ Cardinal Bartolomeo Cesi conceded the church of Santa Maria in Portico to the Chierici Regolari. See Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1841), 11:199. The church, also known as Santa Galla, was built over the house of Galla Patritia to commemorate the appearance of the icon. The church no longer stands, although it is described in early modern guidebooks, including those by Martinelli, Titi, and Roisecco. Santa Maria in Portico remained in use after the Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio were transferred to Santa Maria in Campitelli, but it was finally torn down in the 1930s as part of the expansion of the via del Teatro di Marcello. For the demolitions in this area of the city, see Borden Painter, *Mussolini's Rome: Rebuilding the Eternal City* (New York, 2005), 9-12.

The miraculous image of the Virgin was credited with halting a pestilence during the time of John I, and its powers were reaffirmed time and again during various plagues.⁶⁴ At the outset of the epidemic in 1656, Romans flocked to the icon at Santa Maria in Portico, located in one of the most contagious zones of the city.⁶⁵ Fearing that the disease would spread, the Congregazione della Sanità temporarily closed the church. Nevertheless, popular devotion to the image remained strong.⁶⁶ On December 8, 1656, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, the civic government visited Santa Maria in Portico, supplicated the protection of the Virgin, and solemnly vowed to place the image “in a more dignified setting” (in loco più decente) within the church.⁶⁷ From that day

⁶⁴ Pope Gregory I (St. Gregory the Great) (590-604) invoked the image against a pestilence in Rome during his reign. Gregory VII (1073-1085), who was particularly devoted to the image, had the church rebuilt in 1073, and Celestine III (1191-1198) added a hospital for the poor. The image was also venerated during plagues in the reigns of Popes Callistus III (1455-1458) and Adrian VI (1522-1523). Although the image was most often associated with health, it should be noted that its miraculous powers were not limited to plagues. Leo X (1513-1521) and Paul III (1534-1549) both invoked the image for protection against the threat of the Turkish invasion of Europe. According to legend, Paul II (1464-1471) had the image transferred to his private chapel in Palazzo San Marco, but angels delivered it back to its original location the following morning. Similarly, the icon was stolen by Imperial troops during the Sack of Rome in 1527, but miraculously reappeared. These legends as well as the early history of the image are described in particular detail in the histories of the church by Luigi Marracci and Carlo Antonio Erra, and earlier in Giovanni Leonardi, *Narrazione della miracolosa immagine di Santa Maria in Portico*, 2nd ed. (1605; Rome, 1657), http://www.ordinedellamadredidio.org/doc/s_g_leonardi_narrazione.pdf.

⁶⁵ As Joseph Connors notes, this area of the city declined when the Ponte Santa Maria (subsequently the Ponte Rotto) collapsed in 1598. The proximity of this area to the *lazzaretto* on the Tiber Island contributed to the spread of the plague in this region. Connors, “Alliance,” 246-8.

⁶⁶ For the formation of the Congregazione della Sanità during the plague of 1656, see Gastaldi, 22-3. The group included Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who headed the office during the plague that threatened Rome from 1630 to 1633, in addition to Cardinals Giulio Sacchetti, Federico Sforza, Camillo Astalli, Lorenzo Imperiali, Gilberto Borromeo, Giancarlo de’ Medici, Freidrich von Hessen-Darmstadt, and Decio Azzolino. For the role of the office during the period from 1630 to 1633, see Nussdorfer, 145-61.

⁶⁷ On November 29, 1656, the Senate and People of Rome had requested the permission of Alexander VII to make the vow. See the text of the decree from December 8, 1656 published by Güthlein, “Campitelli,” 246, Document 2 (ASC, cred. I., vol. 34, f. 183).

forward, according to the early histories of the church, no new cases of the plague were reported.⁶⁸

At the time of the vow, the Popolo Romano set aside 12,000 *scudi* for the project, an amount suggesting that they intended to build a new chapel for the image rather than restore the entire church of Santa Maria in Portico.⁶⁹ As Pope Alexander VII became involved, however, the project grew in scale.⁷⁰ On January 21, 1657, the pope visited the dilapidated church and declared it unsuitable for the icon.⁷¹ He wished, instead, to move the image to the old church of Santa Maria in Campitelli near the Capitoline Hill (Figure 5.6). Rainaldi, who continued to serve the Roman government, though he was not yet officially Architect of the Roman People, became architect of the project in 1657.⁷²

From 1657 until its completion in 1675, the design of Santa Maria in Campitelli unfolded incrementally. The project underwent several revisions, appearing not as a tidy progression towards the final building, but as a series of advances, retrenchments, and modifications. What was initially planned as an additional sanctuary for the old church of Santa Maria in Campitelli was transformed into a grandiose project to build an oval plan

⁶⁸ Marracci, 98; and Erra, *Storia*, 37.

⁶⁹ See G thlein, "Campitelli," 190n8 and 247, Doc. 3 (BAV, Cod. Chig. H III 57, f. 340).

⁷⁰ According to the diary of Francesco Guinigi, three architects, who are left unnamed, visited Santa Maria in Portico on December 12, 1656 to take measurements. G thlein, "Campitelli," 243. Connors has linked an anonymous plan of Santa Maria in Portico to this event. Connors, "Alliance," 248n17. The drawing is preserved along with the other projects for Santa Maria in Campitelli in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV, Cod. Chig. P VII 10, f. 100 v & 101r], and is published in G thlein, "Campitelli," 190, Fig. 3.

⁷¹ Marracci, 99; and Erra, *Storia*, 37.

⁷² Domenico Castelli officially held the post of Architect of the Roman People until his death in 1657. Rainaldi was not officially named as his successor until April 1658, see G thlein, "Palazzo Nuovo," 128, Doc. 26. Guinigi's diary identifies Rainaldi as Architect of the Roman People in January 1658, suggesting that since the architect continued to control the building of the Palazzo Nuovo, he was closely allied with the Popolo Romano and chosen for these ties.

church, but this oval project was also soon abandoned. Cost, among other concerns, required a change of plans and delayed the start of construction. Finally, the foundation ceremony occurred on September 29, 1662. The construction of the church began with the tribune and the façade, both of which were completed in 1667.⁷³ However, by the fall of 1667, the impetus to complete the project was lost temporarily. Pope Alexander VII had died on May 22, and Paolo Maccarani, the superintendent of the project, died a few months later in August. The old church of Santa Maria in Campitelli remained between the newly completed façade and sanctuary until 1673 when Pope Clement X ordered the completion of the church in anticipation of the jubilee of 1675. Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri, the papal nephew, financed the construction.⁷⁴ On December 8, 1675, the feast of the Immaculate Conception and the nineteenth anniversary of the original vow to the Virgin, the church was solemnly opened, although the chapels and much of the decoration remained incomplete.⁷⁵

The final design of Santa Maria in Campitelli represents one of Rainaldi's most satisfying and complex architectural projects. Both the façade and interior of the church carefully orchestrate the experience of the viewer. The façade of the church stands on a long, narrow piazza not far from the base of the Capitoline Hill (Figure 5.6). The visitor enters the piazza along one of its short sides, either from the east on via Montanara or from the west along one of three streets converging there. Anticipating the oblique views, Rainaldi created a plastic façade with boldly projecting columns (Figures 5.7 & 5.8). The

⁷³ For the progress of the construction, see Güthlein, "Campitelli," 215-6.

⁷⁴ Güthlein, "Campitelli," 225.

⁷⁵ Guinigi describes the opening of the church, which Queen Christina of Sweden attended: "La Serenissima Regina di Svezia vi fù la mattina della Solennità, e lodò molto l'Architettura, e la Magnificenza della fabrica; sicome hanno fatto universalmente quelli, che l'hanno veduta." Güthlein, "Campitelli," 246.

façade continues a tradition of Roman church facades with a lower story connected to a narrower upper story by volutes.⁷⁶ Pilasters mark the edge of the lower story distinguishing the architecture of the church from the buildings at either side. In his presentation drawing for the façade (Figure 5.12), Rainaldi sought to frame and enhance the view of the façade by introducing low, symmetrical convent wings at either side. These were not completed according to plan.⁷⁷

The dramatic façade relies on contrasts between projection and recession, and light and shadow, thus drawing the viewer into Piazza Campitelli. A staggering twenty-four columns, varied in their sizes and architectural orders, contribute to the tonal contrast and decorative richness Rainaldi sought to achieve. Rainaldi adopts the standard formula of the Corinthian order on the first story (Figure 5.13) and the Composite on the second (Figure 5.14). In addition, he employs the Ionic order for the smaller columns that frame the three doorways (Figure 5.15). As Wittkower has noted, the use of smaller Ionic columns against larger Corinthian ones derives from Michelangelo's design for the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Figures 5.16 & 5.17).⁷⁸ Such a reference, as Joseph Connors

⁷⁶ A number of scholars have commented upon the development of the so-called aedicular façade and the position of Santa Maria in Campitelli within this line of development. See especially, Whitman, 122-3.

⁷⁷ Rainaldi intended such wings throughout the various design phases. They appear, in one form or another, on the drawing with the convex façade (Figure 5.9), on the first foundation medal (Figure 5.10), and on the final presentation drawing (Figure 5.12). These buildings were not executed according to Rainaldi's design. The building to the left of the façade is an early seventeenth-century building that remained untouched. The building to the right was executed in 1734. See Connors, "Alliance," 260.

⁷⁸ Wittkower notes that the juxtaposition of a smaller Ionic order in the portals with a colossal Corinthian order also appears on the façade of Saint Peter's; however, he insists that Michelangelo's design is the source, not Maderno's. Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 277n88. It should also be noted that Rainaldi, as Architect of Roman People, was charged with the completion of the Palazzo Nuovo on the Capitoline, which replicated the façade of Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori.

has suggested, acknowledges the patronage of the Roman government.⁷⁹ Rainaldi also suggests the license of Michelangelo in the guttae which adorn the molding of the lower-story windows (Figure 5.18). Other details, like the large volutes in the form of *putti* with long garlands, engage models of contemporary Roman architecture (Figures 5.14 & 5.19). Rainaldi's volutes specifically recall those of Martino Longhi the Younger in the façades of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi and Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

From a distance, the columns appear to project outward into the piazza. As one approaches, however, they serve to drive the viewer's gaze towards the heavens in a strong vertical thrust (Figure 5.20), achieved through the alignment of columns, the use of ressauts in the entablature, and the almost jagged breaking of the cornice.⁸⁰ The strong horizontal rhythm formed by the projecting columns and the deep recesses counters this sense of verticality (Figure 5.21). The empty recesses, originally intended as niches for statues, contribute to the dramatic contrast of light and shadow that plays across the façade.⁸¹

As Joseph Connors has noted, the architectural language of the façade, which relies upon Michelangelo's design for the most significant Roman civic building, reinforces Santa Maria in Campitelli's connection to one of its patrons, the Senate and People of Rome. However, Rainaldi's language also recalls much older sources of architecture. Rudolf Wittkower suggested that the church "shows a profound empathy

⁷⁹ Connors, "Alliance," 256.

⁸⁰ Whitman has suggested that the use of freestanding, superimposed columns against the wall demonstrates a sympathy for Severan architecture, especially the Septizonium and the Baths of Caracalla. See Whitman, 123.

⁸¹ As shown in the final presentation drawing (Figure 5.12), the deep shading in the recesses of the façade suggests that the contrast between light and shadow was an important consideration in Rainaldi's design.

with Late Roman architecture,” and compared the façade to the wall of a Roman bath.⁸²

Santa Maria in Campitelli draws upon the language of second and third century Roman architecture, and the specific importance of the Imperial baths for Rainaldi will be discussed below. The forceful contrast of light and shadow and the pronounced use of freestanding columns and aediculas on different levels suggest a resemblance to a number of other late Roman building types, including libraries, theaters, and nymphaea.⁸³

However, there is no one source that Rainaldi clearly imitated. Instead, the façade of Santa Maria in Campitelli represents the absorption and transformation of many different models. In engaging late Roman architecture, the work of Michelangelo, and the innovations of his contemporaries, Rainaldi sought to surpass them all with this powerful and majestic façade.

The dominant themes established in the façade, such as the visual power of the column and the contrast of light and shadow, prepare the viewer for the even more impressive interior (Figure 5.25).⁸⁴ Entering the church and passing through the relative dimness of the nave, one is struck by the powerful Corinthian columns that fill the space (Figure 5.26). The biographer and critic Milizia scoffed that many visitors “remain

⁸² Wittkower, “Carlo Rainaldi,” 39.

⁸³ See, as partially surviving examples, the library at Ephesus (Figure 5.22), the theater at Sabratha (Figure 5.23), and the nymphaeum at Jerash (Figure 5.24). This is not to suggest that Rainaldi studied these examples, which are located as far afield as Turkey, Libya, and Jordan. Instead, Rainaldi must have studied the language of numerous examples of late Roman architecture, probably from coins and local ruins. For bibliography on these buildings, see Edmund Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* (Oxford, 2007), 8n77, 293n49, and 295n163.

⁸⁴ The number of columns on the façade (twenty-four in all) matches the number on the interior. This is surely no coincidence, as the correspondence unifies the exterior and interior conceptually. I have found no evidence, however, to attach any particular symbolic significance to the number.

dazzled by that forest of columns” within the church.⁸⁵ It is precisely this aspect of the design that calls to mind the monumental grandeur of ancient architecture, especially the Roman baths.

The plan of Santa Maria in Campitelli is unusual among contemporary Roman church designs (Figure 5.27); it neither adopts the standard of a wide rectangular nave with side chapels, nor fits comfortably in the tradition of centrally planned churches. The plan can only be understood by progressing through the space. Like a musical composition, the experience of the church relies on the temporal unfolding of elements. Here, Rainaldi has carefully orchestrated a synthesis of three distinct spaces: a large centrally planned anterior space that approximates a Greek cross, a basically square sanctuary surmounted by a dome, and a smaller apse for the icon.⁸⁶ This progression gives the church a strong longitudinal axis and forcefully directs the viewer toward the high altar.

The scenographic effect of Santa Maria in Campitelli has a strong parallel with Baldassare Longhena’s church of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice (Figure 5.28). Even before the final design was established, the connection between the two churches was apparent from the medal cast for the foundation ceremony in 1662 (Figure 5.10). The use of a colossal order on the façade, the large volutes and prominent statues, and the pronounced dome all recall Santa Maria della Salute in a general way, although the setting and approach to the churches could not be more different (Figure 5.11). As

⁸⁵ “Assai peggio fece nella chiesa di santa Maria in Campitelli, dove sono aggruppati tanti errori, che l’occhio intelligente non può tollerarne la vista. Pure a Papa Alessandro VII, che fece dare quell’edifizio, piacque moltissimo, come piace ancora a tanti, che restano abbagliati da quella selva di colonne, e da tanto pietrame in varie guise lavorato.” Milizia, 249.

⁸⁶ The influence of Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli on Rainaldi’s plan has been suggested by William MacDonald and John Pinto, *Hadrian’s Villa and Its Legacy* (New Haven, 1995), 226-8.

Güthlein has suggested, the pressure to rival the Venetian plague church must have inspired this design.⁸⁷ The Venetians had dedicated the new church to the Virgin after the civic government supplicated her intercession in the plague of 1632. Rome lacked such a splendid plague monument, and the medal for Santa Maria in Campitelli appears to respond to a competitive impulse. Although the foundation medal design was quickly abandoned, Santa Maria della Salute continued to exert its influence over the planning of Santa Maria in Campitelli. The employment of distinct spaces and systems of lighting in both churches recalls baroque stage design.⁸⁸ At Santa Maria in Campitelli, however, the spaces are knitted together in a more organic way.

The plan of Santa Maria in Campitelli also recalls Palladio's sacred architecture, especially the church of San Giorgio Maggiore. In particular, the synthesis of distinct spaces that unfolds along the longitudinal axis is reminiscent of the Venetian church (Figure 5.29). Although similar in plan, the two churches developed from distinct design constraints. San Giorgio Maggiore has a more traditional nave with side aisles preceding the transept, where Santa Maria in Campitelli collapses the nave and transept into a single, centralized space. San Giorgio Maggiore has a distinct, separate choir for the monks.⁸⁹ At Santa Maria in Campitelli, this area becomes the sanctuary for the icon.

⁸⁷ Güthlein, "Campitelli," 207-8. On the church of Santa Maria della Salute, see Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁸⁸ On the relationship between baroque architecture and stage design, see Rudolf Wittkower, "S. Maria della Salute: Scenographic Architecture and the Venetian Baroque," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (1957): 3-10. Wittkower only reluctantly admitted the scenographic character of Roman baroque architecture, which he preferred to see as more invested in dynamic spatial qualities than in stage effects. For more discussion on theater and architecture, see the essays in Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, eds. *Barocco romano e barocco italiano: Il teatro, l'effimero, l'allegoria* (Rome, 1985); and Lavin, *Bernini*, especially "Bernini and the Theater," 1:146-57.

⁸⁹ On the acoustical properties of the monks' choir, see Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space*, 67-8, who note that the space was particularly well-suited to the monks' plainchant.

Moreover, Palladio's use of columns in the nave and transept of San Giorgio Maggiore appears restrained next to the boldness of Santa Maria in Campitelli (Figures 5.30 & 5.31). At the Roman church, the entablature projects forcefully over the columns and creates a sharp divide between the walls and the vaults.⁹⁰

The almost theatrical use of light further distinguishes Rainaldi's architecture from Palladio's. Whereas a uniform light from the large thermal windows bathes San Giorgio Maggiore, the varied light sources at Santa Maria in Campitelli create a strong contrast. The large anterior space remains dim, while light from the dome pours into the sanctuary. The progression from the shadowy nave to the light filled sanctuary further encourages the viewer to move through the church.

Palladio and Rainaldi shared a common architectural source in the great Roman *thermae*. The relationship between Palladio's architecture and the Roman baths has been widely noted, and Rudolf Wittkower first suggested the importance of this source for Rainaldi. Wittkower remarked that the façade of Santa Maria in Campitelli "strikes one as an artistic recreation of the wall in a Roman bath."⁹¹ The author also suggested the legacy of the baths in a less direct way. The nave of Santa Maria in Campitelli emphasizes two axes: the longitudinal axis from the entrance to the high altar and the transverse axis between the two large side altars. This situation recalls the main hall of

⁹⁰ One wonders if this prominent entablature at Santa Maria in Campitelli relates to ideas about acoustics. Vitruvius, for example, writes of the necessity of cornices on the inside of senate houses. Placed halfway up the walls, the cornice prevents the voice from dissipating as it moves upward. Vitruvius, 5.2.2. Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space*, 64, have suggested that this may have been a concern in the design of San Giorgio Maggiore.

⁹¹ Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 39. Wittkower does not specify a particular source, although he clarifies that the "impression is due to a profusion of columns arranged on different plans and in different groupings." The external wall between the *frigidarium* and the *natatio* of the Baths of Diocletian might have served as a point of departure for Rainaldi. See Giorgio Ortolani, "Palladio e le Terme di Roma Antica," *Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, Le Terme Dei Romani, Disegnate da Andrea Palladio*, ed. Giorgio Ortolani (Rome, 2009), 98.

ancient baths, where visitors could pass along either axis. Such a reference, according to Wittkower, is transformed through late sixteenth-century church designs, such as Magenta's San Salvatore in Bologna.⁹² The distant echoes of thermal architecture at Santa Maria in Campitelli represent a transformation of formal motifs rather than a precise imitation of them. The knitting together of different spaces with distinct purposes, the use of full columns in the nave, and the sense of impressive scale only recall the baths in a loose way and would never be mistaken for a direct quotation.⁹³

Although there are some formal similarities between Santa Maria in Campitelli and the Imperial baths, Wittkower did not question why Rainaldi turned to this source for the sacred space of a church. It does not appear that Rainaldi relied upon a single Imperial bath as a model for his design; rather, Rainaldi probably consulted many varied architectural and textual sources. The largest and best preserved baths during the seventeenth century included the Baths of Agrippa, Trajan, Caracalla, and Diocletian. Ancient sources described the layout and activities of these baths; early modern scholars also demonstrated an interest in the subject. For example, Andrea Bacci authored the most important treatise on the topic in 1571, a lengthy tome of seven books that examined the history and benefits of bathing as well as the design and activities of the

⁹² Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 44-6. There are, of course, significant differences between the Imperial baths and Santa Maria in Campitelli. The use of the columns in the nave of the church is staggered about points of focus, unlike the columns in the *frigidarium* of a bath, which are placed regularly on the same plane against the wall. The church uses a barrel vault rather than cross vaults. The baths were also known for their splendid material decoration.

⁹³ On ancient bath architecture in Rome, see Inge Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*, 2 vols. (Aarhus, Denmark, 1990); Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1992); and Fikret Yegül, *Bathing in the Roman World* (Cambridge, 2010).

ancient baths.⁹⁴ Authors of Roman guidebooks often cited Bacci and incorporated his research into their descriptions of the baths.⁹⁵ Sixteenth-century architects, including Palladio, made studies of the ruins of the baths. Although Palladio never managed to publish at length on the subject, thermal forms imbued his architecture.⁹⁶

The references to thermal architecture at Santa Maria in Campitelli demonstrate Rainaldi's interest and absorption of ancient architecture, but even more importantly, they add a layer of significance to the design of the church. Early modern scholars were well aware of the salutary effects of the ancient baths, even as the practice of bathing was largely shunned.⁹⁷ In designing a church that commemorated the Virgin's intercession in the plague, Rainaldi may have turned to the baths as a building type closely associated with physical health. Sheila Barker has made a similar argument regarding the whitewashed walls of the church, which are covered in the *calce viva* used to purify the

⁹⁴ For ancient literary sources on the baths and bathing, see Yegül, *Bathing*, 40-1. Andrea Bacci, *De Thermis . . .* (Venice, 1571). The work appeared in several subsequent editions in Venice and Rome in 1588, 1586, and 1622. The son of an architect, Bacci was a doctor and scholar, and he became court physician to Pope Sixtus V in 1587. See M. Crespi in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Bacci, Andrea." I have consulted the edition published in Rome in 1622, which is available electronically: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k513707.r=Bacci%2C+Andrea.langEN>.

⁹⁵ See, as a late example, the description of the Roman baths, especially the Baths of Agrippa, in Roisecco, 480-7.

⁹⁶ Palladio included a note on the baths in *L'antichità di Roma*, which first appeared in print in Venice and Rome in 1554. Another edition appeared in Rome with corrections in 1567. Palladio prepared several drawings of the baths, probably for a book on the subject. These drawings were eventually published during the eighteenth century by Lord Burlington, *Fabrice antiche diseguate da Andrea Palladio Vicentino e date in luce da Riccardo conte di Burlington* (London, 1730); and Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, *Le terme dei romani diseguate da Andrea Palladio e ripubblicate con la giunta di alcune osservazioni* (Vicenza, 1797). For publication history and Palladio's knowledge of the baths, see Ortolani, 5-70.

⁹⁷ On the salutary effects of bathing see, Bacci, 7.13. On the limited practice of bathing during the seventeenth century, see Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 48.

houses of plague victims.⁹⁸ Barker further suggests that the abundant light in the sanctuary of Santa Maria in Campitelli relates to the seventeenth-century belief that sunlight could prevent the plague.⁹⁹ Thus, Santa Maria in Campitelli not only commemorated the end of the plague of 1656 but may have provided a measure of spiritual *and* physical protection against future pestilences.

Light served many roles at Santa Maria in Campitelli. The luminous sanctuary contributed to salutary effects and suggested the presence of the divine within the church. I would also propose that the architecture of Santa Maria in Campitelli refers directly to the legends surrounding the appearance of the sacred image of the Virgin.¹⁰⁰ By filling the sanctuary with sunlight, Rainaldi's design recounts specific elements of the miraculous event of 524. Just as the image once appeared in the home of Galla Patritia in a distant room, bathed in light, and held aloft by angels, the same image again appears, now in the distance of the church, surrounded by natural sunlight and the sculpted rays of the *gloria*, and carried by angels. The visitor to the church thus becomes a witness to the miraculous appearance of the icon.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Sheila Barker, "Art, Architecture and the Roman Plague of 1656-1657," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 14 (2006): 254 and 260n52.

⁹⁹ Ibid and Sheila Barker, "Poussin, Plague, and Early Modern Medicine," *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 678-9.

¹⁰⁰ As described by Leonardi, 16-8; Marracci, 17-9; and Erra, *La storia*, 15-6. In addition to textual sources, images may have attested to the miraculous light around the object. During the reign of Clement VIII, the church of Santa Maria in Portico was painted with scenes depicting the legend of the icon. Marracci, 65. Unfortunately, I know of no description of the scenes themselves. Titi only mentions that Cardinal Bartolomeo Cesi "had the history of the image painted there" (*vi fece dipingere l'istoria dell'Immagine*). Titi, 45.

¹⁰¹ The prominent church bells that appear on each convent building in the final presentation drawing (Figure 5.12) may even allude to the ringing of the bells that occurred when the Pope and his retinue arrived at the house of Galla Patritia.

At Santa Maria in Campitelli the viewer was persuaded of the power of the icon, and in turn, the power of the Holy Church, through an emotional appeal. It could even be said that Santa Maria in Campitelli was composed in the grand style of rhetoric, the style associated with moving an audience.¹⁰² The measured progress of space marked by stately, freestanding Corinthian columns and the exquisite use of ornament such as the richly carved floral coffers demonstrate this grandness (Figure 5.32). The numerous columns that adorn the space further recall Cicero's statement in *De Oratore* that columns "possess as much dignity as utility."¹⁰³

Many art and architectural historians have conceded the dramatic, emotive character of Santa Maria in Campitelli; nevertheless, one must ask: what are the mechanics of such an affective approach to architecture and which passions were excited at the church? A number of devices serve to arouse the passions: stark contrasts heighten the sensations of the architecture; the plan, ornament, and light create and control a devotional experience; and the design includes the viewer as a witness to the miraculous appearance of the image.

According to Descartes, who theorized about the passions, the sensations of the external world triggered the passions almost reflexively.¹⁰⁴ The architecture of Santa Maria in Campitelli provides for the faithful a range of sensations, which are heightened by a series of contrasts. The varied effects of the lighting systems of the distinct parts of

¹⁰² Rainaldi's audience was diverse. It included popes and cardinals, a queen and various nobles, civic officials, the clerics of the church, and the Roman people who treasured the church's precious icon for its miraculous powers.

¹⁰³ "Columns support temples as well as colonnades, yet they possess as much dignity as utility." Cicero *On the Ideal Orator* 3.180.

¹⁰⁴ Descartes, 1:342.

the church, for example, enhance the sense of luminosity. The juxtaposition of the highly articulated walls with the relatively simple and smooth vaults renders more palpable the textures of the building fabric (Figure 5.33). Stimulating the sensations of the viewer thus heightens her capacity to experience the church.

The unusual plan of Santa Maria in Campitelli establishes and controls this spiritual experience for the visitor. Upon entering Santa Maria in Campitelli, the viewer is forced from the wide spaces of the side chapels and funneled through the choir towards the high altar.¹⁰⁵ The scenographic character of the columns, which lead the viewer's gaze to the high altar, reinforces this movement. The sense of grandeur and wonder encouraged by the scale of the large columns and the deep spaces of the transept is replaced with a sense of spiritual intimacy as the church narrows in the approach to the icon. The space of the choir, with its deeply carved coffers, elaborate moldings, and impressive dome, is especially stunning as one of the most lavish displays of ornament in Rainaldi's architecture (Figures 5.34, 5.35, & 5.36).¹⁰⁶ This increasing richness suggests

¹⁰⁵ Portoghesi criticized Argan's argument about the devotional aspects of the plan. The contracting of space in the approach to the altar would limit a large group from processing to the image. Portoghesi, *Roma barocca*, 292. Barker echoes this argument, suggesting that the telescoping perspective of the church allows one to experience the icon from afar, and thereby discourages people from progressing to the icon and congregating in the sanctuary, where they could spread contagion. Barker, "Roman Plague," 254. Although I disagree with these assessments (I believe the unusual nature of the plan requires the viewer to progress through the space in order to understand it), I think both authors hint at something important, namely, that the experience of Santa Maria in Campitelli seems meant for an individual rather than a large group.

¹⁰⁶ In his small-scale projects, Rainaldi often relied on the sensitive handling of rich materials. This same sensitivity is displayed at Santa Maria in Campitelli not through expensive colored marbles, but through the subtle manipulation of tonal contrasts of light and texture. The coffered arches and elaborate moldings belie the relative thrift of the architectural decoration of the church. Except for the side chapels, which were decorated later, little colored marbling is used. A small bit of *giallo antico* surrounds the portals within the church (Figure 5.37), and the twenty-four columns are only partially composed of marble. According to Erra, the bottom third of each column shaft is Carrara marble; the rest of each column is stucco. Erra, 54. The disjunction between the marble and stucco is more pronounced today with the discoloration of the stucco (Figure 5.38).

an intensification of the experience—a kind of architectural crescendo—as one approaches the sacred image.

The experience culminates at the high altar where the miraculous image of the Virgin appears, supported by angels and framed by rays of light (Figure 5.39). By linking the architecture of the church to the story of the miraculous appearance of the icon, the design allows the visitor to reenact the miracle of the image. Participating in this sacred event, the viewer comes to feel the wonder, astonishment, and veneration that Galla Patricia felt when she first encountered the image of the Virgin in her home.

The passions aroused at Santa Maria in Campitelli are those most appropriate to devotion.¹⁰⁷ The majesty of its architecture, including the massive columns and the unfolding views of the dome, stirs the passion of wonder. The rich, elaborate ornament evokes joy. The encounter with the sacred icon stimulates the passion of veneration. Overall the church evokes a feeling of gratitude towards the Virgin and a sense of hope for her continued intercession in the personal and communal travails that may test the inhabitants of Rome.

The motivation of such an affective approach to architecture derives from the function of the building. Santa Maria in Campitelli was not a large congregational church for preaching; it was planned with no special liturgical rites in mind.¹⁰⁸ Rather, it served to fulfill a vow to the Virgin, to celebrate her intercession in the plague, and to display her miraculous image. Like an altar, the entire church functions to focus the worshipper's

¹⁰⁷ The passions named here are all described by Descartes. This is not to say that Rainaldi was necessarily aware of Descartes's work. Nevertheless, Descartes provides a useful classification of the passions in the mid-seventeenth century. Descartes, 1:357-427.

¹⁰⁸ Argan, "Campitelli," 76.

attention on this sacred image. But even more than this, Santa Maria in Campitelli becomes an instrument for the impassioned experience of the sacred, as it stimulates the mind and body and stirs the passions of the soul.

Like Giovanni Battista Doni, Pietro della Valle, and Virgilio Mazzocchi, Carlo Rainaldi applied an interest in antiquity and the power of the passions with a desire to place theory into practice. Ancient music may not have survived the ravages of time, but ancient architecture was abundant, and Rainaldi studied and absorbed it. At Santa Maria in Campitelli Rainaldi used the forms inherited from antiquity to create an architectural experience that approached the affective power of ancient song. Like Amphion summoning stones with his lyre or Pythian curing plague through song, Rainaldi composed an architecture that might heal the ailments of the body and soul.

In 1674, seven years after the completion of the façade of the church and one year before the completion of the interior, Rainaldi's contemporary and likely acquaintance Filippo Titi (1639-1702) wrote that "in the majestic façade Rainaldi demonstrated his great knowledge."¹⁰⁹ Titi's remark was no mere platitude. When he referred to the knowledge Rainaldi displayed at Santa Maria in Campitelli, Titi sensed, I believe, the deep intellectual effort Rainaldi expended in designing the church. Drawing on his knowledge of ancient architecture, his study of rhetoric and philosophy, and his interest in musical practice and theory, Rainaldi created one of the most significant monuments of seventeenth-century Rome—a church that celebrated the Virgin, glorified the Pope and

¹⁰⁹ "Essendo poi questa Chiesa stata più volte rinovata, Papa Alessandro VII l'hà fabbricato di nuovo collocandovi la miracolosa Immagine di S.M. in Portico, che perciò hora si chiama S. M. in Portico in Campitelli, il tutto con l'architettura, e disegno del Cav. Rainaldi, ch'anche nella maestosa facciata dimostrò il suo gran sapere." Titi, 106 (1674 edition). As Hempel has noted, Titi must have known the architect personally as he reports that Rainaldi's models for Piazza San Pietro could be viewed at the architect's house and also that he saw Rainaldi's drawings for the façade of San Carlo al Corso. Hempel, 11. Titi, 1 (1686 edition) and 196 (1686 edition).

Senate, and demonstrated his own merit. Like his friends and acquaintances, Rainaldi sought to create an instrument capable of stirring the passions of the soul. Santa Maria in Campitelli suggests that he may well have succeeded.

Conclusion

Carlo Rainaldi has long appeared in a secondary position in the history of Roman baroque architecture. A purely formalist approach to his work failed to recognize the subtlety of his designs, and his architecture was once understood as an unsuccessful attempt to tether mannerist principles to baroque innovations. By grounding an analysis of Rainaldi's work in the social and intellectual fabric of his life, this dissertation has suggested two central points about Rainaldi. First, Rainaldi's oeuvre encompassed several diverse styles or modes as the architect drew upon many ancient and modern sources. It appears that Rainaldi was sensitive to the symbolic potential of material and ornament and manipulated style for persuasive and expressive effects. Second, Rainaldi's studies in architecture, music, and rhetoric formed the foundation for his *invenzioni*, and his designs engaged the artistic concerns and challenges of his own age. Although he depended upon Girolamo Rainaldi's architectural vocabulary in his early career, Carlo's most important works demonstrate rhetorical and expressive aims that link his practice to the work of contemporary painters, architects, and composers.

Rainaldi responded to iconographical, liturgical, and rhetorical pressures in creative and innovative ways. At times, he mined the well-established tenets of architectural theory as he sought to imbue his monuments with significance. For example, the design for the Casa Rainaldi carefully balanced competing views of magnificence and decorum. At other times, Rainaldi explored the narrative potential of architecture. At Santa Maria in Campitelli, the setting of the church becomes a stage for the miraculous appearance of the image of Virgin. The miracle is reenacted for each viewer who enters the dim church and beholds the distant icon bathed in light. Rainaldi also adapted

baroque formal motifs, including a sense of dynamic movement, in order to convey a spiritual message. Thus, at the high altar of San Lorenzo in Lucina, the concave and convex forms mirror the suffering body of Christ in Guido Reni's *Crucifixion*. The painting and the liturgy of the mass converge at the site of Rainaldi's design, as the architecture renders more palpable Christ's sacrifice.

This dissertation has focused on Rainaldi's knowledge of rhetoric, art and architectural theory, and music as a foundation for his architecture. These fields have been privileged because they are better documented than other aspects of his education and interests. Archival discoveries, however, may continue to illuminate new dimensions of Rainaldi's intellectual world. The study of mathematics is an obvious direction for future research, but other disciplines like philosophy or theology may one day provide further insights into Rainaldi's architecture. My approach, which has been to document Rainaldi's social and intellectual pursuits and place them together with an analysis of his works, represents a method that could accommodate future discoveries.

Rainaldi created countless architectural and musical works, including churches and palaces, spectacles and cantatas. With cardinals, nobles, artists, and composers, he forged friendships and alliances. He participated widely in the affairs of Roman confraternities, art and music academies, and the civic government. The diversity of these interests and accomplishments recalls a passage from Vitruvius quoted earlier. Vitruvius writes:

For a well-rounded education, just like a single body, is composed of quite different parts. And thus those who are educated from an early age in the various types of study recognize the same salient points in all types of writing, and the relationship of all the branches of knowledge, and because of this they come to know all manner of subjects with greater ease.¹

¹ Vitruvius 1.1.12.

Vitruvius's ideal conception of architectural pedagogy assumed that knowledge of one discipline could serve as a foundation in others. Rainaldi's education embraced a host of approaches and disciplines, but his architecture itself also seems to test Vitruvius's assumption. Rainaldi's work seamlessly knit together a sound training in architectural design, an education in rhetoric, knowledge of the sister arts, and a deep passion for music. Through the subtle manipulation of architectural forms and the careful selection of materials, Rainaldi achieved in his finest works a heightened power of expression that moved viewers of the seventeenth century and perhaps continues to move viewers today.

Catalog of Drawings

Catalog 1-8 (Figure 2.5-2.12)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.53-f.60

Literature: Benedetti, "Inediti"

Within a volume of miscellaneous drawings in the Barberini fondo is a collection of eight drawings signed by Carlo Rainaldi. The group includes six monuments associated with the Barberini family and the Senate and People of Rome and two monuments designed by Rainaldi but never realized. All of the executed monuments are found among the buildings of the Capitoline Hill: four are in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, one is in the Palazzo Senatorio, and one is in Santa Maria in Aracoeli. The eight drawings are nearly identical in size, and, unlike the rest of the drawings in the volume, their edges have gold leaf, suggesting they were bound together as a small group at some point. The light source (from the upper left) is uniform in all eight sheets, and the drawings display a highly finished quality. Because none of the figures is rendered in reverse, it cannot be assumed that the sheets were intended as preparatory drawings for engravings.

Simona Benedetti first published the group of drawings, dating them between 1626 and 1633. The earlier date represents the first mentioned notice of one of the monuments at the Capitoline; the later date represents the last monument to be erected. Although 1626 is a secure *terminus post quem*, it is possible (and even likely) that Rainaldi executed the drawings together after 1633 and once all the monuments were in

place. The shared format, dimensions, and technique of the drawings indicate that Rainaldi drafted them at the same time.

The precise circumstances of the commission for the drawings are unknown. The subject matter suggests that the drawings commemorated the relationship of the Senate and People of Rome to Pope Urban VIII, perhaps intended as a gift from the Popolo Romano to the pontiff.¹ It should also be noted that Girolamo Rainaldi, as Architect of the Roman People, may have been in a position to advance his son for this small commission.

Catalog 1 (Figure 2.5)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.53

Size: 25.0 x 36.5 cm

Material: Brown ink, grey and blue wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: C/Rf.

Inscription: SPQR (on shield of *putto* at left); SPQR (on shield of *putto* at right); EX ANTIQVIS RVDERIBVS ERVTVS/ IN LVCEM PRODVCTVS EST/ SEDENTE VRBANO OCTAVO P.O.M. (over fireplace)

Folio 53 depicts a fireplace that incorporates the fragment of an ancient sarcophagus. At the top of the fireplace are three small sculptures. Two *putti* stand to either side of a small bust. Below is a relief sculpture representing the Porta del' Averno flanked by representations of the seasons. The relief sits above a long inscription.

¹ See Nussdorfer, 178-85, for gifts and concessions made by the Popolo Romano to Pope Urban VIII.

Although the fireplace has since been dismantled, the sculptural fragment survives in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Figure 2.40). A comparison of the drawing to the fragment reveals that Rainaldi simplified details of the sculpture. He omitted the animals that rest at the feet of the male figures as well as the tree that stands between the two figures at left. Such differences increase the legibility of the small format drawing.

The technique of the work is careful. Horizontal and vertical lines are formed through the use of a straightedge. The *putti* and bust, however, are executed more rapidly with a few quick strokes suggesting the eyes and mouths of the figures. Rainaldi employed this technique throughout his career when representing figural sculpture in his architectural designs.

Catalog 2 (Figure 2.6)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.54

Size: 24.4 x 36.4 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: CR

Inscription: SPQR; SPQR; THADEO BARBERINO/ PRAENESTINORVM PRINCIPI/
ET/ SVMMO ECLESIASTICARVVM COPIARVM DVCI/ PRISTINAM VRBANÆ
PRÆFECTURÆ GLORIAM/ QUÆ PRIDEM ABERAT AB VRBE/ IN CAPITOLIVM
REDVCENT/ ROMA GRATVLANS/ PVBLICVM GRATI ANIMI MONVMENTVM/
EX S.C. POSVIT/ ANNO MDCXXXI DIE XX SEPTEMBRIS

Folio 54 depicts a dedicatory plaque that honors Taddeo Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII. Taddeo was the Prince of Palestrina, the Prefect of Rome, and later the General of the Papal Army.² According to the inscription, the plaque was erected in 1631. The plaque itself consists of a rectangular tablet of black marble for the inscription, surrounded by several frames (Figure 2.41). *Giallo antico* comprises the inner most frame. This is surrounded by a border of trophies on a green marble background, framed in turn by a rose colored border that includes four escutcheons. Two consoles with volutes and cherubs support the plaque.

Rainaldi has excluded the names of the officers and includes an escutcheon for the Senate and People of Rome. This escutcheon no longer appears with the monument. Apart from these small differences, the young architect has rendered the dedicatory plaque faithfully. No sense of the colored marbling is given through the use of wash, although the marble inlay bees appear in the lower left and right corners.

Catalog 3 (Figure 2.7)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.55

Size: 24.9 x 36.5 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: CR

Inscription: VIRGINIO CAESARINO/ CVI TANTA INGENII VIS VT DOCTVS
ETIAM HABERE POSSET SINE LITERIS/ TAM AMPLA LITERARVM SVPELLEX/

² For the life of Taddeo Barberini, see Nussdorfer, 36-8; and the entry by A. Merola in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Barberini, Taddeo."

VT ADMIRATIONEM MOVERE POSSET ET IAM SINE INGENIO/ QVEM
 TAMQVAM VRBIS MIRACVLVM ET NOBILITATIS ORNAMENTVM/ TVM
 INDIGENÆ TVM CONVENÆ PHILOSOPHI POETÆ ET RHETORES INUISEBANT/
 SVA QVISQVE DECORA IN HVMANISSIMO MOECENATE MIRANTES/ CVIVS
 IVVENTVTI PERTINAX DOCTRINARVM STVDIVVM SENILIS PRVDENTIÆ/
 GLORIAM COMPARAVIT IVVENILIS VALETVDINIS ROBVR ERIPVIT/ QVI
 FACTVS ADOLESCENTIBUS EXEMPLAR VIRTVTVM ET PARENTIBVS/
 MENSURA VOTORVM NON DVM TRIGESTIVM ANNVM INGRESSVS/
 MORTEM OCCVBVIT IN VATICANO/ SAPIENTIVM LVCVBRATIONIBVS ET
 PRINCIPIVM LACRIMIS ILLVSTREM/ CVI PONTIFICI CVBICVLI PRÆFECTVM
 AGENTI/ VRBANVS VIII/ ECCLESIASTICE PVRPVRÆ DECVS A PRÆPROPERA
 MORTE/ EREPTVM FVISSE CONQVESTVS EST/ EIDEM PVBLICIS EXEQVIIS
 COHONESTATO/ SPQR/ ANNVENTE PONTIFICE/ INTER TRIVMPHALES
 DVCES IMAGINEM/ ET MONVMENTVM DECREVIT/ NEMINVS LITERARVM
 GLORIA QVAM ARMORVM/ CAPITOLIVM DECORETVR

Folio 55 depicts a monument dedicated to the poet Virginio Cesarini, who served as the *cameriere segreto* (private chamberlain) to Pope Urban VIII. The monument includes a portrait bust, alternately attributed to François Duquesnoy, Gianlorenzo Bernini, and Francesco Mochi.³ The bust sits in an oval niche above a large plaque with an inscription dedicated to the poet's deeds (Figure 2.42).

³ For a brief discussion of the problem of attribution and full bibliography on the monument, see Andrea Bacchi, Catherine Hess, and Jennifer Montagu, eds., *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 2008), 16, 81, and 293. For the life of Cesarini, see the entry by C. Mutini in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Cesarini, Virginio."

The depiction of Cesarini is more detailed than is typical for Rainaldi's representation of faces. The artist attempted to record with some degree of fidelity the physiognomy represented in the portrait bust; however, the drawing bears little resemblance to the actual bust. The disproportionately small head and large shoulders and the simplistic rendering of the eyes, nose, and mouth illustrate Rainaldi's artistic limitations in rendering the human figure at this early moment of his career.

Catalog 4 (Figure 2.8)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.56

Size: 25.1 x 36.7 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown and grey wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: CR

Inscription: VRBANO VIII P.O.M./ AVGVSTINVS MAFFEIVS/ IACOBVS
 BENZONIVS/ FERDINANDVS BRANDANVS/ CONSERVATORES/ IN IVLIVI
 CARTARII EXTINGTI SENATORIVS LOCVM/ DIES XXXV IVRIDICVND
 PRÆFVERE/ EIVS REI PERENNEM HANC MEMORIAM/ TESTATAM ESSE
 VOLVERVNT SALVTIS ANNO MDCXXXIII

The drawing illustrates an inscription that is now hidden behind an armadio in the Sala Consiliare in the Palazzo Senatorio. Three escutcheons are placed at the top of the monument. The two lateral escutcheons represent the Senate and People of Rome, while the larger papal escutcheon of Pope Urban VIII is positioned at the center. The tablet is

framed by prominent moldings and decorated with small volutes. The inscription is rendered with thick strokes of ink, and three small escutcheons, which lack heraldry, are placed at the bottom of the tablet. Below the monument is an elaborate bracket with several volutes from which hang cloth swags and ribbons.

Catalog 5 (Figure 2.9)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.57

Size: 24.7 x 36.4 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: CR

Inscription: DOM/ CAROLO BARBERINO VRBANI VIII PONT. MAX/ GERMANO
FRATRI REI MILITARIS GENERALI MODERATORI/ QVITAM VRBEM ROMAM
QVA RELIQVAM DITIONE ARMIS AC MVNIMENTIS/ INSTRUXIT.
IMPENDETEMQ BELLORVM TVRBINEM SÆPE MILTVM DELCTV/ SÆPIS
CONSILIO PRVDENTIAQ: DISIECIT [corrected from DISIERIT] AD EXTREMVM
SALVTE POST HABITA/ BONONIAM IN CASTA PROPECTVS DV[M] FINES
PRÆSIDIO TVETVR/ AGGREB[ISUS] FIRMAT PACEMQ INTER FINITIMOS
PRINCIPES OPERITVR ARMATVS/ EXPLETA DEMVM MORTALITATE
DEFVNGITVR/ SPQR/ MONVMENTVM POSVIT

Folio 57 depicts a memorial to Carlo Barberini, brother of Pope Urban VIII. The monument was erected in Santa Maria in Aracoeli after Carlo Barberini's death in 1630.⁴

⁴ For the monument itself, see Lavin, "Bernini's Memorial Plaque," with earlier bibliography.

Bernini designed the monument, which consists of two allegorical figures reclining atop the inscription and a winged skull representing death beneath the plaque (Figure 2.43).

The drawing indicates that the young Rainaldi was familiar with Bernini's work. However, the depiction does not do the sculpture justice. The figures are awkward and devoid of any sense of volume. In fact, Rainaldi has changed the position of the arms. In the actual monument, the left figure clutches her chest with her left arm, while the right figure crosses her right arm over her chest. In the drawings, the figures recline along the top of the inscription, resting their heads on their hands. The change contributes to the flatness of the figures as Rainaldi avoids the more complicated twisting poses of the sculptural figures.

The technique of the drawing is similar to other sheets in the group, except in one detail. Shadows are formed with parallel diagonal strokes of wash with a second layer of wash applied over top.

Catalog 6 (Figure 2.10)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.58

Size: 24.6 x 36.3 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: CR

Inscription: D.O.M./ CAROLO BARBERINO/ VRBANI VIII PONT MAX/ GERMANO
FRATRI/ GENERALI REI MILITARIS IMPERAT/ BONONIÆ IN PVBLICÆ
QVIETIS EXCVBIIS/ ATQVE IN SVI MVNERIS/ PERVIGILI FVNCTIONES

SVBLATO/ S.P.Q.R./ DVCI PRÆCLARISSIMO/ CIVIQ: BENEVOLENTISSIMO/
 POSVUIT

Folio 58 represents a full length statue of Carlo Barberini in military dress.⁵ Barberini was the commander of the papal army until his death in 1630. The sculpture itself recycles an ancient body, which was restored by Alessandro Algardi. Bernini sculpted the head (Figure 2.44).

Like the funerary monument of Carlo Barberini, Rainaldi had some difficulty rendering the human form. The face of the figure bears little resemblance to Bernini's portrait. The body appears stiff and awkward. The foreshortening of the figure's left arm is particularly clumsy. Even the costume of the figure is awkward. The gentle curve at the bottom of the cuirass almost appears like a distended belly, while the folds of fabric are stiff and formulaic. In spite of these shortcomings, the drawing is a careful study, and the architecture of the large pedestal is clear and precise.

Catalog 7 (Figure 2.11)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.59

Size: 25.4 x 36.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: Carolus Rainaldus inv: et fecit

Inscription: SPQR (escutcheon at right); D.O.M.

⁵ On the statue itself, see Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 27; and Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 155-7.

Folio 59 appears darker from dirt and shows more signs of wear than the other drawings. If the drawings were indeed bound together, this sheet may have served as a frontispiece to the group. The signature at the bottom of the monument indicates that Rainaldi designed the work himself. It represents a standing monument with a large vertical tablet for an inscription, presumably placed against a wall. The monument sits on a low pedestal, above which rises the inscription tablet flanked by two wide Ionic pilasters. The escutcheon of the Popolo Romano is placed at the top of the left pilaster; the escutcheon of a Barberini cardinal is placed at right. The pilasters are decorated with margents: three sets of ribbons and garlands of flowers hang from a scallop. Above the tablet is an attic story with a segmental pediment and the large coat-of-arms of Pope Urban VIII. An image of the sun, which belongs to the Barberini heraldry, rests at the center of the pediment.

Because the tablet bears no inscription, apart from the standard *Deo Optimo Maximo*, the precise purpose of the design is unknown. The context of the drawing and the prominent use of the Barberini heraldry, which includes the sun, two large bees, and the coats-of-arms of Urban VIII and one of his nephews, indicate that this monument was designed to commemorate the relationship of the Pope to the Senate and People of Rome.

Catalog 8 (Figure 2.12)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 9910, f.60

Size: 24.9 x 36.0 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: Carolus Rainaldus Inventor et fecit

Inscribed: SPQR

Folio 60 represents a wall monument with a tablet for an inscription. Like the previous drawing, the monument lacks an actual inscription, aside from the abbreviation, S.P.Q.R. A segmental pediment sits above a horizontal tablet. Cloth swags hang to either side of the tablet. A larger blank tablet appears at the center of the monument. To either side are elaborate vertical supports decorated with mascarons, festoons, and volutes. Small urns, which sit upon pedestals whose bases end in volutes, are found at either side of the monument. The base of the monument is equally festive, decorated with three mascarons, from which hang festoons. There are a series of guttae, which seem to drip from the monument's base. The exuberant quality of the monument, with its abundant decoration, is reminiscent of Rainaldi's ephemeral designs. The purpose of the work is again unknown. The Barberini heraldry appears less prominently, although there are three bees placed in the design (two in the segmental pediment and one below the large tablet).

Catalog 9-36 (Figures 2.13-2.39)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411

Literature: Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 48; Matthiae, "Contributo," 49-50; Matthiae, "Le porte"; Nussdorfer, 145-61; Barker, "Art in the Time of Danger," 201-5; Benedetti, "La peste"

The volume comprises twenty-seven drawings by Rainaldi in brown pen-and-ink, colored washes, and graphite. It has a modern paper binding, although it was once

covered in red Moroccan leather with a gold impress of Barberini heraldry.⁶ The sheets have either been cut or worn down slightly along the edges. Each drawing has a border, but parts of these borders are missing, especially on the right and bottom of the page.

The drawings depict sites associated with the preparations to defend Rome from the plague of 1627-32. Only one drawing (folio 20) bears a date (1633), and previous scholars have assumed that this represents the date of the entire volume. Given the consistent format and technique of the drawings, this assumption is reasonable. A date of 1633 indicates that these drawings were made after the plague had subsided as a record of the city's successful measures.

Assuming that the drawings maintain their original order, they follow a logical pattern, making a circuit around Rome. The drawings start north of the city near the Porta del Popolo, one of the principal entrances to the city. The drawings then move east to the Porta Pia, south to the Porta San Giovanni, and west to the Porta San Paolo. They continue west, crossing the Tiber near the Porta Portese, before moving north to the Porta San Pancrazio and Porta Angelica. The volume concludes within the city walls at one of the most important hospitals, San Giacomo degli Incurabili.⁷

The volume has long been known to scholars. In his 1937 essay on Rainaldi, Wittkower discussed the frontispiece of the manuscript. He noted its reliance on a triumphal arch motif and argued that the design represented the principle of ambiguity in Rainaldi's architecture. Matthiae mentioned the volume in "Contributo a Carlo Rainaldi" (1946) and published a short notice on the drawings one year later. In both essays,

⁶ Matthiae, "Le porte," 68.

⁷ Benedetti, "La peste," 44n17.

Matthiae suggested the importance of this project for Rainaldi's early training. More recently, scholars, including Nussdorfer, Barker, and Benedetti, have shied away from the artistic significance of the drawings, focusing instead on their importance as a record of civic preparations for the plague.

Scholars have usually assumed that Rainaldi had no part in executing the *lazzaretti* and other constructions depicted in the manuscript. Wittkower noted that there were only "two independent designs by Rainaldi" in the volume (presumably the frontispiece and the legend in folio 2 or folio 20).⁸ Matthiae suggested that Rainaldi may have also designed the hospital depicted in folio 4 (catalog 12), but, as discussed in the relevant catalog entry, this argument is problematic. Benedetti, whose essay is the most comprehensive study of the drawings, acknowledged Matthiae's argument without making a conclusive judgment as to its validity. Barker, who included the drawings as a brief aside in her substantial dissertation on the plague, assumed that Rainaldi was responsible for the design and construction of the new buildings. There is no firm evidence to support this view, and circumstantial evidence argues against it. Rainaldi was only nineteen or twenty years old when most of the preparations for the plague were made. Although he could have been involved in individual construction projects, it is doubtful that he was charged with directing this large-scale operation across the entire city. More important is the internal evidence of the volume itself. Aside from the frontispiece, Rainaldi signed only two of the drawings with "fecit." In both drawings Rainaldi designed inventive architectural frames for the captions and not the buildings depicted in the drawings. It would be unusual if Rainaldi did not take credit for his

⁸ Wittkower only discussed the frontispiece. Although he did not specify which drawing was the second independent design, Rainaldi signed folio 2 and folio 20 with the indication "fecit." It appears that the author overlooked one of these. Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 47-8.

original designs elsewhere in the volume as he usually specified his role as designer in his early drawings.

I have discussed in the text the importance of this project in the context of Rainaldi's architectural training and early career. In the individual catalog entries below, I examine in more detail the artistic significance of individual drawings. For the particular medical and historical significance of the preparations made for the plague, as illustrated by the drawings, the reader should consult the discussions by Nussdorfer, Barker, and Benedetti.

Rainaldi made several corrections to the text of the drawings. These are indicated in brackets. A question mark indicates where particular words cannot be deciphered because of damage to the page or because their meaning remains unclear.

Catalog 9 (Figure 2.13)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.1

Size: 41.3 x 27.3 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite

Signed: Carolus Rainaldus fecit

Inscription: SPQR

Folio 1 was apparently intended as the frontispiece to the volume. It takes the form of a wall monument of three bays demarcated by Ionic columns. The central bay is free of any ornament and may have provided space for the title of the volume. The monument prominently displays in the left and right bays the escutcheons of the Senate

and People of Rome and Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who headed the Congregazione della Sanità during this period. The central bay includes the larger papal escutcheon of Pope Urban VIII linked by swags to volutes at either side. Four vases with flowers are placed above the Ionic columns. The monument also includes other architectural ornaments, including long vertical volutes at either side, and festoons under the two lateral escutcheons.

Wittkower suggested that the monument relies on a triumphal arch motif, while Matthiae linked the frontispiece to late sixteenth-century funerary monuments, including the monument to Nicholas IV in Santa Maria Maggiore by Domenico Fontana and the Aldobrandini monuments in Santa Maria sopra Minerva by Giacomo della Porta (late 16th century). It is interesting that Rainaldi used this general formula later in his career for the monument to Pope Clement IX.

The architectural ornament has a festive quality, while the Ionic columns present, as Wittkower has noted, a certain ambiguity or dual function. The left outer column and inner column form an independent unit, as do the right outer column and inner column. These independent units frame the lateral bays. However, the inner columns also have a second function. Together, the inner columns form a unit as they support the pediment. This dual function demonstrates, for Wittkower, Rainaldi's dependence on the architectural vocabulary of Girolamo Rainaldi.

Technically, the drawing bears many of the hallmarks of Rainaldi's drafting style. While the architectural elements are rendered in a careful, precise manner, figurative elements like the vases with flowers are executed with rapid strokes that suggest, rather than delineate, form. Rainaldi has also depicted reflected light, which appears in the

shadows on the right side of the columns. This use of reflected light helps to demarcate the shaded side of the columns from their cast shadows, enhancing the legibility of the design. The use of reflected light also indicates Rainaldi's familiarity with the conventions of drawing and painting, suggesting at least a basic education in figural drawing.

Catalog 10 (Figure 2.14)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.2

Size: 41.6 x 27.4 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite, with a black border

Signed: Carolus Rainaldus Architectus fecit

Inscription: (within the legend) A. Torre dove alloggiava il Commissario/ B. Cannello per serrare il Ponte la notte/ C. Portico coperto di tetto/ D. Residenza del Commissario fatto di tavole coperto di tetto/ E. Habbitatione per li soldati fatto di tavole ecc./ F. Pregione con il portico davanti pur coperto di tetto è fatto di tavole doppie/ G. Strada per li soldati per andare alla Casetta-H/ H. Casetta di tavole coperta di tetto per li soldati/ I. Cannello che serra la strada che vâ à canto il Tevere/ K. L. Cancelli uno che vâ al Ponte et l'altro à Porta Angelica/ M. Hostaria dove habbitavano li corsi, e sbirri per guardia di detti Raselli (?) ecc./ (inscriptions outside the legend): Strada Flaminia/ TEVERE FIVME/ PONTE EMILIO/ Strada che vâ à Porta Angelica/ Strada che vâ à Vitervo ecc./ Strada che vâ à Loreto

The drawing depicts the Tiber, the Ponte Milvio (Ponte Emilio), and the area north of the city's walls. Small dwellings have been erected for the commissioner and the soldiers who monitor the bridge, which is closed at night.

The drawing adopts a mixed perspective. The landscape appears from above (as in a map), while the structures appear in elevation, seen only slightly from above. Trees and shrubs dot the landscape. A legend appears at the bottom of the page; it is similar in form to the inscription dedicated to Urban VIII and the conservators at the Capitoline Hill (Catalog 4), which Rainaldi drafted around the same time. Rainaldi's signature within the legend indicates that he was responsible for its invention. The horizontal legend includes the prominent escutcheon of Urban VIII surrounded by garlands of fruit. Scallops at either side end in volutes. More volutes, from which hang garlands, decorate the left and right sides of the legend, while swags, ribbons, and garlands hang from the base.

Catalog 11 (Figure 2.15)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.3

Size: 42.0 x 27.7 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and brown wash

Signed: CR (in rightmost bollard)

Inscription: Chiesa di S.to Andrea dove si sepellivano quelli che si trovavano morti in Campagna

The drawing depicts in elevation the facade of Sant' Andrea in via Flaminia, designed by Giacomo Vignola. During the threat of plague, men and women found dead outside the walls of Rome were buried in its cemetery.

Rainaldi has drawn the church with the careful interest of a young architect. Each dentil and modillion is faithfully, almost compulsively, rendered. It is curious, however, that Rainaldi has depicted the consoles beneath the window from an oblique perspective. This technique is common throughout the volume, although seventeenth-century architectural drawings conventionally depict such elements frontally. This detail suggests that Rainaldi thought of the drawing more in terms of a *veduta* than an architectural elevation.

Catalog 12 (Figure 2.16)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.4

Size: 42.1 x 27.4 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right corner of building)

Inscription: Hospidale dove si mettivano l'infermi che venivano di fuori fin che fossero visitati dal medico

The drawing depicts in elevation a hospital for the sick. The two-story structure has entrances placed symmetrically at either side. There are two windows on the ground floor and four windows on the second floor. A wide pier, bearing a large papal escutcheon, separates the two stories.

Because it is the only *lazzaretto* in the volume depicted in elevation, Matthiae has suggested that Rainaldi designed the hospital himself. Furthermore, Matthiae has argued that the rusticated portals and the ear moldings of the windows resemble forms employed by Girolamo Rainaldi at the Villa Taverna in Frascati. Against this argument is the fact that Rainaldi signed the drawing only with his initials. If the design were his, the architect would likely have indicated his authorship in the signature.

Catalog 13 (Figure 2.17)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.5

Size: 42.1 x 27.4 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey, brown, and pink wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right)

Inscription: Habbitatione dove si spurgavano le lettere et altre robbe che venivano
~~[vengano]~~ condotte a Roma/ Scoperto dove si spurgavano le valisce et bolzette delle
 lettere, et per tenervi anco legna, fascine, et paglia per detto servizio/ stanza da basso et
 Cammera di sopra per li ministri/ Cammera sotto e sopra per li ministri/ Cappella dove si
 diceva la messa ogni matina/ Loggia coperta et sopra è sala/ Vasca/ Pollo/ Bussola
 circondata di tavole e suo tassello/ stanza dove si trattengevano quelli che portavano le
 lettere et altro fin che faccian (?) purgate/ Porta di dove entravano quelli che portavano le
 lettere, et altro a spurgare/ Strada Maestra che v`a al Periolo/ AA foconi di ferro ovati
 dove si spurgavano le balisce [valisce] et bolzette dello littore/ BBBB foconi con grato
 [grado] di ferro dove si spurgavano le lettere dappoi che sono bagnato nell'aceto/ CC

Mastelli pieni d'aceto dove si bagnavano le lettere/ DDD Botte pieno d'aceto detto servitio/ E Crivello tutto di ferro che sta in bilico sopra ad un focone pure di ferro coperte di lastre a traverso dove si spurgavano le lettere a fumo senza metter nell'aceto quali vengevano da paesi non suspecti/ F fenestra che si serratta a chiave dove erano [~~hanno~~] di dentro doi ministri dell'Infermi di Roma quali con una chiave longa palmi dieci apresso il bolzetto e lettere per espurgarli et la bussola di detto cancello è altra da terra palmi cinque

The drawing represents the plan of a building where letters and goods were fumigated prior to entering the city. Rainaldi has depicted both the architecture of the building and the various braziers (A & B) schematically; however, the tubs and barrels of vinegar (C & D) are represented three-dimensionally with shadows and cast shadows.

Catalog 14 (Figure 2.18)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.6

Size: 42.3 x 27.8 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and blue wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (on the wall next to the Tiber)

Inscription: A Guardiola nel fine delle mura di Roma detta la Penna dove si stavano li soldati corsi per guardia/ B Casa dove stava il Comissario di d.o luogo/ C Battello dove il Comiss.o et soldati andavano a riconoscere li burchi et barche di robbe che venivano in Roma/ D Burchio di robbe che si conducevano in Roma/ SITO DENTRO DI ROMA/ Strada che viene dalla Porta del Popolo/ TEVERE. F.

The drawing illustrates a portion of the wall of Rome between the Porta del Popolo and the Tiber. A guardhouse monitors the movement of barges along the Tiber. Rainaldi had some difficulty managing the perspective of the drawing. Although the main wall and buildings are depicted frontally, he has depicted the wall along the Tiber from above. Throughout the volume, it appears that Rainaldi struggled to balance the need to provide topographical information with the desire to represent views of buildings. His use of perspective is often inconsistent.

Catalog 15 (Figure 2.19)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.7

Size: 41.7 x 27.7 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right corner of the Porta del Popolo)

Inscription: Porta del Popolo/ PIVS IIII P.O.M./ Per li soldati/ Per il comissario/ Cannello p.o/ Passeggio per li soldati/ cancello 2.o/ Pregione/ Luogo coperto di tavole per fermar... [?] corrieri finche fusse dato l'avviso/ Cannello 3.o/ Cannello che serra la strada che va al Tevere/ Vigna del Em.e S.r Card.le Borghese/ Strada Flaminia/ Vigna de particolari

Folio 7 illustrates the Porta del Popolo, the main gate to the city from the north. The entrance had been restored by Pius IV in the sixteenth century and would be restored again by Bernini in honor of the arrival of Queen Christina of Sweden in 1655. In preparation for the plague, several structures and gates were added before the Porta del

Popolo. Rainaldi depicted these schematically with small dots. This decision has two effects. First, it enables the viewer to see all of the structures. Second, it allows the gate itself to be visible. The representation of the Porta del Popolo is detailed and precise, and one senses that Rainaldi paid greater attention to the architecture of churches and gates than to the more pedestrian hospitals and other structures included in the volume.

Catalog 16 (Figure 2.20)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.8

Size: 42.6 x 27.8 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right corner of the wall)

Inscription: Viale con Arbori piantati/ Lazzaretto fuori di Porta Pia per ricever l'Infermi
che venivano di fuori fin che fossero visitati dal Medico/ Vignia/ Vignia/ Strada/ Porta/
Strada Maestra che va a Porta Pia/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Scale/ Corritore/ Tinello/
Cucina/ Entrone/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a

Folio 8 represents in plan a *lazzaretto* outside the Porta Pia. It has eight rooms on the ground floor and a corridor that runs latitudinally through the center. A staircase indicates that the building is at least two stories high. The structure is placed in a vineyard and surrounded by avenues of trees, which are marked by brown dots of wash.

Catalog 17 (Figure 2.21)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.9

Size: 41.7 x 27.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and yellow wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right)

Inscription: Porta Pia/ Rincontro nel cantone della Piazza fuori di d.ta Porta vi è un Lazzaretto fatto di tavole coperto di tetto. Per ricevere li amalati fin che fossero visitati dal Medico/ Per li soldati/ Porta delle mura di Roma/ Per il Comissario/ Cannello

Folio 9 represents a view of the Porta Pia, which was built in 1561 by Michelangelo. The drawing shows the Porta Pia from outside the city walls where preparations have been made to thwart the arrival of the plague. There are small structures for the soldiers and commissioner as well as a gate outside the city entrance.

Folio 9 follows the conventions of the earlier drawings. Architectural details in the lateral bays of the gate are rendered in an oblique perspective, while the structures around the gate are depicted schematically.

Catalog 18 (Figure 2.22)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.10

Size: 42.5 x 27.5 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right)

Inscription: Vigna/ Cipressi/ Viale con Cipressi/ Lazzaretto fuori di Porta S. Gio: per ricevere l'Infermi che venivano di fuori fin che fossero visitati dal Medico/ Cam.a/

Cam.a/ Andito/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Andito/ Tinello/ Scale/ Cipressi/ Arbori di Cipressi/
Vigna/ Viale/ Porta/ Stada Maestra che v`a alla Porta S. Gio:

The drawing represents a *lazzaretto* outside the Porta San Giovanni. The *lazzaretto* has two main units: a *tinello*, or dining area, and the main house with four rooms linked by corridors. It appears that the *tinello* has an entrance at ground level, while the main structure is accessed by a staircase. The *lazzaretto* is placed within a vineyard planted with avenues of cypress trees.

Catalog 19 (Figure 2.23)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.11

Size: 41.7 x 27.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right of plan)

Inscription: Porta di Santo Gio: in Laterano/ Lontano da questa Porta 60 canne nella man'
diritta vi `e un lazzaretto fabricato di muro circondato intorno di Cipressi ecc. per ricevere
li amalati fin che che fossero visitati dal medico/ Habbitatione per li soldati/ Cannello/
Habbitatione per il Comissario/ Pregione

The drawing represents a view of the Porta San Giovanni, which was restored by Pope Gregory XIII. The rusticated portal includes a papal escutcheon, although no heraldry is indicated. Outside the Porta San Giovanni are dwellings for the soldiers and commissioner as well as a small prison to the right of the gate.

Catalog 20 (Figure 2.24)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.12

Size: 41.7 x 27 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower left)

Inscription: Vigna/ Lazzaretto fuori di Porta S. Paolo per ricever l'infermi f.che [finche]
 venivano di fuori fin che fossero visitati dal Medico/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ entrone/
 scale/ cam.a/ cam.a/ cam.a/ cam.a/ Strada/ Strada che va alla Porta di S. Paolo

The drawing represents a *lazzaretto* outside the Porta San Paolo. The structure has a wide entrance with a staircase at the left and two rooms at the right. At the back of the structure, two series of three rooms open to either side of the entrance corridor. The rooms are nearly square in shape and correspond to each other in dimension. The *lazzaretto* is placed within a vineyard with an avenue of trees leading from the street to the entrance.

Catalog 21 (Figure 2.25)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.13

Size: 42.5 x 27.5 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right of rightmost tower)

Inscription: Porta di S. Paolo/ Sepolcro di C. Cestio/ Habbitatione per li soldati/ A Habbitatione per il Comissario/ Cannello/ Nella Cantonata a mano manca fori di d.ta porta vi è l'Hospidale dove si ricevevano l'Infermi fin che fossero visitati dal Medico

The drawing represents the Porta San Paolo and the pyramid of Caius Cestius, which was incorporated into the defensive wall of the city. The drawing is similar in technique to the other gates of Rome; however, Rainaldi has included a view through the main portal to the portal on the opposite side. There is a dwelling for the commissioner within the gate to the right. A structure for the soldiers and a gate are placed outside the Porta San Paolo. The scale of the pyramid of Caius Cestius is smaller than it appears in reality. Rainaldi has also reduced the number of stone courses that comprise the structure.

Catalog 22 (Figure 2.26)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.14

Size: 41.7 x 41.9 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown and pink wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right)

Inscription: Convento già de frati/ Cantina per il vino de poveri/ Questo luogo di S. Savo [sic: S. Saba] è stato assegnato alli poveri, e Mendicanti di Roma; Chiesa di S. Savo/ Portico/ Piazza/ Vigna/ Stanzone da Passeggio/ Loggia Coperta/ Stanzone per Legna e Lochi comuni/ Horto con Arbori di Merangoli/ Entrone/ Cucina/ Refettorio/ Dispensa

The drawing represents a plan of the church of San Saba and its monastic buildings. During the plague, the tenth-century church was assigned to mendicants and

the poor. The walls of the church employ pink wash; the rest of the buildings are brown. The drawing is larger in size than most of the sheets, and the bottom of the page has been folded to fit within the volume. The entire complex is enclosed within a wall. A piazza stands in front of the church. There are vineyards behind the church and to the left. The monastic buildings are located at the right side of the church and include a refectory, kitchen, a covered loggia, a communal area, and a large garden.

Catalog 23 (Figure 2.27)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.15

Size: 42.0 x 27.8 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown and pink wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (along the wall of the church)

Inscription: Secondo Piano/ Dormitorio/ Stanza da Passeggio/ Secondo Piano/ Aria dell'Horto/ Stanza per robbe/ Dormitorio/ Dormitorio/ Aria della Chiesa

Folio 15 represents the second story of the monastic building at San Saba equipped with dormitories for the poor. Following the color scheme of the previous drawing, the wall of the church is indicated by pink wash; the rest of the building uses brown wash.

Catalog 24 (Figure 2.28)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.16

Size: 42.2 x 27.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (in the right river bank)

Inscription: TEVERE F./ Canapo che si tiracca a' traverso la notte et si teneva fino alla mattina/ Parte del Monte Testaccio/ Parto del Monte Testaccio/ A Luogo detto la Botte nel' fine delle mura di Roma dove vi stava il Comiss[ario e] soldati et sue robbe per guardia del passo del Tevere/ B Batello col quale di andava a reconoscere le barche di Robbe che venivano a Roma/ C Casetta dove si rivedevano le bollette/ D Barca di robbe che si conducevano in Roma

The drawing presents a view of the Tiber near the area of Monte Testaccio. The base of Monte Testaccio appears inside the city walls at the top of the drawing. The hill casts a shadow and vegetation grows on its surface. The Aurelian wall is represented from a bird's eye perspective; its state of disrepair is indicated by cracks and plants growing in the wall. A rope stretches across the Tiber to block the passage of ships at night. The drawing also depicts a barge sailing down the Tiber and a small row boat moored to the right bank of the river. The technique of the drawing is less careful than the other drawings, confirming that Rainaldi gave greater attention to the more significant architectural structures in the volume.

Catalog 25 (Figure 2.29)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.17

Size: 42.6 x 27.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, light brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right wall)

Inscription: Vigna/ Viale/ Prato/ Lazzaretto fuori di Porta Portese per ricever l'Infermi
che venivano di fuori fin che fossero visitati dal Medico/ d'Arbori/ Corritore/ Cam.a/
Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cucina/ Tinello/ Scale/ Entrone/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/
Cam.a/ Piantati/ Vigna/ Strada Portuense che v'è à Porta Portese

Folio 17 represents a *lazzaretto* outside the Porta Portese. The rectangular structure fronts the strada Portuense. A wall encloses the structure and the surrounding vineyards and fields. An entrance hall leads to a dining area and kitchen at left and two rooms at the right. A corridor at the back and right side of the *lazzaretto* provides entrance to seven other rooms.

Catalog 26 (Figure 2.30)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.18

Size: 41.9 x 27.2 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (building D closest to the Tiber)

Inscription: Strada che viene da P.ta S. Pancrazio/ Cancelli/ Porta Portese/ Strada
Portuense/ A Del Comissaro/ B Per li soldati/ C Per li sbirri e soldati/ D Per li soldati che
facevano la guardia al passo delle barche/ Strada che va al Tevere/ Lontano circa 40
canne a mano diritta vi è l'Ospedale dove si ricevevano l'infermi fin'che fossero visitati
dal Medico/ TEVERE F.

This drawing presents a view of the Porta Portese and a stretch of the Aurelian wall leading to the west bank of the Tiber. As with the drawing of the Porta San Paolo, Rainaldi includes a view through the portal in order to show the lodgings of the soldiers and commissioner. In order to accommodate a view of structure C near the Tiber, Rainaldi has depicted the Porta Portese at a smaller scale than typical for the volume (the Porta de Cavallegieri shares this smaller scale). Except for a few vines growing in the cracks of the Aurelian wall, there is no indication of the vegetation and growth in the surrounding landscape.

Catalog 27 (Figure 2.31)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.19

Size: 42.3 x 27.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey and brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right side of the wall)

Inscription: Porta di S. Pancratio/ Per li Soldati/ Cannello/ A Per il Comissario/ B. Per la Gabbella/ Strada che va a Porta Portese/ Cannello che serra la strada che va verso S.

Pietro/ Strada che va a S. Pancratio/ fori di d.ta Porta circa un mezzo miglio vi è il

Lazzaretto fatto nella Chiesa a convento di S. Pancratio

Folio 19 presents a view of the Porta San Pancrazio. The drawing is similar in format to the other drawings of gates, and Rainaldi has included a view through the portal to show structures for a commissioner (A) and a tax collector (B). The perspective of the drawing is awkward. The orthogonals of the bases of the towers do not meet at a central

vanishing point, although the opening of the Porta San Pancrazio itself employs one-point perspective.

Catalog 28 (Figure 2.32)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.20

Signed: Carolus Rainaldus Archit.t fecit 1633

Technique: This larger format drawing has been folded several times to fit within the volume. It was too fragile to consult, and the following entry is based upon a photograph of the drawing.

Inscription: (moving from top to bottom, and left to right): Sito dove si facevano le fosse per seppellirne i morti/ (area to the left of San Pancrazio): luogo per mettere la legna/

Doganella per metter le robbe delli corrieri/ loco comune/ Porta di dove venivano quelli che spurgavano le robbe/ G/ armature di legno dove si stendevano le robbe che si purgavano/ Cancello/ dove entravano li Medici chirurgiti e spetiali per medicar li custodi et altri ministri che faciavano la purga delle robbe/ F/ C/ D/ E/ loco dove si sanavano quelli che havevano da andar a far la quarentina/ cancello/

(San Prancrazio): Tribuna/ altare/ sotto il quale vi sono li corpi di doi SS. Pancratij/ Stanzione dove dormivano li ministri della purga brutta/ Guardarobba dove si collocavano le robbe avanti che entravano in purga/ altare/ cappella dove si udivano messa li offitiali e ministri puliti/ transito che entra nella guardarobba et alla portali quelli della purga brutta/ cimiterio/ loco dove si spandevano le robbe che si purgavano e si revoltavano ogni giorno/ Nave laterale dove vi erano le corde di ferro attraversato sopra

le quali si spandevano le robbe che si purgavano/ Nave laterale dove vi erano attraversate
 le corde sopra le quali si stendevano le robbe che si purgavano, et anco di qui si
 portavano le robbe a purgare/ ...[?] dove si spurgavano li bibbi scala e legati/ altro loco
 dove si spandevano e robbe nel modo sud.to/ Porta dove usciva la robba che era purgata/
 Stanza dove dormiva il ...[?] della purga brutta/ armarij dove si reponevano le robbe
 spurgate de Corrieri/ (convent to the right): Sagrestia/ O/ O/ O/ O/ Corritore/ O/ O/ O/ O/
 O/ Sito del campanile/ I/ loggia coperta/ spetiaria/ loggia coperta/ Pollo/ loggia coperta/
 Cortile del Chostro del Convento/ caldara per scaldar la lavanda per/ li doi vasi/ doi vasi
 di terra cotta murati dove si lavavano quelli che havevano finito la quarantina/ loggia
 coperta/ N/ Stanza per servitio/ delli servitori puliti/ entrone dove stavano li sbirri con li
 suoi letti/ Camera delli frati/ quali restavano dentro nel convento ne si partivano/
 Guardarobba/ M/L/K/ Cucina/ (area in front of San Pancrazio): cancello/ caldara/
 cancello di dove entravano quelli che andavano a far la quarentana/ Porta per dove
 inentravano le robbe che si consegnavano alli facchini che li portavano alla guardarobba
 e quelle che si havevano da purgate le consegnavano alli ministri brutti alla porta segnata
 (moon symbol)/ A/ B/ Armatura di legno dove si stendevano li panni et altro doppio feriti
 di purgate/ canapo quale porta va accio quelli di denso stassero lontana del rastello palmi
 15/ cancello/ Passeggio per li soldati/ Prima guardia dentro la porta dove risiede il
 Capitano de Corsi/ loco dove si dava la corda a di subediente/ Passeggio per li soldati/ Q/
 cancello/ cancello/ cancello/ (area in front of the convent to the right): loco comune/
 Giardino quale serviva alli offitali e ministri puliti/ scaletta per dove intravano nel
 Giard.o li offitali puliti/ Porta e stradella che conducevano p-va quelli che andavano a
 far la quarentina, hora serv.e per quelli che vogliono andarci a parlare sempre con

l'intervento de corsi/ Habbitatione del Comiss.rio fori del lazzaretto et sotto hostaria per serv.e del lazzaretto/ (bottom of drawing): Chiesa a convento di S. Pancratio dove si è fatto il lazzaretto/ Strada che va alla Porta di S. Pancratio

Legend:

- A. Stoccatto a torno il rastello lontano sei palmi accio questi di fori non si pottessero accostare a quelli di dentro
- B. Vasche di acqua di fontana per lavar panni lane et altro che erano stati bolliti nella caldara dentro il rastello
- C. Doi vasche per lavar panni delli quarentenarij et di quelli che li servivano
- D. Scala che saliva al Corritore che traversava le Chiesa et andava all'habit.e di quaren.rij
- E. Loco dove si abbruscivano li vestiti e robbe che tenevano in ...[?] quelli che andavano a far la quarentina alli quali la Congregat.ne gli consegnava altri vestiti
- F. Caldara e Tinello di terra quale servivano per far li bugati delle biancarie per li quarentenarij et a quelli che li servivano
- G. Doi vasche per lavar li pani di quelli che purgavano le robbe
- H. Ferrate per dove udivano messe li ministri brutti
- I. Stanziola con la ferrata dove il spetiali riceveva le robbe per serv.e dell'Infermi
- K. fenestra per dove si dava il mangiare per quelli cher erano in quarentina
- L. Vaso dove si metteva l'acqua quale andava ad una chiave di metallo dentro del rastello della qual'acqua serviva per li quarentenarij
- M. Rastello serrato per dove uscivano quelli che havevano finito la quarentina
- N. Loco dove si teneva la calcina per coprir li morti

O. Cammere dove vi facevano la quarantina et entrati che erano dentro gli serravano la porta et fin che non havevano finito la quarentina non gl'apivano dandogli il mangiare per un finestrino e sportello havendoci dentro nella cammera il necessario

P. Stalla dove si fermavano a far la quarentina li animali quali havevano condutte robbe sospette o infetto, è quivi si trattenevano

Q. Prima guardia de soldati corsi quali facevano guardia all'ingresso dell lazzaretto et non passavano il rastello vicino all'canapo a' traverso

Carolus Rainaldus Archit.t fecit 1633

Folio 20 represents the plan of the Church of San Pancrazio outside the walls of Rome. During the period of the epidemic, civic authorities used the church and its monastic buildings to quarantine sick Romans. The enclosed monastic complex was protected by several gates and outposts for soldiers. Ditches were dug behind the church in anticipation of depositing the bodies of the dead.

The drawing also includes an elaborately designed legend by Rainaldi in the left corner. The legend incorporates the escutcheons of Pope Urban VIII, the Popolo Romano, and Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Like other early designs by Rainaldi, the legend demonstrates a high level of architectural license. The text appears on a tapestry or scroll, hanging in front of the architectural tablet. Volutes, swags, garlands, and masks adorn the structure.

Catalog 29 (Figure 2.33)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.21

Size: 42.2 x 27.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown and pink wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right)

Inscription: Aria di Cimiterio/ Aria della Chiesa/ Giardino/ Aria del Chiostro/ Aria dove si sepevivano li morti/ Corritore/ Spetiarria/ Campanile/ Secondo Piano/ Aria dell'Horto/ A. Passatore di dove venivano quelli che entravano a far la quarantina/ BK Camere dove vi facevano la quarantena, con la porta quali entrati che erano in quarantena la serravano e fin che non havevano ferito la 40 non l'apriano, havendo un sportello di dove gli davano [andavano] a mangiare/ C. Cappella dove di dicea messa per li quarant./ D. Cammera del medico/ E. Altre cammere nel modo sud./ G. Cucina per servitio delle infermi quali erano in quarantena et anco per li ufficiali e ministri di sop.a/ H. Tavolato per dove si gettavano li morti che morivano in quarantena, e tutte le immondite di essi/ I Scala che scende a basso all'altre cammere di quarantenarij

Folio 21 represents in plan the second floor of the complex at San Pancrazio. As with the plan of San Saba, the fabric of the church is rendered with pink wash, and all other buildings with brown wash. A cemetery is depicted to the left of the church. To the right of the church, rooms for quarantined Romans flank a courtyard. A ramp (H) connects this floor of the complex to the ditches in back of the church where the bodies of the dead could be thrown.

Catalog 30 (Figure 2.34)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.22

Size: 41.8 x 27.5 cm

Technique: Brown ink, brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right wall)

Inscription: Strada Maestra che v`a a Porta Cavallegieri/ Viale con Arbori Piantati/

Lazzaretto fuori di Porta Cavallegieri per ricever l'Infermi che venivano di fuori finche

fossero visitati dal Medico/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ entrone/ Tinello/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/

Cam.a/ Vigna/ Strada

The drawing represents a *lazzaretto* near the Porta Cavalleggeri. The one-story structure forms a U-shape and includes six rooms and a dining area. An entrance hall leads to rooms at left and right and to a dining area near the back of the structure. The *lazzaretto* is enclosed by a wall. An avenue of trees leads to the structure, and there is a vineyard planted behind it.

Catalog 31 (Figure 2.35)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.23

Size: 42.0 x 27.6 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (left side of wall, bottom left corner)

Inscription: Porta de Cavallegieri/ Cannello/ Hostaria/ Strada delle Fornaci/ A Per il

Comissario/ B Per li Soldati/ Strada che v`a a S.to Honofrio/ Lontano 50 canne da questa

Porta, su la mano diritta vi `e l'Ospidale dove si ricevevano l'Infermi fin'che fossero

visitati dal Medico

Folio 23 represents a view of the Porta Cavalleggeri near the Vatican. Despite the reduced scale of the drawing, Rainaldi depicts small details like the reticulated rustication and the papal escutcheon. The preparations for the plague include the addition of a gate in front of the Porta Cavalleggeri and dwellings for the soldiers and a commissioner inside the entrance. The drawing also notes the presence of an *hostaria* in the lower left corner.

Catalog 32 (Figure 2.36)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.24

Size: 42.4 x 27.8 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right, below Porta Angelica)

Inscription: fossa della fortificatione/ Porta Angelica/ Per li soldati/ Cannello/ Per li soldati/ Cannello/ fossa della fortificatione/ A. Per il Comissario/ B. Per la Gabbelle

Folio 24 depicts the Porta Angelica. The structure adopts a triumphal arch motif with a large central opening and two blind arches in the lateral bays. A trench was dug at the base of the city's wall, and a ramp leads over it to the portal. Two gates stand in front of the Porta Angelica. Behind the second gate are areas for soldier, while behind the portal itself are structures for the commissioner and tax collector. Rainaldi has rendered the architecture in a careful manner, but the sculpted angels that adorn the gate are less accomplished.

Catalog 33 (Figure 2.37)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.25

Size: 41.1 x 27.4 cm

Technique: Brown ink, light brown wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower left in wall)

Inscription: Horto/ Lazzaretto fori di Porta Angelica per ricever l'Infermi che venivano di fuori fin che fossero visitati dal Medico/ Horto dell'Ospedale/ Cortiletto/ Indito[?]/ Sagrestia o Horatorio/ Coro/ Chiesa di S. Lazzaro/ Strada che v`a a Porta Angelica/ entrone/ Loggia/ Cortile/ Cucina/ Dispensa/ Spetiara/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Corritore/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Cam.a/ Hospitale di S. Lazzaro

Folio 25 represents the plan of the Church of San Lazzaro and its hospital. The hospital at the eleventh-century church cared for pilgrims making their way to Rome from the north. The church itself adopts a simple plan with two chapels at either side of the nave and a rectangular choir behind the altar. The sacristy appears to the left of the church, while the hospital appears to the right. Seven rooms appear in the plan in addition to a pharmacy (*spetaria*), pantry, and kitchen. A staircase leads to an upper floor. A courtyard and loggia appear at the back of the hospital. Gardens surround the complex.

Catalog 34 (Figure 2.38)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.26

Size: 41.9 x 26.9 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (right side of wall)

Inscription: Strada de Ripetta/ Casa de Particolari/ Case de S. Iacomo/ Antrone dove vi era la scala fatta per andare di sopra/ Case de S. Iacomo/ Case de particolari/ Giard.o/ Giardino/ Giardino/ Giardino/ Habbitatione dell'Offitiali, et Ministri dell'Hospidale, et Chiesa di S. Iacomo dell'Incurabbili [sic]/ Luogo dove le Donne povere mangiavano/ Camino dove si cucinava/ Horto/ Luogo di S. Giacomo dell'Incurabbili [sic] dove stavano le Povere Donne/ Horto dell Hospidale/ Cimiterio dell'Hospidale/ Cortile tra la Chiesa e la Casa dell'Hospidali/ Porta per dove entravano ad'alloggiare le Donne Povera e Mendicante di Roma

See Catalog 35 below for a description of the drawing.

Catalog 35 (Figure 2.39)

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 4411, f.27

Size: 41.9 x 26.7 cm

Technique: Brown ink, grey wash, and graphite

Signed: CR (lower right)

Inscription: Aria del Cortile di S. Iacomo/ Tramezzo di Tavole/ Secondo Piano/ Habbitatione del Hospidale/ Dormitorio per le Donne/ Aria del Horto/ Aria del Giard.o/ Appartam.o al secondo piano/ Loco comune/ Aria del Giardino/ Aria del Giardino/ Casa de particolari/ Casa di S. Iacomo/ Casa di S. Iacomo/ Casa di particolari/ Aria della Strada di Ripetta

Folios 26 and 27 are plans of the ground floor and second floor of the Hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili. The hospital held a dormitory for poor Roman women and mendicants. It is possible that these final two drawings were not planned as part of the original series. The scale of the building on both sheets is much larger than all the other plans in the volume. It should also be noted that both drawings have been trimmed at the bottom to accommodate their larger format within the volume. The handwriting of both drawings is Rainaldi's, although it appears looser than the script of the other sheets.

Catalog 36 (Figure 3.3)

Archivio di Stato di Roma

30 Notai Capitolini, ufficio 23, vol.263, cc.188v.-189r

Size: 39.5 x 26.5

Technique: Brown ink, brown wash, and traces of graphite on medium weight paper

Signed: Margherita Maffei Rainaldi mano p.pa, D. Carlo Rainaldi mano p.pa

Literature: Varagnoli, "La casa"

The drawing, which is dated 1661, represents a project to renovate a house on the via del Babuino for Rainaldi's personal use. Claudio Varagnoli first discovered the drawing along with the contract of a rental agreement between Rainaldi and Maffei and the archconfraternity of the Annunciation. The couple agreed to renovate the house in exchange for property rights for the duration of their lives. The circumstances of the rental are discussed more fully in Chapter Three.

The technique of the drawing conforms to Rainaldi's other known works. Thick brown wash fills the spaces of doors and windows. Thin shadows add a sense of volume

without distracting from the essential structure of the design. Some details, like the potted plants, are executed rapidly. Although the drawing lacks the precision of some of his finest presentation drawings, the looser execution is to be expected given the personal nature of the project.

The house itself appears as a two-part structure. The façade consists of five central bays, flanked by lateral bays topped with towers. The central bays act as a screen along the via del Babuino, while doors open to the street from the outer two bays. At the center of the façade is a prominent rusticated portal with a small balcony above it. Eight potted plants are placed along the top of the façade. This screen façade is neither austere nor ostentatious in its use of architectural ornament. Simple Tuscan pilasters mark each bay, and the windows and doors have noticeable, though not exuberant moldings. This façade stands in front of a garden, visible through the main portal. A fountain is positioned in front of a large niche in the distance of the garden, while the main structure of the house rises in the background. Five windows of the upper story are visible behind the potted plants.

The loose execution, use of shadow, and inclusion of details like the plants and fountain give the drawing a pictorial quality that is found in other drawings by Rainaldi. In addition to illustrating the proposed changes to the façade, Rainaldi's drawing suggests the ambience of his new home, complete with gardens and plants.

Catalog 37 (Figure 4.14)

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome

Rom B.1238/8 unnumbered

Size: 26.8 x 39.4 cm (entire sheet); approximately 16.0 x 16.0 cm for the drawing itself

Technique: Brown ink, brown wash, and graphite on light weight paper

Signed: The drawing is not signed. However, it is included with a contract for the chapel.

Literature: Kerber, 238-40; Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:623

The drawing depicts a chapel dedicated to Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga in Sant' Ignazio. Commissioned in 1656 by the Jesuits and the Marchese Scipione Lancellotti, the chapel was planned as the middle chapel on the right side of the nave. Rainaldi, who was initially responsible for the project, was terminated by the Jesuits, and the location of the chapel was transferred to the right transept of the church.

The drawing of the chapel is inserted among the pages of a contract and shares the same measurements and watermark as that document. The materials are brown wash and graphite. A straightedge and compass were employed. The execution is somewhat hasty. The wash is applied in a loose, sometimes dappled manner, and some details, including the balusters, are rendered without great care. The drawing is unsigned, but its inclusion with the contract and its technique indicate that it was prepared by Rainaldi's workshop, if not the master himself.

The chapel is square in shape with three entrances: one from the nave and two from the adjacent side chapels. Two freestanding columns are positioned at each entrance. At the rear of the chapel is a large altar structure, surrounded by a rectangular balustrade with concave corners. The altar stands on a rectangular platform that repeats the shape of the balustrade. The altar mensa is placed atop three rectangular steps. The draftsman has also drawn in graphite a rectangular pedestal for a painting or relief

sculpture placed behind the mensa. Two concentric circles, formed by a compass, indicate the position of a dome and lantern above the space.

The rear wall of the chapel is richly articulated with full pilasters, quarter pilasters, engaged columns, and convex moldings, which frame the space for the altar image. There is no indication of the choice of medium for this image. Other works of art may have been planned for the project. Rectangles outlined in graphite are placed at the oblique piers in each corner of the chapel. These may have been intended as pedestals for sculptures.

Checklist of Chapel, Altar, and Tomb Designs by Carlo Rainaldi

The following works are located in Rome unless otherwise indicated.

Parenthetical notes indicate works that were never executed or that have been destroyed or transferred to other locations. Notes are provided in cases where Rainaldi's authorship of a monument is not secure.

Design for an altar, Santa Maria della Consolazione, Todi, 1634 (unexecuted)

Ciborium, Santa Maria della Scala, 1647

Chapel of Sant'Antonio da Padova (Nuñez-Sanchez Chapel), San Lorenzo in Lucina,
1652-1655

High altar, San Girolamo della Carità (Renzi Chapel), 1652-1657

Altar of Sant'Antonio da Padova, Santi Apostoli, 1654-1656 (moved to San Giovenale,
Narni)

Design for the Chapel of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga (Lancellotti Chapel), Sant'Ignazio,
1656-1657 (unexecuted)

Altar of Sant'Agnese, Sant'Agnese in Agone, 1657-1664¹

High altar and decoration of Santa Maria del Suffragio, 1662-1669

Tabernacle of San Silvestro in Capite, 1666-1667

Ciborium of Santi Apostoli, 1666-1669 (moved to the Abbey Church of Casamari)

High altar, San Gregorio Magno, Monte Porzio Catone, executed between 1666-1672

¹ The altar is one of the least securely attributed works of Rainaldi's oeuvre. Rainaldi was responsible for the design and decoration of Sant'Agnese at various points during its turbulent building history; and it is often assumed that he provided a general design for the chapels of the church. Titi, in fact, specifically attributed the altar of Sant'Agnese to Rainaldi; however, the surviving documents do not permit one to confirm Rainaldi's precise share in this project. Ercole Ferrata received the commission to sculpt the figure of the saint, while the perspective painter Costanzo Pietro Peris supplied the design for the illusionistic perspective behind the saint. See Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:482-8 & 501-2.

Chapel of San Carlo Borromeo (Spada Chapel), Chiesa Nuova, 1667 (Rainaldi succeeded Camillo Arcucci)

High altar, Santa Maria in Campitelli, 1667²

Chapel of San Giorgio Maggiore (Mancini Chapel), Santa Maria in Aracoeli, 1670-1672
(altered in the nineteenth century)

High altar, San Lorenzo in Lucina, 1670-1675

Monument to Pope Clement IX, Santa Maria Maggiore, 1671

Design for the altar of Saint Francis Xavier, Church of Il Gesù, before 1672 (unexecuted)

Tombs of Adriano and Francesco Adriano Ceva, Chapel of San Venanzio, Lateran Baptistery, 1673-1699

Altar of San Biagio, San Carlo ai Catinari, ca.1673

Monument to Cardinal Carlo Bonelli, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, ca.1673-1676

Chapel of the high altar in Sant'Anna dei Funari, after 1675 (destroyed in 1887-1888)

Chapel of Santa Maria Maddalena de'Pazzi (Aquilanti Chapel), Santa Maria di Montesanto, 1676-1680

High altar, Church of Gesù e Maria, 1678

Monuments to the Bolognetti family, Church of Gesù e Maria, 1680-1687

Organ gallery and decoration of San Silvestro in Capite, Rome, 1680-1688 (1686-1687 for the organ gallery)

² The project to design and build the high altar of Santa Maria in Campitelli was, by all accounts, a collaborative effort. Rainaldi's early designs for the church indicate that he conceived an altar that would incorporate the miraculous image of the Virgin. In some designs, the image appears as part of a sculptural group, and in others the high altar is depicted with a burst of lines suggestive of a glory. Given that the finished altar includes elements like the glory and angels holding the icon, it is possible that Rainaldi devised the general scheme for the altar. However, several artists contributed to the work and gave concrete form to Rainaldi's vague conception. As Gianfranco Spagnesi has demonstrated, Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi was responsible for overseeing the work, and the sculptors Melchiorre Cafà, Ercole Ferrata, and Giovanni Paolo Schor all played a role in executing the altar. Spagnesi, 119-20.

High altar, Santi Angeli Custodi, 1681 (destroyed in 1928-1929)

Design for the Chapel of Santa Cecilia, San Carlo ai Catinari, 1685 (built after

Rainaldi's death according a design by Antonio Gherardi)

High altar and decoration of Santissimo Sudario dei Piemontesi, Rome, 1685-1687

Chapel of Sant'Anna, Santa Maria in Campitelli, Rome, completed 1692

Appendix of Documents

The documents are given in the order in which they are discussed in the text. When an abbreviation is obvious it has been spelled out. A question mark indicates if a word is illegible or its meaning is unclear. In a few cases, I have made minor corrections to the spelling of words.

Document A, Parts 1-4: Documents that establish the Rainaldi genealogy

See the family tree listing the descendants of Adriano Rainaldi (Figure 2.1), which is based upon the documents presented below in addition to the testaments of Margherita Maffei (Document C) and Carlo Rainaldi (Document H), and the marriage agreement of Girolama Campana (Document I).

Document A, Part 1: Excerpts from the testament of Fedele Vanicella, 1629

Archivio di Stato, Rome, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 13, Giovanni Battista Octavianus, Testamenti, 27 November 1629, f.501ff.

This document has not been previously published.

Fedele Vanicella was the son of Pietro Vanicella of Norcia (the hometown of Adriano Rainaldi). He married Martia Rainaldi, daughter of Adriano and sister of Girolamo.

Fedele died in 1630.

f.502r

. . . Item lascia al Padre Fratere Giovanni Battista Monaco della Congregatione de Celestini suo Cognato scudi venticinque.¹

¹ Padre Giovanni Battista, not to be confused with the architect Giovanni Battista, is listed as one of Martia Rainaldi Vanicella's siblings in her 1629 testament (see below). He does not appear in Girolamo

f.502v

. . . Item lascia scudi quattrocento dieci del Censo che li deve Signore Giromino, et Signore Giovanni Battista Rainaldi suoi cognati impost.a di una lor vigna detta la vigna del Scorpione posta fuor di porta San Giovanni Laterano appresso suoi notissimi confine, cioè la meta del detto Censo a doi figli del detto Signore Gironimo chiamati uno Carlo, e l'altro Anna Maria e l'altra metà del detto censo la lascia a due figlie femmine del detto Giovanni Battista.²

Document A, Part 2: Excerpts from the testament of Martia Rainaldi, 1629

Archivio di Stato, Rome, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 13, Giovanni Battista Octavianus, Testamenti, 27 November 1629, f.503ff.

This document has not been previously published.

Martia Rainaldi Vanicella was the daughter of Adriano Rainaldi and the wife of Fedele Vanicella. She lived on the vicolo del Piombo and was buried with her husband at the nearby church of Santissimi Apostoli.

f.503r

. . . Item Iure legati institutionis et alias meliori modo et cetera reliquit R. P. Iovanni Baptiste ordinis Celestinorum, D Hieronimo, D Iovannii Baptiste, et D Elene de Rainaldis cuius germanis fratribus et sorori . . . [?] scuta viginti quinque pro quo libet, et

Rainaldi's 1638 testament, suggesting that he died before that year. I have been unable to locate Padre Giovanni Battista's testament. He probably resided at Sant'Eusebio on the Esquiline Hill. This was the Roman monastery of the Celestines, who were a branch of the Benedictines. See Blunt, *Guide*, 37.

² This excerpt establishes that Giovanni Battista Rainaldi had two daughters, possibly Vittoria Rainaldi Campana and Costanza Verovia, both cousins of Carlo Rainaldi. Domenico Rainaldi, the son of Giovanni Battista, was born in 1619, ten years before Fedele Vanicella's testament was drafted. It seems unusual that his sisters were included in the will, while he was excluded. It is also unusual that only two of Girolamo's children, Carlo and Anna Maria, were included in the will, perhaps suggesting that Anna Vittoria was born after 1629.

alia scuta vigintiquinque reliquit filijs et heredibus quondam Tholomei alterius eius germani fratris.

Document A, Part 3: Excerpt from the testament of Girolamo Rainaldi, 1638

Archivio di Stato, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 13, Julius Caesar Tosono, Testamenti, vol. 906, 14 October 1638, f.487ff.

Antonino Bertolotti discovered the testament. See *Artisti bolognesi, ferraresi ed alcuni altri del già stato pontificio in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII* (Bologna, 1962), 138, where he published only the passage concerning Francesco Peperelli. The terms of the 1638 testament are similiar to the later 1646 testament; however, the name of Carlo Rainaldi's mother, Girolama Giolia, is only given in the earlier version. I have found no trace of her testament.

f.503r

. . . heredem suum universalem fecit, instituit, et ore proprio nominavit cum oneribus p.tis D Carolum Raijnaldum eius filius legitimum, et naturalem habitum et procreatum ex quondam Hijeronijma Giolia dum vixit eius Uxorem.

Document A, Part 4: Testament of Girolamo Rainaldi, 1646

Archivio Storico Capitolino, Sez. 34 vol. 28 Jacobus Bernasconus 1645-1653, 22 April 1646

This document has been previously published in Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2:726-7. I have made minor corrections to Eimer's transcription.

Il Signor Girolamo figlio del quondam Adriano Rainaldi Romano architetto di Nostro Signore Papa Innocenzo Diecimo da me noto et benissimo conosciuto sono per l'Iddio gratia di corpo mente senza loquela vedere intelletto, et di tutti gli altri sentimenti sapendo non vi esser cosa più certa della morte, ne cosa piu incerta del hora, e punto di essa però non volendo morir senza testamento acciò la sua robba et heredità dopo la sua morte non sia per nascere alcuna differenza o lite ha deliberato di fare questo suo ultimo nuncupativo testamento che di raggion civile si dice senza scritti, conforme di sua spontanea volonta et in ogni miglior modo et ha fatto nel modo, et forma che segue cioè:

Primo communicando dal anima come cosa piu nobile del corpo quella all'omnipotente Signore Iddio et alla gloriosissima sempre Vergine Madre Maria, et a tutta la corte celestiale humilmente et devotamente raccomanda, il corpo poi quando sara separato dall'anima vuole che sia seppellito nella Chiesa di Santa Martina in San Luca di Roma, e nella sua sepoltura vuole, che il suo herede infrascritto in faccia porre una lapide di marmo con il nome, cognome, patria, et arme di esso Signore testatore alla qual chiesa per le ragioni di detta sepoltura, et elemosina lascia scudi venticinque moneta per una sol volta per che cosi etc.

Margin: Procura junij 1646 Petrus Cato.

Item lascia, et ordina, che nel giorno della morte di esso Signor testatore o in quello che immediatamente seguirà si celebrino cento messe da morto, et alli altari privilegiati di Roma et altre trenta a San Gregorio per salute della sua anima perche cosi etc.

Item per raggion di legato, et in ogni altro miglior modo etc. lascia alla Signora Constanza Verovia sua nepote una veste, et zimarra di cotone nero overo la sua valuta in

denari come piu a lei piacera da consegnarseli per una sol volta seguita la morte di esso testatore perche cosi etc.

Insert: Item per raggion di legato, et in ogni altro miglior modo etc. lascia alla Signora Margarita Maffei sua nuora una fila delle sue collane che sostengono l'orologio di esso testatore, et anco un diamante quadro in un anello legato all'antica.

Item per raggione di legato, et in ogni miglior modo, lascia a Margarita Fontana di esso testatore serva di molti anni una vesta e zimarra di cotone negro, ovvero la valuta in denari a suo arbitrio et altri scudi sedici in moneta da consegnarseli subito seguita la morte di esso testatore perche cosi etc.

Item esso testatore dichiara che tutte le mazzaritie, robbe notate, et sottoscritte die sua mano in una lista al presente esistente appresso detta Margarita sono sue proprie, et della medema compre et aquistate de' proprie denari retratti dal prezzo di robbe vendute in Parma sua patria, et de mobili di sua madre, et pero vole, et ordina, che si gli debbano subito consegnare e disporre a sua arbitrio come proprie in modo che l'infrascritto suo herede non vi possa haver altrove alcuna perche cosi etc.

Item che esso testatore si dichiara haver gia dato et consegnato a Sor Anna Vittoria sua figlia, et a Sor Anna Maria sua figliola, monache in Sant'Appollonia di Roma alcuni lochi de monti accio durante le loro vite si godino li frutti di essi per le loro entrate gia assegnateli con conditione pero che dopo le loro morti si lochi di monti e frutti debbia ritornare, et spettare all'infrascritto suo herede come appare nelle patenti di essi lochi e questa consegna d. Signore testatore dice haverla fatta in vita per maggiore sua sodisfattione et per maggior lor utile, e commodo.

Item dichiara anco haver già consegnato e dato all'Accademia de' Pittori, Scoltori, et Architetti, et alla Congregatione di San Giosepe di Terrasanto di Roma le patenti di alcuni lochi de monti liberi accio di essi faccino de suffragio e del bene per l'anima di esso testatore.

Et perche la mente et intentione di esso Signor testatore e che di legati siano intieramento, et puntualmente sodisfatti e tutta quello che si contiene nel presente suo testamento ad empito almeno in termine di due mesi dopo al morte di esso testatore pero mancando l'istromento, suo herede in detto o in parte di sodisfar detti legati, et adempire le cose sudette in tal caso che da faculta, et auctorita alle zitelle sparse di Roma alla Colonna Traiana di poter astregnere, et convenir do suo herede avanti qualsivoglia signor giudice per l'intiera sodisfatione et adempimento sodo, et in ricompenza dicio in questo rato e non altrimenti lascia a dette zitelle due lochi del Monte San Bonaventura della sua heredità accio se gli conseguino liberi perche cosi etc.

In tutti poi et singoli beni di esso testatore tanto mobili come stabili semoventi ragg.ti, et alti qualsivoglia presenti, et futuri in qualsivoglio loco posti, et esistenti, et a esso in qualunque modo spectanti, et appartenenti fa constituisse vol che sia, et con la propria bocca nomina suo herede universale il Signore Carlo Rainaldi suo figliolo legitimo, et naturale al quale per raggion di institutione et in ogni altro miglior modo etc. lascia tutti detti suoi beni, et heredita.

Et questo esso testatore vol che sia il suo nuncupativo testamento sua ultima volontà, e dispositione, quale vol che vaglia per raggion di testamento nuncupativo senza scritti, et se per tal raggione non volesse vaglia per raggion (di codicilli et se per tal raggione non volesse vaglia per raggione) di donatione per causa di morte, et qualsivoglia

sua ultima volonta e dispositione lasciando imitando, et annullando qualsivoglia suo ultima volonta e testo da esso sin hora in qualsivoglia modo fatto et per gli atti di qualsivoglia notaro rogato con qualsivoglia legati pij e puole quanto si voglia pregnant, et derogatione, et derogatorie della derogate per che vuole, et intende che il presente suo testamento prevaglia ad ogni altro non solo in questo sua in ogni altro miglior modo et super quibus etc.

Actum Romae in offo mei etc. Regionis Trivij.

- Presentibus: 1. Franco Luccio q Petri de Sta Anatolia
 2. Marco Anto Sergio q Antonij de Malleano Marticane Dioc.
 3. Petro Corazza q Theodori de Svelcula eid. d.
 4. Laurento Foreglia q Bapte Lucan.
 5. Octavio q Alterius Octavij Pierucetti Lucen.
 6. Blasio Ronca q Bernardini de Aretio.
 e 7. Felice q Franci de Anto de Reclusiana Sorane Dioc. ttj.

Document B: Dowry of Margherita Maffei, 1642

Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notari del Tribunale del Auditor Camerae, Dominicus Fantia,

B. 3183, 28 May 1642, Dotalis, ff.493-494

This document has not been previously published.

[Margin: Copia]

Il Duca di Bracciano

Principe di Piombino

... farete alli nostri Libri di Computisteria dar credito al Margherita di Scipione Maffei di scudi mille sei cento moneta, quali li habbiamo assegnati, et assegniamo per sua dote per il servitio, che ha prestato alla Principessa nostra e detta assegnatione facciamo con conditione di non esser tenuto a pagar la sorte principale durante la vita nostra, ma solo li frutti à ragione di cinque per cento, e le bene è uso della Casa, che le simili doti ritornino alla Casa, quando avviene che le dotate morino senza figli, non dimeno dechiariamo, esser nostra volontà che detta Margherita ancorche non havesse figli possa d'ella sorte presente ancora disporre li liberamente, e à favor di chi vorrà, alle quali cose oblige me stesso, e miei heredi e bene nella più ampla forma della Reverenda Camera Apostolica dato in Roma nel Palazzo di Monte Giordano questo di 28 Maggio 1642.

Paolo Giordano Orsino manu propria affermo questo qui sopra, e mi oblige à cio in forma della Reverenda Camera

Io Bartholomeo Piccaluga fui presente, e testimonio

Io Angelo Cecchini, fui presente, e testimonio

Io Valeriano Polla fui presente, e testimonio

f.494

Nota delle gioie

Un gioiello fatto a ligatura di diamanti fra grossi e piccoli n.o 35 valutato scudi cento cinquanta___sc.150

Un ventaglio guarnito di diamantini da tutte due le parti n.o 150 valuta scudi cento___sc.100

Tre Anelli con diamanti valutati scudi cento trenta___sc.130

Un paio di Pendenti di diamanti con un Anello di rubbini valuta di scudi cento___sc.100

Un orologio di oro con collana attaccata valuta sessanta cinque___sc.65

Un finimento di Coralli cioe per un abito integro valuta scudi cento___sc.100

Un orologio e collana e reliquiario di cristallo di monte valuta scudi cinquanta___sc.50

In tanti Argenti cioe sette coppe forchette valutati scudi cento___sc.100

Bottoni n.o 250 di Argento per un abito valuta scudi venti cinque___sc.25

[Total value]_____sc.820

Nota de gl'abbiti

Un abito di Arnesino [Ormesino ?] negro ricamato di seta cruda con quantita di Alamari valutata scudi cento cinquanta___sc.150

Un abito di Arnesino [Ormesino ?] verde guarnita con merletto di oro valutato scudi cento___sc.100

Un abito di taffettan di seta nera merlettato valuta scudi quaranta___sc.40

Un abito di Velluto a opera bianco e leonato valuta scudi sessanta___sc.60

Un abito di Vellutello negro valuta scudi quaranta___sc.40

Un abito di Taffettan turchino merlettato di argento scudi venti cinque___sc.25

Una sottana di Tabbino [?] nero valuta scudi venti___sc.20

Canne di tela d'oro scudi trenta cinque___sc.35

Un abito d'Arnesino [Ormesino ?] leonato scudi quaranta___sc.40

Biancaria di più sorte cioe Camisce sciugatore tovaglie salviette lenzuole valutata scudi cento___sc.100

[Total value]_____sc.610

Document C: Testament of Margherita Maffei, 1656

Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notari del Tribunale del Auditor Camerae, Franciscus

Serantonius, B. 6543, 27 August 1667, f.231ff.

This document has not been previously published.

IN NOMINE DOMINI IESU CHRISTI AMEN

Io Infrascritta essendo per la Dio gratia di mente sana, corpo loquela, senso vedere, et intelletto et di tutti gli altri sentimenti, sapendo benissimo, non vi esser cosa più certa della morte, ne cosa più incerta dell' hora, e punto di essa. Perciò non volendo morire senza Testamento, acciò sopra la mia robba et heredità doppo la morte mia non sia per nascere alcuna differenza ò lite, Ho deliberato di fare quest' ultimo mio nuncupativo Testamento, che di raggion civile si dice senza scritti conforme di mia spontanea volontà et in ogni miglior modo ho fatto et faccio nel modo e forma che segue.

Prima cominciando dall' Anima come cosa più nobile del Corpo, quella all' Omnipotente Signor Dio alla Gloriosissima sempre Vergine Madre Maria et al mio Padre San Giosepe et à tutta la Corte Celestiale humilmente raccomando. Il corpo poi quando sarà separato dall' Anima voglio che sia sepellito nella Chiesa della Madonna Santissima di Monte Santo di Roma quella vicino la Piazza della Madonna del Popolo nella nostra sepoltura stabilita.

Item lascio che nel giorno della mia morte mi si dicano mille messe per l' anima mia, cioè trenta immediatamente che starò spirando, alla Chiesa di S. Lorenzo fuori delle mura et trenta à S. Gregorio et il rimanente per gl' Altari Privilegiati di Roma alla Cappella della Madonna Santa dell' Apollinare, Santa Maria Imperatrice, Santa Maria Liberatrice et Santa Maria de Monte Santo.

Item per raggion di legato Institutione, et in ogn'altro miglior modo ecc. lascio al Signor Scipion Maffei mio Padre in evento sopravviva à mè annui scudi Trenta di moneta da pagareli dall' Infrascritto mio Herede durante la vita naturale di esso mio Padre solamente et in evento che muoia l'Infrascritto mio Herede presente di detto Signor Scipione mio Padre, voglio che detto annuo lascito sia accresciuto et pagato dall'Infrascritta mia Herede sossituuta altri annui scudi Dieci moneta primo che esso viverà naturalmente, con dichiarazione espressa che le lascio detto legato delli scudi trenta annui per tutti quello ch'io le devo di raggione et li altri Dieci moneta in evento di morte dell'Infrascritto mio Herede, per mia mera liberalità et recognitione dell'affetto che le porto e devo come figliola, con conditione però, che subito seguita la mia morta debbia far accettatione di detto legato di annui scudi Trenta et rispettivamente dell'altri scudi Dieci da pagarseli in caso di detta premorienza del mio p.o Herede et che perciò dichiaro non pretendere ne voler pretendere altro della mia Heredità et non facendo detto dichiarazione et accettatione l'instituisco solo in quello che lo dà la raggione e non più, per che tale è la mia volontà espressa.

Et di più li lascio un cucchiaro et una forchetta d'argento, due tovaglie dodici salvietti, due para di lenzole un cavallo di presso di scudi venticinque per una sol volta et lo scorrucio da darseli dall'Infrascritto mio Herede.

Item per raggion di legato et in ogn'altro miglior modo lascio al Signor Carlo Maffei mio fratello carnale due candelieri d'argento con la mia arme, una sottocoppa d'argento, un anello con pietra di diamanti à sodisfattione però del mio Herede, in modo che sia tenuto accettarlo tale quale è nel modo e forma che le sarà consegnato dal mio

Herede, quale Herede voglio anche sia tenuto restituirle subito le bolle delle Pensioni di Grottapinta.

Et di più dichiaro che morendo il sopradetto Signor Scipione mio Padre prima del Signor Carlo mio fratello lascio che il mio Herede Infrascritto debbia pagare al Signor Carlo mio fratello annui scudi venticinque moneta persino che esso viverà naturalmente et in evento di morte dell Infrascritto mio Herede prima di detto mio fratello, voglio che detto annuo lascito sia accresciuto et pagato dall'Infrascritta mia Herede sostituita altri annui scudi quindici moneta persino che esse viverà naturalmente.

Item per raggion di legato et in qualsivoglia altro modo ecc. lascio à Sor Anna Vittoria Rainaldi monaca in Sant'Appollonia mia carissima cognata scudi sei l'anno da prestarsi dal mio Infrascritto Herede et sei camiscie, quattro zinali et un paro lenzuola.

Item per raggion di legato et in qualsivoglia altro modo ecc. lascio alla Signora Costanza Verovia per essere stata molto amorevole scudi cinquanta moneta per una sol volta alla commodità del mio Herede infrascritto, quattro zinali e quattro camiscie da darsi dal mio Herede sudetto.

Item alla serva e servitore che si vi troveranno in casa alla mia morte gli lascio scudi quindici per uno per una sol volta.

Item per raggion di legato et in ogn'altro miglior modo ecc. lascio che l'Infrascritto mio Herede durante la sua vita mi faccia dire ogn'anno per l'anima mia, e mia Madre scudi nove di messe scompartite in tante per rata la settimana.

Item in tutti e singoli miei beni tanto mobili come stabili semoventi spettanti et à mè in qualunque modo raggioni et attioni qualsivoglia presenti e futuri in qualsivoglia loco posti et essistenti et à mè in qualunque modo spettanti et appartenenti faccio et

instituisco et voglio che sia et con la propria bocca nomino mio Herede Universale il Signor Cavaliere D. Carlo Rainaldi mio diletteissimo consorte al quale per ragione d'Institutione et in ogn'altro miglior modo lascio tutti i miei beni et Heredità, et dopo la morte di esso Cavaliere Don Carlo Rainaldi Instituisco e voglio che sia et nomino mia Herede Universale la detta Madonna Santissima di Monte Santo di Roma quella vicino alla Piazza della Madonna del Popolo con peso di sette messe la settimana in perpetuo, cioè una messa la settimana in perpetuo, cioè una messa il giorno per l'anima mia, et del soprannominato Don Carlo Rainaldi mio consorte et più una messa la settimana per l'anime del Purgatorio et due altre la settimana per l'anima de nostri prossimi defonti, et essecutori Testamento di questa mia ultima volontà faccio il Signor Gioseppe Vipera. Et questo voglio che sia il mio ultimo nuncupativo Testamento è volontà e dispositione, quale voglio che vaglia per raggion di Testamento nuncupativo senza scritti e se per tal raggione non valesse vaglia per raggion di codicillo, et se per tal raggione non valesse vaglia per raggion di donatione per causa di morte et qualsivoglia mia ultima volontà e dispositione, cassando o irritando et annullando qualsivoglia altra ultima volontà che facessi etiam dopo il presente Testamento et in qualsivoglia modo fatto et per gl'Atti di qualsivoglia Notaro rogato con qualsivoglia legati pij et parole quanto si voglia pregnant et derogatorie delle derogatorie perche voglio et intendo che il presente mio Testamento prevaglia ad ogn'altro non solo in questo, ma in ogn'altro miglior modo ecc. Con dichiarazione espressa di non far altra dispositione ò testamento et che in evento che etiam per l'avenire si faccia da me altra dispositione ò testamento non sia in modo acluno valido et essequibile non abbia forza alcuna, et però in detto Testamento non vi fossero

registrati le seguente parole Santa Maria di Monte Santo adiuva me Dato in Roma questo di 27 Giugno 1656.

Io Margherita Maffei testo lascio et disponse per mia ultima volonta come sopra mano propria.

Document D: Inventory of Margherita Maffei, 1667

Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notari del Tribunale del Auditor Camerae, Franciscus Serantonius, B. 6544, 3 October 1667, f.19ff.

This document has not been previously published.

Inventarium Bonorum Hereditariorum bonae memoriae Margarita Maffee dum vixit Uxoris D. Equitis D. Caroli Rainaldi defuncte 23 Augusti proximo passato condito Testamento sub die 25 Maij 1656 et per acta Mei aperto di 28 eius d. mensis Augusti 1667 ad instantiam prefati D. Equitis D. Caroli in dicto Testamento Heredis Instituti, citatis RR PP Sancte Marie di Monte Sancto Heredibus Proprietarijs, ac legatarijs, ut in actis etc. Et vulgariter loquendo pro faciliori intelligentia; Protesta il medemo Cavaliere in nome, come sopra che se nel presente Inventario sarà posto qualche cosa che non vi vadi intende, che non s'habbia per non scritta, reservandosi la facultà d'accrescere, e diminuire conforme le notitie, che potrà havere, et non alias aliter nec alio modo

Nell'Instrumento Dotale stipulato sotto il di 28 Maggio 1642 tra il medemo Signor Cavaliere Don Carlo Rainaldi et buona memoria della Signora Margarita Maffei per gl'atti del Simoncelli Notaro fù dato in conto di Dote un Credito con la felice memoria del Signor Duca Don Paolo Giordano Orsino Duca di Bracciano in sorte di scudi 1600 quale esiste di presente come dalla Poliza inserita nel medemo Instrumento

In oltre, in Dote e per causa di Doti furono assegnati certi Argenti, Gioie, Vesti, e Biancarie in tutto, compresi il sudetto credito di sc. 1600 in tutto___ sc.3030

Un Cambio di scudi 100 con il Signor Parente Orsino, et Signor Don Giovanni Battista Orsino in solidum rogato li 9 Aprile 1660 per gl'atti del Simoncelli Notaro Pretende però il Signor Cavaliere, che la Signora Margarita sudetta si sia servita nell'acquistar detto Cambio del Denaro che maneggiava del medemo suo Marito, et però che debbia reintegrarsi di tal Somma

Una Casa sotto Monte Cavallo lasciata alla detta Signora Margherita della Signora Costanza Verovia, recuperata con lite l'anno 1661, sopra della quale pende anche lite in Rota, e precedentemente con spese grandi si è litigato in diversi Tribunali

Un legato di scudi 500 lasciato alla medema Signora Margherita dalla felice memoria della Signora Principessa di Piombino, riscosso l'anno 1663, quale esso Signor Cavaliere lo pone nell'Inventario per notitia, è non per altro, Poiche essa Signora ne la impiegati la somma di scudi 400 nella fabrica del Casino compro in Vita delli detti Signor Cavaliere Don Carlo et Signora Sua Consorte dalla Santissima Annuntiata con obbligo in solidum di farvi molti miglioramenti come nell'Instrumento 23 luglio 1661 e 2 novembre 1662 per gl'atti del Collavana Notaro et di tal rinvestimento di scudi 400 ci sono le ricevute del muratori e falegname come disse esso Signore Cavaliere

Un altro Cambio di scudi 100 col Signor Angelo Cecchino sotto il di 17 luglio 1665 Simoncello Notaro

La compagnia d'offitio di scudi 100 che canta in favore di essa Signora Margherita rogata 23 luglio 1652 contro il Signor Domenico Ferrante per gl'atti del

Colonna, esso Signor Cavaliere dice esser stata fatta de proprij denari, che amministrava, come sopra

Il medemo dice della Compagnia d'offitio di scudi 50 con la Signora Margarita Maffei Volpe rogata 14 settembre 1654 per gl'atti del medemo Notaro

Debbiti

Havendo ordinato nel suo Testamento che si faccino dire nel giorno della sua morte mille messe per l'anima sua per elemosina, si sono spesi scudi 100 come dalle Ricevute appresso del medemo Signore Cavaliere

Al Signore Scipione Maffei suo Padre oltre lo scorrucio, ha lasciato, che se gli compri un cavallo di scudi 25 con certa biancaria, et argenti, che si farà stimare nel tempo della consegna, e se ne pigliera Ricevuta

Al Signore Carlo Maffei suo fratello ha lasciato un Anello con Diamanti con una sottocoppa, e due Candalieri di Argento compreso nella Dote enuntiata di sopra, che prima di consegnarli si faranno pesare e stimare rispettivamente con pigliarne Ricevuta

A Sor Anna Vittoria Rainaldi ha lasciato alcune biancarie per anco non consegnate, et si stimaranno, et si pigliarà la Ricevuta

Alla serva e servitori ha lasciato scudi 15 per uno per una sol volta non per anco pagati, e se ne pigliarà Ricevuta

Spese nel mortorio, scorruci, additione di Heredità et Inventario, delle quali per anco non se ne sà la somma precisa

In un libro della medema Signora Margherita ha lasciato notato d'haver in deposito scudi 34 di Madonna Maria . . . [the ellipsis appears in the document] il che si nota senz'alcuna approvatione

Il Quarto Dotale dovuto al del Signor Cavaliere Don Carlo Rainaldi, in conformità dell'Instrumento Dotale nominato di sopra della Dote delli scudi 3030

Document E: Contract for the house on via del Babuino, 1661

ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 23, Dominicus Colvavanus, 23 July 1661, vol. 263, f.186-190

This document was first transcribed and published by Varagnoli. It has been included here for convenience.

Nota di tutto quello che il Cavaliere Don Carlo Rainaldi et Margarita Maffei sua Moglie si obligaranno di fare in risarcimento fabrica, et abellimento, et altro in una Casa, che comprano in loro vita della Santissima Annuntiata posta nella Strada Maestra dei Greci, confinate da una parte con una Casa della medesima Santissima Annunitata, e dell'altra la fontana del Babuino, e per di dietro il Vicolo, che va à gli horti detti di Napoli nella conformità che segue.

1.o Il Portone d'avanti in strada per non esser di presente situato nel mezzo del Muro, e dovendosi fabricarvi la facciata delle doi stanze con Pilastri ripartiti egualmente è necessario quello trasportarlo nel mezzo de la facciata, e sopra collocarvi una Ringhiera.

2.o Nella Casa, che di presente vi sono molte eccettioni quella di non haver prospetto, ne communicatione nella strada Maestra è la più rilevante. E però vi si faranno

in detta facciata due stanze una per parte con sotto loggie, e nella parte di mezzo per unire le sudette stanze una Galleria scoperta ornata con vasi e ciò per non togliere l'aria alla Casa sudetta.

3.o Si doverà fare un Corridore coperto, che dalla sudetta Casa passi alle sudette stanze fatte di nuovo, qual Corridore anderà fatto su modelli posti nel Muro della Casa contigua della Santissima Annuntiata.

4.o Si ornerà la facciata di strade con aggetti di Dadi, Pilastrì, e le due fenestre delle dette due stanze, ornarle al possibile, et il Portone di mezzo farvi nel Semicircolo la ferrata; acciò quella parte resti sempre aperta per l'ingresso dell'aria, e per la veduta della Casa. Il resto del portone col suo fusto, e ferramento con terminare le sudette due stanze con guscio ò Cornice. Insomma ornar la facciata tutta con riguardevole aspetto.

Et acciò facendosi di quel Cortile un ben ripartito Giardino per toglier ogni soggettione, che dall'ingresso del Portone di Mezzo potesse succedere; si faranno da i lati della facciata à dirittura sotto le dette doi fenestre, due Porte, quella verso il Babuino finta, et quella dall'altra parte aperta, per la quale haverà il continuo ingresso portando à dirittura sotto il coperto alla loggia terrena della Casa dove si trovano le scale, il tutto con simetria corrispondente.

5.o Perchè la detta Casa per esser molto antica, e dalle crepature che vi sono molto bene si conosce la sua decrepità, si doverà dunque tanto nell'interno quanto nell'esterno risarcirla. Anzi la facciata che riguarda il Cortile, ornar le fenestre tanto del primo piano quanto del superiore con stucchi, e quelle, che sono tonde e piccole fatte all'antica ridurle tutte ad una forma, e farvi sotto la gronda del Tetto, o Cornice, o guscio;

et il resto della facciata incollarla con dargli il suo colore, acciò distinguano gli ornamenti delli Dadi Guscio e finestre, et Archi al pian terreno.

Similmente la parte verso il Vicolo, che va à gli Horti di Napoli ingrandir le finestre incollarle come la facciata, dandoli il colore come sopra, e renderla di qualche vaghezza.

6.o Nella parte interna della Casa, massime il primo Piano ridur tutte le Porte uniformi, et ample alla moderna per esser di presente piccole, et alcune tonde fatte all'antica.

7.o Nel sudetto primo Piano vi è un Cortiletto pensile, nel quale per esservi l'ammattonato antico di mattoni in coltello, et quello guasto ha cagionato notabile danno alla volta di sotto, per la quale trapassando l'acque piovane li ha cagionato il detto effetto. Perilchè vi si farà di nuovo il Mattonato di mattoni rotati e tagliati, quale terrà l'acqua e la detta volta con ristuccarla resterà sempre illesa per l'avvenire.

8.o Nel Piano terreno di presente si vede quello convertito per uso di stalla rimessa e fenile. Onde per maggior commodità e beneficio della Casa ridurlo in officine massime per il tempo dell'Estate dovendosi quelle godere col Giardino.

9.o Quel Cortile davanti la sudetta Casa come si dice ridurlo in vago Giardino con spalliere d'Agrumi, e ripartimento di fiori e fontane, et altri abbellimenti essendo questo particolare di premura non ordinaria.

X.o Nell'Appartamento superiore verso il mezzo giorno alzar quelle due stanze a proportione per goderle nel tempo dell'Inverno, et le altre stanze, che non sono suffittate farvi le soffitte.

XI Tutti li tetti hanno bisogno di risarcimento, onde bisognerà nel risarcirli mutarvi li travi rotti, e l'altro legname rimutarlo dove bisognerà con rifar la gronda ne i luoghi fatta all'antica, e dove anderà fatto il Guscio.

XII Si vede per di fuori nella parte del Vicoletto del Lavatore un Mignano di legno che ruinoso sta quasi per cadere, e credesi, che sia per andare dalle scale alle stanza sotto tetto, o d'altro quello, o trovar altro modo over rifarlo stabile.

XIII Rimurar tutte le crepature, che sono in Casa, rifar solari guasti e mattonati e camini risarcirli.

XIV Dovendosi come si è detto ingrandir Porte, e finestre vi vorranno di nuovo fusti telari impannate et Invetriate e ferramenti, massime le Catene nella fabrica nuova verso strada, et altre spese per hora non considerate; ma nell'operare si troveranno crescere d'avantaggio, come l'esperienza ne mostra gli effetti.

XV Finalmente le continue spese delle tasse, fontane Tetti e quello, che è più considerabile delle selciate, quali sono molte decine di Canne per haverle nella strada Maestra d'avanti e nella strada per di dietro, le quali spese sono di molta considerazione.

Margherita Maffei Rainaldi mano propria

Don Carlo Rainaldi mano propria

Document F: Report of damages to the house on via del Babuino, 1661

Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 23, Dominicus Colavanus, 7 December 1661, vol. 265, f.323-324 and 345.

This document has not been previously published.

In primis si vide in detta parte, dove è seguita detta ruvina tutto il muro d'avanti per quanto era la facciata del Stantione dipinto con parte di quello del cortile pensile rovinato tutto affatto.

Secondo, Rovinate similmente non solo la volta dipinta, ma quella di sotto del stantione terreno, e sfondato buona parte quella della cantina con haverla fatta crepare tutta nel mezzo per la lunghezza di essa, e nel rovinare le dette volte, hanno strappato, e volte quattro catene di ferro grosse i quali erano nella volta del Stantione dipinto, doi nelli peducci, e l'altre doi nelle teste delli doi muri laterali.

Terzo, Si vede ancora rovinato tutto il testo, che copriva detta stantione tutto in strada margutta, e nel cadere tirò à le una parte di muro di una fodera sopra la quale era posato vedendosi disgiunta la detta fodera del muro, che è rimasto in piedi.

Quarto, Si vedono similmente rovinati li doi muri laterali delle doi teste di detta stantione quello verso il cortile pensile con parte della volta di detto dove posava il detto muro rovinato affatto, e quello verso il . . . [?] buona parte rovinato, et in quel pezzo, che è rimasto si vede una larga crepatura, stando quasi per cadere, fu ordinato da detto Illustrissimo Signore Giudice, che si demolisse, come fù eseguito, e nel rimanente di detto muro con quello, che rivolta si veggono doi altre grandi crepature cagionato da detta rovina, le quali trapassando dentro la stanza contigua ha fatto crepare la volta di quella in doi luoghi di consideratione nel fianco, e nel mezzo di essa.

Quinto, Nel spezzarsi le sudette Catene ha tirato à le, e sconcatenato il muro del detto stantione verso la sala, vedendosi staccato il solaro, e crepato il muro dove sono le porte havendo fatto il simile effetto nel piano superiore, si nelli muri, come nel solaro, e

crepato il muro della testa della sala, e per consenso in alcuni luoghi il restante della casa intronati.

Sesto, Si è veduto, che il sudetto muro rovinato, massime verso la strada margutta la sua grossezza non arriva à doi palmi, di materia assai cattiva fatti di massivi e sopra di questo muro vi erano fondate le sudette volte rovinate.

Settimo, Si vede ancora, che la volta del Cortile pensile parte dalla caduta, e rovina del muro laterale del detto stantione impostata nel muro verso strada margutta parte in quello, che essendo caduto la metà della sua grossezza, è rimasto sgrottato, e stà rovinato senza rincontro alcuno, è crepata per il traverso, che in breve tempo puo li far rovina.

Ottavo, Finalmente, si è veduto, che attorno il detto stantione e fabrica rovinata non vi è stata appoggiata, ne fabrica nuovo, ne meno retti nuovi scorgendosi le gronde, e tetti vecchi non essere stati mossi da suoi luoghi in conto alcuno non solum iste sed et omnibus super quibus.

Document G: Contract between Rainaldi and the Archconfraternity of the Annunziata after the collapse of part of the house, 1662

Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, uff. 23, Domenicus Colavanus, 2 November 1662, f.8ff.

Varagnoli published another version of this document, Archivio di Stato di Roma, SS. Annunziata, vol. 235, cc.34r-37. My transcription comes from a slightly different version in the Trenta Notai Capitolini. Passages that are unique to this copy of the document are indicated in italics.

Capitoli, e patti stabiliti, e da osservarsi tra la Venerabile Archiconfraternità della Santissima Annunziata di Roma et il Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi, e sua moglie nella refettione della parte rovinata nella Casa al Babuino datati in loro vita dalla medesima Archiconfraternita, come per Instrumento rogato per gl'atti del Collavana sotto li 23 luglio 1661, al quale ecc. nell Infrascritto modo, cioè:

Li muri de fondamenti che bisogneranno fare, saranno fatti di buona materia ad uso di buona fabrica di grossezza palmi quattro, e di profondità quanto richiederà la qualità del terreno, che nel cavarli si giudicherà, *si e levata per superfluo per esser compreso nel fine a questo segno.*

L'altri muri fuori de fondamenti e sopra terra dal piano delle stanze terrene in sù sino al piano nobile anderanno di grossezza palmi tre pur di pietra con le spallette, et archi delle finestre di Tavolozza.

L'altri muri dal detto piano nobile sino al secondo piano anderanno fatti pur di pietra, e la loro grossezza sarà di palmi due, e mezzo con le spallette, et archi delle finestre, e porte fatte di Tavolozza.

Li muri, che seguiranno dal detto piano sino sotto il tetto all'altezza simile di quelli, che rovinorno saranno grossi palmi due di pietra con le spallette, et arco similmente di tavolozza.

Li sudetti muri anderanno nella parte esterna ricciati con buona ricciatura sottile, e per di dentro saranno incollati con buona colla con le sue mano di bianco sopra.

La volta del Cantenone sotto la detta rovina, essendo sfondata nella testa verso il Cortile pensile per la caduta delle volte di sopra anderà rifatta, e ritaccata con il muro,

della testa, che anderà rifatto di nuovo, e se nel mezzo di essa, ò in qualche parte vi si scorgesse risentimento per la detta caduta fortificarla e rinzepparla diligentemente.

Il Cammerone sopra di esso al piano terreno del Giardino del Cortile, quale potrà servire per la bucata rifarvi le sue mura, che caderono della qualità, e grossezza che si è detto con accomodarvi il Camino, metter le ferrate alle finestre con suoi fusti di legno di sotto l'ammattionato ordinario, e sopra il solaro rustico di Castagna.

L'altra stanza contigua sotto il Cortile pensile, ristuccare la volta, che ha patito per la detta rovina, e quella parte di volta, che è rovinata assieme col muro del Camerone rifarla, et insitarla assieme col detto muro per sua maggior sicurezza e fortificarle.

Similmente si doverà rifare tutta quella parte di muro verso la strada, che intestava la detta volta caduta, e se bisognerà rifondarlo, e fortificarlo di buona materia, di maniera, che possi sostenere detta volta, et il peso.

Il Camerone del piano nobile, che rovinò, anderà rifatto il muro di nuovo della qualità, e grossezza, come si è detto, nel quale vi anderanno quattro finestre, et una porta, che entra nella saletta, le quali haveranno le spallette, et archi fatti di Tavolozza incollata per tutte le quattro faccie, di sopra vi anderà il solaro di Castagno à regolo per convento con due travi buoni nelle Teste de quali vi si poneranno i bandelloni con suoi paletti di ferro, acciò servano per maggiore fortezza della fabrica e l'ammattionato sarà di mattoni ordinari, con li fusti alla porta, e finestre con telari e ferramenti.

La saletta contigua con l'altra stanza in volta per haver patito per la sudetta caduta anderanno risarciti, e la volta di detta stanza nella quale vi sono 3 crepature di consideratione anderanno rinzeppate, e fortificate e gli Archi delle porte, e fenestre che si sono allentati con parte delle spallette si faranno di nuovo con buona materia.

Il Cammerone sopra il sudetto, che similmente rovinò anderanno rifatti li Muri, come quelli di sotto à quell' altezza, che erano prima li muri, che rovinorno, mà della grossezza, e qualità, che si è detto, il qual Cammerone anderà diviso in due stanze tramezzato di mattoni d'una testa, ò vero per non dar peso maggiore di quadrucci incollati per quattro faccie con farvi fusti a porte, e fenestre con suoi ferramenti, e l'ammattionato di mattoni ordinari, e sopra fattoci la soffitta d' albuccio con regoli per convento per acquistar maggior altezza alle stanza.

Sopra della sudetta fabrica vi anderà fatto il tetto di buon legname impianellato, ben murato in calce con una sola pendenza verso la strada.

La Saletta contigua anderà similmente rialzata al pari dell altre stanze fatte, con sopra il tetto di nuovo, ricciata, et incollata con fusti alle porte, et alle due fenestre, che anderanno fatte di nuovo, essendovi di presente una fenestrella piccola, la quale la rende oscura, et il detto muro anderà rifatto, essendo tutto staccato, et in fuori del suo vivo per la sudetta caduta, e la sudetta saletta anderà soffittata d'albuccio a regolo per convento per acquistarli maggior' altezza, et sfogo alla detta saletta.

Similmente la camera contigua la rovina, e la detta saletta rialzarla al pari dell altra con rifarvi il tetto, e risoffittarla coll istesso soffitto, et il muro che intesta verso la saletta, quale per la sudetta cagione minaccia ruina per essersi staccato nella caduta, rifarlo con metter à filo la porta, e finestra a quelle dell' altre stanza con fusti, e ferramenti ricciati, et incollato.

Nel muro verso la ruina vi si scorgono molte canne di camini, li quali debilitano il muro per la sudetta causa risentito, bisognerà rimurarli, e lasciarli solamente quelli, che sono di necessità, e rinzeppare tutte le crepature, che vi saranno, et occorrendovi,

massime nella sudetta saletta qualche catena per maggior sicurezza, si doverà mettere per haver anch egli patito, massime la staccatura delle cantonata verso le stanze.

E perche il Tetto, che piove sopra il mattonato del Cortile pensile porterebbe pregiuditio notabile alla volta che vi è sotto anderà raccolta l'acqua del sudetto tetto con un canale di latta, che con un cannone appoggiato al muro del stanzone la porti fuori in strada parimente dall'altra parte verso il Giardino accio che l'acqua della gronda del tetto non danneggi le fenestre del casino, e che non scavi il cortile vi si metterà un altro canale di latta, che con due cannoni porti l'acqua a due chiusini, dove si accomoderà la chiavica unitamente con quella del ritorno della fontana.

Finalmente perche la scala, che li due branchi sino al piano nobile sono fatti di mattoni, e quelli tutti fracassati, si faranno di Peperino, e gl'altri del secondo branco sino al piano superiore accomodarli, e sopra di detto branco, e repiano farvi il solaro per solito di castagno a regolo per convento.

Item convengono che detto Signor Cavaliere non possa concedere ne dare a nessuno l'acqua, ma che sempre habbi da servire per servitio di detta Casa solamente durante la sudetta concessione. Et acquistando altra acqua, l'acqua acquistata ceda a beneficio, e commodo di detta compagnia ne possa pretendere per quella cosa alcuna dall compagnia.

Item convengono che ritrovandosi nel rifondare detta casa marmi, statue, o altra sorte di robbe pretiose, come metalli ecc. che un terzo di quello si ritroverà spetti al detto Cavaliere e due terzi alla nostra Compagnia.

Item convengono, che il detto Signor Cavaliere e detta Signora Sua Consorte siano obligati mantenere tutti li sudetti lavori fatti, e da farsi in detta fabrica a tutte sue

spese durante detta concessione, senza che la detta Compagnia sia obligata a cosa alcuna.

In oltre dovrà farvi alle dieci finestre della facciata del casino verso il Giardino et le due della fabrica nuova da farsi le sue inventriate.

Similmente al Portone grande di strada il fusto di nuovo di castagno et sopra la Renghiera accomodarvi per un Gabbinetto con . . . [?] telari, e sportelli di tela per star alle Renghiere coperti dall'ingiuria dei tempi, come anche ammattonare di mattoni ordinarij il detto Gabbinetto, et anche il passatore scoperto che dal casino conduce a quello coperto, acciò serva per mantenimento del legname.

Et acciò che dalla Cucina si possi commodamente tirar l'acqua per servizio di quella, si condurrà con un condotto di piombo dalla fontana in una vasca di peperino, et qui vi accomodarla che si possi tirare l'acqua dalla medesima cucina senza incommodo alcuno.

Onde per la sudetta fabrica la detta Venerabile Archiconfraternità della Santissima Annuntiata darà al sudetto Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi scudi seicento moneta *con un ordine diretto al Sacro Monte della Pietà a dispositione del Sudetto Cavaliere Rainaldi da pagarsi a muratori, falegnami, mercanti, et altri operarij et artisti che haveranno data robba ò serviti in detti lavori con ordine sottoscritto dal detto Cavaliere Rainaldi, e Signor Giaccinto del Bufalo, e non altrimenti, acciò apparisca la versione del detto denaro per maggior sicurezza della detta Compagnia per il sudetto effetto, et il rimanente sino all'Intiera perfettione della sudetta fabrica sarà tenuto metterveli de suoi proprij non dovendo ascendere la spesa della detta fabrica meno di scudi mille, et eccedendo la spesa detti scudi mille, il tutto ceda a comodo, e beneficio della detta Compagnia. Ma*

importando meno la sudetta fabrica di scudi mille sia il detto Signor Cavaliere obligato restituire pro rata il sopra più delli detti scudi seicento *atteso, che gli si son dati dalla detta Compagnia, acciò facci detta fabrica alla somma di scudi mille.*

E per ciò compieta, che sarà la detta fabrica doverà essere misurata dall'Architetto della medesima Venerabile Archiconfraternita acciò apparisca tutto quello, che si sarà speso, dovendovi anche soprintendere il medesimo Signor Giaccinto, et assistere l'Architetto della nostra Compagnia, mentre si anderà facendo la fabrica, acciò vegga, che sia fatta in conformità de presenti capitoli. E se la fabrica ascenda alla detta somma di scudi mille, e sia stato fatta con robba buona, et in conformità del convenuto ne sopradetti capitoli si debba stare alla dichiarazione del Signor Giaccinto, e del sudetto nostro Architetto

Io D. Carlo Rainaldi mano propria

Document H: Testament of Carlo Rainaldi, 1687

Archivio Storico Capitolino, Sez. XIX, vol. 66, Jacobus A. Ph. B. Senepa, 1688-1696

The testament was written on February 13, 1687 and opened on February 8, 1691. Eimer, *La fabbrica*, 2: 727-730, published the document, which has been copied here with minor corrections.

In nome di Dio Padre Figlio, e Spirito Santo Io infrascritto sano per la Dio gratia di mente, corpo, loquela, et intelletto, e di tutti gl'altri sentimenti sapendo benissimo non vi esser cosa piu certa della morte, cosa pie incerta dell' hora, e punto di essa. Perciò non volendo morire senza testamento, accio sopra la mia robba, et heredità doppo la mia morte non sia per nascere alcun disturbo o lite ho deliberato di fare questo mio ultimo

nuncupativo testamento, che di ragione si dice senza scritti, conforme di mia spontanea volontà, et in ogni miglior modo ho fatto, e faccio nel modo, come segue.

Primieramente raccomando humilissimamente l'anima mia all'onnipotente Dio benedetto, alla gloriosissima sempre vergine Maria, al mio padre San Giuseppe, San Francesco, San Carlo, et a tutti l'altri santi e corte celestiale pregandoli ad assistermi in quell'estremo passo della separatione, et intercedere appresso S. D. M. acciò la liberi dalle pene del purgatorio. Il corpo poi fatto cadavere voglio, che sia seppellito nella Chiesa delle Santissime Stimate del glorioso P. San Francesco vestito del Santo habito di esso con porre sopra il petto la croce della mia religione de Santi Maurizio, e Lazzaro di Savoia, cioè quella che portavo sopra il ferraiolo messa da parte, per la sudetta funtione, e con l'usato stile in terra sopra una croce di cenere, lasciando alla mia parrocchia qualche gli viene per ragione di sepoltura. Nel giorno della mia morte voglio, che il mio herede facci celebrare per l'anima mia trenta messe di San Lorenzo fuori della mura, altre trenta a San Gregorio, sei alla Capella della Colonna di Giesù e Maria al Corso, cento nella Chiesa delle Stimate di San Francesco, cinquanta nella Chiesa della Madonna Santissima de Miracoli su la Piazza del Popolo, e non potendosi celebrare tutte nel detto giorno si facci nel giorno susseguente.

Lascio al Signore Andrea Stangellini un quadro acciaio che conservi la memoria della mia amicitia pregandolo dopo la mia morte assistere a quello, che occorerà in servizio della mia heredità, et heredi, dandoli ogni facoltà necessaria, et opp.na.

Item per ragione di lascio alla Signora Girolama Campana figliola della quondam Vittoria Rainaldi mia cugina carnale scudi mille moneta da me destinateli per dote, solo per impulso d'affetto, e non per vincolo d'obligatione da consegnarseli nel modo

seguinte cioè due stanze terrene sotto la casa della Dataria a Monte Cavallo vicino la Piazza di Scanderbecchi, che se ne cava scudi dodici annui, scudi trecento in un credito con Maestro Pietro Iacomo Mola per mercede delle misure fattoli per l'Eccellentissima Casa Borghese, scudi trecento in tante gioie, argenti, et una rosa di diamanti fatta a mostacciolo, con un paro di pendenti con diamanti, e perle, un vezzo di perle per scudi ducento, e scudi ducento in contanti, che in tutto fanno scudi mille moneta.

Item perche in compimento della dote da me data alla Signora Olimpia Campana altra figliola di detta Signora Vittoria Rainaldi restasse a dare al Signore Anibale Guerrieri marito della detta Signora Olimpia scudi cinquecento moneta alla morte mia. Per tanto havendo io in conto delle detti scudi cinquecento dati al Signore Anibale sudetta scudi sessanta moneta in prestito gratie per mezzo d'ordine di simil somma al Monte della Pietà. Il mio herede non doverà altro, che scudi quattrocentoquaranta moneta ò in denaro, ò in gioie, ò argenti, come le piacerà perché così.

Item incarico la coscienza, e carità del mio herede a farmi celebrare perpetuamente una messa il mese ad un altare privilegiata nella chiesa di San Giacomo dell'Incurabili di Roma per suffragio dell'anima mia, con che per tale effetto non s'habbino a vinocular luoghi de monti, o altri effetti della mia heredità in modo alcuno lasciando il carico alla sua coscienza e carità.

Item voglio, che il mio herede doppo la mia morte farvi vendere tutte l'altre gioie, argenti, mobili, et altro, che si troverà in casa descritto nell'inventario fatto di mia propria mano e consegnato a Suor Anna Vittoria Rainaldi mia sorella carnale, ad effetto di depositarne il prezzo nel Monte della Pietà per rinvestirli con ordine della medesima Suor

Anna Vittoria in tanti luoghi di monti camerali non vacabili, contanti in faccia, di Girolama Campana mia nipote.

Item In tutti e singoli mie beni tanto stabili, quanto mobili, semoventi, ragioni, et attioni universe presenti, e future, et a me qualsivoglia modo spettanti istituisco mia herede usufruttaria Suor Anna Vittoria Rainaldi monaca in San Appollonia mia dilettissima sorella carnale sua vita naturale solamente durante, senza che possa, pretendere ne dimandare detrattione alcuna di legitima, tribellianica, e con peso d'alimentare detta Girolama mia nipote con il frutto della detta mia heredità, morta poi detta Suor Anna Vittoria, voglio, che cessi immediatamente l'usufrutto, e tutta l'heredità senza alcuna diminutione interiramente, e liberamente vada, tanto in proprietà, quanto in usufrutto alla detta Signora Girolama Campana mia nipote nella quale l'istituisco, e con la mia propria bocca nomino herede proprietaria universale.

Prosecutore poi di questa mia presente dispositione prego che sia l'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signore Cardinale di Lauria, mio particolar padrone, supplicando l'infinita bontà di S. E. havere la protectione di detta mia heredità, et herede, e ricevere in piccolo contrasegno delle immense mie obligationi un quadro dipinto dalla celebre mano di Marcello Venusti in tavola rappresentante la Madonna Santissima. Per questo voglia, che sia il mio ultimo testamento nuncupativo mia ultima volontà, e dispositione, quale voglio, che vaglia per ragione di codicillo e se per tal ragione non valesse, vaglia per ragione di donatione causa mortis, e per qualsivoglia mia ultima volontà, e dispositione, cassando imitando, et annullando qualsivoglia altra volontà, che facessi et dopo il presente testamento et in qualsivoglia modo fatto, e per l'atti di qualsivoglia notaro rogato con qualsivoglia legati pij, e parole quanto si vaglia pregarvi e derogative delle

derogative, poiche intendo, e voglio, che il presente testamento mio prevaglia ad ogn'altro non solo in questo, ma in ogn'altro miglior modo.

Dato in Roma nel mio casino posto al Baboino questo dì 13 febraro 1687.

Io Don Carlo Rainaldi di Santi Maurizio, e Lazzaro di Savoia teso e dispongo come sopra mano propria.

Document I: Dowry of Girolama Campana, “niece” of Carlo Rainaldi, 1692

Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notari del Tribunale del Auditor Camerae, Bernardinus

Ciancarinus, B. 1876, 17 November 1692, f.261ff

This document has not been previously published.

In nome della Santissima Trinità Padre figliolo e spirito santo

Essendosi sotto la Protezione dell'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale de Lauria concluso e stabilito Matrimonio tra il Signor Mauritio Nicolini figlio del quondam Bartolomeo da Capradosso di San Salvator Maggiore nullius Dioc. da una parte, e la Signora Girolama Campana figlia della buona memoria Fabritio honesta Zitella Romana dall'altra, e desiderando ambedue detti Signori ridurre in scritto ciò che si è trattato in voce quindi è che fermano li infrascritti Capitoli matrimoniali.

Primo tanto detto Signor Mauritio Nicolini quanto la detta Signora Girolama Campana promettono, e si obligano di prendersi per marito e moglie rispettivamente e secondo il rito della Romana Chiesa e dispositione del Sacra Concilio Tridentino servate le solite solennità darsi la fede matrimoniale e consumar il santo matrimonio.

2.o la detta Signora Girolama promette e si obliga di dare per dote, et in nome di dote al detto Signor Mauritio suo futuro sposo li scudi mille nel modo e forma che gli

sono stati lasciati dalla buona memoria del Signor Cavaliere Don Carlo Rainaldi suo Zio nel suo testamento quanto anche tutto quello essa Signora Girolama dovrà conseguire nella di lui heredità dopò la morte della Signora Suor Anna Vittoria in conformità del suo testamento rogato per li atti del Senapa al quale ecc.

3.o la medesima Signora Girolama promette parimente al detto Signor Mauritio dar in dote si come de fatto da et assegna tutta la parte delle ragioni ad essa spettanti et appartenenti nella successione e della casa Campana tanto in vigore delle sentenze di Monsignor A.C. Thomato quanto per qualsivoglia altra ragione.

4.o che rispetto al lucro dotale debba haver luogo la dispositione dello statuto di Roma al quale ecc.

5.o Il detto Signor Mauritio Nicolini promette e si obliga dare et effettivamente consegnare ogni mese scudi quattro alla detta Signora Girolama sua sposa per le spille ecc.

6.o Il Signor Mauritio promette, e si obliga perpetuamente conservare e custodire la detta Dote, e ragioni dotali hipotecando specialmente et espressamente tutti, e singoli suoi beni attioni ragioni universe, e restituirla a chi sarà di ragione tanto costante quanto soluto matrimonio ecc.

7.o Perche la buona memoria del detto Signor Cavaliere Don Carlo Rainaldi lasciò herede usufruttuaria detta Signora Suor Anna Vittoria con il peso di alimentare detta Signora Girolama la quale dalla di lui morte sino ad hora e stata sempre alimentata da detta Suor Anna Vittoria nel Monastero di Sant' Appollonia perciò detti Signori futuri coniugi ad effetto di sfugire ogni differenza che potesse insorgere a causa di detti Alimenti e per mostrare un atto di gratitudine alla medesima Suor Anna Vittoria

convengono, e si contentano, che la medesima Suor Anna Vittoria possa liberamente godere, e ritener per sè tutto li usufrutto di detta heredità liberandola affatto da qualsivoglia somministrazione di alimenti sinche detta Suor Anna Vittoria viverà per che così ecc.

8.o Per osservanza di tutte e singole cose predette promettono, e si obligano di celebrare instrumento publico anche con solennità statutarie quando si ricerchino, et in tutto vogliono, e convengono che li presenti capitoli habbino forza e valore di publico e giurato instrumento con li obligo camerale giuramento solite clausole e cautele informa. Et in fede hanno sottoscritto la presente in Roma questo di 18 ottobre 1692

Io Mauritio Nicolini Affermo, prometto, e mi obligo a quanto di sopra mano propria

Io Girolama Campana Affermo prometto e mi obligo a quanto di sopra mano propria

Ego Fr. Laurentius Cardinalis de Laurea approbo prefata capisula et Deum . . .

Nota delle Gioie, Argenti, mobili, biancaria et altro consegnato dalla Signora Campana al Signor Mauritio Nicolini suo futuro sposo

Un cappio [?] di diamanti

Un paro di pendenti

Un anello di diamanti

Un altro anello di diamanti

Un altro anello di diamanti

Un altro anello di diamanti

Un altro anello di diamanti

Un cerchietto d'oro

due fila di perle orientali

due fila di perle scaramazze

due fila di Coralli

quattro fila di Granate

Un orologio

Un paro di pendenti di perle

Un anello di brilli

Una sottocoppa d'argento

Una guantiera d'argento

Un paro di candelieri d'argento

Un calamaio d'argento

Un polverino d'argento

Un pennarolo d'argento

Tre abiti da donna cioe due manto e quattro sottanini

Dodici camise con suoi merletti nuove

Dodici fazzoletti due de quali con merletti nuovi

Sei Asciugatori con frangia nuovi

Due detti con merletti nuovi

Sei Zinali due quali con merletti nuovi

Un Rotolo di Salviette nuovo

Sei para di Calzette nuove

Sei Tovagli, sedici salviette, quattro camise quattro zinali, tre para di calzette due para di lenzola, due para di foderette, due para di Asciugatori, mezza dozzina di fazzoletti usati

Dodici pezzi di quadro

Un letto cioe banchi tavole, due matarazzi, tre coperte di lana et una bambacina, con due panni Tavoline

Una cantarane [canterano?] di noce

Un paro di sedie d'appoggio

Un scrittorio di noce

Un studiolo

Una brocchetta et una scaldaletto di Rame

Due Cibmali pretiozi cioe uno in cassa dorata levatore di cassa con mutazioni di suoni e con piani e forte valutato e di quattro³ cento moneta l'altro antichissimo d'ottima armonia valutato di cento moneta

Note delle Crediti

Da Maestro Taddeo Fontana . . . sc. 118

Da detto . . . sc. 43

Da Ludovico Bossi . . . sc. 100

Da Carlantonio Sassi . . . sc. 12

Da Giuseppe Pelloni . . . sc.55

Da detto . . . sc. 24

Da detto . . . sc. 21.50

Da Maestro Pietro Giacomo Mola . . . sc. 300

³ See Document H, which estimates the value of this harpsichord as 500 scudi.

Dell Eccellentissimo Signor Duca D Bracciano per ~~frutti~~ un censo ~~se. 400~~

. . . Ho ricevuto le sopra dette robbe questo di 17 novembre 1692

Mauritio Nicolini

Document J: Estimate of two harpsichords, belonging to the dowry of Girolama Campana

Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notari del Tribunale del' Auditor Camerae, B. 1876,

Bernardinus Ciancarinus, f.266

Io Sottoscritto Perito eletto ad effetto di Stimare li due Cimbali del gia Signor Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi esistenti nel di lui Casino al Babuino cioè uno del Trasimbine [presumably the name of the harpsichord maker] a due Registri, e l'altro del Ramerino a tre registri con mutatione alla quarta bassa, e piani e forti, et havendoli ben visti revisti e considerata la loro bontà e rara armonia dico dichiaro e stimo il primo cimbalo del Hettore [Trasimbine is crossed out and Hettore is written in] scudi cento moneta et il secondo di Ramerino scudi cinquecento moneta ricordandomi che altre volte del detto secondo cimbalo il Signor Cavalier . . . [hono ?; the sense here seems to be offered] scudi mille dal già Monsignor di Strarri Chierico di Camera e cosi dico dichiaro e stimo secondo la mia Peritia in questo mestieri e secondo la mia coscienza Et in fede ho fatto la presente questa di 9 febbraio 1691.

Io Gioseppe Buoni Cotona [Cortona] stimo come sopra mano propria

Document K: Contract for the Chapel of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga in Sant' Ignazio,

1657

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico, B. 1238/8, unnumbered

Contract between Ludovico Bompiani, Rector of the Collegio Romano, and Carlo Rainaldi

Bernhard Kerber previously published the document. There are a number of copies of the contract. My transcription follows the presumed original (the copy that includes the drawing). In cases where a word or abbreviation was unclear, I have consulted the other versions.

March 18, 1657

Capitoli e conventioni stabiliti e da osservarsi tra il Molto Illustre et Molto Reverendo Padre Ludovico Bompiani Rettore del Collegio Romano et a nome del medemo Collegio, et il Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi Architetto nel fare la Cappella del Beato Luigi Gonzaga nella Chiesa di Sant' Ignatio di Roma nel sudetto Collegio in particolare del lavoro spettante allo scarpellino come Marmi, Mischij, intagli lavoratura delle Colonne, et altro conforme al Modello e Disegno fatto dal sudetto Cavaliere Rainaldi stabilito et approvato dal sudetto Reverendo Padre Rettore, esistente in Collegio Romano in potere del detto Reverende Padre Rettore, et alla Pianta che s'inserisce nelli presenti Capitoli.

P.o Convengono che detto Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi espressamente si oblihi come promette et si obliha di fare il sudetto lavoro di tutta perfettione al paragone di qualsivoglia altro ben fatto lavoro di simili strutture con l'infrascritti patti e prezzi convenuti quali prezzi stabiliti nel modo seguente il sudetto Reverende Padre Rettore promette pagarli liberamente senza eccezione alcuna al sudetto Cavaliere Rainaldi, come Rettore di detto Collegio et in ogn'altro miglior modo.

1. Il Marmo bianco del Polvaccio Rustico à scudi dodici e mezzo la Carettata 12:50
2. Il Marmo bianco ordinario à scudi [dieci e mezzo] la Carettata 10:50
3. Il lavoro scorniciato di Marmi bianchi d'ogni qualità da misurarsi in pelle
conforme allo stile di Roma il palmo giulij cinque :50
4. Il lavoro centinato delle basi delle Colonne il palmo giulij :52 ½
5. Il lavoro piano di marmi bianchi d'ogni qualità il palmo giulij :22 ½
6. Il Pavimento dell'Altare il palmo giulij quattordici 1:40
7. La lavoratura, scanellatura, e pulitura delle Colonne di Breccia di Verona il palmo
giulij sei :60
8. Il Pavimento conforme al modello profilato [?] il palmo giulij dieci 1:
9. Il Marmo negro di Carrara o Porto Venere il palmo giulij sei e mezzo :65
10. Il marmo giallo e negro di Carrara il palmo giulij sei e mezzo :65
11. Alabastro orientale antico di porsì nelli Piedistalli da fianco dell'Altare et nelli
Pilastrelli della Balustrata il palmo giulij venticinque 2:50
12. Broccatello nelli fregi delli detti Piedistalli et Balustrata, il palmo giulij dodici
1:20
13. Bigio o Bardiglio il palmo giulij :55
14. La lavoratura del detto Bardiglio per li p.mi zoccoli, lustrati et messi col stucco a
foco il palmo giulij :25
15. Li Balaustri quadri nella Balaustrata di bianco e negro di Carrara l'uno giulij
ottantacinque 8:50
16. L'intaglio delli sei capitelli Ionici di marmo, isolati del Polvaccio l'uno scudi
sessanta 60

17. L'altri due dalle banche dell'Altare non isolati l'uno scudo	45
18. L'altri quattro in Prospettiva degradati tutti assieme scudi	50
19. Li sei Capitelli, pur Ionici delli sei Pilastri l'uno scudo	25

Et finito che sarà il detto Lavoro si doverà misurare da due, cioè da' un Padre à ciò deputato dal Padre Rettore et dal sudetto Architetto concordemente assieme farsi la misura et stima conforme all'uso et stile di Roma, et in conformità delli Prezzi convenuti e stabiliti nelli presenti Capitoli.

2.o All'incontro il sudetto Reverendo Padre Rettore si obligherà come in effetto promette e si obliga sottoscritti che saranno detti Capitoli di far sborsare in contanti al sudetto Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi scudi duecento moneta a bon conto dell'opera sudetta, et di mano in mano che anderà facendo il lavoro alla rata di quello doverà fargli somministrare il denaro che haverà di bisogno dal Padre spenditore del Collegio.

3.o Convengono che delli presenti Capitoli se ne debbiano fare due copie dovendone restare una copia à ciasched'uno sottoscritta da ambe li Parti, con li Testimonij à ciò necessarij, et volendo una delle Parti, adesso, ò quando li parerà farne Instrumento publico possa senza alcuna ecettioni astringere l'altra Parte alla stipolatione di quella con li Clausoli solite e necessario e frà tanto concordementi convengono che li presenti Capitoli sottoscritti, e firmati habbino forza come se fosse Instrumento publico e giurato in forma Camera Apostolica.

Li Predetti Parti per l'effettuatione totale delle cose contentute nelli sudetti Capitoli obligano se, loro beni presenti e futuri reciprocamente cioè il Reverendo Padre Rettore sudetto obliga li beni del detto Collegio et il Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi se stesso et li suoi

beni nella più ampia forma della Reverenda Camera Apostolica da potersi estendere conforme allo stile della Corte di Roma renuntiando et così giurano l'osservanza delli presenti Capitoli Roma questo di 18 Marzo 1657.

Io Ludovico Bompiani Rettore del Collegio Romano affermo aprovo e mi obbligo quanto di sopra mano propria

Io D Carlo Rainaldi affermo approvo et mi obbligo quanto di sopra mano propria

Io Marc Antonio de Rossi fui presente a quanto di sopra mano propria

Io Giovanni Morando fui presente a quanto di sopra mano propria

Io Lorenzo Fari presente a quanto di sopra

Document L: Payments to Rainaldi for work at Sant' Ignazio, 1648

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico, B. 1239

Fabrica di S.to Ignatio, 1643-1686

Haskell, "The Role of Patrons", 54, mentions these two payments but the transcriptions are not given.

f.24r

1648

A di 13 detto [gennaio] dati al Padre Zucchi nostro Rettore disse per pagare una pila di acquasanta di Argento fatta fare per donare al Rinaldi giovane Architetto per sue fatiche di varij disegni fatti per servitio della fabrica scudi 12.20

f.25r

1648

A di 3 detto [aprile] dati al Padre Rettore nostro, disse per comparare una corona d'ambra per dare al Signori Rainaldi architetti per sue fatiche fatte in disegni fatti per la Chiesa scudi 2.50

Document M: Prices of the marble, 1657 (?)

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico, B. 1238/8, unnumbered

Prices established between Rainaldi and Rector Bompiani and between Rainaldi and the scarpellino Giovanni Manescalchi

This document has not been previously published. In the original document, the two lists of prices appear separately. For the sake of clarity, I have listed the marbles once with the different prices in two columns. The document has no date.

Prezzi stabiliti con il Padre Ludovico Bompiani Rettore del Collegio Romano et il Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi nel farsi la Cappella del Beato Luigi nella Chiesa di Sant' Ignatio

Prezzi stabiliti con il Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi, e Maestro Giovanni Manescalco Scarpellino nel farsi la Cappella del Beato Luigi nella chiesa di Sant' Ignatio

	Rettore	Scarpellino
Primo il Marmo bianco del Polvaccio Rustico di Carrara la Carettata	12:50	11:00

2. Marmo bianco ordinario la Carretta	10:50	10:00
3. Il lavoro scorniciato di Marmi bianchi . . .	:50	:40
4. Il lavoro centinato delle base delle Colonne . . .	:52 ½	:40
5. Il lavoro piano di marmi bianchi . . .	:22 ½	:20
6. Il Pavimento dell'Altare . . .	1:40	:90
7. La lavoratura scanellatura e politura delle Colonne di Breccia . . .	:60	:45
8. Il Pavimento conforme il modello profisso . . .	1:00	:70
9. Il Marmo negro di Carrara o Porto Venere . . .	:65	:55
10. Il marmo giallo e negro di Carrara . . .	:65	:55
11. Alabastro orientale antico . . .	2:50	1:50
12. Broccatello nelli fregi delli detti Piedistalli et Balustrata . . .	1:20	1:00
13. Bigio o Bardiglio . . .	:55	:45
14. La lavoratura di detto Bardiglio . . .	:25	:20
15. Li Balaustri quadri nella Balaustrata di bianco e negro di Carrara . . .	8:50	6:00
16. L'intaglio delli 6 capitelli Ionici isolati di Marmo l'uno . . .	60:00	40:00
17. L'altri due dalle banche dell'Altare non isolati l'uno . . .	45:00	25:00
18. L'altri quattro in Prospettiva degradati tutti assieme . . .	50:00	30:00
19. Li sei Capitelli, pur Ionici delli 6 Pilastri . . .	25:00	15:00
Somma li sudetti prezzi, scudi 221:55		
Somma li discontri prezzi, scudi 144:30		
Li sudetti prezzi alli discontri avanzano, scudi 77:25		

Essendo stato interrogato il sudetto Cavaliere più volte da un Padre quanto si sarebbe speso nel farsi detta Cappella sempre andava crescendo sino alla somma di scudi ventiquattro mila, che conforme alli detti prezzi dell'una e l'altra parte; al Cavaliere ne sarebbe toccato scudi ottomila trecento sessant'otto e giuli 31 ½ senza mettere fuori un minima quattrino del suo; ne tam [?] poso fatighe; perche alla fine doveva essere pagato dal Collegio e dal dicontra Mastro come per Architetto e per misurazione di tutto il lavoro.

A Maestro Giovanni Manescalco sarebbe toccato delli scudi 24 mila scudi 15631: 68 ½ et il tutto chiaramente si puole raccogliere con la regola del tre pigliando le sudette somme et avanzo.

Il sudetto Padre Bompiani trattando con il sudetto Cavaliere pensava di trattare con lui come Architetto e Cavaliere e però gli disse io non mi intendo de prezzi per fare detta cappella, onde agiusto con chi la doverà lavorare come la persona mia propria, ma il buon Cavaliere fece la scrittura con i prezzi per se, e la portò al Padre, che stimò così agiustato con chi doveva lavorarla, e senza farla vedere con ogni facilità la sottoscrisse, et il Cavaliere doppo andò et agiustò con il maestro li prezzi come sopra con farne scrittura di verbal come quella fatta con il Padre, solo con diversità de prezzi, e perche vi fù malitia il Cavaliere fece subito archiviare la scrittura fatta con il Padre lui.

Document N: Excerpts from the evidence for the case between Carlo Rainaldi and the Collegio Romano, 1657-1658

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico, B. 1238/8, unnumbered

These documents have not been previously published.

Document N, Part 1: Testimony of Marc'Antonio de' Rossi

Margin: Numero Quarto, Fede del Signor Marco Antonio de Rossi Misuratore della Reverenda Camera Apostolica

Io Infracritto fò fede qualmente il Signor Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi Architetto mi disse una sera che la mattina seguente mi dovessi trovare nella Chiesa di Sant' Ignatio al Collegio Romano perche il Padre Rettore desiderava parlarmi non havendomi detto ne perche, ne di che. Onde mi ritrovai la sodetta mattina nella detta Chiesa et ivi trovai il medesimo Signor Cavaliere Rainaldi il quale mi condusse dal Padre Rettore, e tutti unitamente andassero di sopra in un corridore dove vi era un modello di rilievo, e colorito di Pietre finte conforme deve esser l'opera, e mi disse il Padre Rettore che era stato fatto per la cappella del Beato Luigi Gonzaga da farsi nella detta Chiesa e che era disegno del sodetto Signor Cavaliere Rainaldi. E perche mi disse il medesimo Padre Rettore che dava l'opera di scarpello, intagli, mischi, e marmi al detto Signor Cavaliere Rainaldi sopra dise, mi pregò che dovessi per ambe le parti stabilirne i prezzi il che fu dà mè eseguito con quella rectitudine, et coscienza secondo la mia peritia et intelligenza havendo molto ben considerato la qualità di detto lavoro. Per concordemente furono dà ambe le parti sottoscritti li Capitoli con li prezzi stabiliti, alli quali mi sottoscrissi anch' Io assieme con due altri Testimonij. E per esser la Verità ho scritta e sottoscritta la presente di mia propria mano questo di 4 di settembre 1657.

Io Marco Antonio de Rossi mano propria

Document N, Part 2: Expert opinion of several Roman architects

Margin: Numero Quinto

Die 17 Novembris 1657 fol. 1375

Noi Infrascritti Architetti, Misuratori, Stimatori, e Periti nell'arte havendo veduto li prezzi delli sudetti lavori, e prezzi stabiliti nella forma sodetta e considerato bene la loro qualità essenza et altre circostanze, che per dover esser il lavoro di tutta perfettione al paragone di qualsivoglia ben fatto lavoro di Roma, facciamo piena et indubitata fede secondo la nostra peritia, etiam con il nostro giuramento che li sodetti prezzi sono giusti, e convenienti, e non eccessivi, ne esorbitanti, et in fede della Verità habbiamo sottoscritta la presente di nostra propria mano questo di 21 ottobre 1657.

Io Horatio Torriani Architetto affermo et approvo li sodetti prezzi come sopra
mano propria

Io Camillo Arcucci affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Io Giovanni Ghelli mano propria affermo quanto di sopra

Paolo Picchetti affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Antonio del Grande affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Giovanni Antonio de Rossi affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Giovanni Battista Mola affermo quanto sopra mano propria

Cesare Crovaro affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Francesco Contini affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Document N, Part 3: Letters to Bartolomeo Avanzini and Tomasso Luraghi

Passages of the two letters are underscored in seventeenth-century ink.

Margin: Lettera scritta dal Padre Ludovico Bompiani Rettore del Collegio Romano al Signor Bartolomeo Aloisio Avanzini a Modena

Molto Illustre Signor mio osservissimo

Compatisco grandemente Vostro Signore, che in tale modo tratti con lei il Cavaliere Rainaldi. Mà perche sò ancora come hà trattato meco non mi maraviglio hora molto. Vostro Signore sà bene che non hà mai negoziato con me, mà con lui intorno alle Colonne. Onde la prego à voltarsela contro lui e non contro me, et egli poi se potrà se la volterà contro me; Mà certo non potrà niente perche con lui non hò fatto contratto nissuno, e quando stavo per farlo non volsi farlo perche non mi voleva mantenere qualche in Voce mi haveva promesso. Onde se egli si è avanzato in scrivere a Vostro Signore che meco haveva concludisso ogni cosa, e che però si tagliassero i Marmi, hà scritto qualche non doveva scrivere ne io sò che ni ci fare, tanto più che in altre Cose ancora havendo provato il Cavaliere Rainaldi diversamente dà quello che mi pensavo, hò giudicato bene non intrigarmi più con lui nella fabrica di questa cappella. Se pure si fabricarà hora e non si aspettaranno alcuni anni come l'istesso Signor Marchese Lancellotti che n'è il Padrone mostra d'inclinare Di nuovo dunque la prego à non scrivermi più di quelle particolare, mà si bene scriverne al Cavaliere Rainaldi, il quale poi dovrà trattar meco, si penserà poterne cavare niente di suo profitto, con che la saluto, e li prego dal Signore ogni benedettione
Roma li 13 ottobre 1657.

Di Vostro Signore Molto Illustre Humilissimo Servitore Ludovico Bompiani

Margin: Altra tra del Padre Bompiani scritta al Signor Tomasso Luraghi Mercante de Marmi a Modena

Dalla lettera di Vostro Signore veggo ch'ella hà giusta ragione di lamentarsi, non però di me mà del Cavaliere Rainaldi, col quale solo hò io trattato, et in mano di cui solo hò posto quale neg.o Quelle Cautele ò Cavillationi che Vostro Signore dice insolite sono state poste nella minuta dell'Instromento mandato a Bologna non solo con saputa, mà con approvatione del Signor Cavaliere Rainaldi, e la Causa di ciò fù perche egli si obligò à darmi quelle Colonne non solo à tal prezzo, mà à tal tempo condotte alla Ripa del Tevere, perciò fù necessario non solo pattuire del prezzo, mà anco dell'assicuramento dalle tempeste ò altro disastro, pagando per tal assicuramento un tanto per cento. In oltre perche dovevo io anticipatamente sborsare più d'un migliaio di scudi in Bologna e potevo pensare, non havendo notizia della qualità di Vostro Signore, che si prendesse il denaro con promessa di darmi le Colonne à tal tempo, mà che poi non mi si mantenesse la promessa facendomi aspettare degl'Anni fù giudicato convenienti porvi quasi in pena che passato il tempo prefisso, sin che non si ricevute le Colonne dovesse quello che havea ricevuto il denaro pagarne un tanto per cento, acciò tal denaro non stasse [sic: stesse] tanto tempo otioso già che hora stà a frutto ne monti di Roma, ne vedo che questa conditione deva parere tanto esorbitante, massime acciò tal pena fusse motivo ad accelerare le Colonne et assicurarmi che sarebbero giunte nel tempo prefisso.

In somma io non son pratico del modo come si tratta con Cavatori ò appaltatori di Marmi; Mà hò supposto che ciò lo sappia il Rainaldi il quale hà stimato bene porre tutte quelle Conditioni e che nell'Instromento, acciò egli fusse sicuro che qualche mi promettea sarebbe adempito. Io poi devo usare ogni cautela et assicuramento perche non spendo denaro mio, mà di quel Signore che fà la Cappella, e si fida di me.

Del resto se Vostro Signore lamenta del Signor Cavaliere Rainaldi me ne lamento ancor io del suo trattare in modo tale per non dir più in part.re che non mi servo più di lui per Architetto, ne fò più il suo disegno, e perciò forse egli non risponde al Vostro Signore vedendo d'essersi avanzato inordinare che si tagliassero i marmi, non havendo aggiustato ancora l'instromento, se egli l'hà ordinati, egli li pagará. Io con lui dà due mesi in qua non vi tratto più, ne hò animo di trattarsi ne altro mi occorre intorno à quali dispiacendomi il suo disgusto, mà pregandola che n'incolpi chi n'è Causa, e per fine me le offero, e saluto. Roma li 22 settembre 1657.

Di Vostro Signore Molto Illustre Humilissimo Servitore Ludovico Bompiani della Compagnia di Giesù

Document N, Part 4: Statement by Giovanni Maniscalchi

Margin: Numero Decimo Fede di Maestro Giovanni Maniscalchi Scarpellino Die 3 Augusti 1657

Io sottoscritto fò indubitata fede e dichiarazione med.te il mio giuramento qualmente havendo sotto li X Aprile 1657 fatti alcuni capitoli trà il Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi, e me delli lavori di Marmo mischi intagli per la Cappella del Beato Luigi Gonzaga in Sant'Ignatio che il Padre Ludovico Bompiani Rettore del Collegio Romano ha dato à dare sop.a di se al detto Cavaliere Rainaldi li quali prezzi dà noi stabiliti nelli detti Capitoli dico esser fatti molto bassi, mà ciò mi sono contentato così rispetto che egli sempre mi hà dato e del continuo mi dà occasioni di fare dell'opere, e simili lavori, dove vi posso guadambiare qualche utile, ondi per detta Causa essendomi così contentato gli

ho volsuti fare li lavori a detto prezzo, che altrimenti non gli l'haverei potuto fare per esser la Verità ho sottoscritta la presente di mia propria mano.

Io Giovanni Manescalchi affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Document N, Part 5: Statement by Giovanni Maniscalchi

Margin: Numero Undicesimo, Altra fede di Maestro Giovanni Maniscalchi Scarpellino

Io Infrascritto faccio indubitata fede e dichiarazione con il mio giuramento che doppo haver fatto li Capitoli tra il Signor Cavaliere Carlo Rainaldi e me sotto li x Aprile 1657 per li lavori de Marmi per detta Cappella del Beato Luigi Gonzaga in Sant' Ignatio. Io non habbia fatto alcun contratto con altri per il sudetto lavoro altro che con il detto Cavaliere Rainaldi e esser la Verità ho sottoscritta la presente di mia propria mano questo di et anno sodetti

Io Giovanni Maniscalchi affermo quanto di sopra mano propria

Document O: Letter from Carlo Rainaldi to Gian Paolo Oliva, General Father of the Society of Jesus, 1678

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico, B. 1238/8, unnumbered

This document has not been previously published.

[On the back of the document: Fatto nella causa tra il venerabile Collegio Romano et il Cavaliere Don Carlo Rainaldi

Datone una copia al Padre Oliva]

Reverendissimo Padre

L' Illustrissimo Signor Marchese Lancellotti di felice memoria sotto il di 4 dicembre 1629 per gl'atti del Tabanelli notaro Auditor Camerae fece donatione al Collegio Romano di scudi Cinquemila moneta per ornare la Cappella del Beato Luigi Gonzaga li quali scudi 5000 ordinò che si dovessero metter a frutto à Cinque per Cento sino ad una certa somma per fare la sudetta opera e non in altro uso, nè altrimenti come per Instrumento rogato ne i medesmi atti; l'istesso Collegio Romano si obliga di sodisfare alla sudetta dispositione in quella forma.

Onde il Padre Ludovico Bompiani l'anno 1656 all' hora Rettore del sudetto Collegio havendo in essere un Moltiplico di molte Migliara di scudi, deliberò d' adempire, e sodisfare al sudetto oblige, et à quest' effetto ordinò à me Don Carlo Rainaldi che dovesse far disegni per gli adornamenti di detta Cappella frà quelli dal medesimo Padre Bompiani, e Padri del Collegio fù scelto il Migliore, che poi per loro sodisfattione mi fù ordinato che ne dovessi formare un modello di rilievo rappresentante al vivo tutte le parti di essa Cappella il quale fù dà me eseguito puntualmente havendolo poi consegnato nelle mani del detto Padre Bompiani esistente nel Collegio Romano senza che per detti Disegni, Modelli, assistenza, e spese dà me fatte ne habbia mai havuto una minima ricompensa.

Per il che per venire all' effettuatione dell' opera, il medesimo Padre Bompiani come Rettore del detto Collegio per esser sicuro, non solo per la perfettione del lavoro mà anche per il denaro che si doveva dare per la sudetta opera, trattò meco e concluse che havendo sopra di mè il Lavoro della Cappella del Signore Rentij in San Girolamo della Carità (opera conspicua) così in quella Conformità dovessi pigliar sopra di me l' opera della sudetta Cappella del Beato Luigi Gonzaga, solamente il lavoro spettante allo

scarpellino il tutto sempre con participatione del Padre Giattini, come consultore del medesimo Collegio, et anche come eruditissimo in tutte le Scienze, e particolarmente in simile Materia di Disegno, et à quest'effetto doppo molti consulti furono stabiliti li Capitoli con li prezzi convenuti, e poscia stipolati e sottoscritti Sommario numero Primo.

Essendo poi venuto in volontà all'istesso Padre Bompiani non di receder dal Contratto, e vicendevol promessa per la Construttione della Cappella, mà solo per tentar, et oprar, che io non dovessi haver niuno emolumento, o ricompensa ò utile per il Vantaggio che potevo havere dalli Operarij à mè subordinati; et attraverselo tutto per se contro ogni giustitia, benche per l'osservanza del Contratto mi habbia fatto ordine diretto al Banco di Santo Spirito di scudi ducento per cominciar l'opera Sommario numero 2.o; e di detto ordine ne sia stata fatta dà me girata à Maestro Giovanni Manescalchi scarpellino à me subordinato per la rata di scudi 150. E cosi principiata l'opera, e l'effetto della commun' promessa stabilita, dopò datosi l'ordine a Verona per le Colonne stabilite per la detta Cappella, comincio a farmi interpellare giuditialmente d'avanti Monsignore Areosto per la restitutione del denaro, sotto colore in apparenza di non volere far più la Cappella, mà insostanza, che se io havessi voluto rilassare quel poco di lucro, che potevo dà Ministri subordinatimi esso mi haverebbe fatto proseguire la Cappella Sommario numero 3.o con mia Protesta sommario 3.o Infine.

E cosi volsutomi tener schiavo al servitio, et esso prendersi tutte le mie fatiche et emolumenti; benche li prezzi de Marmi, e Lavori necessarij per Detta Cappella fossero stati fatti per ambe le parti assai giusti, e ragionevoli dal Signor Marc'Antonio de Rossi stimatore della Reverenda Camera Apostolica sommario numero 4.o. E poi ne venga da esso medesimo de Rossi, et altri Primarij Architetti della Corte attestato che li prezzi sono

giusti, e moderati e non eccessivi, nè esorbitanti, come dalla fede sommario numero 5.o.

Et acciò io non potessi in modo alcuno aiutarmi, havendomi con destro modo fatti portar al Padre Giattini li Capitoli che io conservavo app.o di mè, sottoscritti nel medesimo modo, che li altri ritenuti dal Padre Bompiani per haverne scrittura ogn'uno di Noi, e detti miei archiviati in tempo debito; Quando io hò scritto biglietto al medesimo Padre Giattini, acciò mi restituisse li miei Capitoli, mi è stato risposto dal detto Padre, che li Capitoli gli haveva dati al Padre Bompiani, e dà esso erano stati stracciati sommario numero 6.o.

Onde mi è convenuto ricorrere d'avanti il medesimo Monsignore Areosto à far richiesta giuditiale per la esibitione e restitutione de miei Capitoli sommario numero 7.o e non s'è sdegnato il detto Padre Bompiani farmi negare conprotesta giuditiale, Non constare de existentia detto sommario numero 7.o.

Si che per convincer questa negatione giuditiale sono stato sforzato esibire negl'atti il medesimo biglietto del Padre Giattini, e senza procurare come havrei dovuto, di far prima giurare la detta negatione al Padre Bompiani Io citai il medesimo per l'essibitione; e cosi dove prima mi si era negato, et allegato esser stati lacerati, sono stati esibiti negl'atti li medesmi Capitoli, che havevo havuti dà me in corpo, e sostanza con il segno dell'Archivio Sommario numero 8.o e di li poi forzato à proseguir, come hò fatto il restante del Giuditio per l'ademipimento del contratto, che esso Padre Bompiani ha fatto meco.

Anzi che havendo veduto che un Religioso per altro di tanto merito, e valore non si è sdegnato scriver fuori contro di me lettere con supposti erronei, e maledici sommario

numero 9.o, senza tacciare l'attione dà esso fatta contro il dovere, e sarò necessitato à mandar à Bologna, Verona et altrove la Relatione vera di questo fatto con le sue giustificationi; affinche la mia honorevolezza resti intatta nel suo primiero stato, nè sia contaminata dà chi più dovrebbe stimarla e secondo il mondo, e per quanto dettono i dogmi Religiosi.

Nelli sudetti Capitoli vi era la conditione, che volendo una delle Parti farne Instromento publico, potesse astringer l'altra Parte alla stipolatione di quello senza ecceptione alcuna; E perciò havendo ne fatta l'istanza d'avanti il medesimo Monsignore Areosto fù per parte del Padre Bompiani ricorso alla segnatura, dalle quale reietto, ordinò, che si dovesse far prima l'Instromento publico, e poi havrebbe havuta l'udienza; Onde Monsignore Areosto ex Officio stipulò l'Instromento à 31 Agosto 1658.

Non per questo cessò di portar motivi nuovi per Magiormente intorbidare la speditione della Causa, e fra quali disse, che lo scarpellino à mè subordinato, haveva meco pattuito à miglior prezzo di quello che il Padre Bompiani haveva stipolato meco nei Capitoli, e che voleva, che io poi le facessi il medesimo partito, essendo che ci guadagnavo assai; Onde se lo scarpellino mi haveva fatto simile partito, lo poteva fare essendo Padrone di farlo, come per sua fede sommario numero X.o.

Non cessando per questo ad ogn'Informatione di far nove istanze con nuovi Avvocati per la sentenza diffinitiva con la restitutione delli scudi 200 finalmente dopo il corso di sedici mesi, conoscendo Monsignore Areosto Giudice dal medesimo Padre Bompiani eletto, conoscendo dico le mie vive ragioni sententiò à mio favore sommario numero 12.

Dalla qual sentenza appellatosi, trasmise la Commissione in Rota d'avanti Monsignore Illustrissimo Taia Pont.e e non havendo trasportato gl'atti essendo passato il biennio 8 volte consquentemente è passato in giudicato, e tutte queste strattagemme per defatiarmi nella lite, scusandosi haver havuto diversa intentione di quello che havevo sottoscritto, e giurato nei Capitoli; poiche non si dà il Caso, che li Padri Gesuiti Specchi di prudenza, di sapienza, e bontà havessero fatto un contratto simile, se prima non l'havessero maturamente considerato e molto ben consultato frà di loro (come in effetto fecero) Nemeno hà del verisimile, che si fossero lasciati dà veruno ingannare massime in simili materie, benche habbiano divulgato l'esser dà me stati ingannati, come ancora appare nelle loro Informationi in Iure sommario numero 13.

E però hò voluto significare a Vostra P.ta Reverendissima il fatto sincero con sue giustificationi, acciò lo sappia per Verità, e se pare alla sua somma prudenza, proveggia, ne dia fastidio, se io per via giuditiale hò proseguito à far conoscere questa Verità per l'osservanza delle cose stabilite, e promesse vicendevolmente trà il Padre Bompiani, e me, Pregandola inoltre à non haver in consideratione li Chimerici supposti, che l'intentione del Padre Bompiani fusse in altro modo; Mentre il fatto maturamente considerato, stabilito, posto in scrittura, e cominciato ad effettuare, toglie ogni ombra di chimera, che hoggi si finga, dovendo prevalere il fatto vero apparente dà scrittura ad ogni moderna figurata intentione.

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Illustrations

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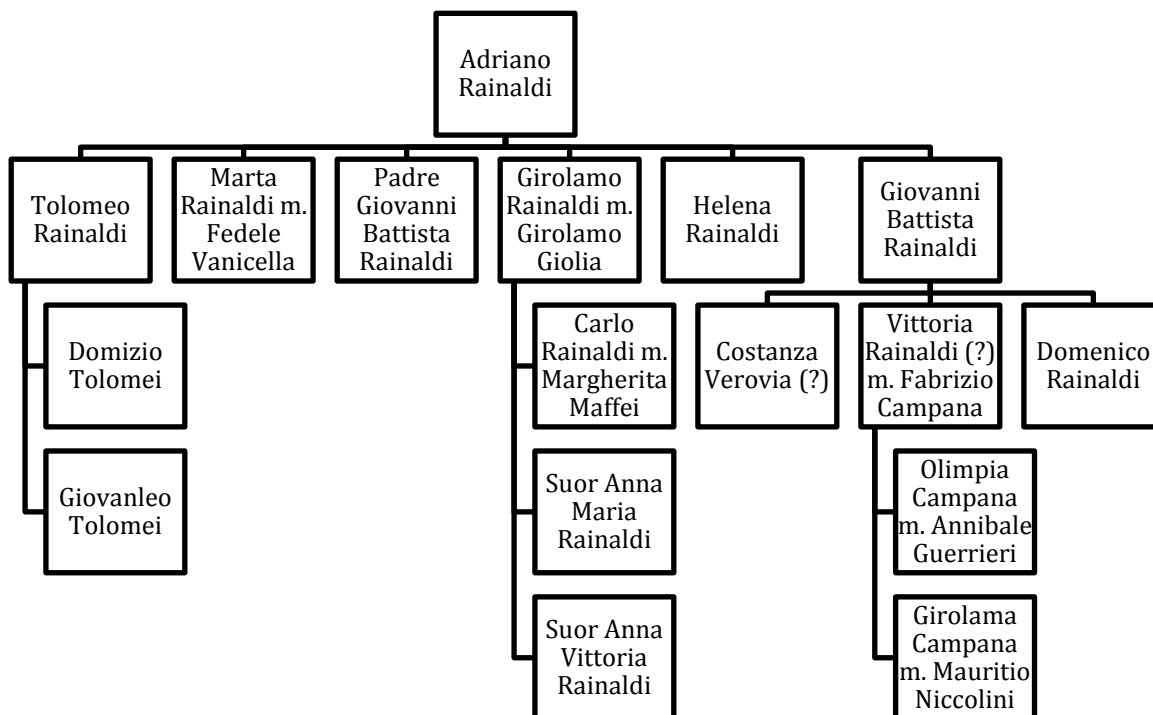


Figure 2.1: Descendants of Adriano Rainaldi

Notes: (1) The precise birth order for most of the family members is unknown; I have attempted to place the family members in a logical order based upon births, deaths, marriages, and ages of the children, when these details are known. (2) There may have been other members of the family who do not appear in the surviving documents. (3) It is not certain that Vittoria Rainaldi Campana was the daughter of Giovanni Battista Rainaldi, although he did have two daughters (see Appendix, Document A, note 2). Documents confirm that Vittoria was the niece of Girolamo Rainaldi, and she must have been the daughter of one of Girolamo's brothers as she appears in documents with the Rainaldi surname. (4) Documents list another niece of Girolamo Rainaldi, one Costanza Verovia. She may have been Giovanni Battista's other daughter.

Figure 2.2: Title page, *Rosa ursina*

Figure 2.3: Carlo Rainaldi, inventor, and Carlo Bianchi, engraver. Thesis Print for Carlo Santarelli, ca.1628. Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Brussels (VB 5335) [Jervis, 896]

Figure 2.4: Carlo Rainaldi, inventor, and Carlo Bianchi, engraver. Title page, ca. 1628. Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Brussels (VB 5335) [Jervis, 896]

Figure 2.5: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 53, Carlo Rainaldi, drawing of a fireplace and bas-relief from the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Catalog 1)

Figure 2.6: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 54, Carlo Rainaldi, drawing of an inscription dedicated to Taddeo Barberini from the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Catalog 2)

Figure 2.7: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 55, Carlo Rainaldi, drawing of a monument dedicated to Virginio Caesarino from the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Catalog 3)

Figure 2.8: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 56, Carlo Rainaldi, drawing of a wall inscription dedicated to Urban VIII and the Conservators from the Palazzo Senatorio (Catalog 4)

Figure 2.9: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 57, Carlo Rainaldi, drawing of Bernini's memorial to Carlo Barberini in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (Catalog 5)

Figure 2.10: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 58, Carlo Rainaldi, drawing of the statue of Carlo Barberini from the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Catalog 6)

Figure 2.11: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 59, Carlo Rainaldi, design for a wall monument dedicated to Urban VIII (Catalog 7)

Figure 2.12: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 9910, f. 60, Carlo Rainaldi, design for the frame of an inscription (Catalog 8)

Figure 2.13: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.1, Carlo Rainaldi (Catalog 9)

Figure 2.14: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.2, Carlo Rainaldi (Catalog 10)

Figure 2.15: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.3, Carlo Rainaldi (Catalog 11)

Figure 2.16: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.4, Carlo Rainaldi (Catalog 12)

Figure 2.17: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.5, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 13)

Figure 2.18: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.6, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 14)

Figure 2.19: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.7, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 15)

Figure 2.20: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.8, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 16)

Figure 2.21: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.9, Carlo Rainaldi
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Figure 2.22: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.10, Carlo Rainaldi
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Figure 2.23: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.11, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 19)

Figure 2.24: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.12, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 20)

Figure 2.25: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.13, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 21)

Figure 2.26: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.14, Carlo Rainaldi
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Figure 2.27: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.15, Carlo Rainaldi
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Figure 2.28: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.16, Carlo Rainaldi
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Figure 2.29: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.17, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 25)

Figure 2.30: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.18, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 26)

Figure 2.31: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.19, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 27)

Figure 2.32: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.20, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 28)

Figure 2.33: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.21, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 29)

Figure 2.34: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.22, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 30)

Figure 2.35: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.23, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 31)

Figure 2.36: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.24, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 32)

Figure 2.37: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.25, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 33)

Figure 2.38: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.26, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 34)

Figure 2.39: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4411, f.27, Carlo Rainaldi
(Catalog 35)



Figure 2.40: Sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori [Image: Author]



Figure 2.41: Monument to Taddeo Barberini in the Palazzo dei Conservatori [Image: Author]



Figure 2.43: Gianlorenzo Bernini, Memorial to Carlo Barberini in Santa Maria in Aracoeli [Image: Author]

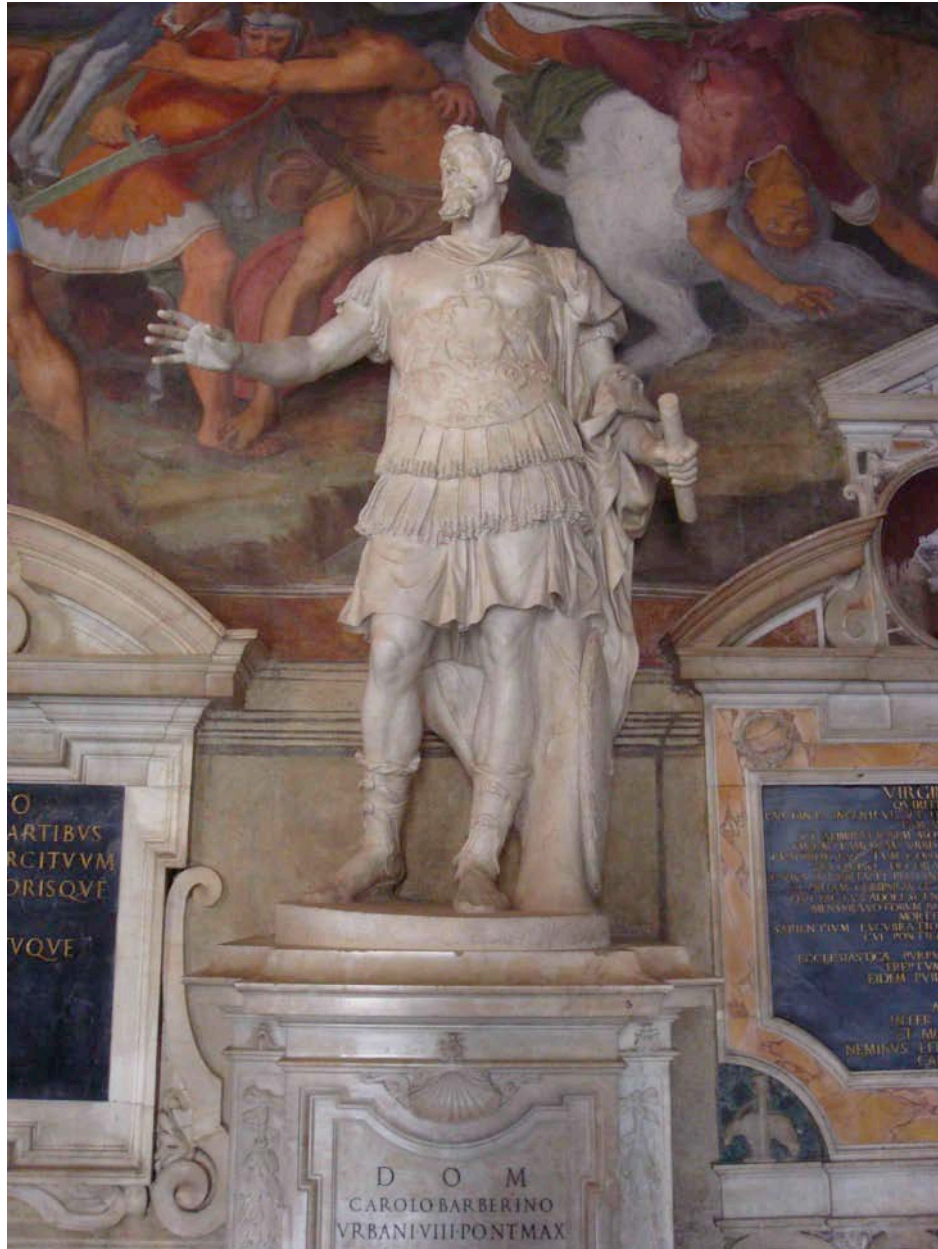


Figure 2.44: Alessandro Algardi and Gianlorenzo Bernini, Statue of Carlo Barberini in the Palazzo dei Conservatori [Image: Author]

Figures 3.1 a & b: Giovanni Maggi, *Iconografia della Città di Roma*, 1625 [Frutaz, 2: Plate 308]



Figure 3.2: Fontana del Babuino [Image: Author]

Figure 3.3: Archivio di Stato, Roma, 30 Notai Capitolini, ufficio 23,
vol.263, cc.188v.-189r., Carlo Rainaldi

Figure 3.4: Giovanni Battista Falda, *Pianta di Roma*, 1676, detail (Varagnoli, 65)



Figure 3.5: Facade of Santa Maria in Campitelli, detail [Image: Author]

Figure 3.6: Rear Facade of the Villa Borghese (Image: Artstor)

Figure 3.7: Villa Grimaldi-Sauli, from *Palazzi di Genova*, Peter Paul Rubens, 1622

Figure 4.1: Ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala, Rome [Image: Kelly, 65]

Figure 4.2: Ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala, Rome [Plan: Fasolo]



Figure 4.3: Ciborium of Santa Maria della Scala, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.4: Interior of Santa Maria della Scala [Image: Author]



Figure 4.5 [Left]: Domenico Fontana, High Altar, Cappella Sistina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome
[Image: Author]



Figure 4.6 [Right]: Pier Paolo Olivieri, Altar of the Holy Sacrament, Detail, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.7: Interior, San Girolamo della Carità, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.8: Domenichino, *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* [Image: Artstor]



Figure 4.9: High Altar, San Girolamo della Carità, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.10: Detail, High Altar, San Girolamo della Carità, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.11: Detail, High Altar, San Girolamo della Carità, Rome [Image: Author]

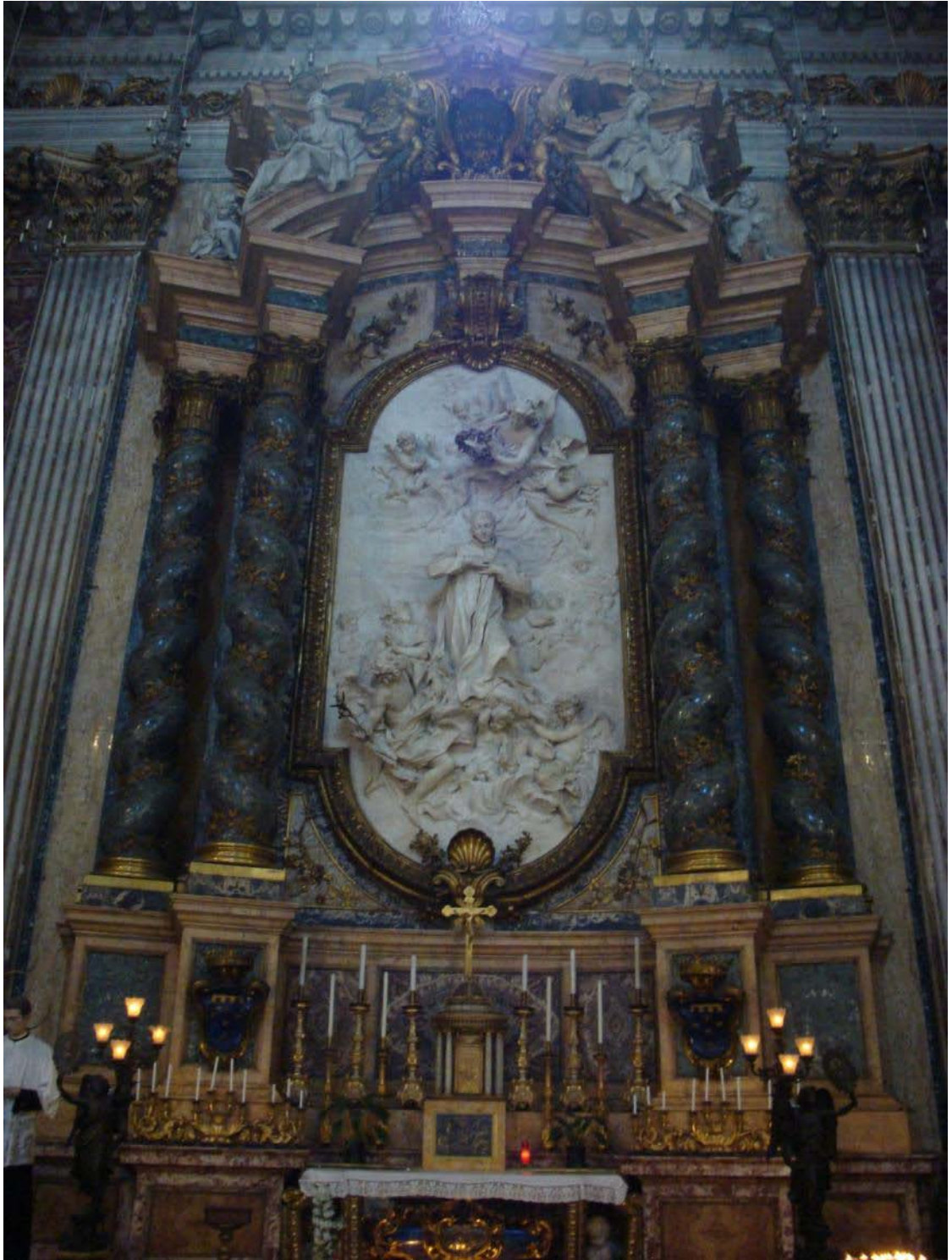


Figure 4.12: Andrea Pozzo and Pierre LeGros, Altar of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, Sant' Ignazio, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.13: Plan of Sant' Ignazio, Rome, detail from Paul Letarouilly, Édifices de Rome moderne, 1840 [Image: Artstor]

Figure 4.14: Carlo Rainaldi, Design for the Chapel of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga, Archivium Generalum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico, B.1238/8 unnumbered



Figure 4.15: Interior, San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.16: High Altar, San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome [Image: Author]

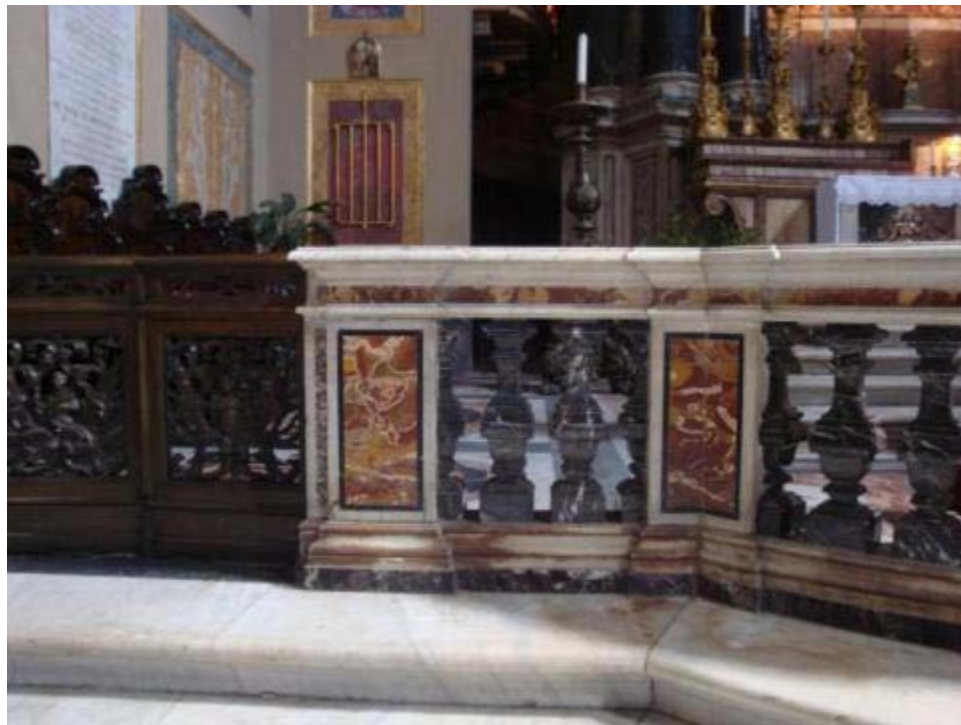


Figure 4.17: Detail, High Altar, San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.18: Detail, Altar Rail, San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.19: High Altar, San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.20: Bernini, Cappella Alaleona, Santi Domenico e Sisto
[Image: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Monti_-_ss_Domenico_e_Sisto_-_Noli_me_tangere_1110288.JPG]



Figure 4.21: Cappella di San Venanzio, Lateran Baptistery, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.22: Memorial to Cardinal Carlo Bonelli, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome
[Image: Author]



Figure 4.23: Monument to Clement IX, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.24: Carlo Rainaldi, Preparatory Drawing for Monument to Clement IX, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid [Image: *Dibujos*, Cat. 118]

Figure 4.25: Carlo Rainaldi, Preparatory Drawing for Monument to Clement IX, Biblioteca Nacional Madrid [Image: *Dibujos*, Cat. 119]



Figure 4.26: Detail, Medallion, Monument to Pope Clement IX, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.27: *Procession in Honor of Pope Pius V's Canonization*, Santa Maria Maggiore, 1700-1721 [Image: Ostrow and Johns, 530]



Figure 4.28: Domenico Fontana, Monument to Nicholas IV, Santa Maria Maggiore [Image: Author]



Figure 4.29: Niche, Pantheon, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.30: Interior, Church of Gesù e Maria, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.31: High Altar, Church of Gesù e Maria, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.32: Detail, High Altar, Church of Gesù e Maria, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.33: Detail, High Altar, Church of Gesù e Maria, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.34: Choir, Church of Gesù e Maria, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.35: Choir Vault, Church of Gesù e Maria, Rome [Image: Author]

Figure 4.36: Nave Wall, Church of Gesù e Maria, Rome [Image: Author]



Figure 4.37: Monument to Ercole and Luigi Bolognetti [Image: Author]

Figure 4.38: Monument to Pietro and Francesco Bolognetti [Image: Author]



Figure 4.39: Monument to Giorgio Bolognetti [Image: Author]

Figure 4.40: Monument to Mario Bolognetti [Image: Author]

Figure 4.41: Triumphal Arch for the *Possesso* of Clement X, 1670 [Image: Artstor]

Figure 5.1: Façade of Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Lemerle, 47]

Figure 5.2: Interior [Image: Wiedmann, 207]

Figure 5.3: High Altar [Image: <http://www.ordinedellamadredidio.org/fot6/pages/12.htm>]

Figure 5.4: Giovanni Battista Nolli, *Nuova Pianta di Roma*, 1748, showing the location of Santa Maria in Portico [Image: Güthlein, “Campitelli,” 189]

Figure 5.5: *Romanae Portus Securitatis* [Image: <http://www.ordinedellamadredidio.org/fot6/pages/20.htm>]

Figure 5.6: Giovanni Maggi, *Iconografia della Città di Roma*, 1625 [Frutaz, 2: Plate 315]



Figure 5.7: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]



Figure 5.8: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]

Figure 5.9: ASMiC f. 18v
[Image: Güthlein, "Campitelli," 197]

Figure 5.10: First Foundation Medal, Santa Maria in Campitelli
[Image: Güthlein, "Campitelli," 205]

Figure 5.11: Santa Maria della Salute [Image: Artstor]

Figure 5.12: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi P VII 10, f. 105v & 106r
[Image: Connors, "Alliance and Enmity," 247]



Figure 5.13: Corinthian Order at Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]



Figure 5.14: Composite Order at Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]



Figure 5.15: Ionic Order at Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]

Figure 5.16 (left): Palazzo dei Conservatori
[Image: Artstor]



Figure 5.17 (right): Santa Maria in Campitelli
[Image: Author]



Figure 5.18: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]

Figure 5.19: Martino Longhi the Younger, Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio, Rome
[Image: Wittkower, *Art and Architecture*, 2:106]

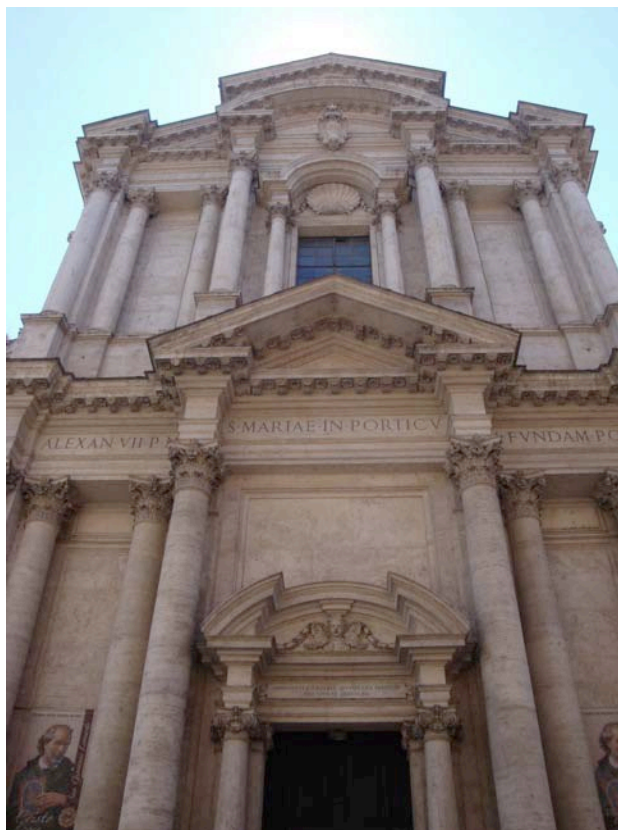


Figure 5.20: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]

Figure 5.21: Façade of Santa Maria in Campitelli
[Image: Güthlein, “Campitelli,” 223]

Figure 5.22: The Library of Celsus, Ephesus [Image: Artstor]

Figure 5.23: The Theater at Sabratha [Image: Artstor]

Figure 5.24: The Nymphaeum at Jerash
[Image: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jerash_Nymphaeum.jpg]

Figure 5.25: Santa Maria in Campitelli
[Image: Güthlein, “Campitelli, 237]

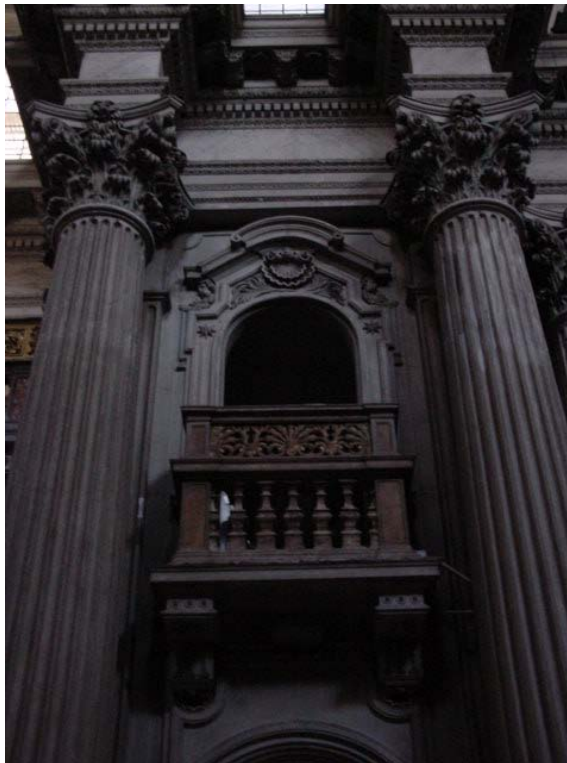


Figure 5.26: Corinthian Order at Santa Maria in Campitelli (interior) [Image: Author]

Figure 5.27: Plan of Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Artstor]

Figure 5.28: Baldassare Longhena, Plan of Santa Maria della Salute
[Image: Hopkins, *Longhena*, fig. 79]

Figure 5.29: Plan, San Giorgio Maggiore [Image: Beltramini, 234]

Figure 5.30: San Giorgio Maggiore [Image: Beltramini, 237]

Figure 5.31: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Gütthlein, "Campitelli," 235]



Figure 5.32: Detail of coffers, Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]



Figure 5.33: Interior of Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]

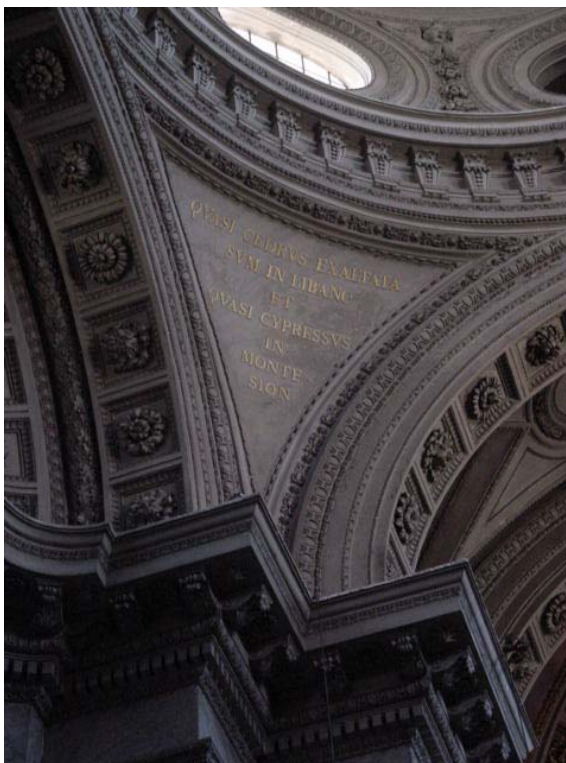


Figure 5.34: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]



Figure 5.35: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image; Author]



Figure 5.36: Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]



Figure 5.37: Door with giallo antico, Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]



Figure 5.38: Detail of column shaft, Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Author]

Figure 5.39: High Altar, Santa Maria in Campitelli [Image: Artstor]