

Edward J. Olszewski

Dynamics of Architecture in Late Baroque Rome.

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni at the Cancelleria

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Managing Editor: Monika Michałowicz

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Figure I: Ottoboni Family Dynastic Portrait, 1690, etching.

Preface

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740) is well known as a major Roman patron of music, theater, and painting. This study is the first characterization of his architectural patronage. In it, I identify the architects who worked in his court in the Cancelleria, from Filippo Juvarra to Domenico Gregorini, and the dozen in between in the half century from 1690 to 1740. His resident architects included Simone Felice del Lino, Carlo Enrico di San Martino, Giovanni Francesco Pellegrini, Nicola Michetti, Filippo Juvarra, Domenico Gregorini, and G.B. Oliverio. Never entered in the cardinal's official rolls although given projects from time to time were Ludovico Rusconi Sassi, Alessandro Mauri, and Francesco Ferrari. Ottoboni had brief contacts with Carlo Fontana and Filippo Cesari.

I begin this study by discussing the architectural holdings of the Ottoboni family in Venice and Rome. I chronicle the projects of Cardinal Ottoboni in his official residence of the Cancelleria as Vice-Chancellor of the Church, and in the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso enclosed within the palace grounds. I characterize and suggest locations for his several palace theaters by assembling data never previously considered. For the first time, three permanent theaters are identified in his palace, the initial space by Simmone Felice del Lino on the ground floor as a commercial venture. I locate and reconstruct the cardinal's lost theater from Filippo Juvarra's drawings, room measurements, and palimpsests of decorations and architectural details in the palace. The findings are based on extensive documentation from Ottoboni family archives in the Vatican and Lateran holdings, the diary accounts of Francesco Chracas and Francesco Valesio, and the *Correspondances* of the French Academy in Rome.

Ottoboni's projects for the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso included chapels by Sassi and by Gregorini, and over the years numerous grand devotional *machine* by most of his architects. His architectural commissions, both permanent and ephemeral, were almost exclusively official and public. The cardinal's participation in the competition for the façade of St. John Lateran in the early 1730s was the result of his function as the basilica's archpriest. His voice was but one of several in the final decision, causing him gradually to lose interest in the process.

A National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for Independent Study and a Fulbright Hays Fellowship in support of a sabbatical year project in 1979-1980 on the art patronage of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni produced volumes of intact and unpublished material from the Fondo Ottoboni of the Vatican Library's Barberini Archives, and the Archivio Ottoboni in the Archivio Storico del Vicariato at St. John Lateran.

A second sabbatical campaign in Rome and Venice in 1985-1986 was funded with support from the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation and the Swann Foundation for Caricature and Cartoon. The Delmas Fellowship enabled me to pursue archival materials in Venice at the Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Correr, Biblioteca Marciana, the Fondazione Cini, and the Fondazione Stampalia Querini. Swann Foundation funding

supported my pursuit in Rome of satirical papal medals and caricature drawings by Pier Leone Ghezzi at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe.

My gratitude goes to deans of the College of Arts and Sciences at Case Western Reserve University for sabbatical leaves dedicated to the various Ottoboni projects, particularly Samuel Savin and Cyrus Taylor.

The prefects of the Vatican Library, Alfonso Stickler, S.D.B. and Leonard Boyle, O.P. provided a pleasant facility and productive environment, and a staff that was ever helpful. My many extended visits to the Bibliotheca Hertziana were made comfortable and useful thanks to Ernst Gulden and Elizabeth Kieven, Head Librarians, and their competent personnel. I extend special thanks to this magnificent institution sponsored by the Max Planck Institut of Germany for its support of this invaluable research resource. Work and study were always a pleasure in this setting.

Early studies of Ottoboni patronage and family history included the detailed and comprehensive reports by Flavia Matitti and her early research which she shared with me most graciously. During several visits to Rome, she served as a kindly host and unselfish guide to important sources touching on the cardinal's paintings, library, and decorative arts. The late architect, Armando Schiavo, provided useful information on the Cancelleria during Ottoboni's tenure as Vice-Chancellor, and made available photographs and diagrams, and shared gracious hospitality. Giulia Fusconi of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe offered assistance with Ottoboni family graphic art, and invaluable aid in securing photographs.

Between visits to Rome and Venice, much research was conducted in the Ingalls Library of The Cleveland Museum of Art. I am grateful to Ann B. Abid, Head, and her successor, Betsy Lantz, and their cordial and efficient staffs of Louis V. Adrean, Christine Edmonson, Matthew Gengler, and Stacie A. Murray for the time and interest they gave to my many requests.

My thanks to Henry A. Millon for his reading of an early draft of this study, and to Vernon Minor for his reading of the finished draft.

I am indebted to Monika Michałowicz for her editing skills, efficiency, care, alertness, and tactful suggestions.

Abbreviation

Arch. Ottob.: Archivio Ottoboni, ASV

AS: Archivio di Stato, Rome

AS-M: Archivio di Stato, Modena

ASV: Archivio Storico del Vicariato, St. John Lateran, 3 Via Amba Aradam, Rome

AS-V: Archivio di Stato, Venice

BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BC: Biblioteca Correr, Venice

BM: Biblioteca Marciana, Venice

BNC: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome

BQS: Biblioteca Querini Stampalia, Venice

Comp. Ottob.: Computisteria Ottoboni, BAV

GNS: Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome

MEA: Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects

1 Introduction

1.1 Origins

The Ottoboni family established itself in Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through loyal service to the Serenissima.¹ Many of its members earned distinction in sea battles against the Ottomans. For their particular successes at the Battle of Lepanto in 1572, the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II honored the Ottoboni by allowing them to add the Imperial double-headed eagle to their coat of arms. Three members of the family had served as Grand Chancellors of the Venetian state, the highest official level of service allowed to those who were not members of the Venetian nobility. The third of these, Marco Ottoboni (1554-1649), corrected this limitation on family ambition by buying entry into the Venetian nobility for 100,000 ducats in 1646.² This enterprising individual was the father of Pietro Vito Ottoboni whose election to the papacy in 1689 as Alexander VIII made him the first Venetian pope in 200 years. The Ottoboni palace in Venice was in the hands of Antonio, the son of Alexander VIII's brother (Figure 1), and the father of another Pietro (1667-1740) whom his great-uncle quickly nominated cardinal and appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Church (see Family Tree, Table 1). Their palace still stands in the parish of San Zaccaria (Figure 1.1), no. 4250.³ It had been in the *contrada* di San Severo until the church of San Severo was demolished in 1830 for a political prison. Little remains of the original palace to capture the flavor of its late Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque history. Traces of the old ogive arches can be seen embedded in an exterior wall, trapped in the amber of modern renovations.⁴

1 A summary of Ottoboni family history can be found in Schiavo, 1964; Baroni, P. (1969). *Un conformista del secolo diciottesimo* (pp. 21-27). Bologna: Ponte Nuovo. For a comprehensive overview, see Matitti, 1997, 201-204. See also Olszewski, 2004, pp. 1-8.

2 The diploma of ascription is preserved in ASV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 339, August 24, 1646. Marco Ottoboni was among the first to take advantage of the new purchase of entry allowed by the Venetian government. See Corvan, A. (1985). *New Families in the Venetian Patriciate, 1646-1718*. Ateneo Veneto, 23/1-2, 55-57.

3 AS-V, Sala di Studi, cons. 25 533 III, (1830). *Delle iscrizioni veneziane raccolte ed illustre da Emanuele Antonio Cigogna cittadino Veneto* (pp. 100-101), Venice.

4 An inscription ("IN HOC SALELLO...") located the room in which the pope had been born which was later converted to a private oratorio (*Cigogna*, p. 102, as in note 3), and a black marble plaque of later vintage placed in the palace identified its former owner, "ALEXANDER VIII PONT. MAX...."

Table 1: Ottoboni Family Tree.

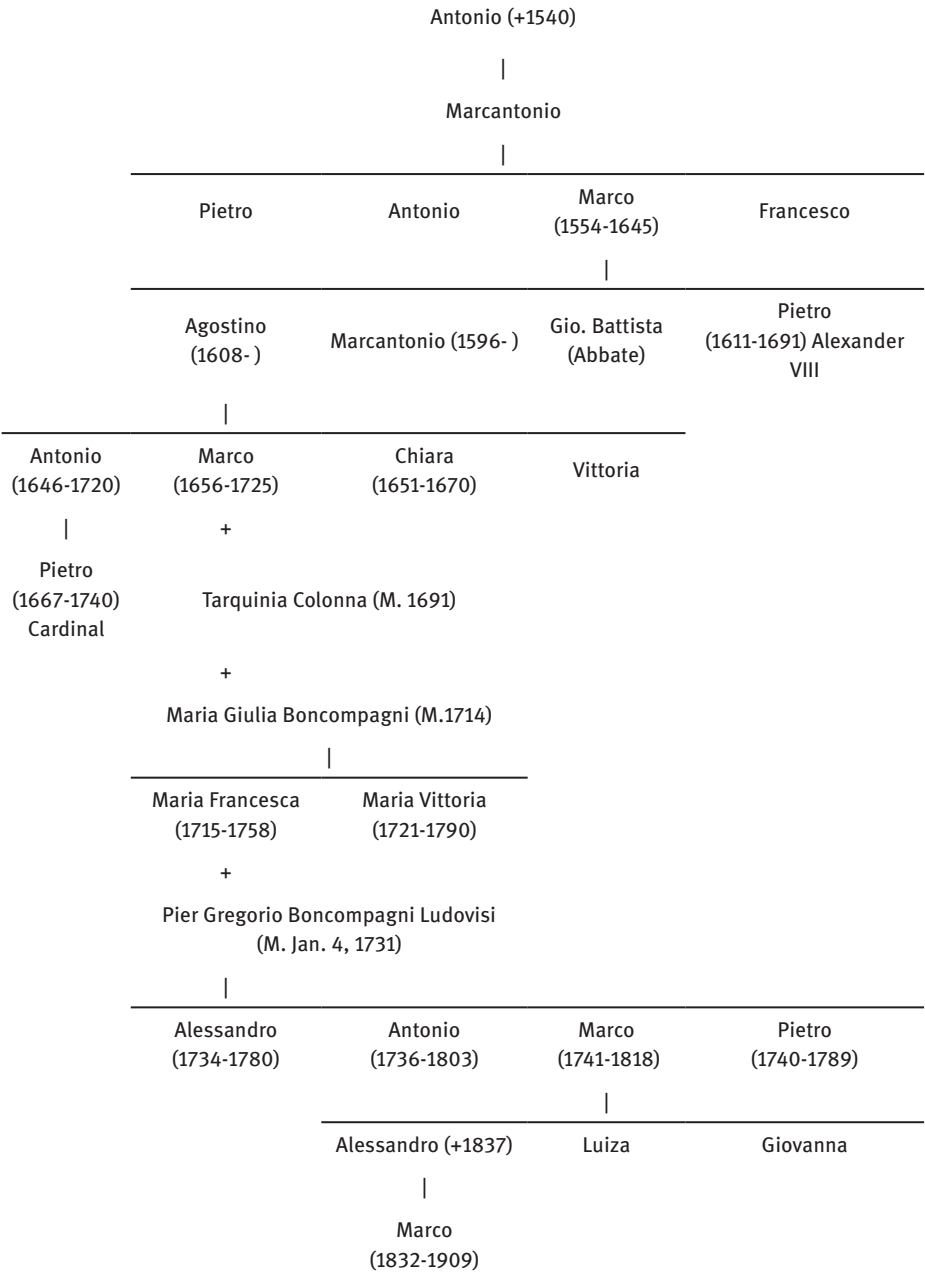




Figure 1.1: Palazzo Ottoboni, Venice.

The palace became the possession of Marco Ottoboni's widow after the death of the brothers Antonio in 1720 and Duke Marco in 1725. It had been forfeited to the Venetian state in 1689 when, on Alexander VIII's appointment of Antonio as General of the papal forces, the Venetian government repossessed all Ottoboni holdings in the city in response to what it considered to be a repudiation of allegiance to the Serenissima. This difficulty was resolved in 1701, but the Venetians seized the Ottoboni goods a

second time in 1710 when Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni was appointed Protector of the French Crown (Figure 1.2).⁵ The Venetian state finally relented when Antonio died in 1720.⁶ After the death of his brother Marco five years later, it returned the palace to Marco's widow, the Duchess of Fiano, Maria Giulia Boncompagni Ottoboni.



Figure 1.2: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni as Protector of the French Crown, 1710, engraving.

⁵ Valesio, IV, p. 329, September 9, 1709. See also the letter of Charles-François Poerson to the Duke d'Antin concerning the Venetian threat of the removal of the Ottoboni name from the libro d'oro; *Correspondance*, vol. 3, pp. 319-320, no. 1374, September 14, 1709. The circulation of the engraving was prohibited by the Venetian state and all impressions were ordered destroyed.

⁶ Correspondence from the President of the French Academy in Rome referred to the restoration of all rights and privileges to the Ottoboni house; *Correspondance*, vol. 5, p. 301, no. 2215, February 20, 1720; p. 320, no. 2227, April 16, 1720. For the division of goods in Venice in 1725, see ASV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 53. A decree in favor of the Duke of Fiano's daughters was sent to Ottoboni from Venice; Chracas, vol. 37, no. 1322, January 26, 1726, p. 10. Duke Marco can be identified at the bottom of the dynastic portrait in right profile (Figure I); Antonio Ottoboni appears at the right of the group portrait in left profile facing his son, Cardinal Pietro.

1.2 Papal Patronage

The most prominent member of the Ottoboni family was the new pope, Alexander VIII (Figure 1.3). His legal training prepared him for an illustrious career that began with his appointment in 1634 as Uditore della Sacra Rota. Four years later he was made governor of Terni, then in 1640, governor of Rieti, and the following year of Città di Castello. Innocent X Pamphili appointed him cardinal in 1652, and made him Bishop of Brescia in 1654, where he served for ten years. His legal rulings during this decade were sufficiently distinguished for their prudence and judgment to merit publication.



Figure 1.3: Lorenzo Ottoni, *Pope Alexander VIII*, c. 1690, marble.

When Bishop Ottoboni returned to Rome in 1664 he became a member of the *squadron volante*, a watchdog group dedicated to reform. Clement IX Rospigliosi made him his Papal Datario. Clement X Altieri assigned him the bishopric of Sabina in 1682, of Frascati two years later, then of Porto and Santa Rufina in 1687. These late appointments were often stepping stones to the papacy to which Ottoboni was elected on 6 October 1689 as Alexander VIII.

When he resided in Palazzo di San Marco (Palazzo Venezia) in Rome as cardinal-protector of the Venetian nation, he assembled his sizeable art collection and acquired the library of the Altemps family and later that of Queen Christina of Sweden. Her more than 3,000 Latin manuscripts and 700 Greek manuscripts, now in the Fondo Ottoboni of the Vatican Library, were inherited by his cardinal-nephew, and acquired for the Vatican from his heirs by Benedict XIV in 1748.

Alexander's predecessor, Innocent XI, put an end to papal nepotism, even terminating the function of Vice-Chancellor, but Ottoboni favored his family with appointments, and reinstituted the Vice-Chancellorship with his cardinal-nephew, whom he also made cardinal-deacon of San Lorenzo in Damaso and Soprintendente Generale dello Stato Ecclesiastico. The pope's successor, Innocent XII Pignatelli finally ended nepotism although the nephew's positions as cardinal and Vice-Chancellor were life time appointments. Alexander liberalized papal policies with celebrations, grain allowances, ceremonies, theater performances, and the revival of carnival.

Alexander's brief pontificate of sixteen months (October 6, 1689 – February 1, 1691) left little time for major commissions, and came at a period in the history of the Church when the papacy was distracted by military campaigns in Eastern Europe, its funds drained in response to Ottoman inroads. For more than fifty years from the papacy of Innocent XI in 1676 to after that of Clement XI (d. 1721), the Church paid little attention to the construction of monumental projects. Papal priorities had turned to social and political concerns, reflected in architecture by the refurbishing and construction of hospitals and granaries, and by the completion of ports and customs houses.

Pope Alexander VIII's foray into architectural patronage took advantage of Carlo Fontana's (1638-1714) skills in a modest way by modification of the Fontana Paola with the addition of a basin to the five-bay fountain structure begun by Flamino Ponzio in 1610.⁷ Paul V had Ponzio assemble the fountain on the Janiculum in a design similar to Sixtus V's Aqua Felice. Later, the Chigi pope, Alexander VII, established a botanical garden behind the fountain which could be viewed through the three central arches of its backdrop. Alexander VIII added the final touch in 1690. The project reflected the pope's concern for the Roman populace as indicated by inscriptions on papal coins, such as RE FREMENTARIA RESTITUTA which celebrated his lowering of the cost of grain.⁸

⁷ Blunt, pp. 229-230; Braham & Hager, p. 13; Hager, H. "Fontana, Carlo," *MEA*, II, p. 96.

⁸ Although Fontana had held the title of *misuratore della Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Pietro* since 1666, he would not become architect of St. Peter until six years after Alexander's death (that is, in 1697).

Alexander VIII's other venture in architecture came early in his reign with the acquisition of the former Palazzo Ludovisi on the Via del Corso for his brother's son, Marco Ottoboni.⁹ The purchase price of 170,000 *scudi* for the Duchy of Fiano which was in the diocese of Nepi included 55,000 *scudi* for a palace in Rome next to San Lorenzo in Lucina (Figure 1.4).¹⁰ Originally built for the titular cardinal of that church, the palace had been sold by Pope Urban VIII in 1624 to the Principe Michele Peretti who then enlarged it after the designs of Carlo Maderno.¹¹ Eight window bays demarcated by pilasters distinguish the *piano nobile* on the Piazza di San Lorenzo in Lucina. Triangular pediments are reserved for the fenestration at this level which is further emphasized by a balustrade above. The balustrade also serves as an ersatz balcony for the third floor windows; rectangular windows above them define an attic story beneath the cornice.

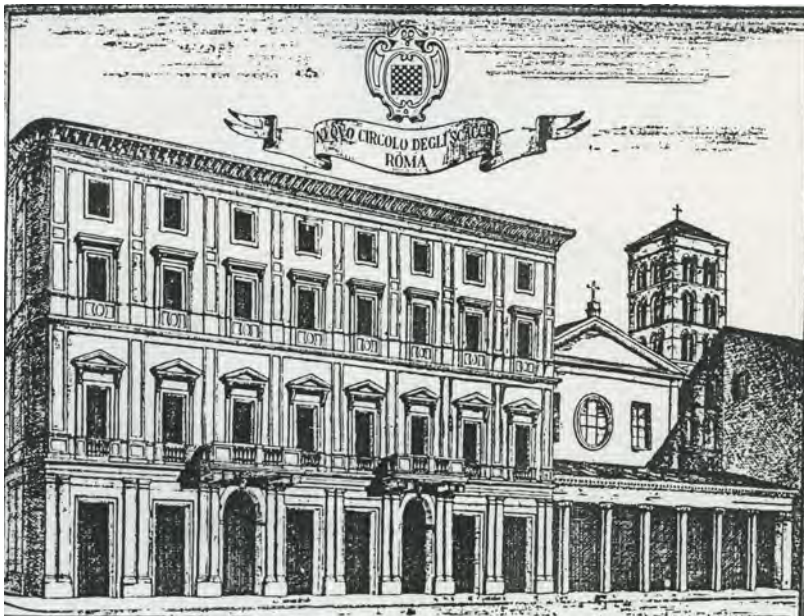


Figure 1.4: Palazzo Fiano, Rome.

For the most recent accounts on Fontana, see Olszewski, "Carlo Fontana," I, pp. 267-270, Hager, H., "Fontana, Carlo," MEA, II, pp. 92-99, and bibliography therein.

⁹ December 2, 1690; the document for its purchase is dated January 7, 1691; ASV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 121.

¹⁰ Campello, p. 74, December 16, 1694; Clerici, 9-10. The location of the Palazzo Fiano was not outside of Rome in the Duchy, but on the Via del Corso; Pinto, 1980, p. 303.

¹¹ Blunt, 1982, p. 159. Hibbard, p. 217; *Guide rionali*, 1977, III, parte I, pp. 82-88.

Alexander's gift was part of a package that included the marriage on September 30, 1690 of Marco Ottoboni and Tarquinia Colonna to ensure the Ottoboni line. Unfortunately, the Duchess died childless in 1714. The pope's niece, Cornelia Zeno, was wed to a member of the Barberini family to become the princess of Palestrina in further fulfillment of Ottoboni pretensions in Rome. Marco's palace on the Via del Corso now became the Palazzo Fiano (Figure 1.5). The name, Marco Ottoboni, appears above the major entrance within the *cortile* (Figure 1.6), and a splendid fountain in the spacious courtyard contains the double-headed eagle of the Ottoboni family crest, but only dating from c. 1888 (Figure 1.7).¹²



Figure 1.5: Nolli Map of Rome (Palazzo Fiano, San Lorenzo in Lucina, detail), 1748.

A final project associated with Alexander VIII was the catafalque for his funeral which the papal architect, Mattia De' Rossi (1637-1695), had assembled in the Vatican Chapel of Sixtus IV for the members of the pope's family and court to pay their respects (Figure 1.8). De' Rossi had been a trusted assistant to Bernini, and replaced him as architect of the Fabbrica di San Pietro in 1680.¹³ Highly respected, he served as president of the Academy of Saint Luke in 1681 and 1690-1693.

¹² *Guide rionali*, 1977, III, parte I, p. 88.

¹³ For more on De' Rossi, see Olszewski, "Rossi, Mattia de," I, pp. 756-757; Menichella, A. (1985). *Matthia de' Rossi discepolo prediletto del Bernini* (p. 80). Rome: Salimbeni; Hager, H. Mattia De Rossi, *MEA*, I, pp. 561-565; Menichella, A. Matthia de' Rossi architetto pontificio, in *La Confessione*, pp. 102-119; Fagiolo M. and Carandini, S. (1977). *L'Effimero barocco, Strutture della festa nella Roma del 600* (p. 329). Rome; Baldinucci, F. (1966). *The Life of Bernini* (pp. 51, 59, 67-68, 87, 91, 105, 108). Enggass, C. (Transl.). University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.



Figure 1.6: Ottoboni Doorway, Courtyard, Palazzo Fiano, Rome.



Figure 1.7: Ottoboni Fountain, 1880s, courtyard, Palazzo Fiano, Rome.

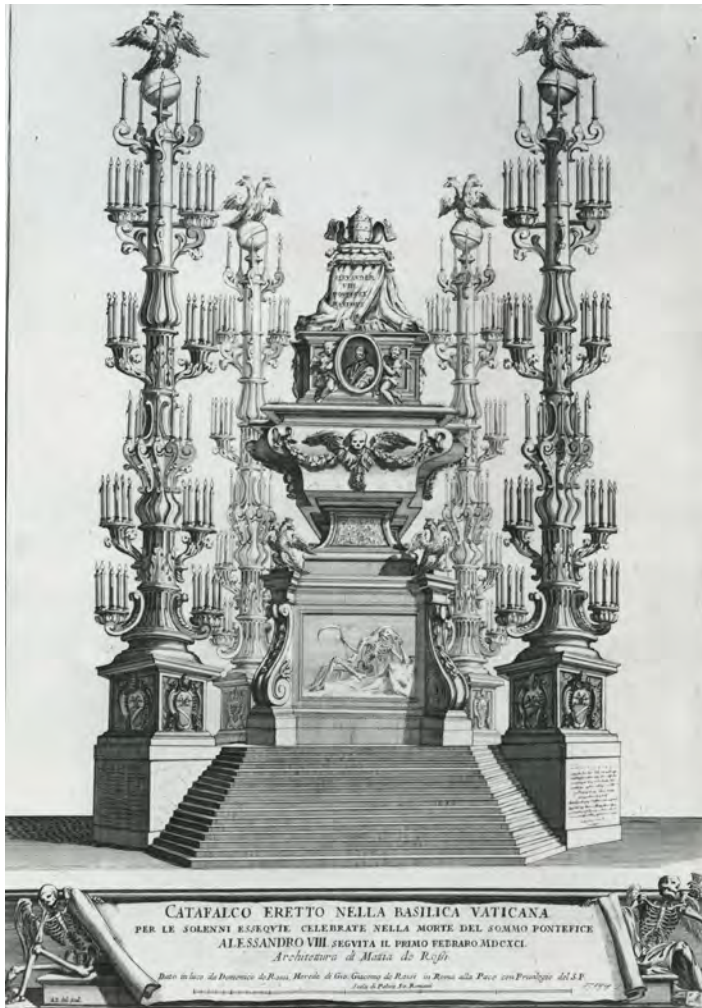


Figure 1.8: Matteo De' Rossi, *Catafalque for Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni*, 1691, engraving.

De' Rossi elevated the pope's casket on a pedestal for better viewing and omitted the canopy sometimes found above the bier. With these elements and the inclusion of obelisks, the catafalque looked similar to that for the funeral of Pope Alexander VII.¹⁴ De' Rossi further decorated it with numerous candles and four portraits of the

¹⁴ The catafalque is described briefly in Braham, A. (1975). *Funeral Decorations in Early Eighteenth Century Rome* (pp. 5-6). London: Victoria & Albert Museum. The catafalque for Alexander VII is illustrated in Borsi, F. (1984). *Bernini* (p. 278, fig. 359). New York: Rizzoli.

pope painted by Domenico Paradisi.¹⁵ The Ottoboni eagles and banded globes were ubiquitous.

After three days, the catafalque, obviously collapsible, was moved to the chapel of the Trinity to afford the public better viewing. Indeed, De' Rossi had designed the catafalque as a composite structure so that it could be dismantled for future use, thereby reducing its cost by 5,000 *scudi*.¹⁶ This also suggests that it was the property of the Church and not a family commission by Cardinal Ottoboni.

The death of his great-uncle left Cardinal Ottoboni a powerful figure in the Church hierarchy because his position as Vice-Chancellor was, like the papacy, a life time appointment. The cardinal was a handsome figure, temperamental, and well versed in the arts, although his creative talents were not always impressive, nor his judgment always sound. He was something of a ladies' man. Ottoboni delayed taking Holy Orders for thirty years to leave open the prospect of matrimony. His attempts at marriage were frustrated by lack of both income and titles. If he renounced his cardinalate he would lose his only source of income. Consequently, he remained entrenched in the Cancelleria where he dictated Roman tastes for half a century. His architectural patronage began with the Cancelleria which required renovations that engaged architects for fifty years.

The Cancelleria was one of Rome's largest and most venerable palaces. Grand even by Baroque standards, this late fifteenth century structure housed the bureaucratic center of the Church as the office of the papal Vice-Chancellor. Today it parallels the Corso Vittorio Emanuele. The street of the silversmiths, via del Pellegrino, runs along the south wall. Two portals on the southeast façade give entry to the palace courtyard and to the titular basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso.¹⁷ Suites of apartments along the palace periphery surround the parallel rectangular spaces of *cortile* and basilica. The piazza of the east façade is a spacious link between Campo dei Fiori and Piazza Farnese to the south and Piazza Navona to the north.

When Alexander VIII appointed his great-nephew cardinal, and a week later, vice-chancellor, the palace became Pietro Ottoboni's private residence. The latter

¹⁵ The date of the *conto* submitted by Domenico Paradisi for the paintings would suggest that the commission was originally Alexander's: BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol 25, no. 203, January 20, 1690; "Conto di pitture fatte p il Catafalco della felice M.a do P.a Alesandro Ottavo in S. Pietro." For more on Paradisi, see Olszewski, 1982, 107-108; 2004, pp. 31-34; Pinto, 1980, pp. 306-307, and Hager, H. (1970). *Filippo Juvarra e il concorso di modelli del 1715 bandito da Clemente XI per la nuova sacrestia di S. Pietro* (p. 36), Rome: De Luca Editore.

¹⁶ BAV, Cod. Ottob 3362, *Avvisi*, part 1, February 10, 1691; "Le Spese del Catafalco, e Cere, dove prima erano di m/7 Scudi, hora non sono più, che di m/2 essendosi anco avvertito di fare il congiungere insieme, e servire in alter occasioni a funerali de Pontefici da venire."

¹⁷ Originally dedicated as Santi Lorenzo e Damaso to the two paleo-Christian saints, the name changed through the centuries to San Lorenzo in Damaso. For the Cancelleria, see Lavagnino; Schiavo, 1964; Heydenreich and Lotz, pp. 67-70. The parade front was along the southeast corner; Burroughs, pp. 136-137.

function was an administrative position of power and importance second only to that of the pope. The Vice-Chancellor presided over meetings of the Curia, and proposed candidates for vacant benefices at various levels in the Church hierarchy. Appointed at the age of twenty-two, Ottoboni served six popes, and died in 1740 during the conclave that would have elected a seventh.

The Cancelleria had been the residence of several prominent Vice-Chancellors such as Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII), Paolo Farnese (later Pope Paul III), and Alessandro Farnese. The palace had been vacant since the death of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1679. Because his family had removed belongings from the premises, it was much in need of renovation. Ottoboni had to refurbish the Cancelleria to renew the function of the Church bureaucracy, and to convey something of the splendor of his office. As a personal dwelling, comfort and convenience were also considerations. The young cardinal initiated a three-year campaign of renovation with energy and enthusiasm. He engaged the painter Domenico Paradisi (c. 1660-1727), who assembled a team of artists and artisans to embellish the palace halls.¹⁸ During this time, Ottoboni made more than 300 payments to painters and craftsmen for more than 70,000 *scudi*, and eventually made claims of 12,000 *scudi* in damages against the Barberini.¹⁹ Pietro Rossini attested to the success of Ottoboni's efforts in his Roman guidebook of 1693, the *Mercurio Errante delle Grandezze di Roma*, in which he lauded the palace as one of the most culturally vital courts in the city.²⁰

Ottoboni could have known Paolo Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*, 1510, a treatise on the ideal cardinal's palace which offered descriptions of known palaces at the time, including the recently constructed Cancelleria.²¹ Its first occupant was its builder, Cardinal Raffaello Riario, papal chamberlain to Pope Julius II (r. 1503-1513), although he was never Vice-Chancellor. Cortesi's listing of the palace household included architects, painters, singers, physicians, orators, and poets. Ottoboni's official *famiglia* contained a similar cast of professions.²² Cortesi's household numbered 120 with a stable of forty horses. Ottoboni's monthly lists of expenses averaged 100 residents, at times approaching 120. Daily feed bills for the horses revealed a stable ranging between 32 to 45 horses.²³

For Cortesi, the head of the household was a Church functionary, a bureaucrat, and a patron of culture. Because the palace represented the outward manifestation of

¹⁸ For Paradisi, see Olszewski, 1982; 1997; 1999, p. 108, n. 4; 2004, pp. 31-34. His work for Ottoboni may have begun as early as February 1691. He submitted bills for 2,500 *scudi* for the last half of the year.

¹⁹ BAV, Arch. Barb., Ind. II, 2282bis.

²⁰ See Rossini, pp. 68-71.

²¹ See Weil-Garris and D'Amico, pp. 45-123.

²² Weil-Garris and D'Amico, p. 56.

²³ Weil-Garris and D'Amico, pp. 100, n. 2, 103, n. 34. BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 63, after no. 24, for feed bills of June 1711 to May 1712.

a social unit, Ottoboni was obliged to practice Aristotelian *magnificentia*. The façade as a signifier of importance was complemented by a sumptuous interior given the free access of the faithful (and visitors) to the palace grounds. Splendor served public display and hospitality.²⁴ As a guarantee, Cortesi advised a generous money supply for the Vice-Chancellor to dispense charity, avoid bribery, and live in dignity, noting that not all churchmen came from families of means, a point particularly apt in Ottoboni's case given his lack of a personal fortune.

Rossini's guidebook went beyond Cortesi's general guidelines and confirmed the archival documents by presenting Ottoboni's embellishments in vivid detail. The portico to the courtyard was flanked by a pair of marble carvings of Roman matrons.²⁵ From the *cortile*, a grand staircase ascended to the Ottoboni apartments on the *piano nobile*, or second floor. Here the *Sala Riaria* or public reception hall was the largest of a suite of eleven rooms. This antechamber with its balconies for singers and musicians also served as a performance hall for oratorios and puppet shows. It was the *locus* for conducting the business of the Holy See such as granting church benefices and indulgences.

The *Sala Riaria* contained ten small tables of oriental alabaster, probably alternating with the dozen gilded figures of Moors, all placed along the periphery of the hall. Rossini is not explicit about the arrangement, but it must have been rhythmic in conformity with the Cardinal's Arcadian tastes, and to lend order to the flamboyant tracery on frames and table legs. Color schemes must have reflected the cardinal's office and Ottoboni family livery of blue and silver.

Rossini noted an ebony and silver *studio* with silver vases, and unspecified silver figures. Ottoboni positioned a portrait of Alexander VIII, perhaps that by Baciccio (now lost), beneath a rich cornice with foliate tracery and lavishly gilded figures. Restorations in 1866 resulted in the addition of a lower cornice to mitigate the height of the room. Above the cornice, a large clock dating from Cardinal Francesco Barberini's commission in 1667 dominated the wall.²⁶ This was supported by Baciccio's *Allegory of Time*, with frescoed figures of Apollo, Chronos, Day and Night, set against a simulated crimson hanging.

Rossini called attention to the dozen door and window curtains with gold embroidery, each valued at 700 *scudi*, figures in silver, and a pair of golden lions with cherubs alluding to the cardinal's native Venice. A silver model of Castel Sant'Angelo referenced the function of Ottoboni's father, Antonio, and uncle, Marco, in their charge of papal troops. Also decorating the chamber were paintings by Raphael, Titian, Veronese, Giovanni Lanfranco, and Pietro da Cortona, added from his great-uncle's

²⁴ Weil-Garris and D'Amico, p. 56.

²⁵ Rossini, p. 68.

²⁶ Enggass, R. (1976). Baciccio: A New Fresco and Two Modelli. *Burlington Magazine*, 118, 589; Pio, p. 156.

collection which had been transported from Palazzo di San Marco when he became pope. Alexander had resided there as cardinal-protector of the Venetian nation. Most of the transported paintings were religious works, such as Guido Reni's *Ecce Homo* and *Madonna and Child*, and Pietro da Cortona's *Madonna and Child with Saint Martina*. The pope acquired the latter, now in the Kimbell Museum of Art, Fort Worth, from the collection of Prince Maffeo Barberini. There were also secular subjects, such as Reni's *Bacchus and Ariadne* and Giovanni Maria Crespi's *Adonis*.

Rossini mentioned a harpsichord in the *Sala Riaria* which might have been that painted by Luca Giordano (1632-1705) which displayed the Ottoboni arms and a cardinal's hat on the body of the instrument, and a *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* on the inside of the cover.²⁷ More than a dozen harpsichords were listed in the cardinal's inventory, several probably in the apartments of his resident musicians, such as Andrea Adami and Arcangelo Corelli. Others were moved about as the music-loving cardinal presented concerts for various audiences in different settings throughout the palace, such as the *Sala Riaria*, the *cortile*, the chapel, the garden, his private rooms, and the nave of San Lorenzo. A payment to Paradisi for 100 *scudi* in 1696 for painting a *cassa* or box with fanciful animals and floral patterns might have referred to the body of a harpsichord.

Also on the *piano nobile* were Giorgio Vasari's frescoes in the adjacent, grand *Sala dei Cento Giorni*, painted in 1564 for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in honor of his grandfather, Pope Paul III. Ottoboni never attempted such permanent aggrandizement of his family because the Cancelleria was a bureaucratic center, and he lacked private wealth and income. Consequently, decorations in the palace honoring the Ottoboni house are rare unlike more secular residences such as the nearby Palazzo Farnese, or the Palazzo Barberini where family promotion is clearly manifest. Given Ottoboni's dependence on benefices, he was unwilling to expend personal funds on projects of this scale. For example, when plans were announced to decorate the *Sala Riaria* to honor the papacy of Clement XI Albani in 1718, Ottoboni initially refused to bear the expenses because he had not initiated the project.

Ottoboni had commissioned several large paintings and sculptural projects in 1714 to celebrate his twenty-fifth anniversary as cardinal and vice-chancellor, but neglected needed renovations of the *Sala Riaria*. Pope Clement delegated Lodovico Sergardi to see to its refurbishment, to the choice of artists and subjects, and to repair of its roof, providing a niggling budget of 500 *scudi*. Sergardi was Secretary of the Fabbrica di San Pietro and a member of the Arcadian Academy.²⁸

Sergardi had Old Testament subjects placed on large panels below the ceiling. Other scenes honored the eighteen-year papacy of Clement XI, such as the six

²⁷ Two harpsichords were moved "all' teatro del S.re Trevisani" in 1701; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 43, February 1701.

²⁸ Rudolph, 1978.

simulated bronze medallions on opposite walls depicting events from his reign. Ten *vedute* (eight survive) portray the various churches that Clement had renovated and some of his early works projects. Niches opposite the window wall were decorated with personifications of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture.

Rossini mentioned other rooms that Ottoboni freshened with wall coverings in gold brocade, tapestries, chairs, and matching canopies. These may have been some of the 16,000 *scudi* of fabrics and crystal he purchased during several months in Venice in 1693.²⁹ Rossini did not identify a hall of mirrors but references to such a room suggest his purchases may have included glassware, chandeliers, and mirrors.³⁰

Canopied beds in crimson damask and gold braid with matching chairs occupied two state bedrooms. One had a litter supported by gilded cherubs, a marble portrait bust of Queen Christina of Sweden (r. 1632-1654, d. 1689), and a throne said to have been acquired from her. This was upholstered in gold brocade with accompanying tapestries. Rossini recommended the portrait bust as the most beautiful in Rome.³¹ Ottoboni's *maestro di casa* and court musician, Andrea Adami, claimed in a sworn statement after the cardinal's death, that it was a carving by Bernini that Alexander VIII had acquired from the Queen's estate.³² Near the bedrooms, the cardinal's chapel contained frescoes by Francesco Salviati and Perino del Vaga.

Also in the suite of apartments was an aviary with a perspective view, ornaments, and a lively fountain. Ottoboni's library was housed in the five remaining rooms on the *piano nobile* conveniently located on the southeast side of the palace favored by the morning light as Cortesi had advised in his treatise. An apartment above the *piano nobile* had a room with miniature portraits as well as the famous collection of ancient medals assembled by Ottoboni's great-uncle. Domenico Paradisi painted large sheets of canvas murals with floral motifs, birds, putti, masks, and the heraldic double-headed eagles of the Ottoboni arms for several of these rooms. Ottoboni's inventories describe these murals as mostly landscapes and seascapes, with some identified more precisely as hunting and fishing scenes, a Diana the Huntress, a Cerberus, and a Hercules.³³ Other scenes apparently positioned above wainscoting were painted by Francesco Borgognone (c. 1660-1731). Rossini praised Ottoboni's beautiful garden with its grand trees including several varieties of citrus. This would have been along the back or northwest corner adjacent to the palace stables.³⁴

Paradisi was paid for pigments for Ottoboni's first theater in May 1690.³⁵ Intended to be a commercial venture, it was located on the ground floor for easy public access.

²⁹ Campello, 1887, p. 57; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, no. 172.

³⁰ See Olszewski, 1999, p. 108, n. 20.

³¹ Rossini, p. 70; "Il ritratto della Regina Cristina di marmo, è il piu bello che si trova in Roma."

³² Olszewski, 2004, p. 221.

³³ ASR, R.C.A. 604, nos. 689, 691-695, 697-698.

³⁴ ASM, busta 67 [66], Avvisi di Roma, April 29, 1690.

³⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 15, no. 615, May 24, 1690.

The architect was Simone Felice del Lino, a pupil of Carlo Fontana. The end of Alexander's brief papacy in early 1691 frustrated Ottoboni's plans. The new pope, Innocent XII Pignatelli (r. 1691-1700), ordered the theater to be dismantled in 1692, and Ottoboni obviously complied because Rossini made no mention of it in his guidebook of 1693.³⁶

Within two years, however, a new theater was underway; this was a private chamber for puppet performances.³⁷ There was a respected Roman tradition for puppet enactments of religious plays, and the confined space free of live actors and a paying audience was deemed acceptable. This was located on the top floor of the Cancelleria opposite via del Pellegrino. A staircase led from the theater to the cardinal's private apartments below. Musical plays were performed here for Christmas in 1694 and 1695, and Ottoboni entertained the Imperial Ambassador in February 1696.³⁸ The following month, Ottoboni arranged for a lantern to be broken through the roof of the "teatrino nel stanzione," clearly a small theater in a large hall. This was cited in a *conto* a month later as "il teatro Novo de Burattini" which was a space for stick puppets, possibly life size.³⁹

The theater space continued to develop with the passing of years. In 1707 Pellegrini added steps, a stage, a door, and made scenery changes.⁴⁰ Then, between April 1709 and July 1710, another new resident, Filippo Juvarra, enlarged the theater to a full performance hall with four tiers of loges, which requires further discussion.

36 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 13, March 2, 1690; "[Bastiano] Cartone falegname d'ordine per il modello fatto del Teatro ordinate dall'architetto d'ordine del S. S. Ottoboni...Felice Delino." BAV, Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3279, March 8, 1692; "Potevano gia far di meno del detto Decreto perche il detto Card.e gia ha dato principio à far disfare il suo teatro nella Cancelleria, e non vuol piu che si faccia l'altro à San Lorenzo in Lucina benche gia ne havetta fatto fare il disegno."

37 Identified as "Domenico Paradisi Architetto," he painted a curtain for a small theater for puppet performances, "per haver fatto piante e disegni e modelli per il teatrino;" BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 28, fasc. 71, 1695, for 300 *scudi*.

38 BAV, Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3359, fol. 24v, January 15, 1695; fol. 85v, December 31, 1695; Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3361, fol. 10v, February 4, 1696; "Il S.re Card. Ottoboni ha fatto propriare la recita della seconda comedia in musica nel suo teatreo de pupazzi."

39 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, March 24, 1694; April 11, 1694.

40 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 57, January 25 and March 12, 1707; vol. 76, July 16, 1707.

2 Architectural Beginnings

2.1 The First Architects

Pietro Ottoboni's great-uncle had appointed him cardinal barely a month after his election to the papacy in 1689.⁴¹ Coming from a family of distinguished Venetian chancellors, it seemed natural to the pope to make his nephew Vice-Chancellor of the Church as well, an appointment which earned him residency in Cardinal Riario's late Quattrocento palace of the Cancelleria (Figure 2.1).⁴² A fifty-year career as Vice-Chancellor put him in contact with the major architects in eighteenth century Rome (Table 2), and he maintained some of them as resident members of his court throughout his half-century as a patron of the arts.

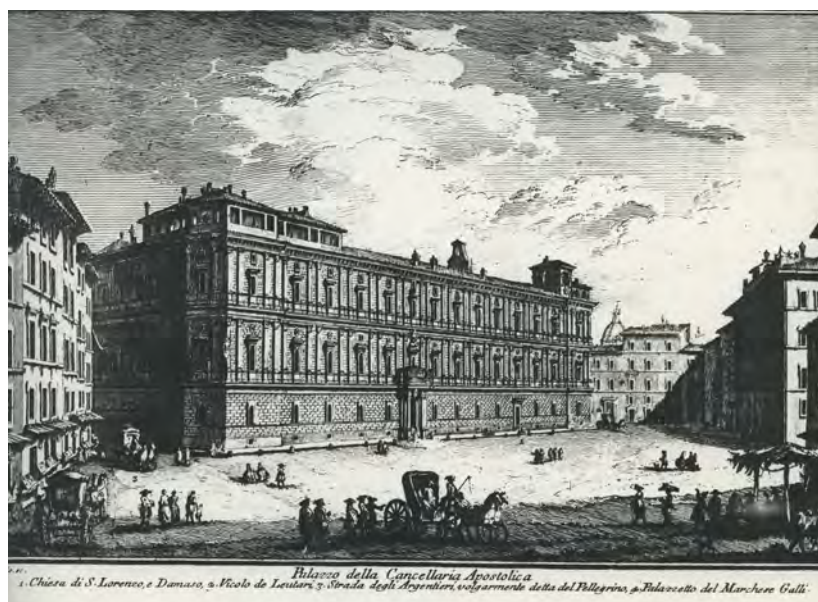


Figure 2.1: Palazzo della Cancelleria, engraving.

⁴¹ The pope's elevation of his nephew to cardinal was the only appointment made at his first consistory on November 7, 1689. See Cardella, vol. 8, p. 1; Moroni, "Ottoboni, Pietro Cardinale," 1851, vol. 50, p. 73; Ludwig von Pastor (1940), *History of the Popes* (vol. 32, pp. 542-543). For a survey of the literature on Cardinal Ottoboni, see Olszewski, 1986, 662, n. 18.

⁴² The palace was consecrated c. 1480. Its confines included the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso. See Schiavo, 1964.

Table 2: The Ottoboni Family Architects.

Carlo Fontana (1638-1714):

Fontana Paola, 1690; Tomb niche for Pope Alexander VIII, basilica of St. Peter, 1699.

Matteo De' Rossi (1637-1695):

Catafalque for funeral of Pope Alexander VIII, 1691.

Simone Felice del Lino (fl. 1680-1700):

Theater, Cancelleria, 1690; *machina*, 1689, 1695.

Carlo Enrico di San Martino (d. 1726):

Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII, basilica of St. Peter, 1695-1706; *machina*, 1697.

Giovanni Francesco Pellegrini (d. 1732):

Puppet theater, Cancelleria, 1696; *machina*, 1698, 1700, 1702, 1706.

Nicola Michetti (1675-1758):

machina, 1707-1710; scenography, 1729.

Filippo Juvarra (1678-1736):

Ottoboni theater, Cancelleria, 1708-1712; scenography, 1708-1712.

Ludovico Rusconi Sassi (1678-1736):

Carpentry, 1702; theater roof, Cancelleria, 1709-1710; tabernacle, via del Pellegrino, 1715; Holy Door, Santa Maria Maggiore, 1725; *machina*, 1725; Chapel of SS. Sacramento, San Lorenzo in Damaso, 1732-1736.

Domenico Gregorini (1690/95-1777):

Confessione, San Lorenzo in Damaso, 1736-1737.

Alessandro Mauri (fl. 1720s):

machina, 1727, 1728.

G.B. Oliverio (fl. 1725-1745):

machina, 1734-1736.

Francesco Ferrari (fl. 1725-1744):

machina, 1724, 1737, 1739.

The Cancelleria had been left unconsignated by Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi after the death of the previous Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, in 1679. Cesare Facchinetti was then nominated *pro-cancelliere*, and after his death in 1683, Innocent XI left the position vacant in an attempt to put an end to nepotism, but

Alexander proved this to be wishful.⁴³ When Ottoboni claimed the palace, he also complained that it had been vandalized by the Barberini family and required 12,000 *scudi* in repairs.⁴⁴ He devoted the early years of the 1690s to redecorating its interior, on one occasion spending months in Venice selecting 16,000 *scudi* of crystal and fabrics for the walls.⁴⁵ His preoccupation with the refurbishment of the palace and its expenditure of funds distracted the cardinal from turning attention to the Vatican tomb of his great-uncle (Figure 2.2) when the pope's reign ended in early 1691.⁴⁶



Figure 2.2: Carlo Enrico di San Martino, *Design for the Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni*, 1705, engraving.

⁴³ Schiavo, 1964, p. 100.

⁴⁴ BAV, Arch. Barb. II, 2282bis. On Ottoboni's death in 1740, his heirs were also accused of damaging the Cancelleria in their zeal to remove his possessions, requiring exactly 12,000 *scudi* of renovations. Valesio, VI, p. 421, December 11, 1740. A claim of 6,000 *scudi* in repayment for repairs was made as late as 1746 against the Ottoboni heirs; AS, R.C.A. 612, January 7, 1746, p. 9, and April 22, 1746, p. 300.

⁴⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, no. 172; Campello, 1887, p. 57. Angelo Recalcatti (c. 1635-Rome, April 3, 1709) is identified as in charge of projects in the Cancelleria in 1691. See Manfredi, T. Recalcatti Angelo Onorato, in *In Urbe*, p. 431, and *Il Monte Cenci. Una famiglia romana e il suo insediamento urbano tra medioevo ed età barocca*, Rome: 1988.

⁴⁶ Work on the tomb officially began in September 1695; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 31, no. 82, September 24, 1695; vol. 33, August 31, 1695. For a history of the tomb, see Olszewski, 1986, 2004.

The renovation of the Cancelleria required a decorator more than an architect, but Cardinal Ottoboni was an enthusiastic follower of music and theater, and it was for the purpose of designing and overseeing construction of his new theater in the Cancelleria that Simone Felice del Lino (c. 1655 – February 1697) became a resident in Ottoboni's court. A pupil of Carlo Fontana, del Lino was the first in the cardinal's official family to be identified as an architect, his name already entered in the palace rolls in February of 1690.⁴⁷

Del Lino had designed a devotional *machina* for Ottoboni's basilica in honor of the feast of San Damaso in December of 1689, and every year from 1690 to 1695 for Forty Hours devotions. His work for Ottoboni in the Cancelleria included the library (Figure 2.3) and a meeting hall for Ottoboni's academicians which may also have accommodated a puppet theater. Del Lino designed a chamber of mirrors at the Palazzo Fiano for the elders in the Ottoboni family. Carried out at the cardinal's discretion, the project was under the supervision of Carlo Fontana, and occupied del Lino to September of 1696.⁴⁸



Figure 2.3: Library, Cancelleria, 1697, etching.

⁴⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 13, "Rollo di Famiglia," February 1690, fasc. 167. See Braham & Hager, pp. 10, 18, 68. See also Iacobini, S. Delino Simone Felice, in *In Urbe*, pp. 349-350; Pascoli, 1736, II, pp. 548-549.

⁴⁸ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 22, no. 345, 1691; vol. 30, no. 36, September 1694, and vol. 31, 1695, "Rollo di Famiglia, Diversi," as "Simone Felice del Lino architetto," but with no stipend listed. Rolls for 1696 and 1697 are lost, but by 1698 del Lino is replaced by Pellegini as "Architetto" under "Diversi" with a monthly stipend of eight *scudi*; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol 38, no. 6, "Rollo di Famiglia," June 1698. In 1681, del Lino had made a model of the villa "Versaglia" near Formello for Cardinal Flavio Chigi from Fontana's design. Del Lino had been entered in the family rolls of Queen Christina of Sweden in 1689 as a sculptor and architect. A religious *apparato effimero* commissioned for San Salvatore in Lauro in March of that year became a solicitation against the Queen's illness. Del Lino also constructed the *machina* for her funeral in Santa Maria in Valicella the following month, and assembled the model for a funerary monument for Christina in the Pantheon. He entered the rolls of Ottoboni's court on dispersal of the Queen's official family. In 1698, del Lino was finishing his design for the extension of the choir and a new altar at Santa Maria della Steccata in Parma; Braham & Hager, p. 68.

2.2 Early Theaters

One of the cardinal's first priorities for the renovations in the Cancelleria was the installation of a theater which he seems to have attended to shortly after his appointment as Vice-Chancellor. The carpenter Bastiano Cartone was paid 57.45 *scudi* in April of 1690 for having made a model of the theater intended for the palace, presumably from Felice del Lino's designs.⁴⁹ Expenses for its construction are recorded weeks later.⁵⁰ This was apparently the theater referred to as displacing part of the palace stables, which would have placed it on the ground floor at the northwest corner of the palace.⁵¹

In his account of Ottoboni's Lenten preparations in early 1692, Gaetano Marescotti alluded in passing to Ottoboni's "very beautiful theater."⁵² However splendid, the new theater was soon threatened. When the Pignatelli pope, Innocent XII, assumed the papacy after Alexander VIII's death, the religious mood in Rome became more somber, and the pope forbade festivals and theatrical performances. It was hardly appropriate for the official court of the Vice-Chancery of the Church to maintain performance facilities after the papal ban. Consequently, the theater was ordered dismantled in 1692.⁵³ Ottoboni delayed closing it immediately, and weeks later Marescotti reported him entertaining the Prince of Denmark with a musical comedy "in his theater in the Cancelleria."⁵⁴

Ottoboni also seems to have moved forward with his plans to locate some of his entertainment activities at his uncle's palace next to San Lorenzo in Lucina.⁵⁵ The seriousness of the pope's intentions regarding performances was demonstrated by his later order for the destruction of the commercial theater of the Tor di Nona which had been rebuilt on a larger scale under the supervision of Carlo Fontana at a cost

⁴⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, April 11, 1690, fasc. 60; to Bastiano Cartone, "p(er) le spese da lui fatte cioè, colla, tavola, chiodi, e giornate a'huomini in fare il Modello del Theatro fatto fare nel Palazzo della Cancelleria come dal suo conto... 57.45."

⁵⁰ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 15, no. 694, June 3, 1690.

⁵¹ Holmes, p. 92.

⁵² Marescotti, vol. 788, p. 308, January 19, 1692; "in Cancelleria dove fa lavorare in defessam.to un beliss,o teatro."

⁵³ BAV, Cod. Ottob. 3729, March 8, 1692, p. 221r; Il Card.e Ottoboni per farsi conoscere generto alli committori del Seminario Romano prepara di far recitare domani un bell'oratorio in ditto seminario, con tutto cio non potro piu volersi della loro commedia perche i Giesuiti hanno fatto gia decreto che non si possa piu recitare nel collegio sud.e commedie in musica. Potevano gia far di meno dell ditto Devreto perche il ditto Card.e Ottoboni gia ha dato principio à far disfare il suo teatro nella Cancelleria, e non vuol piu che si faccia l'altro à San Lorenzo in Lucina benche gia ne havetta fatto fare il disegno."

⁵⁴ Marescotti, vol. 788, p. 327, April 12, 1692.

⁵⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob. 3729, March 1, 1692, 193v; "Il Card.e Ottoboni e incapricciato di far vicino a San Lorenzo in Lucina un teatro per farvi recitar le commedie in tempo di Carnevale."

of 100,000 *scudi*.⁵⁶ The Tor di Nona is not unrelated to Cardinal Ottoboni, for he is recorded as purchasing seasonal subscriptions to loges there, and is mentioned in a letter as pursuing the prospect of investing in the Tor di Nona as a purely commercial venture.⁵⁷

The Frenchman, Jacques (Giacomo) d'Alibert, had first opened the Tor di Nona in 1671 in partnership with Queen Christina of Sweden. It was closed in 1674, presumably in anticipation of the Jubilee Year of 1675, but remained shut throughout the sober papacy of Innocent XI. The ascent to the papal throne of the spirited Venetian, Alexander VIII, was accompanied by a relaxation of the previous pope's severity. As a result, d'Alibert reopened the Tor di Nona for the carnival season of 1690. As Queen Christina had died in 1689, his new associate in the theater venture was Pietro Ottoboni.

Carnival that year officially extended from January 6 to February 8 (Ash Wednesday).⁵⁸ The opera performed at the Tor di Nona on January 5, the eve of Epiphany when Ottoboni's Arcadians held their major annual academy, was *La Statira*, with music composed by Alessandro Scarlatti and the libretto written by Ottoboni.⁵⁹ Accounts of Ottoboni's venture are reported in a series of letters written by the Abbate Giovanni Battista Mancini and preserved in the state archives in Florence and Modena.⁶⁰ The letters indicate that d'Alibert had sustained a financial loss from the performances, and so was allowed to continue them into Lent. Mancini had written just before Easter that Ottoboni's investment also suffered as he had lost "thousands of *scudi*": "Il detto Cardinale Ottoboni ha già fatto un quantità di miglaia di scudi di debito spesi...."⁶¹ Performances during Lent were moved to the more private theater in Ottoboni's Cancelleria, with the last three staged after Easter (which was March 26 that year).⁶² Mancini reported that *La Statira* was presented April 9 in the Cancelleria, but it was called an oratorio.⁶³ The opera had a cast of seven singers. There were eleven scene changes and two ballets.

Ottoboni's association with d'Alibert continued with the performance of *Il Columbo* in December 1690 and January 1691, but the cardinal was also planning to strike out as

⁵⁶ Cametti, I, pp. 22, 93-101.

⁵⁷ Holmes, p. 92.

⁵⁸ Weil has noted that the carnival period usually extended over nine days; Weil, 243. Alexander VII had limited the carnival period to the ten days preceding Ash Wednesday; Magnuson, II, p. 151.

⁵⁹ Ottoboni's autograph libretto is preserved in the Vatican library: BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2360, f. 1, 1689. Printed copies of the libretto are known. The opera has been studied by Holmes, p. 79.

⁶⁰ AS-F, Mediceo 3956 and 3408; AS-M, Busta 67 {66}, "Avvisi di Roma," Cavalleria Ducale-Estero Ambasciatori, Agenti e corrispondenti Estensi, Italia, Roma, vol. 259, Carteggi dell'Abbate Ponziroli. Excerpts of some of the letters are reproduced by Holmes.

⁶¹ AS-M, Busta 67 {66}, "Avvisi di Roma," March 22, 1690.

⁶² Holmes, pp. 79-92.

⁶³ AS-F, Mediceo 3956 & 3408, April 11, 1690: "Domenico sera il Sig. Card. Ottoboni fece rappresentare nella Cancelleria sotto titolo d'oratorio la comedia della Statira...." For more on *La Statira*, see Cametti, I, p. 74, II, p. 342-345.

an independent entrepreneur. In letters of April 29, Mancini reported that Ottoboni had torn down the stables at the Cancelleria to build “a superb theater,” presumably del Lino’s, for the following carnival season as a substitute to the Tor di Nona, and to engage “performers of the first rank.”⁶⁴ Clearly, this was more than just a puppet theater.

Puppet theaters were popular at the time.⁶⁵ These had shallow stages both for string marionettes (*puppazzi*) and for silhouette puppets manipulated by sticks (*burrattini*). By 1696, Ottoboni had installed such a theater in his palace, where he entertained the Imperial Ambassador in February, with other puppet performances held the rest of the week.⁶⁶ Highly popular in Roman society, the performances were both dramatic and musical in nature. More will be said of this theater shortly.

Other renovations in the Vice-Chancellor’s palace included suites for the more prominent members of his court, although it is not possible to locate rooms for all of the residents in Ottoboni’s palace.⁶⁷ Early references are made to the quarters for his violinist-composer, Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713), and the suite of his court painter, Francesco Trevisani (1656-1746).⁶⁸ Accounts of the delivery of materials to Trevisani’s rooms for use in the decoration of Corelli’s suite give us information of their presence in the palace. The cardinal’s sculptor, Angelo de’ Rossi (1671-1714), also had a studio in the Cancelleria on the top floor toward the silversmiths’ via del Pellegrino. It remained untouched for ten years after his death.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ AS-F, Mediceo 3956 & 3408, April 29, 1690: “Il Sig. Card. Ottoboni ha levete le stalle del suo palazzo della Cancelleria e vi fa un teatro da comedie molto superpo...”. AS-M, Busta 67 [66], “Avvisi di Roma,”; [Ottoboni] ha già fatto dar principio alla fabrica d’un teatro dentro il Palazzo della Cancelleria per farvi recitare le commedie nel carnevale futuro, et intende che questo succeda in luogo di Tordinona, e che in quello recitino Istrioni di prima riga...”. Holmes has stated (p. 92) that it would be many years before a permanent theater would be in use at the palace, unaware that del Lino’s theater had been completed and, like the Tor di Nona, was dismantled by order of Innocent XII.

⁶⁵ Signorelli, pp. 550-559.

⁶⁶ BAV, Ottob. Lat., 3361, p. 10v, February 4, 1696; “Il S.re Card. Ottoboni ha fatto preparare la recita della second commedia in musica nel suo teatro de pupazzi.” The Venetian ambassador, Morosini, had comedies performed in his court in 1705 with puppets which he had borrowed from Ottoboni; Valesio, III, p. 312, February 12, 1705. This was probably Scarlatti’s *La Pastorella*, a *pasticcio* opera based on Ottoboni’s libretto which was also later performed at Ottoboni’s “teatrino da musici senza habito teatrale;” Speaight, 1958, 9; Valesio, III, p. 553, February 10, 1706; p. 12v, February 11, 1696; p. 15v, February 18, 1696.

⁶⁷ For a review of the major residents in Ottoboni’s court, see Schiavo, 1979, 552-560.

⁶⁸ A bill of March 19, 1694, for 251.26 *scudi* was payment to the painter Domenico Paradisi for decorating three windows in Corelli’s apartment in the Cancelleria; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, no. 61. A *conto* or bill of 1698 refers to the “studio del Sig. Francesco Trevisani nella Cancelleria,” BAV, Comp. Ottob. Vol. 38, February 1698.

⁶⁹ Its location is reported by Schiavo from a *conto* for repairs to the roof of the palace; Schiavo, 1972, p. 345. Payments to laborers in 1723 make reference to marble for two statues of the personifications for the tomb of Pope Alexander VIII still in Rossi’s studio. BAV, Comp. Ottob. Vol. 83, nos. 20 and 35 (cancelled), July 10, 1724.

In his guidebook to Rome, Rossini referred to the famous library of Queen Christina of Sweden which had been purchased by Pope Alexander VIII as occupying a suite of five rooms on the *piano nobile* (see Figure 2.3), while Ottoboni's important tapestries decorated the suite of five rooms above.⁷⁰ The library alone attracted foreign visitors, and had been moved with other goods from the Palazzo di San Marco where Ottoboni's great-uncle resided as cardinal-protector of the Venetian nation. Also among the apartments was Ottoboni's gallery of paintings which occupied several rooms overlooking the piazza of San Lorenzo toward the southeast (Figure 2.4).⁷¹ In Ottoboni's apartment on the *piano nobile* could be found pictures by Bassano, Guido Reni, Titian, Veronese, Lanfranco, and Guercino, among others. One hall in the palace was devoted entirely to landscape paintings, and another room was described as decorated exclusively with forest tapestries. Ottoboni owned more than 100 landscape paintings, almost all by Gaspard Dughet. There was also a large art gallery emphasized by Rossini, which contained many of the cardinal's major paintings. These eventually included the series of *Seven Sacraments* by G.M. Crespi, Luca Giordano's *Last Supper* and *Marriage at Cana*, Sebastiano Ricci's *Raising of Lazarus*, as well as pictures by his resident painters, Francesco Trevisani, and later Sebastiano Conca. Another studio housed the collection of coins and medals assembled by Ottoboni's great-uncle.

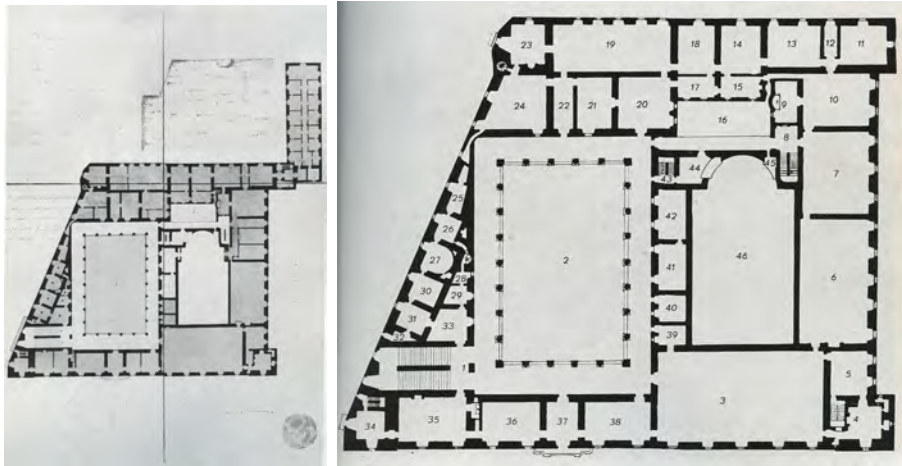


Figure 2.4: Cancelleria, Rome, plan of *piano nobile*.

⁷⁰ Chracas places the library on the *piano nobile* and locates the galleries above, confirming Pietro Rossini's descriptions of thirty-five years before; Chracas, vol. 45, no. 1627, January 10, 1728, pp. 8-12; Rossini, p. 70.

⁷¹ Rossini, p. 69; Schiavo, 1964, pp. 196-197. For the inventory of Ottoboni's paintings, see Olszewski, 2004.

2.3 Ottoboni Holdings

In 1710, Ottoboni had purchased a vineyard and casino in Trastevere from the Barberini family for 21,000 *scudi*.⁷² The casino was near the Palazzo Corsini and Villa Farnesina in the parish of San Cosimato.⁷³ The vineyard grounds included the present location of the American Academy (Figure 2.5). Ottoboni had paid a down payment for the property of 6,500 *scudi*, but on his death in 1740, the Barberini were among his creditors, claiming the remaining 14,500 *scudi*.⁷⁴ The Roman diarist, Francesco Valesio, reported that the Marchese Riario had given Ottoboni free use of his casino on the Lungara,⁷⁵ implying that this was for an indefinite period. This was the same Casino Riario where Queen Christina first stayed on her entry to Rome in 1655, and which was also reserved for the King of Denmark's visit to Rome in 1709 which never materialized.⁷⁶

Ottoboni rented half of the Palazzo de Cupis Ornani on Piazza Navona (Figure 2.6) in his capacity as cardinal-protector of the French Crown, a position made available to Ottoboni when Francesco Maria de' Medici resigned as cardinal in 1709 to marry and continue the family line.⁷⁷ As Vice-Chancellor of the Church, the cardinal was not allowed to display the French standard at his palace which was the Seat of the Holy See. Thus, he rented suites from his *maestro di camera*, the Marchese De Cupis Ornani.⁷⁸ The building is identified in Piazza Navona by G.B.

⁷² This was located as a "Villa & Vigna su le mura di Roma a S. Cosimato a Porto S. Pancrazio." Ottoboni paid only 6,500 *scudi* of the 21,000 *scudi* sale price for which his heirs were later sued by the Barberini family. AS, N.A.C. 1849, February 23, 1710, p. 166; ASV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 84, September 23, 1710, "Instrumento di Compra d.a / Vigna e Villa Barberini / a S. Cosimato / fatto dal Card. Pietro Ottoboni." For Ottoboni's purchase of a casino in Trastevere for 15,000 *scudi*, see AS, A.C. 1830, October 21, 1710, p. 1900v.

⁷³ S. Cosimato in Trastevere is identified with SS. Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea: Armellini, M. (1942). *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (II, pp. 815-820). 2 vols., Rome: Nicola Ruffolo.

⁷⁴ They also claimed an additional 14,000 *scudi* which represented 4% interest. A judgment of 2.75% was put on the interest request. At one point, the Barberini even suggested that their agents might have better luck pursuing the matter in the Venetian courts: BAV, Arch. Barb. IV, fasc. 637, 1740.

⁷⁵ Valesio, II, May 5, 1703, p. 587. This is to be distinguished from the so-called "casino Riario" in Ottoboni's garden of the Cancelleria; Valesio, III, July 11, 1706, p. 634.

⁷⁶ Valesio, IV, March 12, 1709, p. 246; March 21, 1709, p. 250; furnishings had been provided by the Barberini and by Livio Odescalchi acquired from the estate of Queen Christina of Sweden. An engraving of the casino is reproduced in Magnuson, II, p. 161. See also, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, no. 1336, March 23, 1709, p. 269.

⁷⁷ After the death of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1587, an earlier Medici cardinal had resigned his cardinalate so he might marry to continue the family line; Coffin, p. 232. In 1671, Camillo Pamphili surrendered his position to marry Donna Olympia Aldobrandini, and Cardinal Altieri took a similar course later in the century; Magnuson, II, pp. 6-7; Haskell, p. 147.

⁷⁸ For the rental of the Palazzo de Cupis, see BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 64, March 18, 1712; vol. 67, fasc. 116, December 10, 1714; vol. 79, fasc. 84, February 13, 1721; vol. 87, January 28, 1725, and Valesio, IV, August 6, 1709, p. 311; October 4, 1725, p. 590. For more on the palace, see *Guide rionali*, VI, Parte 1, 1973, pp. 32-34; Pietrangeli, pp. 247-255.



Figure 2.5: Nolli Map of Rome (Trastevere with Ottoboni vigna and Bosco Parrasio), 1748.



Figure 2.6: Palazzo de Cupis Ornani, Piazza Navona, Rome.

Nolli as no. 604 in his map of Rome of 1748 (Figure 2.7), but its principal façade was not on the Piazza Navona but behind on the Via del Anima.⁷⁹ Twelve window bays in a three story elevation define the palace block. The third floor is topped with an attic story identified by small rectangular windows. The fenestration of the *piano nobile* retains its sixteenth-century cornices, although the palace proper dates from the second half of the fifteenth century. Already in 1551, the Bufalini map of Rome showed the structure bifurcated in plan with two courtyards. G.B. De Rossi, the famous eighteenth-century engraver, had his shop on the ground floor.⁸⁰ The French minister, Cardinal Polignac, resided for a time in the other half of the palace.⁸¹

Ottoboni's great-uncle had also awarded him many rich benefices, but his favorite was the abbey palace of the Hieronymites in Albano where he spent many leisure hours.⁸² The ruined monastery of San Paolo had been turned into a splendid summer residence by the Venetian Cardinal Lodovico Trevisan in the sixteenth century.⁸³ Ottoboni visited the abbey every third Sunday in October, his presence usually accompanied by celebrations and lavish gifts to the church and to its priests and parishioners. Roman nobility and foreign luminaries were often invited to participate. For example, there were forty-four guests at his dinner in the abbey in 1720.⁸⁴ For his October festivities in 1722, Ottoboni celebrated with an exposition of the Sacred Host accompanied by an impressive devotional construction, or *machina*, in the abbey church.⁸⁵

Ottoboni also sought refuge in Albano on weekends and to escape the heat of the Roman summers. The retreat offered him the opportunity for withdrawal from the pressures of the court in the venerable tradition of *otium*, or restorative leisure, an ancient concept that had been revived by Petrarch.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ Viale Ferrero has mistakenly concluded on the basis of inscriptions on two drawings by Juvarra that Ottoboni owned the house; p. 71. The drawings are folio 50v in the Victoria & Albert Museum, and Ris. 59, 4a Carta 100 (3) in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin, which depicts Juvarra's drawings for festival illuminations of the palace façade. For the Palazzo de Cupis and explicit reference to its rental, see Valesio, IV, July 12, 1709, p. 299; August 6, 1709, p. 311; Pietrangeli, p. 255.

⁸⁰ Pietrangeli, p. 253; *Guide rionali*, VI, Parte I, 1973, p. 34.

⁸¹ *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3283, December 1, 1729, pp. 69-77; Pietrangeli, p. 251.

⁸² For more on Ottoboni at Albano, see *Correspondance*, vol. 3, no. 1386, November 2, 1709, p. 337, "Son Eminence M. le Cardinal Ottobon est toujours à Albano...;" no. 1387, November 9, 1709, p. 340; no. 1388, November 16, 1709, p. 341; no. 1460, October 18, 1710, p. 240; *Chracas*, vol. 18, no. 604, May 28, 1721, p. 5.

⁸³ Coffin, pp. 25, 267.

⁸⁴ *Chracas*, vol. 16, no. 513, pp. 5-6, October 26, 1720.

⁸⁵ *Chracas*, vol. 24, no. 816, October 24, 1722, p. 2.

⁸⁶ Coffin, p. 267.

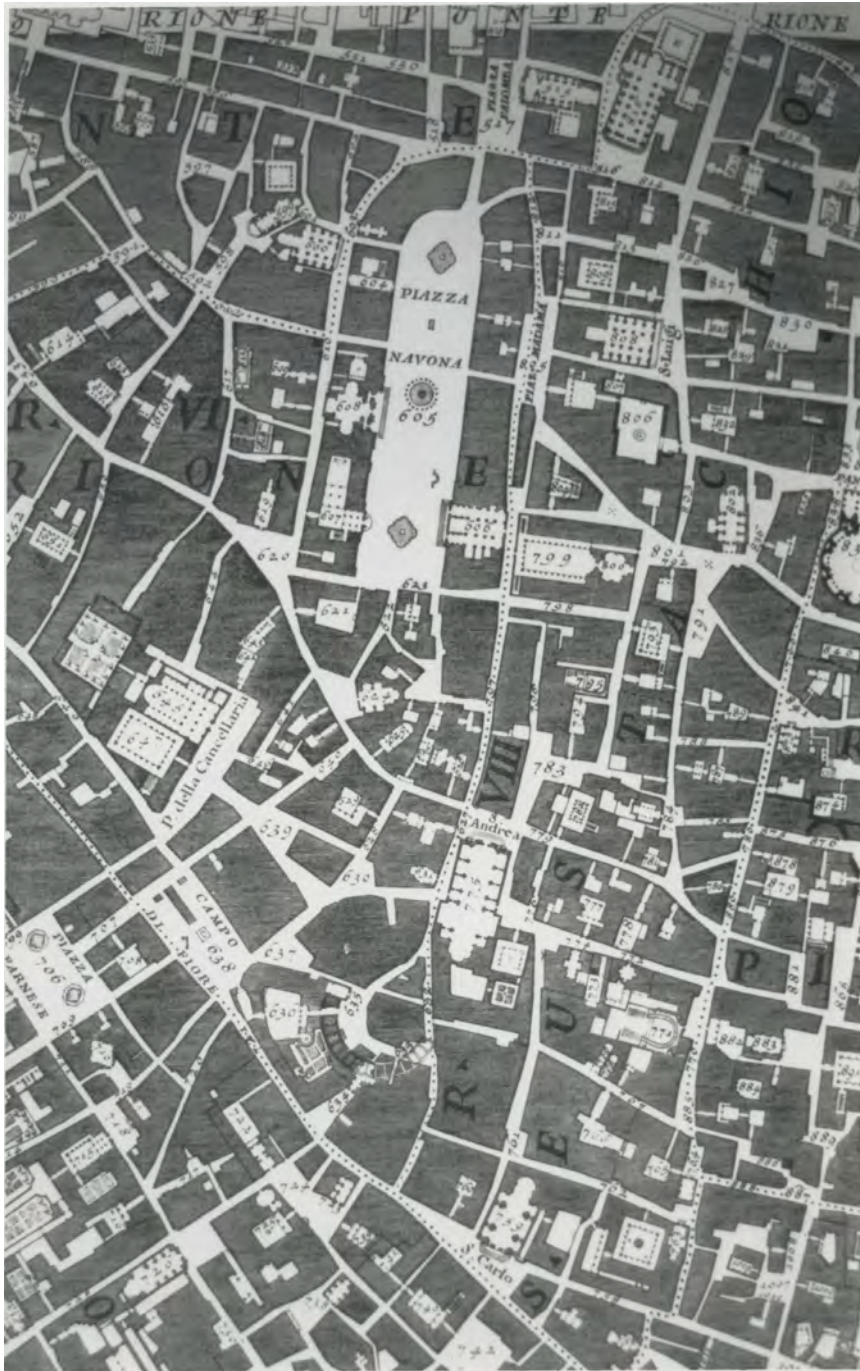


Figure 2.7: Nolli Map of Rome (Piazza Navona, detail), 1748.

In 1694, the versatile Carlo Enrico di San Martino entered the palace ranks as the designer of Ottoboni's tomb for Pope Alexander VIII in the Vatican basilica (see Figure 2.2).⁸⁷ San Martino's designs for the tomb were approved by the architect of St. Peter, Carlo Fontana, in 1699 (Figure 2.8).⁸⁸ His diagrams of the niche structure are preserved in Windsor Castle. San Martino had left the court by 1701 on completion of the tomb niche near the crossing of the basilica.⁸⁹ The tomb sculpture remained to be installed, and at this point the project entered the care of the sculptor, Angelo de' Rossi.⁹⁰

Alexander VIII's tomb was to have been in place for its dedication during the Holy Year of 1700. Almost a decade had passed since the pope's demise, but the renovation of the Cancelleria distracted Ottoboni's attention and emptied his treasury. Although architectural work on the tomb's niche had been completed when the Holy Year arrived, Ottoboni could only display a small model in wood and painted canvas with stucco figures. Full size figures were *in situ* by 1706 when the pope's body was interred in the crypt, but these, too, were stucco figures rather than the marble allegories and bronze effigy of the present tomb.⁹¹

Stress on the cardinal's finances, dynastic concerns, and pressures on the strength of his religious vocation manifested themselves simultaneously at the turn of the century. Ottoboni proposed marriage to the daughter of the deceased Duchess of Sora who had just inherited her mother's Duchy of Piombino.⁹² Although the Sora family turned him away, the status of Ottoboni's financial situation was resolved temporarily with his appointment as arch-priest of Santa Maria Maggiore by the newly elected Albani pope, Clement XI, in July of 1702.⁹³

⁸⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, fasc. 1, "Rollo di Famiglia," January 1694, listed with a monthly stipend of twelve *scudi* which is raised to fifteen in April; no. 24, "Rollo di Famiglia," April 1694. Lists of the Ottoboni family rolls are missing for 1689, 1692-1693, 1696-1697, 1699, 1701-1702, 1705-1706, 1719-1721, 1730, 1738. For the Vatican tomb, see Olszewski, 1986, 2004.

⁸⁸ The designs submitted for approval involved a niche of twelve *palmi* or c. nine feet in depth in a left transept pier. The drawings for the plan and elevation of the tomb have been published by Braham and Hager, pp. 55-56, figs. 29-31.

⁸⁹ San Martino is still listed as a resident in the official rolls as late as 1698 as "Conte S. Martino Cavallerizzo" with a monthly pension of twelve *scudi*; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 38, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 6, January 1698. He is not entered in 1700 (family rolls for 1699 and 1701 are missing); BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 40, fasc. 1, "Rollo di Famiglia," January 1700.

⁹⁰ For more on Rossi, see Franz-Duhme, and Olszewski, 2004.

⁹¹ Valesio, III, p. 547, February 1, 1706; pp. 559-560, February 18, 1706.

⁹² Valesio, I, p. 262, January 9, 1701.

⁹³ Valesio, I, p. 272, January 22, 1701; II, p. 210, July 11, 1702.

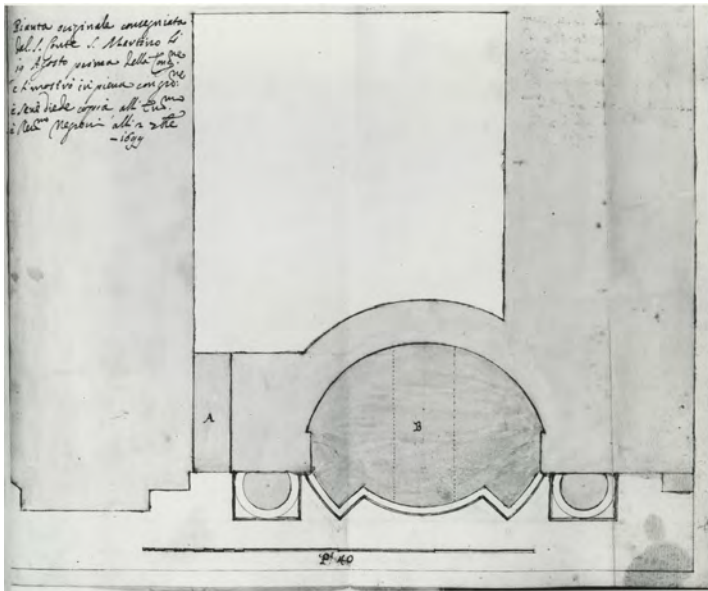


Figure 2.8: Carlo Enrico di San Martino, *Plan of Vatican Niche for Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII*, 1699, drawing.

Unexpected expenses for repairs to the Cancelleria and its basilica were encountered in the first weeks of 1703 when a devastating earthquake terrified the Roman populace, and caused serious damage to buildings and monuments including the Colosseum.⁹⁴ Extensive repairs were required in the Cancelleria's Sala Riaria and on the soffit of San Lorenzo in Damaso. Ottoboni celebrated his rescue from the tremor with an architectural statement. He commissioned an illuminated *machina* to accompany a display of the Sacred Host.⁹⁵ Such temporary devices were highly popular, and Ottoboni's sponsorship of them engaged a number of architects over the years as will be reviewed shortly. In this case, Ottoboni's apparatus also honored the reigning pope, Clement XI, by depicting the paleo-Christian subject of his predecessor and namesake, Clement I, kneeling in prayer before the gaze of Trajan. In the construction, a lamb appeared above a small cliff with water gushing from a rock. At the right of the *machina* thirsting Christians were shown running to a miraculous font emerging from ruins. The phrase, *Orante sancto Clemente*, appeared as if chisled in marble. Clouds parted in an *epiphania* to reveal the Sacred Host adored by a choir of angels. For Valesio, the *machina* demonstrated the cardinal's generosity and piety.

⁹⁴ Valesio, II, pp. 501-506, February 2&3, 1703.

⁹⁵ Valesio, II, p. 551, March 17, 1703. Valesio does not mention the architect of the *machina*.

2.4 G.F. Pellegrini

At the end of the 1690s another architect joined Ottoboni's household, listed in the family rolls as, "Giovanni Francesco Pellegrini Architetto."⁹⁶ Pellegrini (c. 1656-1732) is referred to elsewhere as *Maestro di Camera* for the Duke of Fiano, indicating that he served as a court functionary when not involved in architectural projects.⁹⁷ The biographer Scipione Maffei has underscored his rare mechanical talents for the Ottoboni court with the observation, "Era il Pellegrini di rara abilità nelle meccaniche," and the anonymous biographer of Juvarra called him a "dilettante in meccaniche."⁹⁸

Accounts in contemporary chronicles inform us of Pellegrini's architectural duties for Ottoboni. In 1702, he was cited in a pamphlet published in honor of the occasion as flaunting his usual engineering skills as the "solito Ingegniere delle Machine del preminato Eminentissimo Porporato" for the *machina* that Ottoboni had ordered constructed for that February's Forty Hours devotions (see Appendix, doc. 1). The description is especially noteworthy, because it gives the dimensions of Pellegrini's apparatus as 100 x 60 *palmi* or more than seventy feet high and almost 45 feet in width. This would clearly have dominated the nave of Ottoboni's basilica in the Cancelleria (Figure 2.9).

Valesio reported that in 1705 Pellegrini erected a noble theater for Ottoboni in the courtyard of the Cancelleria (Figure 2.10) for the performance of an oratorio that had been written by Ottoboni himself.⁹⁹ Such temporary structures were a frequent activity

⁹⁶ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 38, "Rollo di Famiglia, diversi," no. 6, January 1698. He is listed initially under *Diversi* with a monthly allowance of eight *scudi*. A decade later his name appears under the heading of *Gentiluomini* with a monthly stipend of ten *scudi*; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 59, "Rollo di Famiglia," January 1710. It has been reported that the Venetian Sebastiano Ricci on his arrival in Rome in 1691 replaced Francesco Bibiena as Ottoboni's stage designer at the Cancelleria; Gross, p. 338. There is no evidence of either artist working for Ottoboni, and Gross's citations do not confirm his claims; Michel, O. (1981). *L'Accademia, Le Palais Farnèse* (I, part 2, p. 572). École française de Rome. Ricci provided Bibiena with scenography for *Orfeo* which was dedicated to Cardinal Ottoboni but was performed at the Torre della Pace in 1694, by which time Ricci had already departed for Milan.

⁹⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 74, fasc. p.o., "Rollo di Famiglia, Diversi," January 1717, "Gio. Fran.co Pellegrini Mastro di Cam.a del Sig.e Duca di Fiano." Tommaso Manfredi refers to Pellegrini as Ottoboni's *maestro di camera* and *scenografo*, but is not certain of his activities after 1709; "Pellegrini Giovanni Francesco," in *In Urbe*, p. 419; "L'arrivo a Roma di Filippo Juvarra e l'apprendistato di Pietro Passalacqua nelle cronache domestiche di una famiglia messinese," *Architettura*, 1-2, 1989, 419.

⁹⁸ Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

⁹⁹ Valesio, III, p. 438, August 23, 1705; "Si vide hoggi nel cortile della Cancelleria preparato un nobile teatro fattovi erigere del cardinale Ottoboni et architettato da Giovanni Francesco Pellegrini, per cantarvi questa sera un oratorio, la di cui poesia era del medesimo cardinale." An anonymous chronicle identifies the subject as an Assumption of the Virgin, and reports that 10,000 visitors attended the spectacle; BAV, Ottob. Lat., 2733, p. 89v, August 29, 1705; Si vede nella notte mutato il Cortile del Palazzo della Cancelleria in un nuovo Anfiteatro tutto adobbato et illuminato da numerose torcie, e ceri, ove fù cantata à Quattro voci un Oratorio composto dell'erudita penna dell'Emo Ottoboni in lode

for Ottoboni's resident architects, and more will be said of them and of Pellegrini shortly.



Figure 2.9: San Lorenzo in Damaso, nave interior after 1815, Rome.

del Regno di Maria Vergine assunta al cielo, accompagnato da Virtuose Sinfonie, che tirò un Popolo infinito misto di Cardinali, Prencipi, Dame, e Cav.ri che anche in questo ammirarono la grandezza della naturale generosità di S. Em.a nel fare distribuire a tutti gl'Astanti abbondato rinfreschi, che potevano essere da m/10 persone in circa.”



Figure 2.10: Cancellaria, courtyard, Rome.

2.5 Nicola Michetti

Two other architects entered Ottoboni's court as the first decade of the century came to a close. These were the Roman, Nicola Michetti (c. 1675-1758),¹⁰⁰ and the Sicilian, Filippo Juvarra (1678-1736).¹⁰¹ The cardinal had commissioned Michetti to construct

¹⁰⁰ For information on Michetti, see Pinto, 1982; Kelly, C. (March 1991). Carlo Rainaldi, Nicola Michetti, and the Patronage of Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripante, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 50, 57-67; Thieme-Becker, 24, p. 532.

¹⁰¹ There is a vast literature on Juvarra, but the most recent sources are Millon, 1984; Boscarino; Viale Ferrero.

machine for pre-Lenten celebrations in 1707 and 1708 (see Appendix, docs. 2, 3), and in October of 1708 his name was entered in the palace rolls.¹⁰² He was given quarters next to the studio of Ottoboni's painter, Trevisani.¹⁰³ As in the case of del Lino, Michetti's entry into the court followed the completion of a project for the cardinal. This was a customary practice for Ottoboni with many of his artists.

Michetti became involved with other Roman projects such as the Sagripanti Chapel in Sant'Ignazio in 1710, and the Rospigliosi Chapel in San Francesco a Ripa that same year. He had already left Ottoboni's court when he replaced Fontana at the Santi Apostoli in 1712. Michetti also succeeded him at the Ospizio di San Michele when Fontana died two years later. On his departure for Russia in 1718, Michetti earned renown as architect for the Czar, Peter the Great, then returned to Rome in early 1724 whereupon he gave an accounting of his travels to Ottoboni.¹⁰⁴ Michetti had maintained contacts with Ottoboni, perhaps in hopes of re-entering the cardinal's services on his return to Rome. In 1721, Ottoboni had been sent a gift of a fur from the Czar, no doubt at Michetti's instigation.¹⁰⁵

Michetti was accepted into the Academy of Saint Luke in 1725. His most productive years between 1729 and 1733 began with his elaborate sets for the opera, *Carlo Magno*, performed in Ottoboni's theater in celebration of the birth of the dauphin in 1729 (Figure 2.11). Michetti is identified on the title page of the libretto as the scene designer and "Ingegnire del Signor Cardinal Ottoboni."¹⁰⁶

Michetti's work for Ottoboni was limited essentially to theatrical production. He did not enter the cardinal's court a second time, and Ottoboni failed to turn to him for his projects in San Lorenzo in Damaso, especially after the death of Pellegrini in 1732. Alternatively, Michetti may have been simply unavailable as he was already working on a wing of the Palazzo Colonna in 1731.¹⁰⁷ He seems not to have commanded the

¹⁰² Pinto reports that Michetti "officially entered the household of Cardinal Ottoboni in 1709; 1980, pp. 292, 293, but the first entry for Michetti in the Ottoboni family rolls is in October 1708 under the heading of "Agiut," without a stipend; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 55, no. 19, October 1708. He is entered in the court rolls in January 1709 under "Agiut.i di Cam.a" as "Nicola Michetti Novo Guard.ta" without a stipend; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 57, no. p.mo, "Rollo di Famiglia," January 1709. In July his name appears under "Agiut.i di Cam.a" as "Nicola Michetti Guardarobba," with an allowance of eight *scudi*; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 57, fasc. 10, July 1709. Michetti's name does not appear in the rolls for 1711 where he is replaced as "Guardarobba" by Giuseppe Celli; Viale Ferrero, p. 70, n. 35.

¹⁰³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 55, fasc. 59, 1708. The suite is not located precisely, but presumably was on the third floor.

¹⁰⁴ His return is noted in a letter by Poerson of February 1, 1724, who refers to him as "un sculpteur italien;" *Correspondance*, vol. 6, no. 2594, p. 330.

¹⁰⁵ *Correspondance*, vol. 6, no. 2305, January 7, 1721.

¹⁰⁶ (1729). Inventore delle scene. Il Cavalier Nicolò Romano Ingegniere del Signor Cardinale Ottoboni. *Carlo Magno. Festa Teatrale in Occasione della nascita del Delfino...*, Rome: Antonio de' Rossi. See Pinto, 1980, pp. 289-322 for a comprehensive discussion of Michetti's involvement with this opera.

¹⁰⁷ Blunt, p. 174.

same respect as Juvarra, and was not accepted as having the same level of talent.¹⁰⁸ He retained a monetary tie with Ottoboni after the cardinal's death: Michetti is one of the few artists still mentioned in the lists of Ottoboni's creditors as late as 1750. He was owed more than 600 *scudi* "P(er) Spese fatte p(er) il Teatro e p(er) l'espoz.e del Venta."¹⁰⁹ This may have been for work on the lantern of Ottoboni's theater which Michetti renovated in 1729. The cardinal's theater requires a more extensive discussion.



Figure. 2.11: Nicola Michetti, *Carlo Magno*, libretto, frontispiece, 1729.

¹⁰⁸ Viale Ferrero, p. 61, n. 21.

¹⁰⁹ RSV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 82, p. 18, for 609.50 *scudi*. This could have involved work on the lantern of Ottoboni's theater during its construction in 1709-1710, but more probably during its renovation by Michetti in 1729; Schiavo, 1972, 345; Pinto, 1980, p. 296. For other lists of Ottoboni's creditors, see ASV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 126, October 1, 1750 (256 pp.).

3 Theater Architecture

3.1 Ottoboni's Theater and Filippo Juvarra

Michetti's entry into the palace rolls anticipated that of the famous Filippo Juvarra who first appears in the cardinal's court in July of 1709 as one of Ottoboni's ministers without a monthly stipend.¹¹⁰ According to his biographers, Juvarra was introduced to Ottoboni by his countryman and fellow professional in the cardinal's court, Francesco Pellegrini. The following month, Juvarra was grouped among the *Cappellani* or chaplains of the court; in October an allowance of five *scudi* is recorded after his name with the qualification, "a conto di Provisione."¹¹¹ This was raised to nine *scudi* in December at which level it remained until Juvarra's departure from Ottoboni's family in January 1715.¹¹²

As court residents, Angelo de' Rossi and Michetti received monthly allowances of twelve and eight *scudi* respectively, presumably to pay for the expensive materials required for their activities as sculptor and architect, whereas Ottoboni's resident painter, Trevisani, in his more than forty years in the cardinal's court is never cited as receiving an allowance to maintain his studio "a conto di Provisione." Presumably, he was paid by commission or amply rewarded by lavish gifts upon completion of his paintings, as archival documents and diary accounts suggest.¹¹³

Ottoboni may have encountered Juvarra already as early as 1705 during the awards ceremonies for the Concorso Clementino. Juvarra had won the prize in architecture which was awarded on the Campidoglio on May 5, 1705 in the presence of the Albani pope, Clement XI. The ceremonies included the performance of a symphony by Arcangelo Corelli who had been in Ottoboni's court in the Cancelleria from 1690. As Vice-Chancellor of the Church, Ottoboni was a ranking member of the papal court and highly likely present at the event.

The death of the Emperor, Leopold I, that same day, led to the commission of a funerary apparatus for the Imperial church of Santa Maria dell'Anima. Juvarra had been associated with this project, although the commission seems to have been extended to

¹¹⁰ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 57, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 10, July 1709.

¹¹¹ There is some confusion in the scholarly literature on Juvarra's entry into the Ottoboni court. Pinto writes that, "Juvarra first appears on the monthly lists of the Cardinal's retainers in January 1710;" 1980, p. 295, n. 21. In October 1709, Juvarra is listed with his first monthly stipend, five *scudi*, which is raised to nine *scudi* "à conto di Provisione" in December; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 57, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 13, October 1709; no. 15, December 1709.

¹¹² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 69, no. p.o, January 1715. Juvarra's last entry in the Ottoboni rolls appears in January.

¹¹³ For more on Ottoboni's collection of painting, see Olszewski, 1989, 2002, 2004. A recent claim that Trevisani received a monthly stipend of fifty *scudi* is not documented; Gross, p. 342.

Carlo Fontana.¹¹⁴ Juvarra had studied with Fontana, and it would seem reasonable that the master may have delegated some participation to him while still responsible for the project and its design. As legate to the Imperial court, Ottoboni would have been at the memorial ceremonies and once more placed in context with Juvarra.

Because Juvarra was an ordained priest, Cardinal Ottoboni would have been eager to have him in his court, for he had not, himself, taken Holy Orders, and would not for another twenty years.¹¹⁵ Thus, Juvarra would have served Ottoboni's court and parish of San Lorenzo, and could have ministered the sacraments to his parishioners.

Juvarra's first lodgings in Rome had been on the vicolo del Leutari perpendicular to the Cancelleria along the side where the modern day Corso Vittorio Emanuele now runs. His drawing in Turin of Roman roof tops and bell towers has the caption, "Veduta della mia finestra quando stavo al Vicolo delli Liutari."¹¹⁶ This put him in proximity with his countryman Pellegrini and, as a priest, gave him easy access to the church of San Lorenzo.

Juvarra had been nominated for membership in the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon May 13, 1708, and entered its membership rolls on June 10, 1708.¹¹⁷ The president of the French Academy in Rome, Charles-François Poerson, wrote in November of 1709 that Ottoboni had given Juvarra an apartment in his palace.¹¹⁸ He identified Juvarra as an "égallement bon Architecte et bon Machiniste," whom the cardinal had engaged to build a theater to accommodate *machine* in the performance of comedies and opera.

Juvarra's official entry into Ottoboni's household seems to have occurred as a result of his completion of a successful project in the Vice-Chancellor's palace. Valesio reported Ottoboni as already holding concerts in his new theater in early 1708, more than a year before Juvarra's formal entry in the palace rolls.¹¹⁹ This early theater was

114 Hager credits Carlo Fontana with the construction of this apparatus whereas Brinckman, p. 47, and Viale Ferrero, pp. 10-11, n. 19 (as Ris. 59.4, 117, in Viale Ferrero, p. 363) suggest that Juvarra might have made the sketch, and Millon accepts the Turin sheet as by Juvarra; 1984, p. 352; Hager, H., *Carlo Fontana*, pp. 89-93, esp. p. 90 for discussion of the drawing in Turin attributed to Juvarra (vol. 59-4, fol. 117). Millon, 1984, p. 352.

115 Ottoboni would not take Holy Orders until 1724; Chracas, vol. 31, no. 1085, pp. 7-8, July 15, 1724.

116 The drawing is reproduced in Craig, 171, fig. 1.

117 Orbaan, J. (1914). Virtuosi al Pantheon. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 37, 50; BAV, "Libro di Congegatione dal 1702 al 1743," p. 61. For the Concorso Clementino, see Papaleo, G. (2012). I concorsi Clementini, in *Pietro Papaleo, Storia di uno scultore nella Roma barocca* (pp. 71-73). Rome: Palombi Editori.

118 *Correspondance*, vol. 3, no. 1390, p. 343, November 23, 1709; "M. le Cardinal Ottoboni luy [Juvarra] a donné un appartement dans son Palais et l'occupe présentement à un Théâtre que Son Eminence fait faire dans la Chancellerie pour y représenter des Comédies et des Opéras avec des machines, le Sr. Dom Philippes [Juvarra] estant également bon Architecte et bon Machiniste."

119 Valesio, IV, p. 26, February 8, 1708; "Il cardinale Ottoboni ha in questa sera dato principio a far cantare in musica, con intervento di dame, porporati e molta nobiltà, alcune cantata, havendo a tale

apparently the serviceable space that had been prepared by Pellegrini, less than a formative theater begun by Michetti who had just become a resident in the palace. It represented the beginnings of Juvorra's theater, as the records make no direct association of any others with the cardinal's major theater.

Juvorra's first projects involved changes of scenery for a lyric drama that Ottoboni had written and which was performed in his new theater.¹²⁰ This was barely a month after his arrival in the Cancelleria. The drama is not identified, but it either preceded the *Costantino Pio* which had its inaugural performance in January of 1710,¹²¹ or was for this performance, which it has been claimed was Juvorra's first work of scenography for Ottoboni, and which, in an obvious exaggeration, was said to have required years of preparation for the dozen scenes.¹²²

Juvorra's tenure in Ottoboni's palace was both prodigious and frustrating. Among the more than one thousand drawings from Juvorra's first decade in Rome are scores of scene designs, many identified with the Ottoboni theater, yet Ottoboni gave him no commission for a major independent structure. The cardinal's liberality, however, allowed Juvorra to teach and engage in outside commissions.¹²³ He had the same leisure to invent with which the cardinal had favored his composer, Arcangelo Corelli. Ottoboni's other composer, Alessandro Scarlatti, had complained that Ottoboni lacked the independent means for grand patronage, which may explain why he never became a court resident. It was this failing that eventually led to Juvorra's departure from the court.

Nonetheless, it can be shown that Juvorra's studies for stage designs had given him the scope to explore architectural space and interior light, and to define grand, centralized salons with openings extending in multiple directions. Juvorra's Roman period was fundamental for his scenographic activity as well as for his preparation as an architect.¹²⁴

effetto formare per sedere gl'uditori un bellissimo teatro e continuerà a dare questo trattenimento ogni mercoledì sin alla fine del promisso carnevale."

120 Valesio reports the singing of Ottoboni's own drama in the Cancelleria's new theater with five changes of scenery by Juvorra; Valesio, IV, p. 361, November 27, 1709.

121 Valesio reports that the drama included beautiful *machine*; IV, p. 372, January 14, 1710. The music for Ottoboni's libretto had been composed by Carlo Francesco Pollaroli (1653-1723), the organist of San Marco in Venice; Valesio, IV, p. 374, January 21, 1710. See also, Termini, O. Pollarolo, Carlo Francesco (c.1653 Venice - 1723), in Sadie, XV, pp. 45-47.

122 Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

123 Conversely, Ottoboni may have avoided the need to support his artists more generously by allowing them to take outside projects, as he did not have a family fortune on which to draw. In an open letter to his son, Antonio alerted the young cardinal to the pressures he would face as a recently arrived nobleman in Rome; BM, It. VII 1608 (=7514):3.o fascicolo, ff.12, *Avertimenti dell'Ecc.ma Sig.e Antonio Ottoboni Proc.e di S.o Marco dati al Sig.e Pietro suo figlio hora Cardinale di St.a Chiesa....* This was printed as a pamphlet in Milan in 1712; see BM, Misc. D. 5326.

124 Boscarino, p. 153.

The scholarly literature has, understandably, emphasized his major building projects in Turin. The precise nature of his activities for Ottoboni can bear further examination and clarification given Juvarra's well established presence in the cardinal's court. From contemporary sources and his surviving drawings, it is known that theater projects for Ottoboni and the construction of an auditorium in the Cancelleria, c. 1708-1710, consumed Juvarra's early years in the Vice-Chancellor's service. As no theater exists in the palace today, its location and size are issues still under discussion, although explanations have been offered concerning the fate of the theater since its construction. The riddles of when it was removed from the palace, and why, have been touched on, but more light can be shed on these questions.

3.2 Juvarra's Theater Drawings

Scholars have relied on Juvarra's drawings for particulars about Ottoboni's theater. His numerous studies for stage designs include 130 in the Victoria & Albert Museum titled in Juvarra's hand, "pensieri di scene e apparecchie fatte per servizio del Es.mo Ottoboni in Roma p.l suo Teatro nella Cancelleria da me suo Architetto l'anno 1708 sino al 1712. D. Filippo Juvarra," where he makes it explicit that they are for a single theater.¹²⁵ There are scores of other stage designs in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin. Together more than 1,000 drawings in five albums help to document Juvarra's first ten years in Rome.¹²⁶

It is noteworthy that these studies, although for Ottoboni projects, were not kept by the cardinal, but remained in Juvarra's possession instead, an irony in the age of great connoisseurs of drawings such as Pierre Crozat, Pierre-Jean Mariette and Padre Sebastiano Resta. Indeed, two residents in Ottoboni's court, Rossi and Trevisani, were reported as always making caricatures, yet Ottoboni seems not to have collected any of this highly popular genre.¹²⁷ This is neither a matter of carelessness nor largess on Ottoboni's part, because his tastes extended to music and opera, paintings, medals, tapestries and silver, but not to drawings. As the title of Juvarra's assemblage of sheets in the Victoria & Albert suggests, it may have served the architect as a portfolio for prospective patrons.

Mercedes Viale Ferrero has examined Juvarra's theater designs individually in a comprehensive study. It is beyond the scope of this report to comment on every sheet related to Ottoboni scenography, but an analysis of a select few will be useful to characterize the drawings, to determine how this phase of Juvarra's career may have

¹²⁵ Juvarra's title associates these drawings with one theater in the Cancelleria, "per il suo Teatro;" Speaight, p. 5.

¹²⁶ Millon, 1984, I. p. xi.

¹²⁷ Pascoli, I, p. 276. Sutherland Harris, A. (1975). Angelo de' Rossi, Bernini and the Art of Caricature. *Master Drawings*, 13, 158-160. See also Olszewski, 1983.

influenced his later architecture, and as a means of better understanding the nature of the cardinal's palace theater.

For an appreciation of Juvorra's stage designs it is necessary to separate architect, scenographer and painter. The designs for stage sets can be viewed as illusionistic drawings more akin to painting than architecture. Their illusionism extends to the creation of fictive architectural spaces and landscape vistas. They are confident, rapid sketches – Juvorra's anonymous biographer noted that skill in wash and rapidity of execution characterized his draftsmanship¹²⁸ – which as stage designs anticipate many of the problems faced later in the century by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo in his ceiling paintings. Tiepolo was a master in the power of suggestion, implying the presence of an armada by a single mast, of an army with a soldier holding a pennant, and a fortress by the projection of a fragment of wall and balustrade. So too with Juvorra. Within the limited space of a stage he was forced to suggest Constantinople, a fleet lying in a harbor, or the interior hall of a palace. He came to grips with these problems in efficient fashion establishing a metonymic standard that Tiepolo would master on a large scale in the decades to follow.

The value of the drawings for Juvorra as an architect is that they allowed him to plan extravagant forms and grand spaces that kept alive the spirit of Borromini. Here were vast interiors expanding in all directions. Space was alternatively confined and opened, as Juvorra reinforced or perforated established perimeters along several axes. Juvorra's drawings also introduce us to aspects of architecture both as object and as space and light. It was necessary for him as draftsman, creating ultimately in terms of the spatial envelope of a stage, and using the Renaissance devices of naturalism and illusionism, to be able to visualize his painted scenes in three dimensions. Volumes and masses worked against space, light and color.

Juvorra's sets began with space expanding from a hollow volume or a nuclear mass to all points of the compass, although as constructed on stage they were reduced to plane surfaces of overlapping flats to suggest depth. Within the temporal sequence of the theater performance, Juvorra could count for effect on a series of scene changes for variations on a setting or contrasts to it. With a theater of modest size, he also had to strive for monumentality while retaining something of the room's intimacy. Against the confinements of a small stage he could count on the distractions of music and drama, the baroque *machine* and baroque landscapes.

3.3 The Lost Theater

If there is to be an understanding of the character of Ottoboni's lost theater, it will have to be based on a combination of information from archival records, from clues in the halls

¹²⁸ Viale Ferrero, p. 8.

of the Cancelleria, and from Juvarra's drawings. Multiple references have been made in the scholarly literature to a select group of sheets preserved in Turin where two related sets of drawings are located. There are two designs (Figures 3.1, 3.2) of a floor plan and of an elevation of the stage associated with a large theater, and a second group of drawings for a somewhat smaller space, which includes a floor plan and studies of longitudinal and transverse sections (Figures 3.3-3.6). Although the two sets are for spaces of different sizes, and one plan utilizes adjoining rooms (see Figure 3.1) whereas the smaller one is for a single hall, there are enough similarities between the designs to justify consideration of both of them for an understanding of the theater's general appearance. Both plans contain scales in Roman *palmi* to allow calculation of the appropriate area. The large one shows an auditorium with seventeen loges (five at the back wall and six on each side) encompassing an open area in the shape of an elongated rectangular horseshoe. Access to the boxes entered from narrow halls is by two circular staircases at the rear corners of the theater. There is an orchestra pit and a stage occupying the adjacent room and containing six sets of *canale* or channels for flats.

The drawing associated with this plan is a transverse section of the stage in gray wash with scenery added in washes of beige and dark brown ink (see Figure 3.2). This is related to the plan just mentioned, unlike the other drawings in Turin because of the narrow hallways shown adjacent to the boxes. The sheet reveals the mentioned lantern at the center of the audience hall shown breaking through the roof of the palace indicating a distinct alignment for the theater in this sheet. The section shows a balustrade separating the stage and orchestra pit from the audience, and it displays tiers of boxes in a four story elevation with narrow hallways allowing entry into them, presumably on ascending the spiral staircases indicated in the plan. Here the drawing implies that only the top three tiers have loges and that the ground floor is simply an open space.

The second group of designs includes a floor plan (see Figure 3.3) with auditorium and stage in a single space. Here an open central area is closed in by five sets of loges on each of three sides in the form of a squared letter U. There is an orchestra pit, a stage with five sets of *canale*, and a reserve stage. Because there is no room for hallways, entry into the boxes seems to be from single entrances into a box at each side and another at the back. The plan has been associated with a drawing of a longitudinal section of a theater which also shows five boxes on a side (see Figure 3.4). The section clearly reveals four levels of boxes, the bottom tier raised slightly above the auditorium floor, where there is also a balustrade demarcating the orchestra pit. A side entrance to the ground level boxes replaces the fifth box from the stage, matching an identically placed opening in the plan, but as hallways appear for access to the boxes at the back of the theater, this design is not easily associated with the plan just mentioned. On the other hand, dotted lines through the rear boxes in the second plan leave open the prospect of expanding the back of the theater to include a hallway. The section also shows a second space for the stage, but cannot be related to the first plan because it has five boxes along the side rather than six, and the lantern does not break through the roof indicating a different alignment for the hall.

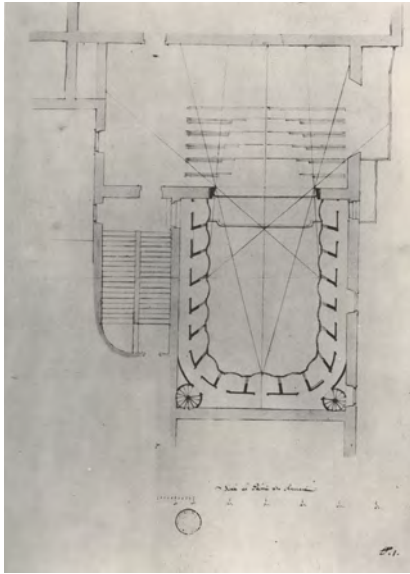


Figure 3.1: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, plan, 1708.

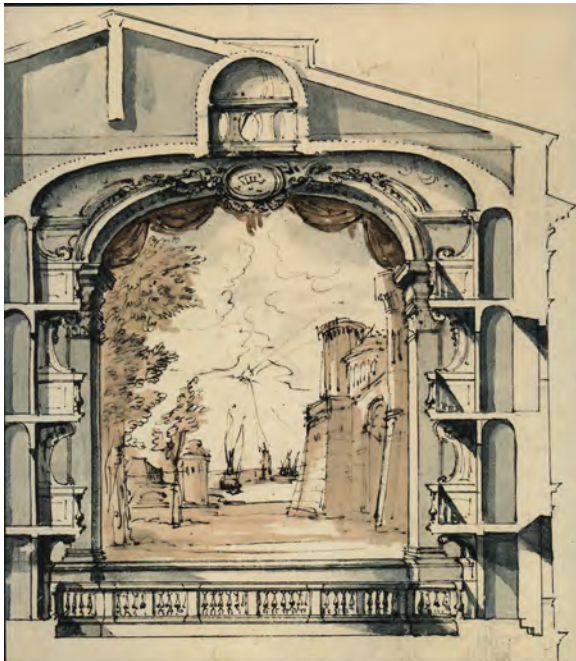


Figure 3.2: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, transverse section, 1708.

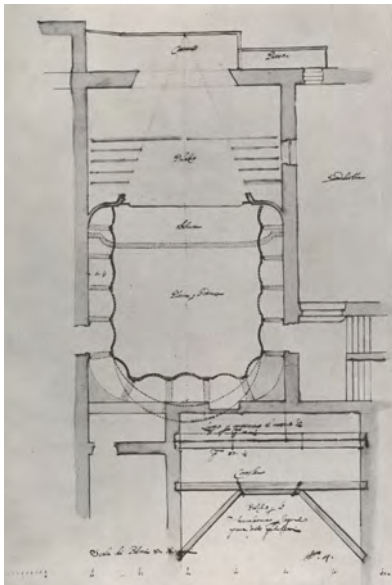


Figure 3.3: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, plan, 1708.

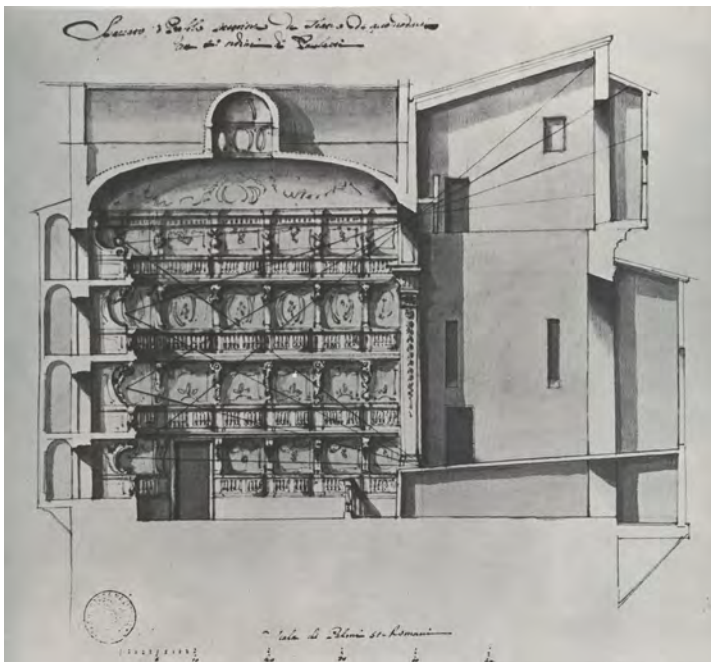


Figure 3.4: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, longitudinal section, 1708.

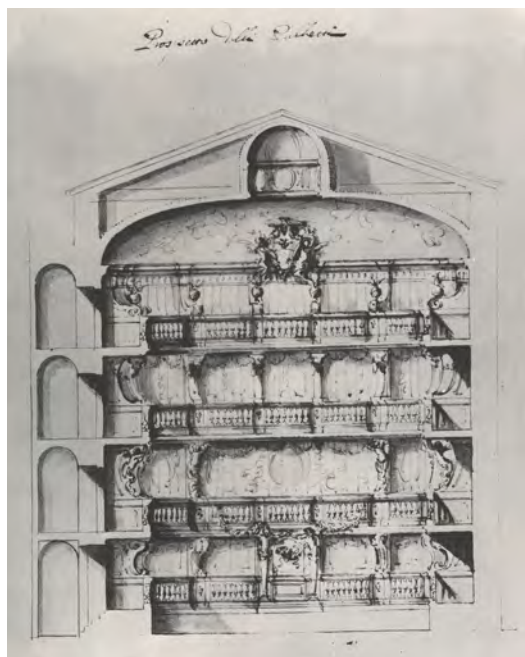


Figure 3.5: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, transverse section, 1708.



Figure 3.6: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, cross section of stage, 1708.

Lines of sight are drawn from loges at all levels to the floor and ceiling of the stage. The section shows a raking stage floor ascending as it recedes from the audience, plus upper and lower reserve stages. A hollow space beneath the stage is also indicated. The reserve stages appear as appendages to the exterior wall, and the roof above the stage has been inverted to create an envelope of space presumably to accommodate cloud machinery. The reserve stages placed above and below an entablature of the outer wall indicate that the theater when installed would occupy the top two floors of the palace. The hallways behind the boxes at the back of the theater are shown as part of an exterior appendage to the wall which has been broken open for them.

Boxes at the second level are separated by atalantid figures, those at the fourth level by Ottoboni heraldic devices of the double-headed eagle surmounting a banded globe. Similar details appear in transverse section where the second level is distinguished by a triple loge of honor at its center demarcated by a balustrade and the atalantid figures (Figure 3.5). The central box below it is replaced by a doorway and staircase for entry to the audience hall. This design shows a hallway only along the left tier of boxes as one faces the loge of honor, which might remove it from association with the second plan. At the center of the top tier of loges a pair of winged figures supports a banded shield with the double-headed eagle. It is these Ottoboni emblems in the sheets which associate the six related drawings with the lost theater of the Cancelleria.

The remaining drawing (see Figure 3.6) depicts a cross-section of the stage with a scene in architectural perspective. Above the proscenium arch a *tondo*, seemingly for a clock, is supported by a pair of winged figures, symbolic and formal counterparts to the heraldic device at the back of the hall. A lantern in the ceiling of the auditorium has its cupola nestled just within the peaked gable of the roof. The lack of hallways at both sides would associate this folio with the second plan (and set it apart from the transverse section just mentioned).

3.4 Studies of Juvarra's Theater Drawings

When these drawings in Turin were first introduced to an English speaking audience in 1926, it was pointed out that both drawings of plans could be related to the same space, a corner area of the Cancelleria where the garden impinges on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele (see rooms nos. 7-10 in Figure 2.4).¹²⁹ The larger of the plans (nos. 7 & 10 in Figure 3.1 as located by the staircase) was to fit into the space facing north, the other east. Which of these was executed and whether at the site indicated require further discussion, but the plans were considered to be for a puppet theater.¹³⁰

129 Craig, 229.

130 Craig, 174.

A study of Filippo Juvarra in 1937 included essays by Lorenzo Rovere, Vittorio Viale and Albert Brinckman, Scipione Maffei's brief biography of Juvarra from 1738, an anonymous *vita* first published in Rome by Adamo Rossi in 1874, and a catalog of Juvarra's drawings from 1714 to 1735 assembled by his pupil, G.B. Sacchetti.¹³¹ Brinckman in his study of Juvarra's drawings concluded that the architect occupied himself with theater projects for only a brief period in his career, from 1706 to 1713, or largely during the time when he was associated with Cardinal Ottoboni before his departure from Rome at the end of 1714. Brinckman noted Maffei's comments as linking Juvarra with Pellegrini in constructing a puppet theater, "Era il Pellegrino di rara abilità nelle meccaniche; onde per aver luogo d'operare secondo il genio, persuase il Cardinale di lasciargli costruire in certa sala del suo Palazzo un piccolo Teatrino ad uso di pupazzi,..."¹³² but concluded from the dimensions given by Juvarra in his Turin theater drawings, and from the vertical stage format, that Juvarra's designs had to be excluded from any association with a puppet theater.¹³³ From the smaller Turin theater plan, Brinckman extracted dimensions given by Juvarra in Roman *palmi* (see Figure 3.3).¹³⁴ Brinckman identified a hall on the *piano nobile* of the Cancelleria (11 x 16.5 x 7.6 m or 36' x 54' x 25') that would have been large enough to accommodate the plans in Juvarra's drawings and too large for a puppet theater.

The theater with its four tiers of boxes was one of charming intimacy compared with the Capranica, which had a stage almost twice the size of Ottoboni's.¹³⁵ It had a square proscenium arch, 40 x 40 *palmi*, as against Ottoboni's vertical 34 x 26 *palmi*. Juvarra's theater for the Queen of Poland also had a square stage opening whereas that at the Tor di Nona was wider than high. Brinckman referred to the variant design with only three tiers of loges.¹³⁶ This would seem to be a correct reading of Juvarra's drawing. Here a letter of October 11, 1710, which alluded to Ottoboni's desire to change the appearance of his theater, seems pertinent.¹³⁷ It cited a lack of boxes for the comfort of the audience and mentioned the three tiers added by Juvarra, but this

131 Rovere, pp. 18-21, 22-29; Viale Ferrero, p. 10, n.3. Viale Ferrero suggests that the anonymous biographer who has been associated with Sacchetti and with Juvarra's brother, Francesco, is the latter. See Millon, 1984, pp. xiii-xiv, for a review of attempts in the literature to identify the *anonimo*. More recently, Millon appears to favor the identification of the *anonimo* with Francesco Juvarra; 1984, p. 14.

132 Rovere, pp. 19, 141.

133 Rovere, p. 142.

134 These were given as 41 to 43 *palmi* or c. 9.3 m (or 30'6") within a hall 48 *palmi* high (10.72 m or 35'). The stage was 28 *palmi* by 35 *palmi* high (that is, 6.24 x 7.8 x 5.03 m, or 20'6" x 25'7" x 16'6").

135 Ottoboni's stage opening measured 6 x 7.5 m (19'8" x 24'7"). See Craig, 229 on theater stages. Ottoboni's theater was grand by comparison with those found in most private palaces of the period such as that at the Ricasoli castle in Meleto characterized by Romby, C. I teatri delle famiglie fiorentine del '700 e il teatro Ricasoli a Meleto, *Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference for the Ricasoli Collection*, University of Louisville.

136 Rovere, p. 146.

137 *Correspondance*, vol. 3, no. 1458, p. 418, October 11, 1710.

would seem to be in addition to a row of boxes already in place for a total of four tiers. The addition was most likely an extension of Juvarra's own construction from 1708. Finally, Brinckman observed that Juvarra's designs for the opera, *Tito Manlio* (1712), required a stage apparatus for a bank of clouds.¹³⁸ He suggested that this *machina* was probably constructed by Pellegrini. If so, this would account for Maffei's association of the fellow countrymen, although Juvarra was also referred to as a *mechanista*.¹³⁹

In 1942, Juvarra's several Turin drawings were again studied to fix the size of Ottoboni's theater and to discover its precise location.¹⁴⁰ Arnaldo Rava felt, as had Brinckman, that an approximate gauging of the theater's dimensions could be determined directly from the scales in Juvarra's plans. Although he differed with Brinckman slightly in his dimensions for the hall, he concurred with many of Brinckman's conclusions (see Table 2). Additionally, Rava referred to the description of the theater which had appeared in the inventory compiled just after Ottoboni's death in 1740.¹⁴¹ The inventory recorded it as consisting of four tiers with thirteen loges in each. The theater was appraised in the inventory at 205 *scudi* which also included stage machinery. Rava gave its dimensions from the drawings as thirteen meters in height with an area of seven by eleven meters. Although introducing the inventory information with its description of a theater with but thirteen loges, Rava promptly ignored the inventory by taking his dimensions from the larger plan in the drawing following the lead of Brinckman. From comparisons of Juvarra's drawings with floor plans for the palace, Rava situated it on the *secondo piano* (or third floor) but along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele toward the palace garden.¹⁴²

George Spaight considered the question of the Ottoboni theater anew in 1958, focusing in his study on the theater's size.¹⁴³ He assumed that the palace had contained but a single theater, and he was interested in ascertaining if it had been a normal sized hall for musical and dramatic productions or a smaller theater exclusively for puppet performances. He appears to have been stimulated in his search by Maffei's statement that Ottoboni had Pellegrini construct a puppet theater. Spaight was puzzled by the stage openings indicated in Juvarra's drawings with their vertical format and large dimensions. He argued that the dimensions must have been in minor Roman *palmi* (one *palm* = 7.4 cm or 3"), and that the puppets were rod puppets, usually four or more feet tall, and not hand puppets or string puppets which were generally smaller and required a horizontal stage. Furthermore, he interpreted the *staffage* figures in

138 As in Rovere, p. 146, n. 1.

139 Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

140 Rava, 74-79.

141 AS, N.A.C. 1838, March 5, 1740, pp. 292v-293. See also, Viale Ferrero, p. 95, n. 15. The inventory reports that it had twenty benches with iron rails and tables. Its stage was given the dimensions of 33 x 40 *palmi* (or 24' x 29'4"). It was appraised at 205 *scudi* (and not 250 *scudi* as Rava claimed).

142 Rava, p. 4. This appears to be the same site as suggested by Craig, 229.

143 Spaight, 5-10.

Juvarra's scene designs as of the diminished size more appropriate for rod puppets operated from below the stage. The popularity of rod puppets during this period emboldened Spaight to contradict Brinckman who had argued that the theater's scale was too grand for a puppet theater.¹⁴⁴

In 1964, Frederick Warner reported that Juvarra's Turin drawings contained plans for two separate theaters nearly identical in appearance, the one a single room, with the other, large theater requiring two chambers.¹⁴⁵ He also pointed out the small size of both relative to modern halls, although the scale was typical of private theaters of the time in Italy, if only somewhat larger as appropriate to the cardinal's status.¹⁴⁶ Warner stated that apparently only one of these plans had been constructed, but he was unable to indicate which. He believed that it was possible to locate the original site of the constructed theater by comparing Juvarra's drawings with the Cancelleria's ground plans. To this end Warner superimposed scale drawings of Juvarra's plans on selected rooms from the palace's ground floor plan although he maintained that the theater would have been on the *piano nobile*. Rava had argued similarly, but placed the theater on the *secondo piano* also along the present Corso Vittorio Emanuele (Figure 3.7), where he identified two rooms which seemed to fit the plans. Warner believed that Juvarra's two plans differed in dimensions because their proportions had been dictated by the spaces for which they were being considered. Warner's diagrams, however, indicate that his superimpositions of the plans on rooms along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele would have involved the destruction of several walls.

Warner's major contribution was to detail the dimensions of the theaters in the two plans (see Table 3). The auditorium of the larger theater was 30' wide, 26'6" deep and 35' high; the smaller plan was for a space 29'9" x 36'6" x 32'. The audience boxes were 4'6" wide, 3'9" deep and 6'6" high (versus 4'9" x 3'9" x 6'6" for the smaller plan). Reducing the number of loges in the smaller plan allowed for wider and more comfortable boxes. The proscenium opening was almost the same size for both plans: 24' high x 19' wide vs. 24'6" high x 20' wide. The larger stage was 30' wide and 19' deep whereas the stage for the smaller theater was of greater dimensions, 50' x 31', so curiously outsized presumably because of its intended location in the palace, and the need for scenery.

¹⁴⁴ Rovere, pp. 140-146.

¹⁴⁵ Warner, p. 37.

¹⁴⁶ Warner, p. 39; for example, see Romby's study in note 135, above.

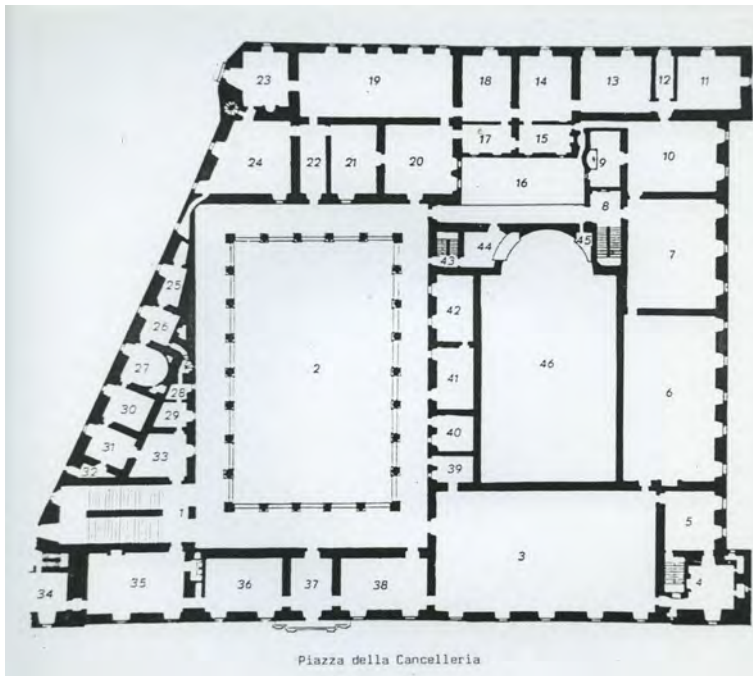


Figure 3.7: Cancelleria, plan, *secondo piano*.

Table 3: Dimensions of Plans for Juvarra's Theater

Reference	Auditorium			Stage		
	height	width	depth	height	width	depth
Craig, pp. 172, 229 *	-	46p	50p	-	-	42p
	-	10.3m	11.2m	-	-	9.4m
	-	33'9"	36'9"	-	-	30'10"
Brinckman, p. 142 *	34p	49.2p	73.9p	34.9p	27.9p	22.5p
	7.6m	11m	16.5m	7.8m	6.24m	5.03m
	24'11"	36'	54'	25'7"	20'6"	16'6"
Rava, p. 4 *	31.3p	49.2p	58.2p	26.9p	33.6p	-
	7m	11m	13m	6m	7.5m	-
	23'	36'	42'7"	19'9"	24'7"	-
Warner, p. 45 [A] *	47.9p	40.7p	36.1p	40.7p	25.9p	-
	10.7m	9.1m	8.1m	9.1m	5.8m	-
	35'	30'	26'6"	30'	19'	-
[B] *	43.6p	40.3p	49.8p	68.2p	42.3p	-
	9.75m	9.0m	11.1m	15.2m	9.4m	-
	32'	29'9"	36'6"	50'	31'	-

Continued **Table 3:** Dimensions of Plans for Juvarra's Theater

Reference	Auditorium			Stage		
	height	width	depth	height	width	depth
Schiavo, 1966,p. 187	45.5p	57p				
[A] *						
*	10.16m	12.85m				
	33'4"	41'9"				
[B] *	40.5p	68.5p				
*	9.04m	15.07m				
	29'8"	50'1"				
Viale, p. 49	47.9p	36.3p	41p	34.9p	27.9p	22.5p
*	10.7m	8.10m	9.15m	7.8m	6.24m	5.03m
	35'	26'7"	30'	25'7"	20'6"	16'6"
Viale-Ferero,p. 75 [A] *	46p	58p	-	47p	42p	-
*	10.3m	13m	-	10.53m	9.41m	-
	33'8"	42'6"	-	34'5"	30'10"	
[B] *	40p	41p	-	40p	33-36p	-
*	8.96m	9.18m	-	8.96m	7.4-8.0m	-
	29'4"	30'	-	29'4"	24'3"-26'	-
Reference	Stage Opening		Boxes			
	height	width	height	width	depth	
Craig, pp. 172, 229 *	34p	26p				
	7.6m	5.8m				
	24'11"	19'				
Warner, p. 45 [A]	32.7p	25.9p	6.1p	5.1p	8.9p	
	7.3m	5.8m	1.4m	1.1m	2m	
*	24'	19'	4'6"	3'9"	6'6"	
[B]	33.4p	27.4p	6.5p	5.1p	8.9p	
	7.5m	6.1m	1.4m	1.1m	2m	
*	24'6"	20'	4'9"	3'9"	6'6"	

Key: Dimensions are given in *palmi*, meters and feet. In cases where dimensions have been reported in only one unit, I have converted them into the other units. Original measurements are indicated by an asterisk*. The standards for conversion used here are:

1 *palmo romano* = 12 *oncie* = 22.34 cm = 8.79 in. 1 in = 2.54 cm

Source: R. Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1981.

Warner did not find the discrepancies in the dimensions of the two plans significant enough to consider them as different. They impressed him instead as layouts for two prospective theater locations of the same shapes but with slightly different measurements, as Craig had already noted. Warner accepted Juvarra's dimensions as in major Roman *palmi*, but his measurements differed from those of Craig and Brinckman. He seemed to assume that the theater was for human performers, and placed it on the *piano nobile* following Brinckman's lead.¹⁴⁷

In the same year as Warner's essay, Armando Schiavo in his monograph on the Cancelleria, identified two adjacent chambers (see Figure 3.7, nos 7, 10) on the third floor of the palace which, he maintained had been the location of a theater inserted within the pre-existing wall structure along the via Vittorio Emanuele near the garden.¹⁴⁸ Although this suite of apartments contained no grand hall, the melding of the two rooms created an adequate theater space (Figure 3.8). One of the rooms contains a vaulted ceiling decorated with cupids (Figure 3.9). This had no loges and no true stage according to Schiavo who held that this was the same as the "piccolo teatrino di popazzi," or puppet theater, where Pellegrini displayed *machine* and for which Juvarra made his scenographic drawings.¹⁴⁹ Ottoboni's private theater has been described as a single room, however, and on the *piano nobile*, and as too modest in size to accommodate large stage sets and *machine*.¹⁵⁰ Schiavo did not give the dimensions for the two identified rooms because he believed that Ottoboni's theater for opera was a second, larger construction which had disappeared, but which once occupied two other rooms on the same floor and extended through the floor above.

From his reading of the two groups of theater drawings in Turin, Schiavo pointed out that one set of four drawings was for a theater and stage in one hall, nine by fifteen meters. This contained fifteen boxes on each of four tiers.¹⁵¹ The second pair of drawings was for a larger stage and auditorium with seventeen boxes per tier which required two adjacent halls and broke into the floor above. Schiavo held that this was the plan executed, overlooking the inventory description cited by Rava of thirteen boxes per level, and that it was placed on the *secondo piano*. Juvarra's plan for seventeen loges per tier could reasonably have been that executed if Juvarra had simply modified his design during the construction to fit the assigned space by eliminating two boxes per side to each tier.

¹⁴⁷ Warner gave no evidence of an awareness of Rava's study or of Craig's suggested placement of the theater.

¹⁴⁸ Schiavo, 1964, pp. 181-182.

¹⁴⁹ Schiavo, 1964, pp. 183-184.

¹⁵⁰ Rossini, p. 68.

¹⁵¹ Schiavo, 1964, p. 187. He had also noted from the drawings that the theater contained 56 boxes in four tiers of fifteen boxes each except for the patron's loge which was triple the size of the others (and thus 58 boxes rather than sixty or Schiavo's erroneous 56). Based on Juvarra's notations, Schiavo gave the dimensions of 45.5 x 57 *palmi* (10.16 x 12.85 m or 33'4" x 41'9") for the auditorium space.



Figure 3.8: Vestibule, Tribunale della Segnatura Apostolica, Cancelleria, Rome.



Figure 3.9: Vestibule ceiling, Tribunale, Cancelleria, Rome.

3.5 The Fate of Ottoboni's Theater

Schiavo also introduced excerpts from another of the Ottoboni inventories.¹⁵² These included entries for 81 pieces of scenery in a “Guardarobba attacca al Teatro” which were valued at 100 *scudi*.¹⁵³ Also listed in the inventory, as if a moveable property, was “un teatro contiguo alla sudetta Guardarobba.” This theater adjacent to the storage room was appraised at 205 *scudi*, and, Schiavo informs us, was given to members of the Polveroni family to cover part of the cardinal's outstanding debts.

On the basis of additional archival findings, the ultimate disposition of the theater can now be clarified. The Polveroni were the heirs of Ottoboni's carpenter, Francesco Polveroni, who was one of the creditors at Ottoboni's death, owed 150 *scudi* for unspecified work undertaken on December 8, 1738. Maria Giulia Boncompagni Ottoboni, the second wife of the deceased Duke of Fiano, Marco, had inherited the cardinal's debts.¹⁵⁴ Rosa and Felice Polveroni agreed to forgive the unpaid bill of 150 *scudi* in exchange for the reuse value of the carpentry (Appendix, doc. 4).

3.6 Appearance of the Theater

Another study of Ottoboni's theater analyzed its stage from a consideration of information presented by Juvarra in his drawings for stage sets.¹⁵⁵ John Bielenberg was especially interested in how Juvarra's designs could create diagonal perspectives and curved vistas when converted to props. Juvarra's drawings in the Victoria & Albert Museum, as almost the only eighteenth century stage designs accompanied by floor plans, gave his study added significance. Some drawings contain a plan of the stage at the bottom of the sheet with the placement of sets indicated in rough sketches (Figure 3.10). They give clues to the staggering of wings and shutters.

Although these drawings are terse sketches rather than fully defined plans, and possibly little more than suggestions for the placement of wings, yet they reveal how Juvarra thought his illusionistic scenography could be translated to the stage as overlapping flat surfaces of wings and shutters. For example, in one (Figure 3.11), the central cluster of Solomonic columns and piers is locked into a slot in the stage floor at roughly its center, the ribs ascending into vaults beyond the visible limits of the stage arch. The stage space would expand about this flat insert, illusionistically made to be seen as a massive pier. Vertical wings as other “solid” masses recessed to the left and right would complement the central element to define the visual perimeters of

¹⁵² Schiavo, 1964, p. 190.

¹⁵³ ASV. Arch. Ottob. Vol. 78, pp. 101r-101v.

¹⁵⁴ ASV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 119, September 16, 1740.

¹⁵⁵ Bielenberg, 6-20.

the stage space as the wings stagger toward the painted backdrop serving as a spatial enclosure (or a limitless extension in the case of a landscape view). Bielenberg might also have noted how Juvarra's scenographic drawings reveal the physical limitations of the stage in Ottoboni's theater and define its parameters. In every case, the stage is shown as wider than deep, which also agrees with Juvarra's drawing in Turin of the plan for the Ottoboni theater (see Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.10: Juvarra, *Il Teodosio il Giovane*, Scene II, drawing, 1711.



Figure 3.11: Juvarra, *Stage Design for Teatro Ottoboni*, drawing, f.13.

Bielenberg noted from one of Juvarra's drawings (see Figure 3.4) that the stage was raked, slanting upward as it receded from the audience.¹⁵⁶ He reported six *canale* or fixed channels in the Ottoboni stage to hold sets and shutters. He also observed that wings could be placed at oblique angles.¹⁵⁷

From the drawings, Bielenberg reconstructed Juvarra's stage sets on a small scale. He assumed that the surface plane in every drawing of stage sets coincided with the plane of the proscenium arch, which complicated his reconstructions of the stage sets, for those which stepped farther back into space had to be enlarged to compensate for their perspectival diminution in real space. It would seem more reasonable to interpret Juvarra's drawings as depicting the far most plane of the back of the stage as the focal limit for the audience, for Juvarra would not want to

¹⁵⁶ Bielenberg, 9.

¹⁵⁷ Bielenberg, 19.

place limitations on the director and performers by confining the audience's vision to the frontal plane of the stage. This is confirmed by a drawing in which Juvarra has traced the viewer's line of vision from the central, triple loge of honor (see Figure 3.3), and in the sheet depicting a longitudinal section of the theater where lines of sight are extended into the depth of the stage. The ideal perspective view in these drawings would be aligned with the great loge of honor, the cardinal's own box (see Figure 3.5), a space three times the width of the other *palchetti*, and located at the center of the square-U theater floor plan at the second level of the four tiers. Thus, the plane of the drawings was ultimately to coincide with the back plane of the stage, its recession aided by wings and shutters defining the depth to be filled by the actors and singers.

Juvarra's staging was solidly based in contemporary conventions for the Baroque stage.¹⁵⁸ William West examined Juvarra's drawings for the opera, *Il Teodosio il Giovane*, performed in 1711, and discovered that the Ottoboni stage was also equipped with machinery to depict clouds and flying chariots (Figure 3.12).¹⁵⁹ William Holmes' analysis of Ottoboni's libretto for *La Statira* indicated that it had called for stage machinery.¹⁶⁰ Although this work was performed in 1689 before Juvarra's theater existed, and initially for the Tor di Nona, it was staged again in del Lino's theater in 1690 and in Juvarra's hall in 1726 (with a new score by Tomaso Albinoni). In his study of the opera, *Carlo Magno*, performed in the Ottoboni theater in 1729, John Pinto observed that Juvarra's stage could accommodate a flying chariot of Apollo (see Figure 3.11).¹⁶¹ Elaborate machines and multiple settings were the special pleasures of the theater according to Bernini, whose lone surviving play, *The Impresario*, had an ironic intention, namely, to reveal all the malfunctions that can occur with stage machinery.¹⁶²

West found that Juvarra's drawings also contained instructions for machinery and staging techniques. One sheet in particular contained ten ground plans numbered and labeled for scene designations (Figure 3.13). Another sheet associated with *Il Teodosio* contained explicit if elementary directions for staging Act. I, Scene I. West's study revealed that Juvarra's stage floor contained six sets of *canali* with two to four

¹⁵⁸ West, 21-23.

¹⁵⁹ West, 34; Brinckman, p. 141.

¹⁶⁰ Holmes, pp. 17, n. 9, 65.

¹⁶¹ Pinto, 1980, pp. 295-299. Valesio reported a cantata performance in Ottoboni's palace theater with a *machina*, and an Academy in the theater accompanied by a *machina* of clouds; Valesio, IV, p. 890, December 26, 1727; p. 893, January 2, 1728.

¹⁶² Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1985). *The Impresario* (pp. 10, 56). D. Beecher & M. Ciavolleva (Eds.), Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions.



Figure 3.12: Juvarra, *Il Teodosio il Giovane*, Scene I, 1711, drawing, f.14.

channels in each set, and full shutters at the last two *canali* back stage. Juvarra's scenes generally alternated from deep to shallow (or *lungo* to *corto*) following the conventional practice of the time, with the shallow scenes utilizing different *canali* than the deep scenes to facilitate scene changes.¹⁶³ There were also references in the drawings to *caretti motti*, that is "wild" or free carts. These appear to have been smaller stage props, usually on wheels, to be placed outside the confines of the fixed channels. Juvarra has left a drawing of one such (Figure 3.14).

¹⁶³ West, 31.



Figure 3.13: Juvarra, *Scene with Superimposed Stage Settings*, Teodosio il Giovane, 1711, drawing, f.121.

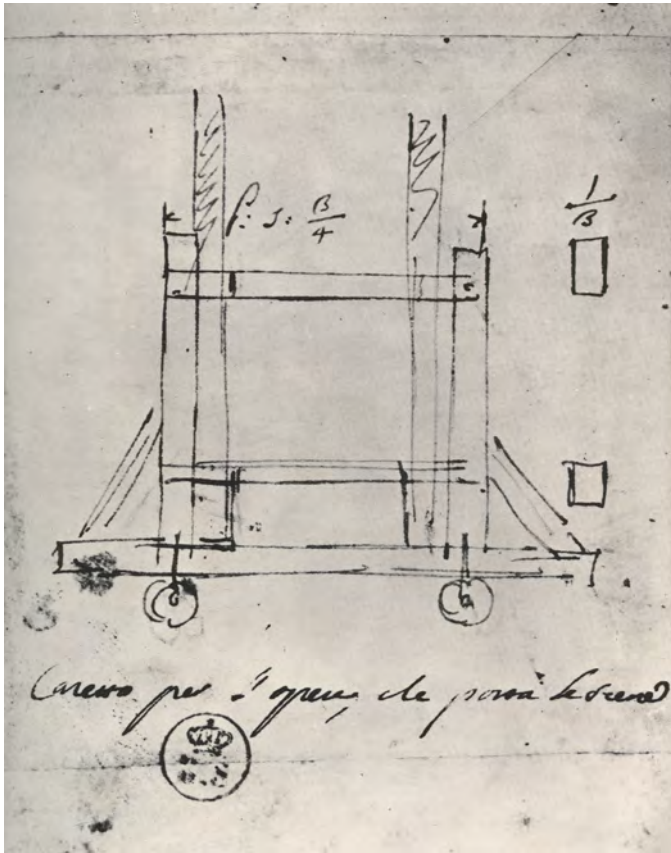


Figure 3.14: Juvorra, *Caretto Motto*, drawing, Ris. 59.4 f.97 (5).

Juvorra occasionally placed flat sets at angles to the frontal plane of the stage, and some flats could be positioned at different angles to the audience. Turning a set out of the frontal plane to create a *scena per angolo* is complicated by a raked stage, and West has suggested that the sets with diagonal bases were lowered into the *canali* when viewed frontally to mask their diagonally cut bottoms (Figure 3.15). His arguments would have benefited here by reference to Juvorra's drawing in Turin (see Figure 3.3) of a cross-section of the Ottoboni theater. This indicates a shallow relief stage like those in the *Il Teodosio* scene sketches, and an area below the stage for manipulating sets in the *canali*, with open space above to accommodate cloud machinery.



Figure 3.15: Juvarra, *Giunio Bruto*, Scene VI, 1711, drawing, f.95.

In 1966 the question of puppet performances was revisited, once more stimulated by Maffei's remark.¹⁶⁴ Maria Signorelli added an historical note to the discussion by emphasizing that such performances were not uncommon, and had been popular in the Renaissance.¹⁶⁵ Sebastiano Serlio, in Book II of his treatise on architecture in 1551, had described stick puppets (*burattini*) which were usually used for musical performances. These would have suited Ottoboni's tastes perfectly, and the use of puppets provided the cardinal with a means of avoiding papal strictures against theater performances. In the seventeenth century such puppet performances were popularized by Benedetto Neri in sacred works and cantatas, and the cleric G.D. Ottonelli, in his treatise on Christian moderation in the theater, had recommended puppets as appropriate for sacred narratives and scenes from the Old Testament.¹⁶⁶ The Duke of Fiano's theater on the ground floor of his palace was for marionettes and rod puppets.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Signorelli, 550-559.

¹⁶⁵ Signorelli, 555.

¹⁶⁶ Padre Gian Domenico Ottonelli (1652). *Della Christiana moderazione del teatro* (pp. 462, 465). Florence: G. A. Bonardi, as cited in Signorelli, p. 550.

¹⁶⁷ Signorelli, 559, n. 40. See BAV, Cod. Ottob. 3279, March 1692, p. 193v for a reference to the theater at San Lorenzo in Lucina. Moroni claimed that in 1737 Marco's wife had a puppet theater on the Palazzo Fiano's ground floor for marionettes and rod puppets; "Nei pianterreni del palazzo de molti

Françoise Deseine had alluded in 1713 to a “l’Antichambre” in the Cancelleria, “où Mr. le Cardinal Ottobon: à present Vice Chancelier, a coutume de faire les Oratoires en musique...”¹⁶⁸ Schiavo also referred to an “anticamera” with its gilded balconies for musicians, which would seem to describe a hall such as the Sala Riario on the *piano nobile* which had musician balconies, and served as the audience hall of the palace.¹⁶⁹ Signorelli has suggested that this “anti-Chambre,” which she distinguished from Juvarra’s theater, could have been the setting for puppet performances, which was well suited to accommodate a small stage and limited audience. Signorelli mooted the previous discussions, however, by pointing out that Ottoboni’s large theater could also have been used for puppet performances with some modifications of the stage.¹⁷⁰ She accepted its existence and accepted Schiavo’s dimensions of 45.5 x 57 *palmi* (or 10.16 x 12.85 m) for the theater.¹⁷¹

Viale Ferrero made a number of perceptive observations about Juvarra’s theater in her comprehensive study of his scenographic drawings in 1970. She disagreed with Craig who, in his reading of Maffei in 1926, held that Juvarra had built only a puppet theater, overlooking Maffei’s references to singers and musicians.¹⁷² Maffei also stated that the puppet theater was located in a “certa sala” or single room and not the double space identified by Schiavo, and that in this room was assembled “un piccolo Teatrino” built by Pellegrini.¹⁷³ This must have been a modest space indeed if Maffei’s redundancy in his usage of the double diminutive, “piccolo Teatrino” is any indication. He further informs us that Pellegrini and Juvarra worked together in the theater (“Al teatro” and not “Al piccolo Teatrino”), and that the operas *Il Teodosio* and *Ciro* were performed there, thus distinguishing it from the puppet theater. The *Anonimo* adds that this theater was built by a priest from Messina, namely Juvarra. Viale Ferrero is skeptical of Maffei’s linkage of Pellegrini and Juvarra, observing that no document records Pellegrini assisting him.¹⁷⁴

Viale Ferrero claimed that Juvarra did not build a new theater, but rather a renovated one (*rifacimento*). Based on a passage in an archival document, she

anni venne stabilito il *teatro Fiano* (ora non più esistente), rinomato pei graziosi spettacoli e rappresentanze di commedie e balli, di burattini o marionette,...” and “sui diversi teatrini de’ burattini; che il famoso Filippo Juvarra (morto nel 1735) intaglio delle scene assai belle, nel celebre teatrino de’ burattini del cardinal Pietro Ottoboni de’ duchi di Fiano,” but Moroni was writing in 1851, more than one hundred years after the fact; Moroni, “Ottoboni e Otthobon Famiglia,” vol. L, pp. 72-73. See also, Gross, p. 298. *Guide rionali*, III, Parte I, 1977, p. 86 dates a theater here to the 1800s.

¹⁶⁸ Deseine, F. (1713). *Rome Moderne* (I, p. 363). Leiden.

¹⁶⁹ Schiavo, 1964, p. 102. See also Rossini, p. 68.

¹⁷⁰ Signorelli, p. 557.

¹⁷¹ Signorelli, pp. 554-555.

¹⁷² Craig, 174; Viale Ferrero, p. 74.

¹⁷³ Cited by Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

¹⁷⁴ Viale Ferrero, p. 22.

referred to a theater in place before June 1707.¹⁷⁵ This is a reference to work done in the rooms occupied by Corelli “su di sopra nel Teatrino,” but this should be taken as referring either to the old space of del Lino’s dismantled theater of which Viale Ferreo did not know, or more likely to the puppet theater because the diminutive “Teatrino” is again used, and because del Lino’s structure had been on the ground floor. Viale Ferrero maintained that Ottoboni wanted to renovate this space, but del Lino’s theater had already been dismantled by Innocent XII’s order in 1692. For additional evidence in support of her position, Viale Ferrero cited work on the roof “delle Stanze verso il Giardino accanto il Teatrino.” Again she used the Italian diminutive, whereas other documents referring to work on the roof of Ottoboni’s theater refer to “il teatro.” For example, Viale Ferrero noted the addition of a lantern to the auditorium, “entrava il vento nel Teatro.”¹⁷⁶ She cited documents showing all work on the theater completed before August 1710.

Viale Ferrero credited Schiavo for his exacting measurements in locating a puppet theater on the third floor of the Cancelleria in a space now serving as the vestibule for the Tribunale della Segnatura Apostolica (see Figures 3.8, 3.9), but also noted that this observation was irrelevant to the issue of Juvarra because his scenes were for a theater with a large stage. The major operas performed from 1709 to 1712, such as *Costantino Pio*, *Ciro*, *Il Teodosio*, *L’Eraclio*, were flesh and blood performances. The staging of *Costantino Pio* lasted five hours according to the president of the French Academy in Rome (but the musical performances of the *burrattini* could also be lengthy). Juvarra’s anonymous biographer states that Ottoboni had the theater erected specifically for *Costantino Pio*, which may be true because Ottoboni had written the libretto.¹⁷⁷

Viale Ferrero considered Juvarra’s Turin drawings directly relevant to Ottoboni’s theater. She acknowledged the research of Bielenberg, Rava, West, and Warner in deriving the dimensions for the two theaters represented in the Turin drawings, and found Schiavo’s studies precise although not decisive.¹⁷⁸ She also observed that it was not possible to determine from the wall structure of the Cancelleria which of the two theaters in the Turin drawings had been built, but was agreeable to the suggestion that the smaller of the plans had been carried out. She came to this conclusion as a result of similarities noted between Juvarra’s drawings for the smaller theater, and the description of Juvarra’s theater in the Ottoboni inventory of 1740.

The inventory places the theater next to a “Guardarobba,” and mentions an orchestra, and four tiers of boxes, the latter decorated with globes. They are referred to as “palle” (“dette palchette colle sue palle sopra a medisimi palchi”), interpreted as vases (“vasi”) by Schiavo, but Viale Ferrero correctly recognized them as “globi

¹⁷⁵ Viale Ferrero, p. 77.

¹⁷⁶ Viale Ferrero, pp. 77-78.

¹⁷⁷ Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

¹⁷⁸ Viale Ferrero, pp. 75-76.

aradici,” or the Ottoboni family’s heraldic devices.¹⁷⁹ The inventory also states that there were thirteen loges per tier which Viale Ferrero found in agreement with the Turin drawings, although other scholars counted fifteen. Either she had miscounted or she read the boxes adjacent to the orchestra in Juvarra’s longitudinal section (see Figure 3.2) as false boxes, cropped with the terminations of the balustrades at each level to offer decorative harmony and completeness, but not intended to be occupied because of their more limited space and severe viewing angle (although the frontispiece for *Carlo Magno*, [see Figure 2.11] shows these awkward boxes as occupied).

Two other elements in the inventory are worthy of attention. The stage space is indicated as wider than deep which conforms with Juvarra’s drawings. The audience hall also appears to be wider than deep, which would make sense for a space with five boxes at the back and four along each side (totaling thirteen, Figure 3.16). Warner’s dimensions, taken from the scale in Juvarra’s drawings based on the auditorium ringed with fifteen boxes to form a square letter “U” (5 x 5 x 5), are for an almost square space, 9.18 x 8.96 m, only slightly deeper than wide. Drawings and inventory both indicate an open area within the rim of stacked loges. The inventory informs us that this space was filled by twenty benches with small tables and iron railings. These would have been placed in the open space five across and four deep to fit the truncated square of the auditorium. Warner had measured the width of Juvarra’s loges as 4’6” which would accommodate two people standing side by side, as shown in the frontispiece of the libretto to Ottoboni’s opera, *Carlo Magno* (see Figure 2.11). They were 4’6” wide, 3’9” deep and 6’6” high. Thus, the benches aligned with the loges at the back of the hall in four rows of five across would hold at least forty occupants.

An approximate capacity for the theater can be determined from Chracas’s description of an Arcadian Christmas celebration honoring the Grand Princess of Tuscany with fifty Roman ladies in the second tier of loges forming a crown to the official box (Appendix, doc. 5).¹⁸⁰ The evening consisted of a learned discourse, the reading of compositions, a concerto, then the appearance on stage of clouds with a *machina* supporting a celestial Genius accompanied by nine personages (presumably Apollo and the Muses, see Figure 3.11). Finally, a cantata with three voices was performed with verses by the renowned librettist, Pietro Metastasio (the adopted son of G.V. Gravina [d. 1718], apologist for the Arcadians), and music by Giovanni Costanzi, who was Ottoboni’s court composer and conductor of his orchestra.¹⁸¹ He is shown in the orchestra pit of Ottoboni’s theater in the engraved frontispiece of *Carlo Magno* (see Fig. 1.11).

¹⁷⁹ Schiavo, 1964, p. 187; Viale Ferrero, p. 75.

¹⁸⁰ See also Valesio, IV, p. 893, January 2, 1728.

¹⁸¹ For Metastasio, see Robinson, M. Trapassi, Pietro Antonio (Rome 1698 – Vienna 1782), in Sadie, vol. 12, pp. 215-219; for Costanzi, see Marx, H. Costanzi, Giovanni Battista (1704-1778), in Sadie, vol. 4, pp. 822-823. Costanzi was *aiuto da camera* in 1721, *maestro di cappella* at San Lorenzo in 1731, and *capo d’istromenti* in 1737.

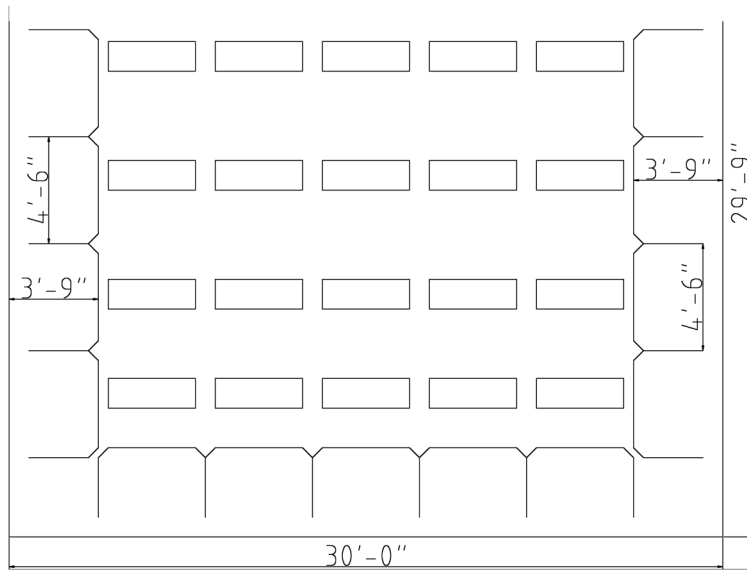


Figure 3.16: Ottoboni Theater, plan (reconstructed).

From the inventory count, Ottoboni's theater contained thirteen loges on each level (except for the second where the official box was triple the size of the others). With each box able to accommodate two people side by side, the thirteen boxes could hold twenty-six people. If a second pair of individuals could fit into a second row of each box, the count for each tier would approach fifty which would conform with Chracas's description. The boxes alone at full capacity could hold 200 spectators, and depending on the arrangement of benches and tables, the floor of the small auditorium could probably accommodate forty or more people. The inventory description also refers to stage sets as well as stage machinery of various kinds, some of which were used to pull the *machine*, and others to move the stage sets: "necessarii per tirar le machine, e tirar le scene esistenti sotto il palco di d.o Teatro." The latter statement also agrees with Juvarra's longitudinal section in confirming the presence of a space beneath the stage for effecting scene changes.

Either Juvarra's longitudinal section (see Figure 3.3) shows a theater four boxes deep, or one of the original plans for seventeen or fifteen boxes per tier was used with the number of boxes reduced to thirteen by constraints of space. The inventory entry for the dismantled theater reports the dimensions of the stage, and it can be shown that these correspond with the space first identified by Schiavo on the *secondo piano*, but which he considered to be Ottoboni's *teatrino domestico* or puppet theater.

In a subsequent article on Ottoboni's palace in 1972, architect Schiavo distinguished this *teatrino domestico* from the larger *teatro di rappresentanza* for which he could find no evidence from an examination of the walls and ceiling in various rooms of the Cancelleria, but which he thought might logically have been associated with the cardinal's private apartments along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele near the garden.¹⁸² Schiavo presented new archival data in his attempt to locate the rooms once occupied by the theater. These included identifying the *capomastro muratore* or chief mason, Carlo Santi Prioli, who perforated the roof of the audience hall to install the lantern.¹⁸³ His charges were for work between April 1709 and July 1710, and included uncovering and inverting the roof toward the garden along the via del Pellegrino for a span of 198 x 45 *palmi* (a distance of almost 150 feet). In the process, Primoli helped to locate the studio of the sculptor Rossi, as the roof extended "sopra lo studio del S. Angelo Scultore."¹⁸⁴ That work persisted as late as July of 1710 indicates that the theater Juvarra prepared for performances in 1708 continued to be worked on during his early years in the court. Most likely this phase represented Juvarra's addition of three tiers of boxes which would have required "inverting" the roof. Also of interest is Schiavo's report that the *conti* or bills were submitted by the architect Lodovico Rusconi Sassi which is the only time Sassi is ever mentioned in the context of Juvarra's theater. Sassi's involvement with Ottoboni is discussed below.

Schiavo indicated that there were as many as four performance locations within the confines of Ottoboni's palace; the nave of San Lorenzo in Damaso (see Figure 2.9),¹⁸⁵ the Sala Riaria or public audience hall on the *piano nobile* (Figure 3.17),¹⁸⁶ Juvarra's theater (see Figure 3.5), and the small oratorio in the anti-chamber of Ottoboni's private apartments (Figure 3.18).¹⁸⁷ He might also have mentioned the *cortile* (see Figure 2.10) where temporary stages were erected for various performances.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸² Schiavo, 1972, 345.

¹⁸³ Schiavo, 1972, 345.

¹⁸⁴ Schiavo, 1972, 346; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 59, 1709-1710.

¹⁸⁵ For example, Valesio reports Pope Clement XI in attendance to view the fine *macchina* displayed in San Lorenzo depicting Saint Giacinto; IV, pp. 434-436, February 13, 1711.

¹⁸⁶ Viale Ferrero notes that the dimensions of the display for the Holy Week Oratorio in the drawing fit the end wall of Ottoboni's Sala Riaria; p. 71.

¹⁸⁷ Rossini, p. 68. Rossini reports an oratorio performed in the *anticamera* of Ottoboni's apartment on the *primo piano*. This observation with the mentioned drawing would seem to locate Ottoboni's *anticamera* as the Sala Riaria which is also on the *piano nobile*.

¹⁸⁸ Valesio tells of an oratorio performed in Ottoboni's *cortile*; III, p. 432, August 23, 1705; p. 441, August 24, 1705.



Figure 3.17: Sala Riario, Cancelleria, Rome.

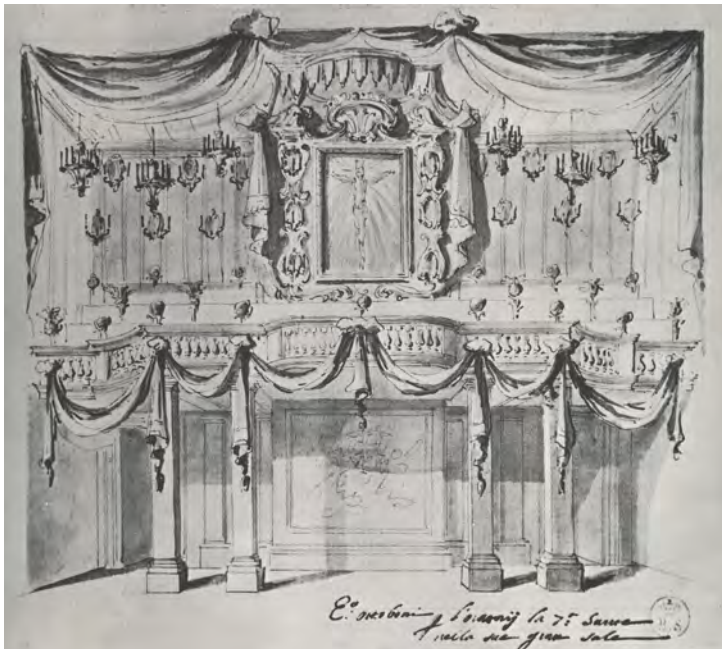


Figure 3.18: Juvarra, *Machina for Holy Week*, drawing, Ris. 59.4 f.81 (1).

When Salvatore Boscarino published his monograph on Juvarra in 1973, he had the benefit of these numerous reports.¹⁸⁹ He located Ottoboni's puppet theater in what is today the vestibule of the Segnatura which he mistakenly placed on the *piano nobile*. He observed that the hall was not suitable for loges, and that it did not correspond with the space in Juvarra's drawings. Furthermore, he stated that none of Juvarra's drawings of stage sets was to be associated with puppet performances, because Juvarra did not do scenography for this type of theater.¹⁹⁰ Boscarino noted that Ottoboni's theater for opera was on the *piano secondo*, distinguishing it from the puppet theater with Ottoboni's private chamber on the *piano nobile*. He observed that Juvarra's Turin drawings of theater plans were not innovative spaces, but seemed instead to accept the limits of the walls of the palace. He further stated that Vittorio Viale's documents showed "unequivocally" that the smaller theater plan was realized, thus correcting Schiavo.¹⁹¹

Boscarino also observed (repeating Rava) that the right angle U-plan for the auditorium was eventually abandoned for its poor visibility.¹⁹² Juvarra's use of the raked stage was also the last such as the combination of canted floor, *canali* and *caretti motti* forced the performers into the frontal plane of the proscenium arch. The central axis of the perspective line in seventeenth-century scenery served to unify the stage space with that of the auditorium. Late Italian Renaissance and Baroque scenographers increased the size of the stage illusionistically with the adaptation of the *scena per angolo* with a façade or hall viewed at an angle. As opera developed in the eighteenth century with an increasing reliance on choruses and mob scenes, and the addition of dancers, the *scena per angolo* forced performers into the proscenium arch which led to rejection of the canted stage floor.

Brinckman had puzzled that Juvarra never again became involved with Ottoboni after departing his court in 1715, but Stought has ventured that the theater was rebuilt

189 Boscarino cited the naïve researches of Rava, West, Bielenberg, Warner and Spaight without comment, and slighted the work of Schiavo. He did not expand on contradictory findings in the literature, and failed to defend or explain his own conclusions in most instances.

190 Boscarino repeats Brinckman and contradicts Craig and West as well as the *Anonimo* who reported Juvarra as designing puppet scenery which seems reasonable, although none of his drawings has been associated with puppet performances; p. 141. Juvarra's title for his collection of scenographic drawings indicates that they are exclusively for opera scenes.

191 Boscarino, p. 160. A major exhibition of Juvarra's drawings was held in 1966 in Messina with a catalogue that reprinted much that was contained in the 1937 monograph including the architect's two *vite* and Sacchetti's list of drawings. A catalogue of drawings by collection, and an up to date bibliography comprised the major contribution of this study; *Mostra di Filippo Juvarra*, ed., Vittorio Viale, Messina: Palazzo dell'Università, 1966, p. 149.

192 Even Juvarra quickly changed his ideas about auditorium space as evidenced by the spread-U plan he devised for his theater in Genoa in 1712; reproduced in Viale Ferrero, p. 306, fig. 188; Rava, p. 8.

in 1727 by Juvarra himself.¹⁹³ This might have been possible, although it seems unlikely. Pinto has cited changes in the stage opening as represented in the engraved frontispiece of the libretto for *Carlo Magno* of 1729 (see Figure 2.11).¹⁹⁴ These involved the addition of Solomonic columns in place of pilasters, the breaking open of the arch, and a cartouche with the French *fleur-de-lis*. Rava is probably correct in considering such changes ephemeral, because the French arms could be displayed only in the context of the opera and not permanently, because the Cancelleria was the official property of the Vatican State.¹⁹⁵ In any case, Pinto has shown that the scenery for *Carlo Magno* had been designed by Nicola Michetti whose designs may also have included embellishment of the proscenium arch.¹⁹⁶ This could have been when Michetti added the opening to the theater lantern for which he was still unpaid at Ottoboni's death. Michetti's embellishments can be distinguished by a comparison of the frontispiece of the libretto for *Carlo Magno* with that for the libretto of *L'Ercilio* of 1712 (Figure 3.19).

Juvarra's theater of 1708-1710 which Schiavo has argued once occupied the third floor (see Figure 3.6), can now be seen as congruent with the two large rooms used today as vestibules for the offices of the Segnatura Apostolica (see Figure 3.8). One of these (8.8 x 7.2 m), its vaulted ceiling embellished with frescoed putti and stucco reliefs, could have served as the audience hall for Juvarra's theater, with the other chamber as the stage area (Figure 3.20). The view into the vestibule of the Segnatura is that looking east from the auditorium into the stage area. Although the theater with its boxes, orchestra and stage no longer exists, its reconstruction can be surmised from the combination of written descriptions, surviving drawings and engraved frontispieces just undertaken. Begun in 1708 just before Juvarra's official entry in the cardinal's household, it would have had 47 boxes on four levels arranged in the shape of a truncated horseshoe, with the loge of honor given a triple space (see Figure 3.4), and three ground level loges at the back and sides used for entry to the auditorium floor (see Figure 3.3), thus reducing the number from 52 ($13 \times 2 + 11 + 10 = 47$). The theater was confined by the pre-existing walls of the palace but extended through the floor above with its corresponding space, and into the inverted roof. Schiavo mentioned vestiges of the stage arch in the wall separating the two spaces, and found remains of painted decorations in the staircase and of the lantern above the ceiling and under the roof at the northwest corner.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Brinckman, p. 140; Stought, 4.

¹⁹⁴ Pinto, 1980, p. 296.

¹⁹⁵ Rava, p. 6. Pinto has also suggested that they were probably temporary; 1980, pp. 295-296.

¹⁹⁶ "Inventore delle scene. Il Cavalier Nicolò Romano Ingegniere del Signor Cardinale Ottoboni." *Carlo Magno. Festa Teatrale in Occasione della nascita del Delfino...*, Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1729. An earlier Christmas performance in 1728 had sets designed by Domenico Vellani; Rava, p. 5; "opera fatta con ogni buon gusto dal Domenico Vellani, Ingegnere, e Pittore delle medesime scene;" *Chracas*, vol. 48, no. 1777, p. 4, December 25, 1728.

¹⁹⁷ Schiavo, 1964, p. 188.



Figure 3.19: *L'Eraclio*, frontispiece, 1711, engraving.

Schiavo identified these rooms as the location of a theater, but did not dwell on them because he considered the site to be that of the puppet theater and not the grand theater for opera. It is true that the dimensions of the two rooms are too small to incorporate the theaters in either set of Juvarrà's plans in Turin, but they are adequate to accommodate the theater described in the Ottoboni inventory (see Figures 3.16, 3.20), which Maffei indicated was placed in a small space, "in così piccolo situ." The stage area is approximately 8.12 m wide by 8.53 m deep. This converts to 36.4 x 38.2 *palmi* which can be compared with the 40 x 33 *palmi* given in the inventory, except that the present space is deeper than wide.¹⁹⁸ The size is a favorable match to Bernini's preference for stages no more than 33 *palmi* (or 7.4 m) deep.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ I am indebted to Mrs. Marjorie Weeke of the Pontificio Consiglio delle Comunicazione Sociali and Zenon Grochowski, Secretary of the Supremum Signaturae Apostolicae Tribunal for assistance in obtaining measurements for the two northwest corner rooms under discussion.

¹⁹⁹ Bernini, p. 10.

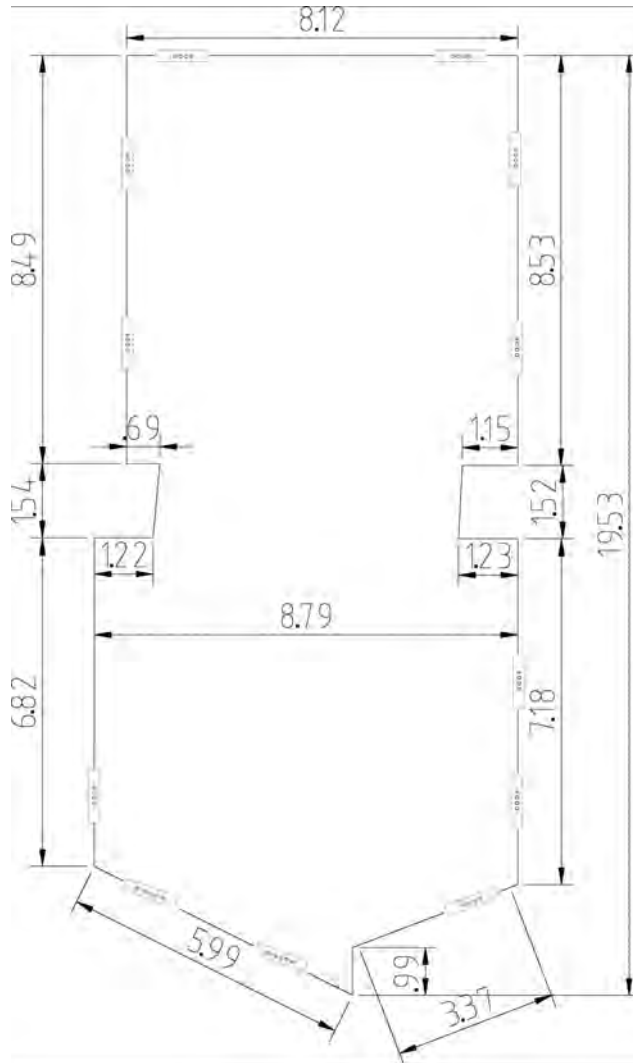


Figure 3.20: Plan and dimensions for suggested Location of Ottoboni Theater, Segnatura (third floor).

Reconstruction of the audience hall is a bit more complicated. If one accepts the inventory description of thirteen loges, and the size of each loge as calculated by Warner from the scale given by Juvarra in his Turin plans (see Figure 3.3), it is possible to reconstruct Ottoboni's theater within the measured dimensions of the room associated with the audience hall. The latter measures 8.79 m wide by 7.18 m deep (or 39.35 x 32 *palmi*). This is closer to the 40 x 33 *palmi* given in the inventory, suggesting that the inventory measure might have been for the auditorium instead of the stage, which would make more sense because the value of the carpentry would stem from

the decorative loges. In any case, the pertinent figures from Warner's calculations are: width of each loge (for the smaller of the two plans) = 4'6", depth of each loge = 3'9". For four boxes along a side wall each 4'6" in width plus a depth of 3'9" for the boxes at the back, a span of 21'9" results which falls within the measured 23' of the Segnatura vestibule.

The width of the auditorium can be calculated from those of the five boxes placed side by side at the back wall, again at 4'6" each, plus a depth of 3'9" for the boxes at each of the two sides to give a total width of 30' against the measured width of 28'9". These calculations do not take into account the width of spaces between boxes, perhaps 3 to 6", nor the space necessary for the narrow entry halls to the boxes, although hallways were omitted from some of the Turin designs. As all scholars agreed that the theater in the plans was carried out only in diminished size, the area of the boxes may have been reduced from those of the drawings. In the end, Juvarra's theater was neither placed completely against an outer wall nor on the *piano nobile* along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

Whoever has enjoyed a performance in the reconstructed Asolo Theater of 1799 at the Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida, can appreciate the intimate scale, the poor angle of vision in some boxes against the favored location of others, and the dichotomy between visually elegant surroundings and severity of accommodations. In the end, Juvarra's theater was one of the most gracious and ornate of private theaters. Charged with family symbols and richly encrusted decoration, it was intimate in its scale yet grand in aspiration. It was especially in the pretensions of the theater's scenography that Juvarra kept alive the spirit of Borromini and Bibiena, and from which he extrapolated his own interests in his large scale works after his departure from Rome. And to this end, the old fashioned raking stage with its vertical format and *scene per angolo* offered Juvarra an opportunity of which he took full advantage. In the process, he flattered the humble accommodations of his patron.

On completion of the theater and stage sets for Ottoboni, Juvarra's success brought him other projects. In 1710-1711, he constructed a small theater as well as designs for scenography for the widowed queen of Poland who occupied the Palazzo Zuccari on the Pincio.²⁰⁰ A second royal commission in 1711 involved finished designs for scenography for a performance of *Giunio Bruto* at the court of Joseph I, Emperor of Austria. Unfortunately for both patron and artist, the Emperor died before the drawings were delivered, and they remained in the possession of Cardinal Albani.²⁰¹ Another theater project took Juvarra to Genoa and the Piazza Sant'Agostino (1712-

²⁰⁰ Körte, W. (1935). *Der Palazzo Zuccari in Rom* (pp. 48-52). Leipzig. Maria Casimira's arrival in Rome in July of 1697 is recorded by Marescotti. She departed the Holy City on June 16, 1714; BNC, 789, Mss. Vitt. Eman., vol. III, Marescotti, p. 204v, July 20, 1697; Viale Ferrero, pp. 19, 56, n. 3. See also Re, E. (1926/27). La dimora Romana di Maria Casimira Regina di Polonia. *Capitolium*, II, 160-167.

²⁰¹ Viale Ferrero, p. 39.

1713). Juvarra probably realized that the Cancelleria's modest theater was the most that he could expect from Ottoboni in terms of grand projects, and it was likely that the cardinal was gratified to have his resident architect so widely patronized. Clearly, Juvarra's theater for Ottoboni led to the Palazzo Zuccari commission and to court patronage from Vienna as well as projects in Genoa and Lucca.

Juvarra spent some time in Lucca consulting on villa and fountain projects for various patrons. He was off to Sicily and his native Messina in 1714 to redesign a palace for Vittorio Amadeo II, then went to Turin in September. Juvarra was soon back in Rome to participate in a competition for a sacristy at St. Peter which was never undertaken. After Ottoboni's series of expensive opera commissions in the early years of the century's second decade, Juvarra's departure from the cardinal's court at the end of 1714, however much regretted, also offered the cardinal financial relief.

4 Other Cancelleria Spaces

4.1 The Sala Riaria

Gaps appear among the sources of information for Ottoboni around 1715.²⁰² Although he seemed not to have been responsible for the decorations of the Sala Riaria in the Cancelleria (see Figure 3.17) which honored Clement XI, and the project did not involve his resident artists, its cost was imposed on him when it was completed in 1718.²⁰³ The Sienese artist Giuseppe Nasini's paintings honored the reign of Clement XI by reproducing many of the historical buildings that the pope had ordered restored.²⁰⁴ The Albani pope had been canon of San Lorenzo in Damaso from 1670 to his election as pope in 1700. The upper portions of the walls were decorated by Marcantonio Franceschini with small scenes from the Old Testament and a God the Father with symbols of the Evangelists. Francesco Moderati, a pupil of Rossi, appears in this context, but his stucco personifications of Justice and Charity have not survived.²⁰⁵

4.2 Ludovico Rusconi Sassi

Angelo de' Rossi replaced Michetti in Ottoboni's favor in 1710 as evidenced from his being assigned *machine* for San Lorenzo for five consecutive years, just as he had earlier eclipsed San Martino on the papal tomb project.²⁰⁶ Rossi's death in 1715 followed Juvarra's departure from the court by a few short months. If these events distressed Ottoboni, he gave no evidence of it in his letters to his cousin, Margherita Zeno Pio di Savoia, for he makes no mention of them.²⁰⁷

Shortly after these losses, Ottoboni commissioned a stucco image of the Virgin from Moderati (Figure 4.1), and a stucco Madonna for a window of the Cancelleria

202 Chracas's *Diario Ordinario* dates from 1716, but a hiatus appears in Valesio's *Diario di Roma* between 1711 and 1724, and there is a five year break in Ottoboni's correspondence with Margherita Pio Zeno from 1707.

203 Schiavo, 1964, pp. 148-149; Rudolph, 593-600; Chracas, vol. 6, no. 184, August 10, 1718, pp. 8-10.

204 Rudolph, 597-598. For Albani patronage, see also Johns, C. (1985). *The Art Patronage of Pope Clement XI Albani and the Paleochristian Revival in Early Eighteenth Century Rome*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Delaware, and (1993). *Papal Art & Cultural Politics, Rome in the Age of Clement XI*, Cambridge University Press; (1989). *L'Architettura da Clemente XI a Benedetto XIV*, E. Debenedetti (Ed.), Rome: Multigrafica Editrice.

205 Rudolph, 597.

206 San Martino's name is not entered in the palace rolls after 1700; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 40, fasc. 1, "Rollo di Famiglia," January 1700.

207 Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Archivio Falco, scatola 438, February 2 – March 9, 1715, fascs. 65-74. See also, Millon, 1982, II, pp. 520-521.

from Ludovico Rusconi Sassi (1678-1736). The window Madonna has not survived, perhaps removed when Napoleon's troops occupied the palace. The edicola with the Virgin and Child has been restored several times through the centuries.²⁰⁸



Figure 4.1: Ludovico Rusconi Sassi and Carlo Moderati, *Tabernacle of Madonna and Child*, 1714, stucco, via del Pellegrino, Rome.

Sassi supervised the execution of the tabernacle for Moderati's statue on the via del Pellegrino and was responsible for payments to the artisans.²⁰⁹ The fee of 139.05 *scudi* to Moderati represents a major portion of the full cost of 237.39 *scudi*, and explicitly names

²⁰⁸ Kelly has written a documented history of these restorations; pp. 216-218, 222. For more on the edicola, see BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 97, no. 89, November 11, 1716; Blunt, p. 250; *Guide rionali*, VI, Parte 2, 1980, p. 68.

²⁰⁹ Schiavo correctly claimed that Sassi received all bills related to the edicola project, although he cited no evidence for this; 1972, 346. Kelly lists these payments but in excerpted form omitting many citations to Moderati in the process; pp. 306-307. BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 97, no. 63; "Lista di Spese pagam:ti fatti p la Madonna SSma fatti di Stucco nella Stra del Pellegrino."

him as sculptor. Consequently, any attempt to credit Sassi with the sculpture must be discounted, especially as it was common practice at the time for architects and sculptors to collaborate on projects, the sculptors working within an architect's general design, but responsible for the sculptural details.²¹⁰ Cathie Kelly has correctly credited Sassi for the architecture of Ottoboni's edicola.²¹¹ The project seems to have been completed by November 1716.²¹² In 1720, Ottoboni celebrated the placement of an altar at this site, presumably to commemorate the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.²¹³

Sassi worked for Ottoboni as early as 1702 but was never entered in the family rolls.²¹⁴ Nonetheless, it has been claimed that he became Ottoboni's principal architect from 1705 to his death in 1736.²¹⁵ This observation was ultimately based on the tenuous claim that "there is no evidence to the contrary," but it has already been noted that "Simone Felice del Lino Architetto" is listed as Ottoboni's first resident architect with a monthly stipend of 10 *scudi*, that Carlo Enrico di San Martino was the cardinal's architect in the 1690s, and that "Gio. Francesco Pellegrini Architetto" appears as a member of Ottoboni's household as early as 1698.²¹⁶ He is in the court with Juvarra in 1712, listed under the heading of "Gentiluomini" in January when Juvarra is entered under "Cappellani." Pellegrini remained a palace resident until his death in February of 1732.²¹⁷ Most seriously, however, the claim for Sassi overlooks the important presence in the court of the talented Juvarra, and ignores the fact that the earliest record of Sassi's independent association with Ottoboni dates from 1715, that is, after Rossi's death and Juvarra's departure, which left openings in Ottoboni's court for a sculptor and an architect.

Ottoboni's choice of a replacement for Rossi (if not for Juvarra) was Lorenzo Merlini.²¹⁸ The Florentine sculptor and metal smith had worked with Rossi in 1695 on

²¹⁰ Kelly, p. 222. For more on the sharing of responsibilities between architects and sculptors see Montagu, pp. 77-98; and for their collaboration see Olszewski, 2004, pp. 229-245.

²¹¹ Kelly, pp. 213-214. See also Schiavo, 1972, 346.

²¹² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 97, no. 89, November 11, 1716; "Io Sott.o ho riceuto dall'E.mo e Rev.mo Card.le Pietro / Ottoboni per le mani del Sig.re Lodovico Rusconi / Sassi quindici e ba 45 moneta sono p sal/do e final pagamento di tutti li lavori di stucchi / fatti in fare di novo l'ornato ad una Madonna / in un cantone nella strada del Pellegrino / et in fede questo di il 9bre 1716 / Pietro Porcioni ma.o."

²¹³ Chracas, vol. 15, no. 483, pp. 4-5, August 17, 1720.

²¹⁴ Sassi's name only appears in a payment for 1 *scudo* for a copper inscription; Kelly, pp. 13-14, 22, n. 75, 306-307.

²¹⁵ Kelly, C. Ludovico Rusconi Sassi, *MEA*, III, p. 620. For more on Sassi c. 1732, see Iacobini, S. (1989). Le vicende costruttive di San Giuseppe alla Lungara e il progetto architettonico di Ludovico Rusconi Sassi. In Debenedetti, E. (Ed.), *L'architettura da Clemente XI a Benedetto XIV* (pp. 49-68). Rome: Multigrafica Editrice.

²¹⁶ Kelly, p. 215.

²¹⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 90, "Rollo di Famiglia," February 1732.

²¹⁸ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 71, "Rollo di Famiglia," 1716. For more on Merlini, refer to Enggass, 1976, I, pp. 120-123.

the altar of Saint Ignatius at the Jesuits' Il Gesù.²¹⁹ Finally, in the mid-1730s, two other architects, G.B. Oliverio and Domenico Gregorini, would enter Ottoboni's service about whom more will be said shortly.

4.3 The Arcadian Academy

Ottoboni considered himself the logical heir to Queen Christina of Sweden as arbiter of culture in Rome. After her death in 1689, Alexander VIII acquired her extensive library now in the Vatican, and the cardinal engaged her composer-musicians, Alessandro Scarlatti and Arcangelo Corelli, taking the latter into his court. The frontispiece to Francesco Bianchini's *Istoria Universale* of 1697 is based on a lost painting by Trevisani (Figure 4.2). Bianchini served as librarian for both pope and cardinal. The illustration apotheosizes Ottoboni as a patron, and reveals his aesthetic preferences as he accepts a book and sheet of music from supplicants while two painters display canvases honoring the arts of sculpture and painting.



Figure 4.2: Frontispiece, from Francesco Bianchini, *Istoria Universale*, 1697.

²¹⁹ For the collaboration of Merlini and Rossi, see Kerber, B. (1965). Designs for Sculpture by Andrea Pozzo, *Art Bulletin*, 47, 499-502.

Christina's royal colors of blue and silver were the same as the Ottoboni livery. Her famous academy which disbanded on her death was revived with the Arcadians. Sponsored by Ottoboni, it had many of the same members, and gave similar emphasis to music and the arts, but it was not the same academy.²²⁰ The Accademia degli Arcadi was a new academy with new rules and a new membership. Its emphasis was on music and the fine arts rather than science and philosophy. Several residents of the Cardinal's court were Arcadians.²²¹ They met weekly in the Cancelleria, for a period of years on Monday evenings, then on Wednesday evenings. In 1701, they held their gatherings every Monday under Ottoboni's sponsorship, with music as an integral element of the meetings.²²²

From the Academy's founding in the convent garden of San Pietro in Montorio on October 5, 1690, their summer meetings were always in the open. They followed the practice established by Queen Christina's academy where there were seven meetings between May 1st and October 7th in a wood with members masked as shepherds.²²³ Various sites served this purpose including the garden of the Cancelleria, the arbor of the Duke of Parma on the Palatine Hill from 1693-1699, in 1705 at the Villa Giustiniani beneath the Porta del Popolo, then at the gardens of Prince Ruspoli on the Aventine Hill from 1713-1719. Wherever the site, it was always referred to as "Bosco Parrasio." In the winter the meetings convened in the shepherds' "huts."

The summer meetings of the Arcadians did not always begin in May, and they seemed to have met throughout the year. In 1721, they did not have their first meeting until late in August, and in 1738 the formal closing of the open air gatherings occurred after mid-September.²²⁴ That meeting honored Innocent XIII with eclogues, sonnets and madrigals. It was held at the Villa Ruspoli near San Matteo in Merulana.

Ottoboni's Arcadians were quite active in 1722. Their most important academy each year was on the eve of Epiphany, and that year a cantata was sung by Finaja, and

220 Christina's *Accademia Reale* was founded in 1674 in her residence of the Villa Riario; Stephen, R. (1966). A Note on Christina and Her Academies. In M. von Platen (Ed.), *Queen Christina of Sweden, Documents and Studies* (pp. 369-370). Stockholm: Norstedt & Soner. The Arcadians pursued literary and esthetic interests in their meetings against the ethical and scientific priorities of Christina's academies. See Maylender, M. (1907). *L'Accademia Reale di Cristina di Svezia (Roma, 1656-1689)* (pp. 8-21). Fiume: Arturo Novak, and (1926). *Accademia degli Arcadi – Roma. Storia delle Accademie D'Italia*, (I, pp. 232-281). 5 vols., Bologna: Licinio Cappelli.

221 These included Ottoboni's father, Antonio, Arcangelo Corelli, Juvarra, Angelo de' Rossi, Francesco Trevisani, Andrea Adami, etc. For the poetry of Antonio Ottoboni, see Brunetti, M. (1933). M. Antonio Ottoboni, un ignoto poeta veneziano del '700. *Rivista di Venezia*, 335-349, and BC, Cod. Cicogna 1230, Ottoboni Antonio, poesia, p. 27 (I.41t.o); Cod. Cicogna 1211, Ottobon Antonio sonetti (I.37).

222 Valesio, I, p. 437, July 11, 1701.

223 Stephen, R. (1966). A Note on Christina and Her Academies, M. von Platen (Ed.), *Queen Christina of Sweden, Documents and Studies* (p. 370). Stockholm: Norstedt & Soner.

224 *Chracas*, vol. 19, no. 642, p. 8, August 23, 1721; vol. 89, no. 3298, pp. 6-8, September 20, 1738.

Domenico Scarlatti performed.²²⁵ Another meeting at the end of the month featured an exhibition of paintings by Panini.²²⁶ The following year the Arcadians met again in the Cancelleria to sing a pastorale on the Birth of Christ.²²⁷

4.4 The *Bosco Parrasio*

The Jubilee year, 1725, was special for Ottoboni for several reasons. He had just taken Holy Orders, he was about to witness the completion of his great-uncle's tomb after a campaign of thirty years, and he would be declared Bishop of Sabina at the consistory held the end of January.²²⁸ Thus, the usual January 6th academy was described by Chracas as enjoying a large number of guests.²²⁹ It included a cantata sung in six voices, three choirs, and an erudite discourse presented by the Venetian abbot, Gaetano Zuannelli. Present were sixteen cardinals and many ambassadors as well as the Duke of Gravina who was an important Arcadian, a jurist and master of the poet and librettist, Pietro Metastasio.

Two years before, encouraged by a donation of 4,000 scudi from the King of Portugal, the Arcadians had been able to purchase a meeting site on the Janiculum near the Villa Riario with a clear view of Rome.²³⁰ Then in 1725 Antonio Canevari (Rome 1681 – Naples 1764) designed the *Bosco Parrasio* (Figure 4.3), an outdoor meeting place with an open air theater, and an elaborate staircase expanding and contracting as it ascended, much in the fashion of Francesco de' Sanctis's contemporary Spanish Steps or Alessandro Specchi's earlier Porta di Ripetta.²³¹ Carnevari donated his services and worked with the aid of Nicola Salvi (Appendix, docs. 6, 7).²³² The new site was dedicated on September 9, 1726.

²²⁵ Chracas, vol. 21, no. 699, pp. 3, 7-9, January 10, 1722.

²²⁶ Chracas, vol. 21, no. 708, pp. 2-4, January 31, 1722.

²²⁷ Chracas, vol. 25, no. 845, p. 12, January 2, 1723.

²²⁸ Valesio, IV, p. 462, January 29, 1725; Valesio reports his consecration on February 4; p. 466, February 4, 1725. For his Vatican tomb project, see Olszewski, 1997, 2004.

²²⁹ Chracas, vol. 33, no. 1158, p. 7, January 6, 1725.

²³⁰ D'Onofrio, C. (1976). Il 'gregge pecorario, ovvero: l'Accademia d'Arcadia, *Roma val bene un'Abiura*, Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 261-290. For the *Bosco Parrasio*, see Delaforce, A. (1993). Lisbon, 'This New Rome', Dom João of Portugal and Relations Between Rome and Lisbon. In Levinson, J. (Ed.), *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal* (pp. 49-80). New Haven, CN: Yale University Press. See also, Dixon, S. (2006). *Between the Real and the Ideal, The Accademia degli Arcadi and Its Garden in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, and Minor, V. (2006). *The Death of the Baroque and the Rhetoric of Good Taste* (pp. 115-169). New York: Cambridge University Press.

²³¹ *Guide rionali*, XIII, Parte 1, 1980, pp. 156-162.

²³² Blunt, p. 209. See also, Ferraris, P. Canevari Giacomo Antonio, in *In Urbe*, pp. 331-332.



Figure 4.3: Antonio Canevari, *Bosco Parrasio* (portal), 1725, Rome.

Canevari's *Bosco Parrasio* began as a two-story gatehouse with a concave portal and broken pediment (Figure 4.4). Each wing of the gatehouse was divided into three bays by colossal order pilasters with an entrance in the central bay. A gentle ascent into and beyond the main portal was made by broad stairs to a landing. From this the ascent continued by means of a pair of curved staircases to a second plateau with wooded areas at left and right (Figure 4.5). Within the oval space of the landing, the Arcadians could enjoy a dedicatory plaque with a figure of Apollo above, and river gods to the left and right. Directly ahead lay a grotto within a pentagonal area defined by another pair of stairs breaking at right angles at a small landing half way up. These led to an oval amphitheater with an edicola at the back presided over by a figure of Pegasus defining the site as a new Parnassus.

Although the *Bosco Parrasio* was not Ottoboni's commission, it was conveniently located between his vigna in Trastevere and the Cancelleria, and near the site of the Arcadians' inaugural meeting in 1690. Ottoboni continued as patron of the academy, although he did not always dictate programs and meeting sites. It was after the Arcadians' usual Christmas eve academy in the Cancelleria in 1728 that Ottoboni had scheduled a final performance of the musical drama *Carlo Magno* in his splendid theater.²³³ He honored the Princess Borghese with the key to the front box, which led to a controversy when the Sforza Duchess refused to attend after she had also asked for a box and was placed in a lateral balcony. Ottoboni was unsuccessful in his efforts to placate her.

²³³ Valesio, IV, p. 1034, December 28, 1728.

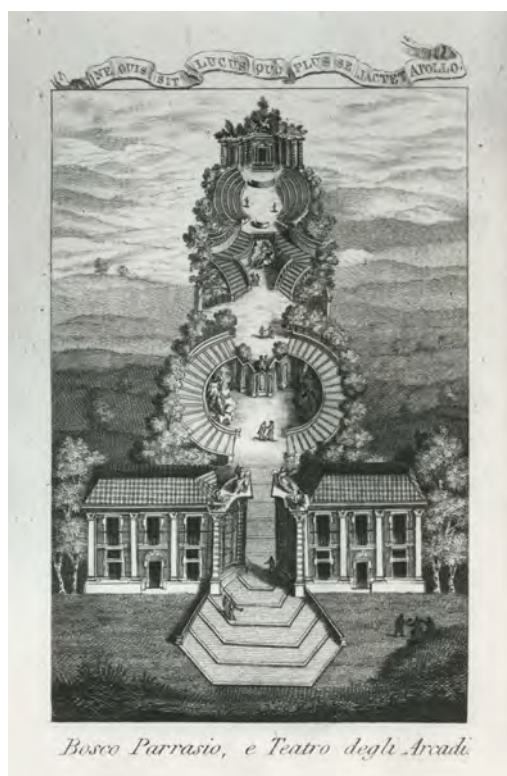


Figure 4.4: Antonio Canevari, *Bosco Parrasio* (vertical section), drawing, 1725.

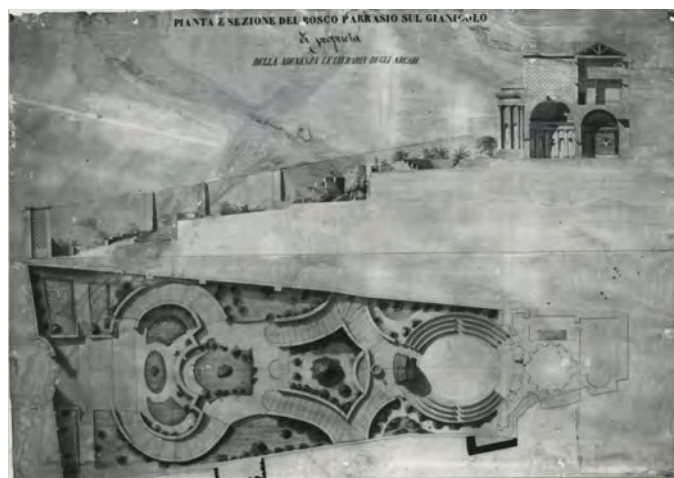


Figure 4.5: Antonio Canevari, *Bosco Parrasio* (plan), drawing, 1725.

In the following spring, Ottoboni initiated the academy discussions with music and refreshments, the latter practice apparently revived after some years according to Valesio.²³⁴ The following week's meeting featured a cantata in honor of the Venetian ambassador.²³⁵

Ottoboni was still referred to as protector of the Arcadians in late 1737. He was present for the recitation of erudite essays and poetry at the academy held on the Janiculum's *Bosco Parrasio*. Present with Ottoboni were the cardinals Porzia, Caraffa, Firrao, Gentile, and Spinelli as well as the Venetian ambassador, members of the nobility and prelates.²³⁶

4.5 San Lorenzo in Damaso

Ludovico Rusconi Sassi had worked for Ottoboni intermittently and only on modest projects until the 1730s. Cathie Kelly has recorded Sassi's earliest association with Ottoboni as minor work in the Cancelleria in 1702, the same year that Sassi had taken second prize in the Concorso Clementino.²³⁷ He seems to have been employed as a journeyman to the *Capomaestro Muratore*, Francesco Catani. Kelly has observed correctly that Sassi was never enrolled as an official resident of Ottoboni's court, but he was entered among the "Diversi" in the household of Marco Ottoboni as "Ludovico Rusconi Sassi Architetto" in 1717. From 1718, he was paid a monthly stipend of 1 *scudo*. Sassi married a Venetian woman who had been a member of Marco Ottoboni's household. The Duchess of Fiano had even provided her with an impressive dowry of 2,000 *scudi*, and the Duke later served as godfather to their daughter, Tarquinia, who had been named after the Duke's wife.

In 1724, as archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore, Ottoboni opened the basilica's Holy Door to begin Jubilee Year celebrations. Always seeking opportunities to turn liturgy into spectacle, he had more than twenty crystal lamps suspended between columns in the narthex, with a grand box of two stories constructed to accommodate the Roman ladies invited to the event (Figure 4.6).²³⁸ When the Porta Santa was sealed the following December to mark the end of the Holy Year celebrations, Sassi was put in charge of the project.

²³⁴ Valesio, V, p. 50, April 19, 1729.

²³⁵ Valesio V, p. 55, April 26, 1729.

²³⁶ Chracas, vol. 85, no. 3139, pp. 5-6, September 14, 1737.

²³⁷ Kelly, pp. 13-14, 22, n. 75.

²³⁸ Valesio, IV, p. 449, December 24, 1724. This was one of the first events recorded by Valesio when he resumed his diary after a hiatus of thirteen years (from March 10, 1711 to December 24, 1724). See also, *Correspondance*, vol. 7, no. 2839, p. 111, December 26, 1724, letter from Poerson to d'Antin; Chracas, vol. 33, no. 1157, pp. 47, 50, January 5, 1725. For Ottoboni's patronage at Santa Maria Maggiore, see Ostrow and Johns, 528-534.



Figure 4.6: Ottoboni Opening the Holy Door, Santa Maria Maggiore, 1725, etching.

Ottoboni had also given Sassi a second, more important Holy Year commission, namely the construction of his *machina* for the celebration of Forty Hours devotions in San Lorenzo in Damaso.²³⁹ Sassi's Holy Year *machina* for Ottoboni met all expectations as an impressive construction with its lateral staircases of ten steps, each leading to an altar with 100 wax candles.²⁴⁰ Thirty more candles in the forms of colonettes surrounded the altar and columns. A third set of stairs led directly to the altar where eight columns supported an entablature and baldacchino. The latter had eight ribs extending from above the columns to terminate at the apex in the form of a crown with a globe and cross above. These were in simulated bronze. Putti carried a banderole above the main cornice with the inscription: *Ad te levavi oculos meos qui habitas in coelis* (I raise my eyes to you who resides in heaven). Weil has commented on the unique character of Sassi's *machina* as an abstract construction.²⁴¹

Ottoboni finally engaged Sassi in a major way only in 1732 when he began work on the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Lorenzo in Damaso (Figure 4.7).²⁴² This was the year of Pellegrini's death, and Ottoboni may have turned to Sassi as a prospective replacement. The project was finished just before Sassi's death in 1736, with paintings by Trevisani's pupil, Andrea Casali (Appendix, doc. 8). It was consecrated on August 5, 1736.²⁴³

The space in San Lorenzo had been dedicated to the Holy Sacrament as early as 1501 when Raffaello Riario was cardinal.²⁴⁴ For many decades there had been a sacristy behind the chapel with an entry from the courtyard of the palace to a crypt below the chapel for burial of members of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament. The crypt was of two rooms to which one descended by doors on either side of the altar. This would become Ottoboni's resting place, once marked by a dedicatory inscription. Sassi's design for the chapel had to take these spaces into account.

²³⁹ Valesio, IV, p. 619, December 24, 1725. A three-page *conto* for 100:33-1/2 *scudi* was submitted to Sassi by Francesco Tedeschi; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 86, no. 23, January 15, 1726.

²⁴⁰ Valesio, IV, p. 619, December 24, 1725; Sassi had been given a similar commission in 1712 at Santa Maria Maggiore in celebration of the canonization of Pius V; Weil, 247; Kelly, p. 225. For Clement XI's activities at Santa Maria Maggiore, see Ostrow and Johns, 528-534.

²⁴¹ Valesio, IV, pp. 468-470, February 8, 1725, and p. 488, March 29, 1725; a full description of Sassi's *machina* from the pamphlet printed to commemorate the occasion is reprinted in Kelly, pp. 309-311; Weil, 242-243.

²⁴² Valtieri, S. (1984). *La Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso* (pp. 59-62). Rome: Arti Grafiche Moderni; Schiavo, 1964, p. 104; Chracas, vol. 81, no. 2969, p. 892, August 11, 1736; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 94, no. 13, December 14, 1734; vol. 95, no. 1, p. 144, August 17, 1736. For a discussion of the chapel commission, see Kelly, pp. 230-239. For earlier reports on the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, see Moroni, vol. 12, p. 71; "Ottoboni, Pietro Cardinale," vol. 50, p. 74.

²⁴³ Valtieri, p. 61; see Appendix, Doc. 8, p. 2; Valesio, V, p. 892, August 5, 1736; Schiavo, 1964, pp. 103, n. 3, 105. The inscription read: PETRUS CARDINALIS OTTHOBONUS / S.R.E. VICE-CANCELLARIUS / SIBI / ET POSTERIS CONSANGUINEIS / ANNO SALUTIS MDCCXXXVI.

²⁴⁴ Valtieri, p. 59, n. 1. Raffaello Riario was cardinal at San Lorenzo in Damaso from 1483 to 1503.



Figure 4.7: Ludovico Sassi, *Chapel of the Holy Sacrament*, 1732-1736, San Lorenzo in Damaso, Rome.

The appearance of the chapel today is due in part to restorations carried out in the early nineteenth century.²⁴⁵ It was at this time, 1818, that Vincenzo Berrettini's painting of *The Last Supper* now *in situ* replaced Casali's *God the Father and the Holy Spirit*.²⁴⁶ One enters the chapel beneath a broad arch with gilded rosettes in

²⁴⁵ These are discussed by Kelly, pp. 80, 252, n. 80.

²⁴⁶ Progress on the chapel can be gauged from payments to the *scarpellino* as early as March 1733, followed by those in July 1734 to the *muratore*, Carlo Santi Primoli. Primoli added piers to support the chapel's vault and below to strengthen the crypt beneath the altar; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 95, fasc. 47. The *muratore*, Primoli, was paid 3,400 *scudi*. For more on Primoli, see BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 94,

a single row of coffers, the rosettes centered on an Ottoboni blue field. The altar of yellow and variegated green marbles and the frescoed vault are Sassi's original contributions.²⁴⁷ A slightly concave back wall is articulated chromatically with yellow and variegated green marbles within clear borders, green a color also in the Ottoboni crest. The presence of the sacristy limited the depth of the chapel. The pair of doors to the left and right of the altar which allowed entry to the sacristy also defined the breadth of the altar backdrop. The doors narrowed the ascent of the steps approaching the altar, confining it on three sides, and as a result limiting the size of the altar itself.

In the previous year, Sassi had begun another chapel of the Holy Sacrament for Ottoboni's bishop's seat of Santa Lucia at Porto, which marked the end of his work for the cardinal.²⁴⁸ The city no longer functioned as a port as in its ancient heyday during the reign of Trajan. Now cut off from the sea and of little use for farming, Porto had become barely a village. The chapel contained marble portrait medallions of Popes Alexander VIII and Benedict XIII (1724-1730) carved in 1735 by Bartolommeo Pincellotti.²⁴⁹ Here, too, Primoli was active, with a first payment to the mason dated January 26, 1735.²⁵⁰ The sculptor Pincellotti received fifty *scudi* in March of that year.²⁵¹

The Porto chapel was Sassi's last project. Here he recessed an altar between concave piers of some breadth. He used framed marble panels to decorate the walls, piers and ceiling. Above the altar, he supported a triangular pediment on pilasters to define three bays on the altar wall. The concave wall of Sassi's chapel in San Lorenzo and his use of wide, concave piers in Santa Lucia suggest the influence of Carlo Fontana with whom Sassi had studied, as exemplified in the broad, concave curve of

fasc. 4-6. A final payment by Ottoboni to the painter Casali on October 6, 1735, can be taken as marking the end of the project, although the *intagliatore*, Domenico Borbiani, was not paid until February for the gates of the altar railing; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 94; Valtieri, p. 61, n. 9.

247 Kelly, p. 232. Schiavo has associated the altar's original tabernacle in the shape of a *tempietto* and no longer extant with the silversmith, Francesco Giardoni; Schiavo, 1972, 233; Valtieri, p. 61, n. 9. Ottoboni employed many silversmiths, including Lorenzo Merlini, Carlo Negrone, Simone Miglie, Urbano Bartolese; see Olszewski, 2003. The tabernacle carried the inscription: PETRUS CARDINALIS OTTHOBONUS S.R.E. VICE-CANCELLARIUS A.D. MDCCXXXII. Much silver was looted from Roman churches by French troops during the Napoleonic occupation. See p. 122, n. 88.

248 For Ottoboni's chapel of the SS. Sacramento in Porto, see Kelly, pp. 239-244. The marble inscription at the entrance to the courtyard of the adjacent residence read: ATQUE PETRUS CARD. OTTHOBONUS S.R.E. VICECAN. / IN AMPLIOREM NOBILOREMQUE FORMAM REDEGIT / ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXXVIII.

249 BAV, Comp. Ottob. Vol. 95, fasc. 13, January 1, 1736. Pincellotti was still owed 330:30 *scudi* in 1742 as one of Ottoboni's creditors; ASR-EUR, Jura Diversa, Busta 1556, De Comitibus, pp. 1-2, March 13, 1742.

250 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 95, fasc. 46, January 26, 1735.

251 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 95, March 1735.

Fontana's façade for San Marcello al Corso. More to the point, Kelly found the chapel balustrade and the pattern of marble work identical to Fontana's earlier chapel of Saint Erasmus in the same church, as Sassi (or his patron) made a conscious effort to achieve harmony in the church interior.²⁵² While Sassi was completing these chapels, Ottoboni was engaged on a grander project as arch-priest of St. John Lateran.

²⁵² Kelly, p. 243.

5 Architectural Collaboration

5.1 The Lateran Façade Competition

Within a week of the election of Lorenzo Corsini as Pope Clement XII, Ottoboni was declared arch-priest at the pope's own bishop's seat of St. John Lateran. Having served as Vice-Chancellor of the Church for forty years, and in that function having presided over the Curia, Ottoboni commanded seniority and experience that more than made up for what he lacked in intelligence and popularity among the college of cardinals. He could still wield political influence. In any case, as Lateran arch-priest, he could hardly avoid becoming involved in the plans for a much longed for new façade.²⁵³ As a major arbiter of artistic tastes in Rome, he became an active participant initially.

The need for a new façade had been felt through the latter decades of the seventeenth century. Innocent XII had received 40,000 *scudi* for its completion, and his new arch-priest, Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili, contributed an additional 20,000.²⁵⁴ Innocent's successor in 1700, Pope Clement XI Albani, set aside another 20,000 *scudi* in 1705, but instead established the completion of the apostle statues for the nave of the basilica as a priority.²⁵⁵ The drawing exercise for the third class in the inaugural Concorso Clementino in 1702 had been a plan and elevation for one of the twelve niches erected in the Lateran nave by Francesco Borromini in 1650.²⁵⁶ The subject for the architecture competition at the Academy of St. Luke in 1705, however, was a design for the Lateran façade, which was won by Juvarra.²⁵⁷

The Lateran nave project was officially completed in 1718 with the addition of paintings of prophets above the niches of the apostles in each bay. In late February the pope had examined the cartoons for the figures of prophets which Poerson

253 For the growing literature on the Lateran façade project, see Schiavo, A. (1961). Progetti per la facciata di S. Giovanni in Laterano. In *La Fontana di Trevi e le altre opera di Nicola Salvi* (pp. 37-61). Rome; Hager, H. (1971). Il modello di Ludovico Rusconi Sassi del consorso per la facciata di San Giovanni in Laterano (1732) ed i prospetti a convessità centrale durante la prima metà del Settecento in Roma. *Commentari*, 22, 36-67; Jacob, S. (1972). Die Projekte Bibienas und Doris für die Fassade von S. Giovanni in Laterano, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 35, 100-117; Hager, H. (1975). On a Project Ascribed to Carlo Fontana for the Façade of S. Giovanni in Laterano, *Burlington Magazine*, 117, 105-109; Hoffmann, V. (1981). Die Fassade von San Giovanni in Laterano, 1614-1649. *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 34, 183-187; Lorenz, H. (1981). Unbekannte Projekte für die Fassade von San Giovanni in Laterano. *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 34, 183-187; Kieven, 1988, pp. 255-275.

254 Pastor, vol. 32, p. 589.

255 See also Olszewski, 1981, 660, n. 2 and references contained therein.

256 Olszewski, 1981, 660, n. 2. The project had involved Ottoboni's sculptor, Rossi, who had carved the figure of *St. James Minor*. See also Millon, 1984, pp. xviii-xix. For more on the construction of the Lateran tabernacles, see Blunt, A. (1979). *Borromini* (pp. 133-146). London: The Belknap Press.

257 The category was first class and not second class; Munshower, pp. 47-48.

thought were to be installed as mosaics.²⁵⁸ By this time, Albani's architect Carlo Fontana had died (1714), and expenses for the sculpture project had exceeded 50,000 *scudi*. On June 1, 1720, Chracas described the colossal figures and the paintings above them.²⁵⁹ Clement XI died shortly thereafter before attention could be turned to the façade. Although his successor, Innocent XIII Conti (1721-1724), initiated work on the façade in 1723, his brief reign ended within the year. Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili had purchased Borromini's old façade designs from the architect's heirs that year, and Poerson reported in September that materials for construction were being assembled as 150 slaves had been brought from Malta as laborers.²⁶⁰ Poerson wrote from the French Academy in 1724 that the pope had mandated 10,000 *écus* for the Lateran portal, but the project halted with the pope's death.²⁶¹ He was followed by Benedict XIII whose pious passion was for the dedication of altars.²⁶²

Ottoboni was a member of the congregation given responsibility for the façade. One of its charges as stipulated in a papal brief was to solicit contributions from the Christian princes of Europe. Its goal was set at 60,000 Roman *écus* although the final cost was gauged as two and a half times that sum.²⁶³ When the congregation for the commission was established in August of 1730, Ottoboni held the old façade designs which Cardinal Pamphili had acquired from Borromini's heirs. (It was Pamphili's death in 1729 that freed the position of arch-priest for Ottoboni.)²⁶⁴ Mario Bernardo had converted these drawings to a model, all of which were in Ottoboni's possession in August of 1730.²⁶⁵ Borromini's plans seem to have lost favor, as Valesio reported Ottoboni's dissatisfaction with the designs in his diary entry of November 20th, at which point they were rejected, and he and Cardinal Corsini declared a competition for the façade.²⁶⁶

The Arcadian insistence on *buon gusto*, or good taste, involved a rejection of Baroque extravagance. More conservative French tastes were impacting Roman culture through the presence of the French Academy in Rome, and Ottoboni had long harbored French sympathies. Furthermore, he may have wanted to favor one of his own architects.

²⁵⁸ *Correspondance*, vol. 5, no. 2096, pp. 131-132, March 1, 1718. The use of mosaics would have suited Clement XI's paleo-Christian restorations in Rome.

²⁵⁹ Chracas, vol. 14, no. 450, pp. 15, 19-20, June 1, 1720.

²⁶⁰ *Correspondance*, vol. 6, no. 2537, p. 284, September 14, 1723.

²⁶¹ *Correspondance*, vol. 6, no. 2606, pp. 342-343, March 14, 1724.

²⁶² Pastor reports that he had consecrated 360 churches and almost 1,500 altars during his six year reign; Pastor, 1941, vol. 34, p. 121.

²⁶³ *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3470, pp. 268-269, October 26, 1731.

²⁶⁴ Chracas, vol. 38, no. 973, pp. 3-6, October 30, 1723. See also, Kelly, p. 172; Kieven, p. 258.

²⁶⁵ Valesio, V, p. 251, July 20, 1730; p. 264, August 19, 1730. Pamphili had been Lateran archpriest since 1699; Montalto, pp. 447-449, 545, n. 51. Kelly, p. 173; Kieven, p. 258.

²⁶⁶ Valesio, V, p. 424, November 20, 1731; pp. 408-409, September 21, 1731; Pastor, vol. 34, p. 505.

The participants in the competition included Luigi Vanvitelli, Lodovico Sassi, Fernando Fuga and Alessandro Galilei. Domenico Gregorini was also involved, as well as Domenico Rossi (1657-1737).²⁶⁷ Rossi was a native of Lugano who had designed the highly successful pyrotechnic celebrations in honor of the election of the Venetian Pietro Ottoboni as Pope Alexander VIII in 1689. The celebrations in Venice were commemorated in a pamphlet.²⁶⁸ Rossi had been in Rome in 1710 where he met Juvarra.²⁶⁹ His journey in 1732 was the last of several visits to Rome; as he was 75 years old at the time, the jurists might have been skeptical of his prospects for completing the Lateran façade.

Juvarra may have wished to be a participant in the competition, too. His optimism was justified given that his design for the façade competition sponsored by the Academy of St. Luke in 1705 was awarded first prize, and the eight jurists were Academy members. Two façade sketches by Juvarra survive, one with the inscription, “Per la facciata di S. Giovanni.”²⁷⁰ Whatever Juvarra may have hoped for initially, it is clear from a letter of March 15, 1732 that the pope only wished him to serve as judge, to choose among the many models and drawings.²⁷¹ The drawings may have been an attempt by Juvarra to convince the pope to let him participate, but as they remained in his possession, they were more likely aborted studies, abandoned once he realized that the pope was not interested in him as a contestant.

Juvarra had renewed his Roman contacts in 1725 when he was there for the Holy Year celebrations and to participate in a project for the Vatican basilica.²⁷² He was appointed architect of St. Peter. Although Ottoboni was archpriest at Santa Maria Maggiore, Juvarra seems not to have renewed his ties with the cardinal. By August 23, 1732, Juvarra had returned to Torino, a month after the pope had viewed the competition models on display at the Quirinal Palace, and by which time Clement XII had awarded Galilei the commission for the Lateran façade, and given Nicola Salvi the charge for the Trevi Fountain.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Rovere, p. 97; For Rossi, see Lewis, D., “Rossi, Domenico,” *MEA*. III, p. 614.

²⁶⁸ BC, Op. P.D. 28598, (2), *Vera, e Nuovissima Relazione Delle stupendissime Festa, e Fuochi fatti nell’Inclita Città di Venezia, per l’esaltatione al Pontificato dell’Eminentissimo Pietro Ottoboni Veneto, chiamato Alessandro VIII*, Venice: 1689, (# 12).

²⁶⁹ Rossi published a list of Juvarra’s commissions from 1714 to 1735 which had been compiled by his pupil, Giovanni Battista Sacchetti.

²⁷⁰ See Rovere, pp. 96-97, 125-126, 156, Pls. 74-75 for the two pen and wash sketches for the Lateran façade in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin. These seem not to have been Juvarra’s studies for the Academy of St. Luke’s architecture competition of 1705.

²⁷¹ Brinckman reports Juvarra as not among the jurists; “Certo è che il nome del Juvarra non compare nell’elenco dei concorrenti;” Rovere, p. 97. Kelly’s list of judges does not include Juvarra; p. 209, n. 252.

²⁷² For Juvarra’s drawings in the Vatican, see BAV, Cod. Vat. Lat. N 13750.

²⁷³ *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3552, p. 348, July 8, 1732.

All entries had been put on exhibit in a gallery of the Quirinal palace the first week of June, and by the end of that month the eight members of the Academy of St. Luke who served as jurors cast their lots. The committee of jurists included painters such as Pier Leone Ghezzi, Sebastiano Conca and Giovanni Paolo Panini. The Congregation of the Fabbrica favored Vanvitelli, but he received only three votes to Galilei's four. Gregorini did not appear in the balloting, and Sassi received one vote. At this point Ottoboni had already withdrawn from the process dissatisfied with the proceedings. He would shortly commission works from both Sassi and Gregorini, and may have favored one of them for the project. Conca was Ottoboni's court painter, and had cast the lone vote for Sassi.²⁷⁴ Gregorini was not yet affiliated with Ottoboni.

The president of the French Academy in Rome wrote to d'Antin on June 18, 1732, that the pope had had a meeting with Domenico Gregorini which he believed dealt with the subject of the Lateran façade.²⁷⁵ Because Galilei had received a plurality of votes but not a clear majority, another competition was declared among the three finalists, but the pope ruled in favor of his Florentine countryman, Galilei. Panini called Galilei's design simple.

Excavations at the site continued with the discovery of antique marble columns and many Roman coins. Ten days before Juvarra's departure for Torino, Ottoboni, on orders from the pope, assigned Galilei to prepare the foundations, and 300 laborers were imported from Acquila.²⁷⁶ Galilei, aware of his privileged position, threatened to return to Florence if his monthly stipend of fifty *écus* was not doubled; he insisted on an advance of 4,000 *écus*.²⁷⁷ The pope promised 10,000 *écus*, and by mid-September 230 laborers were reported at work on the façade.²⁷⁸ In the end, Ottoboni participated in the ceremonies on December 8th when the pope blessed the foundation stone.²⁷⁹ The final cost exceeded 300,000 *scudi* or 350,000 *scudi* including the sculpture.²⁸⁰

The commission's duties continued after completion of the project, with the calculation of the expenses and settlement of an appropriate donation from the King of France. The king debated the amount. When it was suggested by Ottoboni and the Duke de Saint-Aignan that the gift should be proportionate to the dignity of the prince

274 Kelly states that Conca favored Sassi; p. 178. For an illustration of Sassi's model, see Kieven, 1988, p. 270, fig. 190.

275 *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3543, p. 341, June 14 & 18, 1732, from Rome; "Le Pope fait venir chez luy le chavalier Gregorini, fameux architecte. On croix que c'est au sujet de la façade de Saint-Jean-de- Latran..."

276 *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3586, p. 363, August 13, 1732; no. 3572, August 23-27, 1732.

277 *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3578, pp. 366-367, September 10, 1732.

278 *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3583, p. 371, September 13 & 17, 1732, from Rome.

279 *Chracas*, vol. 70, no. 2553, p. 6, December 12, 1733.

280 *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3671, p. 440, April 23, 1733.

making the donation, he finally agreed to pay the sum proposed. Chracas recorded the ceremonies of gratitude for the completion of the Lateran façade in May of 1736.²⁸¹ Meanwhile, Ottoboni had turned his attention to other projects in the Cancelleria.²⁸²

281 *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3685, p. 449, May 26, 1733; no. 3701, p. 460, June 25, 1733; no. 3710, p. 466, July 13, 1733; no. 3720, p. 473, July 30, 1733; no. 3723, p. 475, August 3, 1733; no. 3756, p. 14, October 8, 1733; no. 3785, p. 37, January 8, 1734.

282 Msgr. G.M. Ferroni conducted the public ceremonies to celebrate the successful conclusion of the façade campaign; Chracas, vol. 80, no. 2933, pp. 7-8, May 19, 1736.

6 Fugitive Architecture

6.1 The Final Decade

A notebook of drawings presented to Ottoboni in 1733 (Figure 6.1) can be considered in the context of the Lateran competition (see Appendix, doc. 9). It was assembled by Filippo Cesari, a little known pupil of Juvarra.²⁸³ Dated 1733, the portfolio of almost 100 designs could not have been a factor in the façade competition, but possibly Cesari was interested in a position in the cardinal's court like that held earlier in the century by his master Juvarra, especially as Ottoboni's trusted architect, Pellegrini, had died the year before, and Michetti had not entered the palace rolls. Ottoboni would continue to need *machine* and theater sets, and he planned major renovations for San Lorenzo. In the same context, Sassi's involvement with the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament may have been intended to ease his entry into the court.

Among the studies in Cesari's notebook are more than seventy architectural renderings of the five classical orders modeled on Vignola, but embellished throughout with the Ottoboni family devices of double-headed eagles, star bursts and armor (Figure 6.2). There is a splendid title page containing measuring devices, Roman monuments, symbols of the cardinal virtues, Ottoboni arms, and the paired keys and tiara of the papacy (Figure 6.3). Here Cesari followed the practice of Vignola himself, who in his *Regola delli Cinque ordini* published in 1562, had included in metopes of his entablatures symbols of his patron's family arms. Vignola's patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, had also been Vice-Chancellor and resident of the Cancelleria.

²⁸³ The sketchbook is preserved in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, F.C. 126696-F.C. 126766bis. The notebook has been exhibited by Kieven, E. (1988). *Ferdinando Fuga e l'architettura Romana del Settecento* (pp. 87-91, 205-220, figs. 103, f.2-f.99). Rome: Multigrafica Editrice. The book may have entered the Biblioteca Corsiniana with the sale of Ottoboni books after 1740. For more on Cesari, see Oechslin, W. (1980). Cesari, Filippo, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (vol. 24, pp. 159-161).



Figure 6.1: Filippo Cesari, *Dedication Page*, 1733, drawing, GNS, Rome.

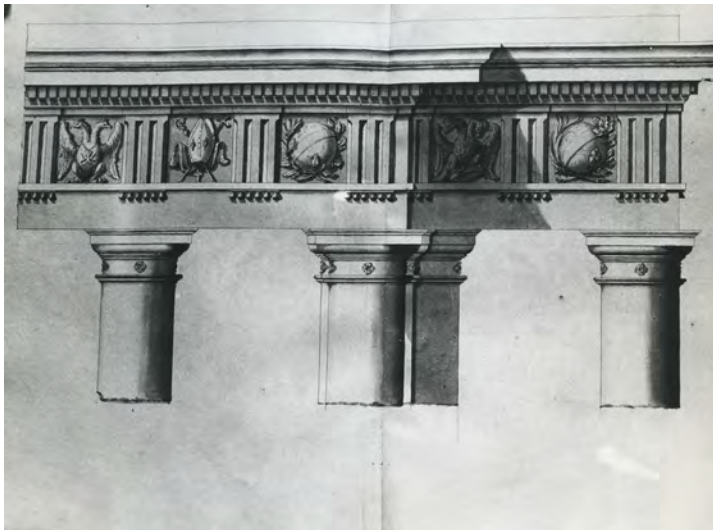


Figure 6.2: Filippo Cesari, *Entablature*, 1733, drawing, GNS, Rome.



Figure 6.3: Filippo Cesari, *Title Page*, 1733, drawing, GNS, Rome.

The dedication of Cesari's notebook establishes its basis in the works of Vignola:

STUDIO
D'ARCHITETTURA
SOPRA LE REGOLE
DEL' VIGNOLA
E DEDICATE
ALL EMIN.Emo REV.mo
PRINCIPI
IL SIG.re CARDINALE
OTTOBONI
DISEGNIALE
DA FILIPPO CESARI
IN
TORINO MDCCXXXIII.

Its basis in Vignola's orders hinted at the pedagogy of Juvarra with influences from Andrea Pozzo who was Juvarra's model when he taught perspective at the Academy of St. Luke during his residency in Ottoboni's court.²⁸⁴ He had been an instructor at the Academy in 1707-1708 and 1711-1712.²⁸⁵ Cesari may have accompanied his master to Rome where he remained after Juvarra had departed in August, 1732. It has been suggested that the studies may have been associated with one of the competitions for the Concorso Clementino in the early 1730s, although Cesari's name does not appear among the prize winners during these years.²⁸⁶

A separate page, folded almost as a careless inclusion, is a design for a catafalque (Figure 6.4) perhaps as a reminder to the 67 year old cardinal of his mortality. Its base with slanting corners and paired pilasters flanking a convex center is similar in profile to the base of the Ottoboni tomb in the Vatican, but also reflects the influence of Borromini in its departure from planarity. Obelisks on the flanks of the base support personifications of virtues, and a trumpeting angel stands on the apex of a dome supported by eight columns of the composite order (no doubt intended as a symbolic play on the family name, Ottoboni, or "eight goods." Alexander played with the Pythagorean symbolism of the number eight which was associated with egalitarian justice, and the eighth day of Creation). A half plan of the symmetrical construction is drawn below, and written above it in ink an inscription proclaimed its antique flavor: "Picciolo bozo di mia invenzione d'un Funerale sul gusto Antico."

The notebook clearly was intended to flatter its recipient. The papal arms on the title page were a reference to Ottoboni's great-uncle, but could also have hinted at the cardinal's prospects for the Chair of Peter. The sequence of bishoprics awarded Ottoboni after he took Holy Orders followed steps usually leading to the papacy. While many considered the temperamental Vice-Chancellor ill suited to the papacy, Charles de Broses wrote of him later in the decade as one of the *papabili*. The same entry also described the cardinal as feeble. The catafalque included almost as an afterthought covered another possibility.

²⁸⁴ Millon, 1984, p. xxiii.

²⁸⁵ Millon, 1984, p. xii.

²⁸⁶ Kieven, p. 87.

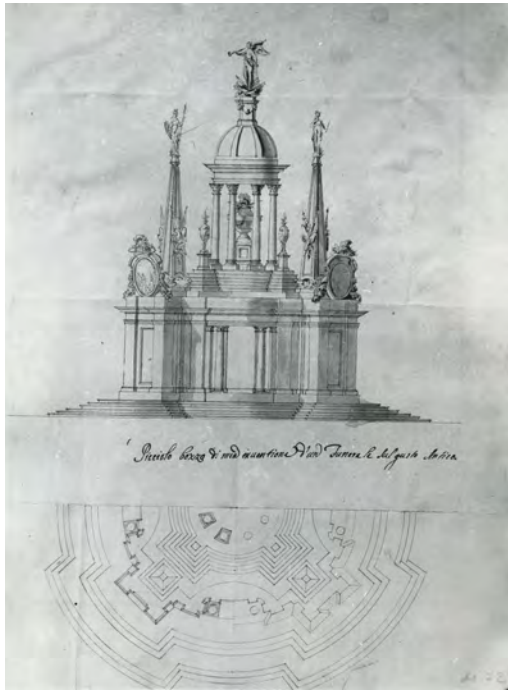


Figure 6.4: Filippo Cesari, *Catafalque*, 1733, drawing, GNS, Rome.

6.2 Domenico Gregorini

Domenico Gregorini (c. 1690/1695-1777) entered Ottoboni's court in mid-year 1736.²⁸⁷ It has been stated that he became Ottoboni's architect in the early 1720s, but it is not clear in what capacity.²⁸⁸ Chracas referred to him as Ottoboni's architect as early as 1727, but it was probably in the context of his work on the chapel at Santa Maria in Via where Ottoboni was protector of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament, or in a representative capacity to the monks of the Fabbrica to whom Gregorini had presented

²⁸⁷ Gregorini is first enrolled under "Diversi" in June 1736 as "Cav. Domenico Gregorini Architetto di s(ua) E(minenza);" BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 96, "Rollo di Famiglia," nos. 8-12, June-December, 1736. He remained in the family rolls until the cardinal's death in 1740; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 73, no. 4, "Rollo di Famiglia," February 1740. Kelly errs in her claim that Gregorini "appeared as a member of the cardinal's household, without remuneration, only in June 1736;" p. 215. For more on Gregorini, see Mallory, N., "Domenico Gregorini," *MEA*, II, pp. 246-247; Varagnoli, C. (1989). *Notizie sull'attività di Domenico Gregorini dall'archivio Aldrovandi di Bologna*. In E. Debenedetti (Ed.), *L'architettura da Clemente XI a Benedetto XIV* (pp. 131-156). Rome: Multigrafica Editrice.

²⁸⁸ Mallory, *MEA*, II, p. 246. Kelly mentions three possible early projects to link Gregorini and Ottoboni; p. 230.

drawings and a *modello*.²⁸⁹ Gregorini had been a student in the Accademia di San Luca in 1707-1713 during the period when Juvarra taught there, and like Juvarra, had taken first prize in the Concorso Clementino conducted by the Academy under the sponsorship of Clement XI in 1713.²⁹⁰

A fireworks *machina* which Gregorini erected on the piazza della Cancelleria, presumably for Ottoboni, was recorded in an engraving (Figure 6.5).²⁹¹ Although a date of 1721 has been mentioned for the celebration, no documentation has surfaced to establish when the event took place. Gregorini has also been suggested as the architect whom Ottoboni sent to Sabina in 1726 to enlarge the palace of his new bishopric and renovate the town's public fountain.²⁹² As no name is mentioned in the report, Pellegrini or Sassi could as readily have been the referred to architect.²⁹³ Gregorini is acknowledged as responsible for the restoration of the church and convent of Santa Maria in Monterone of which Ottoboni was protector, but little work was carried out before 1736.²⁹⁴ His major effort for Ottoboni dates from the mid-1730s. In early 1734, Gregorini decorated a hall in the Ottoboni palace, at the same time as he had begun to remodel the Tor di Nona.²⁹⁵ He gave the theater a new hall with four or five tiers of 28 loges in the form of a shallow horseshoe.²⁹⁶ Gregorini's experience with theater construction would have drawn Ottoboni's interest, and it is shortly after this that the Vice-Chancellor gave him a monthly stipend and residency in his palace.

Gregorini first entered the court rolls under "Diversi" as "Cav. Domenico Gregorini Architetto da S[ua] E[minenza]." He remained on the family lists until Ottoboni's death in February, 1740.²⁹⁷ Gregorini may have met the cardinal during his instruction with Juvarra, but certainly when Ottoboni donated a picture of *The Holy Family* by Trevisani to the new Oratory at Santa Maria in Via. Gregorini had designed the altar for the painting which was presented to the Confraternity in late 1731.²⁹⁸ He later submitted his entry for the Lateran façade competition.

²⁸⁹ Chracas, vol. 41, no. 1501, pp. 10-12, 20, March 22, 1727.

²⁹⁰ Millon, 1984, p. xxii.

²⁹¹ The engraving of the *macchina di fuoco artificiale* in the Museo di Roma has been dated by Muñoz to 1721 but without explanation; *Il Museo di Roma*, Rome: 1930, Pl. 64.

²⁹² Reported in Chracas, vol. 38, no. 1388, p. 11, June 29, 1726.

²⁹³ Ayala, N. (1965). *Roman Rococo Architecture from Clement XI to Benedict XIV (1700-1758)* (p. 151). Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.

²⁹⁴ Chracas, vol. 46, no. 1696, pp. 9-12, June 19, 1728.

²⁹⁵ Chracas, vol. 71, no. 2562, p. 9, January 2, 1734.

²⁹⁶ Chracas, vol. 71, no. 2585, pp. 2-3, February 20, 1734. See Cametti, I, p. 128, fig. 11 for a design of the plan. The curved horseshoe plan for 1671 had 21 boxes, that for 1696 had been an oval horseshoe with 35 boxes; Cametti, I, p. 88, fig. 6 and p. 91, fig. 8. By comparison, the plan of the Teatro Aliberti in 1766 was an oval horseshoe of 36 boxes with 22 rows of benches on the floor; De Angelis, Pl. IV.

²⁹⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 73, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 4, February 1740.

²⁹⁸ Chracas reports that the altar commission, previously thought to date from 1729, had not been completed until the painting was delivered in 1731; vol. 59, no. 2203, p. 5, September 15, 1731.



Figure 6.5: Domenico Gregorini, *Fireworks apparatus* (from engraving by Filippo Vasconi), Piazza della Cancelleria, Rome.

Gregorini seems to have been taken into the Cancelleria family for the single purpose of completing the *Confessione* in the nave of the cardinal's basilica (Figure 6.6).²⁹⁹ Early plans for the *Confessione* had been undertaken by Bernini, which explains in part its similarity to the crypt of Saint Peter at the crossing of nave and transept in the Vatican basilica, which stood within view of the tomb of Alexander VIII.³⁰⁰ Bernini had also constructed the *Confessione* or tomb for the remains of Santa Francesca Romana in Santa Maria Nova, c. 1638-1648.³⁰¹ The crypt at San Lorenzo had been excavated in the seventeenth century, but by 1700 there was little more than a circular grate in the

²⁹⁹ Schiavo, 1966, p. 104; Valtieri, pp. 46-58; Valesio, VI, p. 102, December 10, 1737; Kelly, p. 230; Moroni, XII, p. 71; L, p. 74.

³⁰⁰ Valtieri, p. 46; Schiavo, 1964, p. 104.

³⁰¹ Reproduced in Lavin, I. (1980). *The Confession of St. Francesco Romana in Santa Maria Nova, Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (II, pp. 58-62, figs. 98, 99, 101). 2 vols., New York: Oxford University Press. For the origins of the subterranean *confessio*, see Hubala, E. (1965). *Roma sotterranea barocca: Unterirdische Andachtsstätten in Rom und ihre Bedeutung für die barocke Baukunst. Das Münster*, 18, 157-170. See also (1999). A. Pergolizzi (Ed.), *La Confessione nella basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano*, Milan: Silvana Editoriale.

pavement decorated with Barberini bees, a lamp within illuminating the space below. Ascenzio Latini had been paid for iron work on March 29, 1642, and Lorenzo Bartoloni for gilding;³⁰² Francesco Martinez added brass decorations only in 1737.³⁰³



Figure 6.6: Domenico Gregorini, *Confessione* (from painting by Giuseppe Valeriani), 1737, San Lorenzo in Damaso, Rome.

Described as a subterranean chapel by Chracas, the sunken oval confine spanned the width of the basilica's tribune (Appendix, doc. 10). An altar of *giallo antico* marble shaped like an urn was approached from above by a pair of grand staircases. Two Ionic columns

³⁰² Valtieri, p. 46, n. 4.

³⁰³ Schiavo, 1972, p. 233.

flanked the altar at the center of the crypt and supported a broken architrave and flattened arch somewhat like a curved entablature.³⁰⁴ Ionic pilasters continued the support of the horizontal entablature of the interior of the ellipse. The altar was faced with a relief carving of the *Dead Christ with Mourning Angels* by Niccolò Menghini (1610-1665).³⁰⁵

The *Confessione*, as a crypt, housed the remains of Saint Hippolytus, the first bishop of Porto.³⁰⁶ It was consecrated on December 8, 1737.³⁰⁷ Ottoboni had been given the combined bishoprics of Porto and Santa Rufina in December of 1734.³⁰⁸ Alexander VIII had also held them when he was cardinal-bishop in 1687. Ottoboni commissioned Bartolommeo Pincellotti to carve a statue of Saint Hippolytus for a similar chapel at Porto, where the saint had been a bishop in the third century.³⁰⁹ This was a copy of the late third-century marble in the Vatican. Apparently the statue was now thought more appropriate for the church housing the saint's remains, as it was never sent to Porto and rests today near Sassi's Chapel of the Holy Sacrament.

Gregorini's *Confessione* no longer exists. It was destroyed when the church was deconsecrated and occupied by Napoleon's army during the French occupation of Rome. Napoleon's troops had converted the basilica into a stable in 1793. Twenty years later, it was made into a law court for the Imperial forces.³¹⁰ The nave was transformed in restorations in 1814 and 1868.³¹¹ The *Confessione* is known from written accounts and through Giuseppe Valeriani's painting preserved in the Palazzo Braschi.³¹² Valeriani's canvas once belonged to Ottoboni and is listed in the inventory of paintings assembled after his death in 1740; it was appraised at forty *scudi*.³¹³

³⁰⁴ Valtieri, pp. 46-47; Nicola Buti was paid for two columns on July 19, 1736; Schiavo, 1972, p. 233.

³⁰⁵ Schiavo, 1964, p. 103. An account of the acquisition of marble for the relief plaque was reported by Theubner, H. (1982). *Der Riario-Chor von S. Lorenzo, Il Brunelleschi*, 1, 81. Menghini designed a number of large *machine* in the 1640s; see Weil, pp. 219, 232.

³⁰⁶ The urn-shaped altar also held relics of Saints Ercolano, Taurino, and Giovanni Calibita; Valtieri, p. 47.

³⁰⁷ Blunt says 1730, p. 68.

³⁰⁸ Chracas, vol. 74, no. 2712, p. 11, December 18, 1734.

³⁰⁹ Kelly, p. 258, n. 125.

³¹⁰ For contemporary accounts of the conversion of churches during the Napoleonic occupation, see Duppa, R. (1799). *Journal of the most remarkable occurrences that took place in Rome upon the subversion of the ecclesiastical government in 1798*, London; Sala, A. (1980, publ. 1880-1882). *Diario Romano degli anni 1798-1799*. In G. Cugnoni (Ed.), *Scritti di Giuseppe Antonio Sala* (I, pp. 75, 181, II, p. 86, August 14, 1798; p. 161, September 19, 1798). Rome: Società alla Biblioteca Valleccliana.

³¹¹ For the restoration of the nave of San Lorenzo in Damaso, see Kelly, p. 252, n. 80; Blunt, p. 68.

³¹² The painting has been studied and identified by Armando Schiavo; 1972, 228-234. See also, Incisa della Rocchetta, G. (1954). *La Veduta Settecentesca dell'interno di San Lorenzo in Damaso. Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, I, no. 3-4, 35-39; Gramiccia (1981), p. 113; Olszewski, 2004, p. 6.

³¹³ For the inventory entry, consult: AS, R.C.A. 604, February 28, 1742, p. 224v, no. 473; "Altro de Quattro palmi e tre / in piedi rapp,te L'Altare Maggiore di S. Lorenzo in Damaso / Originale del Sig.re Valeriani / ora esistente come sopra;" and Olszewski, 2004, pp. 6, 126, no. 473, 244, 391, n. 34.

6.3 Ottoboni's Ephemeral Constructions

Machine, the grand, devotional constructions placed in church interiors for religious feasts represented one class of artistic ephemera. Other temporary architectural constructions included thrones, triumphal arches, catafalques, stage scenery, even small theaters, fireworks displays, and large scale sculptural and architectural ensembles. They were not always destroyed when a function ended, but as in the case of Juvarra's theater, usually dismantled so the materials could be salvaged. Also, they were sometimes saved with the intention of reuse at a later time. For example, Pietro da Cortona's apparatus for *Quarant'Ore* in 1633 in San Lorenzo in Damaso was reused annually for the next fifteen years.³¹⁴ The *baldacchino* and wainscoting decorating the apse of St. Peter for Alexander VIII's canonization of five saints in October 1690 was unchanged from Bernini's setting for canonizations there in 1669 (Figure 6.7).³¹⁵ Carlo Rainaldi's arch for the *possesto* of Clement X in 1670 was placed in storage and reused four years later.³¹⁶ As noted, the cost of the catafalque constructed by Matteo de Rossi for Alexander VIII's funeral in 1691 was significantly reduced when it was decided to make it of a collapsible assembly for future use.³¹⁷

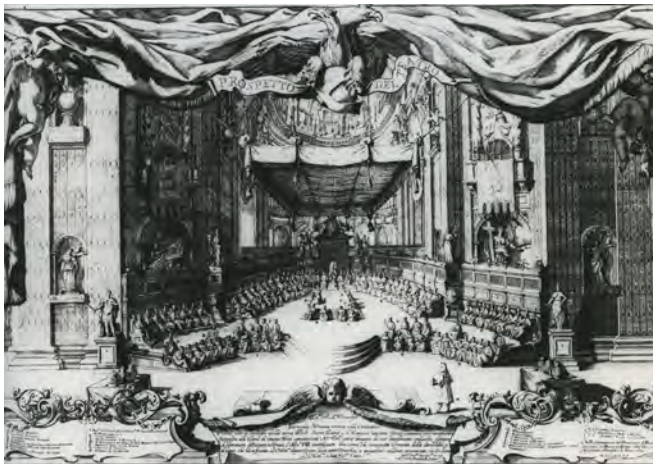


Figure 6.7: Anonym, *Canonization of Five Saints*, 1690, engraving, BAV, Vatican.

³¹⁴ Kelly, p. 226.

³¹⁵ These were for the sanctification of Peter of Alcantara and Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi. See Gramiccia (1981), pp. 258-259, no. 261, reproduced as fig. 262 (should be labeled as fig. 261). The decorations were apparently stored in Santa Maria Maggiore; Kerwin, W. (1981). Bernini's Baldachino Reconsidered. *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 19, 169.

³¹⁶ Montagu, p. 185.

³¹⁷ BAV, Cod. Ottob. 3362, "Avvisi," part 1, February 10, 1691, fasc. 7r. See discussion p. 8, n. 16.

The religious *machina* was a grand architectural apparatus often the size of a large building. It could be overwhelming as it filled the nave of a church, especially when combined with a manipulation of directed lighting, veiled in intensity for theatrical effect, sometimes in combination with rays of light in gilded stucco, and clouds with glories of clustered cherubs. Its purpose was to inform and educate the faithful, to reinforce belief, to persuade doubters, to enhance piety and devotion, to convey by splendor the Truth of the Church, and finally to rival the distractions of the pre-Lenten carnival. The apparatus often assumed a tabernacle enframement with a large painting at its center honoring a particular saint, biblical account, or important event in Church history. A major portion of the expense for the *machina* came from wax for the candles. The most common *machine*, certainly those Ottoboni most frequently commissioned, and often his grandest, were for the Devotion of Forty Hours. In this celebration, the sacred host was exposed on the altar for a vigil of three days (or forty hours overlapping a three day period).³¹⁸ The display in its splendor would present a devotional alternative to the profane carnival celebrations that followed.

Forty Hours became a popular devotion in Jesuit churches, although its first introduction into Rome had been by Saint Philip Neri in 1550. It was celebrated in San Lorenzo in Damaso for the first time on Christmas of 1551.³¹⁹ Pope Clement VIII established the liturgy for the devotion in an encyclical of 1592 as a form of universal prayer when the Church was threatened. Although he had simplified its ceremonies, it continued to be celebrated with ostentation.

The devotional *machina* took the form of a grand architectural ensemble, but it represented an architecture reduced to a temporary and exclusively religious function, one that had to incorporate non-architectural but essential elements such as paintings, tapestries, gilded figures, lamps and candles. It might be difficult to understand what appeal, as a fugitive art form, such projects could possibly hold for contemporary architects. These constructions had a far shorter life span than the most delicate pastel drawing. They neither suffered from their fragility as they were made of more durable materials than drawings, nor were they victims of the vicissitudes of time, for they were intended to be dismantled. They became in their diurnal splendor the butterflies of Baroque architecture.

One might expect such transitoriness to discourage any but the most desperate architects. Yet, what today is considered the most unfortunate aspect of devotional *machine*, their very impermanence, would have meant new opportunities for the young, hopeful architect as well as the established master. Their allure lay in their novelty; another feast day meant another subject, a new construction meant a new opportunity. The frequent demand for them challenged the artist's inventiveness.

³¹⁸ Weil, 219.

³¹⁹ Weil, 232, n. 41. Pinto says 1548; 1980, p. 292.

From the most basic point of view, their temporary nature gave artists work, and occasions to demonstrate their versatility.

None of Ottoboni's *machine*, not even the magnificent construction of Pellegrini in 1702, was able to match the scale of those in the seventeenth century. An *apparato* in Il Gesù in 1610 had 2,300 oil lamps and 500 candles, but it was also described as extraordinary.³²⁰ Nicolò Menghini's enormous *machina* in 1640 approached a ten story building at 130 x 85 x 50 *palmi* or 95'3" x 62'3" x 36'7", and filled the entire tribune of Il Gesù. In 1646, again for the Il Gesù, another Menghini construction required twenty carpenters, masons, painters, and laborers six weeks to complete. It was 133' x 67' x 50' and had 5,500 lamps which alone cost more than 800 *scudi*.

Ottoboni's first *machina* for his basilica of San Lorenzo was probably that of February 1690 which depicted the Dream of Jacob.³²¹ The commission, made to Felice del Lino, had a large proscenium arch and six colossal Solomonic columns. That in 1692, probably also by del Lino, was widely praised and visited by Pope Innocent XII, according to Campello, who reported that the *apparato* the following year was also impressive.³²² In the summer of 1693, Ottoboni celebrated the feast of Saint Lawrence with music and another large construction in his basilica.³²³ Ottoboni's court decorator, the painter Domenico Paradisi, was responsible for the apparatus for the Exposition of the Sacred Host in San Lorenzo in 1694.³²⁴ His efforts included the painted ornamentation of the altar, columns, the arms of Cardinal Ottoboni and two cornucopias. The construction had a steep staircase and the usual abundance of angels and lights.³²⁵

Already in 1693, the Roman guidebook *Mercurio Errante* had reported that Ottoboni went to great expenses every year for the Exposition on Fat Thursday of *carnevale*.³²⁶ He had little choice in the matter as his parish church of San Lorenzo was also one of

³²⁰ Weil, p. 219.

³²¹ Marescotti, vol. 788, p. 142, February 11, 1690. Weil, 242, no. 24.

³²² Campello, pp. 16-17, February 14, 1692; p. 32, January 29, 1693. Pascoli, page 220, reported that Giuseppe Passeri (1654-1714) had painted a sumptuous *machina* for Forty Hours in San Lorenzo in Damaso, but does not say when; see Contardi, B., "Passeri, Giuseppe," in *In Urbe*, p. 418.

³²³ Campello, p. 46, August 10, 1693.

³²⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, fasc. 61, 1694.

³²⁵ Marescotti, vol. 788, pp. 492-492v, February 20, 1694. On Paradisi's skill as a *machinista*, see Pinto, 1980, pp. 306-307, 320, fig. 13. On at least one occasion he signed a receipt as "Domenico Paradisi Architetto;" BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 46, fasc. 47, May 2, 1695 for 71:14 *scudi*.

³²⁶ Rossini, pp. 70-71; "Questo Eminentissimo Cardinale fa ogni anno il Giovedì grasso di Carnevale una grandissima spesa per l'espositione del Santissimo Sacramento nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo, dentro del ditto Palazzo degne d'esser veduta da tutti, si per acquistare l'indulgenza concessa da Sommi Pontefici à detta Chiesa per tal congiuntura, che per vedere li ricchi ornamenti di Machine, di disegno di pitture, Gloria di Angeli, & una superbissima musica, & infiniti lumi che rappresentano un Cielo stellato." From payments throughout the volumes of the Fondo Ottoboni costs for an apparatus ranged from 200 to 900 *scudi*. See also Montagu, p. 218, n. 69. for seventeenth century expenses.

the major Roman basilicas and a pilgrimage site, with papal indulgences earned by the faithful on their visits. Rossini's guidebook also explained what attracted the visitors, namely, the *machina*'s rich ornamentation, its well designed painting, the requisite glory of angels, superb music, and an infinity of lights representing a starry heaven.

Valesio had deemed Ottoboni's *machina* in San Lorenzo for the Exposition of the Sacrament in 1701 less than a success, but without identifying its designer.³²⁷ The devotional constructions in 1698, 1702 and 1706 were by Pellegrini (Table 4). San Martino had designed Ottoboni's *machina* for the Forty Hours celebration in 1697. Another grand *machina* displayed by Ottoboni in the piazza of the Cancelleria was visited by the pope about the time that Ottoboni had a triumphal arch erected in Albano to celebrate his restorations of the church and palace.³²⁸ Such outdoor ephemera had been popular from the early Renaissance, and assumed monumental proportions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Paradisi constructed an apparatus over 100 feet tall for a fireworks display to honor a royal Spanish wedding in 1721.³²⁹ Another erected by Nicola Salvi dwarfed the Spanish steps at more than 150 feet in height.³³⁰ This *machina* of 1728 was also constructed as a fireworks display.³³¹ An apparatus designed by Pier Leone Ghezzi honored the birth of the Dauphin in 1729. Panini's painting in the Louvre, and other versions such as that in Chicago, record Cardinal Polignac's enormous *machina* with fireworks at the Palazzo de Cupis which he shared with Ottoboni on the Piazza Navona.³³²

Table 4: Devotional *Machina*

Year	Subject (Architect/Painter):	Reference
1690	Dream of Jacob (Simone Felice del Lino);	Marescotti, vol. 788, p. 142; Weil pp. 242-243, 245, no. 24.
1692	Unknown; Campello says widely praised;	Campello, 1692, pp. 16-17.

³²⁷ Valesio, I, p. 288, February 4, 1701.

³²⁸ Campello, pp. 109-110, April 22, 1697; p. 112, April 26, 1697.

³²⁹ This is reproduced in Oechslin, W. (1989). Sebastiano Conca Gemaltes 'Teatro Sacro': Die 'Piscina Probatica' in der Tribuna der Chiesa della SS. Annunziata des Ospedale S. Maria della Scala in Siena (1732). (1989). *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri* (p. 812, fig. 805). Venice. See also *Correspondance*, vol. 6, no. 2394, p. 105, November 25, 1721. Sebastiano Conca's *machine* for fireworks on Piazza di Spagna in 1727 celebrated the birth of the Spanish Infanta. An engraving of the apparatus appears in Oechslin, p. 813, fig. 806.

³³⁰ Reproduced as Fig. 14 in Pinto, 1980, pp. 307, 320.

³³¹ So, too, was the *machina* assembled by Panini in Piazza Farnese in 1745 to celebrate the marriage of the Dauphin. An enormous structure, it was by design consumed by the very pyrotechnics that it displayed. It is preserved in an engraving and a painting in the Chrysler Museum; (1956). *Pictures from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.* (pp. 37-38, Pl. 49). Portland, OR: Portland Art Museum.

³³² For a full description, see *Correspondance*, vol. 8, no. 3283, pp. 69-77, December 1, 1729.

Continued **Table 4:** Devotional *Machine*

Year	Subject (Architect/Painter):	Reference
1693	Unknown; Campello says impressive;	Campello, 1693, p. 32.
1694	Unknown (Paradisi);	BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, fasc. 61.
1697	Unknown (San Martino)	
1698	Unknown (Pellegrini)	
1700	Vision of Heavenly Jerusalem (Pellegrini);	Manfredi, 1991, p. 419; Weil 245, no. 26.
1701	Unknown; Valesio says mildly successful;	Valesio, I, p. 288.
1702	Saint Francis Xavier Baptising Chinese (Pellegrini);	Valesio, II, pp. 79-82 (doc. 1); Weil 245, no. 29.
1704	Purification of the Virgin (Rossi);	BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2732, p. 23v; Weil, 246, no. 31.
1705	Fall of Lucifer (?);	Valesio, III, p. 317.
1706	Pentecost (Pellegrini);	Valesio, III, pp. 555-556.
1707	Saints Paul and Barnaba Preaching to the Syrians (Michetti);	Valesio, III, pp. 773-774 (doc. 2).
1708	Saint Philip Neri at Mass (Michetti);	Valesio IV, pp. 31-32.
1709	Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence (Michetti);	Valesio, IV, pp. 233-234 (doc. 11).
1710	Saint Anthony of Padua (Michetti);	Valesio, IV, p. 387.
1711	Miracle of Saint Hyacinth in Kiev, 1241 (Rossi);	Valesio, IV, pp. 435-436.
1712	Santa Clara from Assisi Repulses Seracins with the Host (Rossi);	Weil, 246, no. 41.
1713	Saint Paul Praying on a Ship in a Storm (Rossi);	Weil, 246, no. 42.
1714	Unknown (Rossi);	Franz-Duhme, p. 251.
1715	Unknown (Rossi);	BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 70 (doc. 12).
1724	Unknown (Ferrari/Bicchierari);	Chracas, vol. 29, no. 1024, pp. 4-5.
1725	Unknown (Sassi/P. Balistrocchi);	Weil, 242-243, 247, no. 51; Kelly, pp. 309-311.
1726	Unknown (?);	Chracas, vol. 37, no. 1337, p. 7.
1727	Faith with a Heavenly Host (Mauri);	Chracas, vol. 42, no. 1513, p. 3.
1728	Triumph of Faith (Mauri);	Valesio, IV, pp. 905-906, 923-924; Weil 243, 247, no. 56 (docs. 13, 14).
	Holy Sepulchre (Mauri);	Chracas, vol. 45, no. 1660, pp. 8-9
	Unknown (?);	Valesio, IV, p. 982.
1733	Eucharist ini Glory (?);	Chracas, vol. 65, no. 2424, pp. 4-5.
1734	John the Baptist Identifying Christ (Oliverio/del Barba);	BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 93, fasc. 7; Chracas, vol. 71, no. 2589, pp. 8-10.
1735	Saint John Writing the Gospel (Oliverio/del Barba);	Valesio, 5, pp. 765-766; Chracas, vol. 75, no. 2738, pp. 4-7.

Continued **Table 4:** Devotional *Machine*

Year	Subject (Architect/Painter):	Reference
1736	Pope Sylvester Baptises Constantine (Oliverio/del Barba);	Valesio, 5, pp. 839-840; Chracas, vol. 79, no. 2891, pp. 3-4, 6-9.
1737	Joshua Halts the Sun (Ferrari/Bicchierari);	Weil 247, no. 68; Chracas, vol. 83, no. 3055, pp. 8-10.
1738	Unknown; Chracas reports a large audience;	Chracas, vol. 87, no. 3205, pp. 8-9.
1739	Holy Family (Ferrari);	Chracas, vol. 91, no. 3356, pp. 7-8.
1740	No machina;	Valesio, 6, p. 315.

Ottoboni's construction for 1704 was executed by his resident sculptor, Angelo de' Rossi, the same year that he completed the relief carving for the Vatican tomb of Alexander VIII. Rossi's *machina*, based on a program devised by Ottoboni, depicted the Presentation of Christ in the Temple with Mary and Saint Simeon.³³³ That for Forty Hours the following year elicited a visit from the pope.³³⁴ It represented Michael the Archangel and the Fall of Lucifer, a Roman subject associated with the Castel Sant'Angelo where a statue of the Archangel was once positioned. Pellegrini's *machina* of 1706 was important because it coincided with the interment of Pope Alexander VIII's cadaver in its new tomb niche in St. Peter. It depicted a Pentecost.³³⁵

Michetti had been asked to fabricate *machine* in 1707 and 1708 before his official residence in the court, and for the following two years as well (Appendix, docs. 2, 3, 11).³³⁶ The first *machina*, constructed during the years when Georg Friedrich Händel was in Rome and performed with Corelli, and at the Cancelleria with Domenico Scarlatti, depicted scenes of Saints Paul and Barnabas of Lystra and of Saint Philip

³³³ BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2732, p. 23v, February 2, 1704. A description of Rossi's *machina* is recorded in Franz-Duhme, pp. 233-237.

³³⁴ BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2733, p. 18v, January 31, 1705; "La Machina di quest'anno è riuscita delle piu belle, che rappresentava la Caduta di Lucifero dal Cielo con S. Michael Arcangelo che teneva la Spada in Mano della Divina giustizia, e lo scudo imbracciato, in mezzo del quale traspirava L'Eucaristico Pane." Valesio, III, p. 317, February 19, 1705; "Si vidde questa mattina la machine fatta in SS. Lorenzo e Damaso dal Cardinale Ottoboni per l'esposizione del Venerabile. Rappresentava questa s. Michele arcangelo che discacciava dal paradise Lucifero con gl'altri spiriti ribelli, tenendo con la destra il fulmine e con la sinistra reggeva lo scudo, in mezzodel quale adoravasi il Venerabile, et intorno al ditto scudo era scritto: 'Quis ut Deus?' Faceva bellissimo contrasto alla vista l'horrido dell'inferno sottoposto al chiaro e lucido del paradise. Sopra il frontespizio esteriore della machine v'era scritto a lettere traforate et illuminate: 'Armatura fortium'" p. 318, February 19, 1705.

³³⁵ Weil, 245-246, no. 34.

³³⁶ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 54, March 1707; Weil, 246, no. 35.

Neri levitating at Mass.³³⁷ Although neither of these architectural ensembles has survived, diary accounts, descriptions in pamphlets printed for the events, and occasional engravings have preserved some records of them. That for the Forty Hours celebrations of 1707 is described in a pamphlet preserved in Valesio's diary (Appendix, doc. 2). It indicates that its intent was to honor Pope Clement XI, whom Ottoboni had invited to the Exposition liturgy in San Lorenzo, and to highlight the importance to the Church of the apostles through their example. It was also meant for the edification of the faithful by the words, deeds, and miracles of the apostles. *Machine* were three-dimensional, multi-media, religious counterparts to emblem books, with a picture, an inscription, and a printed explanation (Figure 6.8).



Figure 6.8: Alessandro Mauri, *Machina for Holy Week Celebrations*, 1728, engraving.

337 Weil, 246, nos. 15, 36.

In 1709 Michetti's apparatus showed the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, one of the patron saints of Ottoboni's basilica and a patron of the Spanish (Appendix, doc. 11).³³⁸ Michetti employed seven painters, eleven carpenters and six masons. His *machina* for the following year depicted Saint Anthony of Padua and the Miracle of the Believing Mule, "AGNOVIT POSSESSOREM SUUM."³³⁹

The Ottoboni apparatus of 1711 was by Rossi, and again for each year until the sculptor's death in 1715.³⁴⁰ That for 1711 depicted Saint Giacinto performing a miracle at Kiev in his fight against heresy (Figure 6.9)³⁴¹ This may have been to honor the presence in Rome of the widow of the Polish King, Jan III Sobieski, who was the hero of the battle of Vienna against the Turks. The Queen of Poland was often honored by Ottoboni, whose collection included a marble portrait bust of her. She departed Rome in June 1714.³⁴²

Rossi's apparatus for 1713 based on Acts 27 represented Saint Paul on shipboard in a storm. When it is realized how elaborate his apparatus of 1715 had been, it is easy to understand why the aging Rossi had been unable to complete the carving of his marble allegories for the Ottoboni papal tomb and the second of his apostle figures for the nave of St. John Lateran.³⁴³ Rossi's agreement with his painters (Appendix, doc. 12) was made on behalf of Ottoboni and paid by the cardinal's *maestro di casa*, Lorenzo Pini. Paolo Gamba accepted the three-part payment of 110 *scudi* on behalf of the painters for the ornamentation of the *machina* which included scrolls with inscriptions, candelabras, and cornucopias in simulated gold and chiaroscuro as required. Gamba was paid at the beginning, middle and end of February.

Ottoboni's entry to the priesthood in mid-1724, and the completion of his great-uncle's tomb some months later during the Jubilee Year, gave him reason to commission a *machina* during the pre-Lenten carnival in 1725 that had deep personal significance (Figure 6.10).³⁴⁴ Constructed in the form of a sepulcher flanked by a pair of staircases decorated with painted torches, it had four engaged columns and a *baldacchino* for the ciborium containing the Sacred Host. The center display of a beautiful urn against a brilliant glory of lights alluded to the Ottoboni tomb, the dedication of which coincided with the display in San Lorenzo. Ottoboni chose Ludovico Rusconi

338 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 58, January 19, 1709; other lists of expenses of January 26 and February 16 were paid by Lorenzo Pini to Michetti; Valesio IV, p. 235, February 8, 1709; Weil, 246, no. 37.

339 Valesio, IV, p. 387, February 27, 1710; Weil, 246, no. 38.

340 Description of these *machine* by Rossi can be found in Franz-Duhme, pp. 238-252. See also, Valesio, IV, pp. 435-436 and Weil, 246, no. 40.

341 Valesio, IV, pp. 434-436, February 13, 1711, and *Relazione del Celebre Miracolo di S. Giacinto*, Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1711.

342 Viale Ferrero, p. 56, n. 3.

343 Rossi's *machina* is discussed at length by Franz-Duhme, pp. 124-129.

344 Valesio, IV, pp. 468-470, February 8, 1725; p. 488, March 29, 1725.

Sassi for this important commission, which Weil has characterized as extraordinary for its abstract qualities, the latter no doubt the result of its allegorical allusions to the Ottoboni pope's death.³⁴⁵

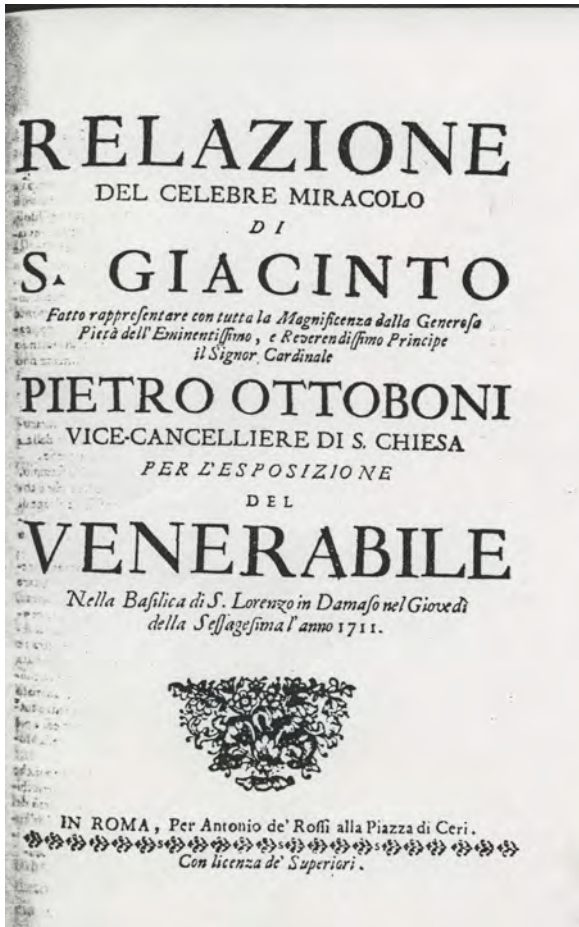


Figure 6.9: Title Page, (for description of *Machina* by Angelo de' Rossi for Forty Hours Devotion), 1711, engraving.

³⁴⁵ The apparatus is described at length in Kelly, pp. 309-311.



Figure 6.10: Title Page, (for description of *Machina* by Ludivico Sassi for Forty Hours Devotion), 1725, engraving.

Ottoboni's device the following year for the Exposition of the Sacrament continued these commissions not only without interruption, but as has been seen, on several occasions through the annual liturgical calendar. This is not to say that Ottoboni did not try on occasion to cut corners against the financial burdens created by these celebrations. His *machina* for 1726 drew prominent visitors but apparently was not sufficiently impressive to elicit an *ekphrasis* from the Roman diarists.³⁴⁶ That for the pre-Lenten celebrations of 1727 was a different matter.

³⁴⁶ Chracas, vol. 37, no. 1337, p. 7, March 2, 1726 refers to its many lights and the presence of cardinals, prelates, and civilian notables, but neither describes its structure nor mentions its subject or architect.

6.4 Alessandro Mauri

Alessandro Mauri's *machina* for the Lenten carnival of 1727 so impressed Ottoboni that the cardinal gave him a retainer for the following year (Appendix, doc. 13).³⁴⁷ The payment of February 7, 1728 to Mauri of 300 *scudi* represented a fourth and final payment indicating how splendid this construction must have been.³⁴⁸ Chracas's description of it confirms its magnificence as a triumph of Faith (Figure 6.11, Appendix, doc. 14). What the pope saw in his visit to San Lorenzo was Faith as an Amazon with a cross in her left hand and the Sacrament in her right below angels who held sacred trophies and supported a cloth canopy.³⁴⁹ Around her, saints and martyrs, confessors and virgins populated the four corners of the earth. The Virgin and God the Father in a glory of seraphs appeared in the open heavens. Richly decorated columns supported an architrave, frieze, and cornice. An attached cartouche contained the inscription, *Animoso firmat Fides*.

The contract for the commission reveals the degree of the patron's trust and of the artist's freedom and responsibilities in completing the project (Appendix, doc. 13). Ottoboni planned the pre-Lenten celebrations six months in advance. His contract with Mauri for the *machina* of 1728 was signed on August 12, 1727. In the document, Mauri promised to construct it at his own expense, to have it ready by Fat Thursday, and to have it conform with the design determined by the cardinal and elaborated on in the five points of the contract. Nowhere is reference made to the subject.

In the first paragraph of the contract, Mauri agreed to make the arch of the *machina*, and the relief and four columns indicated in the accompanying *diseño* (since lost) which were described as decorated with drawn glass simulating transparent jewels. The columns with their capitals and bases were to be in silvered stucco. Although the eighteenth century was the great age of silver, in this case it was also one of the colors of the Ottoboni arms. Within the arch, weeping trees sustained by iron filaments and covered with transparent canvas painted in strong colors were to be put on the ground of the four sectors of the world. Mauri was to have the arch intended for the Divine Glory and the quadrants of the globe supported by iron armatures covered with canvas.

The third paragraph indicated that Mauri's landscape, figures, and the heavens were to be made of transparent canvas; the fourth made explicit all the materials that he was to obtain including wood, canvas, iron, glass, colors, etc. The final stipulation

³⁴⁷ The *machina* of 1727 depicted the Temple of Jerusalem; Chracas, vol. 42, no. 1513, p. 3, April 19, 1727; BAV, Comp. Ottob. Vol. 84, no. 68, August 12, 1727; no. 90, October 13, 1727; vol. 87, no. 11, 1728; vol. 109, p. 249, August 12, 1727, of 300 *scudi*. BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 109, fasc. 68, 94, and 249, August 12, 1727, for 300 *scudi* to "Sig. Alesandro Mauri p(er) la Machina da farsi...nel promiso Carnevale del anno 1728;" vol. 41, fasc. 260, December 14, 1727; vol. 82, fasc. 11, February 7, 1728.

³⁴⁸ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 87, fasc. 11, February 7, 1728, "la quarta et ultima paga del contratto."

³⁴⁹ Chracas, vol. 45, no. 1642, p. 2, February 14, 1728; Valesio, IV, pp. 905-907, February 5, 1728.

was that Mauri had to make and position the oil lamps and thirty globes of wax (candle lamps) around the site for the Holy Sacrament.



Figure 6.11: Title Page, (for description of *Machina* by Alessandro Mauri for Forty Hours Devotion), 1728, engraving.

Finally, Ottoboni promised to pay Mauri 1,200 *scudi* in four equal payments: on the signing of the agreement in August, the following October, in December, and when the *machina* was delivered. Receipts for four payments of 300 *scudi* each can be found in the Ottoboni archives.

A second apparatus by Mauri, that for the Holy Week celebrations of 1728, proved to be equally as majestic (see Figures 6.8, 6.12). If one assumes it to have approached the proportions of Pellegrini's *machina* of 1702, it would have filled the nave of the

basilica, its paired columns of the composite order supporting an arch sprung from brackets within which God the Father appeared on a bank of clouds laden with angels as he directed a swarm of cherubs who displayed the cross. On a hillock below, an angel interrupts Abraham's attempt to sacrifice Isaac, as farther down figures collapse before the divine brilliance emanating from the Holy Sepulchre.³⁵⁰



Figure 6.12: Title Page, (for description of *Machina* for Holy Week Celebrations), 1728, engraving.

350 Chracas, vol. 45, no. 1660, pp. 8-9, March 27, 1728.

Ottoboni did not repeat the extravagance for the feast of the Assumption, for Valesio reported that his celebration lacked the usual magnificence.³⁵¹ He had already economized on the Holy Week display, as Valesio noted that the cardinal had used a large portion of the past *Quarant'Ore machina* for construction of the beautiful sepulcher which was part of the Lenten apparatus.³⁵²

Ottoboni's construction for the Forty Hours of 1733 took an unusual departure in assuming the form of an impressive throne to contain the Holy Sacrament for adoration by the faithful (Figure 6.13).³⁵³ That for the following year introduced a new architect into the official family of the court.



Figure 6.13: Title Page, (for description of *Machina* for Forty Hours Devotion), 1733, engraving.

351 Valesio, IV, p. 982, August 15, 1728. He observed in the same passage that the Borghese *machina* was outstanding, adding the consideration of competitive rivalry.

352 Valesio, IV, p. 925, March 25, 1728.

353 Chrakas, vol. 65, no. 2424, pp. 4-5, February 14, 1733; Weil, 247, no. 61.

6.5 G.B. Oliverio

Ottoboni displayed another elaborate *machina* for the Exposition of the Holy Sacrament in his basilica in March of 1734.³⁵⁴ This was the responsibility of Giovanni Battista Oliverio who would soon enter the palace rolls, preceding Gregorini by a few months.³⁵⁵ The idea for the ensemble came from the cardinal and included Ginnesio del Barba's painting of *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert* at the center of the display. In the painting the Baptist identifies Christ for the fisherman Andrew. Christ was placed below the eucharist with a glory of angels and the mystic lamb below them with *ECCE AGNUS DEI* inscribed on a scroll.

The team of Oliverio and del Barba was chosen again the following year to erect the apparatus for the days of carnival that February (Figure 6.14).³⁵⁶ Chracas commented on the magnificence of the construction which was placed at the top of a staircase covered with tapestries. Spiral columns circled with leaves of gold supported the arrangement. An arch and grand cupola were part of the apparatus. Saint John the Evangelist, seated at a table and writing in an open book, was implored by seven bishops of Asia to write his gospels to confound heresy. The saint pointed with his left hand to the words of his gospel, "*LUX IN TENEBRIS LUCET*," and to the exposed sacrament above as if to justify this brilliant display of light; John 1:5.

Oliverio was still being paid for the project as late as July in statements that identified him as "Gio. Batta Oliveri Pittore et Ingegniere."³⁵⁷ The second designation of "Ingegniere" for so many of Ottoboni's architects indicated that they not only designed their structures, but were also capable of assembling them and devising their mechanical needs. Another payment in 1736 of a two-page *conto* to, "Gio. Batt. Oliverio Pitore," was for work on three lunettes, pilasters, windows, a cornice, and for gesso in a *Cappella* in San Lorenzo.³⁵⁸ This may have been the new chapel of the Holy Sacrament constructed by Sassi. An additional bill of 51.92 *scudi* in May identifies its charge as for "i pitture fatte p(er) il Sepolcra" in San Lorenzo.³⁵⁹ The new altar, with paintings by Trevisani's pupil, Andrea Casali, was dedicated on August 5th, as has been noted.

³⁵⁴ Chracas, vol. 71, no. 2589, pp. 8-10, March 6, 1734; Weil, 247, no. 63. See Comp. Ottob., vol. 93, fasc. 7, February 3 – March 25, 1734 for payments of 360 *scudi*.

³⁵⁵ Oliverio had entered Ottoboni's rolls where he is listed as, "Gio. Battista Oliverio Ingegnere e Mechinista;" BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 92, "Rollo di Famiglia," July 1735. Oliverio worked at the cathedral in Velletri; see BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 73, fasc. 27, 1739; vol. 94, fasc. 54, July 21, 1735; vol. 95, p. 108, fasc. 2, May 7, 1736, fasc. 6, February 17, 1736 and p. 158. See also Da Gai, E. "Oliverio Giovanni Battista," in *In Urbe*, p. 411.

³⁵⁶ Chracas, vol. 75, no. 2738, pp. 4-7, February 7, 1735; Weil, 247, no. 65.

³⁵⁷ See BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 94, fasc. 54, July 21, 1735 for a payment of 436.15 *scudi*.

³⁵⁸ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 95, p. 158, 1736.

³⁵⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 95, fasc. 2, p. 108, May 7, 1736.



Figure 6.14: Title Page, (for description of *Machina* by G.B. Oliverio for Forty Hours Devotion), 1735, engraving.

Oliverio had also been architect for Ottoboni's *machina* in February of 1736 for the annual pre-Lenten devotions in San Lorenzo (Figure 6.15). This was an ensemble of gold and silver vases, military trophies, and rich tapestries, suitably impressive to have been recorded by both of Rome's prominent diarists.³⁶⁰ Ginesio del Barba's painting of a grand temple of twelve spiral columns in lapis lazuli, and a giant cupola with Pope Sylvester baptizing the Emperor Constantine was placed at its center. Clearly, the location was a reconstruction of the ancient Lateran baptistery. There was also an altar with painted figures of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist, who were figures of special devotion for Ottoboni as archpriest of St. John Lateran, and which continued the themes of the previous two years.

³⁶⁰ Chracas, vol. 79, no. 2891, pp. 3-4, 6-9, February 11, 1736; Valesio, V, pp. 839-840; Weil, 247, no. 67. For a payment to Oliverio, see BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 95, fasc. 6, February 17, 1736.



Figure 6.15: Title Page, (for description of *Machina* by G.B. Oliverio for Forty Hours Devotion), 1736, engraving.

In the 1730s, Ottoboni's resident painter, Trevisani, and an assistant had painted cartoons for a *Baptism of Constantine by Pope Sylvester*.³⁶¹ Barba may have been the assistant although he is not recorded as a pupil of Trevisani. Oliverio had also worked for Ottoboni on a second chapel at the cardinal's seat in Velletri. This, too, was a chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the city's cathedral; Oliverio was overseer, responsible for canvas, colors, and day's wages for painters.³⁶² His name was still listed in the palace rolls when Ottoboni died in February of 1740.³⁶³

The last decade of Ottoboni's life had been a period of some of his most ambitious patronage. Several projects rivaled that of his great-uncle's tomb both in scale and

³⁶¹ DiFederico, pp. 66-68.

³⁶² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol 73, fasc. 27, 1739 for 51.07 *scudi*; "Conto di spese, di Tela imprimita, colori, Pittori, e intaglio del Baldachino per la Capela del SS. Sacramento nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Velletri. Fatto per ordine Dell'Em.mo e Rev.mo Sig. Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni, di Gio. Batta Oliverio Ing.e e Pitore di S. E.a Padrone. L'Anno 1739.

³⁶³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 73, no. 4, February 1740, as "Ingegniere, e Machista."

expense. In addition to *machine*, he commissioned a suite of more than fifteen tapestries from Pietro Ferloni who directed the tapestry works that Clement XI had established at Ripa Grande.³⁶⁴ One or more were delivered each year at a total expense of more than 6,000 *scudi*, and may have been the tapestries included in Oliverio's *machine* of 1735 and 1736.

Architecture is generally thought of as a permanent, immovable art form, but Ottoboni commissioned a splendid construction in black with gold trim inspired by Venetian models. It was also mobile. This was his Bucentaur recalling the grand ceremonial ships of his native Venice.³⁶⁵ Nothing is known of the size of this *piotta* outfitted with oars and built at Ripa Grande in 1737. It reflected Ottoboni's nostalgia for his native Venice, but more importantly, it served a practical purpose for the aging cardinal who used it frequently to travel down the Tiber to his new bishopric of Porto, sometimes accompanied by members of his family, and in 1737 and 1738 to participate in Easter celebrations. It was dedicated to the Virgin with the words, *STELLA MARIS*, added in gold lettering, which also represented an Ottoboni family motto.

In 1739, the music-loving cardinal commissioned Giovanni Costanzi to sing fifty Psalms over a period of weeks until the cycle was completed.³⁶⁶ Ottoboni paid his *maestro di cappelli* 564 *scudi* for the ambitious recital which met every Wednesday evening for twelve weeks, with four or five of the psalms sung each week.³⁶⁷ The psalms had been assembled years before as vernacular poems composed and set to music by two Venetians and published in eight volumes in 1724 and 1725.³⁶⁸ Ottoboni opened the performances to many nobles and dignitaries including James III, the pretender to the English throne.³⁶⁹

Francesco Ferrari was Ottoboni's architect for Forty Hours devotions in February 1739.³⁷⁰ He worked with the painter Antonio Bichierari whose *Holy Family* painting was part of the display.³⁷¹ Ferrari had designed a *machina* for Ottoboni fifteen years before,

³⁶⁴ For more on Ottoboni's tapestries, see Olszewski, 1983; Standen, 1982, 147-164; 1985, II, pp. 776-785.

³⁶⁵ Valesio, VI, p. 32, March 30, 1737; Chracas, vol. 84, no. 3079, p. 7, April 27, 1737.

³⁶⁶ Chracas, vol. 84, no. 3070, April 6, 1737; vol. 88, no. 3229, p. 5, April 12, 1738; Valesio, VI, p. 35, April 13, 1737.

³⁶⁷ Ottoboni paid Costanzi 564 *scudi* for the recital of the psalms which took twelve evenings: BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 99, fasc. 55, September 23, 1739. The highly popular event was widely publicized; Valesio, VI, p. 243, July 8, 1739; *Correspondance*, IX, no. 4191, p. 378, May 1, 1739.

³⁶⁸ *Correspondance*, IX, no. 4191, p. 378, May 1, 1739; Valesio, VI, p. 243, July 8, 1739; p. 255, August 20, 1739; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 99, fasc. 55, September 23, 1739.

³⁶⁹ Talbot, M. Marcello, Benedetto. in Sadie, XI, p. 649. See also, Chracas, vol. 93, no. 3425, pp. 12-14, July 18, 1739; no. 3456, p. 16, September 26, 1739.

³⁷⁰ Chracas, vol. 91, no. 3356, pp. 7-8, February 7, 1739.

³⁷¹ For more on Ferrari, see Thieme and Becker, XI, p. 449; Weil, 246, nos. 46, 47; Bevilacqua, M. Ferrari Francesco. In *In Urbe*, p. 364. Bevilacqua makes no mention of Ferrari's engagement with Ottoboni.

already collaborating with the painter Bichierari.³⁷² The earliest reference to Ferrari occurred in 1703 when he won a prize in the Concorso Clementino. He was enrolled in the Academy of St. Luke in July 1721 as an architect and painter, and although he served Ottoboni during the last few years of the cardinal's life, he never entered the palace rolls. He served as architect to the Marchese Giovanni Filippo De Angelis, and to the Marchese Emilio Cavaliere from 1721 to 1744.³⁷³ His work for Ottoboni came just after his completion of the renovation of St. Gregory the Great in 1737, a project initiated by Clement XI. Chracas described Ferrari's *machina* for Holy Week of 1737 as representing the overwhelming victories of Joshua, whose indomitable power over the enemies of the Israelites was indicated by his command to the sun to stand still.³⁷⁴ The extraordinary number of candles in the display alluded to the sun frozen in place in a presentation that greatly pleased the dozen cardinals in attendance.³⁷⁵

Gregorini still remained in the palace rolls as the cardinal's architect, as did Oliverio.³⁷⁶ Ottoboni's uncle, Marco, and his daughter had both married members of the Buoncompagni family, and Gregorini continued his association with this family after Ottoboni's death by designing the tomb of Maria Eleonora Buoncompagni Ludovisi in Santa Maria del Popolo in 1749.

Valesio's diary entry of February 25, 1740 mentioned that Ottoboni, stricken by fever, had left the conclave that had assembled to elect a successor to Clement XII. Three days later he was dead. Valesio's entry also noted that the Forty Hours' celebrations that month were conducted "senza machina."³⁷⁷

372 This was for the Forty Hours devotions in San Lorenzo in 1724. See Chracas, vol. 29, no. 1024, pp. 4-5, February 26, 1724; no. 1027, pp. 3-4, March 4, 1724.

373 Ferrari undertook the reconstruction of Cavaliere's palace in the 1720s. He obtained various chapel commissions and work on church and palace renovations throughout his career. From 1730 to 1735 he restored the palace of the Marchese Clemente Spada Veralli in piazza Colonna.

374 Joshua 10. Chracas, vol. 83, no. 3055, pp. 8-10, March 2, 1737. Valesio reports that there was no *machina* for the pre-Lenten festivities in 1737, only candles and simulated clouds; Valesio, VI, p. 24, February 28, 1737.

375 The following year's *apparato* received a large audience of notables, but Chracas does not identify the artists; Chracas, vol. 87, no. 3205, pp. 8-9, February 15, 1738.

376 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 73, "Rollo di Famiglia," fasc. 2, February 1740; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 73, "Rollo di Famiglia," fasc. 4, February 1740.

377 Valesio, VI, p. 315, February 25, 1740.

Appendix

Doc. 1 Francesco Valesio, Diario di Roma, II, pp. 79-82, February 23, 1702.

DISTINTA RELAZIONE E ISTORICO RAGGVAGLIO Della sontuosa Machina, e di quanta in Essa è figurato. Fatta inalzare alli 23. di Febraro 1702. Giorno di Giovedi grasso PER LA SOLENNE ESPOSITIONE del venerabilissimo SACRAMENTO Nella Chiesa de' SS. LORENZO, e DAMASO Dall'Eminentiss., e Reverendiss. Precipe il Sig. Cardinal PIETRO OTTOBONI Vicecancelliere di Santa Chiesa. Roma, Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1702.

DISTINTA RELAZIONE Fu sempre vigilante Pensiere di Chi regge la gran Naue di Pietro di ridurre al copioso Ouile di Christo i Popoli più remoti, a quali è incognita la vera Fede viuendo come Talpe in vn letargo d'errori. La vigilanza però del nostro Sommo Pontefice Clemente XI hà sorpassata ogn'altra, mentre tra le più grani cure del Christianesimo non hà mancato, con soma sua Gloria, di trasmettere nuoui Missionarij all'Indie, per propogare anch à quei Popoli i raggi, pur troppo allo lor pupille naseosti, del vero Sol di Giustizia; Quindi si è che la magnificenza, e grandezza di Animo dell'Eminentissimo Sig. Cardinale Ottoboni, il di cui nome basta ad Vdirsi per significar le sue Glorie, ha voluto nel presentese Giouedi di Carneuale 1702. aprire nella Venerabil Colleggiata de'Santi Lorenzo, e Damaso vn sacro Teatro, nel quale venissero espresse le sudette attioni, Institutore delle quali fu S. Francesco Sauerio, che per le sue eccelse fatiche meritò il nome d'Apostolo dell'Indie, significando in tal guisa, che le Opere d'un Pontefice cosi sublime deggiono hauere la Gloria d'esser simboleggiate sopra va Eccelsa Mole tra li fulgidi riflessi di più ammirabili splendori.

Vedesi dunque nell'accennata Machina il prenominate S. Francesco (onor della Chiesa, e docoro della celebre Compagnia di Giesù,) il quale giunto all'Isola di S. Ciano situata incontro alla China; elesse sua Abitattione vna Capanna, che mirasi qui figurata, posta sù la spiaggia del Mare, dentro della quale si troua collocato vn'Altare con la sua Croce, e sei Candelieri, Avanti all'accennato pouero Tugurio scorgesi il Santo in atto di battezzare numero grande di quei Popoli espressi in varie figurine, rappresentanti Femine, Huomini, Fanciulli, & anche quei che in età auuanzata non contono i giorni se non che con le infermità, e malatie, delle quail sono diuenuti soggetti.

Contiguo alla villareccia Capanna, diuenuta nobile, e maestosa da chi vi habitua, si sublima vn altissimo Monte eretto con vaga simetria, & ornato di vari Tronchi, i quali à gara mostrano di voler emuleggiare con la di loro altezza la di lui sublimità.

Vedesi poi in lontananza il rinomato Regno della China posto vicino al Mare, & appiedi di un Monte; Incontro poi dall'altra parte seguita vn spatiosissimo Mare sopra l'onde del quale và galleggiando vn Vascello, con altri più piccolo in atto di approssimarsi al Lido, sopra di cui stà il Santo.

In mezzo della detta Machina vedesi situato per Aria vn gran gruppo d'Angeli intrecciati con varie nubi, dal quale vien retto vn gruppo d'altre nuuole di lucidissimi Cristalli, il tutto framischiato con varie Teste di Cherubini anche essi trasperenti, e lucidi per i ben posti riflessi de i specchi Mattematici, sopra i già descritti splendori

è situato alla Publica Veneratione il Venerabilissimo Sacramento cinto anche Egli con quantità di raggi di finissimo Cristallo, & il fondo del detto eccessiuo splendore è tutto trasparente, e riflessato dalle lucide ripercussioni degli nominate specchi Mattematici.

La mezzo del già descritto splendore mirasi collocato tutto lucido, e risplendente il Padre Eterno, che si sostiene in aria con vn nobil Arteficio nascosto, & il di lui lume vien'parimente causato dalli sudetti riflessi, da i quail si rende più chiara la virtù dello spiritoso Inventore.

Seguitano poi d'intorno à far corona varie, ed infinite schiere d'Angeli poste in diuerse positure, e molte Teste di Cherubini, che con vaghissima simetria, & intreccio recano vn'ammirabil diletto agl'occhi delli diuoti Spettatori.

Fuori dell'Arco della nominate Machina, quasi staccato in aria, vicino al sossitto della detta Chiesa, si scorge vn'altro gruppo di Angeli intrecciato con varie nubi, da i quale si regge vna fascia con il motto (*Veritas Discipulos ad Predicandum mittit.*). Le quali Lettere anche esse vengono à dimostrarsi lucidissime per l'accennata cagione de i corpi sferici Mattematici, da i quali, come si è narrato antecedentemente, si rende quasi tutto luminoso questo Sacro, e Venerabili Teatro che si è saputo accattiuare in quest'anno lo stupore di Roma tutta.

L'imbocco dell'Arco della descritta Machina è di altezza palmi 100. e la di lei larchezza è di palmi 60. potendosi comprendere dalle dette misure la nobiltà, e magnificenza di essa, che resterà sempre viuua nella memoria de'Posteri.

Ingegnoso Inuentore della detta marauigliosa Mole, e di tutti i descritti scientifici arteficij, fù il Signor Gio. Francesco Pellegrini solito Ingegniere delle Machine del prenominato Eminentissimo Porporato; Et in vero hà questi sempre saputo unire alla grandezza di quell Prencipe la sublimità delle sue Idee, hauendo negl'anni decorsi, & anche nel presente, dato sempre occasione di singular marauiglia con simile opere, non solo à Roma, mà al Mondo tutto, che nella varietà delle Nationi che qui concorrono, si raduna, anzi si epiloga in questo gran capo dell'Vniuerso.

E impossibile à descruersi la frequenza del Popolo concorso ammitatore di quello stupendo apparato, e tratto della diuotione per porger le sue preghiere in quell Celebre Santuario all'Altissimo, iui con tanto splendore magnificamente esposto, à Venerare il quale si vni in detta Chiesa, e la sacra facondia sul Pergamo, e la dolce armonia sopra i cori, dalle quali cose tutte si aggiungeua vn non sò che di grande, e di sublime alla nobiltà di quella Machina. FINE

Doc. 2 Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, III, March 3, 1707, pp. 773-774.

DISTINTA RELAZIONE ET ISTORICO RAGGUAGLIO Della sontuosa Machina, e di quanto in Essa è figurato Fatta inalzare alli trè di Marzo Giornata di Giovedì Grasso dell'Anno presente MDCCVII. PER LA SOLENNE ESPOSIZIONE DELL'AUGUSTISSIMO SACRAMENTO Nella Chiesa de'SS. LORENZO, E DAMASO DALL'EMINENTISSIMO, E REVERENDISSIMO PRINCIPE IL SIG. CARDINALE PIETRO OTTOBONI Vice-Cancelliere di S. Chiesa &c. In ROMA, Per Domenico Antonio Ercole

DISTINTA RELAZIONE. Riconnobe la nostra Santissima Fede dalla zelante Predicazione de' gloriosi Apostoli il suo primiero augumento, mentre da essi veniuia disseminata con la parole, con gl'Esempi, e con I Miracoli in tutte le Patti, anche più remote, dell'Vniuerso, onde a ragione di loro fù detto *In omnem Terram exiuit sonus Eorum*; Seguirono l'Esempio de' Santi Apostoli in proseguimento di tempo altri eroi famosi della Chiesa, I quali al presente vengono imitati da Zelantissimi Missionarij mandate a propagar le Fede di Cristo, ed a far prese d'Anime per il Cielo, dalla soma vigilanza del nostro Santo Pontefice CLEMENTE XI. in Parti così lontane, & in così discosti Confini, che possono quasi dirsi diuisi dal nostro Mondo: Per alludere a così sublime Pensiero hà voluto l'Eminentissimo, e Reuerendissimo Principe Sig. Card. Pietro Ottoboni Vicecancelliere di S. Chiesa, e Porporato degnissimo (la di cui Generosità d'Animo, e Magnificenza di spirito è confessata da tutti innarriabile) nel presente Giouedi di Carneuale 1707. in occasione dell'Esposizione dell'Augustissimo SACRAMENTO nell'Insigne Collegiata de' SS. Lorenzo, e Damaso esprimere in Vna sontuosa Machina, quando il Santo Apostolo PAOLO, assieme con S. BARNABA si portò nella Siria, riducendo con la Predicatione, e con i Prodigj da Lui continuamente operati, quei Popoli già ciechi trà l'ombre d'infiniti Errori, alla Luce della Cattolica Verità, & alla sequela del Redentore; Al Zelo impareggiabile di quell Vaso d'Elettione, e dell'altro Santo Apostolo BARNABA, & al vedere da loro illuminati i Ciechi, dirizzati i Storpj, e risanati i languidi, supposero quelle Genti auuezze ad incensare Idoli di Marmo, da quali alle loro Preghiere nulla otteneuano, esser questi loro Dei, onde consero al Tempio per offrire ad Essi le Vittime, secondo il lor profane Costume. Viene pertanto il tutto merauigliosamente espresso nel mondo che segue.

Vedesi vn Tempio di figura tonda, con vn Semicircolo di Colonne, che sostengono la Cuppola di mezzo, essendo con la loro Base d'Ordine Composito, col terzo scannellate, e con Capitelli d'Oro puro, essendosi finte le sudette Basi, e Colonne di Porta Santa, circondate per maggior'Ornamento da Rami di Lauro d'Oro; Sopra alle prenominate Colonne posta vn Cornicione Archi trauato, pigliando però sempre il Diametro dalla Pianta Rotonda; Viene il Tempio sudetto formato da Otto Archi sopra di'quali posa la Cornice con altri ornate, con la Cuppola del Tempio; Mirasi poi intorno ricorrere vn Portico con Pilastrì simili alle Colonne, con Nauatelle, con Volte ornate di Stucchi, e Pietre, e con diuersi Loggie, che in intorno ricorrono, con altri Portici; Scorgesi nel fondo d'essi vna sfuggita d'Archi, doue è il principale Ingresso del Tempio, nella Parte anteriore poi si vedono due Zoccoli, sopra de'quali posano gl'Idoli di Gioue, e di Mercurio figurati de Metallo.

Nel primo Ingresso vedonsi sotto al Portico due Scalini, che fanno scendere al Tempio, oue si mirano S. PAVOLO, e S. BARNABA, il Primo in atto di strapparsi da dosso le proprie Vesti, mentre quei Popolo lo voleuano riconoscere per Iddio, & il Secondo in atto di discorrere col Sommo Sacerdote, accenando che si Fermi con la sinistra, a con la destra indicandogli l'Augustissimo SACRAMENTO, à cui devonsi offrir i Sacrifici, ed inuiare le suppliche; A' piedi di S. PAOLO si vede vn Pouero genuflesso, che per dimostrare la Grazia riceuuta, gli porge la Stampella, di già suo

sostegno in tempo della sua Infermità; Euui anche molto Popolo ammirito, e stupido che stà in atto d'adorazione verso i Santi; Accanto al Sacerdote degl'Idoli è il Tripode con il Fuoco acceso per il Sacrificio, con molti Giouani coronati di Fiori; Trà il sudetto Sommo Sacerdote, & i Gloriosi Santi miransi diuersi Sacerdoti, che tengono il Vitello, che deue sacrificarsi, parimente ornato di Fiori, con altri Sacerdoti laureate genuflessi, vno de' quali tiene nella destra la Patera; Vedesi vno del Popolo stare in'atto d'uccidere il Vitello, con varia moltitudine di Gente corsa spettatrice a così solenne sacrificio.

Dalla parte superiore doue è esposto alla Venerazione de' Fedeli il Santissimo SACRAMENTO excono lucidissima Raggi, con vna Gloria che da per tutto sparge, con diuerse Nubi con figure di Putti, e di Serafini, che occupano molte Parte del Tempio, Legonsi a Lettere trasparenti fu'l Frontespizio della Machina le seguenti parole ANNUNTIANTES CONVERTI AD DEVM VIVVM prese dal Cap. XIV. degl'Atti degl'Apostoli num. 14. dal quale è stata parimente presa la sudetta Sacra Istoria.

L'Inuentione, e l'Idea di questa Suntuosissima Machina fu tutta di quell'Eminentissimo Principe sudetto la di cui Mente vanta per proprio pregio idear cose grandi, posto il tutto in esecuzione dal Signor Nicola Michetti Romano celebre Ingegniero & in simile materie singolarissimo, vnendo alla vivacità del Pennello le Matematiche speculatiue, e che vanta per sua Gloria d'essere Seruatore attuale del sudetto Eminentissimo Porporato, vero Rimuneratore de' Virtuosi, e nuouo Mecenate de' grand'Ingegni.

Vedeuasi corrispondente alla suntuosità della Machina tutto il restante di quella magnifica Chiesa in cui per trè giorni continui feddero pompa della loro Facondia i Sacri Oratori sul Pagamo, e della lor soaue Melodia i più canori Virtuosi sù i Chori, accompagnati dalla soauità de' musicali Istrumenti, dalle quali cose tutte veniuà rapito in Estasi d'ammirazione il numeroso Popolo, che in Essa per il sudetto spazio di tempo di continuo si vide porgere le seruorose Preghiere à quell'DIO SACRAMENTO esposto con tanta Maestà, decoro, e magnificenza all'Adorazion de' Fideli. IL FINE

Doc. 3 Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, February 16, 1708, pp. 30-32.

DISTINTA RELAZIONE DELLA SONTUOSA MACHINA. E di quanto in Essa è figurato, Fatta inalzare alli 16. di Febraro Giorno di Giovedì grasso dell'Anno presente MDCCVIII. PER LA SOLENNE ESPOSIZIONE DELL'AUGUSTISSIMO SAGRAMENTO Nella Chiesa de'SS. Lorenzo, e Damaso, DALL'EMINENTISS. E REVERENDISS. PRINCIPE IL SIGNOR CARDINALE PIETRO OTTOBONI VICE-CANCELLIERE DI S. CHIESA &c. In Roma, Per Doomenico Antonio Ercole in Parione.

RELAZIONE

Si stanca rebbe ogni Penna benchè au vezza a i voli e sublimi, che pretendesse non di registrare, ma solamente d'accennare le Glorie di quell'Eminentissimo Principe, che in questi tempi suole aprire alla Divozione de Fedeli un Sacro Teatro per eccitare con la vivezza dell'Apparenze il zelo più fervoroso dell'Anime. Si è Questi (come è ben noto non solo à Roma, ma al Mondo tutto) l'Eminentissimo, e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale PIETRO OTTOBONI Vice-Cancelliere di Santa Chiesa, che anche

nel'presente Anno hà voluto nell'Insigne Basilica de' Santi LORENZO, e DAMASO far pompa della Pietà del suo Animo grande, e dell'impareggiabile generosità del suo magnanimo Cuore esponendo alla pubblica adorazione con una inarrivabile magnificenza l'Augustissimo SAGRAMENTO nel giorno di Giovedì sedeci del corrente Mese di Febraio; e perchè quest'Inclito Porporato professa una singular Divisione al gloriosissimo SANTO FILIPPO NERI nuovo Taumaturgo de' nostri Secoli, e gran Dispensatore di Grazie, conformandosi al disiderio di Roma tutta, che al Patrocinio di quell GRAN SANTO sempre ricorre con incessanti preghiere, hà voluto rappresentare à maggior Gloria di Lui in una maestosa Machinia il Fatto seguente.

Viveva in Roma il prenominato Gran Santo intento alla Fabrica di quell maestoso Santuario di SANTA MARIA in VALICELLA, comunemente nominato CHIESANOVA, quando per sua diuozione fece dipingere dal celebre pennello del Barocci, rinomato Pittore de' suoi tempi, un Quadro in cui mirasi effigiata la Visatazione di Santa Elisabetta, che anche al presente si vede in una Cappella di detto Tempio, dove fin da allora lo fece porre quell singolare Operatore de' Miracoli, in questa Cappella quell'EROE Celeste ritiravasi continuamente à far'orazione, & in essa celebrava il Santo Sacrificio della Messa, quando un giorno frà gl'altri nel punto che stava inalzando l'Ostia Sagramentata, fù veduto dagl'Astanti sollevato in estasi per lungo spatio di tempo, gustando delle delizie del Paradiso, quando ancora era Abitator della Terra.

Veniva nel modo che segue rappresentato nella predetta Machina l'accennato Miracolo.

Fingevasi un Tempio rotondo sostenuto da colonne di diaspro circondate di lauro dorato con molti ornate, e mensole, che sostenevano un Loggiato intorno al sudetto Tempio con balaustri dorati, sopra del quale vedevansi molti Archi, architettonomicamente detti *Clavicoli*, che reggevano dalle parti esteriori tutto il restante della prenominata Machina, che in tal modo rendevasi più spaziosa, e magnifica. In mezzo di questa Tempio scorgevasi la Cappella con il suo ornato d'oro con pietre mischief, dove SAN FILIPPO celebrava la Messa, circondata da colonne, e portico; nella medesima si vedeva un Quadro consimile al già descritto, e sù l'Altare v'era il Calice con Patena sopra, e dal lato destro il Mestale, il Gloriosissimo Santo vestito con Abiti Sacerdotali si mirava sollevato in aria in atto d'auvicinarsi al Santissimo Sagramento, che diffondeva quantità di raggi d'intorno, e per dove sollevasi l'Estatico Ammiratore di quell Divino Prodigio. Li due Chierici che assistevano al Sacrificio restavano in atto di meraviglia stupidi, e perplessi, sì come anche tutti gl'altri Circonstanti che ebberola sorte d'incontrarsi ammiratori di quell'Estasi beata.

Cuopriva la sudetta Cappella nella parte di mezzo una Cuppola, che appena distingueuasi perchè era tutta riempita di varie nuvole d'Angioli esprimenti la Gloria.

Davano finimento al prenominato Tempio varii Cuppolini disposti nelle parti esteriori, parimente riempiti con varie Glorie sparse, e divise in diversi luoghi.

Sù la fronte di questa Machina, ò sia Frontespizio leggeuansi le sequenti parole. VIVO AVTEM IAM NON EGO dette dal Glorioso Apostolo San Paulo nell'Epistola scritta ad Galatas Capitolo secondo, e poste con sommo intelligenza, e proprietà in

bocca di SAN FILIPPO NERI, CHE PIV' VIVEVA NEL SVO DIO, CHE IN SE MEDESIMO, anzi la vera sua Vita era l'istesso suo Dio.

L'Dea di questa nobilissimo Machina fù di quell'Eminentissimo Principe che unisce alla grandezza dell'Animo un'incomparabile elevatezza d'Ingegno, posta in esecuzione dal Signor Nicola Michetti Romano in simili materie peritissimo, e che per sua gloria hà la forte d'incontrare il nobilissimo genio di così gran Porporato, di cui è Servitore attuale.

Così questo gran Capo del Mondo, nell'Anno della terminazione del suo Voto fatto in quell giorno sì memorabile, ebbe motivo di render Grazie à Sua Divina Maestà per averlo preservato da i sourastanti pericoli, e nel medesimo tempo di porgere più calde preci al miracolosissimo SANTO FILIPPO NERI, che sempre si è fatto conoscere per scudo, e per Liberatore de suoi Divoti ne i più impetuosi tremori della Terra, da quali per sempre ci preserui, e ci liberi. IL FINE.

Doc. 4 ASV, Ottob. Arch. Vol. 119.

Io sott'o Pro're delle SS.me Rosa, e Felice Polveroni Eredi del q'm Fran.co Polveroni, come per Istromento di Pro'ra rogato per gli atti del Gin/netti Noto Cap'no Li 8 X'mbre 1738. ho ricevuto dall'Ill'ma et Ecc.ma Sig.ra Duchessa D. Maria Giulia Boncompagni Othoboni Erede Fida/ciaria Testamentaria della Ch. Me. Del Cardinale Pietro Othoboni Scudi Centocinquanta m'ta nel prezzo del Teatro Eredi/tario di detta Ch. Me. Aggiudicato a mio favore come maggiore / et ultimo Oblatore, e questi in conto di quello le sudette Eredi sono creditrici di detta Ch. Me. Per Lavori fatti, e fatti fare da / me sott.o ad uso di Falegname per servizio di detta Ch. Me. A tutti / Febraro pross. to a tenore de conti esistenti in Com.ia obligandomi. Fare rari fiacre La pa'ta ricevuta dalle Sud.e Eredi quando faccio / di bisgno ad ogni richiesta della sud.a Ecc'ma Sig.ra Duchessa / in fede Roma questo di 16 Sett.re 1740... .. Nicolo Enrico (signed)

Doc. 5 BAV, Francesco Chracas, Diario ordinario di Roma, vol. 45, no. 1627, pp. 8-12. January 10, 1728.

Venerdi scorso, nel Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica, fu tenuta da' Sig. Accademici d'Arcadia la solita Adunanza per la Solennità del SS. Natale, alla quale intervennero dieci Emi Cardiinali, cioè Barberini, Polignac, Origo, Spinola, Cienfuegos, Querini, i due Altieri, Colonna, ed Alessandro Albani: con gran quantita di Prelatura.

E volendo in tale occasione vedere anche il Palazzo dell'Emo Otthoboni la Serenissima Gran Principessa di Toscana, il ditto Emo fece illuminare con Torce il Cortile, Scale, Loggie, e li due Saloni, nella guisa appunto, come fu egli trattato in Piacenza, Parma, e Colorno dal fu Sermo di Parma, quando l'anno scorso parti da Venezia, e andò a fargli una visita.

Al giunger della Serrma. Si trovò S. E. a riceverla alla portiera della Carrozza, servendola /p. 9/ fino al suo nobile Appartamento, tutto illuminato da Lampadari di cristallo di Monte, dove si trattenevano alcuni delli sudetti Porporati.

Quivi in abbodanza, furono dispensati nobilissimi rinfreschi di frutti gelati, spume di latte, ciccolate, ed altri sorbetti, e cialdoni, e dopo Sali la Serma al secondo Appartamento, e quando fu a capo alla scala, lo vide tutto illuminato di cera sopra Lampadari di cristallo, di che la detta Serenissima ne ebbe gran meraviglia, lodando il buon gusto di Sua Eminenza.

Entrò poscia nel Teatro, ove era preparata l'Accademia, essendovi nel secondo ordine de' Palchetti una corona di 50 Dame Romane, vestite in tutta gala, & un'udienza numerosa di Prelati, e Cavalieri Romani, ed Oltramontani, alli quali furono dispensati copiosissimi rinfreschi, e dato a ciaschedu/p. 10/no il Libretto della Cantata, e postasi a sedere in mezzo gli Emi Sig. Cardinali, fu dato principio all'Accademia, con un'erudito Discorso, e varie altre dotti, Composizioni, udite con piacere della Sereniss. Gran Principessa, ed applaudite da tutta la nobile udienza.

Terminate la Composizioni, si diede principio ad un strepitoso concerto di vari Istromenti, ed alsatasi la tenda, si vide tutto il Palco ingombrato da nuvole, le quali a poco, a poco dilequandosi, si vide comparire in alto un Genio Celeste accompagnato da altri nove distribuiti con ottima semetria, e movendosi questa gran Machina che si appressava quasi all'Orchestra, il Genio Celeste canto la prefazione nel fine dalla quale vi erano alcuni versi in lode della Gran Principessa. Ciò finito andò in aria tutta la Machina, e nel partire si scuoprì /p. 11/ una nobilissima scena d'Architettura, trasparente, intorno alle quale vi era un giro di Riinghiere tutte piene d'istrumenti, che uniti alla grand'Orchestra, servirono a rendere piu armoniosa la Cantata a tre Voci sopra il SSmo Natale; la quale fu composta dal Arcade Sig. Metastasio, e posta in musica dal Sig. Gio. Costanzi Virtuoso dell'Emo Sig. Cardinale Ottoboni.

Fu sommamente applaudi questa sontuosa festa, per essere stata diretta dal buon gusto dell'Emo Sig. Cardinale Otthoboni, che in ogni funzione fa conoscere la generosità, a grandezza del di lui animo.

Uscita la Serenissima Gran Principessa dal Teatro, volle andar godendo gli appartamenti di S. E. & entrata nell'Alcova le fu portato il secondo rinfresco molto piu nobile, e copioso del primo. Andò dipoi godendo la famosa libreria tut/p. 12/ta illuminata di lampadari di cristallo, alla quale diede la Serenissima tutta la devotu lode, per esser cosa singolare. Indi portatosi per gli altri appartamenti di sopra, sempre servita dal prefato Emo Otthoboni, e da altri Eminentiss. Porporati gode la superba Galleria de Quadri, che è nel terzo appartamento, è passata al quarto, che e quello che guarda la Piazza di S. Lorenzo, e trovato tutto illuminato, e riccamente adobbato, non potè fare a meno, di non lodare la vastità del Palazzo, ed il buon genio, e magnificenza di Sua Emza.

Nel tempo, che fu fatta l'Accademia, fece S. S. dare tanto alli Servatori, che alli Cocchieri della Serenissimo, una gran refezione di ottimi pesci, formaggi, & altro, che potevasi dare in giorno di Venerdì, con esquisiti vini, oltre le generose mancie. FINE.

Doc. 6 BAV, Francesco Chracas, *Diario ordinario di Roma*, vol. 39, no. 1421, September 14, 1726, pp. 4-5.

Lunedì, radunantisi il Signori Accademici Arcadi nelle falde del Monte Giannicolo, ove presentemente si erigge una sontuosa Fabrica per commodo delle loro Adunanze; per la qual'Erezione vi ha generosamente contribuito la Maestà del Re Portogallo la soma di scudi quattromila; ed ivi per la prima volta ricitarono le loro Composizioni de'soliti Giuochi Olimpici, con l'intervento di cinque Eminentissimi Porporati, dell'Eccellentissimo Sig. Ambasciatore di Portogallo, di molti Prelatura, e nobiltà; Avendovi recitati li discorsi Monsignor Rossi, e Monsignor Rivelli Accademici. Incontro al Gran Portone della medesima Fabrica, incise in marmo, vi si legge la sequente Iscrizione: Joanni V / Lusitaniae Regi / Pio, felice, invicto, / Quod Parrhasii nemoris / Stabilitati / Munificentissime / Prospexerit / Coetus Arcadum universus / Posuit / Andrea de Mello de Castro / Comoite das Galveas / Regio Oratore / Anno Salutis / MDCCXXVI

Doc. 7 Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, p. 720, September 9, 1726.

Si fece oggi per la prima volta l'Accademia dell'Arcadi nel nuovo luogo alla salita del Gianicolo incontro alli molini, luogo che riuscì assai angusto. Vi intervennero gli seguenti cardinali: Marafoschi, Marini, Petra, Scotti e Pereira e l'ambasciatore di Portogallo; il cardinal di Polignach vi andò in carrozzini fin a pie' della salita, ma, avendo per equivoco del servitore udito che il ricevimento lo faceva l'ambasciatore di Portogallo, il che non era vero, se ne ritornò indietro. Tutta l'accademia fu in lode del re di Portogallo, accademico d'onore, il quale ha generosamente dati 4,000 scudi per il luogo e di già si sono consumati nella fabrica de' muri fatti per dare qualche piano a quel logo scosceso, né sono ancor terminate siccome il disegnato abbellimento e sperano dalla generosità di S. Santità che possa contribuire al rimanente. La Mattina cantarono i detti accademici una messa votiva nella cappella in S. Maria in Cosmedin concedutagli dall'arciprete Crescimbeni, custode e fondatore di detta Accademia.

Doc. 8 BAV, Francesco Chracas, *Diario ordinario di Roma*, vol. 81, no. 2969, pp. 2-5, August, 11, 1736.

La nota soma pietà dell'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinale Pietro Otthoboni Vescovo di Porto, e Santa Rufina, Sotto-Decano del Sagro Collegio, Vice-Cancelliere di Santa Chiesa, e Commendatario della Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, avendo fatta erigere tutta di nuovo, a proprie spese, la Capella, e l'Altare ove si conserva il Santissimo Sacramento nella detta Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso sua Commenda, con ogni buon disegno d'Architettura, & eccellenza di lavoro arricchita di fini marmi di giallo, e verde antico, e di metalli dorati; di ottime pitture del Signor Cavaliere Casali uno de' i migliori allievi del Signor Cavaliere Francesco Trevisani, di vaghi stucchi messi ad oro, e di altri nobilissimi ornamenti, che la rendono in tutte le sue parti as/p. 3/sai bella, e magnifica, secondo la grandiosità, e buon gusto dell'Eminenza Sua, sempre intenta a promuovere l'onore di Dio, e di Saggi Tempi, & a dimostrare il suo zelo per

la venerazione de' medesimi; Et essendo terminata detta nobilissima Cappella, & Altare, volle anche Sua Eminenza, Domenica mattina, consagrarla solennemente, con l'intervento de' Cappellani Cantori della Cappella Pontificia, e con sontuoso apparato per tutta la Chiesa, avendo riposte nell'Altare le seguenti Reliquie de' Santi Martiri Lorenzo, Giovanni, e Paolo, e Ippolito Vescovo di Porto; e de' Santi Confessori Damaso Papa, Lorenzo Giustiniani Patriarca di Venezia, Filippo Neri, e Pietro Orseola Doge di Venezia, le quali furono esposte il giorno antecedente da Monsignor Lupi Vescovo d'Imeria, e Canonico del/p. 4/la Basilica, nella Cappella del Coro di quei Signori Canonici, e fattevi le consuete vigilie.

Dopo la consagrazione, il Signor Cardinale portò processionalmente il Santissimo Sacramento, facendo il giro per il portico del Palazzo, e per la Piazza, in tale occasione anche ornate di ricche tappezzarie, oltre le vaghe sinfonie, che ivi si facevano da vari istromenti da fiato; & indi ritornata in Chiesa, diede l'Eminenza Sua la benedizione col Santissimo Sacramento al moltissimo popoli concorsovi, e poscia lo collocò nel nuovo maestoso Tabernacolo, tutto di metallo dorato, sopra il nuovo Altare, dove finalmente il Signor Cardinale celebrò Messa bassa, e lasciò li paramenti sagri, co'i quali celebrò, alla Sagrestia di detta Cappella, e fece pubblicare l'Indulgenza Plenaria concessa dalla Santità di Nostro Si/p. 5/gnore Papa Clemente XII., e chi visitava in quell giorno la nuovo Cappella, & a chi la visiterà ogn'Anno in tal giorno.

In tale congiuntura Sua Eminenza fece anche dispensare nel Palazzo della Cancelleria un esquisito rinfresco agl'Operarti, con ogni abbondanza, e generosità propria del Signor Cardinale."

Doc. 9 Filippo Cesari, *Libro di diesgni architettonici*, 1733, Dedication page, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, F.C. 126697.

Eminentissimo Principe. Quante volte per me si cadde in pensiero d'umiliare all'occhio luminosissimo di Vostra Eminenza queste primizie de' miei Studj d'Architettura; rimirai sempre com'un'atto di soverchia baldanza, l'offerire ad un Principe, cui tutte le belli Arti tanto debbono, gli abbozzi imperfetti d'una penna inesperta. Ma nel tempo stesso, che un timore si giusto arretravami, talmente mi riinfrancò la si viva rimembranza dell'incomparabile benignità del suo magnanimo cuore, che giunse fino a lusingarmi, che non solo l'Em.za V.ra sarebbesi degnata di volgere il guardo a queste povere carte; ma ancora di felicitarmi col suo clementissimo gradimento. Ecco dunque che da tal fiducia animato con tutta l'umiltà dell'animo all'Em.za V.ra divotam.te le presento. Lunico pregio, di cui vanno adorni questi i miei fogli, sono gl'insegnamen.ti del Maestro; siccome la sola qualità, di cui vantar lo mi possa, altro non è, che quella profondiss.a venerazione, colla quale, supplicando l'Em.za V.a a compiacersi di mantenere sopra di me l'alto suo grazioso patrocio, umilio per sempre.

Umil.mo Divot.mo Osseq.mo Servo

Filippo Cesari

Doc. 10 Francesco Chracas, *Diario ordinario di Roma*, vol. 86, no. 3178, December 14, 1737, pp. 11-20.

Questo Emo Sig. Cardinale Pietro Otthoboni Vescovo di Porto, Sotto-Decano del Sagro Collegio, Vice-Cancelliere di S. Chiesa, e Commendatario della Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso &c, sempre intento ad opera gloriose, e magnanime, e specialmente in quelle ove puole esercitarsi la sua innata divozione, e Cristiana pieta; avendo a proprie spese fatto erigere ne'la detta Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso sua perpetua Commendo, una nuova Cappella sotterranea, detta la Confessione, per ivi farvi un Santuario; essendo questa terminata, destinò l'Eminenza Sua di consagrarla solennemente Domenica, come appresso si dirà.

E per dare un accennamento della detta Cappella, il di cui /p. 12/ sotterraneo si estende tutta le circonferenza della Tribune della Chiesa, è la medesima edificata con ottima architettura, in figura ovata, ornate di fine pietre, con Altare di giallo antico isolato in forma di urna, con 4 colonne, e suoi contrapilastrì parimente di pietre fine, e tutta ornata la volta al di sopra di vaghi stucchi dorati: Nel fondo dirimpetto all'Altare vi è un eccellente bassorilievo di marmo antico rappresentante un Cristo morto con alcuni Angeli, in cornice di giallo antico al naturale, e dalle due bande della Cappella due bene ornate custodie ripiene di Sagre Reliquie collocate in diversi reliquiarij, e statue d'argento, il tutto abbellito da varj ornamenti di metalli dorati. Alla medesima Cappella si ascende per /p. 13/ due maestose scale, ornate nelle pareti laterali di specchi commessi di pietre fine, e di parapetti di ferro interziati con vaghjì lavori di metallo rappresentante lo stemma dell'Eminenza Sua; e nel mezzo al di fuori della Cappella, sopra un piedestallo di marmo, vi è collocata la statua di S. Ippolito Vescovo di Porto, e Martire, seduta in sedia di marmo, con varie iscrizioni tradotte dal Greco, fatta fare da Sua Eminenza a similitudine di quella statua nella Biblioteca Vaticana, e nel frontespizio dell'accennato piedestallo si legge: /p. 14/ D. O. M. / S. HIPPOLYTO / Episcopo Portuensi / Et Martyri / Petrus Otthobonus / Episcopus Portuensis / S. R. E. Cardinal. Vicecancell. / Marmoreum hoc signum / Cum Cyclo Paschali / Ad Vaticani Archetypi fidem / Expressum / Dicavit / A.D. MDCCXXXVII

Ha inoltre l'Eminenza Sua fatto fare a proprie spese, per servizio della stessa Cappella, una muta di Quattro candelieri, croce con suo piede, e Quattro reliquiarij, il tutto d'argento, e tre lampade parimente d'argento per ardere continuamente, due avanti le Sagre Reliquie, dentro la Cappella, & /p. 15/ una all'imboccatura della Cappella avanti l'Altare.

Sabato alle ore 24, l'Eminenza Sua vestito in abito, con stolla, si trasferì nella Cappella del suo Palazzo, & ivi, coll'intervento di Quattro Signori Canonici di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, e del Notaro, alla presenza ancora di quantità de'suoi familiati, aprì la cassa dove era maggior parte del Corpo di S. Ippolito Vescovo di Porto, e Martire, e con le Reliquie de' Santi Taurino, ed Erculaino Martiri, e di S. Giovanni Calabita Confessore, ivi trasportati, con Indulto Apostolico, della Chiesa de' PP. Fatebenfratelli, e collocò dette sagre Reliquie, alla presenza di tutti li sopradetti, con le proprie mani, in una urna di pietra fatta dall'Eminenza Sua /p. 16/ a tale effetto.

Doc 11 Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, pp. 233-235, February 7, 1709.

DISTINTA RELAZIONE Della sontuosa Machina, e di quanto in Essa è figurato Fatta inalzare alli 7. di Febraro Giorno di Giovedì Grasso dell'Anno presente MDCCIX. PER LA SOLENNE ESPOZIONE DELL'AVGVSTISSIMO SACRAMENTO Nella Chiesa de' SS. LORENZO, e DAMASO DALL'EMINENTISSIMO, E REVERENDISSIMO PRINCIPE IL SIGNOR CARDINALE PIETRO OTTOBONI VICE-CANCELLIERE DI S. CHIESA &c. In Roma, per Domenico Antonio Ercole in Parione.

DISTINTA RELAZIONE. La singular, e generosa Diuozione dell'Eminentissimo, e Reverendissimo Principe Signor Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni Vicecancelliere di Santa Chiesa hà voluto anche in quest'Anno esporre alla venerazione de Fedeli con la solita magnificenza l'Augustissimo, e Venerabilissimo SACRAMENTO nell'insigne Basilica de' Santi Lorenzo, e Damaso, richiamando con vna Sacra pompa ne i giorni più dediti alle licenze, ed à i diuertimenti il Popolo di Roma agl'atti di Pietà, e di Religione con un sì nobile, e spirtuale allettamento. Nel Giorno dunque Giovedì grasso 7. del presente Mese di Febraio dell'Anno corrente 1709. si vide aperta alla publica ammirazione la famosa Machina, in cui rappresentauasi il fatto sequente.

Negò alle persuasiue, & alle lusinghe di Decio Imperatore il Santo Archidiacono del Santo Pontefice Sisto Secondo di Nazione Ispana, dico il Glorioso Martire San Lorenzo d'incensare gl'Idoli bugiardi da lui per veri Numi creduti, onde venne condannato da quel perfido Tiranno à diuersi Martirij, mà perchè quasi tutti o gli sembrauano delizie, ò gli seruiuano di maggiore incentiuo à desiderarne degl'altri, acceso dalle furie d'un'empio sdegno quell Mostro coronato lo condannò ad esser abbrugiato sopra vna graticola di ferro, volendo Egli medesimo esser presente ad vna così tormentosa Tragedia.

Figurausi pertanto nella preaccennata maestosa Machina il predetto Martirio nel modo che suffequentemente si descriue.

Vedeuasi vn Claustro, ò sia Cortile, in cui fingeuasi che seguisse vn così ammirabile spettacolo; Scorgeuasi in esso sù la mano sinistra affiso sopra vna sedia il prenominato Decio Imperatore tutto rileuato, intorno à cui era tutta la sua Corte con Soldati che portauano i fasci Littorali insegni della Giustizia. Staua il Tiranno in atto di condannare quell Santo Eroe, & à piedi del suo Soglio miruansi molti Carnesici, e Manigoldi, che sforzauano quel Inuitto Martire à posarsi sopra il Patibolo, violentandolo, e tirandolo à viuua forza sopra il medesimo. Mirauasi vicino al gran Leuita vn Sacerdote degl'Idoli, che l'esortaua ad incensare l'Idolo di Giove se voleua sottrarsi da quelle fiamme, il quale gli veniuà dal medesimo additato. Scorgeuansi in diuersi parti molte Personne tutte in atto di merauiglia; Chi per la ferezza inarriabile del Tirrano, e Chi la costanza imparegiabile del Santo. Gl'esecutori di così acerbo commando miruansi tutti intenti à diuersi atti barbari, e fieri, stuzzicando le legna, accendendo il foco, rendendo più viui gl'adori in guisa tale che ciascuno d'essi pareua che garreggiasse in dimostrarsi crudele.

Il di sopra della descritta Machina era di figura rotondo con molti Archi tutti in ripiempiti di Gloria, e dall'Ostensorio in cui adorauiasi il Sacramentato Signore

vscuano alcuni raggi, che veniuano direttamente verso il Santo gl'occhi del quale erano riuolti à quell Dio, da cui prendeua vigor nelle pene, e fortezza ne i tormenti.

Sul Frontespizio della gran Machina leggeuansi le seguenti parole. MEA NOX OBSCVRVM NON HABET

Che furono dette con generosa costanza dal Santo Martire all'imperuersato Tiranno in tempo che staua abbrugiando sù l'infocata graticola.

Hà voluto il sourano Pensiero di questo Eminentissimo Porporato con maggior sua gloria risuegliare la Diuozione di Roma verso il Glorioso San Lorenzo, e far ritornare alla memoria, l'acerbità de i Tormenti, ch'Egli soffrì, vantando Egli in titolo di quell'insigne Santuario dedicato alle glorie di quell Gran Martire, e Leuita Ispano, da Lui con tanto decoro, e magnificenza à commune edificazione esemplarmente ornato, e custodito.

L'Idea della predetta Machina fù del sudetto Eminentissimo Principe, il di cui sapere è ben noto à tutto il Mondo, essendo Egli versatissimo non solo nelle Scienze più graui, ma anche nelle amene, e diletteuoli facendo in tutte nobilissimo pompa del suo eleuatissimo Ingegno: Fù il tutto esequito dall'ammirabile viuacità, e prontezza del Signor Nicolò Michetti Romano in simili materie peritissimio, e che per particolare suo pregio hà l'onore di sodisfare al delicatissimo genio di quell gran Porporato, di cui è Seruitore attuale.

Così Roma hà auto anche in questo Anno nuouo motiuo di restar tenuta alla Nobiltà dell'Idee, ed alla grandezza dell'Animo del sudetto Eminentissimo Principe dal quale sempre riceuenuoui stimuli alla sua Pietà, e più feruorosi incentiui alla sua Diuozione. IL FINE.

Doc. 12 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 70, January 31, 1715.

Noi Infratti con la pnte da valeve come se fusse publico, e giurato Instrom.to / rogato p mano di publico noto ci oblichiamo di fare à tutte nostre spese / tutta la Pittura la quale consiste in Ornamente, Cartelle, Candelabri, / Cornucopij, e Mensole, Cartoni Inntagliati, et altro che potesse occorrere p / ornamento di nostra professions di Pittore da farsi di chiaro oscuro Lumeg/giato d'oro falso p Serv.o della Machina della prossima Espositione delle / 40 Hore da farsi nella Ven. Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso nel Car/neuale 1715 p il prezzo cosi stabilito d'accordo con il S.re Angelo Rossi / Scultore dell'Emo Otthoboni di Scudi Cento dieci m.ta quali d.o S.re Angelo / à nome di S. Em.za promette, e si oblige di pagare in tre paghe cioè la / prima paga nella fine della prima Settimana di Febraro pross.o; La Secon/da alli 15 d.o Mese, e l'ultima e terza paga p la fine del Mese di / Febraro Sud.o, e p osservanza delle Cose dette di Sopra d.o S.re Angelo / oblige l'Emo. S.re Card.le Otthoboni suoi Eredi, e Beni, e Noi oblichiamo / noi stessi Eredi, e Beni nella piu ampla forma della Rev.a Camera / Aplica consentendo & rinunciando & unica & in fede & e della pnte / se ne sono fatte due da tenersene una p parte Roma q.to di 31 / Gennaro 1715

(Signed) Io Paulo S Gamba Afermo come Sopra Ma. pp.

Io Lorenzo Giovannini afermo come Sopra M.o pp.a

(Signed lon verso) Pa. 9 Feb 1715 36:70

Paulo Gamba

16 Feb 1715 30-

Lorenzo Giustiniani

28 Feb 1715 44:30

In tutto fa la Somma di 110= (actually 111)

Noi scett.i havemo ricevuto dal Emo Sig.re Card.le Otthoboni p / le mani del Sig.re

Lorenzo Pini mro di casa scudi trentasei / e ba: 70 ...

Doc. 13 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 84, no. 90, October 13, 1727.

Per la pnte da valere cose se fosse publico, e giurato Instrumento rog.o p Manodi Publico Not.o Si dichiaro qualm.te il Sig.re Alesandro Mauri promette, e s'obbliga di fare e construere a t.e Sue Spese La Machina p L'Espositione delle Quarant'ore da farsi nel prossimo Anno 1728 nella Ven.e Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, e di haverla perfettam.te terminate p il giorno del Giovedi Grasso di d.o Anno in conformità del disegno Stabilito con l'Emo e Rmo Sig.re Card.le Otthoboni con l'Intratti Patti, e Colnditioni cioe.

Primo, che il d.o Sig.re Mauri Sia tenuto e obligato come promette e s'obliga di formar L'Arco della sud.a Machina da farsi di tutto rilievo con Quattro Colonne in Conform.a del disegno dovendo Le Med.e Colonne essere Ornate di Vetri legati in lavori di Stucco inargentati a forma di Gioie Legate e trasparenti con Li Suoi Capitelli e Base tutte Inargentate, e cosi parim.te ornare con gioie tutto il rimanente dell'Arco Sud.o, e la Cartello del Mezzo giusto al disegno compartito parte di pittura e parte d'Argento con altri Ornati di Palme inargentate, e Sopra l'Argento un Color di verde rame che formerà Palme Verde e trasparenti il tutto a gusto del d.o Sig.re Mauri.

2.do Che Immediatem.te dietro l'Arco vi Saranno alcune Piante d'Albori posti su la terra delle Quattro parte del Mondo e Queste Piante Saranno Isolate e tutte sostenute de' fil' di ferro p dover essere coperte con tela trasparente dipinte di colore forte acciaio disparino l'Arco della Gloria e tutte Le dette Quatro Parti del Mondo dovranno essere tutte trasparenti contornate di fil di euro coperte di Tela Barbantina tutte trasparenti e Li Piani praticabili della Terra Saranno Coperti pure di diversi colorati, cioè Pelo, e Bombate a tenore // del disegno Sud.o e del buon gusto del Sig.re Mauri.

3.o Che il Paese dietro Le Quattro Parti del Mondo e tutte Le Figure, e Cielo dovranno essere di tela trasparente in diversi pezzi p degradare Le Sud.e figure, e Cielo il tutto in Conformità del disegno.

4.o Che d.o Sig.re Mauri dovrà fare tutta L'Ossatura, et Armatura di Legname ferramenti corde tele fil di ferro Orpello Vetri Argento Colori, fattura Legnami porto, e trasporto di Robbe, Pitture, e Pittori et Indoratori e ogn'altra Spesa il tutto p Suo Conto Essendo cosi rimasto d'accordo con S. Em. Sid.a

5.o Che detto Sig.re Mauri Sia tenuto e obligato si come promette e S'obbliga di fare a tt.e Sue Spese tutta L'Illuminatione a Oglio della Sud.a Machina e dove Stara lo posto il SSmo Sacramento dovrà il med.o Mauri mettere trenta coccioli di cera perche cosi.

Et all incontro L'Emo e Rmo Sig.re Card.le Otthoboni promette e s'obliga pagare al d.o Sig.re Mauri p La Costrutione di d.a Machina, fatture e Spese dette di Sopra Scudi Mille e duecento mta in Quattro rate cioè una nell'Atto della Sottoscrizione della pnto Polisa L'Altra nel mese d'Ottobre prossimo, L'Altra nel mese di Xbre parim. te pross.e e l'ultima perfetionata che Sarà La Sopradetta Machina perche cosi e per l'Adempimento delle cioe espresso di sopra tanto detto Emo Otthoboni quanto il sud.o Alessandro Mauri ObliganoLoro Stessi Eredi, e Beni nella più ampla forma della R:C:Aplica, ed ella pnte se ne Sono fatte due // da tenersi una p parta quali verranno Sottoscritte alla presenza delli Infratti Testimonij. Roma questo di 12 Agosto 1727. (Signed) Otthoboni

Alessandro Mauri prometta e mo.ta quanto sopra mo.a p.a Io Giuliano Toma fui tanto quanto sopra m.o p.a

(The following sheet is a receipt for payment to of 300 *scudi* for the *Machina* for the Exposition in San Lorenzo in Damaso of 1728, dated 13 October 1727. Another receipt, facs. 94, for payment of 300 *scudi* to Alessandro Mauri for the same *Machina* is dated 8 December 1727.)

Doc. 14 BAV, Francesco Chracas, *Diario ordinario di Roma*, vol. 45, no. 1639, February 7, 1728, pp. 4-6.

Giovedì mattina, nella Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Comenda dell'Eminentissimo Sig. Cardinale Otthoboni, Vescovo di Sabina, e Vice-Cancelliere di S. Chiesa; si vide la maestosa Machina di nuovo fatta fare a proprie spese, per la solita Esposizione del Venerabile, dalla soma munificenza di ditto Eminentissimo /p. 5/ Poporato, sempre intento ad opera di pietà. La rappresentanza di detta Machina, invenzione del Virtuoso Sign Alessandro Mauri, era il *Trionfo della Fede*, la quale di vedeva assisa in Carro Trionfale sostenendo nella destra Santissimo Sacramento, e nella sinistra la Croce, facendole vago Ornamento molti gruppi di Angeli, alcuni de' quali reggevano vari Sagri Trofei, ed altri sostenevano un ben'inteso panneggiamento, che formava un maestoso Baldacchino; ammirandosi poi a' proprj luoghi disposti, oltre le Quattro parti del Mondo, numerosi stuoli di gloriosi Santi, Martiri, Confessori, e Vergini. Presso il detto Carro, che veniva portato da Quattro Simboli Vangelici, si scorgeva la Beatissima Vergine, e piu in alto nella sommità del /p. 6/ Cielo operto, l'Eterno Padre in una Gloria di purissimi Spiriti; Nella cima del prospetto della sudetta Machina, in gran Cartellone leggevasi il morto *Animoso firmat fides*: vedendosi il soffito, architrave, fregio, cornice, ed altro, che formavano la stessa Machina, sostenuta da colonne di ordine composito, tutto vagamente gioiellato a foggia di gemme di vari colori, rendendo, colla moltissima quantita de' lumi, e colla ben disposta simetria, maravigliosa veduta agli occhi de' divoti Spettatori, che in tutti è tre i giorni hanno

riempito quell Sagro Tempio; essendovi stati, oltre la Molta Nobiltà, che continuamente vi si e portata, nella mattina dell'Esposizione, molti Eminentissimi Porporati, alcuni de' quali furono anche trattati dall'Eminenza Sua, a generosissimo pranzo.

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