

The building of Palazzo Pamphilj

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PALAZZO PAMPHILJ

Embassy of Brazil in Rome

UMBERTO ALLEMANDI

The Building of Palazzo Pamphilj

STEPHANIE LEONE

The Palazzo Pamphilj overlooks the Piazza Navona, one of the largest and most celebrated public spaces in Rome that is situated at the heart of the historical centre (fig. 1).

The monumental palace stretches for eighty-five metres along the Western flank of the piazza from the Southern corner toward the Northern end. The exceptionally long façade is organised into a symmetrical sequence of bays with a projecting central section and is buttressed, at the North end, by a distinct façade with a large *serliana* window (an arch with trabeated sides). The exterior boasts a profusion of ornament that enlivens the surface and punctuates the horizontality of the building. Through sheer scale and abundance of form, the Palazzo Pamphilj bespeaks grandeur and authority. Architecture serves the rhetorical functions of communication and persuasion. In the early modern period (ca. 1500–1800), palaces in particular became synonymous with the status of their owners. Today, the Palazzo Pamphilj houses the Embassy of Brazil in Rome, but until the government of Brazil purchased the palace in 1960, it had belonged to the Pamphilj family. In the late fifteenth century a man named Antonio Pamphilj moved to Rome from the small town of Gubbio in the hopes of improving his standing in the world. Over the course of two centuries, he and his descendants employed architecture to communicate their status as they ascended the social ladder. In 1644 the Pamphilj's long-standing strategy culminated with the election of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphilj to the papacy as Pope Innocent X. As the temporal ruler of the Papal States, the Pope stood at the top of the social and political hierarchy.¹ Innocent X's decision to build the Palazzo Pamphilj can be interpreted as the visual proclamation of his family's success. The Palazzo Pamphilj conveys an imposing impression to all who enter the Piazza Navona, but its unified façade masks a complex history and a multipart structure inextricably linked to the story of the Pamphilj and Piazza Navona. The intertwining of family history, architecture, and urbanism is the story of the Palazzo Pamphilj.²

The Piazza Navona and the Pamphilj until 1600

The city of Rome is a palimpsest with its oldest layers dating back to the very beginnings of the ancient world. The story of Piazza Navona begins during the Roman Empire, at the end of the first century AD, when the emperor Domitian (r. 81–96) erected a sumptuous stadium to house the musical, athletic, and equestrian contests called the *Agoni Capitolini*. Several centuries later, as the Roman Empire disintegrated and the population of Rome congregated along the Tiber River, the abandoned stadium gradually fell into ruin.³ In the early medieval period the isolation of the area created the ideal conditions for a new function as a place of Christian piety. According to legend, the early

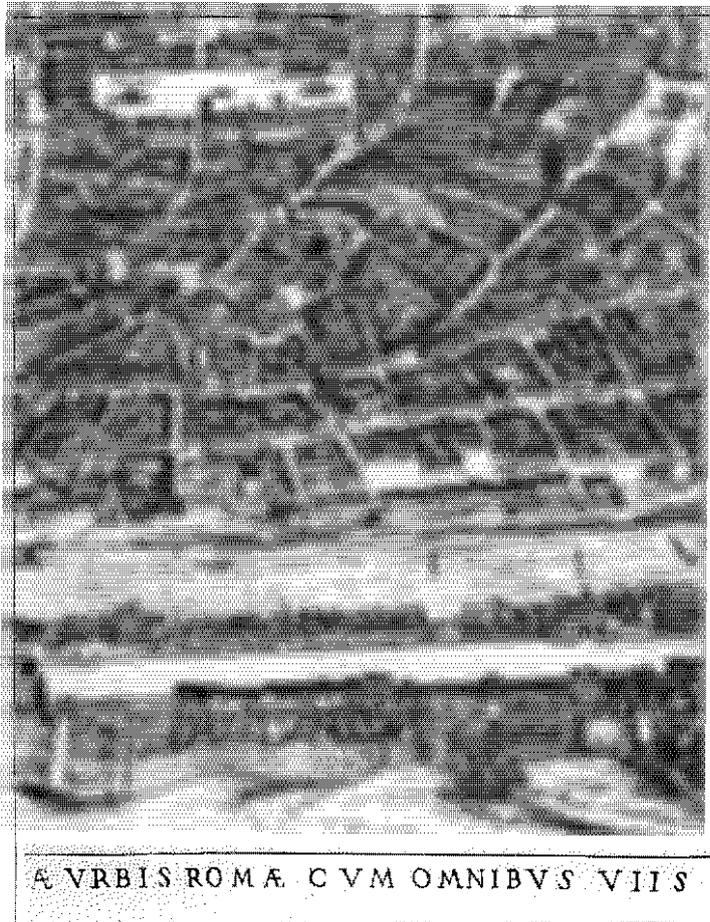


Fig. 1. View of the *abitato* with Piazza Navona, detail from Antonio Tempesta's map of Rome, 1593 (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome).

Christian Saint Agnes was executed for her religious beliefs in the Western flank of the ancient stadium. In the eighth century the popularity of Saint Agnes's cult led to the establishment of an oratory on the location of her martyrdom.⁴ Other Christian groups soon joined the cult, presumably attracted by the area's seclusion and the availability of Roman foundations on which to build.⁵ The medieval oratories and other buildings constructed on the ancient ruins preserved the stadium's elongated shape with one rounded and one straight end, and the central space, which had served as the stage for competitions, remained unobstructed. But the modest medieval buildings faced outward onto the surrounding streets, thereby reversing the orientation of the pagan site.⁶ The site's ancient history also lived on in its medieval nomenclature. The area was known as the *campus Agonis* in Latin and the *campo d'Agone* in Italian, recalling the games that used to be played (*agoni*) and the field (*campo*) that overtook the stadium's interior after its decline. In the fifteenth century the name mutated into variations of *Nagone*,

Navone, *Naona* and *Navona*, and by the early years of the sixteenth century, the space was commonly called *piazza di Navona*. According to the Renaissance antiquarian Giacomo Lauro, the new name took hold because the piazza resembled a *navona*, or large boat.⁷

Although the narrow core of the former stadium did not serve as a gathering place for medieval Romans, the character of the Piazza Navona reversed once again in the early modern period, as the buildings rimming the perimeter gradually turned inward. This change in orientation coincided with a new phase in the area's history. For upwardly mobile, educated Romans actively engaged in the business of the city, the location was ideal. It was halfway between the religious and civic centres, the Vatican and Campidoglio respectively, and just off the *Via Papale*, one of the three main passages in the city. The *Via Papale* wound its way across the city, from St. Peter's in the Vatican, over the Ponte Sant'Angelo, through the *abitato*, passing through the Piazza di Pasquino, around the base of the Campidoglio, and finally to S. Giovanni in Laterano, the cathedral of Rome (fig. 1).

In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the piazza Navona underwent a veritable

building boom as noblemen, ecclesiastics, bureaucrats, merchants, and artisans settled there. By the early sixteenth century the rione Parione (the district of the city in which the Piazza Navona was located) was home to more than a third of the Sacred College of Cardinals, and the piazza Navona benefited from the status of its new residents. These inhabitants transformed some of the modest medieval dwellings into grander Renaissance palaces with unified facades.⁸ City statutes also improved the neighbourhood. As early as 1363, and again in 1452, city statutes specifically forbid the disposal of waste in the campo d'Agnone, suggesting that its appearance held meaning and value for the residents and the city.⁹ In a bolla of 1480, Sixtus IV strengthened the power of the *maestri aedificiorum et stratarum urbis* (masters of the streets and building), charging them with regulating all building projects and "[...] the restoration of the streets of the city *pro Urbis decore et ornamento*."¹⁰ These statutes facilitated the *renovatio Romae* (renovation of Rome) that occurred over the course of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Through the construction of the palace, the Pamphilj played a role in the renovation of the city in one of its most vital neighbourhoods.

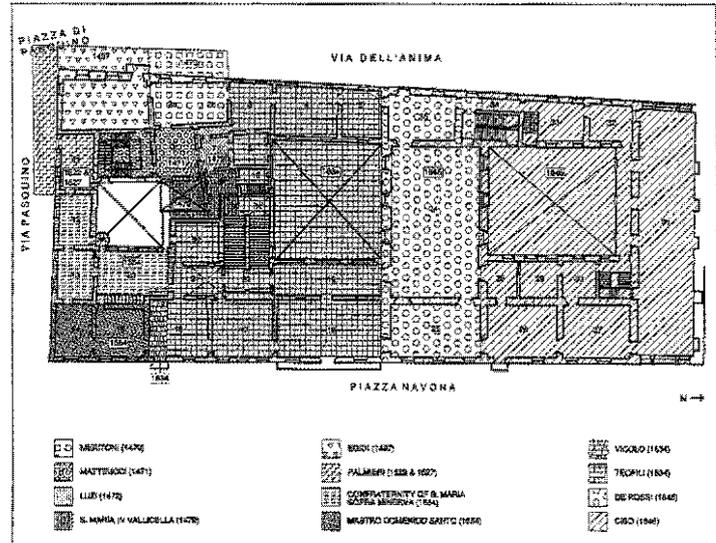


Fig. 2. Schematic plan of properties purchased by Pamphilj from 1470-1646, incorporated into Palazzo Pamphilj, and superimposed on piano nobile plan (drawing by Susan Leone).

Antonio Pamphilj was one of many men, Italian and otherwise, who moved to Rome to take advantage of career opportunities in the expanding papal administration and of the relative mobility of Roman society. In her indispensable study of the Pamphilj and their villa, Mirka Beneš determined that generations of Pamphilj acted with intent in decisions about marriage, careers, and property, to ensure that they were among the success stories of the papal city.¹¹ Antonio arrived with promising professional credentials: his training as a lawyer had prepared him for the position of *procuratore fiscale* (a prosecutor of fiscal cases) in the *Camera Apostolica*. In addition, he boasted a noble pedigree: in 1461 the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III awarded the title of Count Palatine to Antonio and his five brothers.¹² Nevertheless, in Rome Antonio lacked what counted most: Roman roots. The Pamphilj used marriage to established Roman families as a means of integration. Whereas Antonio had a wife when he moved to Rome, his son Angelo Benedetto married into two esteemed families of the *gentilhuomini romani* (the class of untitled Roman gentlemen), the Mellini and Porcari.¹³ Angelo Benedetto's nuptial alliances presumably had an immediate effect on his social status because he was a Roman citizen by 1497.¹⁴ His only son, Pamphilio

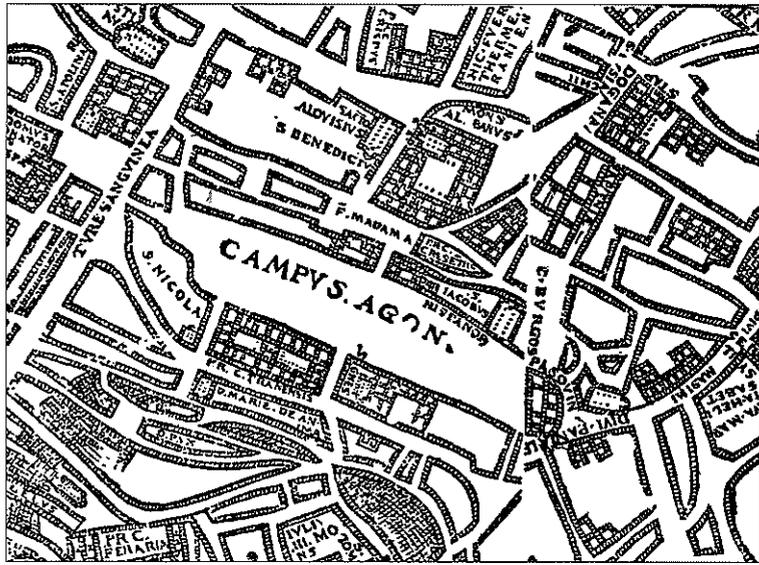
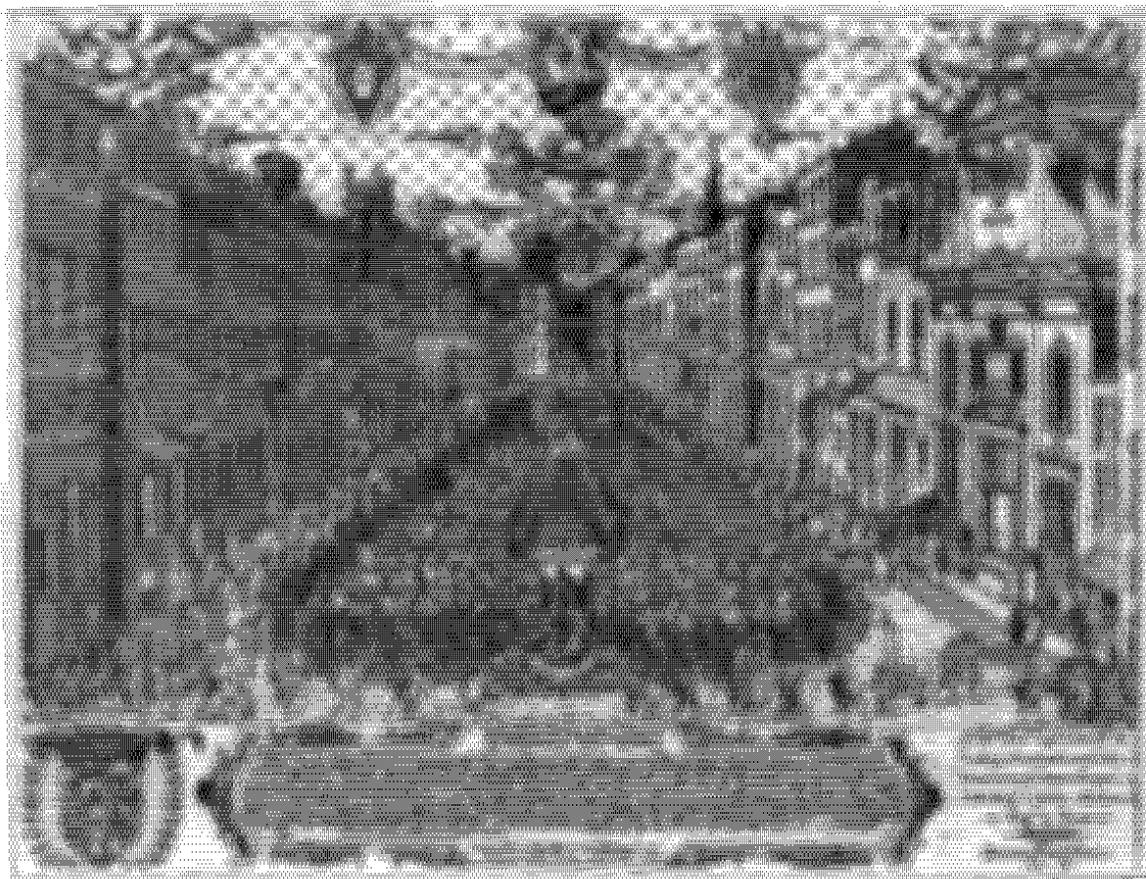


Fig. 3. Detail of Leonardo Bufalini's map of Rome, 1551 (Romano and Partini, 1947).

in the neighbourhood by following the method of purchasing contiguous buildings over time (fig. 2).¹⁸ Antonio Pamphilj established a notable foothold by purchasing houses in 1470, 1471, 1472, and 1479, which were located on the backside of Piazza Navona, facing Piazza di Pasquino and Via dell'Anima.¹⁹ Although the expansion of property through acquiring contiguous buildings was common enough, it is extraordinary that Antonio was able to acquire so many properties with such speed, given the density of occupancy and the desirability of location.²⁰ It is clear that Antonio was determined to establish his family in his adopted city. In the next two generations the Pamphilj continued the policy of expansion to increase significantly their presence in piazza di Pasquino. In 1497 Angelo Benedetto bought a house next to the ancestral property for 600 gold ducats, and his son Pamphilio purchased one additional casa in two sales of 1522 and 1527.²¹ By this time the family owned a sizeable residence with a prominent corner location facing the piazza di Pasquino.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the piazza Navona was evolving into a major site of public display for the mundane activities of daily life as well as the spectacular events that marked special occasions. The Pamphilj ancestral house followed a similar transformation from a singular orientation on Piazza di Pasquino, through which the via Papale passed, to a second presence on piazza Navona. This significant change occurred as the result of fortunate circumstances rather than a deliberate decision on the part of Pamphilio Pamphilj. To improve the street system around Piazza Navona, Julius III (1550–1555) ordered the straightening of the via dell'Anima and piazza di Pasquino and the alignment of the houses and shops fronting them "[...] for the ornamentation of the city and the comfort of the citizens living here [...]".²² In his map of 1551, Bufalini records the irregular character of piazza di Pasquino, with buildings projecting into the piazza (fig. 3). During the regularisation of the

(1500–1562), secured the family's position in the untitled nobility by marrying Orazia from the venerable Roman family of the Mattei and participating in civic government.¹⁵ Between 1532 and 1559, Pamphilio was elected four times to the prestigious office of conservator that was responsible for the administration of the city.¹⁶ In addition to strategic marriages and careers, the Pamphilj used property ownership as another means of social integration, which was a common strategy among newcomers to Rome.¹⁷ The reconstruction of Pamphilj property acquisitions shows that the Pamphilj carved out a sizeable presence



piazza the family lost a portion of a house and shop. In 1554 the *maestri di strade* compensated the Pamphilj with the remains of a damaged house, a whole house, and three-hundred ducats.²³ Significantly, the donated properties extended the Pamphilj holdings to piazza Navona for the first time. Such generous remuneration suggests that the Pamphilj enjoyed enough prominence in Rome to influence the course of events. Perhaps it was not a coincidence that Pamphilio was a conservator in 1554! The appearance of the Casa Pamphilj on Piazza Navona was first recorded in 1592 (fig. 4).²⁴ For over a century piazza Navona had been undergoing a gradual process of consolidation, in which fewer, large-scale residences replaced a greater number of humble medieval buildings. Part decisively, and part unwittingly, the Pamphilj were agents of this change.

Fig. 4. Girolamo Rainaldi, *Easter Procession in Piazza Navona*, 1592, engraving (Albertina, Vienna).

The First Plan of the Casa Pamphilj (1615) and Two Pamphilj Brothers

The first plan of the Casa Pamphilj, dated 1615, illustrates the process of consolidating existing properties into a larger, unified residence (fig. 5). The plan of the *piano nobile* was made to resolve a legal dispute between two Pamphilj brothers, Pamphilio and Monsignor Giovanni Battista (the future Innocent X), over their inheritance from their uncle, Cardinal Girolamo

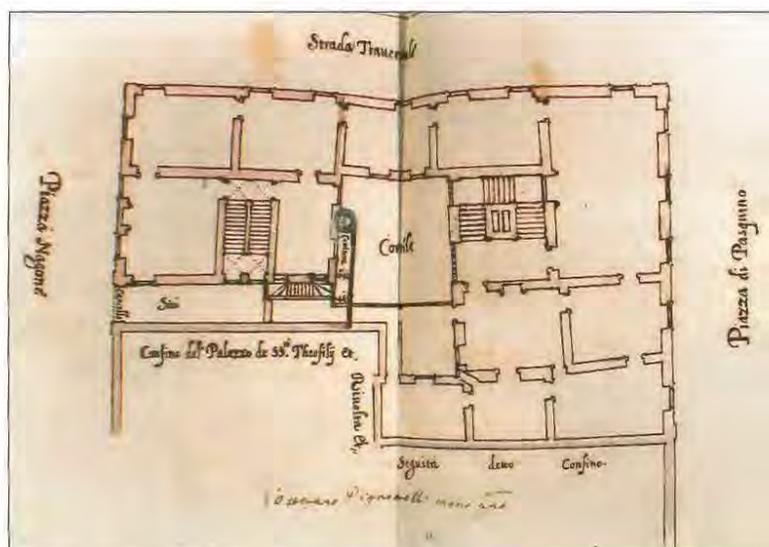


Fig. 5. Stefano Pignatelli, Casa Pamphilj, *piano nobile* plan, 1615 (ADP, 86.2.2).

Pamphilj.²⁵ By this time the Pamphilj were following a policy for social advancement that was common among Roman families: dividing sons into alternate paths of secular and religious careers, which addressed the need to continue the bloodline, on the one hand, and to pursue promising ecclesiastical positions on the other.²⁶ Girolamo Pamphilj's attainment of the position of cardinal (the Sacred College of Cardinals is one step below the pope) was a sign that this policy was working. Although archival evidence is lacking, at some point before 1615, the family must have carried out construction work to re-

build the ruined property they had received in 1554 because the entire house appears intact. But the dividing walls that meet at odd angles and the irregularly shaped rooms along the Piazza di Pasquino suggest that the original boundaries of the once disparate properties were left intact.²⁷ The house has an open court in the middle that separates the two wings, each with its own entrance and staircase. In the settlement between the brothers, Pamphilio received the Piazza Navona wing consisting of one-third of the property (indicated in red ink), plus 1100 scudi, and Monsignor Pamphilj received the Piazza di Pasquino wing consisting of two-thirds of the property (indicated in yellow ink).

Although the Casa Pamphilj has some admirable characteristics like the large room in the Southwest corner and the small *enfilade* of rooms along the "Strada Traversale" (current Via di Pasquino), it lacks many of the distinguishing features of the palaces of cardinals: grand staircases, open and airy courtyards, and elongated rows of large, rectangular rooms. Instead, the Casa Pamphilj has cramped staircases, a small and unadorned court, and modest-sized rooms mostly arranged in clusters. Its façades are not impressive either: the one on piazza di Pasquino comprises five bays although the earliest depiction, Maggi's map of 1625, erroneously shows seven, and Rainaldi's engraving of the Easter procession of 1592 records the unobtrusive appearance of the three-bay Casa Pamphilj at the southwestern corner of piazza Navona (figs. 4, 6). The Casa Pamphilj of the early seventeenth century did not adequately reflect the status of the Pamphilj as a family with a cardinal.²⁸ Nor did it meet their practical needs. Four years after dividing the casa Pamphilj, the brothers acted in unison regarding living strategies. In 1619, if not before, Monsignor Pamphilj rented the so-called "old house" of his neighbour, Sertorio Teofili, which was adjacent to the casa Pamphilj on Via dell' Anima.²⁹

This arrangement allowed Pamphilio to occupy the entire paternal house as his family expanded. In the same year, his wife, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini, gave birth to the first of their three children.³⁰ We will hear more about Donna Olimpia soon.

The Ecclesiastical Career of Giovanni Battista Pamphilj

After renting the Casa Teofili, Monsignor Giovanni Battista Pamphilj spent much of the next decade outside Rome, as his ecclesiastical career continued to fol-

low the upwardly mobile path that had characterised it since his ordination as priest in 1597. Earlier in his career, he had attained the positions of *avvocato concistoriale* at the Sapienza (1600) and *uditore di Rota* (1604), the latter of which was awarded to him upon the death of his uncle Cardinal Girolamo Pamphilj.³¹ Although the contemporary chronicler Teodoro Ameyden, who knew Giovanni Battista personally, credited the young man's "ingegniotto," for his success,³² it certainly helped to have a powerful elder relative in the Church hierarchy.³³ In the 1620s Monsignor Pamphilj's diplomatic career took off. Pope Gregory XV (1621–1623) sent him to Naples as papal nunzio, and in 1625 Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644) appointed him datario in the legation of the cardinal nephew Francesco Barberini, to France and then to Madrid. He returned to Madrid in 1626 as papal nunzio and remained there until 1630.³⁴ Such diplomatic posts offered a pathway to the cardinal's hat, and this was indeed the case with Monsignor Pamphilj.³⁵ In 1627 Urban VIII secretly promised him the cardinal's hat, retaining him *in pectore*, and his nomination was made public two years later.³⁶

Assured of success while still in Madrid, Giovanni Battista Pamphilj must have been thinking about his living situation back in Rome. Given his long-standing interest in this property, we can imagine that he was already contemplating its purchase.³⁷ As the second member of the family to enter the Sacred College, it was imperative for Giovanni Battista to achieve what his uncle had failed to do, that is, to convey the Pamphilj's position in Rome through tangible and lasting means. Since the fifteenth century, cardinals pronounced their elevated status as princes of the Church by building a sumptuous residence. In his treatise, *De Cardinalatu* (1510), Paolo Cortesi justifies the expenditure of cardinals and their conspicuous display, negating a contradiction with their religious role. He defends the phenomenon of cardinal's palaces by interpreting a grand residence as the appropriate external expression of the status of the occupant housed within. Furthermore, sumptuous palaces protect the princes of the Church because, "the ignorant mob will be deterred from threatening cardinals with harm [...] by the

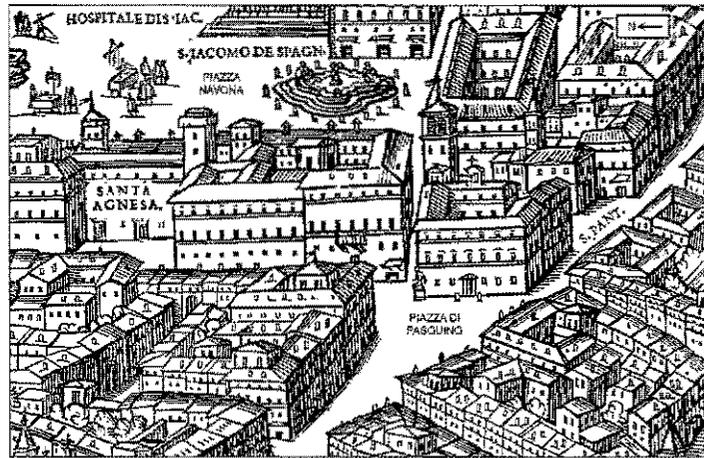


Fig. 6. South end of Piazza Navona with Piazza di Pasquino, detail from Maggi-Maupin-Losi's map of Rome, 1625 (Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut, Rome).

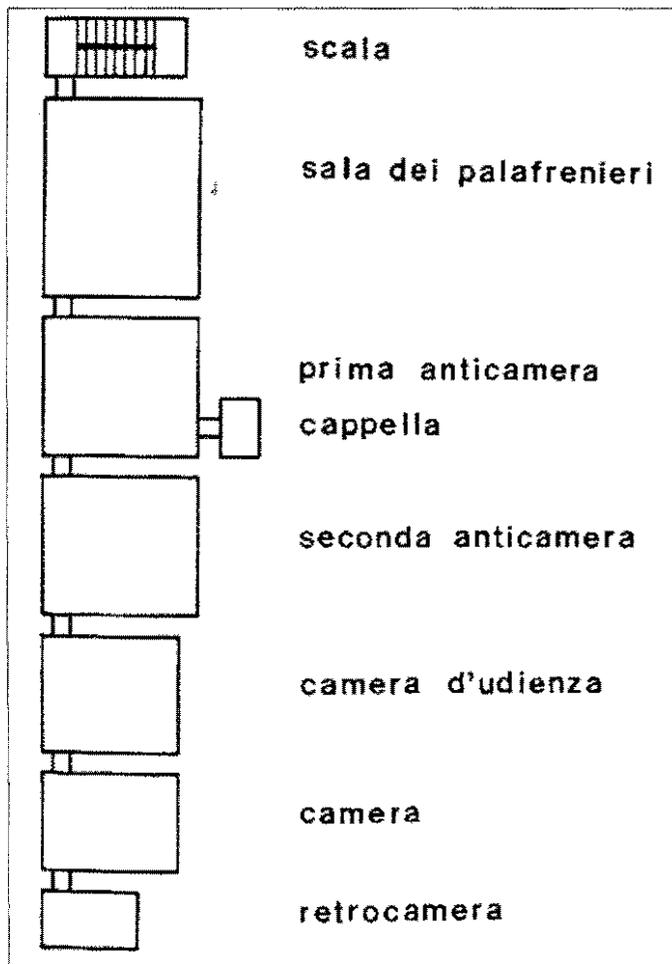


Fig. 7. Palazzo Pamphilj, ideal plan of the piano nobile (Waddy, 1990).

the building took during the construction of the cardinal's palace and the subsequent expansion into the palace we see today. On 18 September 1634 Cardinal Pamphilj acquired the adjacent Teofili property consisting of the casa on Via dell'Anima (which he had been renting for 15 years) and the Palazzo Teofili on piazza Navona (fig. 4).⁴² The purchase doubled the size of the Pamphilj property, providing the increased space that the family had needed for some time.⁴³ Cardinal Pamphilj paid the substantial price of 22,000 *scudi* and did not stop with the mere acquisition of the property. Sometime after September 1634 and before March 1636, he hired architect Francesco Peperelli to unite the Casa Pamphilj and the Teofili properties into a unified palace. As recorded in the *misure e stime*, Cardinal Pamphilj spent an additional 8,400 *scudi* on reconstructing the properties. The detailed character of the *misure e stime* (the documents that record the process of construction piece-by-piece and estimate its costs) allows us to reconstruct precisely the nature of this commission and the resulting palace.⁴⁴ Since the cardinal's palace essentially still exists, though incorporated into the later palace, its architectural design is critical to our understanding of the palace as it stands today.

mightiness of the building and through admiration for its opulence."³⁸ Cortesi is part of a Renaissance tradition of humanists who expound the virtue of magnificence in which external, physical appearance is directly linked to internal, intangible qualities. In other words, the appropriate expenditure of riches materialises one's inner dignity and magnanimous spirit.³⁹ Although Cortesi prefers cardinals from the aristocracy, he offers advice on how one may acquire noble bearing. Cardinals must demonstrate magnificence and liberality, live in beautiful palaces, retain large households, and partake in aristocratic activities like riding and hunting.⁴⁰ After returning to Rome, and receiving the cardinal's hat on 6 July 1630,⁴¹ Giovanni Battista Pamphilj fulfilled Cortesi's advice to cardinals to live in a beautiful palace.

The Palace of Cardinal Pamphilj (1634–1644)

The urban context conditioned the development of the Palazzo Pamphilj. The Piazza Navona bordered the Pamphilj property on the East, and public thoroughfares bordered it on the South and West sides; the only room for expansion was to the North. It is this trajectory that

But before examining this building phase of the Palazzo Pamphilj, let us consider what the commission of the palace meant for Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphilj and his family. Building a palace was a significant and costly act of patronage, and its swift construction, completed in March 1638, shows great resolve on the part of the cardinal in achieving his goal.⁴⁵ Through building and decorating a palace, Cardinal Pamphilj stepped into the cultivated world of artistic patronage, becoming the first in his family to participate in the competitive consumption that characterised the Roman court. Cardinal Pamphilj became an enthusiastic and determined architectural patron, which he continued to develop when he became pope. Mirka Beneš has shown that even as a cardinal Pamphilj had relatively restricted financial means in comparison to many of his peers and his income probably just covered his basic expenses.⁴⁶ Contemporary commentators and historians have long concluded that his sister-in-law, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini, placed her wealth at the disposal of her brother-in-law.⁴⁷ Even though Cardinal Pamphilj is named as the sole buyer in the Teofili purchase, Olimpia Maidalchini's financial backing of the palace is indeed plausible. Furthermore, Cardinal Pamphilj's legal ownership of the palace reveals much about interfamilial relations. Because it was unusual for a cardinal rather than a married brother to own the family property, his ownership suggests a cooperative relationship between him and Donna Olimpia.⁴⁸ Contemporaries and historians have long argued that brother- and sister-in-law formed an alliance in managing family affairs that eclipsed the role normally held by the *capofamiglia* who was Pamphilio in the Pamphilj family.⁴⁹ According to Teodoro Ameyden, Giovanni Battista Pamphilj gave Donna Olimpia "[...] *il governo della Casa quasi assolutamente* [...]" (almost certainly gave her the administration of the house),⁵⁰ to be sure, they were kindred spirits sharing worldly ambitions and genuine friendship. Convinced that Giovanni Battista embodied the potential of the family, Donna Olimpia used her astuteness, ambition, and wealth to advance his career. Both contemporaries and historians have ruminated over the nature of their liaison, which provoked disapproving commentary and sometimes scandal in the papal court.⁵¹ Despite these troubles, as well as a brief estrangement in their later years, the alliance between Giovanni Battista Pamphilj and Donna Olimpia Maidalchini endured for four decades and played a decisive role in the realisation of the Palazzo Pamphilj.

The task of transforming three disparate structures into Cardinal Pamphilj's palace fell to the architect, Francesco Peperelli (c.1585–1641). The new palace had, from bottom to top, a ground floor with a mezzanine, a *piano nobile*, another mezzanine, a second floor, and a top floor under the roof. The façade was destroyed in the subsequent expansion, and no accurate contemporary representation exists although Israel Silvestre's print of 1643–1644 provides an approximation. The interior spaces of the palace largely survive, and reconstruction plans have been made. In designing the new palace, Francesco Peperelli salvaged parts of the old buildings (as was common in Rome) and reconfigured the existing spaces into a unified plan that conforms to contemporary expectations of representation. As Patricia Waddy has shown, in seventeenth-century Roman palaces the ritual of the papal court, and in particular the ceremony of the visit, exerted a decisive influence on the organisation of the plan.⁵² Each principal resident of the palace had an individual apartment on the *piano nobile* comprising an established series of rooms that began at the top of the stairs: the *sala dei palafrenieri*, two or more *anticamere*, the adjacent chapel, and the *sala di udienza*



Fig. 8. Palazzo Pamphilj, ground floor reconstruction plan, 1634-38 (drawing by Susan Leone).

where the meeting between host and guest took place. These rooms played a role in the reception of guests, whereas the rooms that followed, the *camera* and *retro-camera*, were private in nature (fig. 7). The established configuration of spaces provided markers to guide the protagonists through the ritual of the visit, which was predicated upon the respective ranks of host and guest. Specifically, the gentleman attendant (*cameriere*) of the host cardinal, and then the cardinal himself, met the visitor at a point in the apartment commensurate with their respective ranks.⁵³

Besides conforming to the standardised plan, the Palazzo Pamphilj also responded to the needs of the family. To accommodate two separate households — Cardinal Pamphilj's and his brother's — the palace was divided into distinct quarters, one on piazza Navona and the other on piazza di Pasquino, following the organisation of the old Casa Pamphilj. However, the relative status of family members had changed — Cardinal Pamphilj now superseded his married brother as the highest-ranking family member — so space was redistributed.⁵⁴ The cardinal moved to the privileged side facing the piazza Navona, where he had an ample apartment that accorded with expectations for the architectural setting of a cardinal as described in the preceding paragraph. In contrast, Pamphilio and Donna Olimpia's transfer to the opposite wing on the Piazza di Pasquino resulted in the loss of their view of the public stage.⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, Cardinal Pamphilj's living quarters were readied first, and most of the building work occurred in this area, whereas only lesser changes, repairs, and new decorations were carried out in the opposite side.

The following description of Cardinal Pamphilj's apartment moves through the spaces in the order that seventeenth-century visitors would have experienced them.⁵⁶ The spaces of entry presented a familiar sequence to visitors since they accorded with the customary arrangement of Roman palaces since the fifteenth century. The two grand portals that replaced the unobtrusive door of the Casa Pamphilj marked the entrances to the new palace (fig. 8). The southern one (16a) was used for services, whereas the Northern one (18) was ceremonial.⁵⁷ From the ceremonial entrance, visitors entered the new *androne* (18) and then the cross-vaulted loggia (19).⁵⁸ The large courtyard next to the loggia replaced a smaller court and some rooms in the old Palazzo Teofili. This courtyard occupied a sizeable part of the new palace,

underscoring its importance as a representational space as well as an area to accommodate coaches.⁵⁹ Following convention, the courtyard presented a balanced appearance: the East and West façades featured superimposed, three-bay arcades supported by piers, with Doric pilasters on the ground floor and Ionic pilasters on the *piano nobile* and the Pamphilj doves floating in the spandrels of the arches. These features of the courtyard remain in existence today. The arcades of the east façade were originally open, but those on the west side were closed forming *rimesse* for the storage of carriages (4a, 5).⁶⁰ The south wall had fenestration but not the classical orders of the East and West facades, and the north wall was left untouched because it belonged to the neighbouring Casa de' Rossi.⁶¹

After entering from the piazza Navona, visitors turned left to reach the *scalone* in the Southeast corner of the court (20). This new stair replaced a smaller stair in the Teofili house. The old structure was entirely rebuilt and enlarged to the respectable width of twelve *palmi*, a mandatory sign of noble status.⁶² A beveled arch marks the entrance to the stair, and just beyond to the visitor's right, is the recess equipped with benches that served as a waiting room for visitors.⁶³ Peperelli's characteristic architectural vocabulary of the Doric order and ornament limited to a few focal points is seen in the staircase. The doors of the first mezzanine landing are decorated with motifs of a cartouche, mask, scrolls, and shell, and on the *piano nobile* landing the oval windows above the doors are embellished with four scrolls, a shell, and flowers. Along with the ceremonial spaces, the ground floor housed services and commerce, as was customary in Roman palaces. The spaces lining the piazza Navona and the piazza di Pasquino were *botteghe* that were rented to various merchants: a fruit seller, flax maker, leather goods seller, barber, *osteria*, grocer, tailor, barber, and lute maker.⁶⁴ A larger kitchen (22) replaced the smaller one in the old Casa Pamphilj (15) to service the expanded palace.⁶⁵ Other services were installed in the mezzanine above the ground floor: the *credenza* for storing foodstuffs and plates, the *bottiglieria* (room of the wine steward), and the *dispensa* for dispensing household supplies.⁶⁶ Peperelli's main concern must have been to equip Cardinal Pamphilj with an accommodation that conformed to the etiquette of the Roman court and reflected his position as a prince of the Church. The architect succeeded in reconfiguring the existing spaces to create the expected sequence of rooms, and much of the construction focused on this transformation. Additionally, the ornament within this architectural framework conveyed the cardinal's magnificence. After arriving on the *piano nobile* landing of the stair, visitors entered the open loggia overlooking the new court (19, in fig. 9). Although the design of the loggia reflects the one below, its treatment was more elaborate in accordance with its privileged position on the *piano nobile*.⁶⁷ In the original design, columns flanked the piers, and the bases of the vault arches were embellished with stucco decoration of "[...] *volute di d.o doi baccelli* [...] *et nel suo mezzo fatto una palmoba di mezzo relieve* [...] *con suo ramo d'olive in bocca.*"⁶⁸ Today, neither the columns nor the stucco decoration remains.

From the loggia, visitors entered the apartment of Cardinal Pamphilj that began with the ample *sala dei palafrenieri*, which was created by incorporating several smaller spaces in the Palazzo Teofili (18). Great labour was expended to dismantle the existing rooms and to unite the two floors into a two-storied *sala* that recalls the *sala* in the Palazzo Farnese and the Palazzo Borghese in Rome.⁶⁹ Along with such lofty dimensions, the new *sala* boasted abundant

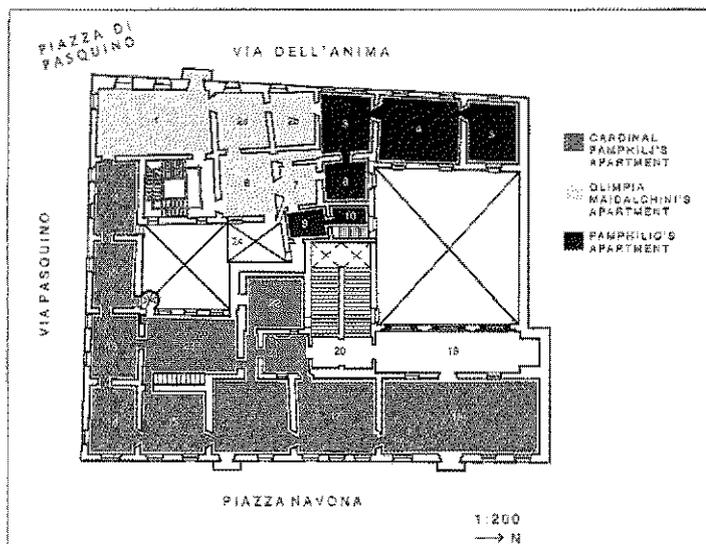


Fig. 9. Palazzo Pamphilj, piano nobile plan, 1634-38 (drawing by Susan Leone).

raised to match those of the Palazzo Teofili, and the chambers on the *piano nobile* (except the *sala dei palafrenieri*) were increased to a nearly uniform height. All of the rooms were given new wood-beam ceilings decorated with gilding. Further adjustments imparted a sense of unity to the apartment; existing windows were enlarged to equal dimensions, and a balcony door was opened in the space of the former *vicolo* in the second *anticamera* (16) to balance the balcony in the *sala dei palafrenieri* (18). The doors between the rooms were enlarged and aligned forming an uninterrupted vista through the piazza Navona *ensfilade*. A fictive door was inserted in the North wall of the *sala dei palafrenieri*, at the border of the palace, to trick the visitor into thinking the apartment continued. The impression of magnificence was heightened.

Cardinal Pamphilj's apartment has the minimum number of two *anticamere* recommended for a noble apartment.⁷² The decoration of patterned, red-and-white brick pavements (no longer extant) and painted friezes at the top of the walls were meant to impress visitors as they passed through these rooms. Agostino Tassi and collaborators painted the frieze of twelve seascapes and eight smaller landscapes in roundels in the first *anticamera* and four narratives from the Life of Moses in the second *anticamera*.⁷³ These frescoes that continue to exist today are discussed in greater detail below. The new chapel (21) was in its expected position next to the *anticamera*. Although the room remains intact today, the grated window that connected it to the contiguous *anticamera*, which allowed the Mass to be heard from this room, has since been removed.⁷⁴ The chamber to the West of the chapel (22), which has been altered in later renovations, probably served as the private oratory of the cardinal because there was originally an image of the Madonna and a small grated window that communicated with the chapel.⁷⁵ The location of the *sala di udienza*, the critical representational space where the visit took place,

illumination from morning to evening. In the East wall three windows were enlarged, a balcony door replaced the fourth window, and four mezzanine windows were made above them. In the West wall two windows were opened between the *sala* and the loggia. As we will see, the ceiling height of this room was to be lowered during the next building phase of the palace.

To construct the remaining rooms of the cardinal's apartment, few major structural changes were needed; in many cases, existing walls were repaired, replaced, or aligned.⁷⁰ A dividing wall was built to separate the *sala dei palafrenieri* (18) from the first *anticamera* (17), and the second *anticamera* (16) was created by incorporating a room in the Palazzo Teofili with the former *vicolo* (alley) on the site.⁷¹ The exterior walls of the Casa Pamphilj were

interrupted the linear sequence of rooms. Although we would expect to find the audience room in the *enfilade* after the second *anticamera*, instead the “salotto dell’audienza” (23) was carved out of preexisting rooms to the west of the Piazza Navona *enfilade*.⁷⁶ The result was a much larger, and therefore more suitable, chamber than the preexisting space on piazza Navona (15). Visitors reached the *sala di udienza* from the second *anticamera* by traversing the passageway along the chapel. Flexibility and adaptation characterised palace design, and this particular arrangement of a chapel situated between rooms was also found in the Palazzo Borghese.⁷⁷ The decoration of Cardinal Pamphilj’s *sala di udienza* was appropriate to its function. It was given marble doorframes and a new painted frieze that has not survived the later changes to this room.

Visitors did not go beyond the ceremonial *sala di udienza* because the remaining rooms in the apartment were for the cardinal’s private use. Based on the typical sequence of rooms, one would expect to find the *camera* (15) in the *enfilade* after the *sala di udienza*. Instead, it was located next to the second *anticamera* in the piazza Navona *enfilade*.⁷⁸ This location offered the cardinal ease of movement. The *camera* communicated with both the second *anticamera* (16) and the audience room (23), and two stairs allowed him to go up or down without passing through the ceremonial rooms. The *scala segreta* connected the *camera* to the cardinal’s study on the second floor, and the *scaletta* descended to the ground floor, allowing the cardinal to come and go in private.⁷⁹ The *retrocamera* (14) lacked decoration as suited its use as a service room.⁸⁰

The other wing of the palace, the *Palazzo di Pasquino*, belonged to Pamphilio and Donna Olimpia (fig. 9).⁸¹ In the grandest palaces of the period, such as the Palazzo Borghese, the apartments of husband and wife paralleled one another or rested one above the other.⁸² Such a luxurious arrangement was not possible in the more modest Palazzo Pamphilj where the *piano nobile* of the “Palazzo di Pasquino” was divided into rough halves, the Southern one for Donna Olimpia and the Northern one for Pamphilio. In accordance with the family hierarchy, their apartments were more humble in size and appearance than Cardinal Pamphilj’s newly built and decorated living space, and fewer interventions were made to improve them. Moreover, these suites did not conform to the linear sequence of rectilinear rooms that characterised aristocratic apartments. Instead, each apartment comprised a cluster of irregularly shaped rooms that maintained the preexisting matrix of walls.

The location of the apartments in the *Palazzo di Pasquino* offers insights into the family hierarchy. The position of the Donna Olimpia’s apartment next to the main stair supports the idea that she played a more prominent role in the family than her husband.⁸³ *La Sala Vecchia Verso Pasquino* (1) was embellished with a newly painted frieze (no longer extant) to make it suitable as her first reception room.⁸⁴ The *sala* was followed by *l’anticamera* (2a), *la Saletta di d.o. Appartamento della Signora* (2b), and another *sala* (6).⁸⁵ Either the *saletta* or *sala* could have been used for receiving and entertaining guests. The final room in Donna Olimpia’s suite was called the *Cappella vecchia* (7), but the description is probably a holdover from the occupancies of the Pamphilj prelates.⁸⁶ No longer functioning as consecrated space, the room probably served as Donna Olimpia’s bedroom, which was made more habitable by the enlargement of the window “quale piglia lume dal Cantone di d.o Cortiletto.”⁸⁷

“L’Appartamento verso la Piazza di Pasquino et verso la Strada, che va all’Anima” belonged to Pamphilio since the building documents identify one room as the “*stanza di Sig[no]r Panfilio*” (3).⁸⁸ The question of access to Pamphilio’s apartment is problematic. If visitors entered from the only known staircase on piazza di Pasquino, they would have passed through Donna Olimpia’s apartment, which was inconceivable. It would make sense if the via dell’Anima entrance (4b, fig. 8) offered access to his apartment directly above, but the building documents do not record a staircase in this area. There might have been an existing staircase in the Teofili house that was reused for this purpose. Pamphilio’s apartment required only one major piece of work — the dismantling of the decayed wall facing the new court — while the remaining interventions were limited to repairs and refurbishment.⁸⁹ Lit from both sides, the rooms flanking the court were identified as the *Salotto o Stanza grande* (4) and the *Stanza nel Piano Nobile accanto la Casa dei Rossi* (5).⁹⁰ Their treatment suggests that they functioned as Pamphilio’s principal reception rooms: the window jambs were painted, a new frieze was made in the *stanza* next to the Casa de’ Rossi, and the existing frieze in the next room was repaired. The *stanza* “[...] dove è il fregio dell’Arpie” (8) was fully renovated with a new frieze and a frame with an iron curtain placed around an image of the Madonna.⁹¹ None of these decorations continue to exist today. As expected, doors in several rooms connect Pamphilio’s apartment with his wife’s rooms.

The floors above the *piano nobile*, which include the mezzanine, the second floor and the third floor under the roof, functioned as one would expect in a cardinal’s palace: they house the *famiglia* (household staff) and the children.⁹² The *famiglia* of Cardinal Pamphilj was modest for a man of his position, averaging twenty-five people. These men, who occupied distinct posts with prescribed duties like *maestro di camera* and *auditore*, lived on the floors above the cardinal’s apartment.⁹³ Also on the top floor was the *guardaroba*, the large storage room that typically occupied this position for reasons of security.⁹⁴ The *famiglia* of Pamphilio and Donna Olimpia lived on the upper floors of their wing, and the attendants and servants were appropriately separated by gender.⁹⁵ Although the small, low room adjacent to the *scalone* on the *piano nobile* is next to Pamphilio’s apartment, the *Stanza della rota* (10, fig. 9) performed a distinct function for the women attendants because it contained the turn-box used to deliver supplies to them without exposing them to the outside world.⁹⁶ The *scaletta* in the *stanza della rota* offered passage to the women’s quarters on the second floor where one room was identified as the low “*Stanza sotto detta verso la Strada che serve per le Donne*.”⁹⁷ The three children of the couple (aged fifteen, twelve and five in 1634) were likely housed with the women although the documents do not account for them. The male attendants lived on the third floor in rooms above Pamphilio’s apartment.⁹⁸

Architectural patronage represented a show of good taste and allegiance with other cultivated men. Pamphilj modeled himself on his predecessors and peers in the Sacred College of Cardinals who built to articulate gains in social status and glorify the family name. His palace fit into the residential type belonging to men of the same social status: the palaces of cardinals were imposing in size, unified in appearance, distinguished from their surrounds, and characterised by traditional architectural design rather than innovation. They aptly conveyed the important stature of their owners and provided the appropriate architectural setting for their occupants to enact their parts on the Roman

stage.⁹⁹ In addition, the Palazzo Pamphilj was situated in one of the most desirable locations in Rome. According to Totti's guidebook of 1638, the piazza Navona with its beautiful architecture and ornament was reputed to be the most splendid in Rome, all of Italy, and possibly even beyond.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Cardinal Pamphilj was a discerning, interested, and involved patron with an impressive capacity for architectural design and decoration. The building documents demonstrate that he was actively involved in the construction, frequently checking the progress, making recommendations down to the minutest details, and expressing his opinion about the decoration.¹⁰¹ We are fortunate that his nascent proclivity for architecture was to have ample opportunity to mature.

Innocent X (r. 1644–1655): The Election of Cardinal Pamphilj to the Papacy

Papal eulogists heralded the election of Innocent X, in 1644, as the start of a new era of peace and justice, and a similar sense of auspiciousness can be read in the pope's initiation of a new palace for his family.¹⁰² Yet the reality of mid-seventeenth-century Europe and of the Pamphilj family itself allowed the leader little peace.¹⁰³ Concord was much needed in the tumultuous political and religious world. Locally, the twenty-one-year reign of Urban VIII had just concluded with the disastrous War of Castro.¹⁰⁴ On the continent the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), which had begun as a religious conflict but evolved into a political struggle between the two major European powers, France on the one hand and the Habsburgs of the Holy Roman Empire and Spain on the other, continued to plague the continent. Although the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, Rome had little to celebrate, for the protracted process and the terms of the peace had effectively diminished the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in the international arena.¹⁰⁵

In a strange twist of fate, the international discord led to a promising moment in the history of the Pamphilj and the Piazza Navona since the acrimony between the French and Spanish crowns was responsible, at least in part, for Cardinal Pamphilj's election. During the conclave the Barberini nephews, Cardinals Antonio and Francesco, were positioned at one end of the polemic, protecting the interests of France through their promotion of the franco-phile Cardinal Sacchetti. Although Cardinal Pamphilj had once been an intimate member of the Barberini court, he now belonged to the opposing camp. It was the Spanish contingency that proposed his candidacy. The French automatically opposed him because of his ties to Madrid, but through fate and clandestine alliances the tide slowly turned in his favour. The first glimmer of hope came when the Spanish Cardinal Albornoz persuaded most of the Sacred College to abandon Sacchetti. In the meantime Cardinal Pamphilj and Donna Olimpia initiated negotiations with the Barberini nephews, proposing to ally the families through a marriage between his only Pamphilj nephew, Camillo, and Urban VIII's great-niece, Lucrezia. The union would have allowed the former papal nephews to maintain preeminence in Rome and prevent repercussions following their uncle's reign. Although the Barberini cardinals were negotiating with Pamphilj, the French Prime Minister Mazarin remained adamantly opposed to the purported Spanish sympathiser and wrote to the Barberini cardinals to implore them to maintain their opposition. But Mazarin's letter arrived too late. The Barberini had already accepted Cardinal Pamphilj's offer, and on 15 September 1644 the Sacred College promoted him to the papacy.¹⁰⁶ The marriage between Camillo Pamphilj and Lucrezia Barberini, however, did not materialise.

The pontificate of Innocent X was inaugurated with the usual events, yet on this occasion the celebrations highlighted Piazza Navona where the Pamphilj family had lived for generations and the new pope was about to initiate a major building program (fig. 10).¹⁰⁷ After the solemn mass that marked Pamphilj's creation,

Era vaga cosa il vedere la strada di Parione, e la Piazza di Pasquino, e quella di Navona, ambedue Piazze, che circondano il Palazzo de' Signori Panfilij [...] poiche tutti i Palazzi circonvicini [...] posero alle finestre torce di cera Bianca [...]. Nel Palazzo de' Medesimi Signori Orsini dalla parte della grande e bella Piazza Navona si scorgeva sù la Loggia un gran Regno di rilievo, tutto dorato, con le sue Chiavi, e sotto i tre Gigli, e la Colomba col ramo d'Oliva in bocca, Arme di Nostro Signore, il tutto illuminato con bell'ordine di lumini, che sembravano tante lucide Stelle.¹⁰⁸

Following Innocent X's coronation, on the night of 4 October, the Palazzo Pamphilj served as a stage for the festivities: "Sopra la ringhiera del Palazzo de' Signori Panfilij vi erano sei trombetti, i quali sonavano à vicenda con altri ch'erano sù la loggia de' Signori Orsini," and across from the Palazzo Pamphilj the Spanish nation honoured the new pope, making a bid for his favour:

La natione Spagnola haveva ornata di lumi tutta la Facciata della lor Chiesa di S. Iacomo; la quale veniva resa più luminosa con molte padelle di fuoco, che ardevano in cima degli Angoli della stessa facciata: e nella lor loggia parata tutta di Damaschi rossi, oltre à sei Tromboni, due Cornetti, quattro Violini, un Violone, & un Organo, haveva un Coro di trenta Musici famosi, che cantavano Compositione in lode di N.S [...].¹⁰⁹

The pope's *posse* on 23 November was especially charged with significance. After the Pamphilj had witnessed the parades from their home on Via Papale for almost two hundred years, one of their own was finally processing along the route. The sumptuousness of the event provoked awe in the Englishman John Evelyn: "The Streetes were this night as light as day, full of bonfires, canon roaring, musiq playing, fountaines running wine, in all excesse of joy and triumph."¹¹⁰ The biographer Ignazio Ciampi interpreted Innocent X's personalisation of the parade route as a show of affection for his family: the new pope detoured into Piazza Navona where his great-niece, the baby Olimpiuccia, was held in the window of the Palazzo Pamphilj as a sign of the family's future.¹¹¹ The gesture expressed not only Innocent's love for his family but also his attachment to his ancestral neighbourhood where less than a decade earlier he had constructed a prominent palace.

Despite Innocent X's determination to build a palace as a testament to his family, his pontificate, as historians have long noted, was marred with familial conflicts, often stemming from the awesome presence of Donna Olimpia Maidalchini who acted as the pope's partner in most things, including the family palace.¹¹² In defiance of Roman custom, Donna Olimpia, rather than a papal nephew, functioned as Innocent X's closest confidant. Although a female relative might act as a pope's consort, Donna Olimpia played a far greater role as the *de facto* cardinal nephew. Over the course of the next decade, this influential woman was frequently found at the Vatican and the Quirinal, disregarding the mores that prohibited women from the papal residences.¹¹³ In control of vacant offices and benefices, Donna Olimpia occupied an enormously powerful position at the papal court, and noblemen, am-



bassadors, and cardinals flocked to her audience room in the hopes of winning her favour.¹¹⁴ As contemporary reports make clear, papal courtiers knew well who had the pope's ear: according to the Florentine envoy, "Olimpia's influence grows daily [...] [she] visits the pope every other day and the whole world turns to her."¹¹⁵ Although the Venetian ambassador praised her as "[...] dama di gran prudenza e valore [...],"¹¹⁶ he also wrote disapprovingly:

Donna Olimpia Maidalchini cognata di Sua Beatitudine, unico scopo delli favori Pontificii, e che tiene una somma autorità, è Dama d'ingegno e spirito virile, e solo si fa conoscere donna per la superbia et avaritia, onde è necessario che li pretendenti alla Corte le tributino incessanti ossequii e continuati doni.¹¹⁷

As the Pamphilj pontificate progressed, the commentary on Olimpia Maidalchini's authority grew increasingly scathing, damaging the image of the papacy at home and abroad. In 1651 the Venetian ambassador called her a "new Agrippina," concluding that "[...] signora donna Olimpia, che per sei anni e più ha sostenuto le prime parti d'autorità in questo Pontificato. [...] e quello che rendeva nausea a tutti gli uomini onorati era il vedere che nelle grazie venivano preferiti quelli che più allargavano la mano nei donativi [...]"¹¹⁸ Her relationship with Innocent X fuelled malicious rumours and disparaging comments. Capturing the Roman populace's sentiment, a pasquinade mockingly questioned who was in charge: "Olimpia pontifex maximus. Olimpia prima,

Fig. 10. Israel Silvestre, view of Piazza Navona, facing south end, 1643/44, engraving. (Museo di Roma, Rome).

papessa; Olimpia prima, pontefice non Massimo."¹¹⁹ The first biography of Olimpia Maidalchini, authored by Gregorio Leti shortly after her death, ensured her lasting notoriety.¹²⁰ The slanderous account, which serves the dual function of denigrating its subject and attacking the Roman Church, became an instant success. The author went so far as to accuse Olimpia of romantic involvement with her brother-in-law whom he portrayed as helplessly in love and subject to her will. Even though the Venetian ambassador, who was a more reliable source, also writes "[...] *che il detto affetto avesse fatte altissime radici con più che platonica simpatia* [...]," it is difficult to separate fact from fiction due to the vehement antagonism against her.¹²¹

What lies at the core of the enmity toward the protagonist of the Palazzo Pamphilj? Mirka Beneš concluded that, "public opinion objected to a woman being allowed the role of Cardinal-Nephew in a government by definition restricted to celibate male ecclesiastics."¹²² Indeed, Donna Olimpia blurred the gender divide in her public persona and private interests. She eschewed female company in favour of male companionship and masculine pursuits like power, hunting, and playing cards.¹²³ In September 1647 Ameyden recorded that Archbishop Mazzarino went to her house "to play" (presumably) cards.¹²⁴ Transposing genders, Olimpia Maidalchini was "[...] *un maschio vestito da femmina per la Città di Roma, ed una femmina vestita da maschio per la Chiesa Romana.*"¹²⁵ Leti's comment strikes at the heart of the issue: Donna Olimpia was a powerful woman in a world reserved for men. The unknown author of a manuscript in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana condemns Donna Olimpia for ignoring accepted gender definitions and concludes that women always bring danger.¹²⁶ Like papal relatives before her, Donna Olimpia used her relationship to the pope to acquire exceptional influence and wealth and to raise her social status through a noble title, a sure sign of preeminence.¹²⁷ Soon after Donna Olimpia bought S. Martino al Cimino near Viterbo, Innocent X raised the fief to a principality so that she became the *principessa di San Martino*.¹²⁸ Marina D'Amelia placed Donna Olimpia's actions within the norms of papal nepotism (the system of favouring relatives), concluding that she was condemned not for abusing accepted limits but for her gender.¹²⁹ To be sure, in employing the institution of nepotism, our protagonist was no worse than the Barberini nephews, and like her predecessors she balanced her privileges with charitable acts, as was expected of someone of her station. Letters reveal a compassion for her extended family and record the charity that she doled out to her less fortunate relatives.¹³⁰ In the story of the Palazzo Pamphilj, it becomes clear that Donna Olimpia's role as a patron of the palace did not enhance her reputation, as it would have if she had been male.

Besides the controversial role of the papal sister-in-law, the Pamphilj struggled with a second predicament: Pamphilio and Donna Olimpia had two daughters but only a single son. As acknowledged by contemporaries and scrutinised by historians, the Pamphilj lacked enough male children to fill the normal positions in a papal family, that is, one son to serve as the cardinal nephew and a second son to carry on the family lineage.¹³¹ The dilemma guided the story of Camillo Pamphilj and the Palazzo Pamphilj. Aware of the papal family's dilemma, expectant Romans awaited the decision of the new pope: would his only nephew be pressed into marriage or awarded the second-most powerful position in the Church? In early October 1644 Innocent X appointed Camillo to the

secular positions of General of the Church, supreme commander of the papal fleet, and guard and governor of the Borgo and other chief fortresses.¹³² But less than two months later, on 14 November 1644, Innocent X reversed his initial decision and made his nephew a cardinal.¹³³ Just days after the event, the diarist Giacinto Gigli summarised the Pamphilj's dilemma: "[...] *il Card. Pamfilio Nepote del Papa, il quale per esser Cardinale non si curò di tirare avanti la sua famiglia, della quale vi sono solamente doi figliole femmine.*"¹³⁴ Camillo was now to lead a celibate life with greater income from the titles and benefices accorded with the position.¹³⁵ Normally, a cardinal nephew also enjoyed great authority in the papal court and participated in making the central image of his family's authority, the palace, but Camillo's experience was less fulfilling. First, he had to contend with Cardinal Panciroli, whom Innocent X appointed Secretary of State, which was a role usually occupied by the cardinal nephew.¹³⁶ Second, and more vexingly, he had to vie for influence with his mother who openly sought to weaken and discredit him.¹³⁷ Thus, members of the papal court were not entirely surprised when on 19 January 1647 Camillo renounced his cardinal's hat to marry the most eligible woman in Rome, Olimpia Aldobrandini Borghese, *principessa di Rossano*, who hailed from the papal family of the Aldobrandini and was the sole heir of her family's enormous fortune. Despite these desirable attributes, neither Innocent nor Olimpia Maidalchini attended the wedding on 10 February 1647, held at the Aldobrandini estate of Torrenova outside Rome. Moreover, the pope banned the newlyweds from returning to the papal city.¹³⁸ In 1648 Camillo and Olimpia Aldobrandini returned quietly to Rome, but the official reconciliation between them and the pope did not occur until early 1651, after the princess gave birth to a male heir.¹³⁹ These tumultuous family relations had a direct effect on the Palazzo Pamphilj in Piazza Navona: Camillo's continuous conflict with his mother, and his official estrangement from his family from 1647 to 1651, resulted in his exclusion from the expansion of the Palazzo Pamphilj. Instead, it was Donna Olimpia Maidalchini who managed the expansion of the family palace.

Building the Papal Family Palace (1644–1650)

Even before the ceremonies in honour of his election had ended, Innocent X undertook the building campaign that saw to the expansion and renovation of his palace in Piazza Navona, which resulted in the building that we see today. Constructing a monumental palace was the most significant representational act of a papal family in seventeenth-century Rome. It was an expression of the family's status at the very pinnacle of Roman society. Innocent X modelled his actions on those of his predecessors, Paul III (r. 1534–1549), Paul V (r. 1605–1621), and Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644) that had resulted respectively in the Palazzo Farnese, the Palazzo Borghese and the Palazzo Barberini. Each of these palaces carved out a visible presence for the respective family in the cityscape; indeed, they continue to define the city today. Innocent X's swift initiation of the building project and its rapid realisation in time for the Jubilee Year of 1650 expressed a sureness of authority that belied the dissonance in the international political arena and the quarrels within his family. The monumental Palazzo Pamphilj represented a statement of power and control in a time of trouble and communicated the Pamphilj's preeminent position in Roman society, the Papal States, and abroad. Built to immortalise the family name, the palace was also a personal monument that embodied Innocent X's enduring affection for his family.¹⁴⁰ His frequent presence in Piazza Navona during his pontificate,

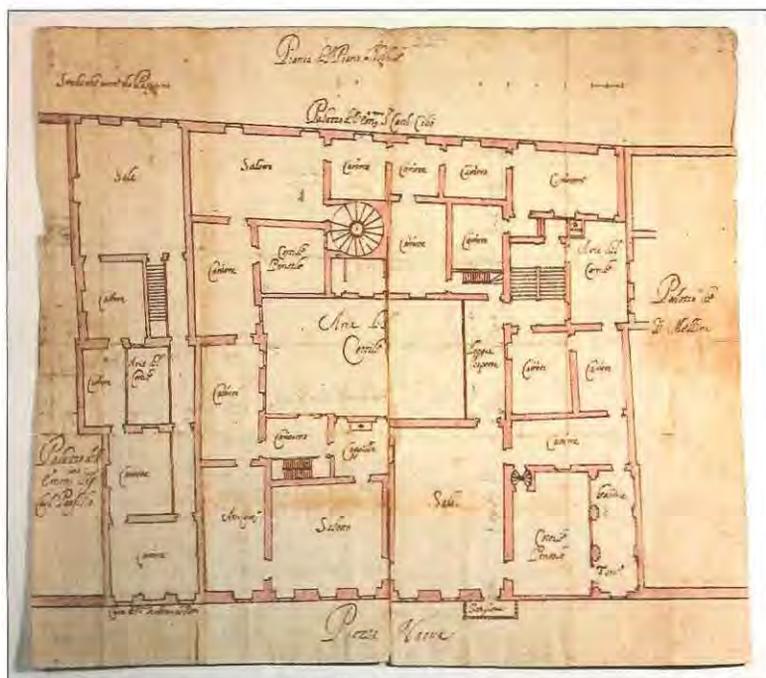


Fig. 11. Girolamo Rainaldi, plan of Casa de Rossi and Palazzo Cibo, late 1644/early 1645 (ADP, 88.34.3).

1644, Innocent X entrusted Girolamo Rainaldi with the position of house architect.¹⁴⁴ But Rainaldi did not design the palace alone. In a series of meetings between April and June 1646, the design was realised through the collaboration of a group of experts and interested parties¹⁴⁵: a representative of Olimpia Maidalchini; architects Girolamo Rainaldi and Francesco Borromini; capomastro Lodovico Bossi; and Monsignor Virgilio Spada (1596–1662), who held the influential curial positions of *cameriere segreto* and *elemonisiere segreto maggiore*. The involvement of Spada as advisor in the palace project represented a deft move on the part of Innocent X. Spada, an Oratorian father, was a master of financial and administrative organisation and “the most famous architectural amateur in Baroque Rome,” having gained extensive experience in supervising the rebuilding of the Casa dei Filippini.¹⁴⁶ And he was a good match for Innocent X: the former’s rationality in administrative organisation mirrored the latter’s exacting mind.¹⁴⁷ Spada’s notes reveal his role in facilitating the exchange of ideas. He showed the architects’ proposals to the pope, informed him of the issues at hand, and relayed the pope’s acceptances, rejections, and opinions back to the commission.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, building by committee was a good idea: it provided a convenient and efficient means for the pope to participate in the process, and it led to the successful completion of the palace in time for the Holy Year of 1650 when masses of pilgrims flocked to the city.

The roles of the family members in building the palace mirrored the distribution of power: Innocent X and Donna Olimpia worked together to build the monumental residence,

recorded in contemporary sources, attested to his continued identification with his ancestral neighbourhood. In early February 1645 Innocent X dined with Donna Olimpia in the palace; and two months later, after attending Mass at S. Maria sopra Minerva, the pope once again stopped at Piazza Navona.¹⁴¹ Innocent X frequently checked on the progress of the palace project himself. On his way to the Vatican in December 1645, “[il papa] è smonto per vederla sua fabrica essendosi trattenuto un’hora seguì il suo viaggio.”¹⁴² Taken as a whole, the pope’s actions reveal his keen determination to leave an indelible imprint on his native city. To accomplish this task, Innocent X remained intimately involved in the expansion of his family palace and surrounded himself with persons capable of realising his architectural goals.¹⁴³ The story began less than a month after Innocent’s coronation as pope. On 1 November

whereas Camillo held a minor part even though he was the legal owner.¹⁴⁹ He was mostly present in name only, beginning with the acquisition of properties to form the site for the expansion.¹⁵⁰ On 15 December 1644 Innocent issued a brief to force two neighbours, Teodosio de Rossi and Don Carlo Cibo, Principe di Massa, to sell their respective properties (fig. 11).¹⁵¹ Camillo was named as the purchaser in both the sale of the Casa de Rossi in May 1645 and the sale of the Palazzo Cibo in July 1646.¹⁵² But the expense account for the building works confirms that Camillo participated little in building the family palace. Although his name appears at the opening of the account in June 1645, and he made a series of deposits over the next twelve months, by August 1646 he was merely acting on his mother's orders as the entries of deposit indicate.¹⁵³ In January 1647, Camillo's name completely disappeared from the account at precisely the moment he ruptured relations with his mother over his marriage. Despite his subsequent exile from Rome, Camillo remained a legal presence at the palace; the properties purchased in 1647 for the service building were acquired in his name. As the only male heir, Camillo retained ownership of the Pamphilj Palace regardless of familial conflicts. Yet, he did not reappear in the expense accounts until 1652, after the construction of the Palace had ended, to make two additional deposits for the final payments.¹⁵⁴ More than anything, Camillo's absence from the building commission meetings confirms his nominal role in the papal family palace. On the contrary, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini is inseparable from the story of the Palazzo Pamphilj. Not only did she use the Palace as her stage, but she was largely responsible for its realisation.¹⁵⁵ Giovanni Battista Pamphilj's will, written during his cardinalate, reveals Donna Olimpia's deep association with the family palace. In a clause that was unusual for in-laws, the cardinal left his sister-in-law an apartment in his portion of the palace.¹⁵⁶ Her identification with the Palazzo Pamphilj was heightened when her brother-in-law was elected to the papacy. Chiomenti Vassalli describes the palace as her theatre.¹⁵⁷ To be sure, Donna Olimpia received an endless stream of courtiers seeking her favour; her anteroom "[...] *era piena [...] dei prelati più eminenti, dei ministri di palazzo più qualificati e della più fiorita nobiltà romana, e le sue stanze medesime occupate dalle maggiori principessi e dame [...]*"¹⁵⁸ As the *de facto* *capofamiglia* Donna Olimpia also welcomed relatives into the Palace. In April 1646 she hosted a lavish dinner with the pope, the Prince and Princess of Piombino, the Prince and Princess of Bassano, Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj, Monsignor Segni (maggiordomo del Palazzo Apostolico), and Marchese del Bufalo.¹⁵⁹

The building records offer a more detailed account of Donna Olimpia's contribution to the palace commission and reveal that she functioned as a type of modern-day manager. She supervised the development of the project, the building accounts, the property purchases, and the building licenses. Her hands-on role in controlling the purse strings reflects financial and administrative acumen. She ordered the payments for property purchases and construction work and made most deposits until January 1647 and all deposits after this date.¹⁶⁰ The history of the building licenses also demonstrates that Olimpia was in charge of the project even though she initially acted through her son. On 18 June 1645 the *maestri di strade* issued Camillo the *concessione dei figli* that gave him a portion of public land on which to build the palace's new façade.¹⁶¹ The second building license was issued in August 1647, but this one named Donna Olimpia instead of her son. With Camillo distanced from the building works, his mother was no longer operating under his name and now appears in the written record as the administrator of the project.



Fig. 12. License conceding public site for façade of Palazzo Pamphilj on Piazza di Pasquino, 8 Aug. 1647 (ADP, 88.35.1).

Noting “[...] *di presente, vi habbita, la sodetta Sig.ra D. Olimpia [...]*,” the license gave her a strip of public land along Piazza di Pasquino, 129 *palmi* long, which was used to straighten and regularise the façade on this side (fig. 12).¹⁶²

Besides managing the building project, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini influenced the design and decoration of the palace. Her representative attended the building commission meetings to keep her abreast of progress and presumably served as her voice in the discussions of plan-

ning. Although Donna Olimpia’s interaction in the design process is not recorded, her participation can be discerned from the executed plan, as it accords well with her living needs. The new palace provided her with a suitable setting for her central role in the Pamphilj pontificate and aggrandised her presence to visitors. More direct evidence attests to her role in the decoration. Passeri first suggested that Donna Olimpia was involved in choosing the painters when he wrote that she freed Andrea Camassei from prison in exchange for his commitment to work in her palace.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the painted imagery in the *piano nobile* chambers incorporates direct and indirect references to her person.¹⁶⁴ Whereas we would expect to find visual references to Donna Olimpia in her own apartment, it is exceptional to find them in noble rooms outside her living space, and their prevalence underscores her predominant presence in the palace and her active participation in its patronage.

Historians have failed to understand Innocent X’s decisions concerning his architects, in particular, why he gave the leading role of house architect to Girolamo Rainaldi (1570–1654) and consigned the secondary position to Francesco Borromini (1599–1667). Perceived through the lens of the canon of architectural history, Innocent’s choices make little sense. History has relegated Rainaldi to the murky place of the generation of architects before the High Baroque, and his style has been interpreted as unimaginative and old-fashioned. Although Borromini was controversial during his own lifetime and unappreciated during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he is now celebrated as one of the three great architects of the High Baroque, along with Gianlorenzo Bernini and Pietro da Cortona. Extolled for his innovative architectural form, Borromini has been placed among the pantheon of artistic geniuses.¹⁶⁵ Against this backdrop, Innocent X’s choice of the elder Rainaldi over the younger Borromini has led to the disparaging conclusion that the aged pope was more comfortable with a *retardataire*

mind than a progressive one and he lacked good taste.¹⁶⁶ This interpretation, however, fails to consider the reputations of the architects in 1644, which presents a different picture.

When summoned by Innocent X, the seventy-four-year-old Rainaldi boasted a distinguished career, much of which had been spent designing architectural projects for two noble families in Italy. He enjoyed a long-standing relationship with the Farnese for whom he worked in Rome, Parma, and Caprarola.¹⁶⁷ In the 1630s the Farnese recommended him to Duke Francesco I d'Este, who used architecture to reestablish his authority in Modena after the exile of his family from Ferrara in 1598.¹⁶⁸ Alice Jarrard has shown that Rainaldi's plan to convert the old castle into a noble palace provided an appropriate stage for the ceremonies of Francesco I that sought to establish his identity among European rulers.¹⁶⁹ Back in Rome, Rainaldi received distinctions from his peers: the presidency of the Accademia di San Luca (1640) and the position of Regent of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon (1640, 1650).¹⁷⁰ Rainaldi's experience in constructing princely images for his patrons might have motivated Innocent X to commission him the palace that was meant to communicate the Pamphilj's newly acquired preeminence. Practical considerations might also have motivated the pope. Innocent decided to retain his cardinal's palace and add on to it, rather than redesign the whole. The expansion was in part a continuation of the earlier building campaign, and no one was more familiar with the work of Peperelli, who died in 1641, than Rainaldi, who was a longtime friend, colleague, and occasional collaborator.¹⁷¹

Although the mechanism through which Borromini became involved in the design process is not known with certainty,¹⁷² Innocent X must have recognised that the forty-six-year-old Borromini had much to offer him: construction expertise, an ingenious capacity for design, and a curious intellect.¹⁷³ Although Borromini received few commissions from the Barberini family during the long pontificate of Urban VIII, he had demonstrated his architectural ingenuity in his projects for the reform orders of the Trinitarians and Oratorians and eventually in the papal commission for Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza that came late in Urban VIII's pontificate.¹⁷⁴ But in 1644 Borromini was not an obvious candidate for the job of building the Palazzo Pamphilj because he had not yet made a name in residential architecture. He had received only one independent commission for a palace design, from Count Ambrogio Carpegna in 1638, for which he made innovative designs, but which was not realised due to the count's death in 1643.¹⁷⁵ Despite this shortcoming, Borromini emerged as a significant figure in Pamphilj building projects starting with the palace. Shortly thereafter, Innocent X entrusted Borromini with renovating S. Giovanni in Laterano, the most prestigious ecclesiastical commission of his pontificate, and the patron and architect developed a close relationship.¹⁷⁶ As Sladek has argued, the papal family's patronage of Borromini set a fashion in domestic architecture, leading to commissions from other aristocratic families, the Falconieri, Del Bufalo, and Giustiniani.¹⁷⁷

By involving Girolamo Rainaldi and Francesco Borromini in the design of the Palazzo Pamphilj, Innocent X benefited from two worlds, tried and true experience and unrealised potential. But both architects had to contend with the existing palace built when Innocent X was a cardinal. Comparing the plan of the cardinal's palace with the designs of Rainaldi and Borromini shows that the existing building occupied about half of the site and is little altered in the plans for expansion (figs. 9, 13). This knowledge of the earlier building significantly alters our percep-

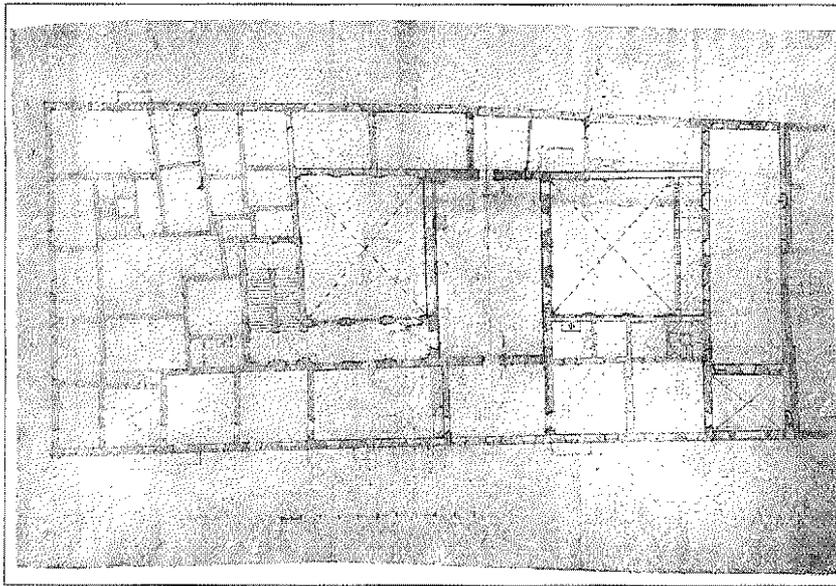


Fig. 13. Francesco Borromini, proposal for *piano nobile* of Palazzo Pamphilj, 1645 (BAV, Vat. lat. 11258, fol. 172).

the elongated gallery, in the Northern half (right side). The story of Rainaldi as “the creating and leading architect” and Borromini as “the critical advisor” who “pushed aside the older rival and eventually took over” was launched.¹⁷⁹ But in light of the revised building history, this scenario no longer holds true.

The papal palace was conceived as a continuation of the earlier project rather than a completely new design problem. The architects were charged with transforming three disparate properties (Palazzo Pamphilj, Casa de Rossi, and Palazzo Cibo) into a cogent plan that accorded with the representational and practical needs of the papal family (figs. 9, 11). The pope’s decision constrained both architects to work within the inherited framework of Peperelli’s entrance spaces, main stair, and disposition of rooms; furthermore, the existing structures in the new site were partially reused. A close examination of the proposals for the palace, contained in the Codex Spada at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, demonstrates that the architects were working concurrently on similar designs and influencing one another as they worked toward the final solution.¹⁸⁰ A comparison between two of these plans, one by Rainaldi and one by Borromini, illustrates this artistic exchange.¹⁸¹ Rainaldi’s plan of the *piano nobile* (Vat. lat. 11258, fol. 179) appears to be the earliest project for the palace’s expansion (fig. 14).¹⁸² The walls of the cardinal’s palace were retained almost entirely. The only changes are seen at the border of the Casa de Rossi: the length of the *Sala* was slightly reduced, from 67 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 65 palmi, and one of its windows was removed, thereby aligning it with the wall between the existing court and the large, new *Salone*, currently called *Sala Palestrina*. The room at this same border on the via dell’Anima side was incorporat-

tion of Rainaldi and Borromini’s plans and of the interaction between the architects. Writing in 1924, Dagobert Frey established an enduring polemic between the young innovative architect (Borromini) and his elder outmoded colleague (Rainaldi). In studying Borromini’s plans, Frey interpreted the spaces drawn in graphite as Rainaldi’s ideas and those in red chalk as Borromini’s improvements upon them (fig. 13).¹⁷⁸ In this scenario Rainaldi conceived the modest Southern half of the palace (left side), whereas Borromini was responsible for the innovative features, the enormous *salone* and

ed into the adjacent room in the Casa de Rossi to create an ample *Salotto*. Similarly guided by the existing spaces, Rainaldi established aspects of the design that were retained in the succeeding proposals and the final project. It is in this earliest planning phase that he conceived the *Salone*, a defining feature of the new palace. By incorporating several rooms in the Casa de Rossi and the Palazzo Cibo, he established the location and approximate dimensions (46 x 90 palmi) of the *Salone*.¹⁸³ To its North

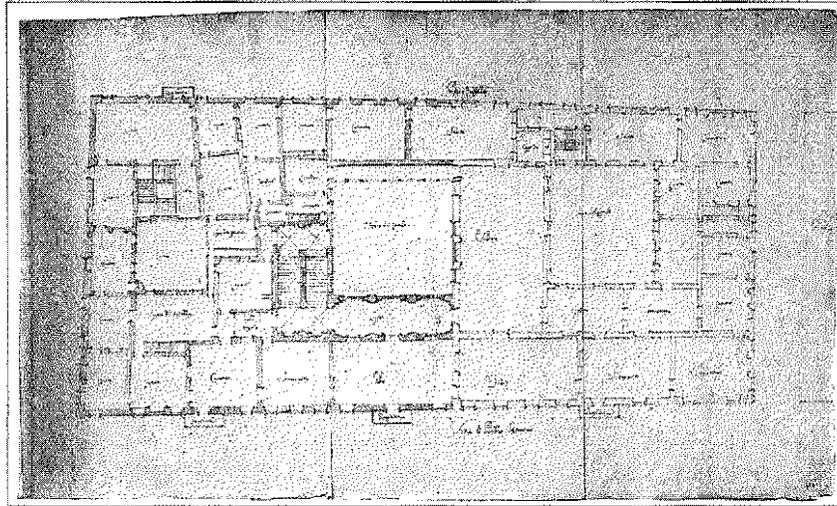


Fig. 14. Girolamo Rainaldi, proposal for piano nobile of Palazzo Pamphilj, late 1644/early 1645 (BAV, Vat. lat. 11258, fol. 179).

is the court of the Palazzo Cibo, which he retained but enlarged to 65 x 57 palmi, to a nearly square plan. The width that he established was maintained in the final execution, but the length was elongated in subsequent proposals until it reached a final measurement of 84 palmi. Finally, Rainaldi reconfigured the rooms to the East and West of the Cibo court, respectively facing piazza Navona and Via dell'Anima. He transformed these small existing spaces into larger ones that extend the existing *enfilades* of the Palazzo Pamphilj.

In a subsequent plan of the *piano nobile* (Vat. lat. 11258, fol. 172), Borromini developed aspects of Rainaldi's proposal and proposed ideas of his own (fig. 13).¹⁸⁴ First, he established the definitive position and dimensions of the new *salone* and the surrounding spaces, which is seen by comparing Borromini's drawing to the reconstruction plan of the *piano nobile*. He reduced the length of the existing *sala* (18 in fig. 9) from 68 to 62 palmi, as indicated by the wall drawn in red pencil, to align it with the South wall of the new *salone*, and in doing so, he established the measurements of the new room (25 in fig. 15) to the North of the old *sala* (18). Borromini slightly shortened the length of the *salone* as proposed by Rainaldi, to 86 palmi, but widened it more perceptibly to 56 palmi, creating dimensions that approximate its built size (89 ½ x 52 ½ palmi). The size of the *salone* was a significant aspect of the new palace. It was designed in competition with the famous *salone* of the Barberini, whose measurements (*Sala delle 4 Fontane*, 65 palmi) were noted on another plan by Borromini.¹⁸⁵ The Pamphilj were literally measuring their palace against the one built by their predecessors and rivals.

Borromini's most significant contribution to the *salone* is its vault, which he illustrated in several drawings.¹⁸⁶ In his brief treatise on the Palazzo Pamphilj, Spada underscores the significance of the vault: "Se si fosse fatta à soffitto, oltreche anche in tal genere sarebbe riuscita bassa,

havrebbe perso quell palazzo gran parte della magnificenza, che nasce da quel primo ingresso nell'appartamento nobile;" indeed, "[...] *si puole connumerare [il salone] frà le meraviglie di Roma, non già per la sua grandezza, essendovene delle maggiori, mà per l'animosità, e valore del Signor Architetto [...].*"¹⁸⁷

Spada's praise alludes to Borromini's structural feat: he defied previous rules of statics, which allowed for greater freedom of expression. In this new method of construction, Borromini placed iron chains above the vault that were attached to stakes hidden in ornamented pilasters projecting above the roof.¹⁸⁸ The system eliminated the need for lateral buttressing, which allowed the height of the room to be increased to a spacious 66 palmi, without raising the *piano nobile* walls to more than 52 palmi. Taller walls would have deprived the adjacent courtyards of air. The contrast between the low exterior walls, seen upon entering the palace in the first court, and the expanse of its interior was meant to awe visitors with a sense of magnificence.¹⁸⁹ Spada's account, which emphasises disbelief in the audacity of Borromini, was certainly intended to flatter the architect and perhaps also the patron, Innocent X, for his perspicacious trust in the skill of his architect.

Borromini also contributed to designing the spaces to the north of the *salone*. His plan is the first evidence for the organisation of space around the new court that comes close to the execution. Borromini first drew the Western boundary of the Cibo court and the spiral stair nearby but then erased them and widened the court to its present dimensions. But it is unclear if he was the first to determine the dimensions of the court because Rainaldi employed the same measurements in one of his ground floor plans. What is clear is that the architects were working on similar solutions. Another instance of this exchange is Borromini's development of Rainaldi's proposal to extend the *enfilades* of the existing palazzo Pamphilj. His organisation of the rooms to the East of the new court — the two large ones facing the piazza Navona and the three smaller ones with a square stair facing the court — that is found in the executed palace.

Borromini's most singular and innovative contribution to the genesis of the palace is at its Northern border. Rainaldi proposed to create a *vicolo* (alley) between the palazzo Pamphilj and the neighbour's property to the North, but Borromini retained the existing living space of the palazzo Cibo and transformed it into something entirely new. Influenced by the existing walls, he combined several rooms into a single space, creating an exceptionally long and prominent gallery that stretches from the front to the back of the palace.¹⁹⁰ At this stage, he proposed a presentation loggia at the end of the gallery facing Piazza Navona, which was built but then destroyed before the gallery's completion by June 1647.¹⁹¹ With this change, the width of the palace was unified into a gallery of singular dimensions for the city centre.

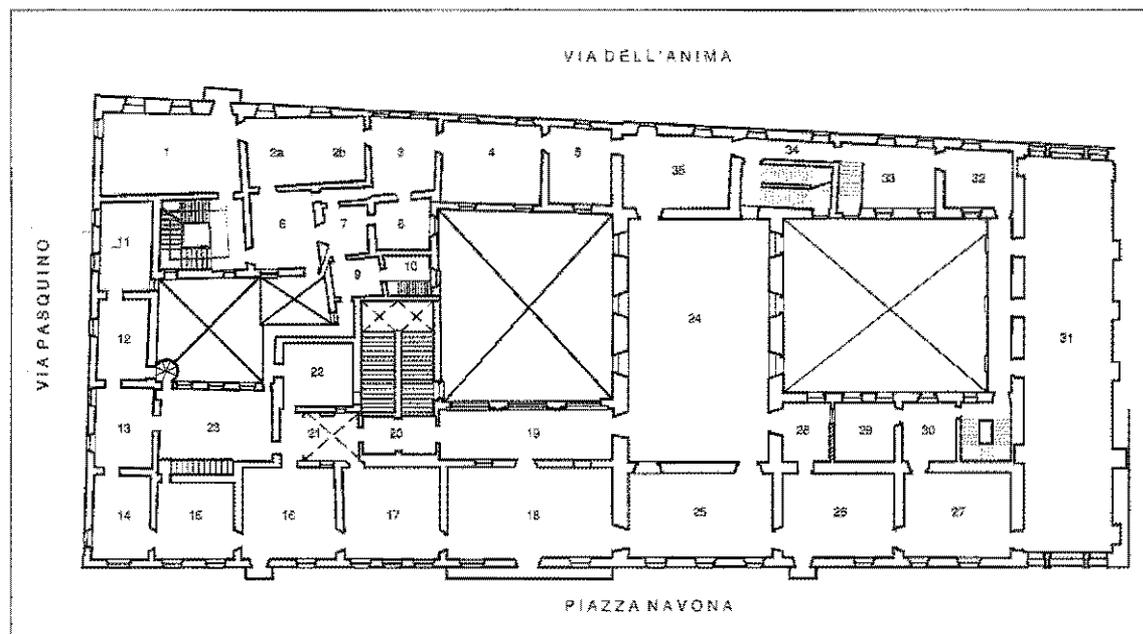
The combination of talented architects and the formation of a committee to make design decisions resulted in the swift completion of the project. The building account was opened on 8 July 1645, but work did not begin in earnest until after the new properties were acquired by July 1646. The greatest work occurred in 1647 when frequent payments were registered to builders and decorators. In early 1648, the façade was in the final stage: the Pamphilj coat-of-arms was hung and the windows were installed. During this same year payments were made to the frescoes' painters Giacinto Gimignani, Giacinto Brandi and Andrea Camassei. The pace of building slowed in late 1648,

and several builders received final payments in late 1649 and early 1650. At the end of 1650 the accounts were closed; however, final payments were issued in 1653 for decorative work that occurred between these dates.¹⁹²

Meaning and Use of Palazzo Pamphilj

The completed Palazzo Pamphilj served as a suitable stage for the family's ceremonial and private life. The extended *piano nobile enfilades* along the front and back of the palace indicate that the building was designed with two noble apartments (fig. 15).¹⁹³ Over the course of the Pamphilj pontificate, these spaces remained fixed, but their use changed to accommodate unforeseen shifts in the family structure. Much had happened since Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphilj enlarged the ancestral *casa* into the cardinal's palace that he shared with his brother.¹⁹⁴ In 1639 Pamphilio died, and five years later Giovanni Battista was elected to the papacy, which meant that he left the family palace for the papal palaces of the Vatican and Quirinale.¹⁹⁵ When Innocent X bestowed the cardinal's hat on his nephew, Camillo followed his uncle to the papal palace where he lived for two years.¹⁹⁶ By December 1644 both of Camillo's sisters had married and moved out of the ancestral home.¹⁹⁷ The plan of the Palazzo Pamphilj indicates that it was designed to house two principal residents. The *stati d'anime* demonstrate that Donna Olimpia was the only continuous occupant during the Pamphilj pontificate.¹⁹⁸ The diarists Gigli and Ameyden made frequent references to her residency: for instance, in February 1645, after celebrating Mass at S. Maria sopra Minerva, Innocent X "[...] rimase à pranzare dalla Cognata,"¹⁹⁹ and on 3 February 1647, on his way back to the Vatican, the pope

Fig. 15. Palazzo Pamphilj, ground floor plan, 1645-50 (drawing by Susan Leone).

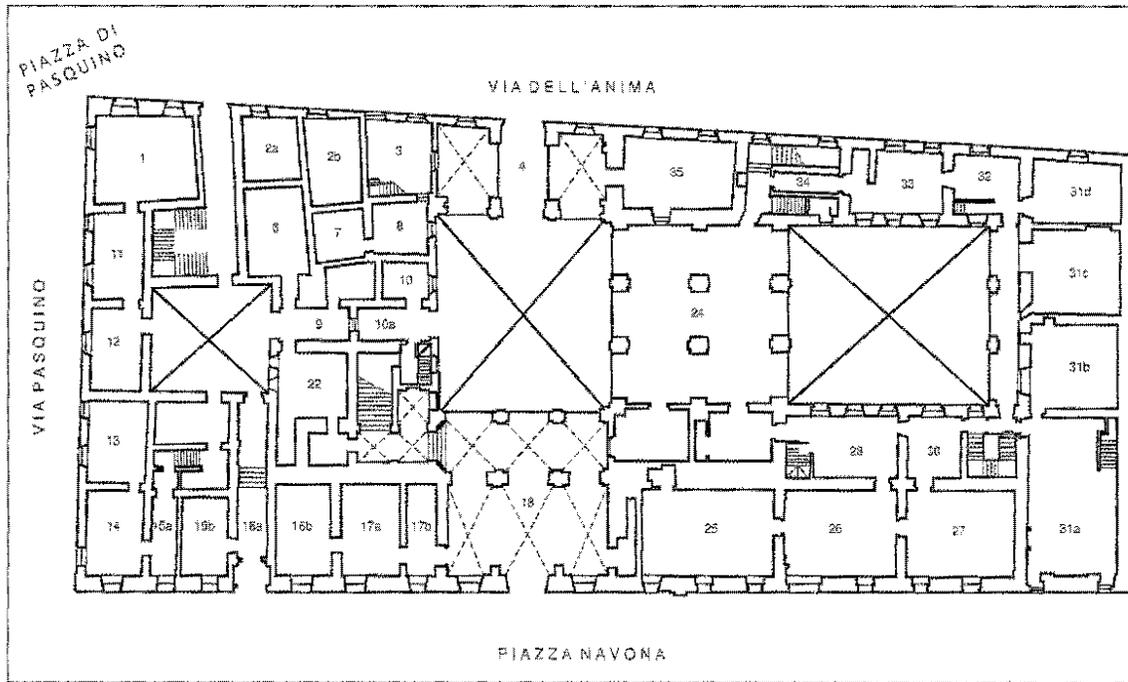


again dined with Donna Olimpia at the palace in Piazza Navona.²⁰⁰ Donna Olimpia's influential position in the papal city necessitated a commensurate reception space on the *piano nobile* of the family palace. As the cardinal nephew and owner of the palace, Camillo Pamphilj also required an apartment on the *piano nobile* even though he had gone to live in the papal palace.

As the most privileged space in the palace, the extended suite along Piazza Navona provided an appropriately impressive setting for the cardinal nephew, and the new entry point of the *salone* played a critical role in communicating his status.²⁰¹ The ground floor approach to the apartment remained as it was in the old Pamphilj palace, except that the shops were removed and the *androne* was enlarged to create a nobler impression. But on the *piano nobile*, the route of movement changed. From the loggia at the top of the stairs, visitors now proceeded straight ahead, through the door marked with the massive stemma of Innocent X into the monumental *sala dei palafrenieri*. (24) Following the modest entrance spaces, this grand architectural gesture was essential for expressing the occupant's magnificence. The sheer size and the surprise generated by its height were characteristics of magnificence in seventeenth-century culture.²⁰² Rather than the richly coloristic frescoes on the vault of the Barberini *salone*, the Pamphilj *salone* impresses through architectural ingenuity and the restraint of its monochromatic stucco ornament. In typical Borromini fashion, the stucco design features bold geometric shapes with robust floral and vegetal motifs and heraldic imagery, in this case, the Pamphilj dove with olive branch and the lily.

Contributing to the impression of magnificence was the extensive sequence of rooms; in the words of Spada, "[...] *le fughe delle camere, massime verso Piazza Navona non hanno simile [...]*."²⁰³ The door in the *salone's* East wall led to the first *anticamera* (25). The massive, ornate stemma on the ceiling immediately promulgated the family's identity to visitors. The doors embellished with richly coloured marble frames, in its North and south walls, signalled visitors that the ceremonial route could proceed in either direction.²⁰⁴ This dual possibility makes it difficult to identify the cardinal's audience room. Although the old *sala* (18) is called the *camera dell'audienza* in the inventory made after Camillo's death in 1666, this arrangement would have allowed for only a single *anticamera*, which was hardly appropriate in a noble apartment.²⁰⁵ Alternatively, the ceremonial sequence could have continued north into a second *anticamera* (26) and the audience room (27), the latter of which was fittingly equipped with a *portiere* and a bust of Innocent X.²⁰⁶ In this scenario the new chapel (28) and its adjacent oratory (29) are in their expected positions. The small square stair next to the new court would allow the cardinal to move in and out of his reception rooms without being observed.²⁰⁷

With the new suite on Piazza Navona presumably serving for reception space, the old chambers of the southern half of the *enfilade* could have been dedicated to private space. But this arrangement would have denied the usual connection between the audience room and the bedroom. Another possibility for private space was the ground floor apartment, directly below the new reception rooms and accessible to them via the small square stair (25-30, in fig. 16). The ornate treatment of these rooms suggests a noble occupant. The vaults, one of which is visible today, were embellished with stucco decoration that incorporated the Pamphilj emblems.²⁰⁸ The description of



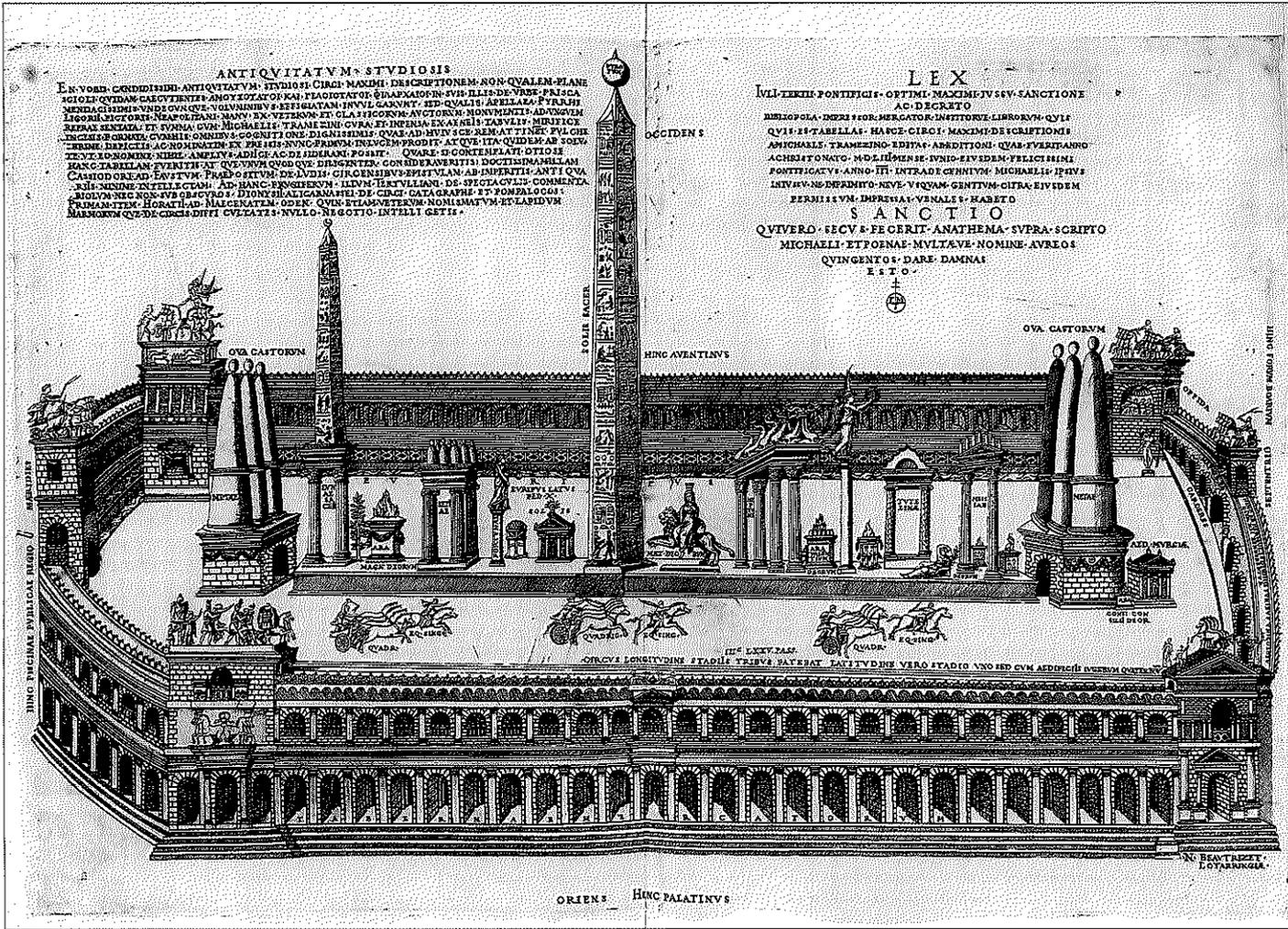
the rooms in the 1666 inventory implies that they functioned as leisure space. *La stanza dell'organo* (25 or 27) contained “*un organo finuito consue canne grandi alto palmi venti incirca tutto dorata [...]*,” “*una Fontana di rame dorato con cinque cannelli da giocar l'acqua di piombo,*” “*due urne ò siano sepulture [...]*,” statues on pedestals, religious paintings, other objects, and three marble tables used to display bas-reliefs and a sculpture.²⁰⁹ The other chambers were similarly embellished with paintings, statues, and few pieces of furniture. Another room (25 or 27) contained an armoire and a “*una lettiera d'ebano negro tutta legata in rame dorato con sua testiera con pomi e balaustri et adornamenti di rame dorato traforato con suoi vasi e tavole da scommettere.*”²¹⁰ The elaborate decoration suggests that the bed was a representational *zampanaro* that was not slept in but used for display.²¹¹ The apartment's location and appearance in 1666 imply that it was a summer suite used for leisure and displaying art, calling to mind similar apartments in Roman palaces like the Casa Grande ai Giubbonari (1663-66), Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane (1670s), and Palazzo Borghese (b. 1671).²¹²

Returning to the *piano nobile*, the cardinal's reception rooms terminate in “[...] *una galleria longo palmi 148. larga palmi 32. alta palmi 40. ben luminata, competentemente sfogata, e decentemente ornate con ricche nicchie per statue, e con un bellissimo, e ben inteso prospetto verso piazza Navona opera dell'Architetto Francesco Borromino,*” as Spada wrote (31, in fig. 15).²¹³ The gallery's notable length (33 metres) distinguished it from others in the *abitato* and linked it to the singular example of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Palazzo Vatican, built above one side of Bramante's

Fig. 16. Palazzo Pamphilj, *piano nobile* plan, 1645-50 (drawing by Susan Leone).

Cortile del Belvedere by Ottavio Mascarino for Gregory XIII (1572–1585).²¹⁴ The relatively short galleries in the Palazzo Capodiferro (13 metres) and the Palazzo Farnese (20 metres) represent the standard Roman type. Only the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican, which was unrestricted by the space limitations of the *abitato*, reached the exceptional length of 120 meters. The presence of the *serliana* enhanced the connection between the Pamphilj Gallery and the Palazzo Vaticano. In the Pamphilj Gallery, the *serliana* is used for the large window overlooking Via dell'Anima and the large window with balcony overlooking Piazza Navona that forms part of a façade that stands apart from the main façade of the palace. At the Vatican the *serliana* appears in several places: the loggia of the Tower of the Winds, the multi-storied structure built above the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, the architecture of the pope's audience room called the Sala Regia, and Raphael's painting of the *Fire in the Borgo* in the Stanza dell'Incendio of the papal apartment.²¹⁵ The popes employed this architectural form to make a statement about their authority. In antiquity the *serliana* marked the place where the emperor presented himself to his subjects, such as the portico of Domitian's palace at Spalato and the imperial boxes (*kathisma*) at hippodromes or circuses. As the Christian successors of the Roman emperors, the popes appropriated the *serliana* to signify the foundation of their authority in the early Christian period.²¹⁶ In reconstructing ancient circuses, Renaissance antiquarians imagined a viewing box with a *serliana* loggia, as in Antonio Lafreri's reconstruction of the Circus Maximus (fig. 17). The *serliana* was charged with significance in Piazza Navona because Roman legend held that an ancient circus had occupied the site (rather than the stadium).²¹⁷ As Rudolf Preimesberger has convincingly argued, Borromini grafted this form onto the Palazzo Pamphilj to declare the Pamphilj's authority as sanctioned by ancient Rome and legitimised by contemporary papal rule.²¹⁸

Today, the Pamphilj Gallery is best known for the frescoes in the vault representing scenes from the *Aeneid*, painted by Pietro da Cortona between 1651–1654, which is discussed in the next chapter. But the vault originally had a different decorative scheme. On 12 June 1647 Giovanni Antonio Gaulli, called Spadarino, was paid for painting “in the vault of the Gallery six circular fields and one oval field with the deeds of Innocent X.”²¹⁹ These geometrical fields were framed with lavish stucco ornament. At the centre a large oval field was framed by “[...] *l'aggetto abbozzatura, stuccatura della Stampa del Guscio la fiori, con paternostro attorno d'ovato [...], l'aggetto cavato fuori, con chiodi, abbozzatura et stuccatura del festone fatto la rose, e fiori diversi [...], l'aggetto, abbozzatura, et stuccatura del Braghettone per di fuori stampato la Ovolo con suo listello [...]*.”²²⁰ On either side of the central oval, three circular fields were surrounded by mouldings and festoons of roses. All seven fields were prepared for painting.²²¹ Between these large framed areas were eight half-circles filled with bas-reliefs, four featuring Pamphilj doves and four decorated with roses and leaves. The entire pattern of geometrical shapes was set against a background of roses in stucco relief, and the base of the vault was framed with mouldings and a frieze of flowers, lilies, and doves.²²² The concept for the vault derives from a long tradition of *quadri riportati* programs, from Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508–1512) to Annibale Carracci's Galleria Farnese ceiling (1597–1600) and Francesco Albani's Gallery vault in the Palazzo Verospi (c. 1611–1612). The Pamphilj Gallery followed Albani's type in which the frames surrounding the painted fields were made of actual stucco rather than illusionistic painting simulating relief (fig.



18).²²³ The walls were also embellished with stucco decoration. There are twelve large rectangular niches, six of which are filled with doors.²²⁴ The original stucco decoration of the niches remains in the gallery today, but the gilding, monochromatic paintings, and busts in the oval niches were added later.²²⁵

Fig. 17. Reconstruction of Circus Maximus, engraving. From Antonio Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, c. 1550, tav. 43 (Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut, Rome).

Known only from the payment record, the iconography of Spadarino's paintings was an unusual choice for this type of room that was normally used as leisure space and decorated with lighthearted imagery like the amorous adventures of the ancient gods in the Farnese Gallery.²²⁶ Instead, the scenes from the life of Innocent X associated the Pamphilj Gallery with the formal reception rooms of Italian rulers that displayed more serious themes. In the Palazzo Farnese the large *sala*, prominently located near the main staircase and probably used as an anteroom, was decorated with frescoes by Francesco Salviati that celebrate the praiseworthy deeds of the Farnese family, culminating in the reign of Pope Paul III. The Farneses are presented as em-



Fig. 18. Francesco Albani, *Apollo*, gallery vault, Palazzo Verospi (photo by Stephanie Leone).

bodying the heroism of the ancient gods but dedicated to the defence of Christianity. Commissioned by Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese shortly after Paul III's death, the cycle presents the family's case for continued preeminence in Roman society.²²⁷ The specific episodes of Innocent X's life painted by Spadarino are lost, but we presume the scenes celebrated his praiseworthy deeds in much the same way.

The location, scale, and iconography of the Pamphilj Gallery suggest that it mediated between the traditional function of a gallery as an informal place of leisure and the less typical role of a formal, ceremonial space.²²⁸ Although the iconography of the deeds of Innocent X recalls formal reception rooms, it does not necessarily imply that the gallery was used for receiving audiences. In fact, the size and shape of the room were unsuitable for visits between two protagonists. On the other hand, the space was ideal for large ceremonies. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the papal family might have used the gallery as a banqueting hall. In the late seventeenth century, when Innocent X's descendants rented the palace to tenants, the English ambassador, Lord Castlemaine, hosted a banquet there.²²⁹ As depicted in a print recording the event, the gallery easily holds the dining table that accommodates eighty-six cardinals and prelates.²³⁰ Other rooms in the Piazza Navona apartment were also employed in the festivities. The *salone* featured tables displaying delicacies, buffets of silver, Venetian glass, and crystal vessels, and in the room before the gallery, the ambassador's silver was exhibited in an impressive buffet.²³¹ The location of the *stanza della pasta*, "*camera accanto segreta (cioe cocina)*," and "*cocina commune*" on the ground floor near the gallery supports the idea that the gallery was used for dining (32, 33, 35 respectively, in fig. 16).²³² These service rooms were close enough for easy access but far enough away to prevent food preparation from disturbing the festivities. Food could have been carried from the kitchens through the *loggia* along the court, up the square stair, into the *piano nobile loggia*, and finally into the gallery.²³³ Contemporary accounts record that the Palazzo Pamphilj served as a stage for festivities, such as the comedies of which Donna Olimpia was so fond.²³⁴ During Carnival in 1648, "*Donna Olimpia fece comedia, alla quale intervennero le Dame Romane amiche sue, e buona parte del Sacro Collegio.*"²³⁵ A year later guests like Cardinal Barberini and Cardinal Orsini attended several evenings of delightful and sometimes immoral entertainment at the Palazzo Pamphilj.²³⁶ But unfortunately none of the references note the precise location of the events. An anteroom could easily have been transformed into a theatre, as was done at the Palazzo Barberini.²³⁷ Though concrete evidence is lacking, the gallery's proximity to the reception rooms suggests that it played some role in the entertainment.

Although the historical frescoes endowed the Pamphilj Gallery with greater gravity than normal, the room did serve the traditional purpose of displaying art. During construction, hooks for tapestries or other hangings were not installed, which implies that framed pictures were hung on the walls.²³⁸ Francesco Scanelli's guidebook to Rome, published in 1657, records that paintings by Guido Reni, Andrea Sacchi, and others hung in the gallery.²³⁹ A few years later, in 1662, it was described as "[...] covered with [...] exquisite pictures, ornamented with majestic carved frames, gilded, under which with the needed distance one sees many statues, placed on carved and gilded pedestals."²⁴⁰ In 1664 Giovan Pietro Bellori wrote that the gallery held paintings by "Guido Reni, Guercino da Cento, Giuseppino, Michele da Caravaggio, and other celebrated painters, with statues and sculptural ornaments," and

two years later the inventory made after Camillo's death records paintings hanging on the walls.²⁴¹ In merging the traditional function with an atypical message, the Pamphilj Gallery was a unique space. Shortly afterward, the concept was realised again in the notably long gallery at the Palazzo Colonna whose vault frescoes celebrate the most illustrious family member, Marcantonio II Colonna, the hero of the Battle of Lepanto.²⁴²

The construction work in the other noble apartment, the "[...] *Stanze vecchie verso la Strada dell'Anima*," focused on making the suite commensurate with Donna Olimpia's influential role in the pontificate (fig. 9).²⁴³ She retained the rooms that she had occupied since the 1630s and spread into the apartment of her deceased husband and the rooms in the new site. The "*Scala principale, dalle parte verso Pasquino*," a remnant from the old Casa Pamphilj, was aggrandised with a larger entrance marked by a beveled arch, similar to the one in the Piazza Navona-stair, and a statue niche in the ground floor landing. Repairs were made to the brick pavements of the landings, and new travertine steps were installed.²⁴⁴ The Pamphilj arms were placed above the door leading to Donna Olimpia's apartment on the *piano nobile*. Her old chambers received similar improvements; walls were repaired and straightened, ceilings were raised to make loftier spaces, ornate pavements of red and white bricks in geometric patterns were installed, doors were aligned and embellished with travertine doorframes.²⁴⁵ Freshened with a newly painted ceiling and a marble fireplace, the original *sala* (1) continued to serve as the entrance to her apartment.²⁴⁶

Specific improvements reflecting Donna Olimpia's prominent position in the papal court were carried out in her reception chambers. Two small rooms in her old apartment were combined to form a new *anticamera* (2a and 2b, in fig. 9), whose spaciousness better conveyed a sense of nobility.²⁴⁷ Both this first *anticamera* and the second *anticamera* (3) were embellished with new painted friezes, which is discussed in the chapter to follow.²⁴⁸ As the sister-in-law of the pope, Olimpia was entitled to a private chapel, but none is mentioned in the building documents. Based on location, the unlabelled room (8) next to the second *anticamera* could have served this purpose, and the adjacent space (7) could have functioned as her private oratory.²⁴⁹ The location of the *camera grande* (4), as well as the iconography of its new frieze of Hebrew heroines, accords with the room's function as her *sala di udienza*.²⁵⁰

Donna Olimpia's *enfilade* continued in the chamber that probably served as her bedroom (5) and two successive rooms in the new site (32, 33). The construction documents do not reveal the intended use of the new rooms, but their position beyond the principal reception chambers implies informality. The wood-beam ceiling and painted frieze of her bedroom connects it visually to the preceding reception rooms,²⁵¹ whereas the following two rooms with cove vaults decorated in stucco have a different aesthetic appearance. The vault in room 33 — a central rectangular field framed by mouldings, a frieze of olives branches, and Pamphilj and Maidalchini emblems — is similar to one of Borromini's vaults with Falconieri emblems in the Palazzo Falconieri, arguing in favour an attribution to the architect.²⁵² With the adjacent stair leading to the food preparation rooms below, the vaulted chambers would have been convenient for dining. Donna Olimpia could have entertained her female attendants and friends here.²⁵³ The door connecting the final room (32) to the gallery (31) implies that Donna Olimpia had access to this exceptional space, perhaps using it to impress guests with the family art collection and the frescoes extolling her brother-in-law's accomplishments.

Before the construction of the Palazzo Pamphilj was completed, a major shift occurred in the family structure, which led to changes in the appearance and use of the palace. As discussed above, in early 1647 Camillo renounced his cardinal's hat to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini, principessa di Rossano. Initially, it seemed as though Camillo's new status would increase his presence at the family palace. In February Ameyden reported that the bride had requested to live in the Palazzo Pamphilj because she knew it would please the pope. Innocent X personally attended to the necessary arrangements; after dining in Piazza Navona, the pope "[...] *disegnò l'appartamento che si fabrica per gli sposi.*"²⁵⁴ Innocent envisioned the palace as embodying the Pamphilj dynasty physically and symbolically. The moment for change was opportune. With construction underway the structure could easily be altered and the decoration tailored to suit the new occupants. If the newlyweds moved into the Palazzo Pamphilj, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini might be forced to relinquish her position on the *piano nobile*. Her purchase of a palace at the Trevi Fountain in September 1647 suggests that she was readying herself for this possibility.²⁵⁵ But, despite these developments, it is difficult to imagine the powerful Donna Olimpia abdicating her position in the Palazzo Pamphilj to her daughter-in-law of whom she did not approve. The diarist Gigli foretold the problems between the two Olympias:

*Ma quelli che pensano, che Don Camillo con la Moglie siano per tornari in gratia del Papa suo Zio, o per dir meglio della Madre, s'ingannano al sicuro, perchè Donna Olimpia Maidalchini, la quale hoggidì domina il Papato, non sopportarà mai che un'altra Olimpia sia riverita in Roma, per timore di non vedersi scemare la potenza, et l'autorità grandissima, et per tal gelosia si dimostra crudele contro il proprio sangue.*²⁵⁶

The two Olympias did indeed become rivals, and although attempts at reconciliation were made, in 1650 Ameyden wrote: "*L'aggiustamento che si sperava trà Parenti del Papa è molto affreddato [...]*."²⁵⁷ Innocent X's dream that his palace house his dynasty was fast becoming a delusion.

The dramatic familial events of 1647 to 1650 occurred in the very years of the palace's construction and decoration. By mid-1648 it was clear that Camillo and his family would not become a presence in the palace, and on the contrary, Donna Olimpia's influence in the palace grew even greater. As the new rooms of the Piazza Navona apartment were being decorated, she spread her presence into this most prestigious space. The incorporation of her identity into the painted decoration of these rooms, both literally through the Maidalchini emblem of the tower and star and metaphorically through choices in iconography, is discussed in the chapter to follow. Her symbolic presence in the principal noble apartment argues for a physical one as well. Understanding that space could be used to shape perceptions of social and political status, this astute woman created a setting that communicated her leading role in the Pamphilj family and pontificate.²⁵⁸ Donna Olimpia employed visual imagery to adapt the new chambers to her use.²⁵⁹

Although contemporary reports record numerous visitors, such as the high-ranking princes of Tuscany who came in April 1650, not one mentions the precise location of the visit.²⁶⁰ But given Donna Olimpia's position in the papal court, it made good sense for her to utilise the most prestigious rooms in the family palace as the stage for these rituals. Furthermore, the inventory made after Donna Olimpia's death in 1657 confirms that at some point she altered the

original arrangement of her apartment to take advantage of the entry on the Piazza Navona.²⁶¹ Her inventory moves through her living quarters, beginning in the monumental *salone* (24) and continuing in the *Anticamera* (35), the *Prima stanza contigua* (5), and the *Stanza dell'audienza seguente* (4); the next room (3) is simply described as the *Stanza che segue*, but the *lettiera di ferro* (iron bed) identifies it as the bedroom, as we would expect due to its position in the *enfilade*.²⁶² Except for the *salone*, all of these rooms had been part of Donna Olimpia's apartment since the palace was built. The only change is in orientation. Donna Olimpia had reorganised her living quarters to take advantage of the grander entry spaces on Piazza Navona. The shift presumably occurred after Camillo's marriage, when it became clear that she was to be the only resident of the palace with authority in the papal court. Her visitors now ascended the main stair and entered the magnificent *salone* before reaching her reception rooms.²⁶³ Although the inventory does not record that the Piazza Navona *enfilade* officially belonged to her, her appropriation of the principal entrance would make it easy to use these rooms when she wished. In moving beyond the borders of her prescribed space, Donna Olimpia defied the function of a noblewoman's apartment, which was to separate her from the rest of the palace.

The Façade of Palazzo Pamphilj

Although the interior of the palace was designed to make a lasting impression on visitors, the façade had a wider reaching effect because one did not have to gain access to the palace to see it. Everyone who entered the Piazza Navona beheld the façade, as countless passersby continue to do today. Its importance was made clear by the chronology of the building: while the work of decoration continued inside the palace, the façade was already finished by early 1648, and the massive stemma with the Pamphilj emblems of the dove with olive branch and lilies was hung in the central arch.²⁶⁴ Indeed, the façade was designed to communicate the status of the occupants and to link the palace visually to the history of its site. Both Rainaldi and Borromini made designs that contributed to the final solution, and both had to contend with the façade's exceptional length, due to the long, narrow character of the site, in order to avert the potential for monotony.²⁶⁵ In the first half of 1645, Borromini made three related drawings that sought to counter the insistent horizontality of the building with an equally strong vertical emphasis, which differentiates his designs from traditional facades on Roman palaces.²⁶⁶ His idea was partially realised in the final solution by the central section that projects above the roofline but it has less height than Borromini proposed. Today, this section appears to project even less than originally because of the floor added to the palace in the nineteenth century, which is discussed below.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, even in 1650, the overall visual effect was horizontal mass rather than vertical ascent, which reflected Rainaldi's drawings for the façade that lack vertical projections. Rainaldi's contribution to the final solution was two-fold: the organisation of the seventeen-bay expanse into a series of subdivisions that culminates in the projecting central grouping of five bays framed by superimposed pilasters; and the character of the ornament.²⁶⁸ Regarding the former, he satisfied Innocent X's desire for an exceptionally long façade that conveys magnificence through the appearance of endlessness. Indeed, this character must have stood out in such a densely built neighbourhood.²⁶⁹ Regarding the use of ornament by the architects, Joseph Connors has observed that Rainaldi applied a liberal amount of decoration at traditional focal points like windows and doors, whereas Borromini used ornament sparingly in a way that stressed the structural form of the building.²⁷⁰ His assessment holds true for the Pamphilj

façade that evinces affinity with Rainaldi's aesthetic: the profusion of decorative forms is strewn across the entire façade with greater density of decorative motifs concentrated on the balconies and the central doors and windows.

According to architectural theorists like Leon Battista Alberti, Paolo Cortesi, and Vincenzo Scamozzi, ornament contributed to the magnificence of a building and conveyed the impression of princely authority, distinguishing the palaces of noblemen from the unadorned houses of lesser persons.²⁷¹ The *varietas* of the Pamphilj façade — heraldic imagery, shells, scrolls, cartouches, masks, clustered pilasters, and alternating triangular and segmental pediments — signified the family's arrival in the Italian aristocracy. Such abundance of ornament outdoes the facades on most Roman palaces, making the Palazzo Pamphilj a novelty in the papal city. In elaborating upon the austere façade-type exemplified by the Palazzo Farnese and the Palazzo Borghese, the Pamphilj façade offers a balance between the characteristic conservatism of Roman palaces and innovation. And it re-conceptualises the novelty of its immediate predecessor, the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. It is as though the wings of the Barberini Palace have been unfolded to create a seemingly endless façade and its arcaded *corp de logis*, which recalls villa architecture, has morphed into a more appropriate form for the urban context. In sanctioning an unusually decorative façade, Innocent X adopted the architectural language of the Italian courts, such as the Palazzo Ducale in Modena, thereby making a visual argument for his family's preeminent position in Rome.

The coloration of the wall surface enhances the decorative character, as the ornament appears to float on the background of light blue. In the restoration of 1999–2000 undertaken by the Embassy of Brazil in Rome, the wall surface was changed from an ochre colour, which has been popular in Rome since the eighteenth century, to its original colour of white architectural members set against a background of *color aria* or *celestino*, which is seen in the contemporary painting of Innocent X's visit to Piazza Navona in June 1651.²⁷² Ranging from tones of light blue to gray, *color aria* imitates the continually changing hues of the sky. When applied to the wall, it makes the solid surface appear ephemeral especially in contrast to the opaque white architectural elements. The renewed presence of this two-toned palette clarifies the façade design to reveal a sense of order and precision within the abundance of form.

The Urban Context of Piazza Navona

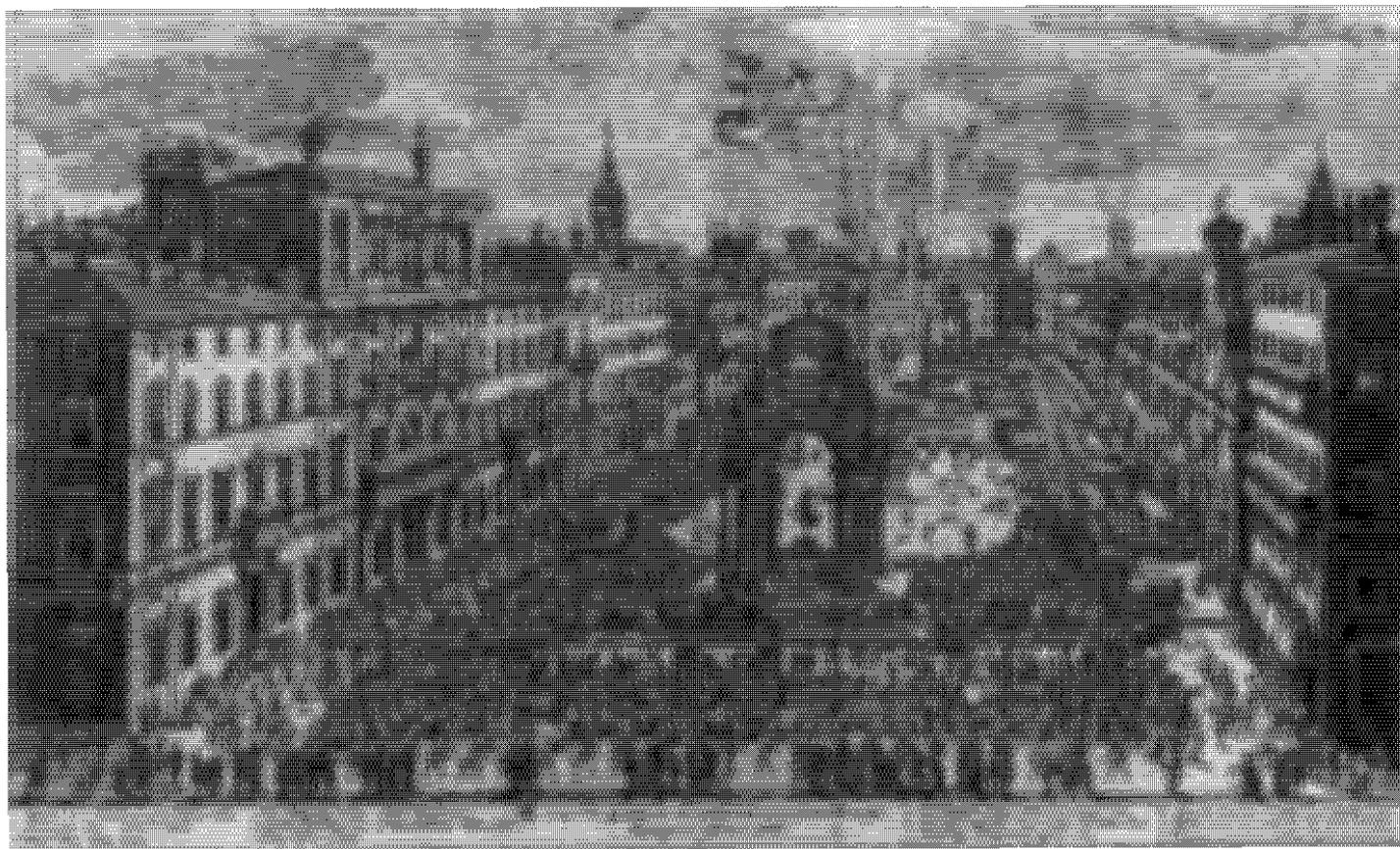
The uncommonly decorative façade of the Palazzo Pamphilj returns us to the theme of the palace's inextricable connection to its urban context. The Piazza Navona had long been a major locus for festivals sponsored by different constituents to celebrate a variety of occasions. One of the major protagonists was the Confraternity of the Most Holy Resurrection at the church of S. Giacomo, located across the piazza from the Palazzo Pamphilj.²⁷³ Since the late sixteenth century, the confraternity staged the annual Easter procession in honour of the resurrected Christ. Mixing religious and national iconography, the procession of 1596 has been identified as especially spectacular.²⁷⁴ After a two-hour mock sea battle in which the Spanish emerged victorious, an elaborately staged procession through the piazza honoured the resurrected Christ, who was depicted life-size in the ephemeral decoration. The event was an aural and visual spectacle comprising opulently dressed members of the Spanish community, choirs

singing praises, fireworks that exploded intermittently, and five hundred confraternity members holding flickering torches. The façade of the Palazzo Pamphilj is part of a Roman tradition of assimilating the ephemeral imagery of festivals into palace facades by drawing upon the vocabulary of temporary architecture.²⁷⁵ The formal language of the façade — the abundance of ornament as well as specific motifs, the heavy festoons of fruit adorning the stemma, the masks, and the shields with doves — conveys the aura of festival decorations. In fact, Carlo Rainaldi hung a similar shield on the baldachin erected in Piazza Navona for the Easter procession of 1650.²⁷⁶ The print of this procession demonstrates that the Palazzo Pamphilj functioned as a viewing box with the balconies and projecting loggia offering optimal views of the festivities (fig. 19). The assimilation of ephemeral forms into the Pamphilj façade ties the palace to the urban site and enhances the image of Piazza Navona as a theatre. In 1651, one year after the palace was completed, Cardinal d'Este, who was living in the Palazzo de Cupis on the piazza's Northwest side, lamented the neighbourhood's many flaws but was willing to endure them since "one couldn't pay for the location now that this piazza is kept like a theatre and it would bring great splendour if this most Serene House could have such a beautiful site."²⁷⁷ Innocent X's emphasis on the celebrated role of Piazza Navona in the public life of the city was a natural development of his deep knowledge of his ancestral neighbourhood.

The Pamphilj had risen to the very top of the Roman social hierarchy through the persistent efforts of generations and especially the achievements of Giovanni Battista Pamphilj. Innocent X was not about to let these labours go to waste. During his pontificate, he tenaciously sought to ensure the fame of his family even when his own kin seemed to be working against him. The pope had reconciled with his nephew Camillo and Olimpia Aldobrandini in 1651,²⁷⁸ but it was not until 1653 that the marriage of Donna Olimpia Maidalchini's beloved granddaughter, also named Olimpia, to Prince Maffeo Barberini united the family in a moment of reconciliation and celebration.²⁷⁹ Understanding that only the rhetoric of architecture could immortalise the Pamphilj name, Innocent X built the palace that combines allusions to ancient imperial rule and papal authority in order to promulgate his family's preeminence in Roman society. The palace was the catalyst for further Pamphilj building projects that endowed the Piazza Navona with its definitive Baroque appearance: the acclaimed *Fountain of the Four Rivers* by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1648–1651); the monumental church of Sant'Agnese in Agone (1651–1672); and the Collegio Innocenziano that bookends the church on the North side.²⁸⁰ Innocent X made an indelible imprint on Piazza Navona that has long survived his own demise. As Gigli reported: "*Et finalmente Giovedì a dì 7. di Gennaro del 1655. ad hore 14. morì Papa Innocentio Decimo nell'Anno della sua età 82. havendo seduto anni 10. mesi 3. et giorni 14.*"²⁸¹ Donna Olimpia's dominance over the papal city ended at the moment of her brother-in-law's death. Self-exiled from Rome, she was never to return to the Palazzo Pamphilj in Piazza Navona on which she too had left a lasting impression.²⁸²

Palazzo Pamphilj after the Death of Innocent X

Despite the pope's intention to build a palace to house his heirs, no Pamphilj ever lived in the palace again, and beginning in 1669, it was used as a rental property. For the first tenant, Cardinal Cibo, the palace was stripped of the Pamphilj's movable goods, such as the paintings in the gallery.²⁸³ The use of the Palazzo Pamphilj as a rental property eventually led to more significant changes in the structure. From 1865 to 1875 Prince Filippo Andrea Doria



Pamphilj undertook a substantial renovation of the palace under the direction of Andrea Busiri Vici (1818–1911), who as architect of the Doria Pamphilj carried out works at the family's various properties and as *architetto della Fabbrica di S. Pietro* executed many works at papal properties in Rome.²⁸⁴ At the Palazzo Pamphilj in Piazza Navona, the *sopraelevazione* was constructed above the roofline that resulted in the addition of fifty rooms of medium and large dimensions, thereby increasing the number of rental spaces. The main staircase built by Peperelli in the 1630s was extended to reach this new top floor. Other means of communication were also added: the small stair in the Northeast corner of the North court was extended to the top floor, and the *terrazino* consisting of a ground floor loggia and *piano nobile* gallery was added to the North side of the North courtyard, in order to connect the rooms along the Piazza Navona and the Via dell'Anima. Some changes to the façade were also carried out: fictive ashlar was added to the surface of the ground floor, whereas the original fictive ashlar on the ground floor of the gallery façade (fig. 19) was removed. Also the raising of the floor above the gallery led to the redesign of the windows above the giant *serliana* window and the addition of pilasters and architectural mouldings. Despite these functional and physical changes, the Palazzo Pamphilj continues to stand as a symbol of one family's story of success

Fig. 19. Domenico Barriére and Carlo Rainaldi, *Easter procession in Piazza Navona*, 1650, engraving (Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut, Rome).

in the competitive world of Papal Rome. More recently, however, new meaning has been grafted onto the palace as the home of the Embassy of Brazil, including also the Consulate-General of Brazil in Rome, the Brazilian Mission to the FAO and the Brazilian-Italian Cultural Center. Although the ownership has changed, the monumental palace again plays a prominent role in the diplomatic affairs of the city.

¹ On the family's strategy of social advancement, BENEŠ 1989.

² For a fuller account of this story, LEONE 2008.

³ On the history of the stadium, COLINI 1970; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 7-38; ZOCCA 1943, p. 23; DE GREGORI 1926, p. 15-20; PERICOLI RIDOLFINI 1973, p. 6. By the third century the stadium's function had changed to a site for gladiator games. The stadium was still in good condition in 356 when Constantius II cited it as one of the most splendid buildings in Rome. At the time of writing, the *École française de Rome* is close to publishing a major collaborative work on the history of the Piazza Navona, from its beginnings until the present day, which will offer the most up-to-date scholarship on the subject; see BERNARD 2014.

⁴ DE GREGORI 1926, p. 22-23; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 25-30; COLINI 1970, p. 5; SIMONETTA, GIGLI and MARCHETTI 2003, p. 73-76.

⁵ For the Benedictine holdings, STROLL 1997, p. 32-38. Earlier sources present contradictory information about the Benedictine sites: ZOCCA 1943, p. 24; COLINI 1970, p. 21; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 24. For the oratories of St. Catherine and St. Andrew, DE GREGORI 1926, p. 20; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 31-32; CANCELLIERI 1811, p. 29 n. 8.

⁶ DE GREGORI 1926, p. 99; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 73.

⁷ In 1450 Giovanni Rucellai referred to the piazza as "Navone" in his description of Rome. According to Andrea Fulvio in *Antiquitates Urbis*, "piazza di Navone" was commonly used by about 1510. For the etymology, DE GREGORI 1926, p. 16-18, 97 nn. 31 and 32, 101.

⁸ On the development of the area during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, DE GREGORI 1926, p. 97-116; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 46; SALERNO, "Urbanistica," 1970; PERICOLI RIDOLFINI 1973, p. 8. On the Via Papale as the site of the papal *possesso*, INGERSOLL 1985, ch. 4.

⁹ RE 1920, p. 19, 97 (for a transcription of the 1452 statute). See also, ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 61-62; INGERSOLL 1985, p. 280.

¹⁰ CURCIO 1986, p. 723. For a full discussion of Sixtus IV's influence on rione Parione (the region of Rome that includes Piazza Navona), BARBARLARGA et al. 1986. BENEŠ 1989, p. 34-35, made the point that Sixtus IV's improvements to the rione Parione coincided with the Pamphilj's move to the neighbourhood.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 1, on Antonio and the successive two generations.

¹² On Antonio Pamphilj, BENEŠ 1989, p. 27-37; BORELLO 2001, p. 33, 42-44. On the position of *procuratore fiscale*, NUSSDORFER 1984, p. 60, 90-94.

¹³ BENEŠ 1989, p. 37-43; BORELLO 2001, p. 31-32, 36-40. FOSI and VISCEGLIA 1998, p. 203, noted the Pamphilj's use of marriage to strengthen curial ties from the fifteenth to sixteenth century.

¹⁴ BORELLO 2001, p. 39: a document conferring the title of *cavaliere delle Speron d'oro* refers to Angelo Benedetto as "civic romanus ac litterarum apostolicarum scriptor."

¹⁵ CIAMPI 1878, p. 7, noted that the marriage between the Pamphilj and Mattei improved the Pamphilj's social standing, but BENEŠ 1989, p. 46-48, was the first to publish the details of the union and discuss its significance. More recently, BORELLO 2001, p. 31-32, has written about Pamphilj's marriage as a mechanism of social advancement.

¹⁶ Using new documents, BENEŠ 1989, p. 43-52, reconstructed the precise details of Pamphilj's career. Previously, DE GREGORI 1926, p. 112, noted that Pamphilj participated in city government. On the position of conservator,

NUSSDORFER 1992, p. 60-61, 79-80.

¹⁷ BENEŠ 1989, ch. 1. Using the documents of sale, Beneš wrote a more precise account of the Pamphilj acquisitions than previous historians, providing the names of sellers and the purchase prices.

¹⁸ In building upon Beneš's work, I have returned to the original documents, ADP 88.33.1, to delineate the property borders and to reconstruct the precise location of the properties.

¹⁹ BENEŠ 1989, p. 36; and previously DE GREGORI 1926, p. 112; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 49.

²⁰ On the practice of building by consolidation, CURCIO 1986, p. 706-32.

²¹ On the 1497 purchase, BENEŠ 1989, p. 37; and previously, DE GREGORI 1926, p. 112; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 49. Prior writers (DE GREGORI 1926, p. 112; ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 49; BENEŠ 1989, p. 45) had not noted the acquisition of 1522 and instead wrote that he purchased two separate properties in 1524 and 1527.

²² ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 50-51, transcribed part of the ordinance of 6 July 1554 and recorded the names of the proprietors listed in the tax document, which includes the Pamphilj.

²³ BENEŠ 1989, p. 45, found the deed in ADP, 88.33.5 that outlines the compensation and indicates the properties given to the Pamphilj. Earlier, DE GREGORI 1926, p. 102-103, noted the destruction of Pamphilj property but did not discuss the compensation.

²⁴ BENEŠ 1989, p. 75.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120-122, was the first to analyse the documents produced during the dispute, ADP, 86.2.2: the inventory of Pamphilj possessions, the agreement dividing the family property, and the *piano nobile* plan of the Casa Pamphilj. I am very much indebted to Beneš for her generosity in sharing these documents with me and allowing me to publish the plan (LEONE 2004, p. 446-447; LEONE 2008, p. 88) in advance of her own publication of it.

²⁶ BENEŠ 1989, p. 67-115 (esp. 67-70), was the first to discuss this strategy for the Pamphilj. AGO 1990, p. 22-34, 45-60, 85-89, analysed the bilateral strategy in the context of career building in the Roman court. HALLMAN 1985, p. 129-130, noted the prevalence of elder relatives helping younger family members. REINHARD 1991, p. 345-347, discussed the case of Domenico Checchini (1588-1656), who became Innocent X's datary, to illustrate the critical role of blood ties and bonds of friendship for a successful curial career.

²⁷ BENEŠ 1989, p. 75-76.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75-76, 118-119, made this point and characterised the Casa Pamphilj around 1600 as modest.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121, 156-157 and 189 n. 15, clarified the date on which Giovanni Battista first rented the Teofili property as on or before 9 September 1619, according to the financial records in ADP 86.2.3, fol. 6v.

³⁰ Donna Olimpia was Pamphilj's second wife; his first had died childless. Olimpia and Pamphilj married in 1612. CIAMPI 1878, p. 10; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 19-20; BENEŠ 1989, p. 92.

³¹ On the early stages of Giovanni Battista Pamphilj's career: AMEYDEN, BCasan., Cod. 1846, 398v; CIAMPI 1878, p. 15-16; PASTOR, 1940, vol. XXX, p. 25; BENEŠ 1989, p. 116-18. MCPHEE 2002, p. 83, clarified the date on which Giovanni Battista became a consistorial advocate, based on D. Marciani, *Descrizione delle cerimonie fatte dentro e fuori del Conclave avant, e doppo la*

Creazione del Sommo Pontefice Innocentio Decimo..., Rome 1644 (BAV, Stamp. Barb. Q. VIII 97, int. 1).

³² AMEYDEN, BCasan., Cod. 1846, fol. 398v. Ameyden held a series of influential positions in the Roman court including Juridical Agent for the Austrian emperor. Beginning in 1641, he worked for the Spanish crown, writing *avvisi* (news reports) on events in Rome. For his relationship with the Pamphilj, AMEYDEN 1910, p. 124; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 214-120; BENEŠ 1989, p. 23-24. His *avvisi* are preserved in BAV, Barb. lat. 4819; BAV, Barb. lat. 4853; BAV, Barb. lat. 4865; BCasan., cod. 1831; BCasan., cod. 1832; BCasan., cod. 1833. For an analysis of his writings, BASTIAANSE 1967.

³³ BENEŠ 1989, p. 117, emphasised the role that Cardinal Girolamo Pamphilj played in the career of his nephew. AGO 1990, p. 51-60, discussed parentage and social ties as instrumental in building a curial career. See also FOSI and VISCEGLIA 1998, p. 210-214.

³⁴ On Monsignor Pamphilj's diplomatic career, CIAMPI 1878, p. 16-17; PASTOR 1940, p. 26-27; and BENEŠ 1989, p. 123-134.

³⁵ AGO 1990, *in passim*, identified the pattern of an ecclesiastical career, of which the goal was membership in the Sacred College.

³⁶ CIAMPI 1878, p. 16; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 27; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 37; BENEŠ 1989, p. 134. "In pectore" was an intermediary stage in becoming a cardinal when the pope indicated his intention in private before making the official nomination in consistory; MORONI 1840-77, vol. 9, p. 303-308. On the use of this stage to mediate secular pressures for nominations in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, WRIGHT 2000, p. 71.

³⁷ CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 38, asserted that Donna Olimpia made arrangements to purchase the Casa Teofili prior to Giovanni Battista's return to Rome but she did not cite a source. This seems unlikely since Cardinal Pamphilj did not buy the property until four years later, in 1634. Chiomenti Vassalli made the point that the Pamphilj's purchase of the Teofili property was a logical step that allowed them to expand the ancestral *casa*. BENEŠ 1989, p. 156-157, developed this idea in her discussion of the Teofili property, in the context of the Pamphilj's longstanding interest in acquiring property in piazza Navona.

³⁸ For analysis of Cortesi's work, WEIL-GARRIS and D'AMICO 1980, esp. 51-52, regarding cardinals and wealth; quotation, p. 89.

³⁹ GOLDTHWAITE 1980, p. 77-83; 1993, p. 204-210, and BURKE 1987, p. 133-134, are instrumental in defining the notion of magnificence in Central Italy.

⁴⁰ WEIL-GARRIS and D'AMICO 1980, p. 51-52. In analysing Cortesi's advice to cardinals, CHAMBERS 1966, p. 291-294, argued that Cortesi perceives cardinals according to the expectations for a lay prince.

⁴¹ PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 27; and CIAMPI 1878, p. 16.

⁴² BENEŠ 1989, p. 153-54, 206 n. 99, was the first to reference the purchase documents in ADP, 88.33.1. She interpreted the purchase as the culmination of Pamphilj's longstanding interest in the Teofili property. Previously, DE GREGORI 1926, p. 113-114, discussed the purchase and the two buildings of the Teofili property, but without citing a source. PREMESBERGER 1976, p. 224, followed De Gregori. CLARMS 1972, p. 40 (nos. 144, 144a) cited the purchase as recorded in the primogeniture papers, ADP, 86.4.

⁴³ PREMESBERGER 1976, p. 224, noted that the purchase of the Teofili buildings doubled the Pamphilj property.

⁴⁴ Prior to my analysis of the building documents (LEONE 2004; LEONE 2008, ch. 4), historians had noted the existence of a palace belonging to Cardinal Pamphilj, and some speculated about whether he incorporated his houses into a unified residence, but no one had discussed the nature of the commission or the resulting palace with any precision. Previous discussions of the palace include: SALERNO, "Palazzo Pamphilj: storia e architettura," 1970, p. 148; PREMESBERGER 1976, p. 224; BENEŠ 1989, p. 155-156, 181-182; Elizabeth Sladek, in BOSEL and FROMMEL 2000, p. 174 (X.1), 177. BENEŠ (1989) was the first to cite the *misura e stime* (206 n. 99), but without analysing these building documents, and to suggest that Francesco Peperelli might have been involved in the palace (213 n. 142). I have partially transcribed the *misura e stime*: LEONE

2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, p. 305-25. For a useful explanation of *misura e stime*, HIBBARD 1962, p. 106-107.

⁴⁵ The *misura e stime* provide the *terminus ante quem*; LEONE 2008, p. 305.

⁴⁶ BENEŠ 1989, p. 138-143, 157-160, 165-167, 177-185. BENEŠ estimated that Cardinal Pamphilj had an annual income of 7,000-8,000 *scudi*, which included the additional stipend given to 'poor' cardinals. Cardinal Pamphilj's revenues came from his title of Patriarch of Antioch, his titular church of S. Eusebio, an annual stipend, and an additional stipend as a 'poor' cardinal. On poor cardinals, FERRARO 1994, I: 255. On a cardinal's expenses in the early seventeenth century, SPEAR 2003, p. 312.

⁴⁷ PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 33; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI, 1979, p. 26, 28-29, 53-55; BENEŠ 1989, p. 100-101, 139-141, 363, who cited the Venetian ambassador's report of 1648, which states that since Pamphilj's days as a nuncio, Donna Olimpia's dowry had supported his career ambitions (report published in BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 70).

⁴⁸ For normal ownership patterns, CAVAZZINI 1998, p. 2; CAVAZZINI 2000, p. 25.

⁴⁹ Throughout her biography of Olimpia Maidalchini, CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, argues that her subject played a leading role in the Pamphilj family; regarding the period of Giovanni Battista's cardinalate and the management of the Pamphilj patrimony, see ch. 7 (53-63). BENEŠ 1989, likewise emphasizes Donna Olimpia's pivotal role in the family and Innocent's pontificate; for instance, she argues that Pamphilj's will gave his wife and brother equal responsibility for the couple's three children and demonstrates that Olimpia managed the household accounts (p. 100, 171); and Innocent X initially put Olimpia in charge of the Pamphilj primogeniture but then moved the responsibility back and forth between her and Camillo (p. 349-350).

⁵⁰ BCasan., Cod. 1846, fol. 399v.

⁵¹ PALLAVICINO 1849, p. 189-193; CIAMPI 1878, p. 13, 142-148, 315-334; PASTOR 1940, p. 34-35; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 62, 124-124, 140-143, 148, 155-156, 166-168, 194-195; BENEŠ 1989, p. 237-238, 239-240, 352-354, 392, 396.

⁵² WADDY 1990, esp. the "Introduction."

⁵³ Regarding distinctions of rank, WADDY 1990, p. 5-6; and SESTINI DA BIBBIENA 1660, ch. XXXIII, who offers a detailed description of the protocol for a visit paid to a cardinal, by persons of various ranks.

⁵⁴ AGO 1990, p. 69, on the relationship between family hierarchy and space in the family palace.

⁵⁵ The *misura e stime* do not explicitly identify the piazza Navona wing with Cardinal Pamphilj, but it can be inferred from his involvement in the work there and the identification of the piazza di Pasquino side with Donna Olimpia and Pamphilj.

⁵⁶ The description of the palace in the *misura e stime* follows the opposite pattern, as construction occurred from the top down; for the *misura e stime*, Leone, 2008, 305-325.

⁵⁷ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 156-158 (Northern entrance), 158-159 (Southern entrance).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 128-133, 141, 213-214, 272.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 133v-142v, for the masonry work; fols. 214-217v, for the stucco work.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 153-156.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 142v-143, 217v-218. The South wall was difficult to reconstruct because it was more drastically altered. It extended only to the present third floor, which contained five mezzanine windows that were smaller than the present ones, and the second floor had five larger windows of uniform size (unlike the present five of differing sizes). The two arched windows that illuminate the staircase are recorded, but the arched window on the *piano nobile* landing is not mentioned and, thus, might be a later addition.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 102-114. FROMMEL 1985, traced the development of the stair in the Renaissance.

⁶³ On outdoor benches, ELET 2002; and CLARKE 2003, p. 173.

⁶⁴ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 167-169v, 176v-177v, 177v-180v, 181-188.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 122-126.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 103v, 114-117v. See WADDY 1990, p. 36-38, for a description of service rooms.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 71-75. The new loggia (62 1/2 x 19 1/6 palmi) replaced a smaller loggia on the site (40 3/4 x 16 1/4 palmi).

⁶⁸ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 247v-249v (stonecutter's work), fols. 211v-213 (stucco work). Four columns were made of *bigio* and two of *cipollino*. The latter columns were reused from the old property, after being cut to adjust their height.

⁶⁹ Although the old Casa Pamphilj had a relatively large *sala vecchia* of 51 x 29 1/2 palmi, the room was located in the piazza di Pasquino wing. For the new *sala*, *ibid.*, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 6v, 45v-52 (masonry work), 209 (stucco work), 230v-233 (stonecutter's work). The bricks from the existing rooms were re-cut and adjusted to make a new uniform pavement. On the Borghese *sala*, HIBBARD 1962, p. 49; WADDY 1990, p. 78, 85. On the Farnese *sala*, Frommel, 1973, II: 137-139; FROMMEL 1981, p. 127-224.

⁷⁰ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 52v-63 (masonry work), 233-234v (stone work).

⁷¹ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 5v-6, 55-58.

⁷² Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 52v-58v.

⁷³ The painter must have been dissatisfied with the work in the second *anticamera* since the frieze was re-plastered "...many and diverse times according to the painter's wish" (Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fol. 57v).

⁷⁴ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 63-64v, 68, 111v. For the stucco decoration of the cove vault, which remains intact except for the cornice, *ibid.*, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 210v-211v.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fol. 78-79v. Room 22 is simply called the *stanza* (room), and no indication of its function is given. Although it is included in the work of the "old apartments," it probably belonged to Cardinal Pamphilj because he intervened in its reconstruction.

⁷⁶ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 64v-71, 235-237.

⁷⁷ WADDY 1990, p. 102.

⁷⁸ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 58v-62.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 69-70, on the secret stair; 70-70v, on the small stair; 25, 39v, on the study.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 62v-63, 240.

⁸¹ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fol. 101. The *misure e stime* of stonework describe this side as "Nell'altro Appartamento del Pian Nobile delle p.me stanze della Casa Pamphilj," Doc. 3, fol. 240.

⁸² WADDY 1990, p. 180-194.

⁸³ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 101-102v. Unless a woman served as the consort of a pope, her apartment was normally located in a less prominent position than those of her male relatives; WADDY 1990, p. 28-30. On the place of women in the family palace, see also CAVAZZINI 2000, p. 24-25.

⁸⁴ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fol. 102. The room's identification was repeated in the *misure e stime* of the 1645-50 expansion.

⁸⁵ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 101-101v, 241v. I identified room 2b as the *saletta* based on the *misure e stime* of stucco work since it follows the "stanza of Panfilio," which can be securely identified as room 3, and work normally proceeds in a linear fashion.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fol. 101v.

⁸⁷ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fol. 101v; it was enlarged 2 1/2 palmi on each side.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fol. 143v (first quotation); fol. 241 (second quotation).

⁸⁹ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 148-153.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 145v-146v.

⁹¹ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 93v-95, 210.

⁹² WADDY 1990, p. 31-46, on the function of the upper floors of a palace.

⁹³ Parish records record all persons living in the palace; ASVic., *Stati d'anime*, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, 1632, 1633, 1634-36, 1637-39. According to WADDY

1990, p. 32, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini's household of forty-eight persons was moderate in size. The occupants of some of the rooms are identified in the *misure e stime*, LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 26-45, 237, 254-254v.

⁹⁴ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 8, 15-19, 30v-32. WADDY 1990, p. 39-40, on the location and use of the *guardaroba*.

⁹⁵ For the members of the *famiglia*, ASVic., *Stati d'anime*, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, 1634-36, 1637-39. On the separation of the genders, WADDY 1990, p. 30.

⁹⁶ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 95-97, 242v. WADDY 1990, p. 30, describes the function of the *rota*.

⁹⁷ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 95v (first citation), 144 (second citation).

⁹⁸ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 143v-144.

⁹⁹ This social rank also included mid-level aristocrats who were often new to the titled nobility; on palaces of this rank, CAVAZZINI 2000; LEONE 2008, p. 54-59.

¹⁰⁰ TOTI 1638, p. 233.

¹⁰¹ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 3, fols. 50, 54v, 57v, 210, 215, 233v.

¹⁰² PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 24, 31, commented on the association between the Pamphilj emblem of the dove and the pope's peaceful nature. Gijssbers, 1996, 297-299, discussed Innocent X's identity as a peace bringer. MCPHEE 2002, p. 83, discussed the perception of Innocent's pontificate as a harbinger of peace and summarised the reports of his election: "With his symbol of peace, the dove with the olive branch, Innocent will extinguish war and bring about a new golden age."

¹⁰³ BENEŠ 1989, ch. 236-241, outlined some of the political issues facing Innocent X — the antagonism between him and Mazarin, the rebellion in Naples (1647), and the famine in Rome (1647-48) — along with the personal problems that troubled his pontificate, especially the absence of a second Pamphilj son and the unconventional influence of a woman in the papacy.

¹⁰⁴ NUSSDORFER 1984, p. 239-281, concluded that Urban VIII's pontificate was unusually oppressive due to the War of Castro, increased taxes, and excessive nepotism. MCPHEE 2002, p. 83-84, also discussed the dire state of Rome inherited by Innocent X. See also, CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 49-52.

¹⁰⁵ PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 94-142; WRIGHT, 2000, 103, 174, 192, 196. Wright asserted that Innocent X tried to minimise the damaging effects of the peace treaty by protesting specific clauses.

¹⁰⁶ My account of the conclave is culled from: CIAMPI 1878, p. 4-5; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 14-24; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 60-69; MAGNUSON 1986, II, p. 2-3; BENEŠ 1989, p. 219-220, 249-258. For the proposed marriage alliance between the Pamphilj and Barberini, see Ciampi, Chiomenti Vassalli, and Beneš.

¹⁰⁷ CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 71, concluded that when Cardinal Pamphilj became pope, the family's "[...] palazzo di piazza Navona era venuto a trovarsi al centro dell'universo."

¹⁰⁸ BAV, Stamp. Barb. Q. VIII.97, int. 2: Antonio Gerardi, *Roma Festeggiante per la elezione del nuovo Pontefice Nostro Signore Innocentio X Romano*, 1644, unpaginated. McPhee, 2002, 83-84, 308 nn. 6, 7, 9, 309 nn. 10, 13, 14, 18, was the first to use this compendium of panegyrics and descriptions of Innocent's creation, coronation, and *possesto* to discuss the imagery associated with his election, but she did not cite this particular passage.

¹⁰⁹ BAV, Stamp. Barb. Q. VIII.97, int. 4: Antonio Gerardi, *Compito Racconto delle Ceremonie Fatte per l'Incoronazione di N.S. Innocentio Papa Decimo Romano*, 1644, unpaginated.

¹¹⁰ Evelyn, 1857, 118-120, previously cited by Magnuson, 1986, II: 26. For contemporary descriptions of Innocent X's *possesto*, BAV, Stamp. Barb. Q. VIII. 97, int. 8-10. Historians who discussed the *possesto* include Magnuson, 1986, 23-26; FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO 1997, p. 335-337.

¹¹¹ CIAMPI 1878, p. 115, followed by CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 73. Ameyden reported the incident in his *avvisi*: BCasan. cod. 1832, fol. 98v.

¹¹² Concerning the difficulties in the Pamphilj family and the problems caused by Donna Olimpia's influence, CIAMPI 1878, p. 116-117, 128-131, 138-

148, 166-169, 315-334; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 32-35, 37-47, 379; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 76-79, 81, 86-87, 91-92, 106-116, 122-128, 134-144, 152, 155, 165-173, 175-186, 194-916, 209, 221-226, 230-231; BENEŠ 1989, ch. 6.

¹¹³ CIAMPI 1878, p. 116-117, asserted that Donna Olimpia must have understood her role as equivalent to a cardinal nephew. This issue informs the studies of CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, and BENEŠ 1989, ch. 6. On her presence at the papal palaces, CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 106, 124; and BENEŠ 1989, p. 352, who emphasized that "[...] with her bi-weekly visits she completely broke the rules governing the celibacy of the Roman court [...]." For the typical role of women in the papacy, WADDY 1990, p. 26-28. Ago 1990, p. 37-41, 60-71, concluded that women created important social ties and that maternal ties were instrumental in navigating the curia, but that women themselves rarely held official positions of power. In comparing Donna Olimpia's position to earlier papal sisters-in-law, D'AMELIA 2001, concluded that Innocent treated her according to established conventions of nepotism (for instance, he allowed her to have a relic), but as a woman her presence at the papal palace and the extent of her influence were new.

¹¹⁴ For the homage paid to Donna Olimpia, Ameyden, BCasan. Cod. 1832, fol. 38; CIAMPI 1878, p. 76; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 79, 86, 114, 117-118, 124-125, 127-128, 139-140, 146, 156-157; BENEŠ 1989, p. 352-354. BORELLO 2003, p. 120-121, interpreted the letters to Olimpia as a sign of her influence.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 34.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 52. Alexander VII's biographer, PALLAVICINO 1849, also commended her capacity for higher affairs.

¹¹⁷ BENEŠ 1989, p. 352, quoted the Venetian ambassador. For the original, BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 69.

¹¹⁸ BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 101-102.

¹¹⁹ Cited by CIAMPI 1878, p. 143. For other negative commentaries, PALLAVICINO 1849, p. 191; ROSSI 1927; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 62, 122-128, 140-143; BENEŠ 1989, p. 352-355. Innocent's biographer CIAMPI 1878, 315-334, defended the pope's leadership of the Papal States, using contemporary sources to demonstrate that the pope acted of his own accord, not under Olimpia's influence. The biographer faulted his subject only for allowing a woman, rather than a nephew, to accumulate the family fortune.

¹²⁰ Leti is a pseudonym for Abbot Antonio Gualdi. The book was first published in 1666 and reprinted in Rome as late as 1849; I have used the 1781 edition. Regarding the biography, PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 34 n. 6; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 243-244. For a list of condemning accounts of Olimpia's life, BENOCCI 1996, p. 68 n. 31. Modern biographies of Donna Olimpia are CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, and more recently in English, HERMAN 2009.

¹²¹ LETI 1781, p. 5-10. For the Venetian Ambassador, BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 88: "[...] non senza opinione, che il detto affetto avesse fatte altissime radici con più che platonica simpatia [...]." The pope's biographers disputed the claim; Ameyden, BCasan. cod. 1846, 399; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 34.

¹²² BENEŠ 1989, p. 396, based her assessment on contemporary reports of Gigli and Leti, which blame the difficulties in the Pamphilj pontificate on the presence of a woman.

¹²³ Regarding Olimpia's passion for cards, TEMPESTA 1987, p. 90. On her passion for hunting, CIAMPI 1878, p. 18.

¹²⁴ BCasan., Cod. 1832, fol. 311.

¹²⁵ LETI 1781, Preface.

¹²⁶ BAV, Vat. lat. 9729, fols. 263-88v.

¹²⁷ BENEŠ 1989, p. 361-362, calculated that Donna Olimpia received some 280,000 *scudi* by papal chirograph alone, and together she and her son collected about 1.5 million *scudi* during Innocent X's pontificate.

¹²⁸ For the papal brief, BENTIVOGLIO 1987, p. 47. See also, BENEŠ 1989, p. 369, on Donna Olimpia's acquisition of a title.

¹²⁹ D'AMELIA 2001, p. 364-365. Much earlier, CIAMPI 1878, p. 332, made a similar point, blaming the pope for choosing a woman rather than a male relative to amass the wealth.

¹³⁰ Olimpia maintained close ties with her own family, her relations from her first marriage, and the Pamphilj branch in Gubbio; see JONES 1987, p. 117-118, who studied Olimpia's letters.

¹³¹ AGO 1990, p. 47-50, discussed how families decided which paths their children would follow. On this problem for the Pamphilj, BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 72; CIAMPI 1878, p. 120; BENEŠ 1989, p. 68-69, ch. 6.

¹³² CIAMPI 1878, p. 122; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 36; BENEŠ 1989, p. 345-46.

¹³³ CIAMPI 1878, p. 123-124; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 36; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 77; BENEŠ 1989, p. 350.

¹³⁴ GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 435 (17 November 1644).

¹³⁵ PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 36, wrote that upon Camillo's appointment as cardinal "[...] the full tide of papal favours poured itself over him." On his posts and benefices, BENEŠ 1989, p. 363-65.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 339-41, analysed Innocent's appointment of Panciroli as secretary of state. Previously, CIAMPI 1878, p. 118-119, and PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 35-36, noted that Innocent broke with his predecessors in appointing a separate secretary of state. Contemporaries who recorded the appointment of Panciroli include: GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 433; the Venetian ambassadors, in BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 52. Pamphilj and Panciroli's relationship began during Pamphilj's tenure as a judge in the Sacra Rota. On their relationship, see BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 52; CIAMPI 1878, p. 119; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 67; BENEŠ 1989, p. 339.

¹³⁷ The Venetian ambassadors noted the conflicts between Camillo and Olimpia, recognising that she deliberately tried to discredit her son before the pope; BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 71. CIAMPI 1878, p. 123, observed that Innocent gave Camillo the title of *cardinal nipote*, which was more modest than *cardinal padrone*. PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 37, addressed the situation briefly: "[...] Innocent X did not suffer him [Camillo] to have any influence [...]." Chiomenti Vassalli 1979, p. 76, 106-07, wrote that Camillo was overshadowed by his mother and Panciroli and suggested that he was more interested in poetry and leisure time than politics. BENEŠ 1989, p. 350-62, expanded upon these ideas in examining the factors that prevented Camillo from asserting his authority. Traditionally, Camillo has been criticised as an incompetent cardinal nephew (for example, BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 51, 70; CIAMPI 1878, p. 123-24), but more recent historians have defended his character; BENEŠ 1989, p. 354-67; BENOCCI 1996, 64-65.

¹³⁸ For contemporary accounts of these events, GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 493, 495, 507-508; Ameyden, BCasan., cod. 1832, fols. 274-280. Historians who have discussed the events surrounding Camillo's resignation and marriage include: CIAMPI 1878, p. 126-31; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 38; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 107-15; BENEŠ 1989, p. 369-73, 376. For Olimpia Aldobrandini's pedigree, CIAMPI 1878, p. 127; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 108; BENEŠ 1989, p. 373-74. That the couple received prominent visitors and wedding gifts while in exile at Caprarola and Frascati suggests that they did not lose their social status. CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, noted the large diamond that the Duke of Parma sent. Other gifts were a silver service from the Duke of Parma and beautiful wall hangings from the Venetian ambassador; BAV, Urb. lat. 1111, fols. 177v, 194.

¹³⁹ GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 628-29; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 40-41; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 171-72; BENEŠ 1989, p. 392.

¹⁴⁰ CIAMPI 1878, p. 115-16; BENEŠ 1989, p. 372, 395.

¹⁴¹ For the citation of 10 February 1645, BCasan., cod. 1832, fol. 127; for the reference in April 1645, BAV, Urb. lat. 1109, fol. 90v. For the pope's other visits to the palace, BCasan., cod. 1832, fol. 136v; BCasan., cod. 1833, fols. 22, 33v, 232, 327v, 354v; BAV, Barb. lat. 4819, fol. 36v, 96v; GIGLI 1994, II, *in passim*.

¹⁴² BCasan., Cod. 1832, fol. 192. Another visit was recorded six months later; contemplating the details of the building project, Innocent X ordered the builders to stop certain things that were not going well according to his judgment; see BCasan., cod. 1832, fol. 230. For further examples, BCasan., cod. 1832, fols.

217v, 220, 278.

¹⁴³ He followed a similar *modus operandi* in his administration, installing loyal backers like Cardinal Panciroli as his secretary of state and Monsignor Domenico Cecchini as his datary; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 35-6; BENEŠ 1989, p. 341.

¹⁴⁴ Passeri recorded the appointment; HESS 1934, p. 217.

¹⁴⁵ The interactions are recorded in meeting notes (BAV, Vat. lat. 11258, fols. 150-55v), which were first analyzed by Dagobert Frey and later transcribed by Furio Fasolo. Frey, 1924, 69-74, concluded that the meeting provided Borromini with the opportunity to intervene in the planning process. For the transcription, FASOLO 1961, p. 304-11.

¹⁴⁶ Quotation from CONNORS 1989, p. 76. Besides his official posts, Spada supervised building projects for the Pamphilj including the renovation of S. Giovanni in Laterano, Villa Pamphilj, and S. Martino al Cimino. On the career of Spada, EHRLE 1927; CONNORS 1998, XIX and XLVI-XLVIII; BENEŠ 1989, p. 342-45; CONNORS 1980; GÜTHLEIN 1979; GÜTHLEIN 1981; HEIMBÜRGER RAVALLI 1977; ROCA DE AMICIS 1996; MCPHEE 2002.

¹⁴⁷ In his study of Innocent's project at S. Giovanni in Laterano, ROCA DE AMICIS 1996, p. 24, asserted that Innocent X and Spada were well suited. At a moment when the papacy was in a difficult financial situation, Innocent X skilfully found the funds for the renovation and Spada compared prices to make the most of the resources.

¹⁴⁸ FREY 1924, p. 69-74; FASOLO 1961, p. 304-308; MAGNUSON 1986, vol. II, p. 54.

¹⁴⁹ In 1639 Camillo inherited his father's portion of the palace, and in May 1645 Innocent X donated his share of the palace to his nephew. For Pamphilio's testament in ADP, 93.68.1, BENEŠ 1989, vol. I, p. 171. GARMS 1972, p. 51 (no. 182), published Giovanni Battista's donation (ADP, 86.5, fols. 65v-72).

¹⁵⁰ Until my study of the Palace (LEONE 2008), PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 224-225, offered the most thorough account of the development of the site. See also FREY 1924, p. 46; HEMPEL 1924, p. 134; EIMER 1970, vol. I, p. 36. The sale of the properties to form the site is recorded in: the expense account for the Palazzo Pamphilj (ADP, 88.35.5, fols. 66-72), which was partially transcribed and summarised by FASOLO 1961, p. 284-291; and the primogeniture records (ADP 86.4), which were transcribed by GARMS 1972, p. 40-42 (nos. 144, 144a), 49-50 (nos. 179, 180, 181). Additional copies of the sale documents, which provide greater detail than the published sources, are in ADP, 88.33.1 (1470-1646) and ADP, 88.41.1 (1646-50).

¹⁵¹ ADP, 88.34.1.14. Two versions of the plan of the palazzo Cibo exist: BAV, Vat. lat. 11258, fol. 164, and ADP, 88.34.3; see THELEN 1967, n. 2.

¹⁵² ADP, 88.34.1.14; GARMS 1972, p. 67 (no. 244).

¹⁵³ ADP, 88.35.2, unfoliated; ADP, 88.35.5, fol. 1 (1645: 8 August, 30 August, 16 September; 1646: 7 February, 9 April, 4 June, 24 July), fol. 5 (1646: 20 August, 12 October, 6 November).

¹⁵⁴ ADP, 88.35.5, fol. 5 (1652: 2 November, 10 November).

¹⁵⁵ Although scholars have acknowledged Donna Olimpia's involvement in building the Palazzo Pamphilj and identified the completed palace with her, prior to my work (Leone, 2008) no one had delineated precisely how she contributed to its construction and influenced its function. For the earlier scholarship, PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 145, 224; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 129-133, 149-510; TEMPESTA 1987, p. 66; RUSSELL 1996.

¹⁵⁶ BENEŠ 1989, p. 167-69, interpreted Giovanni Battista's will, which she dated between 1629 and 1639, as evidence of Donna Olimpia's privileged position in the family. For a partial transcription of the will, GARMS 1972, p. 51 (no. 184) (ADP, 86.6). Pamphilio's will (ADP, 93.68.1) left his wife the right to live in the family palace: "[...] l'habitatione in casa con detti miei figliuoli heredi et successori, la carrozza et gl'alimenti con decenti per se, serve et altre cose necessarie conforme al grado uso, et che giuderà l'infatto esecutore [...]" EIMER 1970, vol. I, p. 36 n. 8; BENEŠ 1989, 169. For the rights typically awarded to wives, FERRARO 1994, vol. I, p. 145.

¹⁵⁷ CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 151-52.

¹⁵⁸ BAROZZI and BERCHET 1877, p. 150.

¹⁵⁹ BAV, Urb. lat. 1110, 117v (week of 14 April 1646).

¹⁶⁰ ADP, 88.35.2; ADP, 88.35.5. The pope made two direct donations to the palace: 10,000 *scudi* in November 1646, and "dodici migliaia di Ferro" from Castel Sant'Angelo in December 1647 (ADP, 88.35.1.7, and ADP, 88.35.1.9); GARMS 1972, p. 67 (no. 245), 101 (nos. 448, 450).

¹⁶¹ Scholars who have discussed the drawing in ADP, 88.35.1.1 and 2 are: HEMPEL 1924, p. 134; SCHIAVO 1966, p. 6; SALERNO 1970a, 148; EIMER 1970, vol. I, p. 36; PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 225. FASOLO 1961, p. 281, first published the drawing. The text reads: "Noi Lorenzo Mancini, et Gregorio Serlupi Mastri di Strada di Roma, et suo distretto|Concediamo licenza all'Eminentiss.mo et R.mo Sig. r D. Camillo Cardinal Pamphilij, che possa nel suo Palazzo posto, in Piazza Naona fabricare nel sito publico, fuori della facciata di detto Palazzo, con resalti, doi resalti nelle cantonate, et un'altro resalto, nell' mezzo con forme alle misure, notate nella Pianta, qui sotto, colorita di rosso, fatta, et firmata dal m.ro sottm.ro, così, da noi, ordinati, et che possa anco fare, le Ringhiere, sopra alli Portoni, et, à tutto le altre fenestre, della med.ma facciata, per tanto, Dato nella m.ra residenza il di 18 di Giugno 1645 [signatures of Mancini and Serlupi]," and "Io Hieronimo Rainaldi Architetto, et sottomastro di strada." On the significance of appropriating property in Rome, CONNORS 1982.

¹⁶² ADP, 88.35.1. FASOLO 1961, p. 282, published the terms of the license but not the drawing, and he incorrectly transcribed the year as 1646.

¹⁶³ CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 130.

¹⁶⁴ RUSSELL 1996; LEONE 2008, p. 218-29. See the discussion of the frescoes in this book.

¹⁶⁵ Survey books on the Baroque have codified the categorisation of Rainaldi and Borromini. Normally, a chapter is devoted to each High Baroque architect, while architects before and after them are grouped into single chapters; see WITTKOWER 1982 (1st ed. 1958), and VARRIANO 1986. Although Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona certainly merit singular treatment, and the very nature of a survey book requires reduction, it is problematic that the same approach has clouded the inquiries of specialised studies. FASOLO 1961, is the only monograph on Rainaldi, and even it is incomprehensive and half-devoted to the architect's son. However, in the past thirty years scholars have paid increasing attention to Girolamo Rainaldi's work: ADORNI 1974, p. 65-9; GÜTHLEIN 1978; GÜTHLEIN 1983; GÜTHLEIN 1985; ANDANTI 1987; BIONDI 1987; BÖSEL 1988; ROCA DE AMICIS 1989; PACCIANI 1992; GÜTHLEIN 1993; GÜTHLEIN 1994; ZANCHETTIN 1999; JARRARD 1999; JARRARD 2003, ch. 3. Through a collection of publications, Paolo Portoghesi was instrumental in redefining Borromini's oeuvre, and today the bibliography on the architect is extensive. For a historiography of Borromini's critical reception, see PORTOGHESI 1964, p. 93-140. The catalogues for the anniversary exhibit, *Borromini e l'universo barocco*, edited by BÖSEL and FROMMEL 1999, 2000, are useful sources for recent scholarship and provide the earlier bibliography.

¹⁶⁶ FREY 1924, p. 68, 74; PORTOGHESI 1967, p. 180-81; SCHIAVO 1967, p. 60; MAGNUSON 1986, vol. II, p. 46.

¹⁶⁷ For a summary of his career, GÜTHLEIN 1983, p. 263. On Rainaldi's work in Parma, ADORNI 1974, p. 65-69; ZANCHETTIN 1999.

¹⁶⁸ According to the chronicler Spaccini, Francesco I called Girolamo Rainaldi and Gaspare Vigarani to Modena because he was unhappy with the existing plans for the palace and his wife, the daughter of Duke Ranuccio Farnese, was familiar with Rainaldi's work and accustomed to living in a grander setting; PACCIANI 1992, p. 267; JARRARD 2003, p. 100-101.

¹⁶⁹ Following PACCIANI 1987 and 1992, JARRARD (1999; 2003, ch. 3) developed the idea that the evolution of the ducal palace plans responded to Francesco I's growing political and social position.

¹⁷⁰ *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 25, p. 860-61, s.v. "Rainaldi" (Edward J. Olszewski).

¹⁷¹ Regarding the relationship between Peperelli and Rainaldi, see LONGO 1990.

¹⁷² For discussion of this issue, LEONE 2008, p. 161-63.

¹⁷³ Borromini's collection of man-made and natural objects and his significant

library attest to his intellectual curiosity; CONNORS 1999, p. 19.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ On Borromini's experience with palace architecture, Elisabeth Sladek's catalogue entry in BÖSEL and FROMMEL 2000, p. 193; and SLADEK 2000. On the Palazzo Carpegna, TAFURI 1967; BLUNT 1979, p. 168-69; CONNORS 1989, p. 233-45; BÖSEL and FROMMEL 2000, p. 195-98, 349-54.

¹⁷⁶ Borromini was involved in the Casino del Belrespiro under the direction of Camillo and the work at S. Martino al Cimino for Donna Olimpia; PORTOGHESI 1964, p. 57-58; HEIMBÜRGER RAVALLI 1977, p. 251-74; CONNORS 1999, p. 13-15. On S. Giovanni in Laterano, ROCA DE AMICIS 1996, p. 22-23, 61-62.

¹⁷⁷ SLADEK 2000, esp. 86.

¹⁷⁸ FREY 1924, p. 74-77. Although Borromini rarely used red chalk, he did use it in his presentation drawing for S. Ivo alla Sapienza (1642) and his plans for the Palazzo Carpegna (1638-40); see CONNORS 1996, p. 41.

¹⁷⁹ FREY 1924, p. 68, 74.

¹⁸⁰ Virgilio Spada preserved the proposals in two volumes, which were later divided between the two institutions; on the history of Spada's volumes, HEIMBÜRGER RAVALLI 1977, p. 255.

¹⁸¹ I have analyzed the entire series of drawings in LEONE 2008, p. 164-201.

¹⁸² Rainaldi retained the three windows in room 17 and proposed a nineteen-bay façade, both of which were reduced in subsequent plans. The project likely dates to the period following his nomination as architect of the Pamphilj on 1 November 1644 and certainly prior to June 1645 when the façade design was established. THELEN 1967, p. 29 n. b, determined that this plan established the scale for all subsequent projects, both plans and elevations.

¹⁸³ FREY 1924 62-68, and HEMPEL 1924, p. 134, attributed the *salone* to Borromini. Alternately, CONNORS 1998, XLVII, n. 2, attributed it to Rainaldi, citing the building committee notes from 26 April 1646.

¹⁸⁴ THELEN 1967, p. 23-24 cat. no. 13, dated the plan to the first half of 1645. PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 229, discussed it as Borromini's decisive idea.

¹⁸⁵ PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 231.

¹⁸⁶ For the drawings, LEONE 2008, p. 173-75.

¹⁸⁷ GÜTHLEIN 1979, p. 218-19. CONNORS 1998, XLVII, noted the attention given to the *salone* in the treatise.

¹⁸⁸ Borromini's method was revealed in the *Opus Architectonicum*, which was produced jointly by Spada and Borromini; CONNORS 1998, XLVII-XLVIII and 134. The construction documents confirm that this technique was used, LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 10-10v, 132v-133. WADDY 1990, p. 224-27, noted the importance of chains in building many rooms at the Palazzo Barberini, including the *salone*, the elliptical *sala* and the library.

¹⁸⁹ The effect was lost in the nineteenth century when a floor was added above the *salone*; ADP, Cartella 5, int. 92.

¹⁹⁰ FREY 1924, p. 63-68, and HEMPEL 1924, p. 134, attributed the gallery to Borromini. PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 229-30, added that Borromini's proposal of a gallery here represents a logical development in the planning process, since he had proposed a gallery of notable size in an earlier plan for the palace. FASOLO 1961, p. 128, unconvincingly attributed the gallery, except for the doorframes and serliana, to Rainaldi.

¹⁹¹ The construction of the gallery is dated by the payment in June 1647 to Spadarino for the frescoes in the vault; see FASOLO 1961, p. 287.

¹⁹² For the building account, FASOLO 1961, p. 284-91.

¹⁹³ Writing before historians had explored the function of Roman palaces, REDIG DE CAMPOS 1970, erroneously characterised the Via dell' Anima rooms as private and the Piazza Navona *enfilade* as representational.

¹⁹⁴ According to the *stati d'anime*, Cardinal Pamphilj, Olimpia Maidalchini, Camillo, and Costanza were resident in the palace from 1642-44; ASVic., *Stati d'anime, S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, 1642-44, fol. 63v.

¹⁹⁵ Innocent X preferred the Palazzo Quirinale for its healthier air; Ameyden, BCasan., cod. 1833, fol. 84; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 376.

¹⁹⁶ The *stati d'anime* record Camillo's absence from the Palazzo Pamphilj;

ASVic., *Stati d'anime, S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, 1645-46, fol. 15v. CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 107, claimed that as cardinal nephew Camillo continued to live in the Palazzo Pamphilj with his mother and that Panciroli occupied the apartment for the cardinal nephew at the Palazzo Quirinale. However, she did not cite a source, and the archival record instead suggests that Camillo lived in the papal palace. He hosted a banquet for the Spanish ambassador at the Palazzo Quirinale in May 1646; BAV, Urb. lat. 1110, fol. 155; and Ameyden reported that after Camillo married, the pope gave his nephew back his rooms at the Palazzo Vaticano, implying that he had already lived there; BCasan., cod. 1832, fol. 382.

¹⁹⁷ Maria moved out upon her marriage to Andrea Giustiniani in 1639, and Costanza left the ancestral home after marrying Prince Ludovisi in December 1644.

¹⁹⁸ In 1645 the *stati d'anime* (ASVic., *Stati d'anime, S. Lorenzo in Damaso*) list Donna Olimpia as the only resident of the "Palazzo di N. [ostro] S. [ignore]." In 1647 she and her fifty-member *famiglia* are recorded there. Although the Palazzo Pamphilj is listed in the index of the 1649-52 *stati d'anime*, it is not found in the actual list of houses. Olimpia and her *famiglia* are again recorded in the *stati d'anime* of 1653-54.

¹⁹⁹ Ameyden, BCasan., Cod. 1832, fol. 136v.

²⁰⁰ The dinner took place on 3 February 1647; CICLI 1994, vol. II, p. 494.

²⁰¹ These rooms are defined as an apartment in the *misure e stime* (LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 46v) although they are not specifically identified with Camillo.

²⁰² SCAMOZZI 1615, p. 241, praised spacious rooms. On *meraviglia* as characteristic of the Baroque, KENSETH 1991.

²⁰³ For the quotation, GÜTHLEIN 1979, p. 218. The merit of an extensive sequence of rooms was echoed by Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este in his search for a residence in Rome; JARRARD 1993, p. 301.

²⁰⁴ WADDY 1999, p. 22, interpreted the location of doorframes as an indication of direction. The stone used for the Pamphilj frames, called *miscio* in the documents, is probably a type of Breccia; LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 61v.

²⁰⁵ GARMS 1972, p. 390-424, published the inventory (ADP 86.23).

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 414 ("Stanza contigua accanto alla galleria").

²⁰⁷ For the making of the stair, which extends through the palace, LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 85v-91v.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 143v-149v.

²⁰⁹ GARMS 1972, p. 421.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 422.

²¹¹ On the *zamparana*, WADDY 1999, p. 34. For an example, see the print in WALKER and HAMMOND 1999, p. 140-42 (cat. no. 27).

²¹² WADDY 1990, p. 112-18, 171, 251-54, 259-60, 308.

²¹³ GÜTHLEIN 1979, p. 218.

²¹⁴ PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 234. On the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, COURTRIGHT 2003, p. 54-55.

²¹⁵ Although PREIMESBERGER 1976, associated the Pamphilj serliana with the Palazzo Vaticano, especially the Sala Regia, he did not specifically connect it to the Tower of the Winds. On the Tower of the Winds, COURTRIGHT 1990; COURTRIGHT 2003, 59-68.

²¹⁶ On the serliana, WILINSKI 1969; CONNORS 1982, p. 18; COURTRIGHT 2003, p. 59-65. On the emperor's appearance at the circus, in particular Constantine at his hippodrome in Constantinople, KRAUTHEIMER 1983, p. 49-50.

²¹⁷ PREIMESBERGER 1974, p. 96-100; RASPE 1996, p. 360-65.

²¹⁸ PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 239-42.

²¹⁹ For the payment documents (ADP, 88.35.5, fols. 9, 17), FASOLO 1961, p. 286-87; GARMS 1972, p. 108 (no. 461).

²²⁰ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 62.

²²¹ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 62-64v.

²²² Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 65-65v.

- ²²¹ On the Verospi gallery, PUGLISI 1999, p. 12.
- ²²² LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 75v-78.
- ²²³ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 71v-75.
- ²²⁴ PREIMESBERGER 1976, p. 243, made this point, which can be developed by considering the comparative examples in greater detail. For the iconography of the Galleria Farnese, DEMPSEY 1968.
- ²²⁵ CHENEY 1981.
- ²²⁶ PREIMESBERGER 1976, was the first to argue that the representational value of the Pamphilj gallery was raised.
- ²²⁷ In 1669 Giovanni Battista Pamphilj (Camillo's son) decided to rent out the palace. The inventory made on the occasion is contained in ADP, 88.40.5. The first tenant was Cardinal Cibo whose family palace had been incorporated into the Palazzo Pamphilj.
- ²²⁸ Arnold van Westerhout's engraving illustrates the description of the festivities by John Michael Wright, 1688; see WALKER and HAMMOND 1999, p. 224 cat. no. 81.
- ²²⁹ Ibid., p. 224 cat. no. 81.
- ²³⁰ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 182v-186, 187-188.
- ²³¹ For the construction of the *piano nobile loggia* (63 1/2 x 8 1/2 palmi), Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 78-78v.
- ²³² CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 150, discussed Olimpia's love of theatre and asserted that the gallery was used for spectacles but did not furnish evidence.
- ²³³ BCasan., Cod. 1833, fols. 23v-24. On Ameyden's comedies, see ADEMOLLO 1969, p. 42-47 (46-47, on the 1648 production staged in the Palazzo Pamphilj).
- ²³⁴ One night, the guests were asked to become the actors, and on another occasion the entertainment was described as licentious; see BCasan., Cod. 1833, 206v, 209v, 211.
- ²³⁵ Cardinal Francesco's first anteroom was used for theatrical productions before a separate theatre was built; WADDY 1990, p. 57, 246-47.
- ²³⁶ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 62-78.
- ²³⁷ SCANELLI 1966, p. 208, 354.
- ²³⁸ The document is located among the papers of the notary Jacobus Simoncellus in the ASR; see DEL PIAZZO 1968, p. 101 (no. 146).
- ²³⁹ BELLORI 1976, p. 42. For the inventory of 1666, GARMS 1972, p. 414-17. The paintings were removed before the inventory of 1669; ADP, 88.40.5.
- ²⁴⁰ STRUNCK 2007, p. 154-56, 2007b, p. 82, 94-96, and 2010, p. 225, has identified the gallery of the Palazzo Colonna, initially designed by Antonio Del Grande but enlarged under Bernini, as an early example of a new type in which the gallery serves a representational role surpassing its traditional function as a place for leisure and art and equating it with the function of the *salone*.
- ²⁴¹ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fol. 248v. The apartment is also identified as "[...] *Appartamento verso la Piazza di Pasquino*," Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fol. 274.
- ²⁴² Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 285-294, 318.
- ²⁴³ Structural changes including the raising of the ceilings were also made on the upper floors; for the reconstruction of this area and the embellishment of the *piano nobile* rooms, Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 248v-250v, 253v-257, 274-275v, 282-285.
- ²⁴⁴ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 274-75v.
- ²⁴⁵ The *misure e stime* identify the room's function and record its measurements (43 1/2 x 24 1/4 x 25 1/2 palmi); Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 256-257, 284-284v.
- ²⁴⁶ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 256-257.
- ²⁴⁷ Neither room is mentioned in the *misure e stime*. In 1782, room 7 functioned as a chapel; ADP, 88.40.9.
- ²⁴⁸ The room is so-named in the *misure e stime*; Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fol. 254. At the start of my study of the Palazzo Pamphilj, I identified the room as Donna Olimpia's audience room, independent of RUSSELL 1996, who drew the same conclusion.
- ²⁴⁹ LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 182-182v.
- ²⁵⁰ Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fol. 179-181. The scaffolding for the painter indicates that the central field of the vault in room 32 was meant to be painted. For the Palazzo Falconieri vault, HOWARD 1981, p. 140-43.
- ²⁵¹ The structure of the stair was built during the construction of the walls for the new rooms facing Via dell'Anima; LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 189-194.
- ²⁵² BCasan., Cod. 1832, 274, 278-278v.
- ²⁵³ The palace was purchased on 18 September 1647; GARMS 1972, p. 32 (no. 102).
- ²⁵⁴ GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 526 (24 June 1648).
- ²⁵⁵ BCasan., Cod. 1833, fol. 173v; see also BAV, Barb. lat. 4819, fols. 99v, 142.
- ²⁵⁶ A contemporary of Olimpia Maidalchini, the English noblewoman Anne Clifford (1590-1676) similarly used property to articulate her leading role in her family; CHEW 2003.
- ²⁵⁷ For a comparative example, see the case of Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), governor-general and regent of the Burgundian-Habsburgian Netherlands, whose palace was in Mechelen; EICHBERGER 2003.
- ²⁵⁸ BAV, Barb. lat. 4819, fol. 39. Upon arriving in Rome, the Tuscan princes immediately paid a visit to Innocent and then Donna Olimpia. According to SESTINI DA BIBBIENA 1660, p. 82-83, the ambassadors of the grand duke of Tuscany were second only to cardinals, Venetian doges, and ambassadors of kings.
- ²⁵⁹ The inventory is the first written evidence for the palace's use after its construction. GARMS 1972, p. 267-68, partially transcribed the inventory (ADP, 86.7, fols. 197-292v; 243-245v), but I have used the original document because Garms did not record the complete contents of the rooms.
- ²⁶⁰ ADP, 86.7, fols. 243v.
- ²⁶¹ In papal family palaces the shared use of a stair by noble residents is unprecendented, but the circumstances of the Pamphilj were unique because the second resident had not moved in. The Palazzo Borghese and Palazzo Barberini represent more typical stair arrangements; WADDY 1990, p. 75, 179-80. But the Palazzo Barberini provides a precedent for a single, shared *sala dei palafrenieri*; WADDY 1990, p. 180.
- ²⁶² The payment for the stemma is recorded in the expense account; ADP, 88.35.5, fol. 11.
- ²⁶³ FREY 1924, p. 57-58, 80, attributed the completed façade to Rainaldi but observed that the architects were aware of each other's designs. FASOLO 1961, p. 122-30, attributed "the formal meanings" of the palace to Rainaldi. The *misure e stime* attest to the façade's original appearance. The exterior walls of the cardinal's palace and new properties were largely retained, and new architectural elements made of brick and stucco were added to this surface; LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 102-118.
- ²⁶⁴ The drawings are in BAV, Vat. lat. 11258, fols. 176, 177, 180. For analysis of the drawings: FREY 1924, p. 77-80; THELEN 1967, p. 24-26 cat. nos. 14, 15, 16; PORTOGHESI 1967, p. 178; BÖSEL and FROMMEL 2000, p. 182-83 cat. nos. X.15-X.17; SLADEK 2000, p. 92-93; LEONE 2008, p. 186-94.
- ²⁶⁵ The original appearance of the façade is recorded in the *misure e stime*; Ibid., Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 307v-309v.
- ²⁶⁶ Rainaldi's drawings are in BAV, Vat. lat. 11258, fols. 173, 174. FREY 1924, p. 58, analysed Rainaldi's plans as traditional in design and close to the execution.
- ²⁶⁷ As noted by CONNORS 1998, XLVII, Innocent's wish is recorded in Spada's treatise on the palace (ASR, Archivio Spada, vol. 186, fols. 1075-1081). For the transcribed treatise, GÜTHLEIN 1979, p. 218-20.
- ²⁶⁸ CONNORS 1980, p. 30. ROCA DE AMICIS, 1989, described Rainaldi's ornament as having the effect of disintegrating the architectural structure. FASOLO 1961, *in passim*, defined Rainaldi's style as calligraphic with minute divisions of ornament and chromatic variety.
- ²⁶⁹ JARRARD 1993, p. 120-21, made the point in connection to the Palazzo Ducale in Modena.
- ²⁷⁰ Besides the painting, evidence for the façade's original coloration includes the *misure e stime* (LEONE 2008, Appendix: Doc. 4, fols. 307v-309v) and the scientific analyses carried out by restorer Augusta Cyrillo Gomes, 2000. On

celestino/color aria, see BALDI 1984, p. 25-30; MORA and MORA 1984, p. 17-24; PALLOTTINO 1990, p. 138.

²⁷³ DANDELET 2001, ch. 4, esp. 113-21. On the confraternity, see also, ROMANO and PARTINI 1947, p. 37.

²⁷⁴ DANDELET 2001, p. 110-13.

²⁷⁵ INGERSOLL 1985, p. 73, 284-85, connected the formal language of festivals to the facades of sixteenth-century Roman palaces with *sgraffitto* decoration (monochromatic frescoes) and stucco bas-reliefs. For the influence of ephemera on the façade of the Pamphilj's Casino del Belrespiro, FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO and CARANDINI 1977, p. 81-85.

²⁷⁶ For a detail of the print, FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO 1997, p. 145.

²⁷⁷ The quote from the Este agent Agostino Luco is cited in JARRARD 1993, p. 303, Appendix, ASMo, CD Amb. Roma 261, 9 December 1651.

²⁷⁸ GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 628-29; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 40-41; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 171-72; BENES 1989, p. 392.

²⁷⁹ Innocent X and Donna Olimpia Maidalchini had also had a falling out during which Olimpia was absent from the papal palace for two and a half years. On the family's reconciliation and the marriage between Olimpiuccia

and Prince Barberini, GIGLI 1994, p. II, p. 678-79, 682-83; CIAMPI 1878, p. 166; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 194-204; BENES 1989, p. 392; LEONE 2008, p. 267, 272-74.

²⁸⁰ LEONE 2008, ch. 7.

²⁸¹ GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 729. Following Innocent's death, Donna Olimpia shocked the Roman court by refusing to pay for her brother-in-law's coffin. Camillo also failed to take care of the necessary arrangements. After being displayed in St. Peter's for three days, the pope's body was moved to a storeroom until Innocent's *maggiordomo* paid for the burial. GIGLI 1994, vol. II, p. 731-32; PASTOR 1940, vol. XXX, p. 46.

²⁸² Donna Olimpia spent the final days of her life at her fief of S. Martino al Cimino; she succumbed to the plague on 26 September 1657 and was buried in the church at San Martino; CHIOMENTI VASSALLI 1979, p. 242-45, 248-55.

²⁸³ ADP, 88.40-5.

²⁸⁴ For Busiri Vici's biography, "Busiri Vici, Andrea," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-busiri-vici_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/. For Busiri Vici's projects for the Palazzo Pamphilj in Piazza Navona, ADP, Cartella 5, int. 92.

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