A Copy of Borromini’s S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Gubbio
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A copy of Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Gubbio*

Borromini prided himself on his originality. Into his first independent commission, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, he packed 'all he knew', to produce 'an extraordinary design, with nothing copied or borrowed from any architect, but founded on the antique and on the best architectural authors' (Fig.1). To his surprise, the church received an immediately favourable reception. Visitors from foreign parts, Germans, Flemings, French, Italians, Spaniards, even Indians asked for the plan, but Borromini declined to satisfy their requests. Even though his Trinitarian patrons urged him to have a plan printed for his own financial advantage, he avoided the task. This was partly due to secretiveness, partly to contempt for the idea of provincial visitors taking a plan of S. Carlo home and imitating it: 'and I for certain would never have entered this profession only to become a copyist'.

Thus it comes as something of a surprise to learn that there is a larger-than-life copy of S. Carlo in Umbria. S. Maria del Prato in Gubbio stands, as the name suggests, in what were once meadows less than a mile to the south of the medieval hilltown. In Roman times the theatre and suburbs had stood on the plain, but in the insecurity of the Middle Ages the city enclosed itself in the terraced stronghold on the slope of Monte Ingino, leaving the ruins of the theatre in the midst of what became verdant fields. By the seventeenth century the plain of Gubbio could be celebrated by a local panegyrist as the 'praterie, che gareggiano con gli Esperidi', meadows with crystal springs and noble villas. Here, sometime early in 1662, a renaissance fresco in a shrine along the Perugia road began to work miracles, and a church was built to house it in 1662–70.

On the outside (Fig.4), S. Maria del Prato is merely a plain masonry box with an unremarkable provincial façade. But to step inside and behold a structure almost identical to the famous Roman church, built on the same geometrical plan, is a strange experience, rather like meeting an unknown twin brother of one's wife (Figs.2, 7, 8 and 9). One might dismiss it as an amusing provincial sport except for the fact that there exists an autograph Borromini drawing in the Albertina (1409; Fig.5) that shows the profile of an entablature from S. Carlino, but is inscribed: 'fatto p[ri] il Sig. N. ... / Cameriere del / poter se / Card. le Carpegna p[ri] la / chesa che si fa in Agiub[i] / simile a quella di S. to Carl[lin]a / alle 4 fontane / 15 luglio 1665'. Thus the church was in construction during Borromini's life-

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fact celebrated it by cooperating with the pope in clearing Piazza Trevi in 1640–41.  

The question of allegiance to Rome, especially during a time of shifting boundaries, may explain in part the large number of copies of the baldachin of St Peter’s in Umbria, beginning in 1635 and continuing through the eighteenth century.  

Ulrico Carpegna served as bishop of Gubbio until 1638 and then left for Todi and shortly thereafter Rome. He had frequent contact with Borromini, and commissioned a new high altar from the architect for his first titular church, S. Anastasia. After Ambrogio Carpegna’s unexpected death in 1643, the cardinal took over the family palace at Piazza Trevi and completed it in 1643–49, but on a less ambitious plan. He

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was the prelate who consecrated S. Carlino in 1646, bringing with him as a symbolic gesture the crozier that Urban VIII had used to consecrate St Peter’s.1 Borromini named him executor of his will in 1667, and bequeathed to him two gold chains of knighthood, two statues, and other valuable legacies. A few months after Borromini’s suicide the cardinal celebrated the wedding in S. Carlino of Bernardo Borromini, the architect’s nephew and heir, with a niece of Carlo Maderno, and he acted as godfather to their first surviving child in 1669.2 The trust between the cardinal and the architect seems to have been mutual and continuous right up to Borromini’s last days, and Carpegna is one of the few people in Rome who could have extracted from him a drawing of S. Carlino.

For Borromini was notoriously secretive about his plan. Not even Fra Juan di San Bonaventura, the chronicler of S. Carlino, who was to a certain extent Borromini’s confident around 1650, managed to get an autograph plan for his Relatione. Instead he had to be content with one drawn by a rank amateur with no indication of the geometrical armature.3 Although it was possible to approximate the shape of the church, no one seems to have been able to crack the secret of the geometry unhindered.

Around 1660 Borromini decided to publish his complete works, and had five or six plates of the Oratory and S. Ivo prepared by Domenico Barrière. As part of this enterprise he drew, at last, a set of geometrical plans for S. Carlino.4 These idealise the church and smooth over the many difficulties and changes of plan that marked its construction in order to show a complex geometrical armature based on the theme of the circle in the triangle. But Barrière never etched these drawings, and indeed Borromini’s publishing project did not come to immediate fruition. It was revived more than fifty years after his death when Sebastiano Giannini, an otherwise unknown publisher, issued two volumes on S. Ivo and the Oratory in 1720–25, and began a third volume of six plates on S. Carlino.5 This survives in only one proof copy. The plan in this volume (Fig.6) is an excellent pastiche. It combines the geometry shown on Borromini’s late plans, the lantern from an early plan (Albertina 190), and all the strange nooks and crannies around the church and convent as they looked in Giannini’s day. For some reason Giannini abandoned the project of a complete Opera and the S. Carlo volume was never published. In fact no geometrically explicit plans of S. Carlino were published until this century.6

Cardinal Carpegna was the conduit through which Borromini’s drawings were requested and received, but he is not the patron of the church in Gubbio. That honour belongs to Monsignor Alessandro Sperelli (1589–1672), bishop of Gubbio from 1644 to 1672 (Fig.3). Sperelli was Umbrian by birth and education, but he nevertheless saw Rome as his cultural capital and the papal court as the great magnet for

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1 JUAN DI S. BONAVENTURA, MS cited at note 1 above, p.58, partly transcribed in POLLAK, op. cit. at note 1 above, p.49.
2 F. DEL PIAZZO, Raggiungi borromini, Rome [1964], pp.31, 35 ff. and 175.
3 JUAN DI S. BONAVENTURA, MS cited at note 1 above, p.50.
4 VENUS, Albertina, Borromini Zeichnungen, 160, 169, 170, 173, 175, 179.
talent and true path to advancement. Born to a noble family of Assisi and educated in Perugia, he rose in the ecclesiastical hierarchy under the patronage first of his uncle in Rome and then of Cardinals Giussani and D’Este. Urban VIII sent him as apostolic vicar to Parma, Rimini and Genoa, and then made him bishop of Ortona in 1642. Finally he was made bishop of Gubbio in 1644. His residence there was uninterrupted except for a brief, unhappy assignment to Naples as apostolic nunzio in 1652–53. He asked to return to Gubbio for reasons of health, and stayed there until his death in 1672.

Sperelli was a learned man, author of eleven books of legal opinions, devotions, moral paradoxes, sermons, and a treatise on the office of bishop. His house in Rome was a centre of learning, and he began to assemble a great library, which moved with him in 1644 to Gubbio. He began negotiations for the eventual gift of the books to the city in 1659, and finally turned them over in 1666. They were moved amidst popular rejoicing from the bishop’s palace to the Palazzo Pretorio on the main upper piazza, where the library occupied two, later three, rooms. It was said of the old bishop that if he stopped studying he would die, and at the age of 82 he tried to limit himself to four hours of reading a day.

But this was also a man who laid great store by the size and splendour of his entourage. In the words of his biographer, ‘he always lived in the state of a great prelate, indeed one might say with the splendour due to a cardinal, especially when one considers the number and quality of those who made up his court’. He was highly sensitive to his dignity as a successor to a long line of saintly bishops stretching back to S. Ubaldo and S. Giovanni da Lodi in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He restored the old cathedral of S. Niccolò and embellished the new cathedral high up on the slope of the hillside next to the Palazzo Ducale. From his own patrimony he endowed three new canons, and he increased the dignity of the entire body of canons by obtaining for them the right to wear the same vestments and insignia as the canons of St Peter’s. In 1648 he arranged for a great procession to translate the body of S. Giovanni da Lodi on 1105/06, the bishop who had ordained S. Ubaldo, into a new cappella in the cathedral. He reveded the saint’s body and gave it his own episcopal ring, and later had the grand procession depicted

"The earliest life is by Vincenzo Armanini, the blind letterato of Gubbio, in the form of two letters to Carlo Cartari in Rome, in V. Armanini: Delle lettere, Rome (1674), III, the first dated 22 March 1667 (pp.335–43), and the second 23rd February 1672 (pp.443–59); on Armanini see U. Colombetti: Vincenzo Armanini”, in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, IV, Rome (1962), pp.222–24. On Sperelli see also M. Savio: De Episcopis, in Università e Lettere, Rome, 1666, IV, (1962), pp.217–28; G. Raffaelli: Il letterato di Gubbio, in Lettere Italiane, Rome (1963), pp.135–38. The death date in Raffaelli is 1671, but the tombstone illustrated in M. Savio: La Biblioteca campanale Sperelliana di Gubbio, unpublished thesis at Lucca, Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1973, bears the date of 1671. It should be noted that Sperelli kept a house in Rome even after his move to Gubbio in 1644; cf. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Presidio della strada, busta 79, fasc. 7, 21st January 1658, lettera e stima of a house belonging to Duca Sannio ‘posizionata in via del Molo, una Sperelli scrivero di eguale posto nel nome di Camerlata nella piazza di S. Maria della camerata del caso che fa tono..., ed effetto di fare il gittare di una parte di detta casa conforme al disegno di f. S.n.t.

See Savio, papers pp.244–46, and Raffaelli, p.128 (both cited at note 13 above).

See Raffaelli, dissertation cited at note 14 above, and the description by Carlo Cartari in his notes on libraries in Rome, Archivio di Stato, Cartari-Febbi, Vol. 183, fol. 76v. Cartari knew of the library through his friend Vincenzo Armanini, who was his heaviest user and who donated his own books to it in 1684.

See Armanini, op. cit. at note 13 above, III, p.42 (1667).

Savio, op. cit. at note 13 above, 219.
in the frescoes of his new chapel. In 1652 he reconsecrated the cathedral.19

Along with S. Maria del Prato, the new Chapel of the
Sacrament, terraced out over the steep slope on the right
flank of the cathedral, is Sperelli’s most impressive achieve-
ment. It is a Greek cross in plan, with a cupola lit by eight
drum windows and an interior covered with convincing
marmorino decoration, which possibly reflects a taste acquired
in Naples. The dedication is to the Madonna di Loreto. The
chapel was begun in 1631, and Francesco Allegrini’s frescoes
in the cupola, transept vaults and lunettes are variously dated
1652 or 1654; the date 1658 is painted over the entrance
arch.20 Allegrini was a native of Gubbio who became the
leading disciple of the Cavaliere d’Arpino in Rome and was
given extensive commissions in Palazzo Pamphili in Piazza
Navona, particularly the story of Didon and a cycle from the
Book of Kings.21 His reputation was not much inferior to that
of Cortona. He was the ideal man to come home and import
a facile version of the metropolitan style to the churches and
palaces of Gubbio.

The chapel decoration celebrates bishops and clerics in
general (the saints shown in the pendentives would seem to be
Stephen and Jerome), the bishops of Gubbio in particular,
and most of all the incumbent bishop.22 The fresco in one
lunette shows Sperelli reconsecrating the cathedral, while the
other shows the translation of the body of S. Giovanni di
Lodi, whose coffin is covered in precious damask emboi-
dered with Sperelli’s arms. Sperelli wanted to be buried
below this fresco in a chamber behind an iron grille, while
opposite him on the left wall of the transept was a great
reliquary for the most precious relics of the cathedral, with a
silver ostensorio for the splinter of the True Cross.23 Although
there are many impressive episcopal tombs from the middle
ages and the renaissance preserved in the cathedral, none is
anywhere near as splendid as Sperelli’s chapel.

The miracles which led to the building of S. Maria del
Prato occurred early in 1662. The bishop took immediate
charge of the situation. He interrogated witnesses and had
their testimony recorded in a register spanning the period
10th March to 18th August 1662. His chancery banked the
funds contributed by the faithful. He laid the cornerstone
of the new church on 12th November 1662,24 and was assiduous

19. V. Armanne, La translazione del corpo di S. Giovanni da Lodi, Vescovo di Gubbio, Perugia
20. Lucarelli, Memorie e guide storiche di Gubbio, Città di Castello [1883], p. 332 (for the
date 1652); and G. Leonti, ‘Appunti sugli Allegri de Gubbio pitori del seicento’, Studi Sienesi, IX
[1968], p. 136, n. 27, quoting the Giornale di Letterature ed Estetica Cristiana, Gubbio [1844], II,
no. 239 (for the date 1654). Negotiations with other families who held chapels in the
cathedral to secure the desired location took place between June and September 1651, and are
documented in Gubbio, Archivio Vescovile, Libro dei Capitoli della Comunale della Chiesa
Cattedrale 1642 ff., fol. 99v–100v.
22. The Sperelli arms throughout the chapel show a cardinal’s hat, even though
Alessandro was never elevated to that rank. Presumably they were added by the
younger Sperelli (1639/40–1710) who became a cardinal in 1689 (G. Moroni,
Dizionario di erudizione storico-biblica, Rome and Venice [1854], LXVII, p. 296).
23. Armanne, op. cit. at note 13 above, III, p. 449 (1672). The canvas of the Birth of
the Virgin on this wall is signed by Antonio Gherardi da Rieti and dated 1684, and thus
postdates Sperelli’s death, Pianc (op. cit. at note 13 above, p. 129, note 1), says that a
recent (pre-1919) restoration showed that his body was in fact buried elsewhere in
the church.
about visiting the site daily and encouraging the workmen. He offered a major contribution for the high altar and various other gifts. The church bears the Sperelli shield on the main axis, and in the cornice near the high altar little creatures emerging from an acanthus rinceau play with his crozier and with a hand with four balls, a motif from his shield. This was his way of leaving a signature in the church, and there can be no doubt that he was the effective patron of what otherwise might appear to be a communal endeavour. Surely it was Sperelli and no one else who decided that S. Maria del Prato should be built *ad modello di San Carlo di Roma*.

Sperelli knew Borromini’s architecture through his contacts with the Oratorians of S. Maria in Vallicella. He was invited to give the inaugural sermon at Borromini’s new oratory in 1640. When he moved to Gubbio he called the Oratorians in and did everything in his power to help them put down their roots in the city. They would be his allies in the drive to reform customs. In 1641, two years before he left Rome, S. Carlino was finished, at least on the interior, and it may be assumed that he saw it at first hand. Two decades later, when he needed a design for S. Maria del Prato, it was a simple enough matter to ask his predecessor, Cardinal Carpegna, to intercede with Borromini for some drawings.

The documents record that the master mason of the church, Carlo Perugini, was paid for two trips to Rome, one in April 1663 and another in April 1665 (see Appendix I, below, documents 4 and 15). Much later, on 2nd March 1680, there is another payment for some brick and timber work (document 36). On 12th June 1664 we find a small payment to a local carpenter for preparatory work for a model of the church (document 11). These, along with the single surviving drawing mentioned above, are the only indications we have of communication between Rome and Gubbio.

The motto *CHAI RITAS* in the centre of the pavement and in the vault of the first side chapel on the right indicates that the church was given over to the Minims of S. Francesco di Paola. Indeed, it is in their archives that we find some meagre documentation for the church. These payments allow a rough chronology.

The cornerstone ceremony took place in November 1662 and the foundation ditches were dug from December through the following spring (documents 1–3). Carlo Perugini was paid for his assistance at this task on 3rd April 1663. Stone for some unspecified column bases was paid for on 18th July 1663 (document 5). Bricks for the giant columns of the interior and for the cornice were being accumulated in March 1664, but this was a little before they were actually needed, since it is only in June 1664 that we find payments for the pedestals and bases (document 12). A year later, in June 1665, stone was bought for keystones above the columns (document 6). Borromini’s drawing for the cornice is dated

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7Sec A. Sperelli, *Ragionamenti pastorali*, Rome [1664], I, p. 24, for his sermon at the first solemn mass in the Oratorians’ church.

8Since the brick floor of S. Carlino was replaced in 1898, it would be interesting to know if the floor of S. Maria del Prato is in any way a copy. It shows a large brick cross pattern filling the entire floor, and in the centre two concentric rings of diamond-shaped tiles around the central stone oval.
15th July 1665. Another year later, in August 1666, several fifty-foot treetrunks were purchased for scaffolding (document 21). Keystones for the vault were mentioned in May 1667, iron for the vault in July 1668, and covering for the cupola in November 1668 (documents 26, 38 and 29). The window over the main portal was installed between April and August 1670. Final accounts were settled with Perugini in February 1674 (document 35).

The façade was possibly begun in July 1664. The stonemason Vincenzo Pochi was paid for the stone for one of the two statues on the upper façade on 3rd April 1665 (document 14). The façade seems to be entirely Perugini's design (Fig 4), and has nothing to do with the sinuous curve of the façade of S. Carlo, the first storey of which was built in 1665–67. The boxy exterior in Gubbio makes one realise how much energy is conferred on S. Carlo by the canted fountain corner and the tight urban site.

The high altar, in black marble, was Sperelli's contribution. In 1667 Armanini mentions that he was preparing his gift, and in 1672 that the altar was finished. The Holy Image was translated here in September 1670.

One's impressions on entering S. Maria del Prato are likely to be more than mere bemusement. It is an earnest attempt to copy a powerful model, and some of the shock value of the original filters into the copy. Following the plan based on the double triangle, the piers give the impression of being pushed in under pressure from outside. Each pier has the familiar door leading to a side chapel, and at a middle level three statue niches, the central niche raised higher than the others. Sixteen giant columns articulate the walls and support a powerful architrave that snakes around the church. The architrave remains straight under the pendentives (where it follows the sides of the invisible triangles), but elsewhere it bends to create four great niches, which are deep on the long axis and shallow on the sides. There are the familiar pendentives with oval roundels, which had made the original look like a miniature St Peter's. Aroni jump from pier to pier, supporting an oval cornice and a cupola.

Borrromini's plan was not followed for the side chapels. The two spaces flanking the main altar are not architecturally developed. Those flanking the entrance take the shape of small transverse ovals, with the altar on the short axis opposite the entrance, lit by a window that receives oblique light. At the ends of the long axis there are blind doors which function as closets for cruets and other vessels. The oval chapel on the gospel side has a long inscription placed by the heirs of Cecilia Butelli Tondi in 1706. The oval chapel on the epistle side has no inscription except for 'charitas' in gilded letters in a sun in stucco clouds.

These bland spaces remind us of how much is added to the

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IN PRATISIEM VIRGINEM RELIGIOSAE FILIES SIVIS / PRIORI ANTONIO, JULMI BAPTISTAE CAE- 
TERIQ. GERMANIS FRATRES DE / TUNDIS / ERIPENDIVM MANDAVT / QVI OMONIS AMAN- 
TISMAE PARENTIS VOLIVAT / ANNO A PRAETOR VIRGINIS MDCCXV / SATIS CVCTORV 
ECLIPI."
experience of S. Carlino by the terse contrast between the two side chapels. Both are hexagonal in shape but completely different in decoration and impact. The larger of the two, the richly stuccoed Barberini Chapel, takes its cue from imperial columnar sarcophagi but also from the nearby Barberini gardens (Fig. 10). Its dedication was a gift of the monks to Francesco Barberini, not for any great largesse conferred, since he frankly disappointed them with his meagre patronage, but as a vote of thanks to his uncle for the privilege of complete independence of the scalzi from the unreformed Trinitarians, which was conferred in 1636. 63 The chapel is an essay in allegorical botany of the sort found in Giovanni Battista Ferrari’s Flora. 64 The opposite chapel, dedicated to the Crucifixion, is more like an essay on magnetism, making its point with sleek elegant mouldings and a central oval that seems suspended by invisible forces (Fig. 11). Apart from the altar-piece there was no figurative decoration. 65 The interior of S. Carlino draws much of its power by combining the contrasting modes of both chapels in a higher synthesis.

There is more stucco decoration of a provincial stamp in the church in Gubbio, making Borromini’s church look sleek and almost streamlined by comparison. Borromini’s cassone at S. Carlino has decoration only in the deep cavetto of the cornice, which he drew in some detail on Albertina 1409. The same ornament occurs in Gubbio, but here the frieze is also decorated with a lavish rich acanthus rinceau. S. Carlino has many small cherubs who peck out of corners with lively attention, but there are no larger angels and no statues. 66 Gubbio has many. There are fourteen small cherubs and eight large angels hovering under the cassone, and eight more large angels are perched on top of the arches. Each of the three niches in the four crossing piers has a statue of a prophet. Over the door there is a large stucco tableau of a virgin with a unicorn.

S. Carlino is packed not with sculpture but with learned allusions to the architecture of the past. The piers with their pendentives and arconoi recall, most obviously, St Peter’s. But another image has been woven across the face of each pier, easier to see if one thinks away for a moment the giant columns (Fig. 13). It is an allusion to the end wall of the garden loggia of Raphael’s Villa Madama (Fig. 14). A Borromini drawing, ink but autograph (Albertina, 205; Fig. 12), shows the pier at an earlier stage when the three niches were still isosephalous, like Raphael’s. 67 Borromini was very fond of the elegant superimposition of orders that Raphael had in turn derived from the antique, and used it often in his work. He opened his wall up more than Raphael had, making it more skeletal both in fact and in appearance. The only marble in the structure of S. Carlino is the monolithic architrave that covers the door in each pier. The entablature continues to the left and right of these doors, over real or fictive apertures. Here of course it is merely stucco-covered brick, but it must have been polished in such a way as to create the illusion of a continuity with the central marble block. In fact, when John Evelyn saw S. Carlino in 1644 he thought it was ‘built all of a new white stone’. 68

The architectural language of S. Carlo is thus like that of an orator who has learned Latin grammar, not so much to draw on a stock of anecdotes as to give his style a taut inner structure. The language of S. Maria del Prato is, by contrast, merely garrulous. But it would be a mistake to assume that the failure to create a perfect copy was simply due to provincial ignorance and difficulties of communication, though neither factor was completely absent. There were also differences of intent.

Sperelli could count on the services of Francesco Allegri, the best baroque fresco painter that anyone could ever hope to attract to Gubbio. He must have found it a pity that there was so little space for frescoes in S. Carlino, or indeed in any of the new churches of the high baroque. He had his man, and he was determined to have his frescoes. So the coffered zones of the model, the cupola and the vaults of the four nicchioni, were replaced in Gubbio by smooth vaults entirely covered in fresco. This creates of course a radically different impression. The four pairs of columns flanking the three altars and the entrance no longer have a pediment in the upper zone and thus seem relatively functionless. The pendentives and arconoi give the appearance of a thin and flimsy
structure, opened up to the heavens like a garden pavilion.

The side altars in Gubbio are considered parts of larger decorative schemes, and the patrons who took them on were expected to pay for wide swaths of decoration. For example, on 30th January 1668 the soprananti wrote to the Principessa di Rossano, the heir of the late Christofano Pamphilj, a member of the local branch of the family who visited the holy image daily and wrote a bequest of 300 scudi into his will for a chapel dedicated to a medieval ancestor, S. Lodolfo Pamphilj. The deputees pleaded with the princess to fulfil the bequest promptly, since the painter was available and the scaffolding still in place; given the height of the interior it would be expensive to put it back up later. The implication of the letter is that patronage of the chapel involved not only the altar-piece but the vault above it in a unified programme.

Somehow or other, even though Allegri was a known quantity to the Pamphilj and the family was native to Gubbio, the Principessa wormed her way out of the bequest and we hear no more of S. Lodolfo. But in the present nicchione on the left, the Galleotti Chapel, St Stephen is the subject of both the altar-piece and the heroic fresco in the vault above (Fig.7). S. Ubaldol seems to be the subject of both altar-piece and overhead vault on the right (Fig.9). The high altar, the Sperei Chapel, radiates an even wider influence (Figs.2 and 8). The wonder-working Madonna is a relatively static image, but from it much operatic action proceeds. A pair of angels holds a crown over her. She begins her ascent in the semi-dome. Her goal is the great Paradiso frescoed by Allegri in the cupula. There Father and Son await her amidst the heavenly throng while the Holy Spirit hovers in the lantern.

None of this goes unnoticed in the lower reaches of the church. All but one of the sixteen prophets with their scrolls
bearing scriptural references look down on the congregation from their niches to announce the Virgin's coming. The one exception is Isaiah, in the centre of the right front pier, who looks and points dramatically upward to the sacred events taking place in the cupola (Fig.9). He galvanises attention across a charged space. Whereas Borromini had tried to communicate through a refined language of architectural allusion, S. Maria del Prato has been thoroughly Bernini-ised, drenched in the ideology of the unity of the arts, covered with Gesamtkunstschmuck. (For a summary of the decorative programme, see Appendix II, below.) During his visits to Rome in 1653 and 1655 Carlo Perugini was doubtless looking at S. Maria del Popolo and S. Andrea al Quirinale as well as studying S. Carlino. 10

Of course the urge to have dramatic action take place across sacred space is older and more widespread than just Bernini. We find it early in the seventeenth century in the Cerasi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, and later in Borromini's Oratorio dei Filippini and in Cortona's frescoes in S. Maria in Vallicella, to cite a few of many examples. 11 But it is Bernini who gave the idea its most eloquent expression in the great chapels of the 1630s and 1640s, the Cappella Raimondi in S. Pietro in Montorio and the Cappella Cornaro in S. Maria della Vittoria. 12 Thereafter this conception of the arts had an all-pervasive influence.

When Bernardo Castelli-Borromini came to carry out the second storey of the unfinished façade of S. Carlino in 1675–77, he increased its height and added the motif of the two angels who bear the framed image of the Trinity aloft. Possibly we get a glimpse of Borromini's original conception at the edge of a Falda print of the Quirinal gardens (Fig.15). 13 Bernardo's angeli reggimadonnae are borrowed from Bernini's Fonseca Chapel in S. Lorenzo in Lucina or S. Tommaso di Villanova in Castelgandolfo, as Anthony Blunt has shown. 14 The same Berninian outlook that made it difficult to copy S. Carlino with complete fidelity in Gubbio made it equally difficult to finish the original according to Borromini's plans.

Appendix

I. Payments for S. Maria del Prato, Gubbio. (Gubbio, Archivio Storico, Congregazione di S. Francesco di Paola, vol. X F/1 e 1 for all of the following except no. 23. I had this volume thanks to the kind reference of Fernando Costantini.)

1. 12th November 1662 (verso of page before fol.1) Ricordo che sotto l'11 Novembre 1662 da Monsir Ill.mo Vescovo Alessandro Sperelli fu messa la prima pietra della fabrica della Chiesa della Madonna SS.ma del Prato ad instanza delle Monache di S. Spirito da fabbricarsela dall'elencone che fossero eritate a detta Madonna Santissima e ne appare instrumento in Cancelleria Episcopale in un libro de rogati di Ser Bartolomeo Savelli sotto il di et anno suddetto a ca. 81 e 82 al illeg. Cancell. Episcopale. Io si fa ricordo di alcuni beni lasciati alla medesima madonna SS.ma da Mgr. [illeg.] Mancini exentactor Pietralonga come Instrumento ragato il suddetto Bartolomeo Savelli sotto nel suddetto libro in Cancelleria Episcopale a ca. 50 e 51.

2. 25th November 1662 (fol. 1r–u) Payments begin in the names Gian Lorenzo Cennini from 'Sigre Sebastiano Cercavilla detto depositario da Monsir I.m.mo e Revmo Sperelli'. They cover costs of trucking lime, stone and sand; by 14th December they extend to digging the foundation ditch, and by the first months of 1663 to the purchase of bricks.

* R. Wittkower: Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, London [1966], p.229 (sucessors in the name of S. Maria del Popolo by the Bernini school, 1655); and p.239 (sucessors in S. Andrea al Quirinale by Raggi, August 1662 to April 1665).


* G.B. Falda: Ville e giardini di Roma, Rome [o.d.], usually assumed to have been published in 1681 with some plates etched earlier.

* A. R. Hanns: Bernini, London [1979], p.77. The two angels were commissioned from Giovanni Doni on 4th April 1676, but two weeks later one of them was given to Francesco Antonio Fontana. The medallion was originally to have shown the Trinity in mosaic, but instead was frescoed by Pietro Giorgianni in January 1677. Old photos show a Trinity Crowning the Immaculate Conception, which was presumably repainting; no traces of fresco now remain. See N.M. Gommino, ed.: S. Carlino alle Quattro Fontane, Il restauro della facciata. Nota di cantiere, Rome [1993].
12. 17th June 1664 (fol. 1t)
Mastro Palmario Mucciamenti de conto deve havere ... di cento quaranta quattro di paoli x per scudi per il prezzo delle zocchi pieriandati e recinti fatti a sededi colonne fatte per la fabbrica. Scudi 216.00

13. 25th July 1664 (fol. 19t)
Mastro Agnolino Chiaperelli de conto deve havere per libre cento ostarne tre di ferro lavorato in quatro ferrare quale ha reso di peso libra trenta quatro cioè diciciste l'unam servirno per le scale et dei una di libre sambettone, et l'altra di libre settantacinque servirno per la sagrestia quale consignò a Mastro Carlo Perugini. Scudi 9.25

14. 3rd April 1665 (fol. 31r)
paoli dodeci pagati a Mastro Vincenzo Puchi scarpellino per una pietra di meravigliosa fiorina per far una statua per direttamente alla facciata della chiesa. Scudi 1.80

15. 20th April 1665 (fol. 19r)
deve dare paoli sessanta hauri contanti [u] [Carlo Perugini] per andare a Roma gli contro il Cornaccio a suoi credito. Scudi 8.90

16. 6th June 1665 (fol. 33r)
paoli vinti pagati a fregge de Clemente ... per dieci traghini[?;] di pietra che ha con- dotto da [Bonecullone?] alla faccia quivi servirno per metter chiavi sopra le colonne. Scudi 3.00

17. 7th June 1665 (fol. 39r)
Scudi 2.00 pagati a Mastro Carlo Perugini per dieci opere date per condur i petroni per mettere sopra le colonne.

18. 28th June 1665 (fol. 13r)
deve havere per numero ottocento mattoni delle galette[?]. Scudi 6.00. . . . deve havere per numero mille trecento mattoni dalle colonne. Scudi 19.50

19. 2nd August 1665 (fol. 34r)
grossi quattro pagati a Mastro Agostino d'Orcello falegnami per una forma di mat- toni grossi fatta per la volta della chiesa.

20. 26th September 1665 (recto of page before fol. 1)
Ricordo dei prezzi fatti con gli scarpellini delle pietre che devono fare per la facciata della Chiesa della Madonna Santissima del Prato questo di 27 di settembre 1665

21. 1st August 1665 (fol. 34r)
grossi otto e mezzo pagati a Lorio Bicci per lavori di arbori per far l’armature per la fabbrica di longhezza di piedi 50 l’una. Scudi 0.42

22. 8th May 1667 (fol. 39r)
paoli quattordici pagati a Mastro Vincenzo Crespin per cinque giornate date per accomodare et incastare le chiavi di volta. Scudi 2.20

23. 20th January 1668 (Gaddis, Archivio di Stato, X F 7/2, fol. 2r-iv)
I soprastatti alla fabbrica della Chiesa della Miracolosa Madonna detta del Prato di Gubbio humilissimi servì di Vostra Eccellenza voleva a derisarsi di ordinare, che si eseguìa la più mente di cose Signore Christofano, il quale fu sempre così divoto di quella Santissima, che l'instanza che volea infallibile- mente ogni giorno, e per lo più matina e sera, e che vi si dava principio quanto prima per non perdere la congruione del pitore, e dell’esser già fatti i padiglì, i quali levati, sarebile poi d’inchiodarsi, e spese grandi il dovver tornar a farli, stante l’alnazione, et angustia di quel modello.

There follow a copy of the affidavit testifying that Christofano Pampighi left 300 scudi for the decoration of a church with a painting of S. Luchetta.

24. 24th July 1668 (fol. 41r)
Scudi 6.07 pagati al Sre Gio. Jac.o Fabiani per il prezzo di libre cento vint’una di ferro fawo per inchiarare la cupola della Madonna SS.ma

25. 17th November 1668 (fol. 42r)
paoli trentadue pagati a Mattio da Piazza per il prezzo di sei costitati dati per coprire la cupola della chiesa. Scudi 4.80

26. 8th April 1670 (fol. 43r)
debbono dare b. 64 di paoli pagati a Mastro Domenico Guerrieri per sededi paia di ganganetti alla fiorentina che servirno per l’impuntata dell’invertrata del fenestrone sopra la porta della chiesa. Scudi 6.96

27. 11th May 1670 (ibid.)
devono dare paoli quindici pagati a Mastro Jacomo Casali per haver fatto le forme per i mastini di diversi sorte delle tegole et coroinzioni, e moderni fatti per servirlo della fabbrica sin dal mese di Agosto 1667. Scudi 2.23

28. 4th August 1670 (ibid.)
devono dare paoli quattro dieci pagati al medesimo Mastro Jacomo Casali per tre impannate fatte due alla sagrestia et una al fenestrone della Chiesa sopra la porto di altezza di piedi nove e tre quarti. Scudi 6.30

29. 19th August 1670 (ibid.)
devono dare paoli trentuno pagati a sig. Giambattista Sanzigi per la fattura dell’inver- trata e ferri al fenestrone sopra la porta della chiesa. Scudi 4.65

30. 7th September 1670 (fol. 51r)
devo dare scudi 7.00 di paoli x per scudi pagati al Sre Guido Baldo Niccolelli per cera haura quando si farà la processione della traslazione dell’imagine della madon- na sma. Scudi 10.50

31. 5th November 1670 (fol. 51r)
grossi quattro pagati a Giambone Bigi per tanti cantoni[?] hauri da lui per le scale del campanile. Scudi 0.20

32. 9th November 1670 (fol. 51r)
grossi dodeci pagati al Sre Don Pomplio Puchi per trevalini date per la scala del campanile a grossa quattro l’uno. Scudi 0.60

33. 25th May 1671 (fol. 51r)
pagati a Mastro Domenico Guerrieri grossi dicianove per un ferro per la porta della sagrestia per un braccio de la porta paoli cinque e grossi quattro per otto para ganganetti per due finestre sopra le porte della sacrestia. Scudi 0.95

34. 3rd February 1674 (fol. 59r)
deve dare scudi 20.05 di paoli x per tutte pietre haute luisi di quelle di San Domenico quale adoperò per la facciata. Scudi 30.07

35. 16th February 1674 (fol. 62r-63r)
deve dare scudi 42.45 hauri contanti [i.e., Carlo Pragin] in diverse volte a commodo della futura del lanternino. Scudi 42.45

27. Per il prezzo del tamburo mesurato a tornio di giro piedi 120 alto piedi 15 grosso piedi 2 a scudo 0.31 il picile. Scudi 63.00

38. per la sua futura della facciata et recinto delle pietre concise messe che sono piedi di milla seticento trentuno a baiocche nove di moneta il picile. Scudi 235.79

36. 2nd March 1679 (fol. 63r)
devono paoli trenta hauri contanti [u] [Perugini?] disse volere andare a Roma a parlare con il Srig. Carles Carpegga, Scudi 1.50

II. Summary of the decorative programme of S. Maria del Prato, Gubbio.

1. Cupola: Piazzetta by Francesco Allegri
2. Prediscentes: Sante, Santi, Madonnina by Allegri, and Hope by Louis Dorigny

Gospel side: Martyrdom of St Stephen by Allegri, with a lunette fresco also of the Martyrdom of St Stephen and also by Allegri. Patron: Paolo Emilio Galletti, 1674.

Inscription: "I.OCHIS / STPPXXVX / WOHLII / GALEXXITVS / ANNO / MDCCLXX / DIES.

Epistle side: St Urbano (who is giving stern directions to a warrior or emperor, with the Virgin and Child and saints above, but the subject is matter of further specified in the sources). Lisciarelli seems to attribute this painting to Ciro Ferrari. In lunette: S. Urbano Imponit Paece on His Fellow Citizens by Dorigny. Patron: Corporation of Mercatari and the Wool Guild. Inscription: AGBSLEON / SALLONIS / ARMORUSCVR / EVERSUR / MIEL UNTERURCVR / AGGNV / PLANNUSCR / D.

Lantern above entrance: Baptism of Jesus by Dorigny.
The citations held by the prophets standing in the niches in the lower part of the church are as follows, proceeding clockwise from the high altar: Joel III.18; Hier XXXI.12; Micha 2.6; II.8; Isaiah VII.14; Sop. 17; Jeremiah; Jonas II.7; Ezekiel XLIV; Daniel IX.24; Baruch III.32; David Psalm. LXXXXI. Misericordia Populi; Ose XIV.4.

The dates of both painters are problematic. Francesco Allegri was born in 1367, according to P. ORLANDI: Absoluto pittori, Bologna [1709], p.168, and in 1624 according to P. BALDASSARE: Notizia dei professori del disegno, Florence [1847], V, p.342. Lefèvre tried to resolve the problem by saying that Francesco was born in 1624 while his father Flaminio was born in 1587. Most authors put Francesco's death in 1665, although the frescoes in S. Maria del Prato could not have been begun until 1668. Lucarelli moves both his birth and death up by a decade: 1597–1673. See LUCARELLI, op.cit. at note 20 above, pp.576ff.; H. VOSE: "Über Francesco Allegri als Zeichner", Berliner Museen, Beiblatt, XLV [1924], i, pp.15-19; A.M. ROMANNE: "Francesco Allegri", Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, II, Rome [1960], pp. 491 ff.; R. LEFEVRE: Appunti sugli Allegri di Gubbio pittori del seicento, Sfilato Sienese, IX [1968], pp.127-55. There is some information in the visitation record of 1838 in Gubbio, Archivio Vescovile, Acta Prim. S. Visitatissim. Sambiali, 1857, Pars Sec., 19/58, fol. 925v–930v, 24th February 1838.

LEONORA DORIGY's dates are 1624–1742 according to Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne, Paris [1814], XI, p.538ff., which would make him very young even in the final stages of the decoration; his participation is mentioned only by Lucarelli.

LUIZA VERTOVA

Additions to Carlo Ceresa

MY lengthy researches about Carlo Ceresa's life and works led me in due course to discoveries, restorations and to the revealing exhibition held at Bergamo in 1983. More recently, I have examined this self-taught painter's use of sources and his links with Carraccian currents in northern Italy. Here I would like to re-examine some chapels decorated by Ceresa in the light of new documentary evidence, as well as to consider afresh his activity as a portrait painter adding some previously unpublished examples.

When in my monograph of 1984 I discussed the six canvases by Ceresa in the parish church at Serina (LV 230–33), now removed from their original contexts and kept in the sacristy, I observed that the four larger pictures constituted two pairs of pendants, one depicting the Augustinian saints Monica and Augustine (each 160 by 62 cm.; Figs 19 and 20) and the other Herodias and St Helen (each 166 by 60 cm.), the Imperial personages connected with the Franciscan cult of the True Cross. I also drew attention to a further pair of paintings of the Dominican saints Dominic and Catherine of Siena (each 166 by 65 cm.) which had been attributed to Ceresa in 1820, but which I was able to return to their true author, Maffeo Verona. Although these canvases had been believed to be components of a single polyptych, this cannot be the case because in each pair the images are evidently conceived to hang opposite each other, not side by side, while the slight differences in the dimensions of each pair also suggest that they probably come from different though analogous locations within the church. The fall of light, illuminating the figures from opposite directions in each case, suggests that the canvases were originally designed to hang on the side walls of the chapels in the church, an ornamental scheme frequently found in the Bergamasque region, where the churches tend to have shallow chapels with high, narrow lateral walls suitable for pairs of paintings depicting single figures.

In 1639, when just thirty years old, Ceresa had executed just such a scheme, producing the two signed and dated episodes from the life of St Alexander (LV 390) still visible in their original location on the lateral walls of the first chapel to the right in the church of S. Grata in Bergamo. Even earlier, Pietro Bombello and Vincenzo Bonzi had commissioned from the twenty-year-old painter two canvases of St Francis of Assisi and Charles Borromeo, which they gave in 1634 to the parish church of Dossena to flank some sacred image (LV 144). Also at Dossena there seems to have been another pair of saints, evidently much repainted and recorded only in old photographs, which appear to be of St Thomas Aquinas and a bishop saint (Figs 16 and 17). These testify to the immature early style of Ceresa and their format (the dimensions, alas, are unrecorded) indicates that their destination, too, was for the side walls of a chapel. A poorly preserved St Charles Borromeo and St John the Baptist (LV 213) of c.1653 in the parish church of Fipiano del Brenbo, not far from Ceresa's birthplace of S. Giovanni Bianco, must have been destined for a similar position. It is clear that by the age of thirty Ceresa, already in full possession of his powers, was able to transcend the limitations of space and format imposed by these shallow chapels, as witness the St John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalen in Alzino Lombardo of c.1640 (LV 6) or the two slightly later canvases with the parents of St John the Baptist at Dossena (LV 145). When he was able to work on wider canvases, allowing a greater sense of movement and the inclusion of more figures, such as in the Chapel of the Rosary in the Sanctuary at Sombronno of 1646 (LV 189; Fig 18), there is a corresponding loss of tension.

In the case of the Serina pictures, my hypothesis that the three pairs of canvases there come from individual chapels panel, 31 by 25 cm., catalogued as by a follower of Hans von Aachen. It reverses the sense of the other versions, implying that it was derived from a print. The abbreviation LV is used in the text to refer to the entries in VERTOVA, op.cit. at note 1 above [1984].


By the photographer Lucchetti, of Bergamo, negative nos.2524 and 1525.