# Bernini and the Network of Mission: Shaping the Interior of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in Rome[[1]](#footnote-1)

Martin Raspe

## Introduction

Imagine you are going to the theatre. You know the location, you have read the play some time ago, and you've even heard a lot about the director. Then the curtain opens - but the plot develops differently than what you had in mind. A similar experience awaits the visitor who enters the church of Sant’Andrea al Quirinale in Rome. What immediately becomes evident is the spectacular theatrical setting of the interior created by the famous baroque artist Gianlorenzo Bernini; but which play is being presented the spectator has yet to discover.

### The state of research

Of course, art historians have dealt with this well-known subject many times before. Contributions by Wittkower, Frommel, Connors, Gijsbers and last but not least Terhalle[[2]](#footnote-2) have shone light on the basic historic facts and the circumstances of the construction. In my opinion however, some crucial questions were only partially answered, if at all. Why, for example, does Saint Andrew appear twice on the stage, once bound to a cross on the altarpiece, and then again in the dome as a naked stucco figure floating on a cloud-like substance with outstretched arms? What is happening here? How does this scene relate to the saint's martyrdom depicted in the altar chapel? The stage, too, on which the sacred performance takes place displays some unusual features, as we shall see.

### Methodology

First of all let us take a closer look at the architectural conception of the building housing the sacred stage and its decoration. While doing this, we will turn to the owners of the theatre, in this case the Jesuit order, and their intentions. Then we will examine the role of Prince Camillo Pamphili who financed the building. In the final section we will discuss the question of which play the impresario Bernini actually presented on stage.

## The church of a missionary institution: Architecture and Decoration

### Planning and building history

Since the middle of the 16th century the Jesuits owned a piece of land on top of the Quirinal Hill with a beautiful view, fresh air and a wide-spread garden.[[3]](#footnote-3) This is where they installed their noviciate, which took several decades to construct and expand.[[4]](#footnote-4) Part of the building complex was the little medieval church of Sant’Andrea in Monte Cavallo which despite its ruinous state was used by the Jesuits as the chapel of the noviciate.[[5]](#footnote-5) Here young novices from all over Europe were prepared for their various assignments within the order. The main focus was laid on the conversion of pagan tribes in distant lands as well as the reconversion of protestants to the catholic faith which is why the Jesuits on the Quirinal up into the 18th century were addressed as „i Signori della Missione“ (Nolli).[[6]](#footnote-6)

The Jesuits had previously tried to obtain the neighbouring Casino Bandini as early as 1622, however two attempts of constructing a bigger and more practical church in that location failed.[[7]](#footnote-7) Only in 1658 a new noviciate church was begun following Gianlorenzo Bernini's design. 1670 the completed church was consecrated.[[8]](#footnote-8)

### The form of the building

Bernini created a sumptuous domed construction over a transverse oval plan which faces the Strada Pia, the main street of the Quirinal hill, with an imposing facade. The building has a semicircular altar chapel with independent lighting. It is separated from the main hall by a monumental column screen. Four large side chapels contain the other altars, and four smaller spaces serve as a passageway into the sacristy and various other functions. According to research the symmetrical alignment of the chapels on both sides of the transverse axis allude to the saltire-like form of Saint Andrew's cross.

The elevation follows the traditional scheme of a Jesuit church, first developed the Gesù in Rome.[[9]](#footnote-9) The main space is structured by a single order of pilasters which supports a vault with lunette caps. The major side chapels have semicircular arcades, while coretti are inserted over the horizontal architraves of the minor spaces to create room for church musicians. The combination of semicircular arcades and framing pilasters has its roots in the Colosseum and other roman theatre buildings.

On the whole, Berninis architectural language in Sant'Andrea remains conservative. Only the transverse oval plan can be seen as a truly innovative characteristic. Even this feature, however, is not without its predecessors. Bernini himself had already constructed a sacred interior over a transverse oval plan in Rome in the 1630s.[[10]](#footnote-10) We are talking about the chapel of the congregation „de Propaganda Fide“, the papal missionary institute on Piazza di Spagna.[[11]](#footnote-11) What strikes as peculiar is the analogous function: Both spaces served as a place of worship for a community of young missionaries in training.[[12]](#footnote-12) A precise explanation for this coincidence has not yet been offered. It could be that the similarity lies in the fact that the transverse oval was also frequently used to represent the shape of the earth in early modern maps. The oval shape of the of the two churches would then allude to the earth-spanning activities of the missionaries.[[13]](#footnote-13)

It should be noted that the transverse oval also appears elsewhere in Bernini's early architectural work, especially in commissions where he worked alongside the young Francesco Borromini. The two artists were almost of the same age and seemed almost inseparable, until Borromini left their partnership in 1633. Together they created some of the chef-d'oeuvres of the early Roman Baroque.[[14]](#footnote-14) They collaborated on the plans for Palazzo Barberini, whose transverse oval garden hall constitutes an absolute novelty in Roman palace building.[[15]](#footnote-15) On the ceiling of the bronze „baldacchino“ in the crossing of St. Peter's, where it is almost impossible to separate the contributions of the two artists, the dove of the Holy Spirit is set in a transverse oval field surrounded by gilded rays.[[16]](#footnote-16)

It is not unlikely that it was Borromini who inspired Bernini's predilection of the transverse oval. Up to the early 17th century the form had no significant tradition in Rome. It was much more frequent in Lombardy, especially in Milan, where the young Borromini had been trained as stonemason and sculptor.[[17]](#footnote-17) The most prominent example is the so-called Scurolo Nuovo in Milan Cathedral, designed by Francesco Maria Ricchini as the burial chamber for the body of Saint Charles Borromeo.[[18]](#footnote-18) Ricchini rehearsed the theme of the transverse oval in other projects, too.[[19]](#footnote-19) As Stefan Kummer has shown, Borromini drew many inspirations from Ricchini's milanese works.[[20]](#footnote-20)

Seen against this background, the genesis of Bernini's oval design for the Collegio di Propaganda Fide appears in a new and different light, in particular as all surviving drawings are by the hand of Borromini. Bernini's chapel had soon proved too small and blocked the internal circulation of the building, so Borromini replaced it with a more spacious oratory which included passageways on the piano nobile level. On this occasion he took detailed records of the plan and the street facade, as if to demonstrate that he was preserving many of the original ideas.[[21]](#footnote-21) Maybe he claimed some of them as his own, since he had used the transverse oval at the same period in several other buildings.[[22]](#footnote-22)

Apart from the transverse oval plan, there are other formal relationships between Bernini's church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale and the Collegio di Propaganda Fide. Bernini not only referred to his own earlier chapel, but explicitly also to those parts of the college building that Borromini had constructed recently in the 1650s.

This becomes evident when we compare Berninis facade of S. Andrea to Borromini's Propaganda Fide front. Bernini builds up a gigantic frame formed by two colossal pilasters, into which he sets a smaller semicircular portico whose entablature is supported by two columns. The two columns are pulled apart so far that they seem hardly able to effectively sustain the wide-spanned architrave.[[23]](#footnote-23) The three-dimensional, rounded portico transforms itself into a classical edicula motif consisting of two columns and a connecting entablature when seen orthogonally from the front. This ingenuous composition is based on an invention by Borromini. A similar curved colonnade with widely spaced columns appears in the window above the main portal of the Propaganda Fide,[[24]](#footnote-24) surrounded by a comparable framework of monumental pilasters.

The main motive of the interior, the magnificent, tetrastyle frontispice of the proscenium that opens towards the sanctuary like a curtain, also borrows from Borromini.[[25]](#footnote-25) The central part of the broken pediment recedes in a skilfully curved semi-oval both backwards and downwards, forming a niche-like space for the large stucco figure of St. Andreas. When we compare Bernini's pediment with one of the windows of the top floor of the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide, designed about ten years earlier, the model becomes evident, even if Borromini places just a laurel wreath in the recess.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Time and again Bernini took over formal inventions from Borromini and reused them at crucial positions in his own designs. He continued to do so at a time when their mutual relationship had long since deteriorated into an irreconcilable rivalry; he must have appreciated Borromini's ideas more than the man himself.[[27]](#footnote-27) Whatever he borrowed from him, he transformed in such a convincing way that in many cases the origins of his stylistic idiom have gone unnoticed.

But perhaps there is another, more rational reason for Bernini's artistic borrowing from his rival. Maybe he wanted to bring to mind the common purpose of both institutions. There were also close personal ties between the College and Novitiate: Cardinal Antonio Barberini, one of the major protectors of the Propaganda Fide, had a casino erected as his retirement home in the garden of the novitiate.[[28]](#footnote-28) Last not least, it is worth noting that Bernini's own domicile was situated across the street from the Palazzo di Propaganda. Whenever Bernini wanted to have a glimpse of Borromini's facade he could do so, just by looking out of the window.[[29]](#footnote-29)

**The church as a Pamphili Monument: Disposition and Color**

It was not only the concept of the Jesuit mission that Bernini had to represent in Sant'Andrea. Equally as influential was prince Camillo Pamphili, who donated a considerable part of his fortune to the construction of the church, if not entirely voluntary. The nephew of the previous pope Innocent X had amassed enormous riches during the pontificate of his uncle and now faced to be held accountable by the successor, Alexander VII Chigi. The new pope spared Camillo, but forced him to contribute generously to his program of improvement and beautification for the city of Rome.[[30]](#footnote-30) It was fairly easy to convince Camillo to invest in the Jesuit noviciate on the Quirinal hill, because according to tradition the house of his legendary predecessor, king Numa Pompilius, had stood right here.[[31]](#footnote-31)

It is not clear whether Camillo seriously considered making arrangements for his own tomb to be installed in Sant'Andrea.[[32]](#footnote-32) However that may be, it seems that the burial church of his uncle Innocent X in Piazza Navona served as a model for the design of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in more than one respect. A closer look on Bernini's disposition of the altar chapel reveals surprising similarities with the right-hand side chapel of Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona, where the sepulchral monument for the Pamphili pope was intended to be erected. As a drawing by Borromini for Sant'Agnese shows, the apse forming the burial chapel was to be separated from the church by means of two flanking pairs of columns, a situation very similar to the presbytery of Sant'Andrea.[[33]](#footnote-33) This arrangement was never carried out, but it is very likely that Bernini knew Borromini's plans since he himself had produced a study showing the pope's monument placed in the chapel.[[34]](#footnote-34) It is not unlikely that at Sant'Andrea Bernini deliberately chose a solution which echoed the planned Pamphili mausoleum in Piazza Navona.

Another prominent feature of Sant’Andrea al Quirinale is clearly due to Camillo Pamphili's influence: The colored marble incrustation of the interior. It was the Pamphili family who first began to decorate entire churches with precious and colourful marble revetment. The foremost example is the decoration of the nave of St. Peter's for the Holy Year 1650. It was carried out under the direction of Bernini but did not meet everybody's taste.[[35]](#footnote-35) Only three years later the marble cladding of Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona followed, and more Pamphili incrustation projects were yet to come. All of them had in common the combination of colors: „cottanello“, a red spotted marble from the Sabine mountains, is paired with white Carrara marble.[[36]](#footnote-36) No wonder - red and white are the colors of the house Pamphili. Their family crest shows a white dove with an olive branch in its beak on a red background.

Sant'Andrea follows the same scheme. The full columns in front of the altar chapel and the arcades of the side chapels are made of cottanello, while white slabs were used for the pilasters and the entablature of the main church interior. Taking into account the golden lilies on a blue background in the upper part of the Pamphili coat of arms, we notice a remarkable analogy to the distribution of colors in Sant'Andrea. While the main hall is covered with red and white, gilded stucco angels and rays of light are set against a blue mosaic background in the altar chapel.[[37]](#footnote-37) Auditorium and stage of the sacred theatre appear to be clad with a magnificent Pamphili vestment. The same pompous, dynastic tone is also conveyed by the dedication inscription at the entrance wall of the church. It pays homage to the patron, whose glory is trumpeted out into the world by a winged personification of fame.[[38]](#footnote-38)

## The net of mission

After having looked at the theatre building in some detail, it is now time to turn our attention to the actual play that is performed on the stage. The various expectations and demands that Bernini faced were not easy to fulfil. First of all, the church had two patron saints: St. Francis Xavier and St. Andrew. Francisco de Javier had been a close friend of St. Ignatius of Loyola and an important Jesuit missionary. Having been canonized in 1622, Francis was the ideal role model for the novices. To choose him as the central figure of the religious imagery in the new church would have been most appropriate.[[39]](#footnote-39)

According to the hierarchy of catholic saints, however, St. Andrew, whose medieval church the Jesuits had inherited, deserved priority. Andrew was not only the elder brother of Simon Peter, but in fact the first disciple at all whom Jesus had called. It is no coincidence that the Liturgical year begins with his feast day on November 30. His head is one of the four major relics preserved in the Vatican Basilica.[[40]](#footnote-40) Bernini had thus no choice: The imagery of the building had to focus on St. Andrew, even if there were only few points of contact between the apostle and the Jesuit order.

It was the spreading of the gospel across the world which both had in common. According to legend, Andrew had evangelized the people of Asia minor and suffered martyrdom at Patras in Greece. Likewise, the young Jesuit novices had to be prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their faith, be it in South America, Japan, China or even in puritan England.[[41]](#footnote-41)

It is therefore not surprising that Bernini chose the martyrdom of St. Andrew as the iconographic theme for the main altar, which represents the focal point of his dramatic production. In a highly imaginative manner he brings the historic event to life. A large painting is seemingly held suspended by flying angels, while a stream of light flows in from a hidden vault opening into the sanctuary.[[42]](#footnote-42) The scene exceeds the limits of the two-dimensional painted panel, and the viewer gets the impression that Andrew directs his dying gaze out of the picture towards heaven. The actual sunlight turns into a metaphor for the divine grace that rewards him.[[43]](#footnote-43)

So far the plot of the sacred drama unfolds consistently. Yet difficulties in understanding the sequence of actions do arise when we consider the interior decoration of the church in its entirety. The principal question is: How does the stucco figure of St. Andrew figure floating above the pediment relate to the scene on the altar? Usually it is assumed that Bernini intended to represent the ascension or elevation of the apostle into heaven.[[44]](#footnote-44) This interpretation, however, is questionable in several respects. For one, it would strike as odd if the sacred spectacle that culminates on the high altar reached its final conclusion not in the presbytery, but in the space where the congregation gathers. Liturgically seen, the domed hall of S. Andrea is subordinate to the altar chapel, even if it exceeds the sanctuary in height.

In addition, an ascension of the saint from the saltire on the altar into the heavenly dome seems inconclusive since the altarpiece is not even visible from everywhere in the church. While it was common in medieval art to represent two stages of the same narration simultaneously by duplicating the protagonists, Bernini would have breached the classical rule of the unity of space and time in force since the humanist era. In terms of visual coherence the connection appears downright absurd: St. Andrew would have to pass through the wall or slip under the entablature in order to ascend into the dome. The spatial separation and the media-shift from painting to sculpture further make it clear that Bernini must be staging two disjoint scenes.

Last not least, a corporal assumption of St. Andrew would be fallacious in terms of catholic theology, which is why authors sometimes use the washy term "apotheosis" instead. The “racconto”, a report by padre Domenico Ottolini, the vice-rector of the novitiate, speaks of the “anima” of St. Andrew rising to heaven.[[45]](#footnote-45) Since the human soul is generally represented as an innocent infant in Christian iconography, this interpretation seems hardly credible either.[[46]](#footnote-46) On the contrary, St. Andrew appears as a naked man, covered only by a loincloth, his body displaying telling signs of age. Let us therefore turn to other hints that Bernini gave us for understanding the meaning of the religious spectacle.

Let us consider once more the altar chapel, the focal point of the church. Its most unconventional feature certainly is the mosaic tessellation which covers the wall of the apse, forming an amorphous blue backdrop for the altarpiece. Wall mosaic of this kind is of utmost rarity in a baroque church.[[47]](#footnote-47) No less unusual is the peculiar gradient: The tesserae get continuously lighter from bottom to top.

At the first glance it would seem that the glossy blue background is to represent the open sky from which the angels bring down the image into the church. This identification, however, is contradicted by the gradient. In nature, the deep blue color of the sky fades towards the horizon, taking on a paler shade, occasionally becoming almost white. This phenomenon is imitated in almost every early modern landscape painting, including the altarpiece of S. Andrea. The behaviour of the wall mosaic is exactly the opposite: Its blue color is darkest at the bottom and becomes lighter going up.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Since antiquity blue wall mosaic has traditionally been used in contexts where water plays a predominant role, from fountains, nymphaea and baths to 20th century swimming halls. Frequently it recurs in Pompeian wall fountains.[[49]](#footnote-49) It is therefore not wholly improbable that the blue mosaic in S. Andrea, too, should allude to water. If this is the case, then Bernini may have applied the inverted gradient to suggest that we should imagine ourselves to be under the surface of water, with sunlight falling in from above and darkening towards the bottom.[[50]](#footnote-50) It is unknown whether Bernini had any personal diving experience, but we are informed about theatre productions he staged where masses of water seemed to flood the auditorium so that the audience screamed in horror.[[51]](#footnote-51)

Scholars have noted before that the element of water plays an important part in the stucco decoration of the dome.[[52]](#footnote-52) The window frames are crowned by shells, and dolphin-like fish can be seen at the feet of nude male figures. The young men are addressed as fishermen in the above-mentioned “racconto”.[[53]](#footnote-53) While it is true that they have something to do with water, they must rather be seen as personifications rivers or seas, judging by their postures and attributes, especially in comparison with the four rivers at Bernini's famous fountain on Piazza Navona.[[54]](#footnote-54) The presence of water allegory in the church finds a natural explanation in the life of St Andrew, who before his vocation to the apostleship was a fisherman on the Sea of Galilee.

To understand the decorative system of the cupola better it is useful to turn briefly to the tool with which the fisherman Andrew exercised his profession. A cast net, also called a throw net, is used to catch fish from the shore or from a boat. It has a round shape and is usually stitched together from several segments. When the net is thrown, it opens like an umbrella and covers a circular area on the water surface. Small weights attached to the circumference ensure that the net sinks quickly. Once the weights have reached the seabed, the fish cannot escape. By means of an annular rope running around the outer perimeter the net is contracted and hauled up.

The reader will already have guessed where St. Andrew's net is to be found in Bernini's church: It is represented by the umbrella-shaped oval dome hovering over the congregational space. It is divided into slightly billowed segments which are decorated with a network-like hexagonal coffering. The ribs appear to be fine bands which are tied with knots to the apex ring around the lantern opening. At the base of the dome, just above the windows, a garland runs around the entire building, disappearing behind the stucco figure of St. Andrew. This encircling motive confers to the dome, as has been described several times, its light, almost floating appearance.[[55]](#footnote-55)

The outstretched arms of St. Andrew correspond to the movement of a fisherman when throwing the net. We may assume that Bernini was familiar with the sight of fishermen casting their nets. Apparently there is no earlier visual representation of an opened cast net as it hovers in the air over the water which could have inspired Bernini. An engraving by Giovanni Stradano proves that the technique was common on the river Arno in 16th century Florence, "piscantur rete rotundo".[[56]](#footnote-56)

As a rule, fishermen were naked when they exercised their profession. This is also reported by the Bible for the first apostles.[[57]](#footnote-57) Accordingly, antique representations show them scantily dressed. A prominent example was in the collection of Prince Camillo Pamphili. The statue depicts a naked, old fisherman identified by a basket with fish which he carries with his left hand. The sculpture was unearthed in about 1645 during excavations on the seaside near Nettuno and was restored in 1658.[[58]](#footnote-58) Even if Bernini did not know about the Pamphili fisherman, which seems unlikely, the creator of the stucco figure of St. Andrew, Antonio Raggi, certainly did, as he restored several antique sculptures in the Pamphili collection.[[59]](#footnote-59) While their postures are not identical, the emphasis on the physical characteristics of age is strikingly similar. We may conclude that the floating stucco figure in the dome of S. Andrea was designed by Bernini to represent the apostle as a fisherman, in motivic terms as well as iconographically.

The performance that is enacted in the dome of Sant'Andrea captivates the spectator in every sense of the word. The apostle casts his net upon the faithful below on the ground of the church. They find themselves in the role of fish in the sea. Never before has the actual work of a fisher of men, to which office Andrew was appointed, been set on stage in a more impressive way.[[60]](#footnote-60)

The outstretched arms of St. Andrew can also be seen as an imitation of the Cross, as an expression of willingness to carry out Christ's command, and as a perpetual gesture of prayer.[[61]](#footnote-61) The apostle seems to have let go of the net. Looking at the chain of cherubs disappearing into the lantern, we are induced to think that it is God himself who lifts the souls out of the waters of the sinful world into salvation.[[62]](#footnote-62) The image of salvation from the flood is complemented by the Pamphili doves with the olive twig in their beak which have settled, so to speak, on dry land on the capitals.[[63]](#footnote-63)

Even the shape of the ground plan, the transverse oval, blends in seamlessly with the water theme. Since antiquity fountains and water basins often had a transverse oval layout, such as the famous naumachia of the Emperor Domitian in Rome, a kind of marine amphitheatre for petty naval battles, reconstructed more than once in engravings of the 16th century.[[64]](#footnote-64) Bernini himself used the transverse oval for some of his fountains, first in the Barcaccia in Piazza di Spagna and later in the Four Rivers fountain in Piazza Navona. Like in Sant'Andrea, the transverse oval symbolizes the global ocean that bathes the four continents known in the 17th century.[[65]](#footnote-65) Maybe Bernini was thinking along similar lines when designing St. Peter's Square, on which he worked during the same time. In analogy to the fisherman Peter, the basilica stretches out its arms in the shape of the two corridor wings towards the world, symbolized by the oval piazza on which pilgrims from all countries gather, embraced by the permeable colonnades like by a network.

Seen in this way, Bernini's sacred drama unfolds in a coherent manner. He presents two chronologically distinct, if interconnected aspects of the life St. Andrew, both of which are meaningful for the Jesuit novices: His lifelong missionary zeal as a fisher of men in the world, and his ultimate martyrdom and vindication.[[66]](#footnote-66) The meaning of the sculpture is summed up in the prophetic word that Jesus said to Peter after his resurrection on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, where the disciples had returned to take up fishing again: "When you are old, you will stretch out your hands and someone else will gird you, and bring you where you do not wish to go".[[67]](#footnote-67)

We may assume that the idea of turning the dome into a huge fishing net came up late in the design process when Bernini had already decided to use a transverse oval for the ground plan.[[68]](#footnote-68) He must have noticed the structural similarity when thinking about the imagery and constrained himself to unobtrusive visual hints which remain in the realm of architectural decoration.[[69]](#footnote-69) The representation of the aged Apostle in a transient, yet timeless moment, casting his net over the congregation, involves the audience to a hitherto unseen extent. No other of his sculptures reaches out so far into the spectator's space.[[70]](#footnote-70) Perhaps this is the reason why the aging Bernini used to retreat to this church, the only of his creations that gave him a certain satisfaction.[[71]](#footnote-71)

1. This paper was first presented on February 3, 2013 in Würzburg on occasion of the retirement of my former supervisor Stefan Kummer, to whom it is dedicated. My thanks go to Fabio Barry, Hannah Chegwin, Sarah Isabelle Dekoj and Pieter-Matthijs Gijsbers for discussing the subject with me, to Anna Nostheide for help with writing the manuscript and to Katrin Kelley with the English translation. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Titel nennen (abgekürzt?) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Literatur zur Gründung und Frühzeit; [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. wichtigste Phasen nennen? [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Literatur zur Kirche (Vorgeschichte) [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Literatur zur Geschichte und Funktion des Noviziats [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. 1622 etc [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Literatur zum Neubau durch Bernini [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Literatur zum Gesù-Typ, insbesondere zum Wandaufriß??? [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Wittkower (Art and Arch.) nennt auch die Annunziata in Parma, die aber gar kein Oval ist [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Literatur zur Bernini-Kapelle: Antonazzi; Portoghesi? [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Literatur zur Funktion der Propaganda Fide [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Hinweis auf Ovalform bei der Darstellung der Weltkarte? [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Michelangelo, Sockel der Pietà (Raspe); Literatur zur Zusammenarbeit Bernini/Borromini: Connors, Defence; Burbaum [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Lit. Pal Barberini (Waddy) [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Lit. Zum Baldachin (Kummer) [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Lit. Borrominis Frühzeit (Kappner? Katalog Il giovane Borromini) [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Lit. Scurolo: Kummer, Diss.; Mailand-Literatur [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Werke nennen: S. Maria di Loreto, Mailand (Kummer); Varese, Sacro Monte, 3. Kapelle [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Kummer, Mailänder Vorstufen etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Literatur zu Borrominis Neubau der P. Fide Kapelle; Wien, Albertina, Az Rom 887 und Az Rom 147 [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Palazzo Carpegna, cortile; Oratorio dei Filippini (sala ovale). Lit. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Analysen von Berninis Fassade in der Literatur [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Lit. Und Belege zu Borrominis Fassade; Verweis auf Nischen in S. Giovanni in Laterano [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Bisherige Analysen des Motivs in der Literatur (Wittkower) [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Weitere Werke Borrominis, die diese Form zeigen (Oratorio-Fassade, Grabmal Lateran)? [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Zitat aus Connors, Defence [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Beleg Casino Antonio Barberini [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Beleg Berninis Wohnhaus [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Literatur zum Verhältnis Alexander VII –Camillo Pamphili: Krautheimer, Rome (1985); Dorothy Metzger Habel (Pal. Chigi-Odescalchi?); Borromini-Katalog (S. Agnese?); Stephanie Leone (Pal. Pamphili) [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Gijsbers [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Ibd. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Alb. Az Rom 55, Diskussion [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Gampp [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Literatur zur Austattung St. Peter [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Raspe 1996; Catalogue of the Borromini exhibition 1999 [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. The same sequence can be observed vertically: Red and white dominate the wall zone, while the dome is set in gold against the blue sky which shines in through the windows. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Kuppel: Gold und Blau des Himmels, den man durch die Fenster sieht [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Lit. Franz Xaver als Missionar und Kirchenpatron [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Lit. St. Andreas (theol., ikonogr.); Lavin, Crossing (Peterskirche) [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Lit. zu Jesuitenmärtyrern vor 1660 (Beispiele nennen) [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Diskutieren, ob das Bild herab- oder hinaufgetragen wird? Argumente? Frage des „Illusionismus“ diskutieren? [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Keine „optische Täuschung“ oder Illusion wie bei einem Zauberer, sondern Verdeutlichung des „Künstlichen“ bzw. Künstlerischen. Also besser: symbolische oder allegorische Gestaltung [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Interpretationen (z. T. nur implizit) in der Literatur (Wittkower); evtl. auch Romführer etc. heranziehen? [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Beleg Ottolini; Joseph Connors, Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale: Payments and Planning. JSAH 41, 1982, 15ff [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Iconography of the human soul (Ceath of the Virgin; Abraham's bosom); Ottolini's report was written in 1671 in retrospect. It is dedicated mainly to the history of the construction from a financial point of view. In other iconographic details it is not really dependable, either. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. To my knowledge there are no other examples. No doubts that the blue mosaic might not be original. The iconographic predecessor is the setting of the icon „Salus Populi Romani“ against a background plane of deep blue lapis lazuli in the Cappella Paolina at S. Maria Maggiore (Literature mentioning Bernini?) Other cases of a suspended picture set against a blue backdrop? [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. It can be excluded that the mosaic could have bleached out over time. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Examples. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Is the phenomenon (light under water) mentioned in optical treatises of the 16th/17th cent.? [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Documentation (from Warwick: „Bernini - Art as Theatre“?) [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Article by J. Connors [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Qutation from Ottolini [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. More detailed comparison? [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Lit. mit dieser Beobachtung? [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Angaben zu Stradano. Andere Abbildungen suchen? [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. John 21:7 [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Lit. belege? Diskussion des sog. Seneca ergänzen? [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Beleg [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Diskussion des Begriffs „Menschenfischers“; Exegese der Symbolik des Fischfangs (bei dem die Fische eigentlich sterben) [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Kreuzhymnus und Kreuzverehrung des hl. Andreas ergänzen (apokryphes Evangelium); comparison to Domenichino's fresco in the apex of the apse of S. Andrea della Valle [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Beleg [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Beleg [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Literature [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Literature for the Fountain of the four rivers [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Discuss the exegesis of St. Andrew in the 17. century (Cornelius a Lapide). [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. John 21:18. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Early drawings don’t show the cupola decoration. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Marble framework of the tomb of cardinal Sforza Pallavicini in the floor, alluding to shells on the seabed. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Mention other works by Bernini reaching out into space: S. Bibiana, Longinus, Urban VIII, Theresa, Constantine; literature on this topic. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Beleg [↑](#footnote-ref-71)