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## The final problem. Borromini's failed publication project and his suicide\*

In the last years of his life Francesco Borromini made several attempts to broadcast his architectural designs to a larger audience, by converting them into a series of publishable engravings. The architect must have felt there were good prospects for such a publication. Indeed, his optimism is confirmed by the many engravings of his buildings that posterity would produce, and it is mainly to these publications that he owed his popularity: "Borromini è l'architetto più pubblicato del Barocco Romano", as Joseph Connors recently put it<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, the architect's own, more ambitious project never reached publication stage since (as Borromini's nephew reports) the architect burned all the drawings prepared for engraving some days before he took his own life. Were these two acts of self-destruction in some way inter-related? Did the bad end that Borromini meted out to his plans somehow determine his decision to end his life, or were they a deliberate prelude?

Scholarly research has delved into the circumstances of Borromini's suicide several times and hardly is an artist's suicide in early modern times better documented<sup>2</sup>. Yet the true sequence of events surrounding this tragedy has not been wholly uncovered even now<sup>3</sup>. Doubts still remain as to the architect's supposed mental disease, a condition that is of more than marginal importance given an old tradition that derangement bred the strange architectural inventions of his mind<sup>4</sup>.

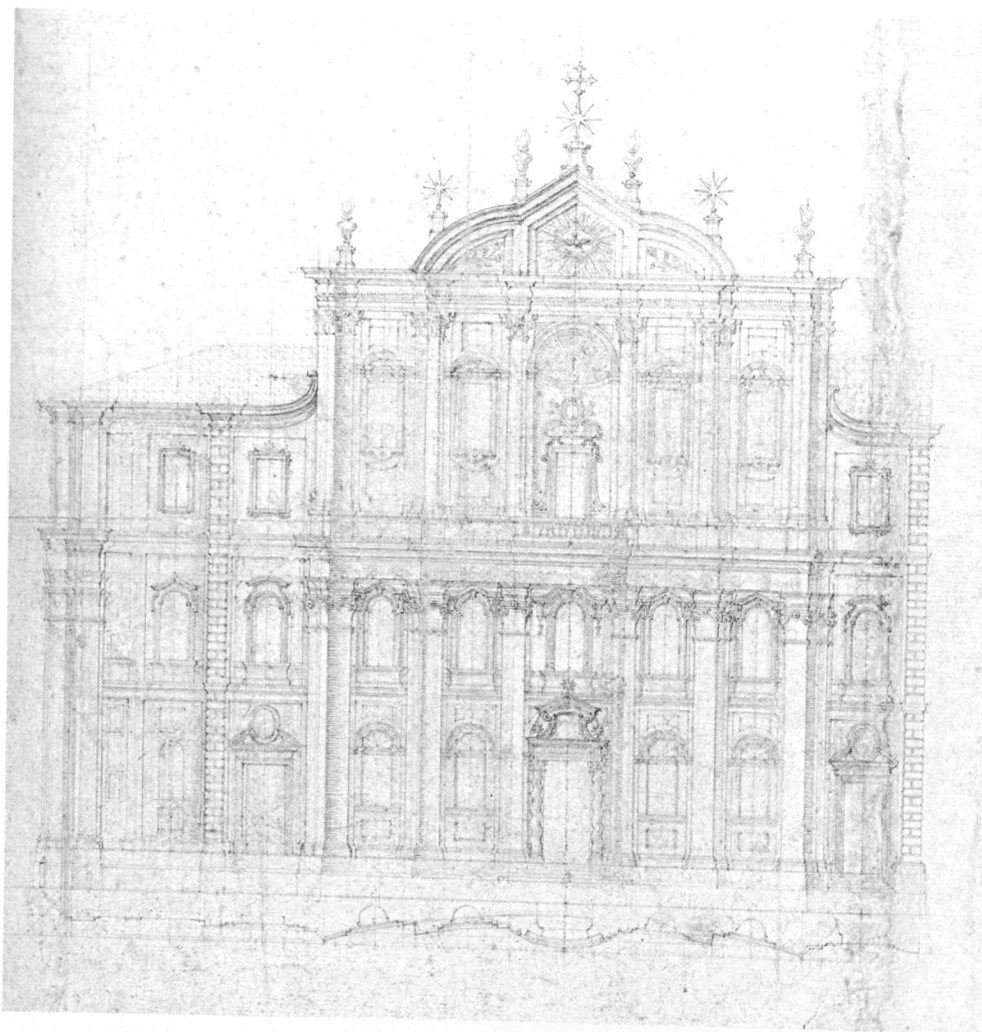
Hans Sedlmayr tried to introduce psychology as a heuristic method to explain Borromini's architecture<sup>5</sup>; Rudolf Wittkower saw his suicide as the consequence of a stoic attitude towards life – Borromini owned a bust of Seneca – and Wittkower was convinced that he "imitated Cato's method of suicide by an act of subconscious rather than conscious identification"<sup>6</sup>. Yet a more sober and less partial investigation into the events and circumstances of Borromini's death remains to be undertaken. Heinrich Thelen has pursued this avenue of research the farthest<sup>7</sup>, but his main goal was to corroborate the sound and clairvoyant character of Borromini's conduct. Thelen refrained from commenting on the reasons that ultimately drove the architect to deal himself the lethal blow.

### *The publication project*

Before enquiring into these reasons, I will begin by examining the publication project itself. In the excellent commentary that precedes his edition of the *Opus architectonicum*, Joseph Connors has collected virtually all the available pertinent material<sup>8</sup>, yet a comprehensive reconstruction of Borromini's efforts – if possible at all – lay beyond the scope of Connors' summary. I would argue, however, that a clear picture emerges if one considers the extant literary documents and drawings as components of a broader picture.

Already at a rather early phase of his life Borromini had embarked on the idea of publishing his architectural designs by draughting specialised drawings and collecting – more or less systematically – explanatory texts. Publication plans are first explicitly recorded in the pontificate of Innocent X (1644-55), when the architect's career was at its height. In this period he was working not only for influential aristocratic families like the Pamphilj, the Giustiniani and the Falconieri, but also for the Pope himself. He created the façade of Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona (1653-56), the famous lantern on top of Sant'Ivo della Sapienza (1653-55), worked on the churches of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori (1641-48) and Sant'Andrea delle Fratte (from 1653), and was elected architect of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. For the Holy Year 1650 he erected the block of the monastery of the Filippini facing Monte Giordano and the Via di Parione, on one of the main pilgrimage routes, and within only three years he terminated the restoration of the oldest and most important of Christian churches, St. John in Lateran. For this feat he was even made a Cavaliere di Cristo by Innocent X and received a *donativo* of 3000 scudi.

In these years, and by 1647 at the very latest, his publication project apparently entered a more concrete stage. In 1647, Borromini and his mentor, padre Virgilio Spada, decided to write a *piena relazione* describing the convent and oratory built by Borromini for the *Oratoriani*, the congregation of St. Philip Neri, in which Spada had a leading administrative role<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, as *elemosiniere segreto* Spada was not only the Pope's financial advisor, but also the *eminence grise* in all questions concerning architecture and building.



1. Francesco Borromini, Oratorio dei Filippini, façade elevation (Windsor Castle, Royal Library, 5594).

It was this man who composed the text (not without copious comment from Borromini) whereas the architect was primarily to provide the illustrations. In the beginning, it would seem that Spada, as a *uomo letterato*, was the inspiring force behind the enterprise.

Unfortunately, none of Borromini's extant drawings can be positively related to Spada's text, excepting one sheet in Windsor Castle showing the oratory façade (ill. 1)<sup>10</sup>. This detailed and meticulously orthogonal elevation presents a significant number of *pentimenti* compared to the executed façade. The upper storey now has columns rather than pilasters, the left lateral door is mirrored on the right side, and the columns of the main portal have cork-screw contours instead of the present simple shafts. The curving of the façade, shown in the ground plan below the elevation, is much stronger than in the executed version, and the decorative elements topping the façade are all missing in reality. Finally, the drawing contains no concrete measurements besides its scale. For these reasons it cannot be easily inserted into the planning process – the diligent execution and the described decorative enhancements point rather to a post-factum, preparatory sheet for a print<sup>11</sup>.

Only a few years later, in 1650, Fra Juan de San Bonaventura, the *procuratore* of the

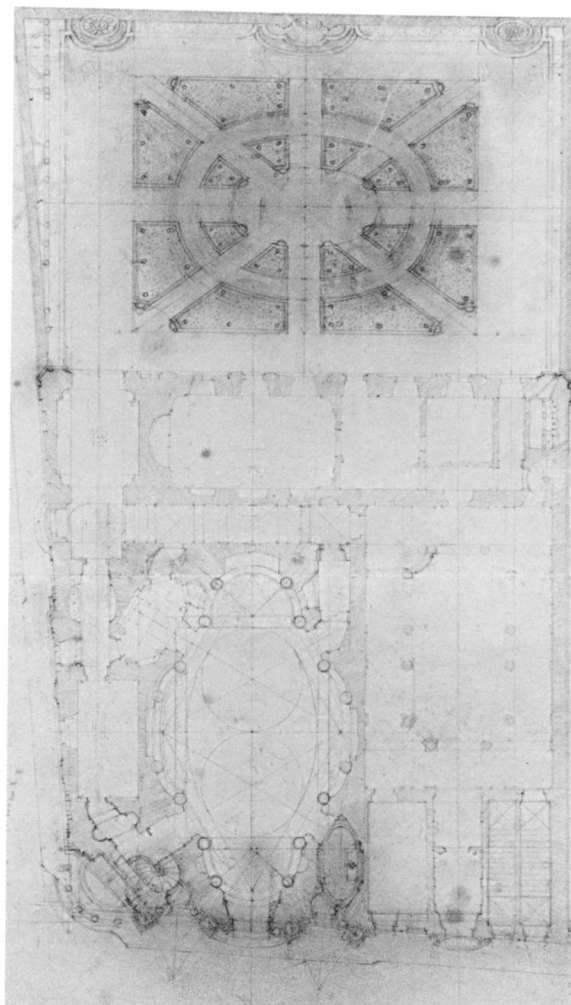
monastery of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, began to write his own, similar *relazione*. He was mainly concerned with the building of the monastery and the church on the Quirinal Hill, but did not refrain from praising other works by Borromini too<sup>12</sup>. The text, written in Italian, but heavily interspersed with hispanisms, could not have been given to the presses without heavy reworking, but it does contain numerous points of information drawn directly from Borromini and may have been intended as the material basis for a later publication. A small number of plans – though none of them in Borromini's hand – accompany the text<sup>13</sup>.

Aside from this manuscript, there are other traces of Borromini preparing his own material. In fact, still other drawings, for San Carlino, also cannot belong to the planning process for the actual construction, but must be characterised as 'showpieces'. Probably while the building campaign was in progress – though we cannot be certain at precisely what date – Borromini drew a series of fine decorative elevations of the garden wing of the convent, which again present a number of variations from the executed façade. It is difficult to imagine these drawings are presentation sheets proper – they are much too fragile and intimate in character and contain nothing but aesthetic information. Particularly telling is the curling smoke rising from a chimney included in one of the drawings, which would have been ridiculous as an attempt to catch a commission. It is details like this that make a dry architectural scheme visually more appealing to a wider audience, however, and they are a common device used in printmaking<sup>14</sup>.

Many years later, around 1665-67, Borromini drafted a series of ground plans of the church, which can also never have served as projects, because they show it idealised, smaller in size, with slightly modified proportions, and the oval is geometrically constructed in a manner which does not correspond to the executed dome<sup>15</sup>. A typical example is Az. Rom 173 (ill. 2), where we see not only the aforementioned alterations, but also a hatching radiating from the centre of the construction in such an aureole that the church plan resembles a monstrance. Graphic effects like these don't make sense in a project drawing, but recur in architectural prints, for example in Dominique Barrière's print for Sant'Ivo<sup>16</sup> (ill. 10).

Apart from the material on the Oratory and San Carlino, other detailed descriptions of Borromini's buildings were written during the same period. In character and scope they resemble the texts already mentioned rather closely. One may even go as far as to say that all the surviving *relazioni* were part of one comprehensive effort to produce the architect's *opera omnia*.

In 1652, Virgilio Spada wrote a lengthy



report on the restoration of the Lateran basilica, in which Borromini again presumably collaborated<sup>17</sup>. Again, it contains numerous references to a set of illustrations that were to accompany the text, though now not included in the manuscript and perhaps absent from the beginning. Highly significantly, a series of Borromini's drawings complement these missing items rather well, and they, too, can be eliminated from any actual planning process. Best known of them are three elevations of the nave (ill. 3)<sup>18</sup>, that are generally regarded as the three presentation sheets from which Pope Innocent X allegedly chose his favourite. This act of presentation is only mentioned in Spada's text and is not documented in the official building records. Moreover, none of the sheets bears the Pope's signature or written approbation, and none of them were archived by the Papal administration or that of the canons, but all remained in Spada's private library.

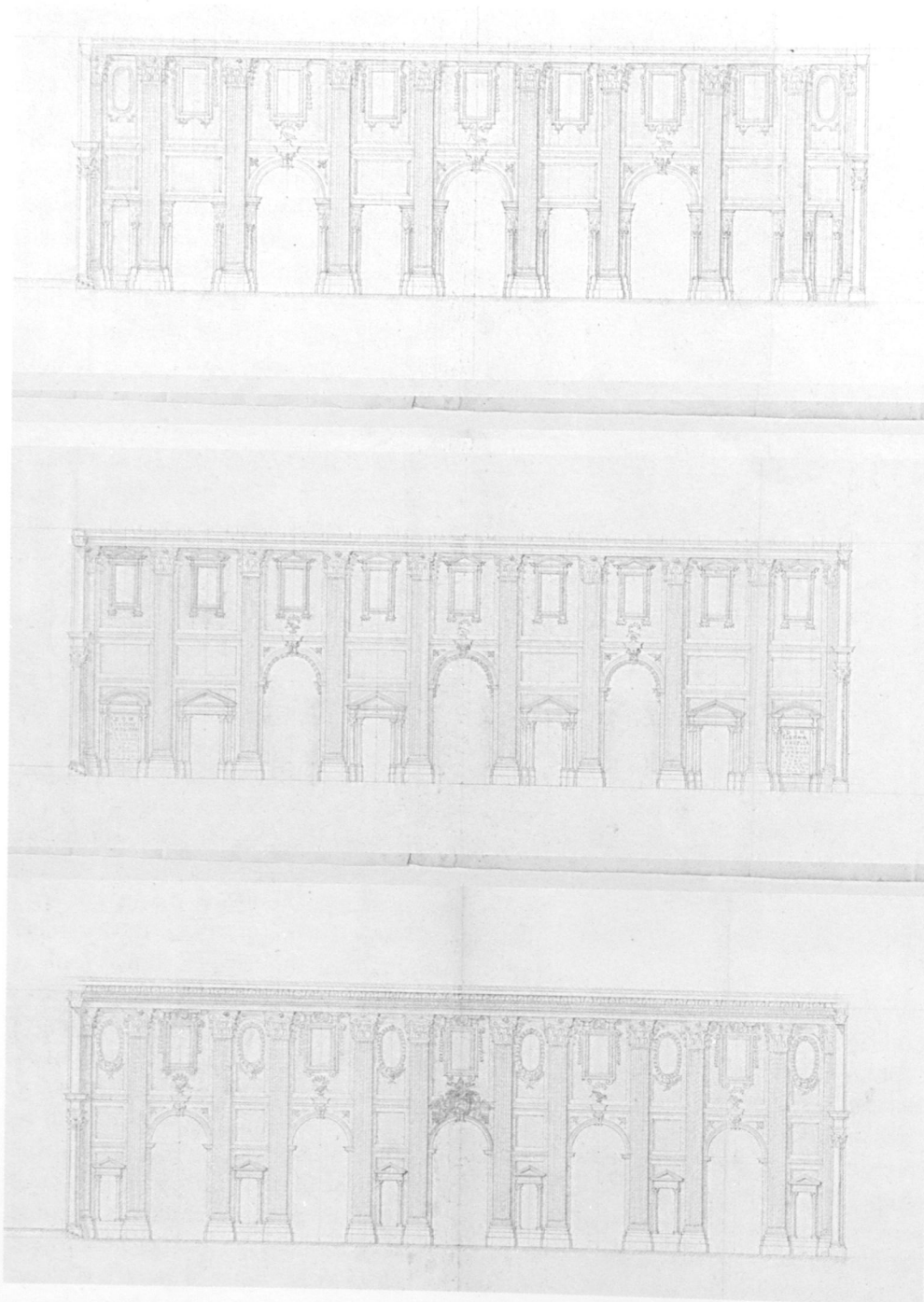
In each of the three cases Borromini's delicate architectural rendering occupies the centre of the sheet. The drawings are conceived with such perfect symmetry that the colossal column supporting the triumphal arch at the western end of the nave is mirrored at the other side. Apart from a scale these elevation drawings contain no concrete measurements or other notes. The issue that would have particularly interested the

Pope – Borromini's proposals for solving the immense technical difficulties of preserving the Constantinian walls – is not described at all.

Instead, the complex task is reduced to a mere problem of decorative wall articulation, to almost 'musical' variations on the theme of the colossal pilaster colonnade. Whether Innocent X was able to judge the different aesthetic effects and systematic consequences of each proposal is rather doubtful. A refined taste in architecture and the capacity for analytical thinking were indispensable prerequisites for making a judicious selection from these three sheets whereas the Pope's uncertainty, even indifference, concerning architectural problems can be seen in all his building enterprises. This is especially true in the case of the Palazzo Pamphilj, which even the contemporary public regarded as "più tosto rapezzato, che edificato per alcune strane fantasie di quel Pontefice"<sup>19</sup>. We do know, however, that Virgilio Spada possessed the desiderata of taste and skill, and perhaps more than any other non-professional of his time. Indeed it was for these very capabilities that the Pope had authorised him to take all decisions "intorno al modo, e forma delli sudetti riparamento, ornamento, e fabrica"<sup>20</sup>, and there is no reason to doubt that it was Spada who decided.

We may presume, therefore, that it was Virgilio Spada himself who specified, in discourse with Borromini, how the basilica should look at the end, but Spada needed no detailed presentation drawings for this purpose. The three drawings must have served another purpose, then. Because they showed off the architect's mastery, they may have been a means for Spada both to justify his choice of Borromini, and to veil his own influence in the design. They may also have been meant to anticipate complaints against undue Papal bias, as the pope had commissioned Borromini "senza voler udire il parere d'alcun architetto" and without having had him enter a competition<sup>21</sup>. Just how little the Pope really knew about Borromini's plans is, in fact, demonstrated by his question (later recounted by Virgilio Spada), as to what had become of the "parte, che non è decorata"<sup>22</sup>.

Another "presentation sheet" owned by Virgilio Spada shows a similarly idealised concept (ill. 4)<sup>23</sup>. This section, which is combined with an elevation of the inner entrance wall of the basilica, shares the properties of the sheets described above – symmetrical composition, missing measurements, and accentuated decorative details. Again, this sheet cannot be properly inserted into the planning process, because the early and late stages of the design evolution are present side by side: thus, while the sheet already shows the final solution for the vaults and the "camere di luce", the entrance wall is still flat and plani-



3. Francesco Borromini, San Giovanni in Laterano, three elevations (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11258, fols. 146, 149, 166*).

metrically orthogonal, and does not correspond to the elevation "chosen by Innocent X." It can only follow that it was drafted at a time when presentation sheets were not needed anymore and, again, its presence in the Spada Codex indicates that the drawing was actually never submitted as an official document.

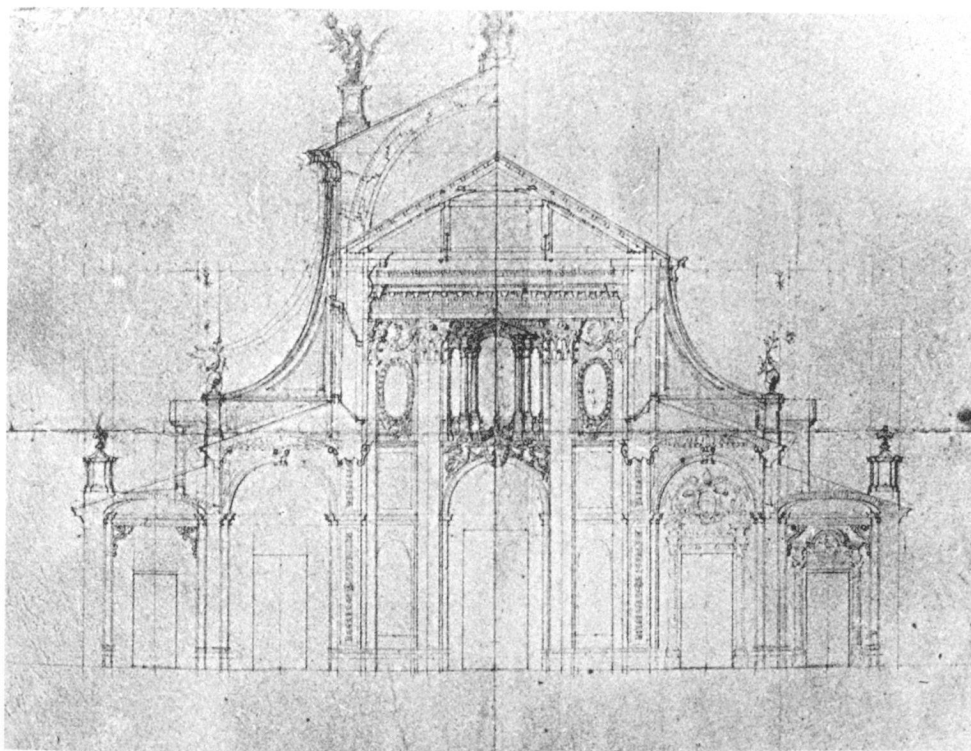
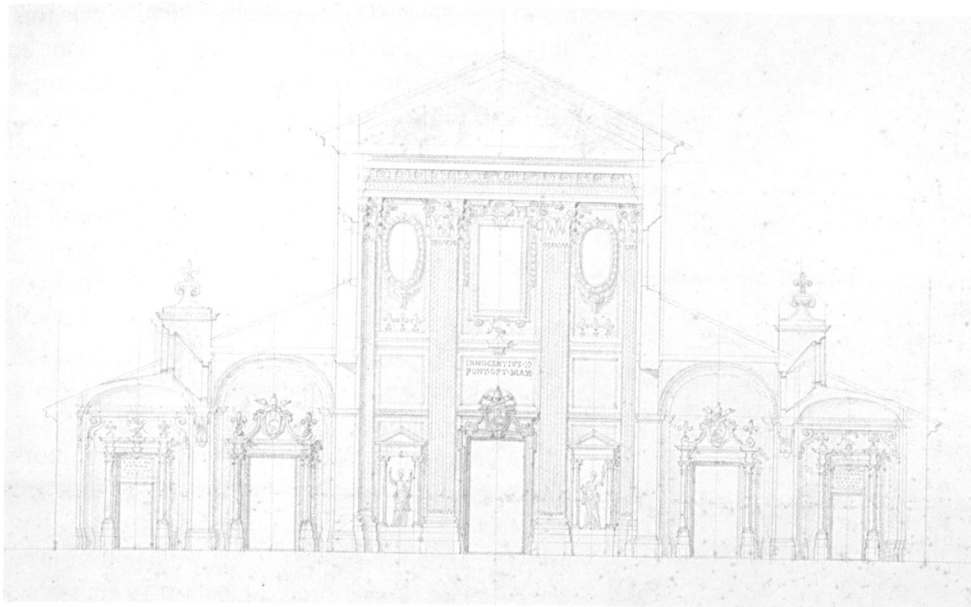
The same arguments may be voiced, even more appropriately, if we look at the famous cross-section of the Lateran basilica displaying a monumental barrel vault (ill. 5), a proposal which Borromini had not the slightest chance of realising<sup>24</sup>. At first sight the sheet seems unfinished, but it has many features which suggest a preparatory sheet for a print: the carefully centred, highly organised layout of the image, the juxtaposition of two alternative halves combining two section planes and, once again, the lack

of any measurements and notes. Not only is this not a planning drawing but we might well doubt whether the elegant, curved buttresses could have sustained the thrust of such a heavy vault. In short, the drawing demonstrates, somewhat pathetically, what Borromini would have been capable of accomplishing had not the Pope imposed severe limitations upon his creativity.

In the same years, around 1650, Virgilio Spada wrote a further architectural treatise, dealing with the Palazzo Pamphilj, another papal project<sup>25</sup>. In addition, a short critique of Girolamo Rainaldi's façade of the palace survives among his other writings<sup>26</sup>. Again, both texts strive to point out Borromini's superior qualities as an architect and, again, we have a drawing in Borromini's hand to illustrate Spada's text. This section through the *Salone* (ill. 6) obviously does not correspond to the specific conditions of the site, but explains in an abstract, diagrammatic way the novel constructive features that Borromini introduced into the design of the vault<sup>27</sup>. If the relation to Spada's text were any less evident, one would again take this drawing for a presentation sheet<sup>28</sup>.

It is instructive to compare Spada's writings on the Palazzo Pamphilj with other drawings by Borromini for the same building. In particular, there are three magnificent elevations of the Piazza Navona façade (ill. 7)<sup>29</sup>, which are very similar in character to those for the Lateran. These elevations are accompanied by six plans<sup>30</sup>. Again, none of these three projects had any chance of execution, since Girolamo Rainaldi, the family architect of the Pamphilj, was in the process of erecting the palace façade, his position was uncontested, and Borromini did not compete for the commission. As a rule, in fact, Borromini refused to compete with his colleagues, and never participated in competitions. Thus, he did not dispatch projects to France for the Louvre as did Bernini, Cortona and Rainaldi, even though he had been asked to do so by the French court<sup>31</sup>. One may deduce from this conduct that the plans for Palazzo Pamphilj are demonstrative fantasies, variations on a given theme (and therefore intended for publication). Significantly, once more the drawings remained in Spada's possession and did not enter the building records in the Pamphilj archive.

Borromini apparently produced several ideal projects, with variants, all of them executed with graphic elegance and rich detail, all related to actual building enterprises in which he was involved. But none of them can be considered part of the planning process and none had any chance of realisation. Their characterising features, and the fact that they parallel existing texts, point heavily to their having been models for prints. Indeed, an eyewitness account



4. Francesco Borromini, San Giovanni in Laterano, section (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11257, fol. 256).

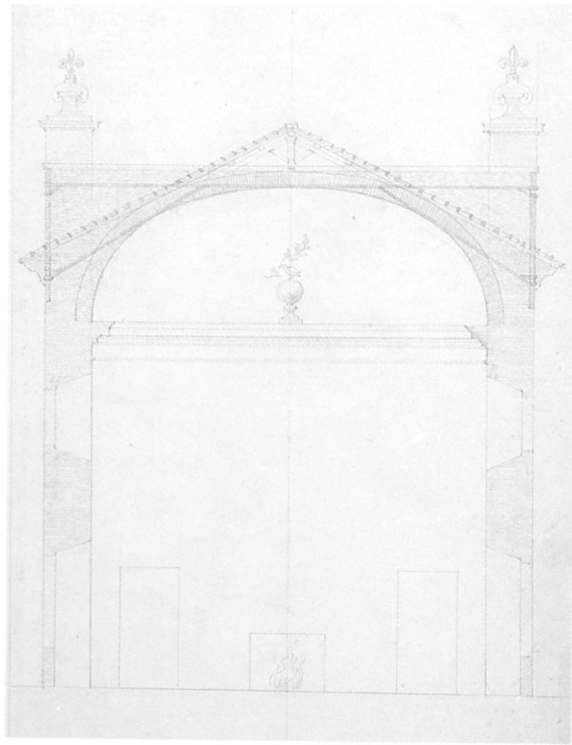
5. Francesco Borromini, San Giovanni in Laterano, section (Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, F. N. 13986).

records that Borromini was engaged in precisely such an endeavour. In the notes that he put together in 1685 for the biographer Filippo Baldinucci, Borromini's nephew Bernardo Castelli wrote: "delli molti studij e pensieri fatti per diversi personaggi, et altri disegni di tempj e fabbriche secondo li venivano nel pensiero, quali acciò non restassero sepolti, aveva determinato di farne un libro et darli alla luce con stamparli, tanto quelli messi in opera quanto quelli non messi in opera per diversi accidenti, et li altri soi pensieri per far vedere il molto del suo sapere"<sup>32</sup> (he made a lot of studies and sketches for several persons, and other designs for temples and buildings that came to his mind, and so that they should not remain buried, he decided to make a book out of them and give them to the presses, both those that had been realised and

those that, for various reasons, had not, as well as other thoughts, in order to show the abundance of his professional knowledge). I believe that the drawings I have described above were such *pensieri* and *altri disegni*, and not presentation sheets at all. Moreover, the fact that Borromini continued to pursue and improve projects that had long failed fits well with Bernini's observation – related by Spada – that Borromini "non si contentava mai"<sup>33</sup>.

Nothing was actually published by the Spada and Borromini team in their lifetimes. Maybe the reasons for this failure lay in the diversity of their separate goals. Spada's texts were polemical treatises that stressed the functionality, the inexpensiveness and the aesthetic effects of Borromini's existing buildings, whereas the architect himself strove to inspire the reader (and spectator) with his creative invention. "Non mi sarei posto à questa professione col fine di esser solo copista", Borromini proudly pronounces in Spada's introduction to the *Opus architectonicum*, and doubtless neither would he have merely supplied illustrations for Spada's *relazioni* – Spada himself says that he wished the architect to contribute the plates, "mà non è stato possibile"<sup>34</sup>. What Borromini's personal goals were mind is harder to say, but I would hypothesize that he probably wanted to rival the refined diagrams of palaces and villas that Palladio had published in the second book of his *Quattro Libri*. Palladio, too, had represented his elevations and plans with an idealised symmetry and completeness, and one of his favourite devices was also the symmetrical combination of a half-section and a half-elevation mentioned above.

From the moment that Alexander VII ascended the papal throne, in 1655, Borromini's fortune began to decline. As the commissions dwindled away Borromini used his time to carry forward the publication of his projects, thereby still justifying his claim to be Rome's leading architect. When it is reported that he browsed the *librerie* around the Piazza Navona, instead of attending to the building-site of Sant'Agnese<sup>35</sup>, he may have been less book hunting than negotiating with prospective publishers. We do know that in these same years he engaged at his own expense a professional engraver to execute the copper-plates, the Frenchman Dominique Barrière<sup>36</sup>. For the Pamphilj Barrière had already engraved their Aldobrandini inheritance in Frascati and their villa outside Porta San Pancrazio in Rome<sup>37</sup>; in 1653, Barrière published the first illustration of the lantern of Sant'Ivo<sup>38</sup>. Perhaps Barrière's first engraving for Borromini was of the Oratory façade (ill. 8)<sup>39</sup>, a plate which again shows columns instead of pilasters on the upper story. In comparison to Borromini's strictly orthogonal drawing in Windsor, Barrière's slightly perspec-



tive representation is easier to understand and is more appealing to a non-professional audience. By isolating the symmetrical façade, and shading it, Barrière produces a plastic *rilievo* that becomes a didactic visualisation resembling a small-scale model, all with a gentle and solemn gracefulness. This style of representation seems to have been devised not by Borromini, but by Barrière himself; he had already used it to great effect in the Villa Pamphilj prints.

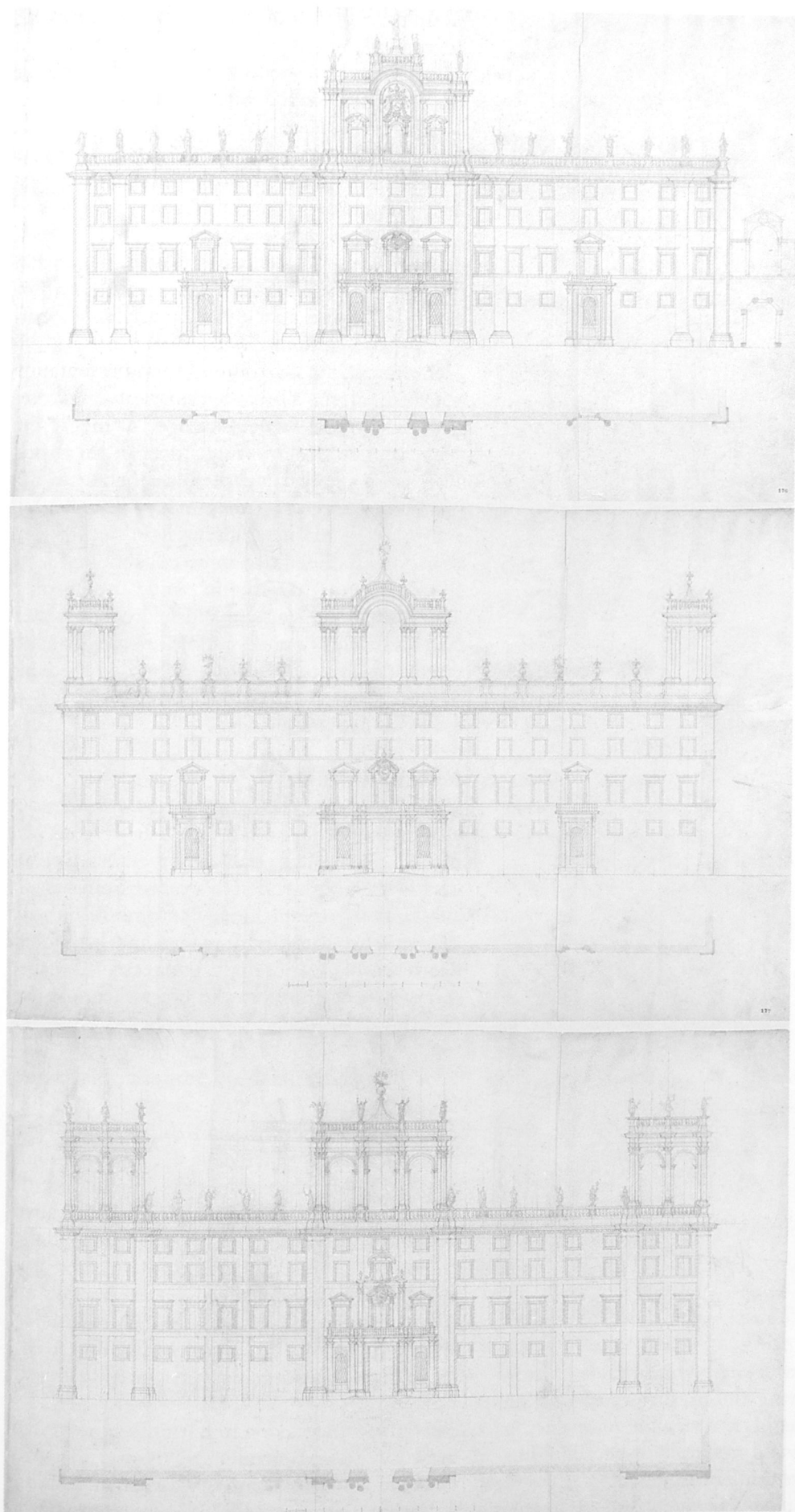
According to Bernardo's account Barrière also made four plates of the Sapienza: "E cosi prese Domenico Bariera intagliatore de rami, al quale li diede li disegni della Sapienza; e li fece intagliare la pianta giugetrale, et in prospettiva li fecie intagliare l'alzata per di dentro, et per davanti, et per di dietro". I take these comments to mean that Barrière engraved one plan (the *pianta giugetrale*) and three perspectival views – one of the interior, one of the front and one of the back side of the building<sup>40</sup>. Borromini paid for these copperplates<sup>41</sup> and they remained in the possession of his heirs until 1720 when they were published by Sebastiano Giannini and included in the "Opera del Cavaliere Borromini"<sup>42</sup>. The four Barrière prints can be identified by their technique and their stylistic traits. Plate X of the *Opera* is the *pianta giugetrale*, whereas the three perspectives form plates VIII, VI and V. The view of the interior (ill. 9)<sup>43</sup> stands out artistically as one of the finest architectural renderings of all times; it presents the space as a combination of an elevation of the cavity, a section of the shell and a foreshortened ground plan, like a sliced scale model. Apart from these prints a preparation drawing by Barrière for the exterior of the drum is preserved in Berlin<sup>44</sup>.

Of particular interest is the *pianta giugetrale*, Borromini's *prima idea, e disegno*, as Giannini calls it (ill. 10). The way in which the interior space is filled with ornament, the stucco-work of the dome, and the radial hatching enhance its visual appeal and confer a symbolic aura upon the print. The stylised bee in the centre and the dome windows (in the form of honeycombs) not only allude heraldically to Urban VIII Barberini, who originally commissioned the University chapel, but also refer back to Divine Wisdom who enables these small insects to build their cells as regular hexagons<sup>45</sup>.

In contrast to Borromini's early presentation sheet (ill. 11)<sup>46</sup>, drawn before 1642 and preserved to this day in the university archive, Barrière's print slims down the external and internal contours of the church in order to achieve a visually more satisfying balance between wall and void. The triangle underlying the construction now fits exactly between the two parallel corridors. Several drawings by Borromini, drawn to the same scale, show a perfectly analogous reduction of the church plan (ill. 12)<sup>47</sup>. They cannot belong to the planning process, therefore, and hence have already been interpreted as preparation drawings for engravings<sup>48</sup>.

For stylistic reasons another drawing (Az. Rom 1059), of another project, – a perspective view of Palazzo Falconieri from across the Tiber (ill. 13) – must be attributed to Barrière though hitherto it has always been considered a Borromini autograph<sup>49</sup>. The (originally) symmetrical composition, the delicate rendering, and the elegant figures in the foreground closely match Barrière's Villa Pamphilj prints, and the reversed projection proves beyond any doubt that it was conceived as a preparation drawing for a print. This sheet should alert us that Borromini's publication project must have been more extensive than has hitherto been imagined. The sheet was trimmed on the left margin, and the south wing, not executed by Borromini, is missing. Did Borromini, perhaps, trim it off himself shortly before his death in order to prevent others from usurping his authorship?

Barrière's perspectival technique lent itself particularly well to representing Borromini's designs in a slightly idealised, aesthetically appealing way, and it was much better suited to a larger public than his own orthogonal drawing method. Moreover, Barrière's views probably corresponded to Borromini's wax models, and their own similar effects. On the other hand, it did not agree well with Spada's *relazioni*, which dealt systematically with the single parts of a building, their functional problems and the appropriate solutions. In the end Spada resigned and had an inferior draughtsman providing the illustrations, but apparently they did not meet the



7. Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Pamphilj, three façades (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11258, fols. 176, 177, 180).

standards required for publication<sup>50</sup>. Only in 1720 did Giannini resume the effort by supplying the missing illustrations in a professional way.

In the last decade of his life, Borromini's life and the future of his publication project was darkened by a series of fatal blows. The first was the death of Virgilio Spada in 1662. Borromini had not only lost a close friend and mentor, one who time and again had been his guiding light and supported him through the quarrels with his patrons, but also the author of his projected book<sup>51</sup>. Presumably he had lost direct access to Spada's manuscripts into the bargain<sup>52</sup>.

Fortunately, in the meantime Borromini had made a new friend: Fioravante Martinelli<sup>53</sup>. Martinelli was no expert on architecture, but a distinguished scholar in the antiquarian field, and both men were of the same age. Martinelli had grown up in Rome in poor circumstances, had become a priest and then made a career as secretary and (eventually) heir to Cardinal Orazio Giustiniani, the prefect of the Vatican library and, like Spada, a member of the Oratorian congregation<sup>54</sup>. In 1636 Martinelli was appointed *scriptor hebraicus* in the Vatican Library, a year later also *scriptor latinus*; he may even have been a baptised Jew<sup>55</sup>. He wrote several treatises on Roman ecclesiastical history and topography, and composed the popular guidebook *Roma ricercata*, for the plates of which he employed Barrière. Through the Oratorians, whose antiquarian interests he shared, he may have first been introduced to Borromini around 1650.

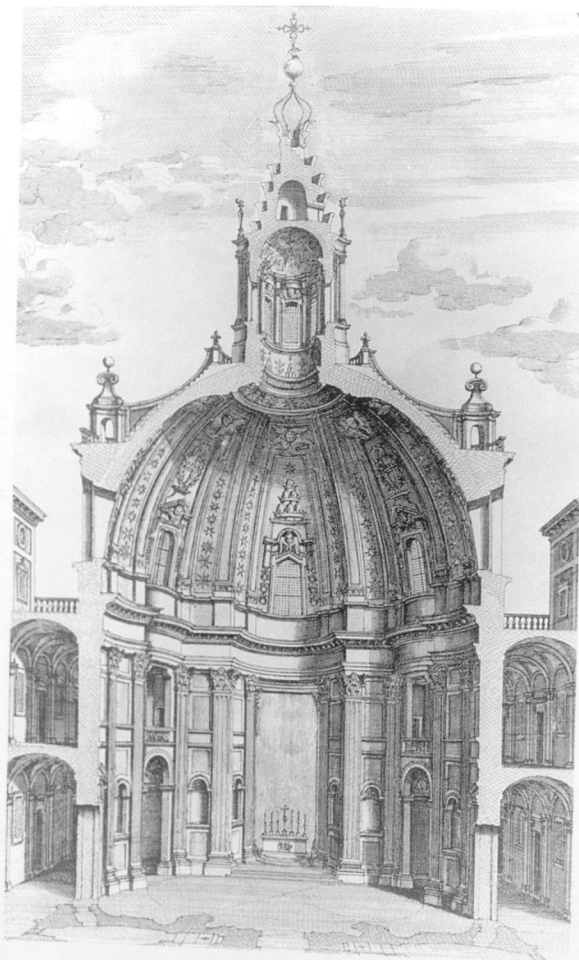
In certain respects Borromini's drawings were more appropriate for Martinelli's texts. Martinelli's guidebooks addressed an educated public, dealt mainly with historical and antiquarian topics, and were less concerned with functional aspects. Around 1660 Martinelli began a new guidebook called *Roma ornata*, which contained more detailed artistic information on the monuments of Rome. He handed the finished manuscript over to Borromini for proof-reading, and the architect added plenty of notes in the margin. This manuscript, a major source for Roman baroque art, also remained unpublished until 1969<sup>56</sup>. More particularly still, Martinelli wrote at length on the history of the Sapienza, a text which was to contain illustrations by Borromini and was later added to the guidebook manuscript<sup>57</sup>. It seems that Martinelli had now become the author of Borromini's confidence.

In the following years Borromini's professional outlook continued to worsen. By 1665 he had lost nearly all important commissions, above all St. John in Lateran and Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona, while the Sapienza and the Collegio di Propaganda Fide projects were nearing completion. In the beginning of April 1665 Marchese Paolo del Bufalo<sup>58</sup>, his patron and



8. *Dominique Barrière*, Oratorio dei Filippini, *façade* (after *J. Connors*, *Borromini e l'Oratorio romano*, Torino 1989).

9. *Dominique Barrière*, Sant'Ivo della Sapienza, *interior* (Opera del Cav. Francesco Borromino, cavata dai suoi originali... edited by S. Giannini, Roma 1720, plate VIII).



another friend who shared his interest in antiquity<sup>59</sup>, died, leaving the presbytery of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, his mausoleum, unfinished<sup>60</sup>.

Borromini could not really expect his situation to improve under Alexander VII, so he turned again to his publications project. It seems that he now reworked and modified many of his earlier designs preparing them for publication (as described by Bernardo). Many of the Borromini's drawings preserved in Vienna show sever-

al modifications and variations which could never have been meant for execution. Only in recent years have researchers become aware of this fact, but a catalogue raisonné is still missing. Maybe even some of the early drawings like the series of fantastic ideas for Palazzo Carpegna were actually preparation drawings for engravings? These doubts cannot be resolved here, and must be left to future enquiry.

Nevertheless, when we survey all the remaining sources for Borromini's publication project, two major phases can be distinguished. The earlier one coincides more or less with the pontificate of Innocent X (1644-1655) and is predominated by Virgilio Spada's monographic *relazioni*; aside from these texts, a number of highly finished preparatory drawings, most of them preserved among Spada's papers, also belong to this phase. In the second phase, under Alexander VII (1655-1667), and most intensely in the very last years of his life, Borromini collaborated with Barrière and Martinelli, and the project advanced to the stage of finished copperplates. Not a single elaborated sample drawing has survived; it seems that Borromini burned them all. Traces of their preparation, however, can still be found on many drawings.

#### *Failure and suicide*

While it is quite clear that things worsened for Borromini during his last years, the reasons why his 'last project', the publication enterprise, and his life itself both ended in a catastrophe remain substantially unexplained. Borromini's burning of all the preparatory drawings and his violent death seem to be closely connected. To shed more light on this issue, an exact chronological overview is needed.

1662 Virgilio Spada dies a year after his brother Bernardino.

1665 Most of the work on Sant'Ivo and Propaganda Fide is terminated.

April 1665 Marchese Paolo del Bufalo dies; the *cantiere* of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte is abandoned.

December 1666 Bernini is first employed at Sant'Agnese in Agone, commissioned by Olimpia Aldobrandini and Cardinal Decio Azzolini.

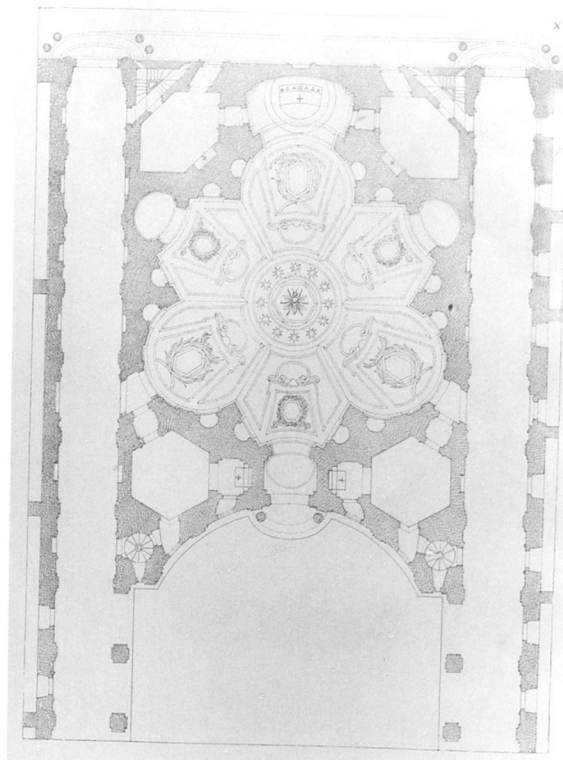
before February 6, 1667 Death of Camillo Arcucci. Borromini is not reinstated as architect of the Oratory.

spring 1667 In reaction to Bernini's appointment at Sant'Agnese, Borromini travels to Lombardy.

June 26, 1667 Accession of Clement IX. Cardinal Azzolini is appointed State Secretary; Bernini remains in papal favour.

July 1, 1667 The commission for the tomb of Innocent X goes to Bernini.

July 3, 1667 *possesso* of Clement IX.



July 20 or 21, 1667 Fioravante Martinelli dies.

July 22, 1667 St. Mary Magdalene's day; Borromini begins to feel ill and stays in his house. In the presence of seven witnesses he consigns a sealed will to the notary Olimpio Ricci.

July 24 Registration of Martinelli's provisional burial, mentioning his sudden death, probably in his villa on Monte Mario ("repentina morte in Suburbio Pio obiit").

July 23 and 24 Borromini leaves his house for St. John in Lateran to receive the Jubilee Indulgence on the occasion of the accession of Clement IX ("per pigliare il giubileo").

July 29 Borromini requests to withdraw the will from his notary and obtains it. The will is lost.

July 30? Borromini burns the preparatory drawings for engraving.

August 1 In the afternoon Borromini is visited by his nephew Bernardo. During the night, after Bernardo has left, Borromini begins to write a new will.

August 2 At early dusk ("ore 8 e mezza" = 4 o'clock) his servant and assistant, Francesco Massari, denies him the light he needs to continue writing. Thereupon Borromini throws himself onto his *spadino*. After he is found, he dictates a new will in favour of his nephew but with strong binding clauses.

August 3 At the tenth hour of the evening Borromini dies.

The year 1667, the last of Borromini's life, began with a particularly crushing impact upon his self-confidence. After Camillo Arcucci had died, he was not called back by the Oratorians as their architect. But things continued to wors-

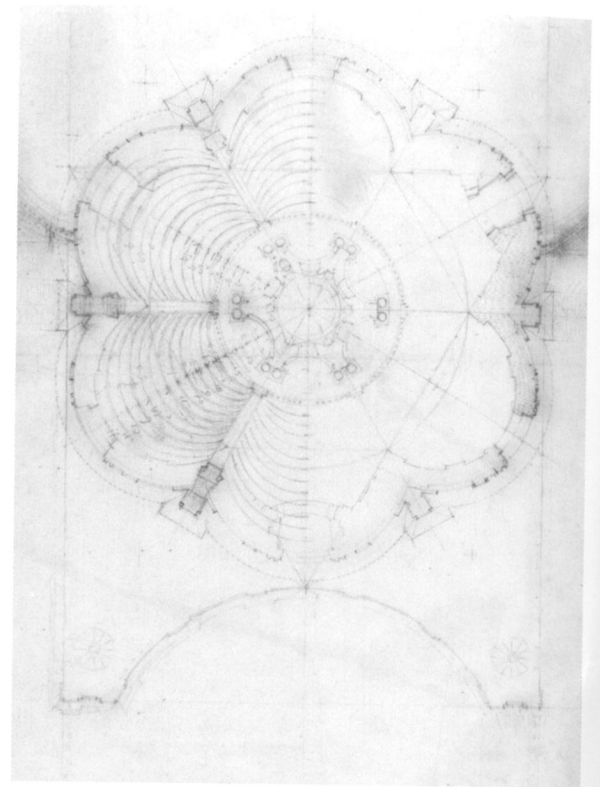
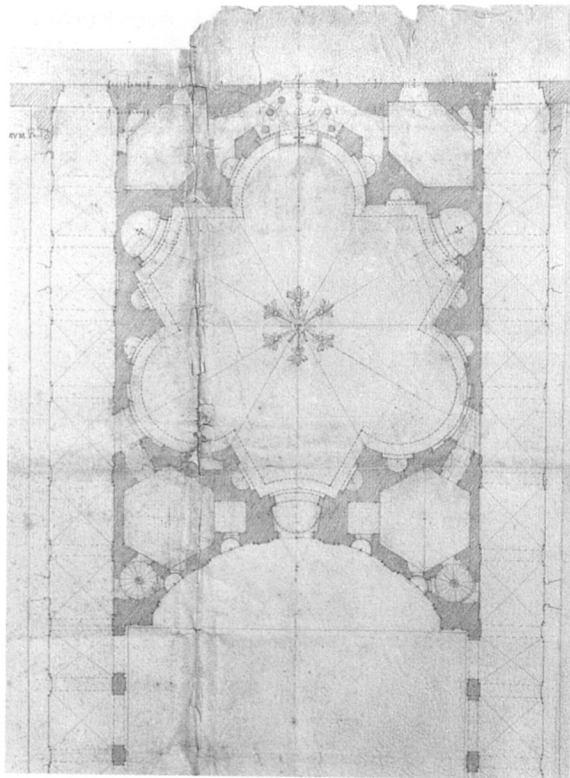
en. On the advice of Cardinal Decio Azzolini, Donna Olimpia Aldobrandini, Camillo Pamphilj's widow, transferred the direction of the construction of Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona to Borromini's foremost rival Bernini<sup>61</sup>. This was the first time that Bernini had actually stolen away work from under Borromini's nose, and without hesitation he tampered with Borromini's façade, which had already suffered from Carlo Rainaldi and Giovanni Maria Baratta's introduction of a heavy attic. Bernini had all the ornamental reliefs removed, changed the shape of the panels over the side doors and began far-reaching modifications to the interior decoration<sup>62</sup>. We are informed by Lione Pascoli of the impact of these measures on Borromini's psyche, even if he shies away from mentioning Sant'Agnese directly: "essendo certa fabbrica, che dovea esser condotta da lui, come quegli, che fatto ne avea il disegno, stata data a condurre al Bernini, tanto se ne accordò, e se ne afflisce, che per divertire la fiera malinconia, che l'opprimeva, risolvè di fare un viaggio; e se ne andò in Lombardia"<sup>63</sup>. So far no archival documents for Borromini's journey to his homeland have been found<sup>64</sup>.

Pascoli relates that the *malinconia* returned as soon as Borromini was back in Rome, and to cure himself the architect again turned to his publication project: "... stava le settimane intere serrato in casa senza mai uscire, facendo però sempre nuovi disegni di grosse fabbriche di capriccio, e per genio. Così s'andava egli svariando, e pasceva l'elevato suo ingegno di nuove nobili idee, e di pellegrine invenzioni, e di vaghi, e bizzarri pensieri; ed avendone fatta copiosa raccolta, determinò di farli tutti intagliare; perché veder sempre potessero gli emuli, ed i posteri le maravigliose sue operazioni". For all Pascoli's rhetorical exaggerations, his vivid depiction must contain some truth. Despite the almost total annihilation of the proofs that Borromini had prepared for engraving there is plenty of evidence that he, indeed, continued to make designs for commissions that had long ago been completed or lost to others. Many of the drawings preserved in the Albertina must be considered preparatory sketches for these prints. For example, the idealised plan diagrams of the campanile and the *tiburio* of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte certainly have no function in the planning process<sup>65</sup>, and the magnificent plan of Sant'Agnese and the Collegio Innocenziano (ill. 14) contains decisive modifications that cannot have been commissioned by Innocent X or Camillo Pamphilj<sup>66</sup>.

In the summer of 1667 the situation became even more painful for Borromini when Bernini obtained the commission for the tomb of Innocent X<sup>67</sup>. Borromini felt a strong personal rever-

11. Francesco Borromini, Sant'Ivo della Sapienza, detail (Roma, Archivio di Stato, vol. 198, c. 122).

12. Francesco Borromini, Sant'Ivo della Sapienza, plan (Wien, Albertina, Az. Rom 509).



ence towards this pope who had conferred to him the *cavalierato*, went so far as to call himself “architetto della Santa memoria di Papa Innocentio X.o”, and even had a portrait of the pontiff in his house<sup>68</sup>. But Borromini did not live to see the failure of Bernini’s tomb project, as he soon took his own life.

Three sources inform us of the sequence of events of the last week of July 1667, and the circumstances of Borromini’s death: firstly, the official record of the interrogation concerning his self-inflicted wounding<sup>69</sup>; secondly the biographical report that his nephew Bernardo composed; and finally, in a more indirect way, the files of his notary.

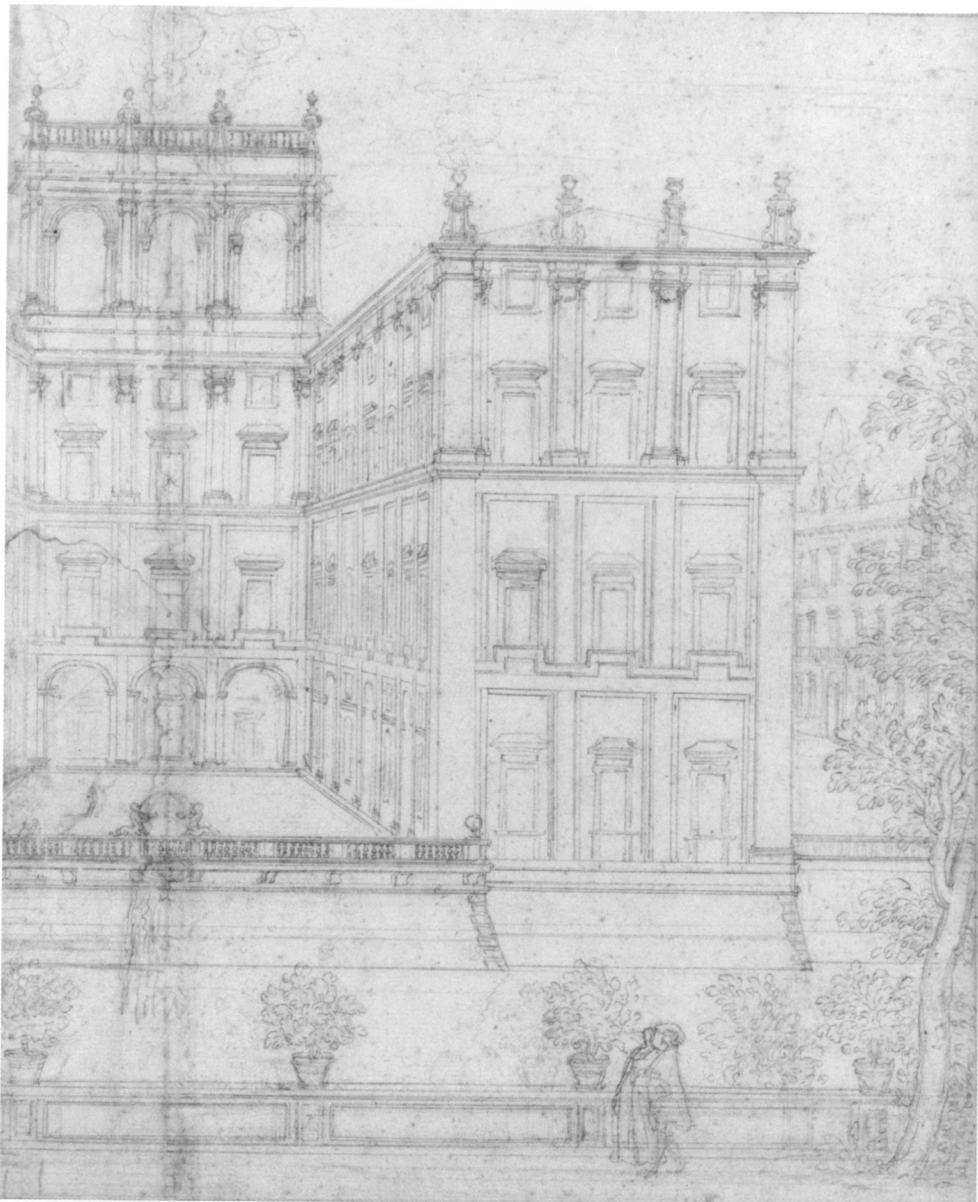
On 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1667, Borromini made a statement to the doctor questioning him, to the effect that he had been ill since St. Mary Magdalene’s day (July 22) and had not left the house except on Saturday and Sunday, when he had gone to San Giovanni (i.e. in Laterano) “per pigliare il giubileo”, i.e. to obtain the jubilee indulgence announced by Clement IX Rospigliosi on occasion of his election<sup>70</sup>. Borromini had even less to expect from Alexander VII’s successor, particularly because Cardinal Azzolini had been appointed his Secretary of State<sup>71</sup>. In fact, it quickly became clear that Bernini’s role as papal artistic director would in no way be diminished; on the contrary, he soon received the commission for the statues on Ponte Sant’Angelo<sup>72</sup>.

Borromini did not mention these matters during the questioning, even though they must have had a decisive impact on his emotional balance, nor did he communicate the fact that he

had consigned a sealed will to his notary Olimpio Ricci on July 22 – that is, on the very day he claims to have become ill<sup>73</sup>. This coincidence is surprising: it is unusual to hurry in drawing up a will when some illness has hardly begun<sup>74</sup>.

Borromini also kept his own council about the incident that (I would argue) was most decisive in depriving him of his will to live, namely the sudden and unexpected death (“morte repentina”) of his friend Fioravante Martinelli in *suburbio Pio* (which I take to mean outside the Leonine walls, north of Borgo Pio, presumably in his *villino* on Monte Mario)<sup>75</sup>. The precise date cannot be established. So far the only scholars that have noted the proximity of this event to Borromini’s own death give July 24 as the date, overlooking the fact that his provisional burial in San Michele Arcangelo is recorded on this date<sup>76</sup>. In truth, Martinelli may well have died a couple of days earlier<sup>77</sup>.

The conspicuous simultaneity of Borromini’s sudden illness and Martinelli’s death appears all too improbable to pass over as a sheer coincidence. It is more reasonable to assume that Borromini’s mysterious disease, which he himself calls “indisposizione” while his nephew preferred “umore malinconico” and “umore ipocondrico”, was directly caused by the news of Martinelli’s death. Such an assumption would make Borromini’s reaction almost natural, almost inevitable. For, the sudden demise of Borromini’s confidant and intimate colleague must have plunged him into a profound depression. He had lost not only a friend, but the last remaining author for his book. He must have realised that his last project, the only way left



13. Dominique Barrière, Palazzo Falconieri, Tiber façade (Wien, *Albertina*, Az. Rom 1059).

him to publish his architectural ideas, was now doomed to failure. It also becomes clear why he would have hurried to draw up his will. The crushing effect of Martinelli's death must have directed his thoughts towards the imminent and inevitable end of his own life and the need to make provisions accordingly. Unfortunately we do not know what his first will contained.

In the following days Borromini probably brooded despairingly over the destiny of his life's work. The only remaining person he could pin his hopes on was his nephew Bernardo, then aged 24. After the death of his brother Domenico in 1659, Borromini had taken the 16-year-old boy into his household and had him train as an architect<sup>78</sup>. Presumably it was not only the personal duty towards his next of kin that induced Borromini, but also that profound sense of commitment present in many Ticinese clans. For generations a small number of families from the Swiss lakes (e.g. the Castelli, Maderna, Tencalla, Fontana and others) had dominated the building trade, in Rome and all

over Europe<sup>79</sup>. The young were not only trained by the older members, but also 'placed' and recommended, and the ties were strengthened by marriages between the various family branches. In much the same way, the young Borromini had been introduced to the *fabbrica di San Pietro* by Carlo Maderno, who had married into his mother's family<sup>80</sup>.

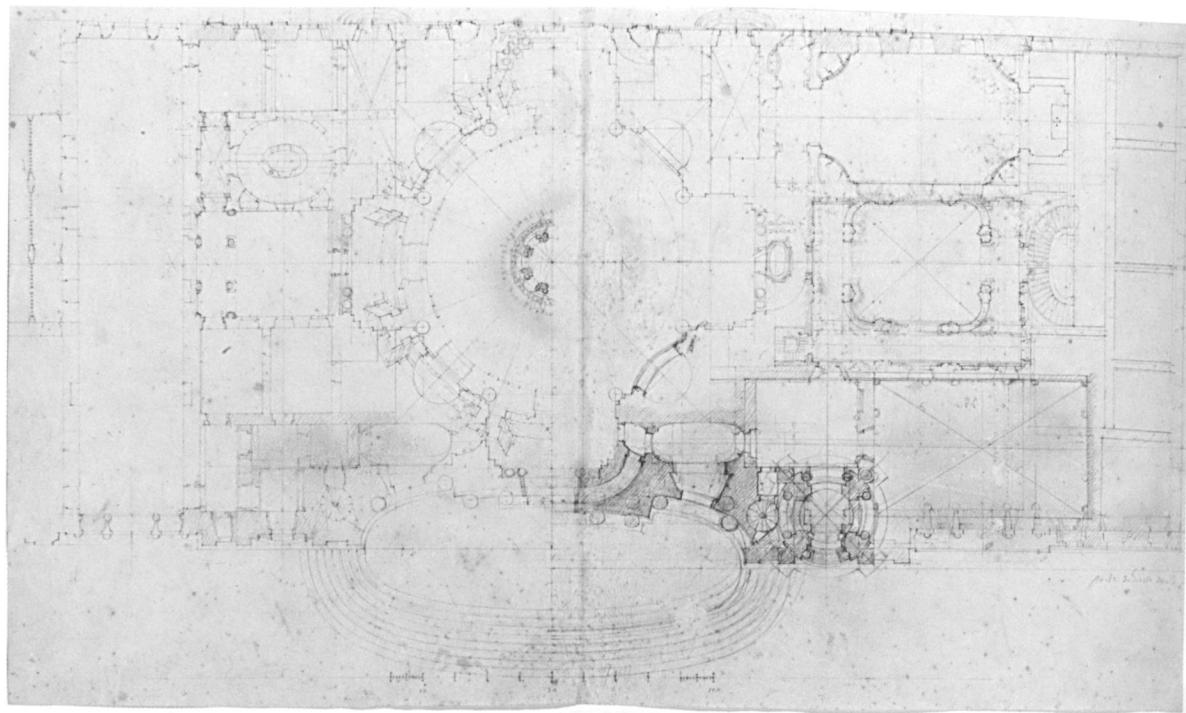
Bernardo, however, had already proven his complete and utter incompetence in the field of architecture. For some time he had been working on the façade of San Carlino<sup>81</sup>, and after his uncle's death he was to succeed in "disfiguring Borromini's masterpiece beyond recognition" (as Thelen put it)<sup>82</sup> by altering the design of the upper story, and thereby confusing architectural historians for centuries<sup>83</sup>.

If Bernardo's account is true, Borromini burned all the drawings he had prepared for publication in the days just preceding his death. Bernardo doesn't state it outright, but this burning may have taken place even *after* his uncle had mortally wounded himself, as he continued to live for more than a day. Anyhow, Borromini must have proceeded with full consciousness, for more than 700 sheets of varying purposes were spared – it seems he carefully picked only the clean copies set aside for engraving. From this conduct we can draw two conclusions: first, Borromini was convinced that his publication project was frustrated for good; secondly, he had no confidence that Bernardo would carry it out after his death in a satisfying way.

Bernardo, for his own part, seems to have been more worried about his uncle's project for financial reasons. In one suspicious aside, he noted the considerable amount that Borromini had spent on the engraving of the copperplates<sup>84</sup>. To see this investment literally go up in smoke when Borromini sacrificed the drawings that had been prepared for months must have seemed sheer insanity to him. Perhaps he did not grasp that his own incompetence was one of the motives for Borromini's seemingly frenzied destruction. Probably he was most concerned about his own inheritance.

And not without reason: precisely one week after Borromini's depression overtook him, on July 29, the architect demanded that his will be returned by the notary<sup>85</sup>. This event means, at the very least, that his notary did not doubt his soundness of mind. Most scholars suppose that the will contained a bequest to Martinelli which Borromini wished to cancel after his friend had deceased<sup>86</sup> but one may well ask exactly what Borromini could have possessed worth bequeathing to a friend who needed for nothing – if not his books or drawings – and why it would have been so urgent to cancel a bequest that could not have been executed. For not only

14. Francesco Borromini, Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona, ground plan (Wien, *Albertina*, Az. Rom 55).



does Borromini not figure in Martinelli's will, he is not even mentioned<sup>87</sup>.

Had Borromini been mortally ill, it would have been of utmost importance to make the change and return the document to the notary as soon as possible. Borromini, however, either destroyed the will or kept it. We do not know why Borromini reclaimed his will, nor why he hesitated to draw up a new one. Apparently he consulted his father confessor several times: "lo consolò più volte il padre Orazio Callera, suo parochiano e confessore", Bernardo says<sup>88</sup>. The points which were crucial for Borromini must have been the care for his fame after his publication project had failed, and how Bernardo would treat the heritage.

Three days later, on 1<sup>st</sup> August, according to his manuscript *nottizia* Bernardo visited his uncle. We do not know why he no longer lived in his uncle's house, and only Borromini's assistant and servant Francesco Massari looked after the aging architect. In the beginning Borromini seemed to welcome his visit ("mostrò di gradire la visita"), but after a while he threw him out of the house ("licenziò il detto nipote")<sup>89</sup>. Next Borromini sat down to his dinner, which can only mean that his illness did not confine him to his bed ("non stava al letto", as Bernardo admits). Something must have happened in this afternoon between the two men which Bernardo deliberately passes over in silence, for, after dinner, Borromini started to write a new will with his usual *toccalapis* ("hiersera mi venne in pensiero di far testamento e scriverlo di mia propria mano e lo cominciai a scriverlo, che me ci trattenni da un' hora incirca doppo che hebbi cenato; e trattenutomi così, scrivendo col toccalapis, sino alle tre hore di notte in circa", he

declared during his interrogation)<sup>90</sup>. Several hours passed before he went to bed and at the fifth hour, when he wished to get up and continue writing, Massari refused to light the candle. Borromini spent three hours in growing impatience and despair and, finally, "all'hore otto e mezzo in circa" (about four o'clock in the morning) he put the sword on the bed and threw himself upon it ("essendomi anco accresciuta l'impazienza di non avere il lume, disperato ho presa la detta spada")<sup>91</sup>.

Two important facts are conspicuously missing from Bernardo's account. He reports that Borromini expressed the desire to write, but fails to mention that it was his will he had in his hands. Furthermore, Bernardo relates that the servant had told Borromini that his doctor had prescribed absolute peace and quiet ("il medico li aveva imposto che lo lasciasse riposare") and when Borromini repeatedly insisted on the point the servant protested saying that he had his orders from the doctor ("sempre si scusava che aveva ordine dal medico di lasciarlo riposare"). But, in reality, Massari was not primarily following the doctor's prescriptions, but acted on the instructions of Bernardo himself (!) Pascoli makes this perfectly clear: "Chiamò il nipote a consulta i medici, sentì il parere degli amici, lo fece più volte visitare da' religiosi; e tutti unitamente conchiusero, che non si lasciasse mai solo, che gli si togliesse ogni occasione d'applicare, e che in ogni modo si procurasse di farlo dormire [...] Questo fù l'ordine preciso, che ebbero dal nipote i servidori, e questo essi eseguirono". In Pascoli's account, even Massari's excuses have a different ring to them ("Dicendogli il servidore, che ciò gli era stato proibito da' medici, e dal nipote"). In this respect Pas-

coli's account does not concur exactly with Baldinucci's *vita*, which is based on the *nottizia* by Bernardo, but reflects other (even vocal) sources which probably described the events from Massari's point of view<sup>92</sup>.

As Giuseppe Bonaccorso has shown, Francesco Massari was more than a simple servant; he was a gifted *scalpellino* and in 1664 had already become dean of the stonemasons' guild. After Francesco Righi had died in 1664, he was Borromini's closest collaborator, serving him even as draughtsman<sup>93</sup>. Borromini esteemed his professional qualities higher than those of his own nephew, which turned Bernardo into his enemy, not least because Borromini left to Massari the considerable bequest of 500 scudi. It comes as no surprise that Bernardo paints a quite unfavourable portrait of Massari and even insinuates that he administered to Borromini some drug "per farli voltare il cervello".

When Massari refused Borromini his candle, he acted on behalf of Bernardo. Bernardo's ulterior intentions, however, remain unknown. He maintained that he was only carrying out medical recommendations, but it may well be that he was afraid that his share of the inheritance was at risk. Perhaps his most important aim was to prevent further damage by a Borromini *in collera*; but it is also possible that he knew his uncle had reclaimed his will and was about to write a new one. We do not know whether Borromini wanted to change his will because of him but, whatever the case, Bernardo would be better off if no will existed. In the case of Borromini's demise he would have had unlimited access to the uncle's entire estate of approximately 10,000 scudi, safely invested in *luoghi di monte*. That Bernardo had true reason to fear Borromini's testament is confirmed by Passeri, a close contemporary: "[Borromini] non hebbe amore ad accumular denari per gl'eredi"<sup>94</sup>. It may be, then, that the real reason that Massari was instructed to refuse Borromini light was because Bernardo was trying to isolate his uncle and prevent him from drawing up a new will.

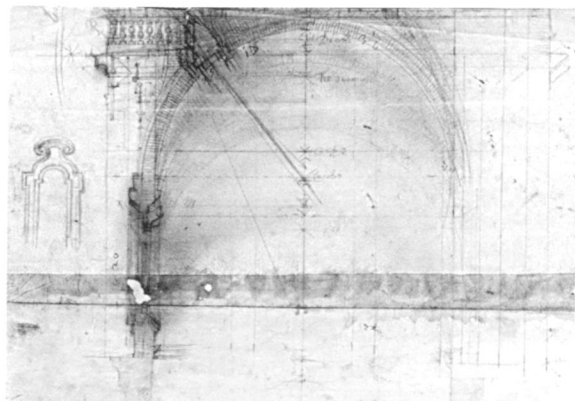
Borromini's nightly desperation is comprehensible if he harboured any suspicions about his nephew's intrigues. A number of sources testify to how sensitively he reacted when he met faithlessness where he expected loyalty and respect; for the same reasons he had broken with his former friend Bernini<sup>95</sup>. We can be sure that Borromini was deeply disappointed with his nephew's behaviour, although it probably did not come as a complete surprise to him. However, when the hitherto faithful Massari refused to assist him, too, he must have felt completely incapacitated. I would argue that this was the true reason for his desperate reaction: in order to free himself from this total isolation, there

seemed to be no other way out than to inflict on himself such a serious wound, that his servant was forced to call in help from outside ("Subito ho cominciato a pensare se come potevo fare a farmi alla mia persona qualche male, stante che il detto Francesco mi avesse negato di accendermi il lume"). Whether he actually wanted to kill himself remains questionable. By pushing the sword into his flank, the probability was high that no vital organ would be hit and he would not die immediately. Presumably it was the state of deep depression that made him carelessly toss his life into the bargain.

At the dawning of the next day Borromini found himself mortally wounded, but once again master of his faculties; deliberately, in full mental clarity, he recounted the events of the previous evening to his interviewer, restricting himself to the bare facts and leaving out any hint of an argument with his nephew. After making his confession, he dictated his last will and testament, in which he appointed the nephew his sole heir, but not without imposing some hard conditions: Bernardo had commit himself to stay in Rome, study architecture and to marry a granddaughter of Carlo Maderno. Various persons and institutions were to receive bequests; the remainder of his fortune was to remain invested in *depositi vincolati*, so Bernardo had only access to a small part of it "per spese del matrimonio e mettersi in ordini"<sup>96</sup>. Cardinal Ulderico Carpegna was appointed executor, and Bernardo would not dare circumvent his decrees.

Bernardo adhered to the imposed conditions, but did not become a professional architect; he and his three sons lived a carefree life on the interest from Borromini's fortune. One cannot help getting the impression that Borromini modelled his strategy towards his nephew on that of Innocent X towards his. Innocent had imposed the cardinalate upon his nephew Camillo very much against his will and, although he later married and became the head of a large dynasty, during his uncle's lifetime he had to accept strict limitations. Apparently Borromini's mistrust of his nephew was so deep rooted that he did not want to entrust him with his carefully prepared drawings either. First of all, he probably wanted to prevent Bernardo from making a financial windfall without having to work for it. Apart from the finished drawings that awaited engraving Borromini seems to have destroyed with the utmost care all the plans that could have served for the completion of any of his unfinished buildings. On a cross-section of the crossing of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte (ill. 15), for example, the section which showed the unexecuted superstructure has been carefully cut away, leaving only that part of the drawing showing the standing structures<sup>97</sup>. In this way

15. Francesco Borromini, Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, *tiburio, section, detail* (Wien, Albertina, Az. Rom 106).



Borromini destroyed everything that could quickly be converted into cash, but left Bernardo the bulk of his drawings as study material. At that time these sorts of architectural *schizzo* had no market value (just as it did not around 1730, when Baron Stosch bought the collection *en masse*) so Bernardo would have had work in order to acquire their true value.

To sum up, the main reason for Borromini's suicide was the state of depression that had befallen him after Martinelli's death and the failure of his last, grand project. He had thrown all his artistic pride into this endeavour, whereas his career as a professional architect seemed all but over. In the heart of that dark, fatal night the very idea of remaining helplessly at the mercy of his nephew must have overwhelmed Borromini. Though he withheld all private details from his official interrogator, it is more surprising that his nephew did not mention the embittering death of Borromini's closest friend. It seems as if some important circumstances were consciously kept secret.

The final secrets will certainly not be

revealed here, but a few more speculations are in order. Was Borromini in some way guilty of Martinelli's "morte repentina" or did the cloak of silence cover an 'improper' relationship between the two men<sup>98</sup>? Passeri writes that Borromini abstained from marriage in order to be able to live unencumbered by the "peso di famiglia"<sup>99</sup>, and the fact that Borromini was surrounded mainly by male individuals throughout his life was a natural product of the prevailing social structure of the *Stato Ecclesiastico*. But are we to read a subtle reservation in Bernardo's last words "si crede che fusse uomo casto"?

Whatever the case, it is strikingly odd that scholarly research has never raised the question of Borromini's possible homosexuality, a predisposition that is certainly far more frequent among artists and antiquarians than mental disorder. On the other hand, the question is an irrelevancy as neither homosexuality nor mental derangement could convincingly account for any particular feature of his oeuvre. If we let common sense prevail in the investigation of the facts of Borromini's life, the simple result is that there are no traces of madness, mental disorder or schizophrenia. On the contrary, his behaviour like his architecture is comprehensible and to a large extent guided by rational principles. It is only the fundamentalist wing of classicist critique that has led us to astray by accusing him of 'irregularity' and, worse, *frenesia*. Borromini's architecture is based on the same rules as those of the classicists, as I have shown in my book on Borromini's architectural system<sup>100</sup>. Like classicism Borromini strove for unity, clarity, logic and system, principles that express themselves in the pure white colour of his architecture.

\* This is an extended version of a lecture given at the conference "Francesco Borromini, architect & fenomeen" in the Nederlands Architectuurinstituut (NAI) in Rotterdam on February 24, 2001. I am indebted to Pieter-Matthijs Gijsbers for the opportunity to speak there, to Fabio Barry for help with the translation and also to Sabine Burbaum.

1. Francesco Borromini, *Opus architectonicum*, edited by J. Connors, Milano 1998, p. XI.

2. On artists' suicides cf. R. Wittkower, *Born under Saturn*, London 1963, chapter 6.

3. On Borromini's suicide: R. Wittkower, *Francesco Borromini - Personalità e destino*, in *Studi sul Borromini*, I, Roma 1970, pp. 19-48; R. Wittkower, *Francesco Borromini. His Character and Life*, in Id., *Studies in the Italian Baroque*, London 1975, pp. 153-176; H. Thelen, *Francesco Borromini. Bemerkungen zur Persönlichkeit*, in G. Staccioli, I. Osols-Wehden (eds.), *Come l'uom s'eterna. Beiträge zur Literatur-,*

*Sprach- und Kunstgeschichte Italiens und der Romania. Festschrift für Erich Loos zum 80. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1994, pp. 264-294; G. Bonaccorso, *Personalità e destino*, in R. Bösel, C.L. Frommel (eds.), *Borromini e l'universo barocco*, 2 vols., Milano 2000, II, pp. 11-14, pp. 19-21, cat. I.9-13; J. Connors, *Francesco Borromini: la vita (1599-1667)*, in R. Bösel, C.L. Frommel (eds.), *Borromini e l'universo barocco*, 2 vols., Milano 2000, I, pp. 17-19; G. Bonaccorso, *L'abitazione di Francesco Borromini al vicolo dell'Agnello: ambienti, oggetti e personaggi*, in C.L. Frommel, E. Sladek (eds.), *Francesco Borromini*, Atti del convegno internazionale, Milano 2000, pp. 171-180.

4. This connection is made for the first time in F. Milizia, *Roma delle Belle Arti del Disegno*, Bassano 1787, p. 188: "Queste ultime cinque fabbriche sono? Queste l'architetto Borromini matto frenetico si ammazzò. La frenesia architettonica è contagiosa". On the *Nachleben* of these judgments see W. Oechslein, *Borromini e l'incompresa "intelligenza" della sua architettura: 350 anni di interpretazioni e ricer-*

*che*, in Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], pp. 107-117.

5. H. Sedlmayr, *Die Architektur Borrominis*, 2nd ed., München 1939, reprint Hildesheim 1986, pp. 117-136.

6. Wittkower, *Francesco Borromini. Personalità...*, cit. [cf. note 3], Appendix IV. Wittkower believed that a drawing by Poussin, showing Cato's suicide, had taught the method to Borromini.

7. Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3].

8. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1].

9. G. Incisa della Rocchetta, *Un dialogo del padre Virgilio Spada sulla Fabbrica dei Filippini*, in "Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria", 90, 1967, pp. 165-211; Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. XII-XL; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, pp. 372-379 (J. Connors).

10. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, 5594.

J. Connors, *Borromini e l'Oratorio romano*, Torino 1989, pp. 220-223, cat. 41; E. Kieven (ed.), *Von Bernini bis Piranesi. Römische Architekturzeichnungen des Barock*, exhibition catalogue, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 62-63, cat. 10; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, pp. 151-152, cat. VIII.16.

11. Connors, *Borromini e l'Oratorio...*, cit. [cf. note 10], pp. 298-301, cat. 41; Kieven, *Von Bernini...*, cit. [cf. note 10], pp. 62-63, cat. 10. Connors considers the sheet a presentation drawing and dates it to 1638. But it must be reiterated there are significant analogies with Barrière's engraving (later reused as plate V in the *Opus architectonicum*), which also has columns on the upper story and shows the same decorative elements on top of the façade.

12. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 2], pp. XL-XLII; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 113, cat. VI.5.

13. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], figs. 4-5.

14. Az. Rom 198, 199, 200; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 116, cat. VI.12-14.
15. Az. Rom 168, 169, 170, 172, 173. These drawings are in part modifications of older drawings, but it is highly doubtful that the underlying lines really belong to a planning process, e.g. Az. Rom 172v (Bösel, Frommel [eds.], *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, pp. 118-119, cat. VI.16).
16. Cf. the hatching radiating from the center as seen in the ground plan of Sant'Ivo: *Opera del Cav. Francesco Borromino cavata dai suoi originali*, edited by S. Gianini, Roma 1720, pl. X (below, fig. 8).
17. Archivio di Stato di Roma (henceforth ASR), *Archivio Spada*, vol. 192, fols. 7-30. M. Heimbürger Ravalli, *Architettura, scultura e arti minori nel barocco italiano. Ricerche nell'Archivio Spada*, Firenze 1977, pp. 218-224; K. Güthlein, *Quellen aus dem Familienarchiv Spada zum römischen Barock*, I. Folge, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 18, 1980, pp. 206-214, doc. 29; A. Roca de Amicis, *L'Opera di Borromini in San Giovanni in Laterano: Gli anni della Fabbrica (1646-1650)*, Roma 1995, pp. 81-84; Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. XLII-XLVI.
18. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth BAV), *Vat. Lat.* 11258, fols. 146-149, fol. 166, fol. 258. Roca de Amicis, *L'Opera...*, cit. [cf. note 17], pp. 42-48, figs. 14-18; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, pp. 219-221, cat. XII.12-15.
19. J. Hess, *Die Künstlerbiographien des Giovanni Battista Passeri*, Wien-Leipzig 1934, pp. 217 ff.
20. Cf. The letter in which Spada was appointed *soprintendente* on 15. 4. 1646: Güthlein, *Quellen...*, cit. [cf. note 17], pp. 245-246.
21. "E certo che Papa Innocenzo di [gloriosa memoria?] n'ebbe tal concetto [del Borromini] che li pose in mani la gran fabrica di S. Giovanni senza voler udire il parere d'alcun architetto" (ASR, *Archivio Spada*, vol. 454, c. 468 v.; J. Connors, *Virgilio Spada's Defence of Borromini*, in "The Burlington Magazine", 131, 1989, Appendix 1, pp. 86-88; S. Burbaum, *Die Rivalität zwischen Francesco Borromini und Gianlorenzo Bernini*, Oberhausen 1999, p. 283, Dok. 2).
22. ASR, *Archivio Spada*, vol. 192, fol. 128; Heimbürger Ravalli, *Architettura...*, cit. [cf. note 18], p. 228: "...havendomi N. S.re più volte detto, che lo [Borromini] tenessi imbrigliato, che non ornasse troppo, per non uscire dal decoro della grandezza d'una tale basilica, et havendo io professato Sua S.tà più volte d'haver tenuta corta la briglia; onde Sua B.a vidde tanto ornato l'ultima volta che fu a vedere quella fabrica, voltosi verso me, disse: 'buono, e quale è quella parte, che non è ornata?' Cf. Güthlein, *Quellen...*, cit. [cf. note 17], p. 245, nr. 50.
23. BAV, *Vat. lat.* 11257, fol. 256. Roca de Amicis, *L'Opera...*, cit. [cf. note 17], pp. 50-51, fig. 22.
24. Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, F. N. 13986. R. Echols, *A Classical Barrel Vault for San Giovanni in Laterano in a Borromini Drawing*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 51, 1992, pp. 146-60; Roca de Amicis, *L'Opera...*, cit. [cf. note 17], pp. 51-53, fig. 24; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 223, cat. XII.18.
25. ASR, *Archivio Spada*, vol. 186, fols. 1075-81; Güthlein, *Quellen...*, cit. [cf. note 17], pp. 218-220; Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. XLVI-XLVIII.
26. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 11258, fols. 161 ff.; F. Fasolo, *L'Opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi (1570-1655 e 1611-1691)*, Roma 1961, p. 310; M. Raspe, *Das Architektursystem Borrominis*, München 1994, pp. 26-27.
27. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 11258, fol. 192; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 180, cat. X.12.
28. As has Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. XLVIII.
29. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 11258, fols. 176, 177, 180. Raspe, *Das Architektursystem...*, cit. [cf. note 26], p. 27; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, pp. 182-183, cat. X.15-17.
30. BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 11258, fols. 167-172. D. Frey, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Barockarchitektur*, in "Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 3, 1924, 5-113, pp. 43 ff.; Fasolo, *L'Opera...*, cit. [cf. note 26], pp. 303 ff.; *Piazza Navona, Isola dei Pamphili*, Roma 1970, pp. 147-155.
31. "... non volse mai disegnare a concorrenza - et essendo pregato dal Cardinale Spada che volesse disegnare a concorrenza per l'overa del re di francia, li rispose che li disegni erano li soi figlioli e che non voleva che andassero a mendicando a concorrenza con li altri..." (Connors, *Borromini e l'Oratorio...*, cit. [cf. note 10], p. 205, doc. 26).
32. *Ibid.*, p. 204, doc. 26.
33. Connors, *Virgilio Spada's Defence...*, cit. [cf. note 21], p. 87, doc. 3.
34. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. XXIII.
35. L. Montalto, *Il drammatico licenziamento di Francesco Borromini dalla fabbrica di Sant'Agnes in Agone*, in "Palladio", 8, 1958, p. 165, doc. XIV.
36. For Barrière see *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 7, München-Leipzig 1993, pp. 174-175 (M. Préaud); Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. L-LXII.
37. *Villa Aldobrandina Tuscolana sive varij illius Hortorum et Fontium Prospectus*, Roma 1647; *Villa Pamphilija, eiusque Palatium, cum suis prospectibus, statuæ, pontes, vivaria, theatra, arcolae, plantarum viarumque ordines, cum eiusdem Villæ absoluta delineatione*, Roma s. d. [1670].
- Barrière was paid between 1653 and 1659 for engraving the copperplates. P. Hoffmann, *Villa Doria Pamphili*, Roma 1976, p. 101; p. 118, note 2.
38. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. LIII, note 1, fig. 21.
39. Bernardo's manuscript (Connors, *Borromini e l'Oratorio...*, cit. [cf. note 10], pp. 202-205, doc. 26) says "et anche li fecie intagliare la facciata del oratorio di s. filippo - con l'orologio". The clocktower, however, is not represented in the print, and we cannot know whether Bernardo was mistaken or if the print of the clocktower is lost; cf. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. LV.
40. Connors (Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. LV) has divided - erroneously I think - the cited passage into different semantic sections and concluded that there were five plates (instead of four). Connors' missing *pianta in prospettiva*, however, would be a *contradictio in adiecto*.
41. On the drawing Az. Rom 914 v. there is a list of "Denari pagati al S.r Domenico Bariera per li intagli della Sapienza" with a sum of 53.40 scudi. Bernardo writes that Borromini spent the considerable amount of 400 scudi on the *rami* (Connors, *Borromini e l'Oratorio...*, cit. [cf. note 10], p. 204, doc. 26).
42. On Giannini and his work, see Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. LXXIII-LXXXVIII.
43. Cf. M. Raspe, *Das Schaubild als monumentale Form*, in "Kritische Berichte", 28/3, 2000, pp. 15-17. In the first state (Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], fig. 26), without the additional hatching introduced by Giannini, the print looks shinier and is even better comprehensible.
44. Berlin, SMPK, Kunstbibliothek, Hdz. 1035; Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], fig. 23; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 268, cat. XV.26.
45. On the architectural interpretation of the "geometricised" bee, see Raspe, *Das Architektursystem...*, cit. [cf. note 26], p. 101.
46. ASR, *Università*, vol. 198, c. 122. J. Connors, *S. Ivo alla Sapienza. The first Three Minutes*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 55, 1996, pp. 38-57; J. Smyth-Pinney, *Borromini's plans for Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 59, 2000, pp. 312-337.
47. Az. Rom 499, 500, 509. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. LVII, note 1.
48. *Opera...*, cit. [cf. note 16], pl. X, is drawn to the same scale as Az. Rom 509: Smyth-Pinney, *Borromini's plans...*, cit. [cf. note 46], pp. 333-334, nr. 5, 11. Another argument for an early date is an amateur and imprecise plan published by De Rossi in 1684 (Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], fig. 37). Because of the hexagonal windows surrounded by palm twigs, which do not occur in other representations and do not correspond to the actual building, it must be a crude copy
- after Barrière's engraving, which was presumably produced from visual memory. Perhaps Bernardo, who owned the copperplate, showed it around but did not allow it to be copied.
49. Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 206, cat. XI.13.
50. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. XXXVI-XXXVIII.
51. On Spada: F. Ehrle, *Dalle carte e dai disegni di Virgilio Spada († 1662)*, in "Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia", serie 3, Memorie, II, 1928, pp. 1-98; Heimbürger Ravalli, *Architettura...*, cit. [cf. note 17]; Güthlein, *Quellen...*, cit. [cf. note 17]; Connors, *Virgilio Spada's Defence...*, cit. [cf. note 21]; K. Güthlein, *Francesco Borromini e Virgilio Spada nell'anno nero 1657*, in *Francesco Borromini*, Atti..., cit. [cf. note 3], pp. 130-133. A thorough monograph on this important historic personality is still missing.
52. Virgilio's brother, Cardinal Bernardino Spada, had already died on 10<sup>th</sup> November, 1661; G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 68, Venezia 1840, p. 19.
53. On Martinelli: L. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie*, Wien-Augsburg 1930, pp. 62-67, 251 f.; C. D'Onofrio (ed.), *Roma nel Seicento*, Firenze 1969, pp. VIII-XXIII; J. Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI*, Città del Vaticano 1973, p. 112, p. 131 note 117, p. 296; J. Heideman, *The Roman Footprints of the Archangel Michael. The lost shrine of S. Maria in Aracoeli and the Petition of Fioravante Martinelli*, in "Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome", 47, N. S. 12, 1987, pp. 147-156; Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. XLVIII-L.
54. On Orazio Giustiniani: S. Danesi Squarzina, *I Giustiniani e l'Oratorio dei Filippini*, in "Storia dell'Arte", 85, 1995 (reprint in Id., *Natura morta, pittura di paesaggio e il collezionismo a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento. Italia, Fiandre, Olanda il terreno di elaborazione dei generi*, Roma 1996, pp. 91-116).
55. Martinelli's colleague Federico Carlo Borromeo, who worked from 1627 until 1646 in the Vatican library as a *scriptor hebraicus*, was a baptised jew: Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane...*, cit. [cf. note 53], p. 111; p. 131 note 4, p. 295.
56. D'Onofrio (ed.), *Roma nel Seicento*, cit. [cf. note 53].
57. Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. LVIII.
58. On 11. 4. 1665 Ottavio Falconieri wrote to Leopoldo De' Medici: "Io avevo ancora destinato di darne avviso e mandare a V. A. quello che s'era fatto per l'Ordd.rio di Lione, ma per l'avisio della morte del marchese Del Bufalo, che arrivò appunto martedì mattina, fui talmente occupato tutto il giorno" (*Lettere di Ottavio Falconieri a Leopoldo de' Medici*, edited by L. Giovannini, vol. 1, Firenze 1984, p. 129. I thank Vitale Zanchettin



for sharing this information with me.

59. In the *Opus architectonicum*, cap. 6, fol. 10, Borromini mentions visiting excavations in the marchese's company (Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. XXVIII, note 4).
60. V. Zanchettin, *Il tiburio di S. Andrea alle Fratte. Propositi e condizionamenti nel testo borrominiano*, in "Annali di Architettura", 9, 1997, pp. 112-135; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, pp. 285-295.
61. R. Preimesberger, *Bernini a S. Agnese*, in "Colloqui del Sodalizio", 2/3, 1970-72, pp. 44-55; R. Preimesberger, *Das dritte Papstgrabmal Berninis*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 17, 1978, p. 178.
62. Montalto, *Il drammatico...*, cit. [cf. note 35], doc. XVIII; G. Eimer, *La fabbrica di S. Agnese in Navona. Römische Architekten, Bauberren und Handwerker im Zeitalter des Nepotismus*, Stockholm 1970, 2, pp. 556-566; Preimesberger, *Bernini...*, cit. [cf. note 61], pp. 45-47; J. Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj zur Kunsttätigkeit in Rom unter Innocenz X.*, Roma-Wien 1972, p. 161, nr. 719; M. Raspe, *Borromini und Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona. Von der päpstlichen Grablege zur Residenzkirche der Pamphilj*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 31, 1996, pp. 343-344, note 116.
63. L. Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, 2 vols., Roma 1730-1736, I, p. 303.
64. Cf. L. Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, edited by A. Marabottini, Perugia 1992, p. 411 note 33 (M. Carta).
65. Az. Rom 108, 112. Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 290, cat. XVII.4; p. 294, cat. XVII.13.
66. Az. Rom 55. Raspe, *Borromini und Sant'Agnese...*, cit. [cf. note 62], pp. 353-355; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 190, cat. X.26.
67. Preimesberger, *Das dritte Papstgrabmal...*, cit. [cf. note 61], p. 178.
68. Borromini signs himself "architetto della Santa memoria di Papa Innocentio X.o" on the *misura e stima* for Sant'Agnese on January 13, 1656. Montalto, *Il drammatico...*, cit. [cf. note 35], p. 188, doc. XIX. The post-mortem inventory of Borromini's house records the portrait: P. Portoghesi, *Borromini nella cultura europea*, Roma 1964, pp. 441-452; *Ragguagli Borrominiani. Mostra documentaria*, edited by M. Del Piazzo, Roma 1968, pp. 163-176, nr. 25 (on the first page).
69. Borromini was questioned by a physician named Sebastiano Molinari. ASR, *Fondo Tribunale Criminale del Governatore di Roma, Processi*, an. 1667, parte prima, vol. 601, fols. 30-35; *Ragguagli Borrominiani...*, cit. [cf. note 68], p. 30, nr. 20; Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], pp. 282-284, note 26.
70. The coronation took place on June 26, the *possesto* followed on July 3, 1667.
- The diarist Gigli describes the tradition of the jubilee indulgence on occasion of the coronation of Alexander VII in May 1655: "Fu pubblicata una Bolla, o Breve di un Giubileo Universale per domandare il Divino aiuto per il felice Governo della S. Chiesa Cattolica Romana, si come sono soliti di fare li altri Papi nel principio del loro Ponteficato, il qual Giubileo come quello, che si concede nell'Anno Santo, fu concesso a tutti quelli, che nella prima, o seconda Settimana visitassero le Basiliche di S. Giovanni Laterano, di S. Pietro, et di S. Maria Maggiore, ovvero una di esse, et digiunassero il mercoledì, Venerdì, et Sabato, et in detto tempo dessero elemosina a loro arbitrio, et si comunicassero nella Domenica seguente, o altro giorno di quella Settimana, con facultà di potersi eleggere un Confessore, e farsi assolvere dalli casi anco reservati, scomuniche, et commutare i Voti eccettuati quelli di Religione, et castità, il qual Giubileo fu concesso anco a quelli, che erano fuori di Roma. Questo Breve fu pubblicato nella festa di Pentecoste" (G. Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, edited by M. Barberito, Roma 1994, II, pp. 743-744. According to this text Borromini did not visit San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (as say Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 285, and Bonaccorso, *Personalità...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 12) but the Lateran.
71. Moroni, *Dizionario...*, cit. [cf. note 52], vol. 3, p. 315; L. v. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Freiburg 1929, XIV/1, p. 533.
72. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste...*, cit. [cf. note 71], XIV/1, pp. 540-543; Preimesberger, *Bernini...*, cit. [cf. note 61].
73. *Ragguagli Borrominiani...*, cit. [cf. note 69], p. 29, nr. 19; Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 284, writes (erroneously, I think), that on this day Borromini reclaimed a deposited will; yet Borromini reclaimed it only on July 29, 1667.
74. Cf. Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], pp. 284 f., who assumes the contrary.
75. For this now lost building, altered by Borromini for his friend, see D'Onofrio, *Roma nel Seicento*, cit. [cf. note 53], p. X, 328-330; Borromini, *Opus...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. LVIII; Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 285, equates the *suburbium pium* with the Borgo Pio street (inside the walls) and concludes that Martinelli died in the vicinity of Borromini's house.
76. Archivio Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano, *Liber mortuorum*, vol. 7, p. 60; D'Onofrio (ed.), *Roma nel Seicento*, cit. [cf. note 53], p. XIII, note 17. ASR, *Notai A. C., Testamenti e Donazioni*, vol. 58 (Thomas Palutius), fol. 44r; Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 285, note 28. Martinelli was presumably buried in the church of San Michele Arcangelo in Borgo (also called *in Corridoio*) which stood until 1939 just inside the city walls next to Porta Castello (Nolli map nr. 1314); L. Gigli, *Rione XIV Borgo, Parte Prima*, Guide Rionali di Roma 41/1, Roma 1990, pp. 68-71. V.
- Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols., Rome 1869-1900, mentions no epigraph for Martinelli.
77. On July 27 the notary Thomas Palutius opened Martinelli's sealed will in the presence of Martinelli's brother-in-law Ascenzio Latini and his daughter Dorothea, who was appointed sole heir instead of her mother Marta, Martinelli's sister. On this occasion the heir presented a certified copy from the register of deaths of St. Peter's, where Martinelli's burial was recorded on 24<sup>th</sup> July. ASR, *Notai A. C., Testamenti e Donazioni*, vol. 58 (Thomas Palutius), fol. 43. Normally some days passed between the death and the exequies; often several masses were said for the defunct. Cf. the dates that Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, cit. [cf. note 70] gives on similar occasions; see also Ph. Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, Paris 1978 (german tr. München 1980), pp. 222-232. On July 30 the will was deposited *ad acta* and archived.
78. Bernardo is first documented at San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in 1662: ASC, Ms. 77-b, doc. 37; N.M. Gammino (ed.), *S. Carlino alle Quattro Fontane. Il restauro della facciata, note di cantiere*, Roma 1993, p. 69, note 8.
79. J. Krcalova, *O rodine Franceska Borrominiba*, in "Umeni", 33, 1985, pp. 414-425; in general: U. Donati, *Artisti ticinesi a Roma*, Bellinzona 1942; A. Crivelli, *Artisti ticinesi dal Baltico al Mar Nero*, Catalogo critico, Locarno 1969; M. Karpowicz, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nel '600*, Repubblica e Cantone del Ticino 1983; M. Karpowicz, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nel '500*, Repubblica e Cantone del Ticino 1987; T. Manfredi, *La presenza di architetti e maestranze ticinesi nel sistema dell'edilizia pubblica a Roma da Sisto V a Urbano VIII*, in *Il giovane Borromini. Dagli esordi al San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane*, exhibition catalogue, edited by M. Kahn-Rossi and M. Francioli, Milano 1999, pp. 209-222.
80. M.L. Gatti Perer, *Nuovi argomenti per Francesco Borromini*, in "Arte Lombarda", 121, 1997, pp. 5-42.
81. M. Bonavia, R. Francucci, R. Mezzina, *San Carlino alle Quattro Fontane: Le fasi della costruzione, le tecniche caratteristiche, i prezzi del cantiere*, in "Ricerche di storia dell'arte", 20, 1983, pp. 11-38; M. Bonavia, *La chiesa ed il convento di S. Carlino alle Quattro Fontane*, in "Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura", 30, 1983, pp. 87-93.
82. Thelen, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 286.
83. Several drawings by Bernardo were for a long time erroneously taken for original projects by Borromini: L. Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo Alle Quattro Fontane. A Study in Multiple Form and Architectural Symbolism* (= Outstanding dissertations in the fine arts), New York 1977, pp. 61-121; Review: J. Connors in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 38, 1979, pp. 283-285. The correct identification of the upper storey as Bernardo's handiwork falls to A. Blunt, *Borromini*, London 1979 (italian tr. Bari 1983), pp. 66-69.
84. Bernardo mentions not only the amount of 400 scudi, but also, that he himself still kept the receipt.
85. *Ragguagli Borrominiani...*, cit. [cf. note 68], p. 29, nr. 19.
86. Bonaccorso, *Personalità...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 12; Connors, *Francesco Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 18.
87. Martinelli's last Testament dates from 1651 and is transcribed in D'Onofrio (ed.), *Roma nel Seicento*, cit. [cf. note 53], pp. XXI-XXIII.
88. Connors, *Borromini e l'Oratorio...*, cit. [cf. note 10], p. 204, doc. 26.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ragguagli Borrominiani...*, cit. [cf. note 68], p. 30, nr. 20.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Massari died in 1705 and may well have known Pascoli personally. I am indebted to Giuseppe Bonaccorso for giving me this information; cf. G. Bonaccorso, *Francesco Massari*, in *Repertorio dei disegni del Borromini*, forthcoming.
93. Massari directed the work in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini for Borromini; the drawings Az. Rom 62, 362 and 364, can be attributed to him.
94. Hess, *Die Künstlerbiographien...*, cit. [cf. note 19], p. 366.
95. Connors, *Virgilio Spada's Defence...*, cit. [cf. note 21].
96. Portoghesi, *Borromini nella cultura...*, cit. [cf. note 68], p. 439.
97. Az. Rom 106; *Borromini e l'universo barocco...*, cit. [cf. note 3], catalogue, p. 290, cat. XVII.5. Similar trimmings occur also on other drawings, e.g. Az. Rom 1059 (see above, ill. 13) and Az. Rom 1125a (an elevation of the facade of the Galleria Pamphilj, where the unfinished upper story is cut off; Bösel, Frommel (eds.), *Borromini...*, cit. [cf. note 3], II, p. 181, cat. X.13).
98. A sudden death was often considered a slight disgrace, presumably because the person affected had no time to receive the last rites; cf. Ariès, *L'homme...*, cit. [note 77], pp. 19-23.
99. Hess, *Die Künstlerbiographien...*, cit. [cf. note 19], p. 366.
100. Raspe, *Das Architektursystem...*, cit. [cf. note 26].