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Imitation, novelty and eclecticism in the architecture of Domenichino

Volume I: Text

PhD Thesis
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Wulf Lüdicke

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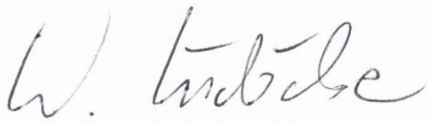

Summary

This thesis is a building by building i.e. drawing by drawing analysis of Domenichino's entire architectural *oeuvre*. Focusing on the aspect of imitation as a concept in art theory this examination is largely structured along Domenichino's use of iconic architectural prototypes. Such a systematic approach was necessary to trace and identify possible sources. On this basis I was able to clarify historical and regional influences, and how imitative techniques of sources led to innovation. Thereby I established a system for techniques of imitation used by Domenichino. These involved fusion, monumentalisation, *contrapposto,* simplification, sculptural richness of architecture, illusionism as well as romanisation of the modern and modernisation of the roman sources among other techniques. As a result a clear picture of his personal stylistic preferences for architectural-sculptural richness emerges which is in some way consistent with his painterly and decorative works but also reveals fundamental differences with regard to regional influences. In light of this, an evaluation of the influences and manifestations of art theoretical concepts of the ideal and beauty could be considered. I contrasted Domenichino's work with contemporary trends and compared it with the achievements of high baroque architects such as Pietro da Cortona, Bernini, Carlo Rainaldi and Borromini in order to establish his unique place in early seventeenth-century. In some cases I was able to point out connections of individual works to French influences and to the Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio.

By establishing stylistic consistencies in his choice of sources I was able to question the charge of rampant eclecticism repeatedly raised against him. Finally a picture emerges of an architect/artist that achieves innovation by artistic and erudite conception of the fundamental architectural themes from Roman classicism to near contemporary sources, particularly by confronting ideas of great masters of the Renaissance such as Bramante, Peruzzi, Raphael and Michelangelo. They include the temple front, the triumphal arch, the aedicule, the interior Pantheon motif, Roman baths and *basiliche*, mausoleums and early modern secular building types such as the palace, the villa, the city gate, the fountain, the altar, the tomb monument and the

Gesù façade. A detailed analysis shows how such a range of building types is subjected to variation and experiment.

The difficult drawing of proposals for the church of Sant'Ignazio deserved a separate analysis by using the method of deconstructing this palimpsest into its individual components. From these fragments that depict different plans, sections and elevations, I reconstructed the inherent alternative ideas suggested by Domenichino. For the first time a clear insight is provided into the architectural complexities of his designs. I relate these elevations, sections and plans to each other in order to raise the implications of these proposals in their own right and in relation to the executed church of Sant'Ignazio. Once a clearer picture emerges, individual features are considered in terms of imitation and innovation and their historical context. Two other sketches by Domenichino might well be related to an earlier stage of this project and their architectural features are examined with that context in mind. I consider the significance of all of these proposals within early seventeenth-century architecture in Rome and relate it to other architectural designs by Domenichino.

The tools I used were image banks, visits to libraries, sites, archives and the Print Room in Windsor Castle and I conducted my research at home in TCD using the library, JSTOR and other relevant websites. Domenichino's palimpsest of proposals for the Roman Jesuit church of Sant'Ignazio is clarified by the use of the computer programs CAD and Photoshop.

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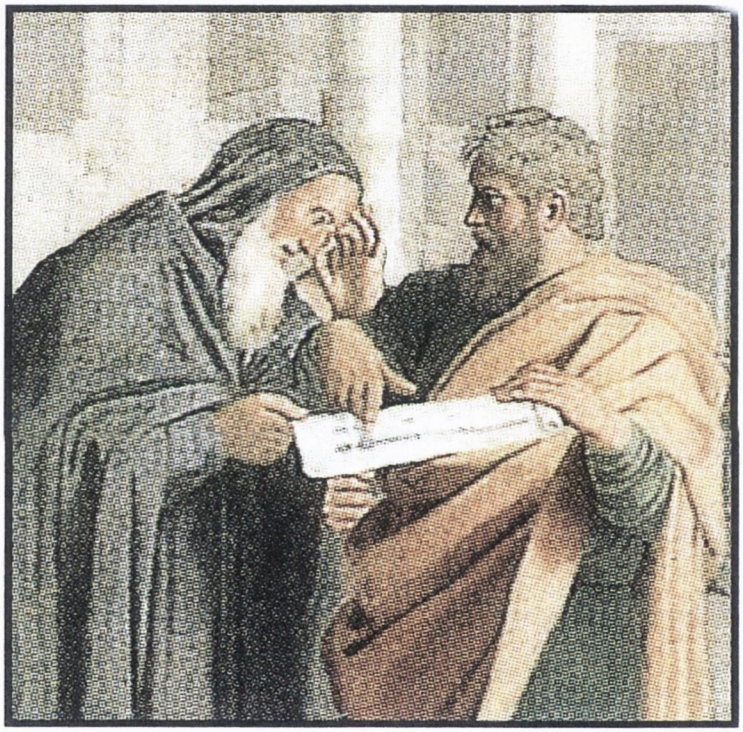
Imitation, Novelty and Eclecticism
in
the architecure of Domenichino



Description is revelation
(Seamus Heaney)

Introduction

This thesis is an examination of Domenichino's architectural output under the aspect of imitation, innovation and eclecticism. It provides an overview of his architectural and decorative *oeuvre* built and un-built. Particular attention is given to his drawings. While Domenichino's architectural activities have been noted and discussed before, this is the first comprehensive analysis of his architecture specifically dealing with imitation.

In light of the specific subject matter of this thesis and the already existing instructive literature on Domenichino as artist it is best to start with a short introductory synopsis of the known facts about his career.[1] This should suffice to familiarise the reader with essential information on his life and most relevant architectural works. Born 1581 in Bologna he received his first instructions in painting from Denis Calvert when still a young adolescent after he had been a pupil in a *Scuola di grammatica*. Around 1595 Ludovico Carraci became his mentor in the Bolognese Scuola degli Incamminati where, among other things, Domenichino received classes in life drawing, theory and architecture. There he became friends with Francesco Albani and Guido Reni.

In 1602 he left for to Rome where he became familiar with the works of Raphael and Michelangelo. A year later he joined Annibale Carracci as an assistant to work on the master's decorative scheme for the Casino of the Palazzo Farnese and subsequently on the famous *Galleria*. His early Roman years were marked by collaborations with other Carracci students, among them Giovanni Lanfranco and Sisto Badalocchio. During this time his main patrons were the Farnese, the Aldobrandini, the Giustiniani-Odescalchi and the Agucchi. In 1604 the art-theorist and *maggiordomo* of the Aldobrandini, Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi, invited the young artist to live in his house and within a year this family commissioned Domenichino's first

[1] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, was the main source for this passage.

architectural-ornamental work, the tomb for Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi in *San Pietro in Vincoli,* followed by a further tomb monument for the defunct Cardinal in his home town Bologna. Through Annibale he secured a major work of a fresco cycle for the *Cappella di San Nilo* in Grottaferrata outside Rome, a Farnese project that most likely included the design for the interior architectural scheme. Contemporaneously he frescoed the ceiling of the *salone* in the Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi in Bassano ai Sutri. During this period he painted a canvas depicting a triumphal arch, presumably for Monsignor Agucchi, and Reni subcontracted Domenichino for the large fresco of *The Flagellation of Sant'Andrea* in Sant'Andrea al Celio. There are indications that he was also responsible for the *trompe l'oeil* architectural background of this oratory.

Two major works belong to the beginning of the second decade of the seventeenth century, the first his most famous painting *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome* and the second the fresco cycle of Santa Cecilia in the Polet chapel of the church of San Luigi dei Francesi. Domenichino's best known architectural work, the nave ceiling of the basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere followed in 1616-17 when he also frescoed the *Stanza di Apollo* in the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati.

The period from 1617 -21 was spent in the coastal town of Fano to work on the fresco cycle for the Cappella Nolfi and also in Bologna where he painted two monumental altarpieces *Matryrdom of Saint Agnes* and the *Madonna del Rosario.* During his Bolognese stay Domenichino married Marsibilia Barbetti, who bore him three children, two of whom died in childhood. According to Passeri he studied architecture in his native city and Bellori states that he was the architect of the small Bolognese church *La Confraternita della Santa Crocetta* of which nothing survives and no further information is available. During that period Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta, architect of the Bolognese projects San Sebastiano and San Paolo could have been an influence on his architectural outlook.

On the 1st April 1621 shortly after the election of Alessandro Ludovisi as Pope Gregory XV, Domenichino was appointed *Architetto del Palazzo Apostolico,* a post with a monthly salary of 25 *ducati d'oro.* These payments ceased at the pope's death in July 1623. His drawings of twenty church facades now in the Windsor Castle collection can be placed in that period as well as a possible involvement in the architectural scheme of the Vigna Ludovisi. The second decade of the seventeenth century is probably his most prolific and influential with commissions from the Ludovisi, Perretti-Montalto, the Borghese, the Lancellotti, the Porfirio, the Barnabites and the Jesuits among others. His monumental masterpiece for the choir and the pendentives of Sant'Andrea della Valle, executed during the mid twenties, combine painting, sculpture, and to some extent, architecture: together with Lanfranco's dome above, it marks the transition from mannerism into Roman High-Baroque church decoration without relinquishing the typical Domenichinesque classicism. Not only was he prolific as a painter during this decade but more importantly for the purpose of this study his architectural drawings and built projects betray a fertile and innovative mind. The aforementioned twenty church facades, the drawings for Sant'Ignazio, the centralised religious buildings and drawings of altars and tomb monuments and various other ornamental-architectural sketches are surviving testimony, whereas "un libro de pensieri d'Istorie, ornate, e architetture" mentioned by Galli, which was later owned by Carlo Maratta is, unfortunately, lost. Contemporary built projects also attest his inventiveness in architecture and complement the architectural style of his drawings. These are the altar of the Porfirio chapel in the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda, the portal of the Palazzo Lancellotti and, perhaps most interestingly, the Cappella della Strada Cupa.

At the beginning of the third decade Domenichino left Rome for Naples where he got the biggest commission available at the time, the fresco decoration of the Cappella del Tesoro in the Cathedral of Naples. His architectural activities seem to have ceased by then, due perhaps to the Deputies demands to work exclusively on the chapel's San Gennaro cycle or his increasing interest in music and the invention of musical instruments. Until his death in Naples in 1641 Domenichino was tied to this commission, of which the unfinished dome fresco was then pulled down and replaced

by Lanfranco. During the summer of 1634 he fled from envious artistic competitors in Naples to the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati and on to Rome for fear of his life. Around that time he began the monumental canvas The *Consecration of a Roman Emperor,* which has some interesting architectural features that point towards contacts with his close friend Francesco Angeloni, an avid collector of Roman coins some of which can be regarded among the sources for motifs in this painting.

Domenichino was well read and he owned treatises on painting by Lomazzo and Alberti. In his will he left books to Raspantino, his favourite assistant during his last years and since Raspantino's collection itemises Daniele Barbaro's *La pratica della perspettiva,* Scamozzi's *L'idea della architettura*, Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura,* Domenico Fontana's *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano;* it is possible that he inherited them from Domenichino. Whether Raspantino inherited these titles from Domenichino can not be determined, it is however quite likely. That Domenichino was also acquainted with Serlio's *Cinque libri dell'architettura* will become apparent later on. In his will, drawn up on the 6th of April 1641, Domenichino expressed his fear of being poisoned by jealous competitors namely Lo Spagnolo (the nickname for Ribera). Three days later he was dead.

His surviving projects, sketches and drawings are concerned mostly with ecclesiastical architecture, in particular church facades and interiors. Decorative schemes, wall monuments and ceiling designs also feature. A slim body of design proposals relating to secular decorative schemes for interiors of *ville,* is also extant. Included in my analysis are architectural backgrounds and drawings, which provide further insight into his architectural thinking.

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Imitation as a defining strategy consistently underpins his creative process as he refers to iconic architectural prototypes ranging from classical antiquity to the most recent past. During the Renaissance and Baroque era imitation in the visual arts was regarded as a creative method of art production that based itself on antiquity, nature and good precedent. In the second half of the sixteenth century these principles yielded to the emergence of mannerist tendencies. By the end of the century the Bolognese *Scuola degli Incamminati* founded by the Carracci reacted against this trend and revived these artistic principles. Simultaneously this Bolognese school opposed the Florentine bias established by Vasari and broadened their artistic horizons by giving equal weight and importance to all regional styles. This formed the basis of influences for their artistic output which would lead Winkelmann to coin the term eclecticists for the members of this school. The artistic formation of the young Domenichino happened under Annibale Carracci in the *Scuola degli Incamminati*, consequently he was steeped in that tradition which was to have a lifelong impact on him. This is reflected in his paintings where his classicising style is mixed with references to diverse regional schools particularly to their main proponents Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Michelangelo and the Carracci themselves.

His imitative strategies in painting have been extensivly discussed in numerous texts from early biographies like Bellori's *Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti*, Turin, 1976, Giambattista Passeri's *Vite de' pittori, e scultori ed architetti che hanno lavorato a Roma, morti dal 1641 fino al 1673*, Rome, 1772 and Malvasia's *Felsina Pittrice. Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi*, Bologna, 1971. Modern commentaries on the topic include Luigi Serra's *Domenico Zampieri,* Rome, 1909, Pope–Hennessy's *The Drawings of Domenichino in the Collection of his Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1948, Fagiolo del Arco's *Domenichino ovvero Classicismo del Primoseicento*, Rome, 1963, Borea's *Domenichino,* Milan, 1965, Mahon's *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, Westport, Connecticut, 1971, Spear's *Domenichino,* New Haven and London, 1982, Coliva's *Domenichino*, Firenze, 1996, Tantillo's 'Domenichino', in: *L'idea del bello: viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, Roma, 2000, 2, Brown's (ed.) *The Genius of Rome 1592-1623,* London, 2001, and Loh's 'New and Improved: Repetition as Originality in Italian

Baroque Practice and Theory', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 86, No. 3 Sep., 2004. This interest culminates in Cropper's extensive and scrutinising analysis *The Domenichino Affair,* New Haven and London, 2005 which explores the importance of imitation and its changing perceptions using the notorious example of Domenichino's oil painting *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome.*

In architecture his imitative strategies have by contrast, not been studied thoroughly. So far discussions have focussed on establishing the facts of Domenichino's architectural activities and outlining his *oeuvre,* in most cases, rather briefly. While sources for his architectural ideas are sometimes mentioned these discussions are not exhaustive and lack in-depth analysis of the relationship between such sources and the imitative strategies applied by Domenichino. Not enough credit has been given for the most part to Domenichino's architectural knowledge, skill and unique approach in the context of the three first decades of the seventeenth century.

In some instances, moreover, the lack of close visual analysis of Domenichino's architectural drawings led to misinterpretations which were readily accepted and subsequently became a basis for modern discussion, a circumstance that has obscured some of Domenichino's ideas as well as his references to sources. As we will see the Sant' Ignazio proposal and the tomb monument of the drawing P.-H. 1695 in the Windsor Castle collection are two such instances. My analysis questions these misinterpretations by taking a fundamentally new and fresh look, particularly at his drawings which will I hope reveal novel insights not only into the drawings in question but into the mechanics of Domenichino's design process. My account of the Sant'Ignazio drawing, for instance is as much an enquiry into its hidden complexities as an exploration of sources and my reading of the drawing P.-H. 1695, depicting a tomb monument, reveals some innovative architectural-sculptural features hitherto undetected, that opens the way for new attributions.

Elsewhere identifications and attributions have been made too readily or too grudgingly as the case may be. A prominent example, the twenty drawings for church facades, falls into the first category as they are repeatedly associated with the Theatine church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, while Domenichino's likely contributions to the Vigna Ludovisi and the architectural frescoes in Sant'Andrea al Celio have been too readily discounted.

Misinterpretations and wrongful attributions may be due to the small amount of surviving material and the meagre documentary evidence, but they can be challenged by close scrutiny of the visual evidence. The surviving material gives a good insight into a surprisingly fertile mind and close examination reveals that his approach to architecture resonates largely with that to painting. Given that imitation is a core principle for Domenichino the painter this enquiry of his architectural thinking focuses on imitative strategies.

In light of this I examine to what extent the close rapport with the architecturally and classically informed art theorist Giovanni Battista Agucchi shapes his approach to architecture. Are the ideas of both men on imitation, independent expressions based on a common ground, or is Domenichino's architecture a fully dependent manifestation of Agucchi's art theory? In order to gauge its uniqueness in the context of early seventeenth-century architecture I examine its relationship to contemporary Roman trends.

Identification and citation of sources are crucial for any analysis of imitative strategy; I need to stress however that this discussion does not amount to mere source hunting. Sources are contextualised and examined with regard to their historic significance, and their role as prototype is considered not only in terms of their origin and subsequent utilisation but they are also categorised according to building types. I explore the imitative strategies they are subjected to and their relevance as point of

departure for innovation. Re-tracing motifs to sources reveals their significance for Domenichino's architectural vocabulary. In light of the absence of documentary evidence caution must prevail in this regard. However, as we will see, a set of iconic prototypes spanning different periods is a core feature for Domenichino's imitative strategy. Ultimately my aim in citing sources is to uncover his resourceful thinking about tradition as a gateway for novelty. In that sense this thesis aspires to be a novel contribution to the literature on Domenichino's architecture, while consistently giving credit to other scholars in the text and in footnotes.

* * *

Turning to the existing literature on Domenichino's architecture and its context we see that despite Domenichino's limited architectural oeuvre, early sources like Agucchi's letters, Mancini, Baglione, Passeri, Bellori, Malvasia and later Milizia, Baldinucci, Bottari and others not only mention but often praise Domenichino's architectural talents. Agucchi's letters from 1608/09, as published in Malvasia's *Vite, Bologna, 1841, tomo secondo,* relate to the Bolognese wall monument for the Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi and are the earliest evidence of such praise lauding in particular Domenichino's *all'antica* style.[2] In 1621 Giulio Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (ed. Marucchi and L. Salerno), Rome, 1956-57 gives an account of some of Domenichino's architectural activities to date.[3] Baglione's *Vite de'pittori scultori et architetti*, Rome, 1642, first published a year after Domenichino's death, expands on the list of architectural works and refers to "varij desegni di fabriche, per Città, e per Villa impostigli dal Cardinale Ludovisio, e da gli intendenti giudicati molto buoni." He states moreover that Domenichino's talents in architecture matched those in painting.[4] Passeri also praises Domenichino architectural ability, particularly in relation to the ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere and his *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti che hanno lavorato in Roma morti dal 1641 fino al 1673* mentions

[2] Malvasia, Carlo Cesare, Felsina Pittrice,Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Conte Carlo Cesare Malvasia, tomo secondo, Bologna, 1841, p. 235
[3] Mancini, Giulio, Considerazioni sulla pittura, Rome, 1956-57, I, p. 243
[4] Baglione, Giovanni, Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti, Rome, 1642, p. 385

Domenichino's study of architecture and Vitruvius as a pastime occupation.[5] Unlike Passeri, Bellori acknowledges in his *Vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* the impact of Domenichino's "*inventions*" on the built interior of the Roman church of Sant'Ignazio when he states that the columns were devised by him.[6] Only Bellori attributes the interior architecture of Grottaferrata, Sant'Andrea in Celio and designs for the sculpture garden of the Vigna Ludovisi to Domenichino, who "never got the chance to leave any monument for posterity."[7] Bellori also states that between 1619-21, while in Bologna, Domenichino studied architecture and attributes to him the small and unknown Bolognese church Chiesa della Confraternita della Crocetta, which no longer exists.[8] Malvasia's *Felsina pittrice: Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi,* Bologna, 1971 acknowledges in passing Domenichino's architecture, without adding anything new. Baldinucci's *Notizie dei professori del disegno* praises Domenichino as architect, but only as a peripheral concern.

The most important sources for Bottari's *Dialoghi sopra le tre arti,* Rome, 1754, are Bellori and Malvasia. Bottari's choice of the literary form of dialogues allows for unmitigated praise of Domenichino's architecture, particularly for his proposals for the Jesuit church of Sant'Ignazio, which his character Bellori claims could have been "the wonder of future centuries."[9] In his *Memorie delle architetti anitichi e moderni*, Bassano, 1785, Milizia reiterates these sentiments only to proceed to criticise the church as built. Moreover he erroneously attributes to Domenichino the Villa Belvedere in Frascati and the dome of Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome. Another of his attributions -the Vigna Ludovisi- will be examined, despite his generally ill informed and highly judgemental approach to Domenichino's work. While none of these authors gives a correct account of Domenichino's projects, the overall picture to emerge from them comprises all of his known works to date and Baglione even refers to architectural drawings that might or might not be related to those of the Windsor Castle collection. All these authors, even Milizia, the most critical, praise his

[5] Hess, Jakob, Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri, Leipzig, Wien, 1934, pp. 66, 41, 44.
[6] Bellori,Giovanni, Le vite de'pittori, scultori et architetti, Rome, 1672, p. 350, Bellori refers to the columns of the Serliane.
[7] ibid, p. 350
[8] ibid, p. 321
[9] Bottari, Giovanni, Dialoghi sopra le tre arti, Rome, 1754, p. 54

architectural talents although one needs to be aware that occasionally they quote each other in that regard. Despite some wrongful attributions, the instance of the Vigna Ludovisi nevertheless merits further consideration later on. Given that one such text might have formed the basis for another, praise can be self-perpetuating but in some cases -for instance the project of the Roman Jesuit church of Sant' Ignazio -their accounts are verified by drawings in the collection of Windsor Castle.

More recently Freiherr Ludwig von Pastor writes in his *History of the Popes, Volume XXVIII* (engl. ed.), 1928, that "under the direction of the painter Domenichino, who was also architect of the Pope, a new palace arose close to the entrance of the Villa...."[10] However, it was Pope- Hennessy in his cataloque *The drawings of Domenichino... at Windsor Castle,* London, 1948, who first drew attention to his architectural drawings in the Windsor Castle collection and thus revived the discussion on Domenichino as architect. Blunt adds his observation as Pope-Hennessy acknowledges, and later publishes 'The other Side of the Medal', Art History, Vol.3 No.1 March 1980 where he discusses Domenichino as one of those early seventeenth-century architects who can be "loosely called classical."[11] Among many others he regards him as anti-Michelangelesque and "remote from (...) Bernini and Borromini."[12] On one hand he observes that the stucco decoration of the Cappella della Strada Cupa "follows closely the severe pattern of Martino Longhi (1584-89), the Elder's Cappella Altemps," while on the other he states that Domenichino "shows a remarkable gift for invention in the near classical idiom."[13] In her book *Domenichino,* Milan, 1965, Evelina Borea mentions Domenichino's architecture only in passing and consequently adds nothing new to the topic. Spear deals specifically with the Cappella della Strada Cupa in his article 'The Cappella della Strada Cupa: A Forgotten Chapel' in the Burlington Magazine, CXI, 1969, where on the basis of new documentary evidence he acknowledges Domenichino's constraints as well as the skill and innovative power at work.

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[10] Pastor, Freiherr Ludwig von, The History of the Popes, Volume XXVIII, 1928, p. 58 Von Pastor's phrase 'the entrance of the villa' must refer to the gate of the Vigna.
[11] Blunt, Anthony, 'The Other Side of the Medal' in Art History, Vol. 3 No. 1, March 1980, p. 63
[12] Ibid, p. 63
[13] Ibid, p. 63, 64

In Spear's book *Domenichino*, New Haven and London, 1982, there follows the first detailed discussion of Domenichino as architect that establishes all his documented projects, either built or as unexecuted drawings and sketches, in a convincing chronological order. Furthermore while Spear offers a far more comprehensive discussion in respect of individual projects, it is nevertheless a general overview rather than a detailed examination and, as such, is occasionally flawed, - as for instance in his discussions of the drawings P.-H. 1695 relating to a tomb monument and P.-H.1741, the Sant'Ignazio proposals.

Other modern art historians like Blunt, Bösel and Fagiolo D'Arco discuss Domenichino's architecture in the context of larger themes with Blunt giving an account of works by minor Roman architects in the first half of the seventeenth century, and Bösel retracing the construction of the Jesuit church of Sant'Ignazio. Fagiolo d'Arco looks at the theoretical influences on Domenichino's work, but his discussion of the architecture is far too brief to seriously develop a tie between theory and architectural practice. Curcio's article in the publication accompanying the Domenichino exhibition in 1996 in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome is an extensive and profound discussion on Domenichino as architect. It challenges his originality and even authorship in this field by suggesting that his work was not only highly influenced by Agucchi but that Domenichino's mentor was the true creative force behind certain designs, for example the ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Curcio suggests that Agucchi wanted Domenichino to become an equivalent to a Renaissance artist, involved and excelling in all three liberal arts, as part of his art theoretical strategy to promote a return to the truth and ideal beauty of the High Renaissance.[14]

Other authors in the same publication contribute essays on individual architectural works of Domenichino as architect, citing good documentary evidence that verifies his authorship and thus sometimes contradicting Curcio's point of view; one example

[14] Curcio, Giovanna, 'Le contradizzioni del metodo II. L'architettura esatta di Domenichino', in Domenichino, Milan, 1996, pp. 153, 154

is the nave ceiling of the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere.[15] All these texts are thorough discussions with a particular aim and, as such, they never set out to give a complete account of Domenichino's architecture or his architectural horizon including his reference to sources and architectural traditions and only occasionally is credit given to the innovative power apparent in a number of his designs.

In other modern publications his architecture is discussed only marginally. Hibbard's book on Maderno, von Pastor's discussion of Pope Gregory XV and Ludovico Ludovisi, and Aloisio Antinori's article *Roma 1600 -1623: teorici, committenti, architetti* that follow Curcio's line of argument. Authors like Serra and Titi refer to Domenichino's architecture, but so sketchily that they add little or nothing to the literature outlined above. Given the emphasis on imitation my reading covered various topics including literature on a range of iconic motifs like the Serliana, the temple front, the triumphal arch or the Pantheon, as well as other monuments of Roman antiquity including baths and tomb monuments. Ornament, Roman coins, churches, particularly Saint Peter's and the works of the architects Bramante, Michelangelo, Raphael, Serlio, Peruzzi, della Porta, Maderno, and Mazenta were also essential to my research. I familiarised myself with theories on imitation through contributions on the subject by Gombrich, Wittkower, Sörbom, Payne&Kuttner&Smick, Heres, Greene, Freedberg, Cordie, Pochat, Ackerman, Schlitt and Barkan. *The Domenichino Affair,* New Haven and London, 2005 by Elisabeth Cropper which deals with imitative strategies applied to Domenichino's master piece *The Last Communion of St Jerome,* Mahon's *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, Westport Connecticut, 1971, *Domenichino e Giovanni Battista Agucchi* by Carignani in Domenichino, Milan, 1996 and Mambro Santos *Arcadie del Vero*, Rome, 2001 were pivotal for my research as these works address the concept of imitation and the ideal of beauty directly in relation to Domenichino and Agucchi. For the Sant' Ignazio proposal my reading focussed on the Jesuits, their artistic strategy, the patronage of the Ludovisi and Counter Reformation art in general. In addition to Bösel and various publications which repeatedly outline Domenichino's contribution to this project my

[15] Cantone, Rosalba, 'Il cassettonato ligneo e la tela dell'Assunta in Santa Maria in Trastevere', in Domenichino, Milan, 1996, p. 253

reading comprised texts by von Pastor, Krems, Sale, O'Malley, Lucas, Karner and Kanz.

Levi's *Architecture and Religion in Seventeenth century Rome*, in Studiolo, 2, 2003 and Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque, London, 2004 and Lucas *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy*, Rome, 1990 were instrumental in illuminating the Jesuit attitude towards architectural projects whereas *Mit der Kunst aus der Krise? Pierre Legros Grabmal für Papst Gregor XV* im Marburger Jahrbuch der Kunstwissenschaft, 29 Bd. 2002 by Büchel, Karsten and Zitzlsperger and *Künstler und Kardinäle: Vom Mäzänatentum Römischer Kardinalnepoten im 17. Jahrhundert*, Cologne, 2003 by Karsten give useful accounts of the Ludovisi patronage.

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As fieldwork was an important part of my research I visited the collection of Domenichino drawings in the print room of Windsor Castle twice, as well as repeatedly visiting Rome. I examined Domenichino's architectural and ornamental drawings and his built works respectively. Studying his drawings first- hand gave me a deeper understanding of his style and of how he developed his ideas from sketch to sketch. It also made me appreciate both his facility in architectural drawing and the characteristics of his style. The fact that every line is there for a purpose illustrates convincingly that the slim body of surviving material, probably, represents only a fraction of his executed drawings. His pentimenti are Michelangelesque in style as he re-draws entire sequences of a given scheme over the initial idea. Occasionally he must have revisited certain drawings at different points in time, as pentimenti to existing drawings are executed in a different pen.

During my Roman sojourns I studied many influential buildings at first hand and I had instructive meetings with Dr. Elisabeth Kieven, Dr. Richard Bösel, Dr. Andrew Hopkins and Dr. Hermann Schlimme. I visited diverse libraries including the Biblioteca Corsiniana for Giunti's manuscript on Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi and Agucchi's Dulcini letters that discuss the art of the Carracci. In the Jesuit archives I traced documents relating to the the building history of Sant'Ignazio and conducted my research in the Biblioteca Hertziana and diverse other Roman libraries. Unfortunately the Archivio Secreto in the Vatican was not accessible as it was under renovation for the last four years. Apart from my home library in Trinity College Dublin, I also undertook research in the Warburg Institute in London and three weeks in the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich where I found a wealth of valuable material on the above topics. All of this contributed to a breadth of knowledge which, coupled with close observation, led me to appreciate Domenichino's architectural design, the design process and the historical context that created them. All in all this research work was the rich experience it promised to be, comprising as it did the review of literature and some documents in archives and libraries, the study of drawings and buildings in different countries and the refinement of cognitive and sensory skills. I hope this is reflected in this thesis.

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Five chapters of this thesis are divided according to different types of built and un-built architectural projects by Domenichino and followed by a concluding chapter on Domenichino's imitative strategies. The first three of these deal with all the built projects and related drawings belonging to the same category of buildings. The built works generally are better known and noted more often in the literature. My focus is on aspects of an imitative nature that will show these works and Domenichino's architectural thinking in a new light. The following two chapters deal exclusively with his drawings which are generally known only to experts in the field and they give further insight into Domenichino's working methods which include his development of ideas, his style of architectural drawing and his references to a vast range of

sources; thus they represent a culmination of the analysis of the previous chapters as they broaden and intensify the analysis.

Interiors, the first chapter discusses most of his built architectural and architectural-decorative projects as well as relevant drawings for equivalent projects. The chapter's title signals that these projects are for interior spaces of which two chapels, a choir, a nave ceiling, alternative sketches for two different stanze and an oratory were realized. In most cases Domenichino found himself in a situation where he had to adhere to a set of circumstances that gave him little or no choice in the spatial articulation of the projects in question. His task therefore was confined to restructuring and refurbishing already existing spaces as for example the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle or the nave ceiling in Santa Maria in Trastevere. Occasionally a project was so strictly governed by the patron's spatial prerequisites that it left Domenichino little leeway to express his own ideas. A well documented case is the Cappella della Strada Cupa in Santa Maria in Trastevere where Domenichino was instructed to replicate spatially the pre-existing Cappella Altemps on the other side of the choir.[16] All these projects are grouped in a chronological order which allows for reflection on changes and consistencies in Domenichino's work over the two decades of his architectural decorative activity, both stylistically and in the choice of sources that influenced him.

The chapter *Altars, portals, wall monuments* retraces his architectural sculptural works in the same chronological way and again built monuments and sketched drawings are considered equally.

The short chapter on the *Vigna Ludovisi* makes a case for Baglione's claim for Domenichino's involvement in the architectural scheme for the villa on the site which

[16] Spear, Richard, 'The Cappella della Strada Cupa: A Forgotten Chapel', Burlington Magazine, 1969, CXI, p. 15
Cantone, Rosalba, 'La Capella della Strada Cupa in Santa Maria in Trastevere', in: Domenichino, Milan, 1996, p. 278

is generally attributed to Maderno.[17] Since documentary evidence is non-existent my suggestions for such an attribution are based solely on an analysis of Domenichino's style.

The chapter *Twenty church facades* is based on three sheets of façade drawings, now in the collection of Windsor Castle, that form a self contained unit which by its nature suggests itself to be analysed in one separate chapter. In light of the multiplicity and complexity of the architectural content I subdivided the chapter according to the priority of motifs which I will point out when I address the method used.

The following chapter *Mysteries* deals with Domenichino's proposal in Windsor Castle (P.-H. 1741) for the Roman Jesuit church of Sant'Ignazio. This chapter consists of a minute analysis of the many fragmentary proposals and their pentimenti on a single sheet, a necessary and overdue task, as misinterpretation lingered on over decades as the accepted basis for every discussion of this palimpsest of architectural ideas. As in any other chapter the alternative schemes are considered under the aspect of imitation, while novelty and eclectic tendencies are addressed as well. This chapter also discusses two elevations one of which with a centralised plan that are shown on the sheet P.-H. 1740 in the Windsor Castle collection because they can be loosely linked to the Sant'Ignazio.

With Domenichino's designs analysed individually in these five chapters the last chapter *Imitations* approaches Domenichino's imitative strategy from a more general and analytical perspective and puts it in a wider, and at times, theoretical context. His main choice of sources is reviewed and their merit for Domenichino's imitative strategy is extracted and outlined in a generalised way. It will become apparent that quite a number of these sources are not only unusual choices for the period, but, by quoting them with clarity and subjecting them to imitative strategies, Domenichino

[17] Baglione, Giovanni, Le vite de'pittori, scultori ed architetti, Rome, 1642, p. 286

opens up the way for a new architectural expressiveness. Having established his architectural vocabulary and its origins we gain insight into the principles that informed them. It is possible therefore to extrapolate the relationship between architectural design and theories as expressed mainly by his friend and patron Giovanni Battista Agucchi. At times connections between designs are made here that were discussed as separate entities in the previous chapters.

Much of my method is based on close visual analysis, particularly in relation to Domenichino's architectural drawings. To get a full understanding I had to suspend the commonly advanced interpretations proposed in the literature to date and re-discover these drawings without prejudice. It soon became clear that every line was drawn with a purpose and a meaning. Only then could close scrutiny solve most, if not all, of the problematic and difficult parts. Important examples are the palimpsest of drawings for the church of Sant'Ignazio, where such a method revealed the essential connections between the many different fragments on that sheet and the three sheets of the twenty church facades. As we will see, in each case a fresh visual analysis led to valuable and novel insights. Another example of the importance of close scrutiny of the original drawing arose with the drawings for a tomb monument (P.-H. 1695). Both Pope-Hennessy and Spear failed to read Domenichino's composition correctly. A proper identification of the image opens up the way to seeing it as a project with Berninesque articulation and linked to important Roman cardinals.

In the chapter dealing with Domenichino's single sheet proposal for the Roman Jesuit church of Sant'Ignazio this palimpsest needed to be deconstructed in order to make sense of the fragmentary character of the individual components and their relationship to each other. With the help of electronic tools such as Photoshop and CAD I carefully and truthfully manipulated Domenichino's original worksheet of many-layered drawings to enhance their legibility and, as a further step, recreated in computer graphics a number of elevations, sections and plans to expand on and clarify alternative proposals. To ensure the reader's authentic experience of Domenichino

design the original worksheet is provided not only to be enjoyed in its own right but also as a reference point to the many images that retrace and focus on specific architectural ideas therein. No other commentator on Domenichino has attempted so exhaustive an examination of this important contribution to the project of Sant'Ignazio in the course of which I identified, on this single sheet, numerous different and distinctive proposals for the design and the layout of the church and parts thereof. In this context the process of the actual drawing is examined and thus gives us an insight into the progression of Domenichino's architectural thinking. By isolating the individual fragments and by extrapolating from them, according to the logic and language of classical architecture, it was possible to reconnect them in a meaningful way, which led to the conclusion that different parts complemented each other. Conjoining individual fragments made it possible to reconstruct Domenichino's alternative proposals for the entire nave, the aisles and the chapels. Moreover once alternatives for the articulation of the spaces were established it was possible to conjecture their implications for the crossing and beyond. While this method clarified most of the articulation, some aspects still remain obscure and problematic.

It is important to stress that this method led to results that were decidedly different from the standard interpretations by modern art historians like Pope-Hennessy, Blunt, Spear, Bösel, Curcio and Antiniori. The next step was to contextualise my reading of Domenichino's proposals with visual comparison of architectural precedents, thus establishing the connection to sources that formed the basis for the Sant'Ignazio proposal. Then I looked elsewhere in his architecture or paintings for reference to sources within his imitative strategy to see whether a pattern would emerge. This entailed a close examination of his overall oeuvre and of sources. Deconstructing and reconstructing the Sant'Ignazio drawings correct some misconceptions and give insight into the development of Domenichino's alternative ideas and throw new light on the sources that influenced him.

The method in the chapter on the twenty church facades addresses, first, the problem of the apparently random multiplicity of designs at hand. As an ordering principle I

grouped the facades according to architectural iconic prototypes that constitute the core of a given design. Using this method allowed me to distinguish between different types of facades: for example the temple front, the aedicular façade, the triumphal arch, the Gesù-type façade, etc. This method of grouping not only brings order into the twenty façade designs, it also marks out Domenichino's points of departure and architectural preferences and shows the important role of iconic prototypes as good precedent for the process of imitation. Relating his designs to sources is essential in order to highlight how the latter are modified for a given façade articulation. As in the Sant'Ignazio proposals, the process of this analysis reveals how certain sources resurface regularly and gain crucial importance, in particular motifs derived from Roman classicism, Michelangelo and near contemporary architecture. I also establish that a surprisingly wide range of building types is modified to church facades, including some unexpected choices like secular sources and tomb monuments. This approach elucidates which imitative strategies his sources are subjected to. Fusion of sources, classicising the modern, modernising the classical, and a change of building type are just some of the imitative strategies that favourite motifs are subjected to and this process will be dealt with throughout the thesis. The methodological strategy applied in relation to the twenty church facades structures the multiplicity of apparently random designs and elucidates their historical link with architectural precedents and indeed with the later seventeenth-century architecture of the Italian Baroque. Finally, for the first time each church façade is illustrated as a full-page image in order to ease the study detail and to provide visual pleasure.

In terms of his built architecture the existing literature shows little or no consideration for the imitative aspects of Domenichino's work and in that regard the search of sources as part of an analysis of his works (for example the ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere) add novel observation to the extant literature. Contextualising such work with current architectural trends was equally rewarding as it crystallises on the one hand the uniquely classical orientation in Domenichino's thinking and on the other the forays into what should be coined Baroque architecture on the other. It is an exciting realisation that his baroque tendencies were actually a logical outflow of the imitative strategies based on the prototypes from earlier architectural periods. The utilisation of

architectural precedent from a range of earlier periods is at the heart of Domenichino's architectural strategy. It was my endeavour to trace the visual evidence to the most plausible sources and, in the process, it became clear that the Roman architectural ambit comprising all earlier architectural periods had the biggest influence on this Bolognese artist. It also emerges that Domenichino made amends for Counter Reformation propagandist aspects. There is always a vaguely narrative element attached to his composition that marries well with his preference for the iconic classical vocabulary.

Through a thorough visual analysis I try to unpick the diverse sources, their unique influence at the time and I establish how they were subjected to imitative techniques. I place Domenichino's architecture into a contemporary context in order to assess if it differs from mainstream architectural trends and to what extent it offers innovative solutions in the context of the early part of the seventeenth century. Little acknowledged by authors such as Blunt, careful attention to some of these proposals of the 1620s yield new appreciations of Domenichino's astonishing precocity as a Baroque designer of church facades and the role of imitation in innovative thinking.

My contribution to the discussion of Domenichino's architecture is to consider it with imitation in mind. An analysis undertaken from that premise challenges the accusations of conservatism and amateurish thinking occasionally levelled at Domenichino. It casts a new light on Domenichino's architectural thinking that testifies to his deep interest in, and knowledge of, different architectural periods. In fact, as we will see, it is this imitative strategy that resurrects sources neglected by contemporary architects. Moreover it reveals a systematic approach to imitation as a tool of deliberate contextualisation of chronologically diverse architectural sources, in order to achieve novel formal solutions that are liberating in developing an expressive range on the architectural vocabulary of his time. Thus his architecture constitutes an analogy to his painting practices and is unique during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

Interiors

This chapter examines designs by Domenichino for interior spaces of which three were built in their entirety, others only partially finished while some did not proceed beyond the preliminary planning stages. Together they span almost his entire Roman period, the earliest project dating back to 1608-10 and the latest to 1627 -29 when he left Rome for good. These projects include chapels, a nave ceiling, a choir, and plans for *stanze*. Each project is contextualised here in accordance with its specific circumstances and where interrelations arise they will be highlighted. I also introduce some related projects of other artists/architects when they provide an insight into Domenichino's designs and proposals. Most of his designs have already been discussed by authorities in this field, all of whom are cited. In light of this it is my aim to focus only on aspects where further architectural analysis is needed and where a contextualisation of these projects establishes a new understanding of Domenichino's underlying approach towards, and tendencies in, architecture during that period. I consider the wider context, and trace his architectural sources and their influence on his work. In this regard I distinguish between different imitative strategies and link them to innovative and novel solutions. I also consider any shifts in his architectural style and his responses to the challenge of different building types. In the case of the Stanza di Apollo and the oratory of Sant'Andrea al Celio I question the attribution to Domenichino on stylistic terms. In his early Roman years Domenichino was involved in some commissions for frescoed ceilings like the Palazzo Mattei, later the Palazzo Costaguti as well as the Palazzo Giustiniani in Bassano ai Sutri. These ceilings involved solely fresco decorations on already existing vaults and moreover other Bolognese painters also participated, which makes attribution difficult. For these reasons these commissions are largely irrelevant for this discussion.

The Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in San Nilo in Grottaferrata is described by Bellori as a temple.[18] **[fig. 1]** In fact it is a small rectangular hall adjacent to the abbey's church of Santa Maria about twelve miles outside Rome. The only abbey with a Greek tradition in the city's vicinity it was founded in 1004 by San Nilo of Rossano in

[18] Bellori, Giovan Pietro, Le Vite de'Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni, 1672, p. 301

Calabria and its construction was completed by St. Bartolomeo. According to humanist literature the abbey's site is situated on Cicero's ancient Roman villa of Tuscolum, which is said to have provided the *spoglie* for the construction of the Abbey. Domenichino illustrates this in the chapel's fresco *The Building of the Abbey Church* a process that can be regarded as in parallel to his use of antique sources for his own architectural designs. **[fig. 2]**

With the end of the 15th century the abbey's rule changed as it became subordinated to cardinals and its first *abate commendatario* was Cardinal Pietro Giovanni Bessarione. In 1608 Odoardo Farnese, who had succeeded Alessandro Farnese as *commendatorio* of the Abbey, wanted to reconstruct the interior of the chapel adjacent to the church. This 12th century chapel was originally dedicated to the Saint Adrian and Natalia patrons of the first monastery of San Nilo and San Bartolomeo. Odoardo's commission marked an important moment in reforming the abbey when he ceded his role as *abate commendatorio* and thus empowered the religious community to conduct their own ecclesiastic, economic and political affairs.[19] The subject matter of the chosen decorative program is dedicated to the founding fathers and depicts, among other subjects, events from the establishment of the abbey that celebrate and allude to the newly gained independence.[20]

Regarding the iconographic program Domenichino was consulted by the Cretan monk Filippo Moretti who was well versed in the traditions and the history of the abbey.[21] The two main fresco panels are *quadri riportati* and they mark two of the pivotal occasions that established the abbey, i.e. the granting of the land and the building of it. By contrast the upper range is shown as illusionist spatial representations incorporating real light and painted illusionist shadows. The lower frescoes emphasise the reality of the wall while the upper level is illusionary. This ambiguous combination in the treatment of solids is a recurring theme in Domenichino's work.

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[19] Witte, Arnold, 'La Cappella dei Santi Fondatori a Grottaferrata: Il cardinale Odorado Farnese ed i monaci Basiliani intorno al 1608', in I cardinali de Santa Romana Chiesa, Sal terrae, ac lucernae positae super candelabrum, a cura di Marco Gallo, Roma, 2001, pp. 21, 22, 33

[20] ibid, pp. 22, 33

[21] Tantillo, Mignosi, Almamaria, 'Domenichino a Grottaferrata, La decorazione della Cappella dei Santi Fondatori', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 201

Bellori credits Domenichino with the architecture of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in the Abbey of S. Nilo in Grottaferrata.[22] Spear gives credence to this statement on the basis of a Domenichino study for the chapel's west wall in Windsor Castle and reiterates Bellori's observation concerning general correspondences between some features of that wall and other parts of the chapel and the integration of the frescoes into the overall scheme.[23] **[figs. 3, 4]** On the basis of this authenticated sketch it is indeed reasonable to assume that Domenichino was responsible for the execution of the entire chapel. Since all the other feigned architectural and decorative elements like the cornices, the dados and particularly the pilasters are compatible with the west wall they too can be attributed to Domenichino.

The interior of the chapel is divided into an entry area and a short nave with a wooden ceiling and at the eastern end a Serliana leads into a small sanctuary with an altar below an oval dome and side lights to its left and right. **[fig. 292]** The west wall's triumphal arch motif is composed of feigned maroon Ionic columns with Michelangelesque capitals and respond pilasters and these motifs, including plinths and entablature, appear as real architecture at the Serliana and in the sanctuary beyond. In fact inside the sanctuary the feigned architectural features of the west wall opposite such as columns, pilasters, dados and cornices are continued as real architecture. A peculiar aspect of the west wall is a missing column at the location of the Porta Santa. This ancient door leading to a former cemetery needed to be incorporated into the design scheme. Domenichino's study in Windsor castle already shows how he accommodated the door in the overall wall design by omitting the feigned column that, as it were, would have obstructed the Porta Santa. **[figs. 3, 4]** The implications of this solution will be further discussed elsewhere.

This is the first instance in a work associated with Domenichino that shows a shift from illusionist to real architecture, a characteristic that further supports his authorship of the chapel's architecture of the chapel. His keen interest in the antique

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[22] Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni, 1672, p. 301 L'intaglio della soffitta di legno dorato e disegno del medisimo Domenico, e corrisponde al pavimentodi marmo, e si avanza l'architettura e distribuzione di tutta la cappella, non dissimile ad un tempietto, ritenendo pero la sua forma antica.

[23] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 87 & p. 159 other authorities that agree with this attribution are: Rocchi, 1884, p. 67 and Tantillo, Mignosi, Almamaria, 'Domenichino a Grottaferrata, La decorazione della Cappella dei Santi Fondatori', in Domenichino, 1996, Milano, p. 197

is reflected in the above mentioned study of the west wall's triumphal arch motif. As Spear points out, it is executed without the angels in the spandrels that could have been sourced from the Arch of Constantine.[24] The motif is also ambiguous in terms of illusionism and real space as the central arch is actually hollowed out of the wall while the other features are *trompe l'oeil*. The columns and responding pilasters of the motif are aligned with the Serliana and the pilasters of the east wall where the columns and pilasters are real, including the plinths with the Farnese lilies.

A cupola above the altar was the architect's choice to illuminate the sanctuary. **[fig. 5]** The successful alignment of the chapel's columnar motifs depends to a large degree on the oval shape of the cupola. It is the longitudinal orientation of the oval that accommodates the alignment of the Serliana and the responding pilasters of the east wall with the columns of the Triumphal arch motif of the north wall. A circular cupola would have been an unsatisfactory alternative, since the longitudinal span of the oval gives the depth needed to accommodate the altar with enough room to manoeuvre in front of it. Thus the cupola, the sanctuary, the Serliana and the Trimphal arch motif are all interdependent architectural members that achieve a simple but finely tuned architectural unity.

Precedents for oval cupolas over rectangular plans can be found in the aisles of Saint Peter and the earliest Roman church is Vignola's Sant'Andrea in Via Flaminia. Some other examples are the Vatican Parish church of Sant'Anna dei Palafrenieri and San Giacomo degli Incurabili; these are, however, over oval plans. In light of the interdependent architectural set up it is highly unlikely that a desire for an imitative process played a part in the selection of an oval but was rather guided by spatial deliberations. Imitative strategies applied to the chapel, are rather expressed in the generic choice of iconic architectural motifs and in decorative terms.

The oval itself becomes a theme in the cupola as it defines the shape of the three fresco panels and the east window.[25] **[figs. 5, 6]** The whole surface of the cupola is richly adorned with feigned stucco works which can be divided into four identical

[24] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 165
I would like to add that this feature is common to other triumphal arches.
[25] The two oval of the longitudinal axis are less pronounced than the others.

parts separated by the ovals. The composition is structured along vertical principles starting with a fountain flanked by lambs at the base, followed by a winged term that is set between rinceaux. In the centre of the feigned stucchi are relief panels depicting scenes from the Old Testament. They are crowned by shells and supported by putti that hold further acanthus scrolls that frame a grotesque and terminate the composition at the upper cornice. These grotesques weave the four sections together. In each part the religious symbols are connected by the pseudo- antique ornament that functions largely as frame work. As Tantillo already observed its application and the density of the composition are clearly influenced by Annibale Carracci, particularly his Camerino Farnese from 1595-97, however thematically and formally it is adapted for a sanctuary.[26] **[fig. 7]** A further example illustrating Annibale's strong influence at that time is Domenichino's ceiling fresco of the gallery in the Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi, at Bassano da Sutri. **[fig. 8]** The architectural elements of this commission are negligable, but both *quadri riportati* and the illusionistic treatment of the corners are adaptions from the Galleria Farnese. So are the winged sphinxes that are very similar to those of the Galleria Farnese. Incidentally this ceiling is an example for contextualisation in Domenichino's architectural thinking; the large double triglyph of the ceiling's feigned stucco frame quotes the articulation of the main portal of this palazzo. **[fig. 9]**

Returning to the chapel, other notable illusionist architectural features are the feigned stucco pilasters (lacking a base**!**) in the upper range of the nave. The same arabesque is repeated throughout and corresponds stylistically with the cupola decoration. **[fig. 10]** The pilasters divide the upper range of the nave into *trompe l'oeil* recesses. The motif of Greek patriarchs is mirrored along both side walls, while sunken grisaille panels on the north are placed opposite the windows on the south. Peruzzi's *Sala delle Prospettive* was clearly the source for the feigned *stucchi* of St. Adrian and St. Natalia above the doors. The setting above doors, the general composition and even the arms of the angels are closely modelled on Peruzzi's model, while the real niches are replaced by an oval image. **[figs. 11, 12]**

[26] Tantillo, Mignosi, Almamaria, 'Domenichino a Grottaferrata, La decorazione della Cappella dei Santi Fondatori', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 201

The main fresco panels lower down the side walls also mirror each other. This symmetry is repeated between ceiling and floor where the partition of the coffering is echoed in the floor pattern, including the central feature of the Farnese coat of arms. Opposing architectural members thus respond to each another as a whole and in details like the columns, dados, pilasters. Even the frescoed statues in the niches of the east wall echo those of the west wall. Wherever possible the entire chapel is rigorously subjected to the principles of balance and symmetry. Tantillo strongly suggests that the aedicule -now removed- which is partially constructed of *spoglie* and once framed the baptismal font is also by Domenichino. Its general outline certainly echoes the sanctuary's altar on the opposite wall, albeit on a smaller scale, so it certainly fits into the chapel's overall design scheme.[27]

Given the modest size of the nave the simplicity of the wooden ceiling does not surprise. **[fig. 13]** Farnese lilies are prevalent throughout the chapel but nowhere more so than here. They are the principal ornament on the beams while the coffers are decorated with very rich rosettes. The large rosettes of the coffers, the gilding and the blue background colour may have been influenced by Serlio's advice on ceiling decoration,[28] and the same colour scheme was repeated years later in the nave of Santa Maria in Trastevere, now obliterated by 19th century restorations. [29] The beams and the feigned stucco pilasters of the side walls are aligned, though not so along the short walls. Clearly Domenichino did not want to compromise the spacing of the columnar motifs nor the geometrical integrity of the ceiling. For that reason he disregarded the continuity between the north wall and the ceiling's compartmentalisation. Nevertheless the continuity between the feigned side pilasters and ceiling beams constitutes the first instance of vertical alignment, a prominent theme in Domenichino's architectural thinking. The Greek cross as the focal motif surely refers to the abbey's Greek tradition. The scope for ceiling design was restricted by spatial limitations, thus Spear's assertion that it follows Cinquecento precedents is not really relevant.[30] The simplicity of the grid pattern is rather born out

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[27] ibid, p. 222
[28] Hart,Vaughan & Hicks, Peter, Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture, Vol. I, New Haven, London, 1996, p. 381
[29] Cantone, Rosalba, 'La Capella della Strada Cupa in Santa Maria in Trastevere' in Domenichino, 1996, p. 258
[30] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 87

of spatial and symbolic necessity, thus in this case, contextualisation rather than imitation motivated the design.

In architectural terms the imitative strategy of the chapel is based on the use of iconic prototypes. Domenichino uses an elevated style by employing generic architectural motifs of antique origin that represent symbols of sovereignty. The choice of such an architectural vocabulary is certainly apt for the re-building of a chapel as a commemoration of the abbey's traditions in light of its newly-gained independence as a religious community from the outside rule of a cardinal.[31] Domenichino transfers the exterior motif of the triumphal arch into an interior space. Roman precedents for triumphal arch motifs inside ecclesiastical edifices are usually tomb monuments. Uniquely he employs the motif as framework for a baptismal font and continues its attic articulation along the side walls of the nave. He ties the triumphal arch, the Serliana and the cupola organically together and, by doing so, introduces a shift towards "more luxurious material in the sanctuary"[32], thus presenting an ambiguity between the illusionist architecture of the nave and the real architecture of the sanctuary. None of Annibale's decorative schemes is conceived in such strong architectural terms. Domenichino thus enriches Annibale's style with an almost playful use of an iconic architectural vocabulary. Human scale is guarantied due to the pictorial style of the fresco cycle and the modest space available. The whole chapel is a simple but subtly unified architectural scheme. The side walls, the end walls, as well as the ceiling and the floor mirror each other with differing degrees of modification. The most radical example is the change of context for the columnar articulation from

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[31] Witte, Arnold, 'La Cappella dei Santi Fondatori a Grottaferrata: Il cardinale Odorado Farnese ed i monaci Basiliani intorno al 1608', in I cardinali de Santa Romana Chiesa, Sal terrae, ac lucernae positae super candelabrum, a cura di Marco Gallo, Roma, 2001, pp. 33, 34
p. 33 Nel capitolo generale del 1608 la carica ed il titolo abbaziale vennero restituite al monastero, el al divisione tra flussi monetarie venne confermata. Dal 1608 i rapporti tra l'abate commendatorio dei monaci cambiarono definitivamente: il primo cedette il suo potere, sia economico che politico-ecclesiastico, ai religiosi. Nello stesso anno, Odoardo Farnese fece redipingere la preesistente Cappella dei Santi Fondatori, in cui l'esempio spirtuale di San Nilo veniva accostato all'esempio reale di San Bartolomeo.
p. 34....Nella Cappella dei Santi Fondatori, il committente Odoardo Farnese non lascio un monumento che celebrava se stesso, ma presento un Manuale dipinto, in cui erano raffigurati gli esempi per i futuri abati e monaci. Il progetto di Domenichino confermava il ruolo ormai minoritario del Cardinale commendatario, arretrandolo a vantaggio dei succeessori dei Santi Fondatori, giustamente al momento della modifica. La decorazione celebrava la conclusione della riforma regolare introdotta nella Badia, e la ripresa continuazione dell'antica tradizione.

[32] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 159

triumphal arch to Serliana. While there are earlier sanctuaries with Serliana, for example in Pistoia's Santa Maria della Grazie, none of them ties these antique prototypes together into one composition.

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An almost contemporary project of Domenichino is the fresco of *The Flagellation of Sant'Andrea* in the Oratorio di Sant'Andrea in Rome from 1607-08. Rosalba Cantone proposes with reference to accounts of writers like Bellori, Titi and Malvasia that Domenichino might also have been the author of the entire feigned architectural decoration as she argues that such a well organised spatial distribution strongly suggests the responsibility of a single artist for the entire scheme.[33] Guido Reni was commissioned for the decoration of the oratory by Cardinal Scipione Borghese and according to his account book he sub-let the painting of the decorative parts to Lanfranco. According to Bellori, Malvasia and Titi however, Domenichino was directly employed by the same cardinal with responsibility for the architectural scheme.[34] Domenichino's involvement might thus have been indeed crucial for the feigned architectural program,[35] while Reni's payments to Lanfranco only prove his responsibility for the execution of parts of the decorative scheme but not for the overall conception of the design. The restoration during the 1990's revealed that the frescos were executed by different hands; below Domenichino's *The Flagellation of S. Andrew* greater care was applied than for the same feature on the opposite wall, which led Cantone to suggest that Domenichino devised and started the feigned architectural scheme, which was then completed by Lanfranco.[36]

The strong affinities with the architectural scheme in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori seem to support further Cantone's suggestion. Similarities with the chapel in Grottaferrata are the tripartite division of Ponzio's chapel into an entry area, a nave area marked by flanking main frescoes and the slightly raised sanctuary separated by a balustrade. **[fig. 14, 15]** Opposing walls mirror each other and their articulation is at

[33] Cantone, Rosalba, 'La flagellazione di Sant'Andrea nella capella di Sant'Andrea in San Gregorio al Celio', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 276
[34] ibid, p. 155
[35] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 155
[36] Cantone, Rosalba, 'La flagellazione di Sant'Andrea nella capella di Sant'Andrea in San Gregorio al Celio', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 274

the same time reminiscent of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori. In particular the liturgical east wall of each chapel is devised on common principles of articulation and the walls opposite are variation on a theme.

The general illusionist idiom employed in Sant'Andrea al Celio certainly recalls the chapel in Grottaferrata but not without establishing its own identity. The main frescoes are tied onto feigned rings assuming the character of hanging tapestries that obscure the rich Composite paired pilasters behind. Between those orders on each side a feigned ceiling indicates an illusionist side chapel while, below the tapestries are feigned altars matching the one in the sanctuary thus defining the depth of these spaces. The pre-existing real marble balustrade is continued along the side walls as feigned architecture below the feigned tapestries. This illusionist continuation is so accurate in scale and detail that it strongly suggests that the incorporation of the feigned wooden gates leading into the side chapels along the side walls evokes a real wooden gate that once separated the sanctuary from the nave but is now missing. Incidentally feigned balustrades separating real and illusionary space also feature in Il Sodoma's fresco from 1517 in the Villa Farnesina. **[figs. 16, 17, 18, 19]** Hooks at the back of the marble balustrade on either side of the entrance to the sanctuary support the notion for their existence.[37] **[fig. 20]**

The real unrelieved solid wall is thus architecturally dissolved with a feigned architectural scheme and obscured by feigned tapestries. In the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori the main frescoes are placed in an illusionist architectural framework but here they look as if temporarily deposited against the background of the orders and the transepts they obstruct. By obscuring the illusionary architectural setting, they appear deliberately out of place. This seems like a jocular illusionist effect that also factors in the concept of time. A similar, albeit less pronounced and more serious example of such layering is the articulation of the almost contemporary *Monument to Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi* where a real commemorative inscription panel is laid over a real pilaster order so creating the illusion of a continuation of the order behind the panel. **[fig. 21]**

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[37] I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Edward McParland for this observation and the photographs.

Domenichino was a great admirer of Raphael and, as we will see later, the Galleria Farnesina and the Logge del Vaticano influence some of his architectural and ornamental ideas. The illusionist idea of hanging the frescoes on rings in the Oratorio has a precedent in the ceiling frescoes of Raphael's Galleria Farnesina that are also hooked up on the surrounding garlands while the Logge provide a precedent for *quadri riportati* obstructing feigned architecture behind them. **[fig. 22]** This scheme could also be regarded as a reversal of Peruzzi's *Sala delle Prospettive* where solid walls frescoed with mock architecture give way to illusionary vistas beyond the confines of the actual space. **[fig. 11]** Given the affinity between the illusionist architectural schemes in Grottaferrata and Sant'Andrea al Celio and their common sources, Domenichino's role as instigator of the feigned architecture in the oratory is plausible, particularly since neither Reni nor Lanfranco are known as architects.

The feigned triumphal arch theme surrounding the portal can be seen as further stylistic indication in Domenichino's favour; this is a core motif throughout his career, which is repeatedly adapted to suit different purposes. Variations on this iconic motif appear in Domenichino's oeuvre in this early period in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori and as the main motif in the painting *A Triumphal Arch.* The Michelangelesque giant pilaster order breaking through the entablature of the west wall, resurfaces much later in variations of the twenty church facades, in particular I D, IV and V which I will discuss later, while the obscuring of space and layering of motifs can be found in Raphael's Galleria Farnesina and in Annibale's Galleria Farnese respectively. Moreover the illusionist continuation of the ceiling beyond the real space points already to the idea of infinity inherent in the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere. As in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori, we also notice some alignment between the beams of the compartmented ceiling and the feigned pilasters. The feigned Composite order recalls Ponzio's columns on the exterior, thus the interior-exterior relationship is established that we encountered in the motif of double triglyphs in the Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi.

While the visual evidence and the imitative strategies discussed here might not be strong enough to confirm Bellori's claim of Domenichino's responsibility for both architectural schemes they nevertheless enforce it and constitute plausible arguments for Domenichino's involvement in these architectural schemes on principles of style

and sources. These are the unification of space by employing deliberate ambiguity between architectural illusion and reality. The frequent use of strong prototypes like the Triumphal arch motif and the Serliana, the vertical continuity between walls and ceilings, a contextualisation of motifs between the interior and exterior and an integration of found objects like the *porta santa* and the baptismal font in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori. Moreover affinities with the above-mentioned projects by Annibale, Raphael and Peruzzi are clearly discernible.

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A sketch first published by Tietze shows elevations of a wall and the vaulting of an interior space which, in the literature, is frequently identified as a Domenichino proposal for the interior articulation of the Stanza di Apollo in the water theatre of the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati that precedes Passignano's decorative scheme from 1615-16.[38] **[fig. 24]** Spear and earlier Salerno point out that there is no general agreement regarding the dating of this proposal, nobody however, questions Domenichino's authorship.[39] As is not unusual for Domenichino he suggests alternative ideas on the one sheet. The semicircular lunette with the bust motif flanked by *ignudi*- probably captives with their arms tied behind their backs- is the only recurring feature across the three proposals. Since all the other elements, the ceiling decoration, the wall articulation, the rib design and the atlantes, lack coherency across the three bays, they must represent alternative design proposals for a scheme that had not yet advanced beyond the early phases of the planning stage. The greater width of the right bay, which is drawn in a different medium, confirms this scenario or alternatively suggests it might have been sketched for a different wall. Given the spatial discrepancies with the executed hall, this sketch either constitutes a very early proposal for the Stanza di Apollo that precedes the executed design by Maderno or an

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[38] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 196
Salerno regards it as a very early idea from 1605. Salerno, Luigi: 'A Domenichino Series at the National Gallery: The Frescoes from the Villa Aldobrandini', in The Burlington Magazine, CV, 1963 p. 196

[39] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, p. 196
Salerno, Luigi, 'A Domenichino Series at the National Gallery: The Frescoes from the Villa Aldobrandini', in The Burlington Magazine, CV, 1963, pp. 194-197

idea for another project. **[fig. 25]** By dating the frescoes and the above sketch to the years 1605-06 Salerno suggests an early involvement of Domenichino, not only for the frescoes, but also in the architectural layout.[40] Nevertheless caution for such an early involvement by Domenichino is warranted, and, in any case, the Stanza di Apollo as executed differs not only in articulation in the size of the lunettes and lacks the plinth that raises the vault. Passignano, his son Tommaso, Giovanni Anguilla, Sarazin, Giovanni Fontana and Maderno are generally credited with the vault decoration, the sculptures, the Mount Parnassus, its statues, the water organ and the entire complex of water theatre respectively. [41] This is not the place for a detailed discussion on the history of the construction of the water theatre of the Villa Aldobrandini. I would like instead to discuss this sketch on its own merits in relation to imitation and consider its association with the Stanza di Apollo as a by-product when the context suggests such a connection.

The central section of this tripartite sketch shows an Ionic pilaster order with a vault decoration of a fruit and vegetable garland that culminates in a lion head and frames the lunette. It is decorated with a putto apparently flying through an illusionary space. The two figures above the pilaster appear to be the goddess Aphrodite with her attributes of doves and the godling Eros. This composition is formally and thematically strongly influenced by Raphael's Loggia of the Villa Farnesina, the key difference being the introduction of an order into the wall articulation and a large landscape fresco. **[figs. 22, 26]**

In the left bay are two alternative decorative schemes, one involving trellis work with rich foliage, the other consisting of small figurative scenes involving putti and a satyr. The suggested ribs are either unadorned or decorated with a simple band of leaves. The right bay introduces another variation drawn in a different medium. Above a broad Doric pilaster rises an equally broad rib that joins up with a cornice at the top. Each scheme offers alternative wall decorations. In one, a landscape fills almost the entire space between the orders; the left alternative shows a comparatively narrow vertical, probably rectangular, pictorial field or perhaps the outline of a door; the right side features a central niche with a statue and a relief (?) panel above.

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[40] ibid, pp. 194-197
[41] ibid

Three sources influence these sketches, two of which are Roman *ville* and the third the gallery of the Palazzo Farnese. All three sources boast interiors of an Arcadian, pagan, mythological and, at times, rustic nature that is reflected in Domenichino's sketches. The gallery of the Villa Farnesina had a particularly strong influence on the central scheme. Not only the vaulting but its use of motifs like the garlands, the placing of flying putti carrying attributes and the gods in the spandrels are direct quotations from Raphael's design. Another strong influence is the Villa Giulia, particularly the decoration of its tunnel vault with its frescoes of trellis work and integrated figurative scenes involving putti and ignudi. **[fig. 27]** In the left bay Domenichino separates these themes and seems to suggest them as alternatives. Other motifs that appear to originate from the Villa Giulia are the Ionic pilaster strips and the rectangular panel that leaves space for decorative framework.

The most intriguing feature, however, is an atlante in the left bay placed on a plinth and set against a pilaster. Although the wall articulation below is not executed it is reasonable to assume that the most likely scenario would be a supporting pilaster order. If so this would constitute the first time that Domenichino records the idea of vertical continuity involving orders and statues as an integral part of an architectural articulation over the lower and upper ranges of a building. If we accept Salerno's dating of the sketch to 1605-06 this would mean that from very early on Domenichino contemplated this architectural motif. As we will see, similar versions will reappear later and are finally realised in the Cappella della Strada Cupa.

Atlantes in relief did not have any precedent in Roman vaulting, but, of utmost relevance is the precedent of feigned stucco terms in the Galleria Farnese Domenichino's first work experience in Rome. Real pilaster orders of the walls are here continued into the vaulting by such terms that support quadri riportati. In pose and particularly in clothing one of these figures, though a term, is so similar to Domenichino's sketched atlante that it must be considered a source**. [fig. 28]** Other articulating features too are shared – niches, rectangular historiated panels, roundels with heads and reclining captives as well as niches with statues and relief panels derived from the same source. Further evidence for the importance of the Galleria Farnese ceiling as a model for Domenichino is one of his drawings now in the

Windsor Castle collection that depicts a part thereof. Crucially this section focuses only on the decorative framework without showing the quadri riportati. The quick, accurate and assured style of sketching just a fragment of the architectural-decorative scheme that contains all the elements needed to replicate the entire vault not only evinces Domenichino's facility for architectural sketches but also shows how he occasionally chooses to prioritise such schemes over recording pictorial elements. **[fig. 29]** Later when he bases his own work on the Galleria Farnese, Annibale's feigned terms become Domenichino's atlantes in relief, the alternative rhythm of busts and fresco panels across the bays of the Galleria is now vertically re-organised in the right bay.

Taken together Domenichino's proposals are more architectural and offer more in terms of spatial exploration than the realised Stanza di Apollo. He introduces orders and sculptural elements like statues and busts into the wall articulation, or landscape frescoes, filling almost entire bays behind an architectural framework setting as foreground. Be it on an illusionary level or in a real sense, the exploration of spatial ideas matters to him. In that regard the central sketch follows the concept of the Sala delle Prospettive in the Villa Farnesina with prospects of the city being replaced by an Arcadian landscape reflective of a rural setting, which would have been apt for the Villa Aldobrandini. Of course, there are precedents like Veronese at the Villa Maser, and more recently Bril's frescos in the casino of the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi; however, Domenichino actually knew the Roman villa first hand and furthermore he clearly refers to it elsewhere in this sketch.

The central proposal seems at first sight the least developed in terms of imitative strategies. The prototype of Raphael's Galleria in the Villa Farnesina is highly recognizable in the vaulting since it is hardly altered at all, nonetheless the walls clearly create a different spatial and pictorial effect. Accepting the sketch as early schemes for the Stanza di Apollo an interesting prospect emerges when we project the large landscape fresco as repeated bay articulation for the entire stanza. The illusionary images of landscapes and gods along the side walls and the vaulting both would become 'real' as they merge and culminate at the Mount Parnassus sculpture on the wall opposite the entrance. **[fig. 30]** The merit and originality of the imitative strategy thus is not expressed in the modification of individual motifs but rather in the

contextualisation of motifs that recall the ambiguity between the architectural illusion and reality observed previously on a more pictorial level which results in a different spatial experience. The overall effect would have constituted an ideal solution, evoking an ancient temple of sorts with an Arcadian and mythological inspired interior dedicated to Apollo and Parnassus particularly as counterpart for the chapel of San Sebastiano on the other side of the water theatre.[42] Such a scheme, however is doubtful when we examine the next bay.

The right bay is loosely based on the Galleria and the Camerino Farnese in terms of wall articulation and as such it does not address the rural and Arcadian theme to the same extent. Again one could imagine that the focus was on the statues as representations of Gods lining up in niches on either side on the way to the Mount Parnassus. In relation to the source the change of context would have been once more the strongest modifying factor. There is a stronger emphasis on architectural articulation than in the previous proposal, not only due to the sculptural exploration of the wall but also because of the vertical continuity between the wall- strip or pilaster and vault ribs as seen on the left margin of this sketch. Reading the right bay, however is not as straightforward as it seems at first glance. It contains fragments of another idea that involves a pictorial panel showing a cross-legged seated figure placed above a dado which is faintly sketched beside the central niche. This panel is overlaid with a pilaster order or astylar wall strip that is continued as a broad rib framing the lunette, an articulation possibly derived from Annibale's *Camerino* in the Palazzo Farnese. **[fig. 7]** It makes sense to read the pilaster order/ wall–strip and the pictorial panel above the dado as alternative motifs to accompany the niche of this bay. When taking the *Camerino* as source and the diverging width of this bay into consideration, it can be concluded that this bay is possibly meant to be a design for one of the end walls belonging to the same space. This scenario would imply that the sketch predates the executed Mount Parnassus with its water feature as the opposite end wall must contain the door, which would support Salerno's early dating of 1605-06 for Domenichino's involvement with the Stanza di Apollo. A later date would imply that

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[42] Steinberg, Roland Martin, 'The Iconography of the Teatro dell'Aqua at the Villa Aldobrandini', in The Art Bulletin, Vol. 47, no. 4, (Dec. 1965) p. 462
The architectural counterpart of the Sala di Parnasso is the chapel dedicated to St. Sebastian, patron saint of the Aldobrandini family. Theses two rooms equated architecturally, are also related iconographically. They can be interpreted ...as temples of the two spheres of life religion and reason.

the sketch relates to a different project altogether. Another feature of the sketch is the line dividing this bay from the central bay as it marks a fold in the paper, which might have been caused by standing up this sketch like a pseudo-architectural model.

The trellis work of the left bay is the only common feature with the realised Stanza di Apollo. Apart from the Apollo fresco cycle, now reduced to two and a half images *in situ* with the bulk of frescoes exhibited in the National Gallery in London Domenichino is also credited by several authors like Salerno, Levey and Spear with the overall interior decoration of the Stanza; they do not discuss, however, the sketch in any detail and seem to consider it as one scheme instead of three.[43] On the basis of the sketch and its sources identified above as well as the prevailing classical style one could argue that certain elements of the Stanza could be attributed to Domenichino. Certainly there are similarities between the fresco decoration of the left bay of the sketch and the executed frescoes of the vaulting from 1616. Passignano, however, is credited with these. If Domenichino was indeed involved as early as 1605-6 Passignano might have executed some Domenichino's ideas although in that case the ten year time gap would make such a scenario unlikely.

Decorative motifs like the *rinceaux* on some of the decorative panels of the *stanza* resemble Domenichino's ornamental vocabulary, though these motifs are common enough and their detailing lacks the refinement of Domenichino's schemes elsewhere. It would be very tempting to credit him with the floor design as it displays similar geometry (eg. The M-armed cross) to what we encounter in the contemporary project of the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere, **[figs. 30, 32]** however no information concerning the floor design has yet surfaced. In the end a comparison between the alternatives offered in the sketch and the realised *stanza* shows important differences in conception.

Spatial exploration by architectural and sculptural and painterly means is integral to each of the wall articulations of the sketch but in the built Stanza di Apollo this is confined to the Mount Parnassus wall. Furthermore the prominence of the human figure in Domenichino's proposals is of minor relevance in the *stanza*. These

[43] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, pp. 196, 197

differences do not concern only the sketch but constitute hallmarks elsewhere in Domenichino's oeuvre. For that reason I am inclined to believe that he had little or no impact on the executed design.

The sketch is a fusion of the above sources and their choice is informed by the task of designing a space with mythological connotations for a rural retreat. Given the alternative ideas for articulation, this sheet most likely represents an early stage in the planning process, so no finality is implied. While the realised Stanza di Apollo has some affinities with parts of the Villa Giulia it is certainly not influenced by the Galleria Farnese or the Villa Farnesina. As a result the fusion of good precedents as part of the imitative strategy is non-existent here. Perhaps Domenichino was consulted and he was active in the intitial design stage of the project. His name, however, appears only in relation to the Apollo fresco cycle; to argue for a pivotal architectural involvement on purely stylistic grounds is not sustainable in light of the differences between his sketch and the Stanza di Apollo as built. A comparison between the sketch and other works like the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori or later the ceiling for the nave of S. Maria in Trastevere documents his general reliance on good and suitable prototypes. The sketch provides further evidence for this, even if the imaginary leap taken with the groundbreaking design of the nave ceiling is greater than that suggested in the sketch. In its defence, however one should argue that it is unfair to compare a finished work with a preliminary sketch; indeed even at this early stage it contains the seeds of some great and novel ideas, like the vertical continuity of order and statue or the series of landscape panels seen through an architectural framework in the foreground that suggests a deliberate exploitation of the ambiguity between the real and the illusionary space.

An unfinished study for the decoration of a room with the Ludovisi coat of arms from 1621-23 is an affirmation of Domenichino's decorative vocabulary suggested in the sketch for the Stanza di Apollo**. [fig. 31]** Dados, wall paintings, landscapes, atlantes, niches filled with statues, and lunettes framed by broad ribs all reappear and are enhanced by grotesques, mascheroni, terms, peltae, arabesques, narrative imagery and coat of arms. Because of the papal insignia displays with the Ludovisi coat of arms

Spear attributes it to a Ludovisi project, possibly the Vigna.[44] The point of departure of this study is a geometrical and symmetrical division of the wall and the vaulting which is then filled with ornament. Important for understanding the space of this hall and its division are the clustered pilasters set above a mosaic- like dado. They frame as a backdrop an atlante that supports a plinth topped with a seated figure. The clustered ribs behind it form an arch that divides the vault. One possibility is that this feature was to be duplicated on the right of the sketch followed by another bay, which would result in a three-bayed hall where corresponding end bays would flank a central bay with a different articulation.

The wall of the unfinished left bay contains a sculptural element -a statue set into a niche- while across the clustered pilaster pictorial treatment is proposed for the central bay – an image of a seated pope with one kneeling and another standing figure holding books. Equally sized blank central panels are duplicated in each of the bays and if executed over three bays they would have constituted an even sequence of dominant central images. Above these the blind lunettes of the vaulting are filled with landscapes. The terms, reclining figures, *putti, masceroni*, and diverse hybrid motifs involving sphinxes, grotesques, animal heads and *rinceaux* fill a variety of panels across the vaulting. Some of these show shields and coats of arms. The vaulting culminates in a round central panel displaying the Ludovisi coat of arms with the papal insignia. This feature breaks up the grid pattern of the articulation intended for the end bays and introduces a vaulting reminiscent of that of Annibale's *Camerino* in the Palazzo Farnese.

The overall decorative scheme also recalls the Galleria Farnese, though the introduction of architectural division of the vaulting by arches and the integration of orders and atlantes are additions typical of Domenichino. Motifs involving the human figure appear in different shapes, perhaps as statues in the round, in relief or in painting. Combined with the classical flavour of the decorative program and the use of orders this once again constitutes a very strong indication of Domenichino's architectural and decorative style and a comparison with the Stanza di Apollo in the

[44] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 98

Villa Aldobrandini throws further doubt on his involvement in that architectural scheme.

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Cardinal Aldobrandini commissioned Domenichino in his role as *camerlengo* of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere on the 1st of February 1616 for the project of a new ceiling for the nave as part of an extensive restoration program.[45] **[fig. 32]** Domenichino's involvement as architect-designer is well documented. Giovanna Curcio is wrong to claim Mancini was the only early biographer to attribute this ceiling to him, since Baglione, Passeri, and Bellori also did so.[46] Spear and Cantone, examined Domenichino's break with the then traditional grid system for vault articulation and emphasised the originality of his coffering, with the eight-pointed Aldobrandini star as "catalyst" that generates the overall interlocking pattern with diagonal axes.[47] Spear furthermore points out that an "identical Greek cross with two M-shaped arms"[48] can be found as part of the floor design of the Stanza di Apollo in the Villa Aldobrandini. **[fig. 30]**

There can not be any doubt about the design impact of the Aldobrandini star on the overall pattern, although it does not entirely explain the genesis of this ceiling's geometry. San Giovanni dei Fiorentini offers a precedent for a ceiling with an eight-pointed star motif but this appears only on the soffit of the arch leading into the choir.

Unlike the regular grid pattern common to Roman church ceilings of the period this flat wooden ceiling with deep coffers features simultaneously a centralised design,

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[45] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 87, 88, Cantone, Rosalba: 'Il cassetonato ligneo e la tela dell'Assunta in Sant Maria in Trastevere', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 253

[46] Curcio, Giovanna, 'Le contraddizioni del metodo, II L'architettura esatta di Domenichino', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 151, In contradiction to her essay she acknowledges Bellori's attribution of the ceiling to Domenichino in fn. 24 (p. 159) Baglione, Giovanni, p. 383 Hess, Jacob: Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri, Leipzig, Wien, 1934, pp. 41, 42 Bellori, Giovan Pietro, Le Vite dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni, Torino, 1972, p. 329, Mancini, Giulio, Considerazioni sulla pittura, Rome, p. 243

[47] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 88, Cantone, Rosalba, Domenichino, 1996, p. 258

[48] ibid. A closer examination of the "Greek cross" shows that its outline is similar but not identical.

diagonal axes and a main axis from portal to transept. Together with the zig-zag pattern the overall effect is of crystalline character. Although there does not seem to be any apparent precedent, this novel concept is nonetheless rooted in a Roman tradition. Folio 13v in the *taccuino* of the papal architect Giuliano da Sangallo, now in the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena **[fig. 33]** shows a sketch of a "*partimento d'una volta anticho a Roma*". It is a depiction of a richly coffered ceiling with a centralised design including diagonal axes around a large octagonal coffer. Given the bosses or spindles, a typical feature for wooden ceilings that appear in the peripheral areas of this drawing, Hetty E. Joyce rightly speculates to what extent Sangallo re-worked the antique stucco precedent with the intention of transforming it into a wooden ceiling.[49] Nonetheless even if its origin can not be verified Sangallo's drawing still sets a precedent as a unique, seemingly reworked and extended antique ceiling design. Not only does it share the diagonal orientation, the focus on an octagonal feature and Sangallo's suggested choice of material with the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere, its rich coffering, its wealth of decoration with antique hybrid motifs are also echoed. These similarities however, are offset by a pattern where regular geometrical shapes are kept apart, leaving room for incidental leftover surfaces that are distinct as they appear to form the background surface. Many Renaissance vaults follow that pattern, the vaults in Peruzzi's Castello of Julius II in Ostia Antica and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's San Spirito in Sassia being two apt examples. **[figs. 34, 35]**

Another antique Roman prototype of much greater influence during the Renaissance was the ceiling of the apse in the church of Santa Costanza. **[fig. 36]** This mosaic vault composed of interlocking Greek crosses, octagons and hexagons achieved great popularity due to Sebastiano Serlio's book on architecture, where this pattern was transformed into proposals for decorative wooden ceiling designs *all' antica*. **[fig. 37]** Of importance for the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere is the interlocking geometry of this pattern that dispenses with leftover surfaces as a background for regular geometrical shapes. Each coffer is given equal value. It was Antonio da Sangallo, the Younger who fused the diagonal orientation of his uncle Giuliano's folio 13v with the antique Roman interlocking pattern of the apse vault of Santa

[49] Joyce, Hetty, E., 'Studies in the Renaissance Reception of Ancient Vault Decoration' , in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 67 (2004), p. 201

Costanza. He simply turned Serlio's pattern through 45 degrees so that his wooden ceiling in the Sacristy of the Palazzo Silvestri in Rome achieved a much more diagonal orientation. **[fig. 38]** To my knowledge it constitutes the only precedent of such a pattern in Rome before 1616-17. The only additional element, that needed to be incorporated in order to arrive at the ceiling design for the nave of Santa Maria in Trastevere, was the Aldobrandini emblem of the eight-pointed star. This insertion necessitated the modification of the Greek cross to a cross with two M-shaped arms which also features in the aforementioned floor design of the Stanza di Apollo. **[fig. 30]** In order to emphasise the central axis with its succession of star shaped and octagonal coffering Domenichino placed the M-shaped Greek cross at a diagonal angle. This solution is an improvement on the Stanza di Apollo where a hexagon and the M-shaped cross form a central axis, but less successfully and elegantly interlocked, so the overall geometrical pattern suffers from the resulting complexity. He thus achieved a novel interlocking geometry for the vaulting, that is based on a long architectural tradition incorporating early modern and antique ceiling designs.

A novelty for Roman church ceilings is the insertion of an octagonal oil painting into a compartmentalised nave ceiling. While they are no prior chronologically close precedents, such a pictorial centrepiece for a rectangular vault existed in a Roman tomb monument in the Via Salaria as is documented in an anonymous drawing in the Codex Phigianus. **[fig. 39]** Although a frescoed stucco ceiling, its large round central image of a single figure probably of Dea Roma (Minerva) brings Domenichino's *Assumption* in Santa Maria in Trastevere to mind.[50] **[fig. 32]** A recently restored cubiculum of Santa Tecla near San Paolo fuori le Mura represents the earliest known Christian example; it combines a large circular central image with an albeit painted interlocking ceiling pattern known from the apse vault of Santa Costanza, which, let us not forget, is a Christian mausoleum. **[fig. 40]** Domenichino might have been aware of the existence of such cubiculae. His fellow Bolognese artist Guercino also painted such a central image as part of a ceiling devised by Soria for the neighbouring church of San Crisogono in Trastevere, this work is, however, from the 1620s. **[fig. 41]**

[50] The pose of the figure is similar to that of the Dea Roma in the niche above the fountain on the Campodoglio.

Other uncommon features for a nave ceiling are the inscription panels supported by angels placed at the short ends of the vault. The motif of angels supporting ovals or coat of arms, however, is very common elsewhere and, as we have seen, earlier it appears above two facing doors in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata. It is quite possible that Domenichino derived the motif from there and applied it to the nave ceiling.

Classical Roman antiquity certainly informed Domenichino's choice of decorative motifs. Rosalba Cantone rightly points out the care which Domenichino took to match the decoration with the geometrical shape.[51] As prescribed by Serlio he fills out each entire coffer with fittingly shaped motifs, and he establishes a coherent system where each of the three geometrical shapes is matched with a particular decoration.[52] The M-shaped Greek cross is adorned with masks organised around a rosette, the eight-pointed star contains a putto-floral motif, while the third and last coffer shows a double *rinceau*.

Domenichino achieves the illusionary effect of boundless continuity in the ceiling by dividing in half the most prominent components, like the eight-pointed star of the geometrical pattern at the ceiling's edge while, at the same time, maintaining their assigned decorative motifs. Incidentally this illusionary effect also appears in the dado of the nave of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori where the continued cartouche design with Farnese lilies is spaced out in the same manner, so that the motif is exactly halved at the point where the dado joins the Serliana. **[fig. 42]** While contexts and architectural settings differ, the expressed idea of infinite continuation and its formal solution is the same. This can be taken as another stylistically based argument that Domenichino designed the entire chapel in Grottaferrata.

The scaling of the overall pattern of the nave ceiling is worked out with precision. As with the dado in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori the truncated coffers are exactly cut in half in order to ensure an optimal impact of the illusionary expansion. It is exactly

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[51] Cantone, Rosalba, 'La Capella della Strada Cupa in Santa Maria in Trastevere', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 258

[52] Hart,Vaughan & Hicks, Peter, Serlio Sebastiano on Architecture, Vol. I, New Haven, London, 1996, p. 381: However, the rosettes should be bordered by some foliage or other grotesque decoration so that they do not appear to be suspended in mid-air.

that effect that counteracts the relatively long and narrow shape of the ceiling. Crucially the ceiling pattern corresponds in no way with the pilaster order of the wall. Not only would such a correspondence contradict the illusion of infinite expansion but the resulting grid pattern would make the nave appear long and narrow.

The dominant geometrical shapes of fully expressed octagons and eight-pointed stars form a central west–east axis. They are not solely decorative but set the scene on a symbolic level in relation to the church and the patron, culminating in the monumental octagonal painting of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, surely a reference to the foundation of Santa Maria in Trastevere, the earliest Roman church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which is also reflected in much older decorative schemes elsewhere in this basilica. Reading these shapes from each end of the nave towards the centre they begin with a rectangular panel with an inscription, followed by an octagonal coffer displaying the Aldobrandini coat of arms, then the Aldobrandini star and culminating finally in the octagonal coffer containing a monumental *di sotto in su* image of Domenichino's Assumption of the Virgin Mary.[53] As Antinori has already pointed out, both the eight-pointed star and the octagon are also Marian allusions.[54] Due to their central dominance and role as main carriers of symbolic and religious meaning, this axis dominates the subsidiary diagonal axes mentioned earlier. Obviously the truncated octagons at the ceiling's edge are not suited for the repetition of the images contained in the central octagons. Instead these coffers are decorated with an image of a fountain sprouting oil that metamorphoses into angels. **[fig. 43]** The inscription *olei fons* makes clear that the image indicates an eruption of oil from the ground in 38 AD, that was interpreted as the Coming of Christ and eventually led to the foundation on that very spot of the basilica between by Pope Julius I in 337 -352. A variation of the motif also appears in the centre of the frieze. Another of the subsidiary decorative motifs *all'antica* is the quartet of ignudi set inside the Aldobrandini star. It is a refined version of the same stucco motif designed by Perino del Vaga for the octagonal coffers of the barrel vault by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for the papal audience hall, the Sala Regia, completed in

[53] The panel above the entrance reads: Dei Matri Virginq in caelum Assumptae Petrus Card. Aldobrandinus S.R. E. Camer. Dd, Anno MDCXVII. The panel at the transept reads: In hac Dei Matris sede Taberna olim meritoria olei fons e solo erumpens Christi ortum potendit;

[54] Antinori, Aloisio, 'Roma 1600-23; Teorici, Committenti, Architetti', in Storia dell'Architettura Italiana, Il Seicento, Milan, 2003, p. 113

1573. **[fig. 44]** Given that this is a dominant motif of the Vatican barrel vault their re-appearance in the star-shaped coffer could be understood to represent either the recent Aldobrandini papacy under Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) or a hidden claim for the papal seat. The hybrid motif itself, however, is based on antique prototypes and variations of this decorative feature appear profusely during the Renaissance and Mannerism. A ceiling design in Serlio's Book IV incorporates this motif and in the accompanying text Serlio advises "that once the coffers have been recessed their backgrounds are blue, like something transparent, as if the sky could be seen." And he points out the importance "to border rosettes with ... grotesque decoration so that they do not seem suspended in mid–air."[55] The original ceiling was indeed blue like the one in Grottaferrata.[56]

Domenichino's earlier feigned stucco work at the small dome of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata from 1608-10 features a putto-motif *all'antica* similar to that of the truncated star coffering. A simple *guilloche* adorns the wooden beams.

The references to antique and Renaissance precedents in combination with symbolic and representational forms sourced from the Aldobrandini coat of arms, shape this innovative baroque design. The monumental style of architecture, ornament and painting provides a unified formal solution while carrying to equal degree the patron's propagandist messages.

In summary, the ceiling design is the result of an integration of symbolic shapes like stars and crosses into a well established iconic system of interlocked geometrical coffering that can be traced back to the apse vault of S. Costanza. Although highly unusual for its diagonal orientation precedents can be found in fol.13v by Giuliano da Sangallo and in the ceiling of the sacristy in the Palazzo Silvestri design by his nephew Antonio. Based mainly on the S. Costanza model it also reflects Serlio's wooden ceiling proposals in his Five Books on Architecture. Ancient and early modern influences thus form the basis for a design solution that had to consider the specific requirement to insert a star-shaped family emblem. The scheme thus echoes

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[55] Hart,Vaughan & Hicks, Peter, Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture, Vol. I, New Haven, London, 1996, p. 381

[56] Cantone, Rosalba, 'La Capella della Strada Cupa in Santa Maria in Trastevere', in Domenichino, 1996, p. 255

the dual influence of classical antiquity and early modern examples and the patron's role as cardinal of his titular basilica. Decorative motifs for the coffering add a further layer of historic connotations. Moreover the illusionary aspect of infinite expansion avoids the danger of monotonous repetition that might establish a grid pattern with a tunnel effect. The irregular angles and shapes and the zig-zag pattern create a crystalline structure that excites the eye and imbues the ceiling with vibrancy. This ceiling is unique and embodies baroque principles of illusionist infinity, multi-directional movement with strong diagonal orientation and propagandist symbolism *before* baroque vaulting schemes became established. Nevertheless the vault of Santa Maria in Trastevere has its roots in antique and early modern precedents. The innovative and dynamic force of this solution becomes particularly apparent when compared with the far less convincing alternative anonymous proposal for the same project, now in the Albertina in Vienna. **[fig. 45]**

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Domenichino's responsibility for the decoration of the pendentives of the crossing and the fresco cycle of Sant'Andrea in the choir is well documented and does not need to be reiterated here. A drawing of the decorative framework of the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle at Windsor Castle from around 1623 was identified by Pope-Hennessy and supports Passeri's assertion that Domenichino and not Maderno is to be credited with its design.[57] **[figs. 46, 47]** This scheme, the biggest in Rome since the Paoline chapel and the extension of Saint Peter's,[58] was predetermined by Giacomo della Porta's and Francesco Grimaldi's wall and vault articulation.[59] They devised the clustered pilasters, the *en ressaut* entablature and the ribs of the barrel vault for the nave of the same church probably in 1593 and Maderno extended this wall articulation after 1608 into the choir of the church. Domenichino's drawing clearly

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[57] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 245, Passeri, Giovanni Battisita, Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti che anno lavorato in Roma, morti dal 1641 fino al 1673, p. 22*v*, Hibbard, Howard, Carlo Maderno, London, 1971, p. 152

[58] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 246

[59] Hibbard, Howard, 'The Early History of Sant'Andrea della Valle', in The Art Bulletin, 43, 1961, pp. 289-318

shows that from the outset he based the compartmentalisation of the apse on the already established articulation. In light of the nave's vertical continuity culminating in transverse ribs it was the logical choice; nonetheless it should be pointed out that he went against the popular and established practice of an apse without compartmentalisation. Instead of following the example of other Roman churches for Counter Reformation religious orders like Il Gesù or the Chiesa Nuova he introduces a vertical compartmentalisation reminiscent of Michelangelo's apse in S. Peter's. Naturally this form of compartmentalisation served his project well since it was the best way to accommodate multiple images. The Windsor Castle drawing shows how only few modifications to the general layout of the system were made after the planning stage. The division of the vertical and horizontal ribs matches that of the realised choir, the only difference being the slightly bigger size of the fresco panel depicting Saint Andrew in Glory in the final version. Spear has already pointed out the replacing of decorative panels depicting hybrid motifs by the six virtues beside the windows and the change of the lunette decoration.[60] In the study P.-H. 752 they appear to be placed in the spandrels of the lunettes, as Domenichino swaps the location of religious imagery and antique decoration in the executed version. Moreover the six statues in the hemisphere gain expression in pose and movement and, unlike the drawing where they are supported by a mixture of capitals and plinths, they are uniformly placed on capitals. Finally the references to the patron are less frequent in the apse than in the drawing; the Perreti-Montalto lions that frame the shell motif above the window of the hemisphere are replaced with human figures that provide a better visual link to the statue above and the *monti* above the lunettes are replaced by *mascherone*. Spear credits Blunt with the observation that the preliminary study P.-H. no. 88 of a lunette, also in Windsor Castle, would have involved a much larger fresco of Saint Andrew in Glory and smaller narrative panels for the pitched vault. **[fig. 48]** As can be observed in the executed apse, the upper horizontal divisions between the frescoes in the half-dome and the intermediate bay leading to the crossing, are not aligned. At that preliminarily stage of the planning process, however, Domenichino had an integrated compartmentalisation in mind with a continuous horizontal framework between intermediate bay and half dome. This would have impacted negatively on the size of the three frescoes in the half dome. This change

[60]Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 246

from drawing to realised vault evinces Domenichino's concern for legibility as much as organic and balanced organisation for the compartmentalisation of the entire choir. The rejected sketch of the lunette did not fulfil these criteria.

The thus realised articulation divides the choir into two distinctive sections – intermediate bay and the apse proper. The bay is divided into three fresco panels. A *quadro riportato,* set into a conventional picture frame in the centre, is flanked by decorative *dal sotto in su* lunette frescoes above the windows. Both are framed with alternating stucco decoration of lion heads and cornucopia at the top and festoons of pears along the sides. Two identical *peltae,* composed of triple garlands flanked by sphinxes, separate the three frescoes and their frames from each other. Set into golden and white colouring the garlands are striking, as they break up the overall angular compartmentalisation of the bay decoration. Given his admiration for Raphael it is likely that these beautiful insertions into the otherwise angular scheme have their sources in the Logge del Vaticano where this pelta motif is a prominent feature of that decorative scheme. **[fig. 49]** Domenichino hardly modifies the motif itself but by monumentalising it in high relief, he singles it out and thus gains more prominence than any of the other purely decorative motifs. To an extent it also echoes the semi – oval stucco frame for Saint Andrew in Glory. The incorporated lion motifs and the pears of the festoons mentioned earlier are part of an emblematic program that cites the patron Alessandro Peretti Cardinal Montalto's insignia. This is not the first appearance of the *pelta* motif in Domenichino's oeuvre, as it already features, albeit in a less dominant and striking version, in the Bolognese tomb monument for the Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi from 1608-09. **[fig. 21]** Again the motif serves the same purpose; it is the framework for presenting the insignia of the Agucchi family.[61] Domenichino's repeatedly uses the *pelta* as the shield for a family coat of arms.

The *di sotto in su* frescoes in the lunettes of the windows show how motifs like the *ignudi* are deeply influenced by those in the Galleria Farnese but adapted to explore spandrels spatially as part of the lunettes instead of barrel vaulting. **[fig. 50]**

[61] The Agucchi coat of arms shows a double headed eagle and a bull.

The overall bay is framed by two transverse ribs which are divided into alternating fields of rectangular panels with angels and square, purely decorative, panels. Since the rib at the crossing is lower and therefore shorter than the ceiling rib they do not exactly correspond and that in turn impacts on the spacing of the panels.

Domenichino turns that disadvantage into a solution that links the bay articulation with the apse articulation. By stretching the three central panels of the ceiling rib he gets the width needed for the fresco of S. Andrew in Glory and coherently matches the square panels of transverse rib with the stucco frame of that fresco. This is the nodal point between intermediate bay and apse articulation. Still, with the help of the largely matching decorative scheme of the ribs we read the two transverse ribs as a bracket for the bay.

There are two elements of layering in Domenichino's design that concern the junctions of the bay with the crossing and the bay with the apse. The first relates to the differing articulation of the transverse ribs. The transverse rib of the arch of the crossing matches only superficially the transverse rib in the choir. On closer examination we discover that the inner transverse rib actually corresponds also with the strip beside the arch of the crossing. It is the articulation of that strip that makes this correspondence clear. It is expressed mainly in the spacing of the panels but to some extent in the motif themselves. This strip is therefore meant to be read as a responding transverse rib that disappears behind the arch of the crossing. The second incident of layering concerns the junction of the choir and the apse. Here the cluster rib motif with its atlantes seems to be stopped abruptly as it crashes into the inner transverse rib of the bay.

Vertical continuity is observed in detail as each part of the clustered pilaster at the crossing continues as a separate transverse rib which explains the narrow strip between the transverse rib and the pictorial fields of the bay. In decorative terms the transverse ribs match those devised by Ponzio for the arches of the Paoline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore.[62] **[fig. 51]** There we find the rectangular panels with angels and putti alternating with squares as well as the golden- white colour scheme.

[62] See Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 243

Domenichino's only modifications are the more classically influenced ornamental motifs of the square panels and the decoration embellishing the stucco angels.

As already pointed out the clustered pilaster breaking through the entablature into the vault first appears in Michelangelo's apse of the south transept of Saint Peter's and this could have influenced della Porta's and Grimaldi's articulation of the nave walls of Sant'Andrea della Valle; consequently it would have limited any vertical component of apse decoration to a narrow range of options. Given Domenichino's fondness for vertical continuity he must have regarded it as an ideal solution and he certainly knew Michelangelo's south transept. In other respects, however, he diverted from this prototype; he did not have to deal with billowing vaults and was faced with a very different task. The tripartite stucco frame is derived from the clustered pilasters below and dominates the division of the apse. The tripartite frame becomes the theme of the apse division as it is repeated as a framing device for Saint Andrew in Glory.

Vertical thrust also dominates the articulation of ornament. It shows in the rib's tapering rectangular panels with arabesques that are interspersed with shorter panels filled with *putti* holding symbols of Saint Andrew. Slender uninterrupted flanking panels culminate in monumental atlantes and caryatides in the round that are placed on capitals and support the rich frame of the Saint Andrew in Glory fresco. They reinforce vigorously the vertical movement of the ribs. This motif is repeated along the transverse rib but being confined to the apse, all statues serve as supports for the image of Saint Andrew in Glory set in its u-shaped frame. For vertical effect and symbolic content the crowning fresco is *di sotto in su* so that the vertical thrust is continued into the image of Saint Andrew in Glory where his raised arms point upwards to the half relief *putti* that hold the laurel wreath. Only here does the vertical movement finally come to rest.

In contrast the three narrative panels below are *quadri riportati*. The area beneath the lower horizontal stucco frame is occupied by three windows flanked by frescoed personifications of the six virtues most cherished by the Theatine order. Like the lunettes they are painted *di sotto in su* and, as they spill out of their spaces and have painted shadows as if illuminated by the light flooding through the windows, they give the illusion of corporeality.

The full and half relief statues are also subjected to horizontal ordering. By use of the white colouring against the generally gilded background, the six reclining stucco figures in the round on the windows' architraves and the two angels in half-relief on the transverse rib are highlighted and form a semi circle along the lower horizontal division; a motif that is echoed by the atlantes in the upper tier. Furthermore the reclining figures in the round are a variation on the painted ignudi in the lunettes of the bay.[63] As in Grottaferrata, where the feigned architecture of the nave becomes real architecture in the sanctuary, the plasticity of the decorative program increases here from transitional bay to apse. Painted figures like the virtues become more corporeal, motifs like the *ignudi* are turned into sculptures in the round and the white angels in relief become statues in the round. In the half dome the entire program is more elevated in tone. Architecture, sculpture and painting are integrated to formally express the rise of Saint Andrew into the heavenly sphere, with a strong reliance on vertical continuity that reaches its zenith at the nodal point where *putti* hold the laurel wreath. The interplay of the three arts is testament to Domenichino's keen sense of ordering and it is the spatial principles that dictate the overall composition. Bernini's Sant'Andrea al Quirinale clearly echoes the concept behind Domenichino's composition.

Light and corporeality, whether real or illusionary, are important architectural elements in the choir and this is also true for the four Evangelists of the pendentives. **[fig. 52]** These grandiose frescoes also give also insight into Domenichino's concern for sight lines. On entering the church ones attention is immediately drawn to the two

[63] Spear has made the same observation. See Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 254

evangelists St. Matthew and St. John. In all their monumentality and rich colours they appear extremely corporeal as they seem to burst out of their architectural framework. St Luke and St. Mark on the opposite would originally have been seen against the backdrop of a white washed nave. Therefore their colouring is much blonder in tone and more luminous in comparison. Incidentally each garment of each Evangelist is assigned a different colour, a rich golden-yellow for St. Matthew, a deep red for St. John, a cool blue for St Luke and a light green for St. Mark. This colour scheme increases the effect of light and corporeality. This use of sight lines, corporeality and colour and light effect imports architectural deliberation into the realm of painting. The pendentives with the Evangelists are contextualised with their back drop and with the movement of the spectator in mind.

Accepting Michelangelo's southern transept as an influential source for the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle the imitative process did not start with Domenichino but with Giacomo della Porta and Francesco Grimaldi, and was continued by Carlo Maderno. Their work determined at least the skeleton structure of the apse and confined Domenichino's artistic liberties to the horizontal and ornamental layout. In light of this he strongly emphasised vertical continuity in the apse by ornamental and sculptural means that culminate in the central *di sotto in su* image. Ornamental articulation is the key feature that distinguishes the different architectural members of bay and apse. In ornamental terms Domenichino's transverse ribs are close copies of the soffit of the arches in Ponzio's Paoline chapel but now they function as a border between the two architectural members separating a transitional bay from the apse proper. The choir is thus divided and with a keen sense for balance and organic organisation the stucco framework and pictorial spaces of the two parts are integrated with each other.

The stucco ornament of the transverse ribs is modelled on the Paoline chapel but it is embellished and classicised. Together the sphinxes, lion heads, rinceaux, cornucopias, festoons, and the arabesques and putti in the apse create a rich tapestry of ornament with its roots in the Renaissance and the antique. The *pelta* is highlighted by means of

monumentalisation. Looking at the choir as a whole there is a notable progression towards both a richer sculptural program and pictorial strategy from bay to apse.

The interplay between illusionary space and real space is also exploited as the *ignudi* of the bay echo the angels on the windows of the apse. The six virtues and the six atlantes/caryatids reiterate that theme. Illumination is important in respect of the lunettes, the virtues and the pendentives of the crossing. Domenichino employs it as a means of contextualisation with real light sources and he takes sightlines and the general backdrop into consideration.

Regarding Domenichino's imitative input we are confronted with mixed strategies. While motifs like the transverse ribs, and the decoration particularly the *peltae* are closely modelled on their respective sources in the Paoline Chapel, the Logge del Vaticano or perhaps even aspects of Serlio's ceiling design, they take on different roles by means of contextualisation.[64] **[fig. 53]** The transverse ribs are adapted to define an architectural unit and the pelta is singled out as a dominant precious motif that breaks a regular geometrical pattern. In terms of conception, however, the overall decorative scheme is conceived with the vault of the Galleria Farnese in mind. The *quadri riportati* are the dominant elements, *ignudi* and feigned *stucchi* are present in the lunettes; however, given the vastly different architecture and light sources they are contextualised and subjected to greater illusionism. More importantly the entire decorative scheme is architecturally and sculpturally expanded. The feigned stucco terms and the frescoed *ignudi* of the Galleria Farnese are now statues in the round and the *di sotto in su* frescoes are not just confined to corners but they gain greater dominance within the overall scheme and are tied into the architectural context. Moreover the embellishment of the frame work is richer in form and symbolism and is expressed in relief instead of fresco. At the core of the imitative process of the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle is Annibale's vault of the Galleria Farnese. With the help of the Ponzio's Paoline chapel, Raphael's and Giovanni da Udine's Logge di

[64] See: Grotesque hybrid motif in Hart, Vaughan & Hicks, Peter, Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture, Vol. I, New Haven, London, 1996 p. 383

Vaticano and with the impositions of della Porta, Grimaldi and Maderno Domenichino forges a scheme that integrates architecture, sculpture and painting in a coherent and distinguished way. It is true that some sources appear to be mere copies but they are considered for different roles within a greater scheme that is far removed from its main source - the vault of the Galleria Farnese.

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The history of the Cappella della Strada Cupa is well documented, nonetheless some aspects need to be mentioned here, in that they affected Domenichino's design choices. In 1624 a miraculous image of the Virgin was found in the Strada Cupa in Trastevere and transferred under Urban VIII's direction to the basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere. A year later in August 1625 the same pope laid the cornerstone for a new chapel to house the icon, but due to lack of funding the project did not proceed any further until the 18th of September 1627 when the chapel was ceded to the private sponsorship of Benedetto Cecchini and his wife, who agreed to provide "*stucchi, figure, e pitture ò altri abellimenti*" within seven years.[65] Passeri was the first to link Domenichino's name to the building of the chapel: *"et a Domenichino fù data la cura dell'ordine, e della forma, con quale doveva essere ornata, e compartita, e egli con suo disegno la ripartì, e si divide nella la forma ch si vede al presente*".[66] However, Domenichino had to adhere to a decision already made by the canons of the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere in 1625 which stated that the size and disposition of the space should imitate Martino Longhi the Elder's Altemps chapel of 1584-88 on the other side of the chancel. **[fig.293]** This decision was reiterated in 1628 in Cecchini's contract with the *muratori*. A separate contract from that time refers to Domenichino's involvement as it states that the job had to be finished within a year to the "*gusto e consentamento del S.r Domenichino Sanpieri, Pittore.*"[67] Domenichino's creative

[65] Spear, Richard: Domenichino, 1982, p. 278
[66] ibid, p. 278, Passeri, Giovanni Battista, Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti che anno lavorato in Roma, morti dal 1641 fino al 1673, 1672, p. 28*r*
[67] Spear, Richard : Domenichino, p. 278

scope becomes clear in the passage relating that the chapel "*conforme al disegno della Cappella Altemps essistante in d.a Chiesa, et conforme al disegno di d.o Sr. Domenichino o altri soprastanti a d. lavoro.*"[68] Faced with such a project, Domenichino found himself in the tradition of Michelangelo's Medici chapel in San Lorenzo which had to be modelled on Brunelleschi's precedent. Another example much closer in time and location is Ponzio's Paoline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore that had to adhere to the precedent of Domenico Fontana's Sistine chapel of twenty years earlier. In light of this I propose to examine his interpretation of the tectonic whole with the Altemps chapel in mind. I explore to what extent his solution depends on this precedent and how it impacts on his imitative strategies. Even if the Cappella della Strada Cupa has already been discussed, mainly by Spear and Cantone, an architectural analysis under these aspects will provide a valuable additional insight.

In spatial terms the two chapels are indeed almost identical, which confirms that Domenichino had no choice in this matter. However, although the wall articulation differs, albeit only in detail, the changes are indeed significant as they point towards Domenichino's underlying concept of an integration and unification of the walls and vault of the chapel. While the pilasters, niches with wall panels follow largely the Altemps' model, the Ionic capitals are considerably modified and represent a much more original approach where the volutes are merged with putti, garlands and veils. Furthermore Domenichino appears to give the capitals more height by raising the level of the much lighter looking volutes and integrating them with a shallower abacus. **[figs. 54, 55, 56]**

Indeed not only the capitals but the decorative program of this entire zone is recast. In the Altemps chapel the pattern of putti, festoons and capitals is static in character. The putti in the frieze are all seen in frontal view and the festoons above the central panels appear rather stretched and rigid. **[fig. 55]** In contrast Domenichino's putti are much more animated with a clever variation of views, some frontal and some in profile. Furthermore the putti are occasionally arranged

[68] ibid, p. 278

in pairs with their bodies gracefully bent, a motif that might have been inspired by the putti flanking the ovals of the vault of the Altemps chapel. The main point of reference, however is the cornice of the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere as Domenichino evokes and modifies motifs of his own earlier work dating from 1617. **[figs. 56, 57, 58]**

Throughout the whole zone he creates a visual continuity by aligning all the putti's heads and giving them almost equal size. The acanthus scrolls introduce movement that contrasts with that of the volutes. As a result the entire zone is one dynamic unit of intertwining individual motifs mainly of putti and acanthus scrolls. **[figs. 56, 57]** As in his earlier work in the nave they evoke antique Roman decorative programs, a reference that is less developed in the Altemps chapel. Like Longhi and his *stuccatore* Pompeo del'Abate, Domenichino restricts his decorative program of that zone to a few motifs, however, unlike Longhi and del'Abate he varies and interconnects these motifs and most importantly, one of those putti-acanthus scrolls motifs reappears in a pivotal position in the frame of the flat soffit of the vault. In this lofty location the putti raise their arms as if to support the image of the central panel, echoing the pose of the atlantes. Their heads are turned opposite to the one below. Together with the reversed acanthus scrolls Domenichino introduces once more a variation on the theme. The motif also performs a semi-architectural task as the acanthus scrolls become the nodal point for the rising ribs and the ceiling cornice. **[fig. 59]**

This deliberate contextualisation of the walls with the vault may have been a corrective measure on Domenichino's part. Such recurring motifs also exist in the Altemps chapel but here the connections are difficult to decipher. Even if the putto motif from below is repeated in the centre of the cornice, its legibility is obscured by its small size, its gilding and the multiplicity of other motifs in its vicinity. Exactly this multiplicity of motifs, so typical for the late Cinquecento characterises Longhi's, del'Abate's and the fresco painter Cati's entire vault

articulation.[69] They incorporated 36 sculptures most of them in the round, others in high relief, some in bas relief, while 22 frescoes are set into a complicated architectural framework that lacks a unifying aspect and conveys no structural continuity as it shows little correspondence with the walls below. The overall effect of the vault of the Altemps chapel is, at the same time, overwhelming and confusing. Legibility has been sacrificed to decorative opulence. **[fig. 55]**

Domenichino, we know, studied the Altemps chapel. Some of his motifs, like putti placed on the ceiling cornice, clearly originate from there; however, he dramatically reduces the number of sculptural elements of the vault to twelve while, at he same time enlarging them, thus emphasising legibility. This point is well illustrated by the gilded *ignudi* supporting the oval frescoes in the corners of the vault of the Altemps chapel. **[fig. 55]** Variations of the motif are frequent around the turn of the seventeenth century, smaller stucchi appear in the pendentives and the soffits of the arches of the Paoline chapel, while the feigned terms of the Galleria Farnese provide further examples. Domenichino, as we have seen, already had sketched that idea in 1616 for the Stanza di Apollo. **[fig. 24]** In this case a likeness in pose and location suggests that Domenichino's atlantes are triggered by the *ignudi* of the Altemps chapel but he employs much more monumental and classicised atlantes to achieve that task in similar poses.[70] **[figs. 55, 59]**

More importantly, their fictive supporting function is clearly expressed in architectural terms. Unlike the Altemps *ignudi* they are not placed on shells, they have instead become part of an overall architectural concept, a support structure of rising pilasters, continued by the atlantes and terminating in elongated Corinthian capitals that support the frame of the vault's central panel. Vertical continuity

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[69] Friedel, Helmut, 'Die Cappella Altemps in S. Maria in Trastevere', in Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 17, 1978, p. 93 Friedel identified Pompeo del'Abate as the stuccatore for the Altemps chapel.

[70] Spear, Richard, 'A Forgotten Domenichino Chapel', in Burlington Magazine, CXI, no. 790, (Jan.1969), p.19:
The small stuccoes in Longhi's ceiling perhaps motivated Domenichino to include his own eight statues, yet their monumentalisation was an original solution perfectly suited to a clarifies decorative scheme.

involving order and sculptural figures has a precedent at the original site of the Roman *Colonna Rostrata*, where grotesques placed in the corners of the vault from 1572 link the order with the central panel. While the conceptual similarity suggests that Domenichino may have reworked this source, the vertical continuity in the Capella della Strada Cupa is broken by the continuous entablature as it is in the Altemps chapel. We know from his architectural sketches that Domenichino prefers salient entablatures in such a context; perhaps here he was constrained by the canons' directives. An underlying concept of the integration of architecture and sculpture into a structurally logical whole is nonetheless clearly present here but absent in the Altemps chapel. Domenichino manages to realise his personal style in this regard as vertical continuity and the integration of architecture and sculpture are favourite themes in his architectural thinking. Quite frequently he likes to combine these themes, variations of which appear in contemporary sketches for the Stanza di Apollo, the Sant'Ignazio proposals, in some of the twenty church facades and in the Porfirio chapel in San Lorenzo in Miranda. In the Cappella della Strada Cupa, however, the corner pilasters are not continued above the entablature, unless Domenichino had planned a pictorial solution to remedy that inconsistency.

When seen *di sotto in su* the clarity of Domenichino's architectural articulation of the vault is striking. **[fig. 60]** The atlantes, the ribs and the cornice of the central panel form the shape of an eight-pointed star with a square central panel that replaces the overly complex compartmentalisation which obscures the architecture proper of the Altemps vault. Clearly he re-employs sections of Longhi's framework, but he manages to resolve the crowded and awkward decoration of the corners of the Altemps vault, by replacing it with an ordered unity that frames, separates and enhances architectural elements like ceiling, corners and lunettes. These fifteen surfaces were most likely meant to form one illusionary space beyond this framework. All modern authorities, who discussed the chapel, agree that such an illusionist scheme is the most likely treatment for these panels. Even if one longs to find more concrete evidence the intention for such a fresco work seems to be confirmed by the only executed triangular field which shows a soaring cherub raising his hand holding Marian roses on his flight towards the central

panel.[71] Given the event that occasioned the building of the chapel it is reasonable to assume that this pictorial field was to contain an image of a heavenly sphere dominated by the Virgin Mary, perhaps the Assumption.[72] An alternative sketch in the Windsor Castle Collection enforces this point as it shows a different solution with an octagonal central panel, a choice that would have mirrored the shape of Domenichino's earlier central panel depicting the Assumption in the nave of the same church. **[fig. 61]** Cati's central fresco of the Altemps chapel also depicts an image of the assumption. Incidentally since his ovals in the upper reaches of the Altemps vault portray the four Evangelists, it is conceivable that Domenichino reserved the roundels above the windows in his study for the vault for the same motif. **[fig. 62]** On first impression this seems to contradict the argument made above; however, the Galleria Farnese has instances where illusionist spaces disappear behind *quadri riportati.* Alternatively this sketch does not necessarily represent the final solution as is the case in Sant'Andrea della Valle where a detailed sketch includes roundels in the lunettes that do not feature in the executed choir. **[fig. 46]**

Within the vault only the windows and their decorative frame work show close affinities with those in the Altemps chapel. The reason could be that they form independent entities separate from the vaulting system. The preparatory study for the vault supports that view. The focus is here primarily on the figurative elements and then on the ribs and capitals, while the window space is left blank. **[fig. 62]** Although the rich scrolls and fruit garlands of the windows of the earlier chapel stood model they are reordered and toned down.

The overall picture that emerges from a comparison of the chapels shows that Domenichino's *'bel composto'* of architecture, sculpture and painting was heavily constrained by the patron's wish to replicate the pre-existing Altemps chapel. Nevertheless he seems to have deliberately incorporated some decorative elements like the *ignudi,* the placement of the *putti* and the framework for the windows, the square ceiling panel and the ribs framing the lunettes. In each case these elements

[71] Perhaps this was meant to be part of a scheme for the small triangular spaces involving images of other Marian symbols like the Turris davidica, Turris eburea, Janua coeli and Speculum iustitiae, which form part of the decorative scheme of the Altemps Chapel.
[72] Spear Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 96.

are subjected to principles of clarity and simplification to achieve greater legibility and an integration of architecture, sculpture and painting. This decisive architectural reordering of the entire chapel hinges on one core feature, namely, the atlantes that on one hand allow for vertical continuity, while on the other are crucial elements for a logical compartmentalisation of the vault.

Furthermore he sets out to contextualise individual motifs through repetition in the lower and upper range of the chapel and by animating them with a sense of movement. In this way Domenichino endeavoured to unify the entire space of the chapel. While some motifs are gleaned from the Altemps chapel, his objectives are very different. He replaces multiplicity and opulence with legibility, order and structural logic. Each individual component is modified to achieve this general aim. The underlying principle of the overall composition is the unity of parts instead of the multiplicity of motifs that is so typical of the late Cinquecento, thus the Capella della Strada Cupa employs the language of the emerging Baroque. We will see later how this can be related to comparable developments in other schemes by Domenichino and to painting schemes devised by his teacher Annibale.

In the event he classicises the entire scheme and in this respect evokes his own earlier decorative scheme of the nave ceiling. This concerned the highly classicised hybrid motifs of putti and acanthus scrolls that are typical of Roman antiquity and the unexecuted idea of an octagonal central panel. His idea of contextualisation thus goes beyond the confines of the Altemps chapel. Through repetition hybrid motifs as well as statues are contextualised in order to establish ornamental themes that are modified throughout the chapel. In the process Domenichino introduces the concept of *contrapposto* in the sense of counter movements in order to imbue the overall scheme with dynamism.

So what significance has the Altemps chapel in terms of an imitative strategy? Wherever Domenichino has free rein in his design choices, some aspects of the compartmentalisation and the sculptural program of this chapel certainly formed the basis for his design. However, these are just points of departure of minor

significance for the imitative process in the sense that they offer only possible formal solutions for dealing with a specific set of spatial circumstances. He adopts them because he must have regarded them as valuable elements for his own very different ideas. These sources are simply appropriated to a completely different strategy on which they have no deeper impact. In fact as a source they are almost lost in the process of modification. On a more fundamental level Domenichino's imitative thinking was concerned with sources completely independent from the Altemps chapel. The crucial features of the Cappella della Strada Cupa are based mainly on Roman classicism in terms of the combination of atlantes with orders and hybrid decorations. Possible sources for the first feature are the side porticos of the Forum Augustus. The use of monumentalised atlantes figures as part of the vault decoration has also more recent precedents in Daniele da Volterra's vault of the Stanza di Cleopatra in the Vatican and Mazzoni's Galeria degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Spada. However, unlike classical Roman precedents the statues of these vaults are purely decorative (and perhaps symbolic), devoid of any architectural function. Raphael's vaults of the Logge del Vaticano and even Galleria Farnesina provide good precedents for the introduction of the illusionary space set beyond a compartmentalising framework. The framing of the corners with atlantes has a precedent in Annibale Carracci's atlantes in the vault of the Galleria Farnese. In each of these vaults the compartmentalised framework is executed in fresco only. Given the architectural nature of the framework in the Cappella della Strada Cupa, Domenichino's own design for the apse of Sant'Andrea della Valle is crucially significant. The aforementioned hybrid decoration has precedents in motifs taken from the sarcophagus of Santa Costanza originally situated in the church of Santa Costanza and, more specifically, in the decoration of a fragment from the frieze of the Temple of Vespasian belonging to the antique collection in the Villa Aldobrandini to which Domenichino had close connections. **[fig. 63]**

Nevertheless, in order to get insight into his imitative techniques the Altemps chapel is important, because we can see how certain features are assimilated while others become entirely obsolete. Its compartmentalisation is clarified and simplified into one defined shape, variations on a theme replace multiplicity, sculptures are monumentalised, classicised and beautified, its architecture is recast according to structurally logical principles while overly elaborate elements like its

corner articulation are radically simplified. Again all these techniques and all the choices made point towards an imitative strategy that took hold in Domenichino's thinking long before this particular project started. The Cappella della Strada Cupa is thus based on more fundamental sources than the Altemps Chapel. It originates instead in Roman classicism and Renaissance precedents and an integrated understanding and application of the three visual arts. The resulting design for the Cappella della Strada Cupa is therefore intended to be entirely different from the Altemps chapel. Despite the constraints imposed by his patrons on Domenichino the Cappella della Strada Cupa can be viewed as an apt example for an imitative process where the best part of many good precedents are forged together to form a novel work of art.

It is a testament to Domenichino's abilities that he was chosen as architect, designer and painter to build the biggest and most important chapel in Rome at that time, which furthermore had the distinction to be initiated by Pope Urban VIII. Had it been finished it would have preceded by at least thirteen years a similar *'bel composto'* vault like Cortona's Sala di Giove in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence where architecture, sculpture and painting are unified with similar structural clarity and illusionist effect. **[fig. 64]**

When analysing Domenichino's interiors Annibale Carracci's *camerino* and the Galleria Farnese offer themselves as ideal points of departure. The latter was his first participation in a Roman commission and both interiors certainly left a mark on Domenichino's subsequent projects whether executed or not. They are important sources that triggered his fondness for fictive and real *stucchi* of atlantes, caryatids, terms, grotesques, rinceaux, ignudi, putti and mascheroni. Furthermore decorative schemes like Michelangelo's Sistine chapel and Raphael's interior of the Logge and the Galleria Farnesina, which had already influenced Annibale, also had directly and indirectly a great impact on Domenichino. He adopted these sources by transferring them into spatial schemes that combine painting, relief decoration, sculpture and architecture. In early commissions like the Palazzo Giustiniani his work is still in the vein of Annibale, but in the contemporary Cappella dei Santi Fondatori he is already

exploring architecture both real and fictive.[73] Feigned statues of patriarchs are set here into the feigned architectural niches and a variation of this pictorial method reappears in the setting of the virtues of Sant'Andrea della Valle. Moreover real and fictive architecture respond to each other across the chapel between the Triumphal arch and the Serliana. This ambiguity is already exploited and marks the beginning of a theme that recurs in the sketches for the Stanza di Apollo and sculpturally in the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle, where the feigned *ignudi* of the lunettes become statues in the round seated on the window architraves. In the chapel most figures are still painted in the *trompe l'oeil* style placed within a fictive architectural setting; six years later however his sketches for the Stanza di Apollo Domenichino introduce for the first time an atlante in full relief and relief decoration into the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Subsequent projects strive for an equilibrium of painting, relief decoration, sculpture and architecture culminating in the project for the unfinished Capella della Strada Cupa, where these visual arts were to be subordinated and unified into one scheme of structural clarity and illusionist effect.

Illusionism is a recurring theme in his interiors which manifests itself in different ways. Apart from exploring the ambiguity between real and fictive architecture, we also find instances of illusionist spaces set beyond a real architectural framework that forms the boundary between an actual interior and a fictive space beyond, a common feature at this time. In one of the sketches for the Stanza di Apollo, painted mythological Arcadian scenes are seen through the architectural screen of Ionic pilasters articulating the side walls. Here, as well as in the realised *stanza,* Domenichino's mythological landscape settings become as real as Mount Parnassus and the little gods spill through the architectural frame of a triumphal arch into the real space of the hall.

Had the vault of the Cappella della Strada Cupa been completed it is quite likely that the architectural framework of ribs and atlantes would have communicated the real space with illusionary heavenly sphere beyond. Variations of the theme are

[73] The Oratory of Sant'Andrea al Celio is a another apt example if we accept the feigned architectural scheme as Domenichino's work

Sant'Andrea della Valle where the vertical thrust of pilasters, ribs and atlantes culminate in the heavenly sphere of Saint Andrew in Glory at the apex of the choir. The pendentives and the cupola of the Cappella dei SS. Fondatori in the Grottaferrata is a parallel example that also points to Raphael's Chigi chapel as an influential precedent. To an extent the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere can be cited, albeit, however, as a less evolved example. Through the golden crystalline coffers with star shapes we would have seen originally a sky blue background, the colour that dominates the central *di sotto in su* octagon of the Assumption.

This ceiling is also exemplary for another form of illusionism. Its multidirectional geometrical pattern is designed to give the impression of infinite continuity beyond the boundaries of the nave. In principle this idea is already manifest in the dado of the nave of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori. As in the nave ceiling the cartouche containing the Farnese lily is cut in half at the point where it disappears behind the Serliana, a continuation of the motif seems to be suggested here too.

In his articulation of solids Domenichino respects the integrity of individual architectural members. The comparison between the Cappella della Strada Cupa and the Altemps chapel shows how architectural members that are obscured in the earlier project were emphasised in Domenichino's scheme. In the case of the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle the independence of the bay and the apse decoration is emphasised. As a result the bay articulation could be multiplied as a separate entity throughout the entire nave in the early twentieth century. The horizontal divisions take account of windows and make optimal use of the fresco cycle in relation to the curvature of the apse. Much earlier windows were also integrated into the feigned architectural setting of the nave in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori. In decorative terms this awareness for integration is reflected in the ample decoration of the shape of coffers and panels with ornamental motifs. This is best illustrated by the nave ceiling in Santa Maria in Trastevere where the complicated geometry of the coffers is cleverly filled with appropriately shaped decorative motifs. The panels of the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle echo this, as relief motifs like the angels are further adorned

by additional ornament. However, the most successful panels here are those of the sphinxes surrounding the *peltae*.

In Domenichino's schemes figurative and decorative motifs are evenly mixed and the human figure and acanthus ornament are key elements. Besides their antique and religious connotations, such decorative schemes act as visual embellishment celebrating the patron of a given project. Their multiple variations that are based on antique, Renaissance and Annibalesque precedents ensure the variety that is prescribed by Serlio and they are often fused into hybrid motifs.[74] In some cases, particularly in the Cappella della Strada Cupa they interact and thus introduce movement into the overall scheme. In this instance they even perform an architectural function as nodal points for the vault ribs and the picture frame of the central panel.

The human figure is an essential component in many of Domenichino's architectural schemes. Caryatids and atlantes, terms, putti, ignudi and grotesques populate Annibale Carracci's vaults, while in Domenichino's project they often step out of the walls and vaults to become either relief or sculptures in the round, populating a variety of architectural members like pediments, friezes, niches or decorative panels. While internal stucco figure sculpture is already common since the sixteenth century Domenichino's solutions are interesting through the integration of caryatids and atlantes into an architectural scheme of vertical continuity. The most notable example is the Cappella della Strada Cupa but this tendency manifests itself for the first time in one of the proposals for the Stanza di Apollo where an atlante is set against a respond pilaster, is prevalent in the proposed *stanza* for the Ludovisi and is modified in Sant'Andrea della Valle.

As part of the sculptural approach to walls and vaults Domenichino includes orders. In the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori they range from feigned stucchi to pilasters to

[74] Hart,Vaughan & Hicks, Peter, Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture, Vol. I, New Haven, London, 1996, p. 381

freestanding columns; one of the sketches for the Stanza di Apollo seems to be the first example of vertical continuity, where order and statues are integrated over two storeys. In the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle the clustered pilasters were already in existence, but Domenichino is careful to continue each individual member of the clusters into the vault.

Contextualisation is expressed in a variety of ways in these projects. In the Cappella della Strada Cupa and the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle contextualisation was required by circumstances. Nevertheless in both cases Domenichino chooses to integrate further aspects of contextualisation. In the latter, plasticity, colour and light are means to express a consideration for sightlines and for the backdrop to the pendentives. The frieze of the chapel references the *rinceaux*, the putti of the cornice in the nave ceiling in Santa Maria in Trastevere and the first proposal for the vaulting, which also included the octagonal panel of the nave's Assumption. The M-shaped Greek cross and the eight-pointed star in the nave ceiling are symbolic forms that recall the floor design of the Stanza di Apollo in the Villa Aldobrandini. The Greek cross in the wooden ceiling of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori and the assimilation of the Porta Santa into its architecture are reminders of the long Greek tradition of the abbey as well as the importance of its cemetery within that tradition. **[figs. 13, 4]** Other early examples of contextualisation of an architectural motif is the double triglyph framing the main portal of the Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi, perhaps designed by Antonio da Sangallo, the Younger, that Domenichino incorporated into his ceiling decoration of the *salone* **[fig. 9]** and the feigned Corinthian capitals inside Sant'Andrea al Celio, which match Ponzio's real columns of the façade articulation. **[fig. 16]**

Annibale had a lasting influence, as a source for imitation, on Domenichino's interiors. In his imitative strategies he interpreted Annibale's illusionist pictorial schemes in sculptural and architectural terms. In the case of the nave ceiling in Santa Maria in Trastevere, however he ultimately fell back on sources with antique connotations, the Sangallos, Serlio and perhaps elements of the floor design in the Stanza di Apollo, a contemporary Aldobrandini building project. Fusion of these

sources led to a unique composition that leaves mannerism behind and can be placed firmly in the emerging baroque. Fusion is also the imitative strategy behind the sketches for the Stanza di Apollo. Raphael's Galleria Farnesina, Peruzzi's Sala delle Prospettive, the Villa Giulia and Annibale's Galleria Farnese are all discernible in the three alternative sketches. Apart from the Galleria Farnese they are all the same building type as the Stanza di Apollo itself, a choice that is unusual for Domenichino who likes to transfer features across different building types. An example for this is the entire treatment of some of the doors in Peruzzi's Sala delle Prospettive that resurfaces twice in a modified feigned stucco version in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori.

In this chapel it is the fusion of generic architectural prototypes like the Triumphal arch, the Serliana and the cupola that form the back-bone of its articulation. In Sant'Andrea della Valle Raphaelesque decoration, like the peltae taken from the Logge del Vaticano, is transformed through relief and monumentalisation and fused with Ponzio's arches from the Paoline chapel and putti that play puns on the patron's name and make symbolic reference to St.Andrew. Monumentalisation of motifs as imitative strategy appears elsewhere in Santa Maria in Trastevere: once in the Cappella della Strada Cupa where the *ignudi* of the Altemps chapel become large atlantes and once in the nave where the eight-pointed star of the coat of arms is monumentalised to a geometrical unit of the ceiling design.

Contextualising Domenichino's interior proposals offers an insight into his desire to unify painting, relief decoration, sculpture and architecture with a finely-tuned sense of order, symmetry and balance. He employs imitative strategies based on iconic sources from the antique to his own time. Through fusion of sources, illusionist effects, sculptural treatment of solids, contextualisation and monumentalisation he finds formal solutions of great clarity. At the heart of his ornamental schemes is the human figure and the orders which sometimes architecturally are fused to units of vertical continuity. As Domenichino matures his schemes gain in clarity. At the same time they become bolder and more refined. A comparison between the stucco relief of the sanctuary in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori and the Cappella della Strada

Cupa makes that clear. **[figs. 6, 60]** All of his projects however, are imbued with a feeling for human scale and betray great attention to detailing. They are testimony to the capability of an architect who overcame the architectural conventions of the late mannerist period and at times was able to anticipate the architectural vocabulary of the emerging baroque.

Monuments

Only a few instances provide any evidence of Domenichino's authorship of architectural - sculptural works. The wall monuments, the altar and the portal discussed in this chapter all belong to this category. The earliest of these is the tomb monument in St. Pietro in Vincoli for the Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi. The Cardinal died on the 27 April 1605 and his younger brother, Domenichino's friend and host, Giovanni Battista Agucchi commissioned this monument shortly thereafter and it was completed in the year 1606. **[fig. 65]** Domenichino's responsibility for the monument was first recorded by Mancini, followed by Baglione, Bellori, Malvasia and Passeri.[75]

Compared with other early seventeenth century tomb monuments, its well ordered, clearly legible composition indicates a great degree of classical clarity. The overall composition is that of an astylar double aedicule projecting in three planes and containing a niche placed on a plinth decorated *all'antica*. The niche contains a commemorative panel with a shell set into its arch. In place of keystone there is an angel/corbel hybrid motif. The outer triangular pediment of this double aedicule contains the inner broken pediment which terminates in scrolls leaving room for an oval portrait of the cardinal framed by a laurel wreath and flanking sphinxes.

Both Spear and Curcio remark that the simplicity, clarity and the antique and Renaissance influences in the detailing, set Domenichino's work apart from the multiplicity of motifs of contemporary monuments.[76] Beyond a general outline of motifs neither of them discuss the intriguing aspects that point towards sources important in Domenichino's design both in the case of this tomb monument and in

[75] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p.147
[76] Ibid, & Curcio, Giovanna, 'Le contradizzioni del metodo II. L'architettura esatta di Domenichino' Domenichino, Milan, 1996, p.151

general. Most important is the parti of a double aedicule which projects in three planes and features an inner broken pediment terminating in volutes. Derived from Michelangelo's Porta Pia this motif is here radically revised. **[fig. 66]** None of Michelangelo's subversive motifs survives; neither the "capitals" of the pilasters, the overblown guttae with the blank salient blocks above, nor the exaggerated volutes and the hovering inscription panel that explodes its framework, or the arch decoration with its mask-like re-interpretation of a Diocletian window. Michelangelo's deliberate ambiguity between stylar and astylar is resolved here in favour of decidedly astylar articulation. The fluted pilasters are transformed into pilaster panels void of any suggestion of an order.

Despite reinstating a much more canonic vocabulary, remnants of Michelangelo's techniques are still palpable in some small details. The relative flat arch of the niche echoes that of the Porta Pia and this flatness is heightened by the inscription panel "hanging" above the imposts. This suggests that the panel is too tall for its frame, an effect that might have been derived from Michelangelo's oversized inscription panel. Another Michelangelesque precedent that expresses the same idea albeit more radically, is the shouldered frames hanging from the aediculae above the doorways in the Medici chapel in San Lorenzo in Florence. **[fig. 67]**

Given the solemn nature of the tomb monument, its decoration had to express propriety. Instead of the subversive composition involving a mascherone and remnants of a Diocletian window, a shell and the angel/corbel hybrid motif decorate the arch and its apex. The shell motif is of course common but in the context of the Porta Pia as source its presence in the pediments of the side windows of the city gate should be pointed out. The scrolls bracketing the Porta Pia do not appear in the tomb monument, perhaps because Domenichino re-located them, as it were, onto the upper part of the pilaster strips. Moreover he diminishes the exaggerated spin of Michelangelo's volutes to a calmer and gentler movement.

In the tomb monument the Michelangelesque parti is fused with ornament *all'antica* and from the Renaissance. With its Roman shield depicting the Agucchi arms, the bucrania linked by festoons to the sheep heads and the ribbons the overall decoration renders the plinth with the characteristics of an antique sarcophagus.

The sphinxes guarding the oval portrait of the defunct cardinal fill the space of the tympanum organically. They also appear inside the double aedicule framing the portal of the church facade I C, the closest variation of this theme but the façades I E and II E also explore variations of the motif in their upper pediments. **[figs. 132, 110, 140]** This tomb monument is Domenichino's earliest manifestation of fusing a Michelangelesque scheme with the antique sources. In the process he subjects Michelangelesque subversion to the conventions of classicism, something that develops into a recurring imitative technique in his architectural thinking; nevertheless residual elements of the source are still perceptible. Michelangelo's powerful subversion of the classical vocabulary is replaced by harmony, decorum and classical equilibrium.

A vertical axis established by the family coat of arms, the inscription panel, the winged angel culminating in the oval portrait add a narrative dimension and suggest a reading of the monument as a celebratory metaphor of the death, life and salvation of the virtuous cardinal. The tomb monument is composed of the three visual arts of painting, sculpture (some of which Domenichino is said to have executed himself) and architecture, a characteristic of Domenichino that resurfaces in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Sant'Andrea della Valle, and La Cappella della Strada Cupa.

In 1608-09 during Domenichino's work on Odoardo Farnese's commission of for the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata, Giovanni Battista Agucchi outlined in six of his letters different design options for a wall monument commemorating his

brother the Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi in the Bolognese church of San Giacomo Maggiore. **[fig. 21]** Domenichino was his chosen designer, but, due to his absence from his native city, Agucchi passed his drawings on to Ludovico Carracci who most likely executed them with the help of his assistants. This might explain some uncharacteristic features like the painted eagle-festoon motif of the frieze.

Given that the side entrance to the church leads into this bay difficulties of a spatial nature arose that were further compounded by the limited financial resources of the Agucchi family (this also explains the modestly sized tomb monument for Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi in his titular church of St. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome). In light of such constrictions some of Domenichino's early proposals for this project were deemed unfeasible even if Giovanni Battista Agucchi approved of them on aesthetic grounds. Unfortunately none of the drawings referred to in the six letters is extant, although one large drawing in Windsor Castle comes quite close to the executed version. **[fig. 68]** During the planning for this monument neither Agucchi nor Domenichino was in Rome, a circumstance that led to some insightful architectural deliberations contained in Agucchi letters which relate to this particular monument and generally to the manner of the ancients. Most of this has already been addressed in the literature, particularly by Spears, but I would like to raise further aspects relevant to this discussion on imitation.[77]

The first of the letters dated 3 of January 1609, states that Domenichino had prepared a number of drawings for the project. In a second letter from the 7th January 1609 Agucchi praises the best drawing

> "...even if it will be more expensive than the others: but it is a substantial project, because of the pilasters and the correct arches that carry the load, and it is noble because of the rich ornamentation, and it is in keeping with the stucco ornamentation above- in all it conforms with the Antique....The decoration in the spandrels above the vault is varied; I like the putti who are playing, and also the Fames- Fames and Victories were used in ancient arches to decorate such areas. Domenichino would like to make two historiated bas-relief for the side of

[77] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, pp. 151

> the chapel, but although they would be good I do not want to give up the idea of putting here two statues of Honour and Glory... Domenichino designed another one... with pilasters directly under the architrave, without vaults; it would look weak because of the great distance between the pilasters."[78]

Since Spear's translation of Agucchi's letter, as published by Malvasia, is reliable I decided to use it for reasons of clarity. Some of Agucchi's descriptive detail for example "*pilastri sotto l'architrave*" is unnecessary and the use of the term *cappella* a misnomer for what is essentially a side entrance nevertheless Agucchi's overall description allows at least a glimpse into the earlier stage of the design process. What can be gleaned from the letter is too sketchy to provide a fully developed scheme. When considering, however the spatial restrictions imposed by the door, Agucchi's references to the antique and Domenichino's overall architectural and ornamental vocabulary, some conclusions about Agucchi's description of Domenichino's proposal can be made. Agucchi mentions that the articulation conforms as a whole and in parts to antiquity and that it consists of arches, widely spaced pilasters, rich ornament including putti and allegorical figures of fame placed in spandrels.

Given the presence of the portal this could refer only to the space above it, the lower level signifying the space below and the upper level the arch above the entablature. A later drawing in Windsor Castle that is unrelated to this early proposal and closely resembles the executed project seems to support this interpretation since it depicts only that area. Caution, however, should prevail in this regard as Domenichino's idea for a bas relief decoration of the lower side wall is also mentioned although not as part of the drawing.[79] Agucchi's letter written on the 8th of November 1609 also mentions the inclusion of caryatids.

The most important point Agucchi makes about this unexecuted scheme is that "in all it conforms with the antique." With that in mind certain aspects of this description can be related to different contemporary designs by Domenichino, the use of arches, the rich ornamentation, the decoration of the spandrels with Fame and Victory; the

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[78] Ibid, p. 152

[79] Mavasia, Carlo, Cesare, Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Conte Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Bologna, 1841, tomo secondo, p. 234: Dai lati della cappella sarebbe piacciuto a Domenichino che si fossero fatte due istoriatte per lato basso rilievo...

historiated bas relief recalls the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata, particularly its west wall. Playing putti are plentiful in the Galleria Farnese and are a prominent feature of later commissions by Domenichino like Sant'Andrea della Valle or even more prominently the Capella della Strada Cupa. That such motifs were considered at this early stage highlights at once the consistency of Domenichino's ornamental vocabulary as well as his indebtedness to Annibale Carracci.

The pilasters placed directly under the architrave that are mentioned by Agucchi in the letter from the 7th of January 1609 also appear in Grottaferrata, albeit in *trompe l'oeil*. Domenichino makes the width of the inscription panel equal to that of the portal below and furthermore creates the illusion of a continuous Ionic fluted pilaster order disappearing behind the panel. As we have seen the wall frescoes in the oratory of Sant'Andrea al Celio, a contemporary project the visual strategy of obscuring motifs is also applied in this case with a hooked up canvas placed in front of double orders framing side chapels. **[fig. 16]** By solving the spatial constraints resulting from the existing shallow porch Domenichino turns a problem into a virtue. Ignoring Agucchi's doctrinal antique taste and convention he places pilasters above niches in the side bays. As in Grottaferrata the spaces are filled with statues but the feigned stucchi there are replaced by a real scheme. The pilaster order is wrapped around the corner resulting in pilasters placed above niches. With reference to one of Domenichino's proposals Agucchi asserts in his letter from the 8th of November 1609 that placing niches below pilasters would be an error of architecture, even though in some ancient buildings -but not from the good centuries– it had been done.[80] Evidently Agucchi got his niches with the statues of Honour and Fame in the lower range and despite Agucchi's disapproval Domenichino got his way too concerning the un-classical combination of pilasters and niches. Perhaps he could convince Agucchi with the argument that in the face of the spatial constraints, compromise was necessary or else he managed to convince his mentor that the bad centuries were not that bad after all. Reminders perhaps of Raphael's precedent concerning the vertical alignment of orders and niches in the Palazzo Branconio al Borgo or Bramante's earlier *cortile* of Santa Maria della Pace might have helped his cause. **[figs. 69, 70]**

[80] Ibid, p. 152

Above impost level we see a pelta displaying the Agucchi insignia of ox and eagle surmounted by a gilded oval displaying a bust of the defunct cardinal. Reclining figures lean against the pelta while the statues of justice and strength support the oval. Echoing the interplay of pilaster order and inscription panel below, layering is again introduced by setting painted scenes into segments that are partially obscured by the ensemble in front of it. This division of the arch into segments placed on either side of a projecting sculptural element should be noted. Ultimately derived from the motif of a Diocletian window the source was modified to introduce a centrally placed sculptural component.

In light of the influence of the Porta Pia on the Agucchi Tomb monument in Rome, it should be pointed out that a modification of a Diocletian window also appears in the arch of the city gate albeit in a much more confrontational and uncompromising composition typical of Michelangelo. Domenichino seems to have considered the motif and in doing so imbued it with a sense of decorum and ennoblement, mirroring his treatment of the Porta Pia as a source for the Agucchi tomb in Rome. If one takes into consideration that the Agucchi chapel is also an entrance the likely connection with the Porta Pia gains further significance.

The coffers of the soffit of the chapel are decorated with acanthus scrolls and acanthus-putti hybrid motifs *all'antica* typical of Domenichino's decorative vocabulary. Under the two lower side niches containing the statues of Honour and Fame are the emblems that "*reiterate the symbolic meaning of the two personifications.*"[81] An insightful difference of opinion emerges between Agucchi and Domenichino in a letter from the 31st of January 1609 in relation to ornament placed at low level. In response to Agucchi's expressed concern for possible damage to stucco reliefs in a low position, Domenichino replies that one cannot make plans on that basis,

[81] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 152

> "grand and noble projects must be carried out in their decoration without concern for the occurrence of an accident. In the Vatican Logge the stuccoes are very well preserved, despite the traffic of people and the indiscretions of the lower classes... the Ancients used them on public facades, as on the Colosseum.... which remain complete in some section despite the centuries of wear and so many thousands of destructive barbarians." [82]

Domenichino also pointed out that if some of the lower parts should become damaged, then the upper ones, by contrast, would seem all the finer. And with a remarkable appreciation of ruins, he added that Annibale placed broken stuccoes in the Galleria Farnese even where they could not have gotten damaged, and those would not be made more beautiful if repaired.[83] Clearly artistic precedent (in this case Annibale's Galleria Farnese) and the aesthetic appeal of natural decline resonated more with Domenichino's artistic sensibilities than any theoretical concerns.

Another letter dating from the 5th of December 1609 mentions the option of caryatids.[84] Obviously the caryatid design was not executed, but it evinces Domenichino's lifelong predilection for a motif that, as we have seen, would regularly appear in his later architectural ideas about vaults in his sketches for *stanze* for the Aldobrandini and the Ludovisi, Sant'Andrea della Valle, and the Cappella della Strada Cupa. Of the church facades sketch II F **[fig. 176]** offers the best example for the use of caryatids and its connection with the recently completed tomb monument of the Cappella Paolina is compelling. Given that the Bolognese project is also a commemorative wall monument, one wonders whether the lost caryatid design mentioned by Agucchi was also derived from the Paoline tomb monument. **[fig. 71]**

Atlantes are the most surprising feature in Domenichino's Porfirio altar in San Lorenzo in Miranda, the church of the "Nobile Collegio degli Aromatori o Speziali." **[fig. 72]** Giacomo Porfirio, a member of the society of Roman pharmacists donated 500 scudi for the decoration of the first chapel to the left of the nave. After his demise

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[82] ibid, p. 151

[83] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 152, see also: Malvasia, Cesare, Carlo, Felsina Pittrice, Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Conte Cesare Carlo Malvasia, tomo secondo, Bologna, 1841, p. 235

[84] ibid, p. 236 : ma per la strettezza del sito non gli occorse niente di migliore alla mente; o almeno io non giudicai le cose da lui proposte migliori dell'invenzione della Cariate.

in 1625 Domenichino was commissioned for the altar and its altar piece. Baglione and Passeri both state that the entire altar was designed by Domenichino.[85] Malvasia identified Jaques Sarrazin as Domenichino's collaborator who executed the two stucco atlantes.[86] The general layout of this modest altar is quite common, even conservative. Above the painting are a handsome cartouche and a single broken pediment terminating in volutes with reclining putti. They flank a square decorative panel with an oval image while a crowning shell and garlands along its sides soften the outline of the panel. What makes this altar exceptional in a Roman context is the novel combination of atlantes and columns. The ornate columnar shafts reach up to about a third of the distance from base to capital and they support refined atlantes that hold up Corinthian capitals with inverted acanthus foliage. The pattern of acanthus foliage on the shafts visually divides these columnar fragments roughly into two equal parts. The proportion of every element gives the overall composition a well balanced appearance that sets it apart from the Trinity chapel in Santo Spirito in Sassia, as Spear already pointed out, the only Roman altar that sets a precedent. **[fig. 73]** A comparison reveals the earlier altar's general lack of clarity and a clumsy treatment of the caryatids placed on crude looking corbels. There is, however an earlier secular example with a layout and ornamental vocabulary similar to Domenichino's in the Sala delle Quattro Stagioni in the Palazzo Spada Capodiferro in Rome. As in the Trinity chapel the overall articulation is imbued with the aesthetics of the later cinquecento and lacks the classical elegance of Domenichino's project. **[fig.74]**

Despite the overall conservative vocabulary the Porfirio altar has a pronounced classical refinement, balance and clarity. While the altar of the Porfirio chapel consolidates the established architectural and ornamental vocabulary, its character is nevertheless distinctly innovative simply through the fusion of two very common motifs of a column and atlantes into one. Almost identical atlantes figures appear in Sant'Andrea della Valle on either side of the fresco *St. Andrew adoring the Cross* which suggests that the mouldings for the statues were recycled and only the faces

[85] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 267
[86] Malvasia, Cesare, Carlo, Felsina Pittrice, Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Conte Cesare Carlo Malvasia, tomo secondo, Bologna, 1841, p. 339

were changed. This constitutes an occasion where Domenichino not only imitated but actually blatantly copied his own work; however when considering the changed context and the conceptional leap involved by fusing columns and atlantes, the result justifies the means, (even if the idea of adding a columnar fragment might have been born out of mere pragmatism).

Another commission from around 1628 (which incidentally is also closely linked to Maderno) is the Portal of the Palazzo Lancellotti in Rome, documented in three architectural drawings in Windsor Castle. Since Spear's discussion of the portal is comprehensive I will raise only a few aspects that are relevant for the subject of imitation.[87] **[fig. 75]** In 1590 Maderno began to design the Palazzo with its plain façade and Domenichino's much later portal is the only feature that gives relief to the otherwise unadorned facade. A tall rectangular portal is framed by a slightly-shouldered architrave that incorporates a relief panel above it. Brackets on either side soften the angular outline of this panel. Ionic columns on circular plinths form the outer frame that supports a balustraded balcony. Their capitals resemble Michelangelo's Ionic columns in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and, like those, they are alveolic, i.e. sunken into the wall, an idea that became standard practice with the generation of della Porta, Vignola and Maderno. The aggressive expression of the *mascherone* that forms part of the cartouche above the door also points towards Michelangelo's Porta Pia but equally, Domenichino's hybrid form incorporating *cornucopie* is probably influenced by Annibale's work in the Galleria Farnese and Domenichino, who was fond of the motif, had used it regularly in earlier projects. This *mascherone* motif underwent several changes including a replacement by a lion's face as can be seen in the Windsor castle drawings. Another drawing in Windsor Castle seems to be an earlier proposal which considered an arched entrance probably to reflect the tunnel vaulted entrance behind the façade and it lacks the alveolic character of the columns. Nor is there a *mascherone* and the plinths are square.

[87] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 97

Earlier circular plinths are a rarity but where they exist their shape seems to be born out of a practical concern to facilitate the turning of a corner by coaches. Milizia guesses that this was also the case at the Portal Lancellotti.[88] The most important features of the Portal Lancellotti are the alveolic columns that can be found in the arcade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and a series of church facades, but there is no precedent for the façade of a private dwelling incorporating that feature. Whether the Porta Pia is the only precedent for a *mascherone* above the main portal of a palazzo is hard to say, but its distinct character combined with its location suggest that it is the most likely source for the Palazzo's portal and it also appears in very similar style on the façade of the Vigna Ludovisi which early biographers also attributed to Domenichino.

Among the Domenichino drawings in Windsor Castle are three sketches depicting altars and wall monuments, which can not be identified with any particular commission. Since these studies have already been discussed by Pope-Hennesssy and Spear it is my intention to offer some additional observations that bring to light some features that were not yet identified and that give further insight into the imitative qualities of these monuments.[89] The first sketch, P.-H.1747, is a red chalk drawing of an aedicular composition with projecting paired Ionic columns placed on tall plinths on either side of a niche that contains a sarcophagus on a base which is decorated with an oval coat of arms supported by animals resembling wild boars. Putti in the spandrels lean over the architrave of the deep niche to support the paws of a dead lion. **[fig. 76]** Its pelt falls gently down onto the sarcophagus which supports the lion's paws. The entablature holds a cartouche with a *mascherone* which merges with the keystone of the arch. The broken pediment supports the reclining allegorical figures of Wisdom in guise of Minerva with her attributes of a double pointed spear, an owl and a shield and Justice with a spear on the right and it embraces a crowning square pedimented panel with an oval portrait flanked by winged terms.[90]

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[88] Ibid, p. 97
[89] Ibid, pp. 88-91
[90] The type of double-ended spear of the left figure is associated with Minerva, who is regarded as the goddess of wisdom. The hatched sketchy figure on Minerva's shoulder is shaped like a bird, which

Much of this compositional arrangement conforms to general trends of altar and tomb design that became established in late sixteenth-century Rome. An influential example is the altar of the Paoline chapel, which has a similar parti, although details like the plinths of the paired columns and the choice of order have been changed. **[fig. 77]** More profound modifications result from the difference in function which affects the articulation of its core feature. Instead of a venerated Marian image the niche contains a tomb monument. A niche (as well as the caryatids) appears also in the tomb monument for Pope Paul V with its triumphal arch connotations and it might have influenced this study. Aediculae containing arched niches are a favourite motif of Domenichino, which he uses in diverse contexts, as in his study for church facades or the Agucchi tomb monument in San Pietro in Vincoli. The latter, as we have seen, makes reference to Michelangelo and this study echoes aspects of the articulation of the sarcophagus in the Medici chapel. **[fig. 67]**

The most innovative and surprising feature takes centre stage. The putti, that reach down into the niche to pull up a shroud with an inscription, constitute a piece of drama and illusionism normally associated with later projects of Bernini; this dramatic moment is further enhanced by the downward movement of the cartouche fusing a *mascherone* with the keystone and the lion's head below. Nowhere in Domenichino's work do we find such an explicitly theatrical moment of illusionism where sculptural elements defy their architectural framework so radically and introduce a strong sense of movement and occasion independent of the architectural setting. This unique and strangely morbid motif of the lion's hide pulled up by putti suggests that the tomb monument may have been meant for Alessandro Perretti Cardinal Montalto, the patron of the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle who died on the 2nd of June 1623.[91] The lion is his family emblem and Domenichino's apse decoration showing an abundance of putti and lions is a playful reminder of the

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suggests the presence of an owl while her arm seems to be resting on a shield. Her headgear supports this interpretation. Neither Pope-Hennessy nor Spear has identified these figures.

[91] Hibbard, Howard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630, London, 1971, p. 146

Peretti-Montalto in the same church. This visual context suggests further that the tomb monument may have been intended for the Theatine church.

Alternatively the lion's hide suggests a herculean theme and this reading would relate the tomb monument to the Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, another important patron of Domenichino who died in 1621. This design might therefore depict a tomb monument for him.

The herculean theme is the key motif of the water theatre of the Villa Belvedere as a means of self-representation of the cardinal. Still existing are the pillars of Hercules, but his statue in the central niche with arms outstretched to take the sphere of heaven from Atlas' shoulders and the additional figures of a lion and a wild boar have all but vanished. **[fig. 78]** In this scheme the lion, the boar and the sphere of heaven symbolise the fortitude of soul and body and divine wisdom respectively. With reference to the theme's narrative and symbolic meaning Domenichino, who surely knew the entire project intimately as he contributed a fresco cycle to the Stanza di Apollo, a part of the water theatre, might have designed this tomb monument as a final chapter of a tale that was to represent Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. The wild boar might refer to the Erymanthian boar, although given the symbolism of the water theatre it could mean fortitude of the body. The lion's pelt readily suggests the Nemeian lion whose pelt made Hercules invulnerable but in this context it could be read as the fortitude of the soul while Minerva represents a parallel to the sphere of heaven symbolising Divine Wisdom.[92] In light of Steinberg's article a plausible meaning can be deduced from a vertical reading of the proposed tomb, suggesting the cardinal's apotheosis starting with the mere bodily existence at the base followed by the soul that has already risen (hence the pelt of a lion) to the heavenly sphere of divine wisdom and justice. There in juxtaposition to the wild boars flanking the coat of arms at the bottom angels flank the cardinal's image at the top of the monument. Perhaps such an iconography was requested as part of the commission for this design, perhaps Domenichino composed the sequence of motifs himself. Unfortunately the

[92] Steinberg, Ronald Martin, 'The Iconography of the Teatro dell'Aqua at theVilla Aldobrandini', in The Art Bulletin, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 458-460. Steinberg gives a detailed account of the herculean theme of the water theatre.

tomb monument was not executed and no conclusive attribution can be made for either scenario.

The coat of arms at the bottom and the portrait at the top composed of ovals and flanked by supporting animals are standard motifs in the expected places on the monument. A favourite motif, nevertheless, it has particular prominence in his study for an altar (P.-H. 1748). **[fig. 79]** Ovals appear three times, once as a crowning feature thus echoing the Agucchi tomb monument and twice with supporters over the side portals a combination applied in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori. **[figs. 65, 12]** Again an aedicule containing a niche is the centre piece, but this time the columns are placed on two different planes culminating in a double pediment of which the outer one is broken. Seated putti and reclining figures are sketched into the tympanum, seemingly representing alternatives, and the entire arrangement is set against an attic crowned with terminating statues. Scrolls and a pediment soften the angular outline of the crowning panel that contains the third oval image which is flanked by seated figures. In the centre of the arch is a square picture frame which is raised by a hovering angel and surrounded by twelve heads of angels or putti. In the corners at the base of the arch are two praying angels and a dome-shaped tabernacle is placed between them and below the venerated image. Some scribbles to its front could be interpreted as burning lights.

The whole composition including the twelve angel heads points towards a venerated image of Mary, Queen of Heaven at its centre. This is the core motif of the monument and it seems to echo the altar of the Paoline chapel where a similar angel raises the probably most venerated Roman Marian image from medieval times the Madonna "Salus Populi Romani", the saviour of the Romans. **[fig. 77]** There we find twelve golden rays and a dove above this painting attributed to Saint Luke and putti and angels support the image. Given the importance of the Paoline altar it is plausible that Domenichino consciously created a parallel but while he draws references from it, he sacrifices the opulent framework of the venerated image composed of putti, angels

and a sumptuous cornice to a restrained, clearly structured composition where every part is given a distinct role. The result is of a more immediate legibility.

Spear points out that the number "43" at the top of the sheet could indicate the intended height of the monument in palmi. On that basis he deliberates whether it could be an alternative proposal for Orazio Torriani's altar in Sant Agostino from 1626-28 which also incorporates a venerated image or for Santa Maria del Popolo. **[figs. 80, 81]** While both altars feature lateral doors that lead to the choirs behind they are somewhat different in height. Pentimenti in Domenichino's drawing suggest different alternatives concerning the height, in particular that of the lateral doors. Nevertheless the inclusion of a measurement suggests that he had a particular project in mind but, as Spear himself notes a clear attribution can not be made.[93]

Another unexecuted study for a wall monument is the Windsor Castle drawing *P.-H.1744 recto*. **[fig. 82]** It was to be inserted between two pilasters or columns and below a niche holding a statue. This smallish tomb monument reiterates an ornamental vocabulary known from other decorative schemes by Domenichino. The trophy-like shield, the relatively large inscription panel, the oval portrait framed by a wreath and, furthermore, alternative suggestions for a broken pediment involving a putto, a festoon and a shell, all appear in the tomb monument for Cardinal Agucchi, almost in the same vertical arrangement. The design of the inscription panel, however is unusual for Domenichino who mostly employs rectangles for that feature. This particular shape is similar to the window surrounds on the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne by Peruzzi or more likely the strap work of the decorative panels that form part of a programme in Fontainebleau. **[figs. 83, 84]** The latter would further support a French connection, perhaps established through Giovanni Battista Agucchi's influence; as a young man he belonged to the entourage of Cardinal Sega during his sojourn in France or else through du Cerceau's engravings that circulated in Rome in

[93] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 90

the early seventeenth century.[94] Probably the most likely source for matters of French design could have been the sculptor Jaques Sarrazin who collaborated with Domenichino on several projects during the 1620s. The reverse of the same sheet, however, offers a different solution; again not simply a square or rectangular panel but a *tabula ansata*, a popular form in Roman times where it was used in a variety of contexts including road signs and tomb monuments. It reappeared in the Renaissance tomb monuments and perhaps most famously in Raphael's painting *La Madonna di Foligno.***[figs. 85, 86]**

As mentioned in the introduction, Galli cites a book, now lost, of "*penseri, d'Istorie, ornate, e architetture del Domenichino*" later owned by Marratta[95] that might have served him not only as an expanding compilation of motifs but also as a point of reference for projects, which would help to explain Domenichino's stylistic consistency throughout his Roman decades from his earliest identified commission, the Agucchi tomb monument in 1605-06 to his latest Roman work in the Cappella della Strada Cupa in 1629.

This study thus falls neatly into the pattern that repeatedly emerges from Domenichino's schemes. Conventional decorative elements often appear in certain contexts, trophies and peltae hold the family emblems, and, like ovals they are flanked by supporters. The latter are often located close to the apex of a given scheme while the former are more likely to be placed in lower positions. Grotesques form another decorative group where hybrid motifs of putti and acanthus scrolls introduce movement into a frieze or a cornice while mascheroni are fused with cartouches and coats of arms and are often placed above openings. Reclining figures crown pediments that are richly varied and they might be broken, doubled, triangular or segmental or mixture of these articulations. Decorative motifs are carefully selected so that they are organically compatible with the spaces they need to fill. While conventional Renaissance or all'antica compositions are often followed, solutions can

[94] Blunt, Anthony, 'Roman Baroque Architecture: The other side of the Medal', Art History, no. 1, 1980, p. 63
[95] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 89

also be very innovative. Based on traditional precedents are tympani containing shells, ovals and reclining figures and festoons, or spandrels containing putti or *all'antica* figures of fame and victory. Equally *all'antica* decoration of hybrid motifs or bucrania is chosen for sarcophagi, friezes, cornices and soffits. Novelty in the organic use of space, however is nowhere else more apparent than in Domenichino's studies for vases, candlesticks and a decorative panel. **[figs. 87, 88, 89]** Camel necks and heads offer an organic solution for the handle of a vase, while the conventional shape of a base of a candle stick is enriched with figurative elements like putti, maidens, harpies, *mascheroni* and festoons that at the same time exploit and adapt to the geometry of their architectural supports, most successfully in figures 87c and 89. Mostly conventional in themselves these Renaissance and *all'antica* motifs form compositions that are unconventional organic spatial explorations of objects that had not been decorated in such a way before. Jennifer Montaque cites the example of a pair of bronze candle sticks in Santo Spirito in Sassia that bear the arms of the order and of Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi and then speculates in light of the Windsor drawings, whether they can be attributed to Domenichino. She highlights the unique decoration of the candlesticks that involve harpies and putti.[96] **[fig. 88]**

Even if the decorative vocabulary itself may be well rehearsed, both the novel context and the unique twist in a given articulation provide a surprise element. In the Agucchi tomb monument the unexpected effect is the "hanging" inscription panel, in the commemorative monument; in Bologna it is the overlay and niche – order combination; in the Porfirio chapel it is the fusion of column and atlantes; and in the Portal Lancellotti it is the alveolic columns placed on a circular plinth. The Windsor drawing P.-H.1747 surprises in its high- baroque composition of putti breaking out of their architectural framework and raising a herculean lion's pelt from the sarcophagus to perform a *memento mori*. Spear's citation of Agucchi's praise for Domenichino "conforming to ancient practice" in this context has therefore to be qualified.[97] While it is true that the figures fill spandrels according to ancient custom the emphasis is on breaking this space and with it ancient rules. The vase with the Ludovisi coat of arms

[96] Montagu, Jennifer, Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry of Art, New Haven, London, 1992, p. 50
[97] Ibid. p. 89

and the base of a candlestick surprise by the organic assimilation of figurative elements to basic forms that support them.

In each case Domenichino fuses an *all'antica* vocabulary with modern forms and in doing so he strives for an ideal of beauty, decorum and ennoblement as a primary concern. The softening of hard edged geometric shapes is not only confined to the study of objects, but as we have seen, to aedicular monuments. Reclining figures, scrolls and festoons give them more sinuous outlines and the Porfirio altar shows that in many ways most surprisingly in the fusion of column and atlantes.

These projects are for the most part conventional with novelties confined to the treatment of individual motifs. These are never deconstructed in a Michelangelesque sense. Domenichino preserves a purely classical vocabulary. It is rather his compositional sense that introduces exciting and novel nuances. Examples are the "hanging" inscription panel of the Agucchi tomb monument or his numerous variations on pediments. More conventional free-standing columns, statues, arched niches and large inscription panels are dominant features in line with Domenichino's general articulation throughout his architectural output. Compositional clarity and regard for legibility are introduced to standard designs for altars and wall monuments. A completely new dimension to an established formula is the proposal for the tomb monument P.-H. 1747 where the crucial feature is expressed with a Berninesque sense of movement and drama **[fig.76]**.

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The Vigna

During the papacy of Gregory XV the cardinal's nephew Ludovico Ludovisi embarked on a series of building projects in Frascati, Castelgandolfo, Zagarolo and more importantly several others in Rome. One of them was the Vigna Ludovisi on the Pincio. **[fig. 90 a,b]** As evidence for Maderno's involvement in this project Hibbard produced in his book on the Ticinese architect signed plans and evaluations for masonry, although he does not dismiss claims by Baglione that attribute to Domenichino the architecture of the "Palazzo Grande" (i.e. the Villa Ludovisi). Following speculation that Maderno might have executed Domenichino's designs Hibbard states that "no other building by Maderno employs this vocabulary and its individual components are not necessarily his."[98] Cardinal Ludovisi initiated the construction of the building in July 1621.[99] Between the 15th of May and the 15th of November of 1621 Domenichino was paid as "architetto di Palazzo (Apostolico, my addition)" 140 "ducati d'oro" divided into monthly instalments of 25 "ducati d'oro" "per sua provisione del presente mese."[100] Perhaps these payments are simply a monthly salary, but, given their timing it might be more than a coincidence; they could well be linked to the provision of designs for the façade and the interior of the Vigna. One drawing for the decoration of a room with the Ludovisi papal coat of arms now in a private collection in England might be related to that project.[101] **[fig. 31]** No conclusive documentary evidence has emerged yet to back up such claims, however some elements of the façade articulation could support Domenichino's involvement in the design on stylistic grounds. What are offered here are some fresh observations which seem to support Baglione's claim.

One ornamental feature that resurfaces throughout Domenichino's Roman career is the *mascherone*. As a derivative of Michelangelo's mascherone on the Porta Pia and Annibale's grotesques in the Galleria Farnese, it first features in his own works in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata, and later in Sant'Andrea della Valle.

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[98] Hibbard, Howard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630, London, 1971, pp. 211, 212
[99] ibid, p. 211
[100] Orbaan, Johannes, A., Documenti sul Barocco a Roma, Rome, 1920, pp. 352, 353, 356, 360, 361 The first of these payment amounted only to 15 ducati d'oro.
[101] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 98, f.n. 76, The name of the collector is not mentioned.

[figs. 91, 92] *Mascheroni* also appear in many of his drawings, as decorative studies for a cartouche and a wall monument in Windsor Castle and form part of the ceiling decoration for the above mentioned room for the Ludovisi, probably a project for the *salone* in the palazzo of the Vigna Ludovisi. **[figs. 87, 76, 31]** Apart from employing that feature above openings, it appears on ceilings and is incorporated into clothing, arabesques, cartouches and coats of arms.

Throughout his works the *mascheroni* are stylistically closely related and while they are quite common to many architects and decorators in the early seventeenth century Domenichino's variations form a distinctive group in their own right. Hybrid motifs are a very prominent feature in Domenichino's output and he often treats his *mascheroni* accordingly. As he mixes putti with acanthus scrolls his *mascheroni* might mutate into cornucopia, festoons, cartouches or vegetal decorations. Their animated faces have exaggerated features such as big noses, mouths are wide open with tongues sticking out and unwieldy beards mutate into any of the above mentioned decorative features. On occasion they wear crowns and when placed over openings they assume the role of guardians of the building. In Sant'Andrea della Valle they adorn the apex of the lunettes above the windows and a *mascherone* appears in relief as part of a cartouche above the portal of the Palazzo Lancellotti. **[figs. 92, 93]** Their earliest manifestation in Domenichino's work are the arabesques on the feigned stucco pilaster panels in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori where they also appear on the clothing of the two saints S. Eustace and S. Odoardo. They are part of the framework for the Ludovisi coat of arms at the apex of the ceiling decoration of the Ludovisi room. **[fig. 31]** Finally there is also a *mascherone* just below the coat of arms above the central window of the frontispiece of the Vigna Ludovisi. **[fig. 94]**

As mentioned earlier the Vigna has been linked with Maderno, whose *mascheroni,* however are not part of his decorative vocabulary with the one exception of a mantelpiece in the salone of Palazzo Mattei, which is feisty in character and aesthetically not compatible with any of the many *mascheroni* featuring in Domenichino's decorative output. **[fig. 95]** The *mascherone* on the coat of arms on the façade of the Vigna Ludovisi fulfil all the criteria associated with Domenichino's *mascheroni*. Placed above the clerestorey window, it is integrated into the Ludovisi coat of arms, and as a hybrid motif, it mutates into a cartouche-like framework. It is

particularly close to the mascheroni of the lunette decoration in Sant'Andrea della Valle and, given its facial expression, it belongs genetically to the Domenichino family of *mascheroni*. Moreover as we know a *mascherone* also appears in the ceiling for a room displaying the coat of arms of the Ludovisi which could be read as a contextualisation of the exterior with the interior of the Palazzo Grande. Incidentally the festoon embellishing the coat of arms on the façade is of a type that can be found in the same drawing of the Ludovisi room and also appears around the windows of Sant'Andrea della Valle and the Cappella della Strada Cupa. Of course *mascheroni* can be found elsewhere in Rome but in around 1622, the date of reconstruction of the Vigna, I have, after extensive search, not traced any contemporary Roman examples employing the same aesthetic.

The Vigna furthermore features other ornamental and architectural elements alien to Maderno's vocabulary but not to Domenichino's. Unlike Maderno's other secular facades that are almost devoid of ornamental articulation the Vigna Ludovisi is richly embellished. **[fig. 90b]** The ground floor articulation of its two-storey five-bay frontispiece consists of a Tuscan pilaster order with three blind arches in the central bay while the side bays are decorated with niches containing statues. Above the windows and the door of the three central bays oculi containing busts are sunken into the wall. Further busts aligned with the Tuscan order adorn the entablature above. Behind them rise astylar wall strips, that separate the bays with a very tall central window, smaller side windows and niches containing statues in the outer bays. This combination of Tuscan pilasters and busts placed directly on a projecting entablature recalls sketch II F one of the façades belonging to the twenty church facades that will be discussed in the following chapter. **[fig. 176]** While the layering of the façade's upper storey has numerous parallels in Domenichino's work (as, admittedly in that of other architects) it appears nowhere in Maderno's other secular buildings.

When considering this façade from the aspect of imitation the same Michelangelesque sources that informed the articulation of the church facades emerge. Common to the Vigna and the church facades is the layering of the wall surface of the upper storey. Such a treatment together with a two-storey elevation surmounted by a balustrade and statues is reminiscent of the facade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. **[fig. 96]** Other similarities are the height ratios between the two storeys and the relationship of wall

to opening in the bays of the upper storey. In contrast Maderno's ville and palazzi are never two storeys and are devoid of any wall layering, orders, and bay articulations like niches or differently scaled windows within one storey. Nor do they combine three-storey wings with a two-storey frontispiece. While this combination was probably born out of the necessity to link older with newer parts of the building, this solution is well judged as the mezzanine window of the wings and the entablature of the frontispiece are exactly aligned. This ambiguity concerning the number of storeys is also present in the church façade III A, where the lower storey central bay is framed by two-storey side bays. **[fig. 172]** The Tuscan order combined with blind arches of the three central bays is ultimately derived from antique sources like the Coliseum or the Theatre of Marcellus.[102] This mix of sources from both the Antique and Michelangelo would be consistent with the general architectural vocabulary used by Domenichino.

Another feature tentatively linked with Domenichino elsewhere is the strange scrolls bridging the difference in height between the frontispiece and the wings. **[fig. 90b]** In his discussion of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori, Tantillo speculates that in 1610 Domenichino might have designed the aedicule for the medieval baptismal font. **[fig. 97]** To enforce his view he points to the similarity of the aedicule with the responding opposite altar.[103] This aedicule also incorporates such scrolls. It must be said that these corbels are a rare motif in Domenichino's documented oeuvre and only feature once more in the study P.-H.1744v, a rough sketch for a wall monument which is not illustrated in this thesis because it has no further relevance.[104] These scrolls, however have a precedent in works by Michelangelo, most notably the Porta Pia and elsewhere, in a different shape, as part of the Medici Tombs and the portal of the Palazzo dei Senatori. If not from there he could have arrived at the idea by

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[102] The building material for this façade definitely derived from the Colosseum.
An avviso of the 5th of February 1622 reports: si prepara di fabricare et per servitor della fabbrica si lavorano travertine del Culiseo, onde quell'anticaglia va declinando del tutto'.....and Rossi added to the avviso that on 2nd of March an edict was issued (by the very same Ludovisi! (my addition)) against pillaging ancient sites. Hibbard, Howard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630, London, 1971, p. 212

[103] See discussion of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in the chapter *Interiors*, p. 26

[104] No illustration provided, however, P. H. 1744r shows a similar wall monument placed under a niche with a statue. The monument shows a cartouche with a rough sketch of a cardinal's hat and a dragon at the bottom left, possibly a reference Cardinal Scipione Borghese. As a patron of the oratory of Sant'Andrea al Celio he employed Domenichino, thus the above studies could be for this oratory during the time of Scipione's patronage.

contemplating an appropriate framework for a family crest. The corbels on the Vigna once contained the insignia of the Ludovisi and, as we have seen, Domenichino applied the peltae as a decorative frame work for the insignia of the Agucchi on the tomb monument in Bologna and for the Peretti-Montalto in the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle. Given the purpose and the location the shape of peltae would not have worked in this case, but the corbels are a fitting ornament to bridge successfully the difference in height between the blocks and provide space for the display of the insignia of the Ludovisi. While this feature (a favourite of Cortona a few years later) is unusual for Domenichino we should not forget that 1622 was still a pre-Cortona era where it would have been an uncommon motif for any architect/designer. Given Domenichino's affinities with Michelangelo's architecture and his use of novel geometrical ceiling patterns in Santa Maria in Trastevere and strange antique decorative features like peltae in Sant'Andrea della Valle, he is, at that time, probably the most likely candidate for the introduction of such an unconventional ornament into architecture. Uniquely at this period Domenichino shows a tendency to monumentalise purely decorative motifs of which some are unusual or of an antique origin. Further examples of this are the inscription panels and the shell motifs on some of the church facades.

In light of the visual evidence it is not unreasonable to conjecture Domenichino's involvement in the design of the façade of the Vigna. Moreover a comparison with Maderno's secular facades shows that his architectural vocabulary differs considerably from that applied to the Vigna. Perhaps Hibbard was right in suggesting that Maderno executed Domenichino's designs when constructing the Vigna Ludovisi.

Church facades

Domenichino's twenty sketches of church facades are part of a collection of almost 1800 of the artist's drawings now in the Print Room of Windsor Castle. **[fig. 98, 99, 100]** This collection originates in a will made by Domenichino drawn up three days before his death in April 1641 which bequeaths it to his pupil Raspantino. In 1665 a number of sheets were sold to Pier Francesco Mola but the bulk of it remained intact when it was subsequently acquired by the painter Carlo Maratta. In 1703 Pope Clement XI purchased these drawings as part of the Maratta collection. After his death in 1721 the collection of drawings was included in 300 volumes purchased by the architect James Adam in 1762. From these, in 1765 and 1770, a list was made of 34 volumes of drawings by Domenichino in the Royal Library and which was ultimately incorporated into the volumes which are referred to as Inventory A.[105]

Drawn in pen and ink in groups of six sketches the twenty drawings of church facades are divided over three sheets of white paper in the format of 95x53mm with the remaining two sketches placed on a separate and differently sized sheet (95x42mm). The first eighteen sketches depict complete facades. The latter two are mere fragments focusing on the central bay **[figs. 146, 147]** and are set between further sketches of a centralised church plan and two elevations depicting centralised churches. **[figs. 272, 273]** These drawings will be discussed elsewhere. This sheet, catalogued in the Windsor Castle collection as P.-H.1738-1740, also shows a figurative sketch that has been related to the fresco *Truth disclosed by Time*, a commission for the Palazzo Costaguti dating from 1622-23, suggesting a corresponding date, which is generally accepted for the twenty facade drawings.[106]

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[105] Pope-Hennessy, John, The drawings of Domenichino in the collection of his Majesty the King at Windsor Castle, London, 1948, p. 10-11

[106] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p. 93

Pope-Hennessy linked these sketches to the commission of Cardinal Peretti-Montalto for the façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle, mainly because of the correspondence of the scale that is shown below sketch I A with the Theatine church. Blunt was the first to identify the Peretti- Montalto arms- a lion behind a diagonal strip in the tympanum. The scale gives this proposal a width of 160 palmi, exactly the width of Maderno's scheme for the project as shown in de Rossi's *Insignium Romae Templorum Prospectus.*[107] Pope-Hennessy states that "it is very probable that the present studies should also be associated with S. Andrea della Valle."[108] He then speculates that "Domenichino's drawings must be regarded as alternative projects for the Sant'Andrea della Valle façade, prepared at a time when the drawings of Maderno's scheme were already in existence, but when the work of constructing the facade had not yet begun[109]." As Hibbard has shown, Maderno's design was completed before Cardinal Peretti- Montalto's death on 2 of June 1623.[110] This confirms the above dating of the facades by association with the sketch for *Truth disclosed by Time.*

However, given the diversity and differences in design, scale and ratio of width to height of Domenichino's twenty facades and their individual bays, it could well be that they were not just for Sant'Andrea della Valle but were also related to other projects.

The ratios relating to sketch I A seem to support Pope–Hennessy's statement. Apart from the corresponding width Maderno's and Domenichino's façade proposals are almost equal in height, the former being 39.5 metres and the latter being just a metre taller, if we calculate the height on the scale sketched below. When accepting the width of 160 palmi romani (36.16 m.) for all six sketches on the first sheet the width to height ratios diverge only marginally from sketch I A and thus can be regarded as reasonably plausible proposals for the pre-existing church of Sant'Andrea della Valle.

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[107] Pope-Hennessy, John, The drawings of Domenichino in the collection of his Majesty the King at Windsor Castle, London, 1948, p. 121, no. 1739
de Rossi, Giacomo, Insignium Romae Templorum Prospectus, Rome, 1684, pl. 44
[108] Pope-Hennessy, John, The drawings of Domenichino in the collection of his Majesty the King at Windsor Castle, London, 1948, p. 121
[109] Ibid
[110] Hibbard, Howard, Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630, London, 1971, pp. 58-60, 79, 152-55, 233-34

However, when the same scale is equated to the width of the sketches on the second sheet great discrepancies emerge. For example, if we assume a width of 160 palmi (36.16 m.) for sketch II A it would rise to a height of 49.61, 10 metres taller than Maderno's proposal and 9 metres taller than sketch I A. It would add 5.5 metres to the built façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle, which is already a few metres higher than the pitch of the roof of the church proper. The most extreme example in this regard is sketch II F which, based on a scale of 160 palmi, would reach a height of 54 metres, 10 metres more than the facade of Saint Peter's! Structural difficulties aside, these ratios are completely at odds with any of the first six Domenichino sketches, as well as with Maderno's proposal and the church as built. Certainly, on ratios alone, most if not all sketches on sheet II must be discounted as proposals for Sant'Andrea della Valle.

Assuming that the scale of a 160 palmi below sketch I A is not flexible when applied to all the other facades, but still serves as the scale for each sketch, then the façade of II A would be approximately 26.5 metres wide and 36.5 metres tall which would have been inadequately small for the pre-existing church of Sant'Andrea della Valle. Sketches II B, C, F as well as III B and C would be too narrow while II D and III D would be too wide. In addition sketch III B gives us a glimpse into the spacing of the interior. Firstly we note that, unlike Sant'Andrea della Valle, the frontispiece of the façade reflects the width of the nave and secondly the ratio between nave and aisles is approximately 1:1:1 as supposed to 1:1.6:1 in Sant'Andrea della Valle. Clearly the plan of sketch III B does not represent that of the pre-existing interior of the Theatine church. In light of these ratios Pope- Hennessy's assumption might be valid for all the facades of sheet I and for III A, E and F as projects for Sant'Andrea della Valle, however the others do not qualify due both to scale and to ratio of width to height. Moreover the interior relationship of nave to aisles in the plan fragment provided below sketch III B is different from the layout of Sant'Andrea della Valle, which means that, at least in this instance, Domenichino was thinking of a different project. Assuming for a moment that the upper storey equals the width of the nave in every sketch, their ratios between nave and aisle differ in every case from Maderno's and Rainaldi's/ Fontana's Sant'Andrea della Valle. However, already Maderno's façade proposal did not reflect the interior arrangement as his upper storey is wider than the

nave which is also true for the church as built. If we accept that exterior ratios between upper storey and side bays reflect the ratios between nave and aisles as the plan fragment III B suggests, the diversity of Domenichino's sketches seems to represent a series of proposals for a number of ex-novo projects. The range and variety of designs proposed would support this notion. Except for the common feature of a single portal, the majority of the designs have little in common with Sant'Andrea della Valle or even with each other. In particular the general parti of three bays as supposed to the five bay proposals of all other architects from della Porta to Maderno to Carlo Rainaldi and Carlo Fontana raises further doubts regarding the link to Sant'Andrea della Valle.

This raises the question, for which projects were these sketches made? At the time Domenichino was papal architect and in that capacity he might have been involved in schemes pursued by the Ludovisi. In 1622 Ludovico Cardinal Ludovisi had already made attempts to build a church in commemoration of Sant'Ignazio, who was recently canonised by his uncle Pope Gregory XV. However, because of difficulties concerning the site at the Monte Cavallo, these plans were postponed. Nothing but the timing and Domenichino's appointment by the pope links these facades with Ludovisi's plan, it is possible nevertheless that Domenichino as *l'architetto del palazzo apostolico* might have sketched ideas for such a project. Pope- Hennessy might be right in relating sketch I A and perhaps some of the other sketches to the commission of the façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle, but a closer examination makes it clearly impossible to link all of the sketches to that project but opens the possibility for alternative projects like the example given above. In the end one can not determine conclusively what the sketches were intended for.

Maurizio Fagiolo-dell'Arco describes this series of sketches as a "campionario per un sospirato comittente".[111] This interpretation can be supported by Mancini's remark that "Domenichino takes pleasure in architecture which he studied for a long time and

[111] Fagiolo-Dell'Arco, Maurizio, Domenichino ovvero Classicismo del Primoseicento, Rome, 1963, p. 98

in which he made progress"[112] and Passeri's account that "in his past time after work he studied architecture, to which he was very dedicated, with the idea of practising it in public projects."[113]

Another interpretation for this series of façades is to regard them as a 'discourse on the church façade', a reading that was suggested by Giovanna Curcio.[114] She understands them as a systematic study of formal solutions that logically progress from one design to the next without any reference to a specific commission.[115]

For the purpose of this analysis it is not necessary to approach them as a logically constructed and progressively laid out pictorial treatise. Nor is it essential to prove a connection to specific projects. Since there are no definite clues to verify any attributions of these sketches, the best approach is to analyse them in terms of the remarkably wide range of designs they offer. Each sketch is an exploration of the church facade as building type based on imitative and innovative processes and as such can stand on its own. However, there are clear typological differences between the individual facades that allow for groupings according to prototypes used, like the temple front, the Gesù-type, the aedicular façade, Pantheon motifs, open porch façade, and the triumphal arch motif. Nevertheless Domenichino's approach was not entirely random as all facades have one common feature, the aforementioned single portal.

It is not the intention of this text simply to relate a given façade to a given type. Such an approach would not do justice to the quality and complexity of Domenichino's sketches and it would be dangerously close to mere source hunting. This aspect has its

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[112] Mancini, Giulio, Considerazioni sulla pittura (ed. A. Marucchi and L. Salerno), Rome, 1956-57, p. 243

[113] Passeri, Giambattista, Vite de' pittori, e scultori ed architetti che hanno lavorato a Roma, morti dal 1641 fino al 1673, Rome, 1772, p. 44

[114] Curcio, Giovanna, 'Le contraddizioni del metodo, I. La pittura perfetta del Domenichino', in Claudio M. Strinati (ed.), Domenichino, 1996, Milano, 1996, p.157. "I diciotti schemi sembrano rappresentare, invece, una consapevole esposizione, per immagini, di una teoria: essi costruiscono, in definitiva, una sorta di 'trattato' che, adottando la terminologia del tempo (...) potrebbe intitolarsi 'discorso sulla facciata'."

[115] ibid

place but only as a basis for an analysis that examines at Domenichino's techniques of imitation. The range of sources and their modification and contextualisation will afford an insight into his novel uses of prototypes and the methodology of his choices as well as underlying design principles. Such an approach will help to contextualise Domenichino's ideas and hopefully provide some understanding of his unique and novel approach within early seventeenth-century Roman architectural development. This might not provide the answer to the purpose of these sketches but at least it will certainly narrow down the possible options. Finally it should be noted that while there are twenty individual sketches, some contain alternative solutions and pentimenti, thus the overall number of façade proposals exceeds twenty.

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One of the prototypes used by Domenichino for his façade articulation is the temple front motif. In one form or another it dominates most Roman Counter Reformation façades or at least their upper storeys for a variety of reasons that are best described by Hermann Schlimme in his book *Die Kirchenfassade in Rom* and that are outlined here.[116]

Most Roman church interiors are modelled on the Roman antique basilica. The first basilican church in Rome was San Giovanni in Laterano. Its spatial configuration became a standard scheme in Roman church building. However, no basilican façade had survived, that could have served as a reference point for façade articulation in the early modern era. Furthermore medieval building practices neglected façade articulation of basilican churches in Rome, thus these churches did not render themselves as a model particularly for the representational requirements of post-Tridentine church facades.

Consequently Renaissance architects looked for prototypes taken from other building types. The Roman antique temple with its sacred function and elevated

[116] Schlimme, Hermann, Die Kirchenfassade in Rom, Petersberg, 1999, pp. 76-138

representational exterior on one side combining columns, entablature, walls with grand openings and pediments suggested itself as a suitable model. Like the basilica a temple had a longitudinal orientation as its façade with a portal was placed on one of the short sides of a building and furthermore it usually dominated the setting in front of it, thus creating an axis between exterior and interior.

Its drawback is the inflexibility of its relatively low, broad façade that fails to match the basilican section of the interior behind it. As a consequence individual components of the temple front like wall, order and opening were retained but adapted to the requirements of the cross section of a basilica. These modifications absorbed diverse influences. Firstly early modern Roman architects followed the Tuscan models of San Miniato (c.1140-70) and Alberti's Santa Maria Novella (begun1458) where the upper storey is derived from the antique temple front. Here wall, order and opening also merged into one plane, a concept that subsequently underwent many variations from the early Renaissance. Secondly architectural theorists promoted the classical language of architecture and its systematic application. With the increasing use in treatises of vernacular Italian accompanied by images, such texts became ever more accessible for architectural practitioners. The translation of Vitruvius, combined with archaeological enquiries, form the foundation of a new architectural culture. Cesare Cesariano's illustrations based on a not fully understood Vitruvian text in *volgare* inform architects, albeit with misinterpretations of the original, as much as Serlio's subsequent exemplary instructions on façade articulation and construction that are based on modular proportioning. This leads to formal reinventions where the basic components of the temple front are retained but modified to suit the basilican section. Facades are divided into two or even three storeys and three or five bays. Columns are pushed into the wall or turned into pilasters. Orders are paired, clustered and mixed while walls are layered and /or disappear behind ornament. Openings and niches are framed and multiplied thus indicating the spatial organisation behind the façade. On many occasions the façade anticipates the church interior on its exterior articulation.

Of special interest are medieval conversions of ancient pagan temples into churches. The best example is the Roman temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium where the intercolumniation was filled in with walls incorporating openings, thus turning the free-standing temple columns into engaged half-columns. Given its architectural conversion from temple to church it is interesting to see that this temple captured the imagination of architects, chroniclers and artists like Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Antonio Dosio, Sallustio Perruzzi, Alò Giovannoli [**fig. 101**], Tommaso Barlachi, G.B. Cavalieri and Andrea Palladio who all recorded it in drawings.[117] While Giovannoli's drawing faithfully records the temple's adaptation to a Christian church others put a greater emphasis on the temple character. Palladio's version is the purest attempt to reconstruct the original temple and the temple front motif is essential to his own church designs. Another reinstatement on paper of the original temple front for a medieval temple conversion into a church can be found in Girolamo Francino's Roman guide book from 1588 where S. Angelo in Pescheria's (also known as Portico di Ottavia) present appearance is replaced by a proper antique temple front.[118]**[fig. 102]** The Tempietto of Clitunno near Spoleto is an example of a Christian church that was thought, during and after the Renaissance period to have been a pagan temple in antis and again it generated great interest in architectural circles as it was recorded by Francesco di Giorgio Martini and later again by Andrea Palladio, Pirro Ligorio and Onofrio Panvinio and later in the Romantic period by Piranesi, Robert Adam, Richard Wilson, John Soane and others.[119] **[fig. 103]** Much closer to Rome along the Via Pignatelli Sant' Urbano offered another example of a temple converted into a church during medieval times by simply filling in the intercolumniation. **[fig. 104]** Merging wall and order in this way was not uncommon then and later left its mark on the architectural thinking of early modern architects where the idea was revisited, albeit with formal rigour in mind. San Nicola in Carcere (1599) is a case in point. **[fig. 105]** This medieval church was built around the remains of three existing temples, the Templi di Olitorio, and Giacomo della Porta recycled and incorporated two of the columns that once formed the front of one of these temples, the Tempio of Giunone Sospita, into a facade design that deliberately explores the wall- order relation of the

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[117] Ibid, pp.78, 79
see also: Munoz, Antonio, 'Il restauro del Tempio della Fortuna Virile', Roma, in Società editrice d'arte illustrata, Rome, 1925, p. 24
[118] Francino, Girolamo, Le cose meravigliose dell'alma citta di Roma, Roma, 1600, p.100
[119] Emerick, Judson J., The tempietto del Clitunno near Spoleto, Pennsylvania, 1998

medieval temple conversion.[120] Despite della Porta's choice of an aedicular façade there is evidently an awareness of these early medieval practices of temple conversions as the wall- order relationship recalls that of Sant'Urbano, particularly its corners. Other temple conversions are SS. Cosma and Damiano (1632) once the Temple of Divo Romolo, and San Lorenzo in Miranda (1601-14) **[fig. 106]** both executed by Orazio Torriani.

All these examples show that ancient temples and elements of temple architecture that had been converted into medieval churches were considered as a possible building type for minor churches at the turn of the century and beyond, even if this did not lead to imitations of the temple front prototype for newly-built structures in Rome despite the existence of a largely unaltered temple front of the most prominent temple that had been converted into a church - the Pantheon.

Instead, existing antique temples were incorporated into new church structures. Orazio Torriani's rather clumsy-looking attempt at integrating the remnants of the Temple of Antonio and Faustina into the two-storey facade of the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda (1617) clearly illustrates the point.[121] The only convincing proposal in a Roman context, to integrate the iconic temple front within a wider architectural setting is Michelangelo's project of a free-standing tetra-style portico with tall columns set in front of a deca-style colonnade for the façade of Saint Peter's. **[fig. 107]** Apart from this exception, which I will discuss later, neither the Pantheon, nor Alberti's temple fronts of San Sebastiano in Mantua nor Palladio's temple at Maser left a substantial mark on early modern Roman church facades up to and beyond the 1620s. Given that the former three buildings are either centralised or have at least strong centralised tendencies and are thus unlike the basilican Roman churches to date this seems not surprising. Other imitative references to temple fronts appear in sixteenth-century architecture in Palladio's ville and in follies, most notably

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[120] D'Innella, Michele, (ed.), Guida D'Italia, Roma, 1999, p. 482

[121] Another such conversion is that of its neighbouring Temple of Divus Romulus into the medieval church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, however, no temple front features had survived there and in 1632 this church assumed its present form after the monks invested the money they had received from the Taddeo Barberini for the sale of the temples ancient peperino walls into rebuilding the church. see: Barrows Whitehead, P. ' The Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano in Rome', in American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 31, No. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1927, p. 18

for example the very interesting temple in the garden of Bomarzo commissioned by the *condottiero* Pier Francesco Orsini in the middle of the century.

In newly designed Roman church facades, however, it is the core section of wall, order and opening particularly which is subjected to radical changes while the podium and the pediment are less affected and largely retain their original temple front character, although podiums were occasionally re-interpreted as a set of tall plinths supporting the main order of the church. Architects had a choice of either disguising the basilican section behind these facades or revealing it. In the first instance they applied surplus wall that overreached the basilican section behind, partly in order to adhere to modular principles and proportion as is the case with the previously discussed façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle and partly to create a more organic silhouette like an upright rectangular two-storey façade as is the case in San Carlo ai Catinari or S. Domenico e Sisto. In the second instance they applied a façade articulation that expressed the inner spatial organisation. The interior was often but not always (Sant'Andrea della Valle!) suggested through the placing of the openings, the order and the entablature.

In contrast Domenichino's church façades II A, B and E are based on rather faithful adoptions of the antique Roman temple front which makes them a unique contribution to Roman architectural thinking in the early 1620s. **[figs. 108, 109, 110]** While some of the design elements of early modern architects outlined above resonate with these drawings Domenichino does not follow that general trend.

Instead all three sketches explore the archetypal classical temple front. Drawing II A shows a free-standing tetra-style temple front, confined to the lower storey and flanked by neighbouring bays. The temple fronts of the tetrastyle sketch II B and the hexastyle II E are engaged and lack a full upper storey below attic. In each case the

portal is approached by a flight of steps set between low parapet walls, a templar feature that distinguishes these three façades from all other sketches of this scheme.[122]

Classical temple fronts are already prominently represented as backgrounds in some historical depictions of early Christian narratives in fresco works by Domenichino particularly in the *Flagellation of St. Andrew* in the Oratorio of Sant'Andrea from 1609 and *Santa Cecilia giving Alms to the Poor* in San Luigi dei Francesi which was completed in 1615.[123] In the first of these two frescoes Passeri sees the temple as an imitation of the Pantheon. However, its size, orders and the type of portal contradicts this.[124] In both cases rather modestly-sized temple fronts are partially depicted in the middle ground with the common feature of free-standing columns in front of a *cella* **[figs. 111, 112].** This recalls the Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium. The similarities, however, stop here as the orders vary: the temple in the *Flagellation* fresco seems to be fluted Tuscan Doric, the one in *Santa Cecilia* is Corinthian, while the Temple of Portunus is Ionic. **[fig. 113]** Other deviations from this Roman temple in Domenichino's work are the addition of statues on the pediment in the *Santa Cecilia* fresco and the replacement of engaged columns along the cella with fluted pilasters in the *Flagellation.* The spacing of the latter also breaks the rhythm established by the columns on the *pronaos* but a precedent for this articulation is represented in the pilasters at the corners of the ancient Temple of Augustus in Pola. **[fig. 114]** Furthermore the building is not free-standing but seems to be within a courtyard that encloses the scene of the main event, as can be deduced from the corner of the building shown at the right edge of the fresco and the diagonal shadow cast dramatically across the picture.[125]

These changes are not surprising when one considers that long before Domenichino's lifetime the Temple of Portunus itself had been changed and converted into a church

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[122] Unlike in sketches II A and B the steps of sketch II E leading up to the colonnade are not represented. However, the vertical line left of the right corner inside the equivalent unfinished feature shows that the same design solution was intended here.

[123] Other depictions of temples in Domenichino's *oeuvre* can be found on the Bolognese tomb monument for Girolamo Agucchi and as part of the decoration of the Nolfi chapel in Fano. Both cases are small emblematic images that play a minor part in a greater decorative scheme.

[124] Hess, Jakob, Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri, Leipzig, Wien, 1934, p. 28

[125] It is perhaps this projection of the building and casting of a shadow that prompted Passeri to see it as an imitation of the Pantheon.

known as Santa Maria Egiziaca, with its architectural features already modified in the 9th century. **[fig. 101]** As was mentioned above its Roman origin was well known to Renaissance (and Baroque) architects who recorded it and attempted to recreate its original aspects. Since this Roman temple was already subjected to unclassical alterations Domenichino may have used it merely as a point of departure for his own recreations. Perhaps he also consulted Palladio's reconstruction that includes three statues above the pediment like the fresco of *St. Cecilia Distributing Alms to the Poor.* **[fig. 115]** The depictions of temples in Domenichino's fresco works suggest that his engagement with the building type was generic; rather than attempting an archaeologically faithful adaptation of the Temple of Portunus, Domenichino deliberately changed it and invented a classical architectural stage set that suggests an approximate place and time for these ancient narratives.[126] Part of this setting is also the hexa-style peripteros in the background of the *Flagellation*, which is usually associated with Greek rather than Roman temple architecture. Nevertheless, the temple as a building type was already playing a prominent role in his thinking long before he produced the sketches for church façades.

In sketches II A, B, E Domenichino revisits the temple, of course this time with the intent of examining its possibilities for church façades. Thereby he sets himself the challenge to modify and modernise this iconic and relatively inflexible architectural form mainly in order to adapt it to a church interior almost certainly consisting of a longitudinal nave with side chapels but no aisles: given the single entrance common to all his façade drawings, which in most cases have a taller and projecting central block, it is reasonable to assume that Domenichino had this spatial configuration in mind for the church interior. This is confirmed by the plan fragment of Sketch III B, that shows the beginning of a nave behind the taller central block which is flanked by walls that suggests a succession of chapels on either side. **[fig. 116]** These features conform to the Counter Reformation scheme of a longitudinal nave flanked by chapels and in light of precedents such as Il Gesù one could go further and speculate whether this arrangement is followed by a centralised section based on a quincunx of domed crossing and corner chapels with an apse as the terminating feature. First

[126] Spears, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p. 126: "Although the architectural setting of the Flagellation of Saint Andrew does not depend on specific Roman monuments, it is clearly intended to evoke the ancient world and lend a convincing sense of place to the story."

established by Vignola the layout of the Jesuit mother church was, for liturgical reasons the most desired by the religious orders and the hierarchy during the Counter Reformation and architects often obliged.

An important aspect that distinguishes these three drawings from most of the others in this series is the sketchiness or lack of detail and the focus on a general outline of the designs. This generic approach suggests that Domenichino's concerns are typological; he wants to explore the possibilities of the iconic temple front as a model for a modern church façade, thus elaborating ornamental articulations are merely of minor relevance to him. It is on this generic level, therefore, that the three sketches offer fundamental and novel variations. Perhaps this is unsurprising given its rigid architectural form and the few precedents of classical temple fronts adapted to Roman church façades.

The drawing of the portico facade II A shows two superimposed temple fronts, resulting in a block-like upright rectangular façade that could easily be grafted onto a single nave basilica with side chapels behind, with sections of surplus wall overreaching the basilican section. **[fig. 108]** The tetra-style free-standing portico projecting from side bays at the lower level is carried into the upper level of the central block by pilasters while at the corner wall strips without capitals continue the upward movement of the corner columns below. Responding to these wall strips are half strips that appear at the inner side of the outer bays thus forming a framing device for both side bays while at the same time suggesting a layered wall surface at this storey as they seem to run in behind the corner pilasters of the upper central block. At both levels the bay articulation of niches containing statues is as restrained and simple as that of the central bay where a tall rectangular portal is surmounted by a square inscription panel at a lower level and a clerestorey window above. Relief panels above and below one of the niches feature in one upper bay but like those at ground level the sketchiness of these ornamental features suggests that detail was of minor concern for Domenichino. Still, the regular pattern of niches and relief panels across the façade can be related to Antonio Sangallo's Santo Spirito in Sassia but with Domenichino the niches are filled with statues. However, Domenichino seems to be far more interested

in the iconic features of the temple front. He preserves its elevated character, the traditional flight of steps flanked by low parapet walls, the free- standing colonnade and the triangular pediment at lower level, but changes the articulation at upper level to pilasters set into a layered wall and a segmental pediment as a crowning feature.

Domenichino's choice of a crowning segmental pediment would have stood out as an unusual silhouette within the Roman skyline. Although there are a few precedents for such an arrangement, none of them would have matched sketch II A had it been built. Between 1602 and 1608 Flaminio Ponzio designed the triple chapels of Santa Barbara, Sant'Andrea and Santa Silvia as part of the complex of San Gregorio Magno. **[fig. 117]** The two aedicular façades of the flanking chapels are topped by segmental pediments while the central chapel features a tetra-style portico that supports a lean-to roof below a triangular pediment. Domenichino, who, as we know frescoed *The Flagellation of Saint Andrew* in the oratory of Sant'Andrea in 1609 might have consciously looked at this for II A and remodelled elements of Ponzio's design, most notably the segmental pediment of the chapels on either side and perhaps even the tetra-style portico leading to the entrance of the oratorio. However, there are two more compelling precedents for such an arrangement of pediments, although not associated with Domenichino's artistic *oeuvre*. One is the church of San Paolo alle Tre Fontane which was remodelled by Giacomo della Porta in 1599 **[fig. 118].** In this case the order of pediments matches those of sketch II A, even if the two facades explore different types with della Porta constructing an aedicular façade while Domenichino's sketch explores the temple front motif. The other is the church of S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite which, according to Girolamo Francino's 1588 guide book to Rome also had a segmental crowning pediment. The lower pediment, however, does not correspond with the upper as it is simply part of the aedicule framing the portal. **[fig. 119]** A variation on the theme of crowning segmental pediments is the broken pediment of San Lorenzo in Miranda, a church that also has as a feature a loosely integrated antique temple front**. [fig. 106]**

Domenichino integrated these pediments into a much more unified classicising concept that equally adheres to, and varies, the prototype temple front at the same

time. Particularly the contextualisation of the regular tetra-style portico placed below the crowning feature of the segmental pediment gently subverts the iconographical architectural vocabulary of the prototype on a fundamental level, because the triangular pediment as the iconic crowning feature is delegated to an inferior position within the cityscape. The dominance of the upper storey is addressed by Schlimme in relation to the urban panorama when he describes it as a temple front in its own right protecting the city as it hovers above the surrounding houses.[127] His point echoes Palladio's notion of the role of the temple front in this regard when he remarks that "si faranno le fronti de' Tempij, che guardino sopra grandissima parte della Città, acchioché paia la Religione esser posta come per costude, e protetrice de' Cittadini"[128]; Domenichino's design potentially fulfils that role in an innovative way.

Crowning segmental pediments were held to be a feature typical of antique Roman houses as can be seen in frescos in Palladio's Villa Pojana in Vicenza **[fig. 120].** Given its secular nature this connection might be of lesser significance. However, originally it also crowned Giacomo della Porta's Villa Belvedere where Domenichino occasionally resided. Domenichino repeatedly sourced secular motifs for church facade designs and he held classical antiquity in high regard, thus the use of such a pediment might have been appealing to him even when applied to a church (The once secular basilica itself was, of course, also appropriated for church architecture long before then.). Other northern examples where segmental pediments feature frequently are Venetian churches for example Santa Maria dei Miracoli. However, their facades are composed in a very different architectural idiom.

Segmental pediments also appear in drawings of churches by Baldassare Peruzzi. As in Domenichino's sketches II A and II E they are shown in combination with triangular pediments. Particularly Peruzzi's highly original proposal for S. Peter's shows a number of similarities with Domenichino's sketch II E in the use of segmental and triangular pediments as well as colonnaded porticos and vast relief panels. **[fig. 121]** The only similarity between Peruzzi's sketch of a view of a Church

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[127] Schlimme, Hermann, Die Kirchenfassade in Rom, Peterberg, 1999, pp. 44, 45
[128] Palladio, Andrea, I quattro libri dell'architettura di Andrea Palladio, Venezia, 1570, Book IV, Chapter I

and Domenichino's sketch II A is the application of segmental and triangular pediments although in reverse order. **[figs. 122]** What makes the connections between all of these sketches interesting is the similarities in the choice of an architectural vocabulary evocative of the monumental architecture of classical antiquity but at the same time without any precedent in façade articulation of built early modern churches. Combining sources from classical antiquity and the sixteenth century is by now a familiar pattern in Domenichino's architecture.

The Bramante design for S. Maria presso S. Satiro (1480), Peruzzi's Cathedral at Carpi (1515) and Palladio's facades particularly for S. Francesca della Vigna and S.Giorgio Maggiore offer various versions of interlocking pediments that front a basilican structure behind. **[figs. 123, 124]** The Roman Pantheon also features another strange double pediment. However, unlike the modern examples it is unrelated to the building's interior. Sketch II A does not follow any of these facades. **[fig. 108]** Instead it introduces a novel solution. It largely ignores the spatial configuration of the church interior and establishes an urban image that is historicising in citing the iconic temple front and at the same time modern by superimposing two variations of temple fronts. Resulting from that is a block-like facade that also shapes sketches I A and III C and is reminiscent of the rectangular church facades of Giovanni Battista Soria and Nicolo Torriani's Ss. Domenico and Sisto, which were all somewhat later than this design. **[fig. 125]** Modern, too, is the projection of the central block and the combination of an order of pilaster strips and astylar wall strips in the upper storey.

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Sketch II B proposes another variation on the theme. Once more the emphasis is on general ideas rather than detail **[fig. 109].** This is particularly apparent from the missing relief panel at the top of the right side bay. As in sketch II A the decorative program consists of niches filled with statues and set between square relief panels reminiscent of the articulation of Santo Spirito in Sassia. Over the extremely narrow rectangular portal there are two angels holding what could be a family coat of arms.

As can be expected with temple front motifs there are certain similarities with the previously discussed drawing; steps set between low parapet walls lead up to a tetra-style Corinthian portico albeit this time with a more vertical orientation. Unfortunately no plan is provided but given the equally slim shadows cast by the columns, pediment and entablature it can be assumed that this portico is engaged. (If the pediment projected too much the inscription panel above it would be obscured when seen from street level thus rendering it superfluous.) With its attic the central block projects from the side bays. These are framed by Corinthian pilaster strips the two inner ones being cut off by the central block, suggesting either that they are wrapped around the corner or alternatively giving the illusion that they continue in behind the frontispiece. An attic rises behind the triangular pediment and supports statues that are placed in line with the columns. These statues are, however, cancelled out by ink wash. There are also faint outlines of chalk that indicate further pentimenti like a taller attic for the side bays, simple scrolls connecting the side bays to the attic and statues set above the corner pilasters. In the end Domenichino opted for a rather austere silhouette devoid of any ornamental relief. Again this façade with its single portal and lower side bays suggests an interior of an aisleless nave with side chapels.

Domenichino's preoccupation with the architecture of Saint Peter's is also discernible in sketch II B. Michelangelo's temple front design for this basilica was probably the point of departure for this particular drawing. Domenichino surely knew Cesare Nogari's Veduta of St. Peter's in the Sala Sistina of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana from 1587. **[fig. 107]** Since there are no surviving drawings for the façade by Michelangelo's workshop it is very likely that Domenichino was familiar with Michelangelo's project through Nogari's fresco. In this somewhat idealised depiction of Michelangelo's Saint Peter the monumental tetra-style portico is overreached by an attic and the central block projects forward while the whole length of the façade is crowned by statues. Another possible source could have been Etienne Duperac's prints from 1569 depicting Michelangelo's façade project. **[fig. 126]** Unlike Nogari, Duperac omits the statues crowning the attic. While sketch II B was meant to be for a sizeable church it is not anything on such a vast scale. Given the differences of church types and of scale it is perhaps not surprising that Domenichino does not follow the articulation as shown in Nogari's fresco. Nevertheless on a generic level he initially

sources and distils some of Michelangelo's most important features, notably -when discounting the pentimenti for a moment- the attic with the crowning statues and the vertical orientation of the slender tetra-style portico. However, like Maderno in his built façade he departs from Michelangelo's scheme by engaging the portico. Furthermore Domenichino adds more height to the attic in order to accommodate a large inscription panel and, as the pentimento shows, eventually omits the statues.[129] Not only do these modifications alter Michelangelo's design but they also add some aspects of the vocabulary of the triumphal arch to the temple front, namely the austere rectangular silhouette and an attic with an inscription panel. While Domenichino's point of departure is undoubtedly the antique temple front he does propose a solution that considers modern schemes for this motif as first suggested by no-one other than Michelangelo! He also considers Maderno's version for Saint Peter's and introduces allusions to the language of the triumphal arch. As a result he creates a form of classicism, which is unprecedented in its austerity. Basic traditional Roman building types are reworked on a generic level and this opens the way for a new architectural style that could be termed Proto-Neoclassicism. Given this combination of sources from antiquity and the more recent past sketch II B must be regarded as a very Roman design. In the course of this analysis of the twenty church facades this particular imitative process where generic Roman motifs are merged with modern sources (particularly Michelangelo) will emerge as a leitmotif that characterises Domenichino's architectural methodology.

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Sketch II E is an even stronger example of this proto-Neoclassicism. There we see the same arrangement of steps, this time leading up to the hexastyle portico supporting a huge triangular pediment **[fig. 110].** The plain wall behind has a rectangular portal with a narrow clear opening of half the height and twice the width of one of the monumental columns. An attic with a projecting central block of three bays that supports a huge inscription panel overreaches the pediment. A rare feature on Roman church facades, panels carrying inscriptions can be found in smaller versions on the

[129] The chalk lines indicate that initially the difference in height was more modest.

early Renaissance facades of Santa Maria del Popolo and, to a lesser extent, on Sant' Agostino albeit without the inscriptions, which in the case of Santa Maria del Popolo were reserved for Papal bulls. More recent instances include Lambardi's San Francesca Romana, Della Porta's San Paolo alle Tre Fontane and Madonna dei Monti as well as Rughesi's Santa Maria in Vallicella where the panel over the main portal is dedicated to the Virgin Mary and S. Gregorio Magno.[130] However, in each case these panels are different in character to sketch II E not only in scale but more importantly they are also not integral to the architecture itself. As mere relief panels or cartouches they lack the strong antique connotation of Domenichino's drawing.

The partially broken segmental pediment of sketch II E decorated with animal ornament flanking a coat of arms crowns its top and two statues are placed to the right of the inscription panel. Two simple scrolls connect the corners of the attic with the bottom of the crowning pediment. As in sketch II A the archetypal temple front with its triangular pediment occupies the lower level while here the upper level is reserved for a segmental pediment albeit broken. In sketch II E the fusion of the temple front with another building type is clearer than in the previous two designs. The temple front at lower level follows good antique Roman precedent and may even be read as a reduced version of the octa-style Pantheon facade while the crowning features are derived, via Michelangelo, from Roman fountains, particularly Ponzio's Acqua Paola (1610-14) **[fig. 127].** Altogether exceptional is his treatment of the main body of the façade, to its full width as an antique style temple front even if engaged.

As papal architect with responsibility for the Acqua Felice Domenichino will have had a natural interest in fountains but no evidence surfaced has so far that established which establishes firmly that he had any active role in this project.[131] According to the

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[130] Left panel: TOTAPULCHRA ES AMICA MEA Centre: DEIPARAE VIRGINI ET GREGORIO MAGNO Right: ET MACULA NON EST IN TE

[131] D' Onofrio, Cesare, Le fontane di Roma, con documenti e disegni inediti, Roma, 1957, p. 36, n. 2: Cfr. Arch Capit., cr,. VI, vol. 25, c. 148 ….(cfr. 231) È interessante osservare che anche Domenichino Zampieri ebbe la carica di architettto dell' Aqua Vergine nel 1622: cr. Vl. 30, c, 350, in data 21 giugno 1626.
Inauguration of the fountain Aqua Felice took place on the 15/6/1587. At this point in time the fountain was incomplete. D'Onofrio writes: " In fatti, disegnata senza alcun dubbio da Domenico Fontana e non da Giovanni – il quale, come egli stesso dichiara ebbe l'incarico da Sisto V soltanto " fare gli ornamenti della Fontana a S. Susanna dov'é il Mose" – la mostra doveva presentarsi nelle sue linee

avviso from the 1st April 1623 in the Vatican library Cardinal Ludovisi was granted 'la communicatione degli aquidotti dell'Acqua Felice per condurre alla sua vigna 44 once."[132] Perhaps Domenichino's nomination is related to this project.

In sketch II E the vast inscription panel, the segmental pediment with references to Michelangelo, the scrolls and the projecting central block are all close variations of Acqua Paola. Only the statues are an additional element and given their location and proximity to a large inscription panel they introduce a faint echo of triumphal arch architecture. Curiously they are only applied on the right side of the sketch. Perhaps this is an indication that Domenichino offers two slightly different alternative versions for this temple-fountain design. In fact this can be supported by two further details. Firstly, the architrave above the statue is salient while it is continuous on the left. Secondly, close examination shows that the intercolumniation left of the portal is narrower than for the rest of the colonnade, while the width of the columns is consistent throughout. The right side represents a systyle temple front with statues above, while the left is pycnostyle, so the close spacing of the columns on the left might be the reason for the omission of the statues here. Curiously none of the three temple front designs by Domenichino has a wider intercolumniation at the central bay, he therefore does not follow either the proposals of Michelangelo or Maderno for St. Peter's. Nor does he follow the recommendations of diverse architectural theorists. Instead he clearly adapts antique prototypes like the Pantheon, where the intercolumniation is also consistent throughout. An earlier example in modern times of such an intercolumniation in modern times is Palladio's unexecuted façade proposal for S. Petronio in Bologna. Accepting that the Pantheon was seen as one of the most important of all antique buildings it is highly likely that it served as a prototype for sketch II E. In order to bring it in line with all of the other twenty facades Domenichino adjusted the portico from octastyle to hexastyle and projected the central block further supporting the argument that each design is meant to front the same interior spatial organisation of longitudinal nave flanked by side chapels.

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architettoniche essenziali, priva d'ogni decorazione nella parte inferiore, mancavano cioè, oltre ai quattro leoni che sputano aqua, sopratutto, nella nicchia centrale la statue di Mose, a sinistra il rilievo di Aronne e a destra quello di Giosue." p. 91

[132] Avviso 1. 4. 1623 Urb. 1093A; Vatican Library, in Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr von, Geschichte der Paepste, (engl.ed.), Volume XXVIII, 1928, p. 59

A Corinthian hexa-style colonnade with an intercolumniation similar to sketch II E can be found at the Temple of Antonius and Faustina in the Forum Romanum **[fig. 106].** Orazio Torriani integrated the remnants of this temple front into his church of San Lorenzo in Miranda which was completed in 1614. Although Torriani's own facade is Ionic below Composite, and set back considerably from the colonnade, it appears in some views to add an upper storey to the temple's colonnade and entablature. The church is also crowned with a broken segmental pediment albeit of a different type from that in sketch II E. The pale flat brick façade, however, does not relate in any way to the projecting monumental Corinthian white marble colonnade fronting it. Contemporary prints show that the relationship between columns and façade was even more disjointed then. [133]

In the late twenties Domenichino would design an altar in the Porfirio chapel inside San Lorenzo in Miranda but he would already have been familiar with this church when he made these sketches. Torriani's failed attempt to integrate the temple front with contemporary church architecture might have spurred Domenichino on to take up this challenge. In sketch II E all the features of a temple front are represented and instead of the weak and skinny upper storey of San Lorenzo a more appropriate monumental articulation is applied. In order to match the monumentality of the antique temple front Domenichino shirks pilaster and wall strips, clerestorey windows and other established articulations for upper storeys of church façades and resorts to a grander architectural vocabulary sourced from fountain designs and triumphal arches thus not only marrying antiquity with contemporary architecture but also sacred and secular building types.

This combination, if more convincing than Torriani's San Lorenzo is quite unusual not only in terms of the chosen building types but also in terms of the formal implications it represents, particularly in the treatment of pediments. Up to then Roman two-storey church facades with pediments above both storeys follow established patterns. In some cases they have equally sized pediments but the majority of facades have a crowning pediment spanning the entire upper storey while the lower

[133] A plate by Vasi shows how the how San Lorenzo in Miranda looked then.

pediment is confined to the central bay as part of an aedicule. Some examples of the first category are the aforementioned San Paolo delle Tre Fontane by della Porta, Santa Maria Maddalena delle Convertite and Vignola's Santa Maria dell'Orto while Il Gesù, Santa Maria in Vallicella, Santa Susanna are just a few well known examples for the quite frequently found second category. **[figs. 118, 119, 129, 145, 170]** There is, however, no Roman example earlier than Domenichino's sketch where the crowning pediment is smaller than the lower one. Only in 1663, with the completion of the Oratorio del Gonfalone by Domenico Castelli do we find a fully developed broader pediment placed below a smaller one in a Roman façade **[fig. 128]**. Incidentally Castelli's design provides an interesting comparison with sketch II E. Its similar silhouette is also developed around the temple front motif but here it is treated conventionally and set into a different typological context. Castelli translates this motif into a two-storey façade of superimposed orders, a scheme common to Roman Counter Reformation churches, and crowns it with a vast relief panel set between scrolls and topped by a substantial segmental pediment. Typological correspondences with sketch II E thus also extend to the language of fountain architecture but the overall effect is wholly different. Not only is the reference to triumphal arches lost, but the superimposed pilaster-strips (Composite below Ionic!) lack the grandeur of a temple front and the inclusion of so many openings evokes a palace façade. This further contradicts the sense of monumentality that is so essential to Domenichino's faithful adoption of the ancient motif in combination with elements of fountain architecture.

In search for earlier examples of this arrangement of pediments one has to look north to Palladian church façades like San Giorgio Maggiore (1566), where combined pediments are a result of two interlocked temple fronts. Like sketch II E this solution covers the cross section of the basilica behind the façade. However, unlike the Palladian design, sketch II E preserves the integrity of the broad temple front. In order to achieve this Domenichino imports the aforementioned elements of fountain architecture as a frontage for the upper reaches of the cross section behind the central block. In contrast to Palladio's interlocking system the emphasis is now on the unaltered classical temple front and as such it assumes the majestic monumentality of

antique temples that is missing from the Venetian churches (with the exception of Palladio's unrealised proposal for a free-standing portico for S. Giorgio Maggiore).

To state that Domenichino undertook a methodical exploration of the classical temple front motif would be an overstatement. Nevertheless he did engage with a motif that was largely overlooked not only by his own generation of architects but also by those preceding him, with the exception of Michelangelo and Palladio. Only for that reason is his interest in the motif remarkable. Even more remarkable is the originality of his solutions considering that they were based on only a few components, the iconic elements of a temple front and simplified variations on the early modern five-bay façade. Within these confines he marries antiquity with early modern and fuses sacred with secular architecture. In the process influences emerge that comprise surviving examples of Roman antiquity as well as the output of modern architects like Michelangelo, Maderno, della Porta, Ponzio and Orazio Torriani. In the case of the latter Domenichino's sketches can be seen as a critical response to the failed attempt to integrate the antique columns into the façade of San Lorenzo in Miranda. Sketches II A and II E propose novel solutions regarding the arrangement of two pediments. Domenichino does not contemplate interlocking pediments, in fact this omission emphasises the originality of his designs. He surely was aware of Palladio's use of temple fronts, but in this distant dialogue his novel responses fully preserve every element of the iconic temple front and thus imbue it with Roman authenticity. In order to heighten the distinct and true character of these three temple fronts he distinguishes them by his choice of steps leading up to the portico. Only they and none of the other designs incorporate a flight of steps flanked by low parapet walls, thus conforming to the tradition of an ancient design. Had they been built each of the three temple fronts would have projected a very Roman urban image. By resurrecting this ancient motif in its pure form Domenichino gives a glimpse of an architectural style that would only begin to be established well into the second half of the seventeenth century with the twin churches of Santa Maria in Montesanto (1679) and Santa Maria dei Miracoli (1681) in the Piazza del Popolo.

Other architects instead followed the general trend described earlier namely to transform the temple front motif into two-storey facades with superimposed orders. This became the outward expression of most Counter Reformation churches and it

was largely generated by the cross-section of the basilican structure behind. An early full statement of this solution is Antonio da Sangallo's S. Spirito in Sassia but Giacomo della Porta's façade of Il Gesù established itself as the most influential façade in Rome. **[fig. 129]** The only authentic surviving remnants of the temple front motif are the elevated position and the triangular pediment. While the core section of the facades still employs the elemental temple constituents of wall and order they are completely transformed by compressing them into a slightly gradating three stepped plane, recasting the orders as paired pilasters, piercing the wall with niches and openings and by superimposing a variation of this scheme on the upper storeys. Many façades followed suit, the most important being Santa Maria in Vallicella, Santa Susanna, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Sant'Andrea della Valle, San Giacomo degli Incurabili, and a project for S.Trinita dei Pellegrini, etc. Each storey of their two-storey façades is expressed with an order and with scrolls linking the wider lower storey with the narrower pedimented upper storey. To a lesser or greater degree these facades follow a dynamic with an acceleration of incidents towards the centre. Prime examples are Il Gesù and Santa Susanna. Long before the early 1620s this scheme had been repeated to a point where a certain paralysis set in. This aspect is important when considering the next set of façade designs by Domenichino. While they are essentially based on della Porta's Il Gesù they introduce greater depth in terms of articulation and references to historical models.

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The drawings I C, D, E, F, III A, as well as the fragments IV and V, fall, to a greater and or lesser extent, into that category. All these facades are loosely based on the common theme of the Gesù façade.[134] **[fig. 98, 99, 100, 129]** This manifests itself in different ways with each variation emphasising different aspects of the Gesù often in combination with other iconic architectural motifs. Thus the overall articulation frequently goes beyond the Roman conventions of the time. Unlike the temple fronts that were sketched out in broad strokes the articulation of these façades depends on a more detailed drawing as the range of the architectural vocabulary is broader, more dynamic, denser and multilayered.

[134] This theme is also discernible in a diluted form in some of the other sketches. However, because of their stronger affinities with different types I will discuss them separately.

These sketches share common features such as the wider lower storeys with side bays and projecting two storey central blocks crowned with triangular pediments and flanked by simple scrolls in the upper storey in the mode of late Cinquecento Roman churches like San Girolamo degli Schiavoni by Martino Longhi the Older (1588) or the generic church design by Serlio in Book IV. **[figs. 130, 131]** In fact none of the twenty facades features the elaborate S-scrolls of the Gesù example. Instead their plainness contrasts with the otherwise quite elaborate ornamental program. In these designs Domenichino is always careful to emphasise verticality. Scrolls like those of the Gesù are broad in character and emphasize horizontality and as such they do not suit Domenichino's preferences.

Sketch I C is a case in point and presents a good comparison with Il Gesù. **[fig. 132, 129]** The dominant motif taken from the Jesuit church is the application of paired orders. It is precisely their treatment and interplay with the scrolls that illustrates Domenichino's greater vertical stress. In both facades the vertical orientation is emphasised as the paired orders are set on tall plinths and carried *en ressault* all the way up into the pediment of the central block. However, in Sketch I C, as in all other Gesù-type sketches, the vertical stress is even more pronounced, firstly on a very generic level due to the compression of the Gesù's five bays into three. Secondly, and unlike Il Gesù with its elevation based on a square this sketch is based on an upright rectangle and thirdly at the corners of the Gesù the vertical movement stops with the paired pilasters meeting the main entablature, while in sketch I C it continues to rise upwards past the springing of the slender scrolls where it terminates in paired statues. In the Gesù the vertical movement is confined to the lower storey whereas Domenichino employs continuous verticality beyond the cornice of the side bays. The choice of scrolls in each case reflects the difference in orientation. The prominent broad S-scrolls of the Gesù introduce horizontality in contrast to the inconspicuous slender scrolls of sketch I C which leads the eye upwards, linking the lower pair of statues with that placed above the pediment. The above features are common to all of the Gesù–type facades introduced above, thus further emphasising Domenichino's general fondness for verticality.

As already mentioned the dominant motif of paired orders, along with the silhouette establishes the connection between Il Gesù and sketch I C. Not only do the orders give a vertical accent to the façade but they also determine the rhythm of the bays and help to articulate the plasticity of the wall surface. A look at the plans drawn below the facades will give a better insight into the layering of the façade. Sketch I C provides a variety of solutions, of which most seem to have been discounted by Domenichino, as the cancellations suggest, and some of these deviate in some aspects from the elevation. But plan A **[figs. 132, 133],** drawn immediately below the elevation, is not crossed out and corresponds well with it. In fact closer examination shows two slightly different half plans separated by the central portal. Reading plan A left of the portal from the corner towards the centre the façade articulation starts with engaged double pilasters followed by a bay with a central niche then follows a clustering of a half pilaster with paired half columns. The section of the plan relating to the portal is not legible. Here the only clear feature consists of the free-standing columns that form part of the portal's aedicule. Given the size of the circular mark it seems to show a cylindrical base and not the much skinnier column above. Such a plinth appears occasional at portals of Roman palazzi including Domenichino's own design at the Palazzo Lancellotti from 1628 but is an unusual feature for Roman church facades. [135]

In Plan A the area right of the portal deviates in one important aspect which concerns the paired inner order. Instead of using two half columns the inner column projects further out as it is turned into a three quarter column as a *pentimento* shows. This

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[135] The cylindrical plinth is a feature accepted by Vitruvius although only for the Tuscan order, and it also appears in Palladio's drawings of the Tuscan order of the lower terrace of the Roman theatre in Verona and for his Basilica arcades. Cylindrical bases are also a feature of the Venetian architecture of Pietro Lombardo and Mauro Codussi. Domenichino could have based his design on the authority of these precedents, however he uses it for different orders and makes them much higher than prescribed by Vitruvius. There are also one or two precedents for circular plinths flanking portals of Roman palazzi. Vitruvius, De Architectura, Book IV, Chapter 7, 3: Habeant spirae earum plinthium ed circinum, altam suae crasstudinis dimidia parte, torum unsuper cum apophysi crasum quantum plinthus.
The bases should have a circular plinth, half its breadth in height; above this, the torus with its apothysis should be exactly as high as the plinth. Translation Rowland and Howe, Vitruvius, Ten Books on Architecture, Cambridge, 1999, p. 61
Boucher, Bruce,'Nature and the Antique in the work of Andrea Palladio', in The Journal of Architectural Historians, Vol. 59, No. 3, Sep. 2000, pp. 296-311 (300, 301, 309)

three stepped projection corresponds with the entablature, which, as the use of a different pen in the original suggests, was also subject to changes. The portal design in the right plan is legible and it corresponds with the elevation above and also reveals a responding pilaster behind the free-standing columns.

The paired pilasters at the corners, as well as the use of asymmetrical clustering involving half pilasters and paired orders as a means of achieving a three-stepped façade projection from bay to bay are features common to the plans of Sketch I C and the Gesù. Another common feature that is only present in the elevation of the sketch I C concerns the inner column of the broken aedicule. A line drawn parallel and very close to the left of this column suggests this could be an alveolic, just like the three quarter columns framing the main portal of the Gesù. While this is not shown in plan it is quite likely that Domenichino considered this articulation, given the other Il Gesù reference in the treatment of the orders. He also designed similar wall columns for the portal of the Palazzo Lancellotti (1628).

Plan B **[fig. 132, 133]** also shows a similar alveolic column right of the portal which incidentally differs from the engaged column on the left. In size neither match those depicted in the elevation, which suggests that they are related to an earlier version of a portal now pasted over. The recurring paired pilaster motif of the left half plan B is the closest version to the Gesù. There is, however, no triple projection. Instead the portal is set back, which is very unusual for that time, while the triple projection of the right half plan follows the Gesù model but the paired inner order is composed of half columns in place of the Gesù's pilaster strips. The two further half plans D and E are crossed out and gradually move away from the prototype towards greater plasticity by employing more projection and more columnar articulation. Plan C **[fig. 132, 133]** is not cancelled but hatched over and given the fact that it is drawn in the same dark pen as the *pentimenti* of the entablature and the pediment it seems to represent an afterthought drawn with a different pen perhaps at a different time. At the corner free-standing paired columns are placed in front of (now) responding pilasters and across the niched bay this columnar motif is repeated but now the inner free-standing column

steps forward by a whole diameter of a column and the skinnier, free-standing column of the portal's aedicule is on the same plane.

While the majority of these plans are deleted they still represent definite stages in Domenichino's thinking and taken together show a transformation of the Gesù model, a progression from relative adherence to the prototype towards a richer palette in terms of the use of orders and plasticity. This parallels the changes of Roman church facades from Il Gesù to Santa Susanna (1602) to the Maderno/ Borromini project for Sant'Andrea della Valle with paired orders of three quarter columns. Plans B and C, however, go beyond this project, the former by recessing the central bay, hitherto only known from Antonio da Sangallo's otherwise unremarkable S. Maria in Porta Paradisi, and the latter by letting the order step out of the wall. Thus they constitute the endpoint of the transformation of the comparatively flat Gesù façade into a sculptural ensemble. Importing free-standing columns into this design is testimony to Domenichino's predilection for classical Roman columnar architecture. Medieval churches with *loggie* made use of free-standing columns in a Roman context but the single storey churches of San Nicola in Carcere and Santa Maria dell'Orto are more recent precedents while Northern Italy also provides recent examples. At the same time freestanding columns foreshadow the era of very diverse Roman columnar church facades, from Borromini's San Carlo (1634) to Longhi's San Vincenzo ed Anastasia (1646-50), to Carlo Rainaldi's Sant'Andrea della Valle (1661-67), and Santa Maria in Campitelli (1662-67) to Fontana's San Marcello al Corso (1682-84) to Galilei's S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini (1734).

Sketch I C underwent more *pentimenti* in elevation and plan than any other façade drawing. Initially an alternative elevation was considered by Domenichino, an almost rectangular block-like façade as can be seen at the right side of the upper storey. However, as the ink wash shows he settled for a façade with a narrower upper storey on a broader lower storey. Another *pentimento* already discussed in plan A in the elevation is the treatment of the aedicule within an aedicule framing the lower central block. It seems that originally the paired order was in one plane with a broken

segmental pediment above that terminated in volutes. A commemorative relief panel set between sphinxes reaches to the cornice plinth of the upper storey. The broken and segmental volutes and the panel with the inscription are a clear quotation of Michelangelo's Porta Pia which is also the source for Domenichino's similar tomb monument for Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi. **[fig. 66]** Resting on the broken segments are reclining statues thus recalling Michelangelo's in San Lorenzo in Florence (1525-34)**. [fig.67]** This constitutes one of a few incidents where a motif from an interior sacral space appears within this series of sketches carrying a connotation of commemoration into the fabric of the façade thus being suggestive of the idea of a mausoleum, an idea which was actively pursued by Ludovico Cardinal Ludovisi at the time. The altar-like arrangement of the portal further emphasises this notion. I will elaborate on this theme elsewhere.

Based on the evidence of the aforementioned *pentimenti* it seems that Domenichino reconsidered the organisation of the central paired order. As already pointed out plan C and the *pentimenti* in plan A, together with the elevation, show a projecting inner order crowned by a triangular pediment. If these *pentimenti* are valid the result is a reversal of the Michelangelesque treatment of the pediments at the Porta Pia and of Domenichino's earlier tomb monument for Cardinal Agucchi where the projecting broken segmental pediments are set within the outer triangular pediment, an impossible arrangement in this case, because the reclining figures take that space, thus the triangular pediment must be relegated inside the broken segmental one, if both pediments are to co-exist. An early façade project by Maderno and Borromini for Sant' Andrea della Valle also shows such an inversion of the Michelangelesque motif **[fig. 134]**, but the very first example is the portal of Santa Maria in Trivio (1575) by Michelangelo's assistant Giacomo del Duca (1520-1601) who, among other projects, worked on the Porta Pia.[136] **[fig. 135]** Unlike del Duca, Domenichino links pediments and columns thus creating a double aedicule that has a much broader and more monumental aspect than the portal of S. Maria in Trivio. Finally, Michelangelo's fluted pilasters are discounted in favour of the paired order, the façade's dominant motif.

[136] For del Duca's involvement in the Porta Pia see: Benedetti, Sandro, Giacomo del Duca e l'architettura del Cinquecento, Rome, 1972-73, pp. 47-60

The most radical of all *pentimenti* concerns the portal itself as an examination of the original drawing in the Print Room of Windsor Castle makes clear. It is drawn on a separate piece of paper that was cut to size and pasted onto the sketch. This portal is unique among the twenty sketches as it is the only one composed of an aedicule of free-standing columns on high cylindrical pedestals as can be deduced from the diameter of the free-standing columns in both plans A and C below the elevation.[137] Unlike any of the other aediculae, not only does it frame the actual opening but also a decorative panel above it. While there are four earlier Roman churches with an aedicular portal of free-standing columns, only Lambardi's S. Prisca (before 1620) features a columnar aedicule set on high plinths.[138] **[fig. 136]** There is also a similar relationship between the aedicular portal and the paired orders as applied to S. Prisca and sketch I C. However, unlike Lambardi's plinths that differ in height from column to pilaster, Domenichino adjusts the height of all the plinths across the façade of sketch I C to the same level. Carlo Lambardi's use of the aedicular portal is probably inspired by the Palladian model as this influence frequently features in his facades while in Domenichino's case the composition of an aedicular portal with flanking niches can be traced to altar designs. The impact of Palladio on the designs of both architects will be discussed later.

Corresponding vertically with the portal is the clerestorey window and its flanking niches. This vertical alignment results in a peculiar tripartite design of a clerestorey opening and niches. Normally opening and niches are separated and spread over three bays but Domenichino treats them here and elsewhere as one unit of which he experiments frequently in his designs. **[fig. 132]**

The motif of the paired order has its roots in Bramante's designs for the Palazzo Caprini begun 1501. It first appears in church façade designs by Giuliano da Sangallo and Michelangelo for San Lorenzo in 1516-19, in an evolved form where orders flank

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[137] The diameter of the circles in plans A and B match those of the pedestals in elevation and are bigger than the columns shown in elevation

[138] The other four are SS. Nereo e Achilleo (architect unknown, 1475), S. Cesario in Palatino (architect unknown, 16th century), Santa Maria della Scala by Franceso Capriani da Volterra, Girolamo Rainaldi and Ottavio Nonni (1588) , and Sallustio Peruzzi's S. Maria in Traspontina (1587)

a niche. **[figs. 137, 138]** Drawings and built architecture (Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne, 1532-36) by Peruzzi explore the motif further. Around that time Serlio devised a generic church façade in his Fourth Book that served as a source for many Counter Reformation churches. **[fig. 131]** His paired order follows that of Michelangelo's San Lorenzo or possibly the common source of the upper Cortile del Belvedere by Bramante. With Giacomo della Porta's Il Gesù design (1571-77) the paired order becomes an iconic motif for Counter Reformation church facades and as such it represents an essential motif and point of departure for Domenichino's sketch I C. There it determines the façade's rhythm and vertical orientation that goes further than the prototype. *Pentimenti* give us an insight into how Domenichino pushes design principles like plasticity, layering, projection and the use of free-standing orders beyond the conventions of the time. His sculptural and pronounced columnar articulation has its source in both antique Roman classicism and Michelangelesque motifs. Thus Domenichino breaks with the prevailing conventions of Roman façade design and moreover expresses symbolic meaning with this façade's articulation. The rich sculptural program potentially enhances this symbolism and adds to the distinct vertical orientation. In this respect sketch I C foreshadows Filippo Juvarra S. Cristina in Turin, 1739 particularly when we accept plan C as the ultimate proposal for sketch I C. **[fig. 139]**

Sketch I E is similar to I C, yet marginally less ambiguous. **[fig. 140]** Again paired Corinthian orders are the dominant motif in the central bay of the façade. This time the columns of each pair are on different planes and their articulation is expressed more clearly in elevation. Judging from the salient entablature a new element is introduced in the side bays with the clustering of corner pilasters in two different planes. There follows a bay with a statue-filled niche. Then come clustered orders consisting of a half pilaster and paired but staggered, engaged fluted columns as mentioned above. As in sketch I C all these orders are set on high plinths. The corresponding plan however, suggests a different articulation consisting of double pilasters followed by a niche and presumably paired half columns. The portal is articulated in a more familiar Domenichino style than that of sketch I C as it consists of an aedicule set into an arch with its lunette decorated with three figures. However, it incorporates the unusual element of two smaller free- standing unfluted columns on

a low base which support trumpeting angels on either side of the arch. On the basis of the two half plans below the elevation it is possible to argue that the outer column framing the central bay is an engaged half column while the inner one is a three quarter column set into a niche in the wall. However, these plans are not exactly clear. Compared with sketch I C the sculptural program is even richer, statues crown the orders and are arranged across different levels of the façade. Light pen marks between the paired statues suggest that Domenichino even envisaged groups of three on each corner, an idea he abandoned. The central statues of these triads below are set against the plinth of the second storey where they alternate with the relief panels, a combination evocative of the attic articulation of some of the ancient triumphal arches. The outer columns of the central bay support two statues, one above each storey, while the volutes of the broken segmental crowning pediment rest on lions flanking a crest.

So far the design principles of sketch I E can generally be related to those already discussed in the context of sketch I C; but now clustered as well as paired orders organise the façade and stress verticality in exactly the same way as they also terminate in statues. However, in sketch I E none of the orders are in the same plane, the projections and recessions happen within one bay and accelerate the rhythm of the façade, while the overall progression from pilaster to freestanding column via half columns and three-quarter wall columns is the underlying principle. The projection of one of the corner pilasters is reminiscent of Sallustio Peruzzi's and Ottavio Mascherino's S. Maria in Traspontina from 1587 but the entire façade of this sketch is much more animated and less regular. **[fig. 141]**

Due to the hatching the upper order also reads as columns and judging by the entablature they appear to reflect the projections of the lower storey. Set against responds the outer order supports the crowning triangular pediment while the inner columns support an inner broken scroll pediment. This is another parallel with Porta Pia. **[fig. 66]**

One important aspect, obscured by heavy use of ink wash in sketch I C is clearly legible in I E. It is the layering of the wall surface by means of a wall frame in the central bay. A shadow indicates a substantial recession of the wall surface in the upper central bay. Derived from the upper storey of Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori this layering of wall surface is a recurring theme in Domenichino's architectural thinking and here it is further explored by the relief panels placed beside the clerestorey window. **[fig. 96]**

Apart from the allusion to the triumphal arch attic, sketch I E refers to another motif from classical antiquity. As we have seen, the portal is flanked by minor free-standing columns that are tied into the portal's entablature at the springing point of the arch and they support statues. This columnar motif is unprecedented for church portals at the time and together with the arch this composition can be seen as echoing the interior, central niche design opposite the entrance of the Pantheon. **[fig. 142]** Set into a new context Domenichino modified the individual features. The deep niche is turned into a shallow arch, which is decorated with Christian motifs and the columns support statues suggestive of figures of fame that immediately augment the celebratory connotations. It is typical of Domenichino to contextualise a classical source within a modern framework and invest it with the propagandist language of Counter Reformation architecture. Incidentally, during his Papacy in the middle of the seventeenth century Alexander VII (1655-67) intended to decorate the entire attic storey of the Pantheon with *angeloni* that would replace the lost antique statues[139] thus the existence of a sculptural programme once located there was generally known and Domenichino's portal scheme might have been devised with that knowledge in mind. Perhaps he was also familiar with Peruzzi's longitudinal section of the Pantheon that shows statues crowning the free-standing columns flanking the central niche. **[fig. 143]** .

Again commemorative overtones can be detected in the architectural symbolism of the overall scheme of sketch I E. Already the choice of source introduces associations

[139] Marder, Tod, A., 'Bernini and Alexander VII: Criticism and Praise of the Pantheon in the Seventeenth Century', in The Art Bulletin, Vol. 71, No. 4, Dec. 1989, pp. 628-645, see p. 632 & pp. 641-42 & n. 51

with the sovereignty of imperial leadership which in the new context adopts also also a new meaning- that of the church triumphant. [140]

Sketch I D explores very different architectural sources. **[fig. 144]** Again the type is that of Il Gesù albeit on a more generic level. We are left with a similar silhouette, the projecting central block, but also a lower storey both with a major and minor order. Some features of sketch I D are difficult to read as this sketch seems to be the result of an evolving design process where ideas from different stages left their mark on the façade. Evidence of this lies in the difference between the two plans, the articulation of the side bays and the minor changes in both the upper and lower central bays. Nevertheless the overall conception of the façade articulation is clearly expressed despite some confusing details that reflect the different stages of the design process.

The main themes of sketch I D are the combination of major and minor orders in the lower storey and the layering of wall surfaces and orders. While there is an inconsistency regarding the articulation of the major order throughout the façade, the minor order is consistently clear and legible. It runs across the three bays as an Ionic order of half pilasters tucked in behind the major Corinthian order and culminates in paired free-standing columns that form part of the aedicule framing the portal. The aedicule has a segmental pediment with a shell motif in the tympanum and it supports reclining figures. This entire scheme is deeply indebted to Michelangelo. Firstly, the reclining figures of the segmental pediment recall those of the Medici tombs and secondly and more importantly, Michelangelo's novel use of orders and his window design at Palazzo dei Conservatori surfaces in Domenichino's scheme where an engaged order and the portal are merged into one architectural unit that is intersected by the dominant major order. Domenichino not only applies a whole Michelangelesque architectural scheme to the lower storey of a church facade at a

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[140] During his Roman sojourns Hadrian governed, passed legislation and held court while occupying a seat placed in the central apse. This information was available then and can be found in Dio Cassio, op. cit., LXIX, 7.
See: Joost-Gaugier, Christine, L., 'The Iconography of Sacred Space: A Suggested Reading of the Meaning of the Roman Pantheon', in Atribus et Historiae, Vol. 19, No. 38, 1998, p. 25
Loerke, William C. 'A rereading of the interior elevation of Hadrian's Rotunda', in The Journal of the Architectural Historians , Vol. 49, No. 1, March 1990, pp. 22-43

time when nobody else does, but he organises the borrowed motifs into a cohesive whole that is an appropriate articulation of a baroque Roman church facade.

In contrast there is a lack of cohesion in relation to the major order. They do not always correspond and are rather an expression of a variety of different ideas. The left corner recalls Il Gesu as it seems to be articulated with paired pilasters, a feature that also appears in the plan below even if differently spaced. While the paired statues above the order confirms this feature, there are other details some of them perhaps pentimenti that contradict such a reading. For example, the second pilaster could also be read as part of a wall frame particularly when contextualising it with the matching feature on the right corner.

The next set of major orders consists of clustered pilasters on high plinths. The clustering here leads to speculation about whether the corner pilasters mentioned above are actually meant to be an asymmetrical cluster as this would constitute a logical corresponding feature across the left bay. However, the evidence for this is too vague and details like the difference in the treatment of plinths do not support such a reading. Given these factors this cluster of pilasters seems to be a singular feature that evolved during the design process perhaps because it would add additional depth and thus enhance the wall-layering. Unlike the left side the right side of sketch I D is articulated by corresponding fluted Corinthian pilasters. Together with the wall framing device of the bays this proposal is less experimental as it represents a more faithful quotation of Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori. In contrast to the left side the plan below shows greater correspondence with the elevation and increased surface relief towards the centre. Both plans culminate in free-standing paired columns with responds that are a continuation of the minor Ionic pilaster order that subdivides the three bays into five. Incidentally the tripartite division of the minor order in the central bay was initially reflected in the upper storey as a close examination reveals salient entablature with fragmented lines representing pilasters.

When considering the layering of the wall surfaces we can see that the influence of the Palazzo dei Conservatori is much stronger in sketch I D. The upper storey shows a

wall-framing device based on Michelangelo's model. This device is repeated throughout the whole façade. In the lower storey its clearest manifestation is the right side bay and despite some interfering marks representing other ideas that will be addressed below it is still legible in the central and left bay. As with the orders Domenichino develops this Michelangelesque idea to greater complexity by multi-layering the surfaces. The layering in the right side bay of the elevation consists of Corinthian pilaster, wall frame, Ionic half pilaster, wall frame and finally the niche. This combination of pilasters and wall frames results in a continuous recession of surfaces that terminates with the niches. Unfortunately this multilayered treatment of the bays is not recorded in all its facets in the plans below.

Domenichino added a further layer as is shown by the pentimento that is drawn across the entire lower façade. These marks representing decorative strips reserved for festoons between the Corinthian capitals are drawn over the upper part of the initial wall frame which is, as it were, 'moved down' as the line indicates that it is drawn across the relief panels above the entablature of the minor order. A side effect of this is the downsizing of these relief panels. Incidentally their original size and place and the overall bay organisation is reminiscent of the corner bays in Carlo Maderno's proposal for Sant'Andrea della Valle from 1624 **[fig. 134]**

These modifications give some insight into Domenichino's design process which moves from a Michelangelesque architectural approach towards the decorative conventions of Renaissance and classical Roman ornament. Domenichino reorganises the relationship between Michelangelesque order and wall layering in favour of decorative panels and festoon strip. In the process Michelangelo's scheme for the Palazzo dei Conservatori is subjected and fused with long established forms of classical ornament.

As mentioned above fluted orders only appear in the right half of the sketch. Another difference between the left and right half concerns the application of the minor entablature. While the entablature disappears behind the wall framing device and the orders on the left it runs across the framing bands on the right which takes away from

the plasticity of the façade. Such evidence suggests the common practice of proposing two alternative designs each being represented by one half of the sketch. However, a lack of consistency in the features within one half, namely the left, makes this unlikely. A more likely scenario is that sketch I D gives us glimpses into Domenichino's design process where motifs are developed and explored during the process of drawing and the final outcome is not a fully resolved façade solution but an exposition on the theme of a Gesù-type façade with optional variations mainly based on the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

What seems at first sight to be a simple copying of architectural motifs is in fact a complex rearrangement of an architectural vocabulary indebted to Michelangelo that was hardly, if at all, sourced by contemporary architects. As we have seen, individual motifs are contextualized, cast in other roles and modified to organize them into a coherent, complex and novel composition. In the event the transition of architectural motifs from a public building to church façade becomes a stimulating factor in the creative process.

Domenichino also recasts the window motif of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. We recognise the shell ornament set into a segmental pediment that is steeper and bolder than its source and crowned by reclining figures well known from Michelangelo's Medici tomb. The broken wall sections embracing the shell motif of the tympanum are larger and more powerful than Michelangelo's because paired, free-standing Ionic columns take the place of the single columnar window aedicule. Such an articulation is most likely derived from Rughesi's portal of Santa Maria in Vallicella (1605). **[fig. 145]** Domenichino shows great fondness for this motif as it reappears in the sketch fragments IV and V, albeit in the Doric and the Corinthian orders respectively. **[fig. 146, 147]**

Not only similar portals but also the subdivisions of the lower storey and the presence of a minor order make fragments IV and V variations of sketch I D, and as such this scheme gains significance and becomes a minor theme within this series of sketches. Moreover these fragments explore variations on the major order. Sketch IV shows in

plan and elevation to the right of the portal a symmetrical cluster of pilasters that appears to merge with a corner pilaster turning and stepping back into the next plane. The wall frame device is replaced by an entablature which is salient above the pilasters. Placed directly above it is the main entablature and together they form the highly unusual feature of a double entablature that also appears as a variation in section and elevation in Domenichino's Sant' Ignazio proposal**. [fig. 220]** Unlike in sketch I D with its continuous main entablature, in sketch IV the entablature is salient and thus the upward movement of the orders terminates in a broken double pediment that frames a relief panel. The orders of sketch IV are continued into the upper storey. The left side of the sketch lacks a plan and is much sketchier. Given the general similarity between both sides it can be assumed that the same scheme is depicted here albeit in a less finished state. The broken triangular double pediment framing a relief panel is a common arrangement for late Cinquecento designs particularly for tomb monuments. Again the half plan shows a degree of plasticity which is highly unusual for the time.

In Sketch V **[fig. 147]** the outer lower order and the upper paired order are flush while the lower inner order projects and forms part of an aedicule with a segmental pediment. This is an order of projecting pilasters set against a Michelangelesque wall frame. A major change that echoes a similar division in the Gesù façade is the wall section above the entablature of the minor order the height of which is almost the same as the height of the minor order below it. **[fig. 129]** An important pentimento drawn in red chalk has been inserted here. Rising above the segmental pediment are shadowy lines that run across the entablature. They represent a projecting panel for inscription with a salient entablature above and statues on either side. This feature is without precedent in Roman church facades, It is, however, still suggestive of two distinct sources. In one respect it is a reworking of the triumphal arch motif this time taken from the Arch of Titus. **[fig. 148]** The inner columns of this arch support a salient entablature with a projecting inscriptive panel above. Domenichino reverses this by placing the panel below the entablature that is still salient. By reversing this ancient feature Domenichino retains its commemorative character while adapting it to the horizontal layering of a modern church façade such as the Gesù. The horizontal division and large relief panel above a portal flanked by statues are architectural and

ornamental constituents that are taken as models from the Gesù façade, reworked and merged with the triumphal arch motif that occurs at the Arches of Titus and Trajan in Ancona, both of which he must have known, and the Arch of Benevento which has the same general disposition as these arches but additionally displays a bas relief sculptural programme flanking the inscriptive panel. **[figs. 149, 150]** As a result the ornamental relief panel above the portal of the Gesù becomes integrated into the architectural make up of the façade articulation. A similar relationship between statues and inscriptive panel can be observed in Domenichino's triumphal arch fresco on the west wall in the Cappella di S. Nilo in Grottaferrata, and Domenichino's painting of a triumphal arch displays relief panels in this place. **[figs. 3, 151]**

The salient entablature above the relief panel in sketch V gives rise to further speculation about the articulation of the entablature in sketch I D. Unusually for Domenichino's façade designs derived from the Gesù model the main entablature is not salient above the orders. However, two vertical lines above the corners of the segmental pediment suggest a minor projection of that wall surface not unlike that in sketch V. We also notice small pieces of paper pasted over the entablature exactly above these lines. Maybe they cover marks that show the entablature to be salient at this point, very similar to those in sketch V, although less pronounced. Thus the entablature would have been in three planes with projections towards the centre. Of course, this is just speculation and only Domenichino knows what was there originally and why he cancelled both it and the plinth of the second storey without proposing an alternative.

Sketches I D, IV and V form a sub-category of the Gesù sketches which establishes a strong affinity with Palazzo dei Conservatori. **[figs. 144, 146, 147]** They unify some of Michelangelo's architectural and ornamental constituents to form one scheme mainly for the lower storey (the wall framing device also appears in the upper storey of sketch I D). However, while Domenichino offers a single solution for the minor order, the major order is rendered with differing degrees of distance from the source. Other features like the horizontal spacing of the lower storey and the arrangement concerning relief panels and statues in sketch V, show affinities with the Gesù façade

but are partially derived partially from reversing triumphal arch motifs that appear on the Arches of Benevento, Titus in Rome, and Trajan in Ancona. By use of imitative techniques Domenichino establishes a Michelangelesque Gesù-type façade that occasionally appropriates motifs from classical antiquity.

Another feature of sketch I D is a variation of the aedicular tripartite opening that was already visible in sketch I C. This aedicular tripartite clerestorey window is a design peculiar to Domenichino and clearly he was fond of it as it also occurs in sketch II D and with modifications in sketches I C, I E, II D and sketch V. **[figs. 98, 99, 147]** This version is composed of two aediculae flanking an arched window, which is itself flanked by two columns supporting statues. The set of six columns mirror the minor order of the lower storey even if the correspondences are not precise.

Since larger churches have an upper storey that is usually divided by orders into three bays with a central opening and niches in the neighbouring bays, and smaller churches feature just a clerestorey window, no other Roman church façade shows this type of clerestorey articulation. Incidentally, Domenichino contemplated a three-bayed central block articulation for sketch I D. A closer look shows salient sections of entablature at pediment level, and there are fragmented lines depicting pilasters below, but he abandoned this idea in favour of his idiosyncratic tripartite aedicule. This is characteristic of his approach in other facades. The correspondences in articulation between the two storeys of the frontispiece would not have been as pronounced in the rejected scheme. To achieve the desired effect Domenichino devised a motif that could correspond to portals with elaborate columnar articulation like the one in this sketch, sketch I C or II D with the Serliana at ground level.

By breaking with the conventional and dull division of three bays in the upper division of church frontispieces Domenichino creates a tripartite motif set into a single bay frontispiece. While this is quite a unique feature it does carry nevertheless reminders of Giuliano's façade for a religious edifice **[fig. 137]** and may also be related to a similar articulation on Palladio's secular building of the Loggia del Capitaniato. An even closer parallel is the Arch of Augustus known from Roman

coins. **[figs. 152, 153]** There are further indications elsewhere that Domenichino consulted such coins in his architectural output and it also should be pointed out that he was a friend of the antiquarian Francesco Angeloni who himself owned a sizeable collection of Roman coins. Since both men shared an interest in classical antiquity Domenichino was perhaps made aware of this particular motif on Roman coins.

This tripartite aedicule has another profound impact on the clerestorey as it results in the suppression of the temple front motif. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter the Roman Counter Reformation façade is an evolved temple front design reorganised over two storeys with Il Gesù becoming an iconographic model. While the temple front motif is still present in the clerestorey of Il Gesù the tripartite aediculae in the sketches I C, D, E, II D and V denies the rhythmical organisation of a trabeated system of orders that is the core feature of a temple front. Clearly these sketches rely on and explore the architectural vocabulary of the Gesù façade which is still genetically linked to the temple front, but at same time they break with this tradition and the crucial motif for achieving this break is the tripartite aedicule in the clerestorey.[141] Thus part of the exploration of the Il Gesù façade is the denial of its temple front motif and this denial facilitates an innovative shift in façade articulation. By no means does this imply that Domenichino had little regard for temple fronts. Recalling his temple front sketches in this context Domenichino seems to be saying either do a temple front properly or do something else and here he turns the upper storey into an aedicule, another important design-generating motif for Domenichino that establishes a further category of façades.

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Before discussing the individual sketches for another category of facades it is important to establish the different types of aedicular facades. As we have just seen an aedicule frames the upper storey of sketch I D and other such examples are the sketches II D, F, III C and III F. These upper storey aedicules are secondary features that constitute only a portion of a facade and consequently none of these sketches

[141] The tripartite aedicule also appears in sketch II D and I will address it elsewhere.

constitute a proper aedicular façade. For that reason they should be regarded as facades with aedicules instead of aedicular façade. This category is defined by a façade articulation with at least one dominant aedicule and this motif can manifest itself in different ways, for example as a giant aedicule. The closely related sketches I B and III D belong to this type. In both cases the entire central bay is framed by a single pilaster aedicule. Examples with paired orders can also be found elsewhere.[142] Another important type that features in these sketches is the two-storeyed aedicular façade. Its two orders superimposed over two storeys are vertically linked by salient entablatures throughout the whole façade and terminate in a pediment. The orders can be single, as in sketch I A ,or paired as in sketch I C. A further sub-category is the facade with a full height double aedicule. They are composed of an inner and an outer two-storey aedicule, each terminating in a separate pediment and the aediculae could even be placed on different planes. The Gesù-type sketch I E is such an example. Any other aedicular façade-types can be excluded as they are not irrelevant to this discussion.

Schlimme describes the single aedicular façade as an articulation for a single-portal church façade, and like the temple front he regards it as a fully-formed antique architectural motif. Originally a detail of the façade articulation for framing openings and niches, an aedicule of an aedicular façade instead frames the façade in its entirety and consequently the section behind. It changes from a façade detail to a complete façade. In that sense it represents the "kleinstmoegliche" (smallest possible) church façade articulation. According to this definition Schlimme distinguishes between proper aedicular facades like Santa Brigida on the one hand and facades like San Nicola in Carcere on the other where the aedicule only frames that part of the façade, which fronts the nave and as such this constitutes a detail but not an entire façade.[143]

Schlimme's strict definition outlined in the previous paragraph has the disadvantage that it does not leave room for much formal exploration of, and variation on, the single aedicular façade, and thus I would suggest a relaxation of the term that allows this façade type to be defined by the core feature of a dominant framing motif of an

[142] S. Prisca by Lambardi is such an example.
[143] Schlimme, Hermann, Die Kirchenfassade in Rom, Petersberg, 1999, pp. 87-93

aedicule that can be varied by subsidiary motifs which might or might not be placed outside the aedicular framework. After all, flexibility is a crucial prerequisite for imitation. Incidentally Schlimme does not apply the same strict definition to the term temple front façade but is tolerant of variations within that type.[144]

Domenichino sketches I B and III D are quite similar and they constitute very good examples of a façade dominated by a giant aedicule. **[figs. 154, 155]** As the analysis of the three facades based on the temple front has shown, the importance of the prototype and its antique connotations is crucial in Domenichino's architectural thinking. Not only the temple front but also the aedicule is a fundamental design-generating motif which Domenichino examines for its possibilities.

Like the temple front the giant aedicule has its origin also in ancient Rome. As an articulation for triumphal arches there were certainly examples known to Domenichino, such as the Arch of Augustus in Rimini and the Roman Arch in Orange. He could have known the latter from Giovanni Battista Agucchi who saw it during his sojourns in France when serving his uncle, the papal nuncio Filippo Sega, or even from Giuliano da Sangallo's drawings.[145] **[fig. 157]** In Rome itself a surviving example of a giant aedicules is the arch of Drusus **[fig. 158]** In rare cases giant aedicules were used in the articulation of ancient temples as for example in the Eastern temple in Pola. **[fig. 159]** Whether these Roman prototypes had any direct influences on Domenichino's sketches is difficult to establish but they constitute an early stage in the development of an aedicular tradition that eventually found its expression in the giant aedicules of the church facades I B and III D. Antonio da Lonate's project for the Duomo of Vigevano from 1534/35 exemplifies a more recent application of the giant aedicule and interestingly it is combined with the triumphal arch motif. It is not likely, however, that this design was known to Domenichino since it was only executed as a wooden model. **[fig. 160]** Antonio da Sangallo's earlier unexecuted project for the rebuilding of the church of San Marcello (1519) constitutes the only Roman façade design with a giant aedicule before Domenichino and like sketches I B and III D it combines the giant aedicule with a minor order. **[fig. 161]** In

[144] Ibid, pp. 81-93
[145] Turner, Jane (ed.), The Dictionary of Art, Vol. I, London, 1996, p. 464

this case, however the minor order is part of a temple front scheme and Sangallo's design also incorporates elements of the triumphal arch motif, a combination echoed somewhat later in Lonate's design. What distinguishes Domenichino's sketches most is the plasticity intended for the articulation of wall and orders, where both Sangallo's and Lonate's facades remain flat and possess little planar differentiation.

Spear linked the sketches I B and III D to Santa Francesca Romana (1617), a variant of Palladian church façades such as San Giorgio Maggiore or S. Francesca della Vigna that first appeared in early seventeenth century Rome together with S. Prisca. [146] Both Santa Francesca Romana and S. Prisca were designed by Carlo Lambardi. **[figs. 162, 136]** Carlo Buzio's design for the church of Il Gesù and Maria (1615-19) also belongs to that category, even if this facade was only constructed to Buzio's designs by Carlo Rainaldi in the mid 1670's. [147] **[fig. 163]** The orders of each façade are placed on high plinths, are twinned and stretch to the full height of the facade to carry the pediment. The minor orders are either merely residual or even absent, as in S. Prisca, so the interlocking of temple fronts which so typical of Andrea Palladio has become obsolete. Despite this reductive treatment and the difference in spatial organisation of the major order Lambardi's San Francesca Romana and to some extent Buzio's façades are still recognisable derivations of Palladio's temple front façades. At first glance the application of giant orders also suggests similarities with Domenichino's sketches I B and III D. However, a difference in emphasis shows that these facades belong to a different type. Certainly all examples stress the verticality of the central block but the means used are very different. In the case of the three existing churches the major orders are paired. This ambiguous articulation is part aediculae and part tetra-style temple front formed by pushing closer together the bay dividing orders on either side of the central axis to form a double order that achieves maximum vertical orientation. In S. Francesca Romana and Il Gesù e Maria the Palladian use of a minor order is suppressed and only remnants of it articulate the lower side bays of the basilican section, while Santa Prisca is void of such a feature due to space constrictions.

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[146] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven and London, 1982, p.92
[147] Schlimme, Hermann, Die Kirchenfassade in Rom, Petersberg, 1999, p.149,150

In contrast Domenichino's sketches I B and III D are celebrations of the single-ordered giant aedicule. There are no ambiguities suggesting Palladian temple front motifs. Domenichino looks elsewhere to clothe the basilican section. As in sketches I D, IV and V his point of departure is Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori. Its bay dividing giant Corinthian pilasters and the underlying wall frame now become integral parts of the giant aedicule framing the central bay of the church facade. Looking beyond church architecture towards public secular buildings Domenichino creates a framing device by sourcing the architectural inventory of Michelangelo. The result is a pure giant aedicule void of any Palladian temple front connotations but also with a pronounced vertical orientation.

In contrast to Lambardi or Buzio who suppress the minor order Domenichino stresses it but ignores Palladio. Again exploring the Palazzo dei Conservatori as source he releases the Michelangelesque minor order from its load bearing function and places it prominently in front of the wall to carry only sculptures *all'antica* on a salient entablature in the manner of triumphal arches which are further invoked by the side niches and the central arch.**[fig. 155]** It is Domenichino's point of departure for a design that solves the problems of the template of the basilican section, not through the Palladian way of interlocking temple fronts but by interlocking the giant aedicule as expressed in the major order, with the columnar theme of the triumphal arch as expressed in the minor order. In the process of this derivation Michelangelo's iconic architectural vocabulary is heavily classizised.

Whatever aedicular reminiscences there may be with Lambardi's and Buzio's façade designs it is rather unlikely they influenced the sketches I B and III D significantly. While they have a common aim -maximum verticality- they are conceived with very different sources in mind. Regarding sketches I B and III D the influences are Michelangelo and Roman antiquity, which is by now an established theme in Domenichino's architectural thinking. He subjects the key elements of the Palazzo dei Conservatori to the antique prototypes of giant aediculae and columns crowned by

statues, thus transferring Michelangelo's idiosyncratic innovations into the context of antique triumphal arches.

Again Domenichino stuck to his principled approach concerning temple fronts. When he applies them he does it properly; as such, the temple front has no bearing on his sketches I B and III D. Given their genesis these designs are unique and novel manifestations of the giant aedicular façade in a Roman context and they pre-date Bernini's San Andrea al Quirinale, the first built façade with a central block framed by a giant aedicule itself and enriched with the Michelangelo references to the Palazzo dei Conservatori, by almost 40 years. **[fig. 164]** Only Antonio da Sangallo's unexecuted drawing for San Marcello and Lonate's wooden model set an earlier examples of a design dominated by a giant aedicule interestingly also, in combination with motifs of the triumphal arch even if applied in a different way. **[figs. 160, 161]**

As we have seen in both sketches the dominant characteristic is verticality. This theme is further developed in sketch III D. In each case (and in sketch I D that explores the same source) the Corinthian pilasters are fluted, unlike those of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, presumably to heighten the vertical effect. In sketch III D this vertical movement continues beyond the pilasters into salient sections of frieze and cornice and then terminates in monumental statutes set against the skyline. But as was mentioned already in the discussion of sketch IV this movement is interrupted by a continuous architrave which produces a peculiar effect, as the architrave seems to be pasted over the *en ressault* projections of the rest of the entablature. The visual effect is one of separation where the cornice is a caesura between the upper and the lower part of the building. While emphasising verticality in sketch III D Domenichino also deliberately interrupts it by introducing this horizontal barrier. As we have seen earlier this is not the only incident of such an articulation in Domenichino's oeuvre.

Verticality is further stressed in sketch III D as the height of the niches is raised almost to that of the central portal and the doorway itself tapers upwards as if

following the Albertian recommendation regarding the proportioning of openings.[148] Such splayed openings already appear in Michelangelo's New Sacristy in San Lorenzo and they become a fashionable window design in early seventeenth-century Rome. As a church portal, however, this would have constituted a unique feature in Rome. Another change is the adjustment of the height of the attic of sketch III D to the height of the statues placed in front of it. The nondescript and as such superfluous upper block of the attic in sketch I B makes way for a more defined articulation in sketch III D. Moreover a closer examination seems to suggest that the statues of the right attic are turned into caryatids as the ink wash implies a shadow cast by a deeply projecting cornice joining the heads of the caryatids. While this motif can not be established with absolute certainty this reading can be supported by the fact that caryatids are a recurring theme in Domenichino's work as they appear in the second storey of the façade design of in sketch II F, in the ceiling decorations of Sant'Andrea della Valle, the Cappella della Strada Cupa as well as the altar of the Porfirio chapel. **[figs. 176, 47, 54, 72]**

Vertical aspects apart, there are some other interesting features concerning the horizontal ordering and the treatment of openings. Beginning at ground level we see that the bases of all columns and plinths are aligned as are the plinths themselves. When making amends for slight inaccuracies in this part of the sketch it can be stated that stringcourses connect all the imposts of the niches at lower level while the stringcourses at upper level shoot out from the impost of the clerestorey window to form the cornice of the attic of the side bays. As is often the case in his other designs the main entablatures mark the half way point in the height of the building.

Domenichino offers an interesting and rare solution concerning the niches of the side bays. According to the two plans sketched for the facade I B the statue-filled niches appear to rise from an oval or circular plinth that reaches down to ground level and bulges out from the wall. This articulation is a variation of sketch I A where broader

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[148] Alberti, Leon Battista, On the Art of Building in Ten Books, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 1988, Seventh Book: Ornament to Sacred Building, p. 223 "All the best architects, whether Ionian, Dorian or Corinthian, would make the jambs one fourteenth narrower at the top than at the bottom."

niches reach down to the ground to form a triumphal arch motif together with the arch of the portal. Vignola's proposal for the façade of Il Gesù is a likely source as similar niches reaching to the ground are part of the articulation there. **[fig. 165]**

In an attempt to break up the broad and blocky attic in sketch I B Domenichino applies decorative wall-strips responding to the statues in front of them as another vertical feature. These appear flat in the central bay but are projecting and topped by a salient cornice in the side bays. A similar but more successful articulation using such wall strips that respond to statues appears in the nave of Domenichino's proposal to Sant'Ignazio**. [fig. 220]** In both I B and III D the arch of the portal has an apse-like conch. Unlike I B, sketch III D includes a spandrel decoration evocative of triumphal arches thus enhancing the columnar motif sourced from that building type.

Finally one particular difference between the two sketches leads to speculation concerning the sequence involved in the making of these sheets. Unlike façade I B, III D is placed on steps. Not only are there no steps in sketch I B, there are none on any of the façades of sheet number I.[149] In contrast each façade on sheet number III is placed on steps. In light of that the missing steps on sheet number I could be interpreted as an initial oversight on behalf of the artist that Domenichino rectified as he moved on to the next sheet. Since steps are an integral part to temple fronts which feature at the beginning of sheet number II it can be surmised that at this point he became aware of the importance of representing them like other architectural elements and incorporated them into the subsequent sketches of sheets number II and III.[150] This assumption is supported by a comparison between sketches I B and III D that shows the latter to be an evolved version of the first, not only because of the addition of steps but also on the basis of the more refined and condensed articulation described above that achieves a clearer vertical orientation. Taken together these observations suggest that the established sequence of sheets in the collection of Windsor Castle seems to represent the progress of the work and thus makes sense.

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[149] An empty long rectangular feature at the bottom of sketch I A indicates that steps were considered here without being drawn.

[150] The exception is II C. Perhaps the steps are missing because it is the first non temple front design on this sheet. In the two following designs provisions are made for steps even if they are not fully expressed.

The giant aedicule is the main theme of the facades I B and III D, while sketch I E belongs to the category of a façade with a paired two-storey aedicule that is also referred to in the entry on the aedicule in the Dictionary of Art:

> "...It (the [paired two storey]aedicule) was also used as a design element on facades, as at S. Giuseppe, Milan, where the façade (begun 1607, [façade built in 1630 or later]) is composed of two tall aediculae, one superimposed on the other. This type of aedicular façade became the most popular type for the churches in the Italian Baroque."[151]

Whitman plays down the northern influences on the Roman architectural development. In his view such aedicular tendencies ultimately originate in the facades by Vignola and della Porta for Il Gesù and eventually culminate in the built facades of Sant'Andrea della Valle and S. Maria in Campitelli:

> "They [S. Andrea della Valle and S. Maria in Campitelli] are of course two major examples of the so-called aedicular façade, i.e. the front of the building unified in its major vertical dimension by terminal orders supporting a pediment, and thus the investigation of the subsequent influences of the Gesù facades ultimately becomes involved with the vexed question of the genesis of a variant whose sources have hitherto been sought largely outside Rome. However, with north Italian influences indisputable, it would seem that those influences, rather than providing a totally new base, acted as a stimulus to an essentially Roman school of architecture, a school that by the early seventeenth century possessed its own strong set of basic forms and principles. Conceivably the facades of S. Andrea della Valle and S. Maria in Campitelli might have developed into something approaching their present appearance without northern contacts, but their existence in any form without the two prior facades of the Gesù is unthinkable"[152]

Another earlier Roman precedent albeit of the simplest articulation is S. Pietro in Montorio.

In contrast, Wittkower's earlier definition of an aedicular façade stresses its northern character and origin.

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[151] Turner, Jane (ed.), The Dictionary of Art, Vol. I, 1996, p. 35

[152] Whitman, Nathan, 'Roman Tradition and the Aedicular Façade', in Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1970, p. 109

> "...according to the aedicule principle the building is coherent in its vertical dimension and is articulated in a few strong accents, but it allows the artist a much greater freedom than the principle of mass combination which affects and determines every detail of the structure. In the aedicular type of building the orders are the decisive element: apart from this, in the wall and decoration the artist has free scope. This liberty, as contrasted to the compulsive laws of mass grouping, is as characteristic of North Italian architecture as is the great value given to the column, which there continues to be a vital feature throughout the whole of the Cinquecento."[153]

Wittkower goes on to deny any Roman impact on two-storeyed aedicular facades:

> "The type of façade with two aediculae enclosed one in the other, is very definitely not Roman, as will be confirmed by anyone acquainted with the development of church facades in Rome....But at no time during this development, any more than in works of the great masters of the Full Baroque, was the aedicule articulation employed. If in some cases there is an approximation to an aedicule, as in the facade of Sant'Ignazio, it was an unusual phenomenon on Roman soil as has indeed been already observed. In Sant'Ignazio the North Italian derivation has been proved. It is in North Italy too that one finds the first fully developed [double two-storeyed] aedicular façade."[154]

As we have seen in Schlimme's definition of the term, an aedicular façade is strictly based on formal deliberations and on that level it is narrower than those advanced by Whitman and Wittkower who in their discussion refer mainly to facades with two – storey aedicules and more specifically to those with a double aedicule. Formally Whitman's and Wittkower's definitions are thus quite similar, but differ considerably regarding the origin and the influence of the Roman regional tradition on this façade type. Evidently there is little common ground. There are instead a lot of differences regarding its significance in a Roman context.

Hopefully the distinction laid out in the introduction of this part of the chapter between different types of aedicular façades, i.e. the giant aedicule, the single two-storey aedicule and the paired two-storey aedicule, has helped to clarify the formal concerns for the purposes of this discussion as the terminology immediately

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[153] Wittkower, Rudolf, 'Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque', in The Art Bulletin, Vol. 19, No. 2, Jun 1937 pp. 293

[154] Ibid, p. 294

communicates which type of aedicular façade is being referred to. That leaves us with the problem of the actual origin of the aedicular church façades. Since this façade type emerges in the early part of the seventeenth century Domenichino's largely ignored contemporary drawings might play a core role concerning the key aspects of its origins.

As already stated Domenichino's twenty sketches represent a number of aedicular types. As we have seen Lonate's wooden model of the church of Vigevano surfaced as an early modern precedent for the use of the giant aedicule and more importantly another unexecuted Roman precedent is the church of San Marcello by Antonio da Sangallo. Built examples like the recent churches of Santa Francesca Romana by Lambardi and Buzio's Il Gesù e Maria are more ambiguous in the use of the giant aediculae as they allude to the vocabulary of Palladian church facades in a reductive manner. In contrast no ambiguity can be detected in the use of the giant aedicule in sketches I B and III D and the sculptural exploration of the façade goes far beyond the similar parti of Antonio da Sangallo's façade proposal for San Marcello, the first Roman church façade designs of that type.

Sketch I E has already been analysed as one of the examples modelled on the Gesu façade but its dominant two-storey paired aedicule is a more advanced and radical exploration of verticality. Ricchino's Milanese church of S. Giuseppe is often cited as the origin of this type, but that façade was not begun before 1629, six years after this sketch and it is highly unlikely that Domenichino knew Ricchino's drawings (if there were any façade drawings before 1622-23). **[fig. 166]** A sketch from 1623 by Girolamo Rainaldi is contemporaneous with Domenichino's drawings and shows a façade proposal for S. Lucia in Bologna that never advanced beyond the height of the plinths.[155] **[fig. 167]** Given that there are some similarities between Domenichino's later sketches for the interior of Sant'Ignazio and S. Lucia it could be argued that the Bolognese Architetto del Palazzo Apostolico knew the drawings of the Roman

[155] Fasolo has questioned such an early dating for Santa Lucia in his book L'opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi.
Fasolo, Furio, L'opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi, Roma, 1961, p. 70

architect, even if a comparison between the two facades shows sketch I E achieves a more successful vertical effect than Rainaldi's S. Lucia.

Not only is sketch I E a development of the two-storey paired aedicule to its full and clear articulation before any built Northern example could have impacted in this design, but it reworks Roman precedents with strong aedicular tendencies such as Vignola's and della Porta's proposals for Il Gesù, Volterra's S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (c.1600) **[fig. 168]** and Grimaldi and della Porta's proposal for Sant'Andrea della Valle. **[fig. 169]** In light of this Domenichino's drawing I E gains pivotal significance concerning the question of the Roman tradition of the two-storey aedicular façade.

It supports Whitman's line of argument concerning the importance of the Roman architectural tradition, in particular regarding the two Gesù facades for the two-storey aedicular type. Sketch I E is a model aedicular façade because of its paired two-storey aedicules and in this respect it represents a great advancement on the two Gesù facades. Revisiting some of the other 'Gesù type' sketches by Domenichino may, however, bridge this distance and demonstrate the different stages of aedicular façade designs from the Gesù to sketch I E.

Whitman rightly considers Vignola's Il Gesù proposal as one point of departure for the façades with two-storey aediculae because of the vertical emphasis of the central bay that culminates in the central panel in the pediment.[156] **[fig. 165]** Nonetheless Vignola's proposal falls short of being a proper two-storey aedicular façade because the entablatures are not salient and thus the façade lacks vertical linkage. In that regard Domenichino's sketch I A brings Vignola's vertical composition to its formal conclusion where the outer order culminates in the triangular pediment while the inner order culminates in the projecting Vignola-type panel set within the pediment. Without the pentimento of the segmental pediment framing the central lower storey the vertical stress would have been even stronger.

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[156] Whitman, Nathan, 'Roman Tradition and the Aedicular Façade', in Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1970, p. 118

Della Porta's Il Gesù already constitutes an example of a two-storey aedicule that frames the central block. The vertical stress of the double orders in combination with the salient entablature and the projecting plinths of this façade is echoed in the central block of sketch I C. **[fig. 132]** However, in this drawing the vertical orientation is stronger than in the prototype and this is achieved by projecting the orders, by reducing the lower pediment to small broken scrolls and by adding crowning statues that terminate the vertical thrust above salient corners of the main pediment. From there it is only a few small steps to a church façade with paired two-storey aedicules, as represented in sketch I E, where the inner and outer orders terminate in separate pediments. Sketch I E is a very Roman facade with stepped wall planes, sculptural articulation, and massing towards the centre. By superimposing two fully developed paired two-storey aedicules it brings the vertical tendency already imminent but not yet fully expressed in Roman church facades to its logical conclusion. Not only the Il Gesù facades, but also facades like Maderno's Santa Susanna and his proposal for Sant'Andrea della Valle, show distinct vertical alignment and Francesco Capriani da Volterra's San Giacomo degli Incurabili is a perfect example of a single two-storey aedicular façade built at the turn of the century. **[figs. 170, 169, 168]** The project for Sant'Andrea della Valle from as early as 1600 particularly illustrates this Roman tradition as a precedent for Domenichino's aedicular façades. Again we see verticality expressed throughout all of the architectural members that terminate in the panelled pediment and the three-stepped planes culminate in a segmental aedicule framing the lower storey of the central bay. Chronologically and architecturally this façade represents an exemplary link between the built and unbuilt facades of the Gesù and Domenichino's sketches.

Given their Roman context and articulation as well as their early dating (1622-23) Domenichino's fully evolved designs for single, paired two-storey aedicular facades make a strong argument for Whitman's assertion of a Roman tradition within the aedicular facade starting with the Gesù proposals. While the two-storeyed aedicular motifs in sketches I A and I C are closely modelled on the two Gesù facades, sketch I E still links in with this trend but perfects its aedicular articulation over two storeys using a Roman architectural vocabulary. This is also true for Domenichino's

exploration of the giant aedicule in sketches I B and III D which owe a lot to Michelangelo.

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Entirely different aediculae dominate the facades of the sketches I F and III A this time by means of projection rather than by framing entire bays. **[figs. 171, 172]** In terms of their silhouette both facades fall into the category of the Gesù-type façade and sketch I F also shares the successive planar projection with Vignola's Jesuit mother church. Their main motif though differs from the Gesù-type facades discussed previously. These two façades seem to pursue the exploration of the contrast of fully developed volumes set against relatively flat articulated wall surfaces. In sketch I F the pronounced chiaroscuro effect of the central bay aedicule contrasts sharply with the otherwise skinny looking articulation of the façade. It seems that Domenichino based this design on Fausto Rughesi's Santa Maria in Vallicella but in contrast to Rughesi the aedicule of the central bay seems to be free-standing in front of the façade proper as the deep shadows of the paired columns framing the portal suggest. **[fig. 145]** Furthermore he accentuates the projections between the central block and the side bays. In general sketch I F is more tightly organised than the Oratorian church and while this is partly due to a three bay design as opposed to five bays, the planar articulation across the bays is more pronounced and logical concerning the width of bays and their definition by framing and shadowing pilasters. The contrast between flatness and plasticity is, however, the main theme and we see Domenichino adapting the shallow double pilasters and wall frames as a backdrop for the voluminous sculptural aedicule with statues reclining on a broken segmental pediment with scrolls and holding a festoon. Features like relatively tall blocky plinths supporting the fluted double columns and salient broken pediments with reclining statues show strong affinities with Ponzio's early seventeenth-century altar in the Pauline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore which itself can be traced back to the Medici Tombs of Michelangelo. **[fig. 77]** Michelangelo also provides the defining motif of the broken scrolls with the interconnecting festoon that is taken from his Porta Pia.

External fluted orders are rare on Roman church facades. To my knowledge they only occur in cases where antique Roman buildings were converted into churches. S. Urbano, S. Maria Egiziaca, S. Nicola in Carcere and S.Angelo in Pescheria, which is still known by its original antique Roman name of Portico Ottavia all belong in that category. With the exception of the latter all of these were once antique classical temples. For Domenichino these precedents might have been a point of departure, however fluted columns as applied to his church facades are certainly not confined to the temple front-type. Instead he applies them to a wide range of building types. Sketch II B is clearly a temple front facade but the only one with fluted orders. They also appear where his facades are derived from other antique building types known for this feature. For example sketch III B and E are based on the triumphal arch motif while sketch III F is informed by the articulation of the Pantheon's interior niches. Not all instances of fluted orders are of antique derivation. Sketches I B and III D as well as I F, III A and III C, point towards likely Michelangelesque sources in particular monumental aedicules derived from the Porta Pia and the Medici tomb and the lower order of San Lorenzo respectively. Overall the range and diversity of church facades with fluted orders is therefore compatible with the key sources in Domenichino's twenty sketches of church facades.

The dominance of the central bay aedicule is even stronger in sketch III A. **[fig. 172]** In dropping the clerestorey window into the attic zone it seems that this broken aedicule reaches deep into the upper storey, thus gaining a powerful dominance and control of the entire façade. This effect is stressed by the very low paired pilasters of the upper storey. They are only half the height of the columns of the aedicule, a ratio which is extreme. Although using different means this stunted appearance echoes the clerestorey of the Gesù, where the effect is due to the broader frontispiece bracketed by bulging scrolls.

To drop a clerestory window into the attic zone is a rare feature. Usually such low clerestorey windows are fronted by a balustrade that continues the attic zone across the facade. The only earlier Roman precedent without this is Giacomo della Porta's Madonna dei Monti **[fig. 173].**

The resulting architectural composition of a clerestorey window with bracketing scrolls is unprecedented. Some church portals like Rome's Santa Maria in Traspontina (1556, Sallustio Peruzzi?), Santa Lucia in Selci (1604, Maderno) or Milan's San Giuseppe (1630, Ricchino) have a portal with a broken pediment bracketing a niche, which is similar in composition but using different architectural elements. Ultimately these can be traced to a Cinquecento altar design which was fairly common by the early Seicento. Thus Domenichino's sketch III A incorporates elements of the Sistine chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore or other Roman examples like S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and Sant'Ambrogio del Massimo.

In sketch III A the stepped planes are reduced to two. Now the blocky plinths supporting the free-standing paired orders are set against one continuous plinth which makes the aedicule stand out even more boldly against the rest of the façade. The aedicule itself is very similar to the one in sketch I F, once again evoking Fontana's (and Ponzio's) altar which in turn can be traced back to the Medici tombs. The walls of the side bays are articulated with two superimposed sculptural niches thus recalling Michelangelo's S. Pietro's exterior wall articulation, but Alberti's Sant'Andrea in Mantua provides an even earlier precedent. **[figs. 126, 174]**

Both sketches are variations on the theme of sculptural volumes contrasting with flat surface treatment. Domenichino's source concerning the articulation of the sketches' aedicules are Domenico Fontana's altar in the Sistine chapel and Michelangelo's Medici chapel although the idea to apply this motif to a church façade in combination with double orders might have been inspired by Rughesi's Santa Maria in Vallicella which most likely also provides also the source for the skinny wall surfaces. As in the case of sketches I B and III D one can sense a development towards greater clarity and density between the two sketches I F and III A. A comparison illustrates that the latter sketch is in its simplification a more convincing version of the architectural theme of volume contrasting with flatness. The reduction of wall planes and pilasters as well as the interlocking of the core features across the two storeys in sketch III A resolve the overworked and confusing application of pilasters in sketch I F. Other

existing earlier Roman facades that contrast volumes with flat surfaces with differing degrees of success are San Lorenzo in Miranda and San Nicola in Carcere, however, in both cases antique features are incorporated into a modern context and they constitute different façade types. **[figs. 106, 105]** Incidentally Carlo Fontana's proposed elevation for San Marcello al Corso from 1681 shows strong parallels with sketch I F. **[fig. 175]** The main differences are the concavity of Fontana's façade design and the dropped clerestorey window which is reminiscent of sketch III A.

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Sketch II F is particularly curious in a Roman context. **[fig. 176]** Rome does not have a tradition of three-storey church facades; this type hardly ever appeared there. Medieval churches were usually of two storeys, the aforementioned open porch façade being the most prominent model. The preference for the two–storey façade continued throughout the Renaissance to early Baroque and during these periods a minority of smaller one–storey churches also left their mark on the city. The only surviving example of a three-storey church is the unremarkable façade of Santa Maria dell'Anima which is attributed to either Baldassare Peruzzi or Andrea Sansovino and can be dated to 1519. **[fig. 177]** According to Bösel another three-storey church facade that only existed for less than twenty years before it was destroyed by storm was Sant'Anastasia in Palatino by Martino Longhi. Bösel also cites an alternative three-storey façade design for Santa Maria in Vallicella by Rughesi. The surviving wooden model, however, shows a two-storey façade with a raised attic.[157] **[fig. 178]** Pieter Huyssen's Jesuit church in Antwerp, built between 1615 and 1621, also has three storeys and Bösel speculates that during his Roman sojourn Huyssen might have participated in the discussions at planning stage for Sant'Ignazio and this could have influenced a proposal for a three-storey façade attributed by Bösel to Orazio Grassi for Sant'Ignazio.[158] **[fig. 179]** Given its 1627 dating this design could not have influenced Domenichino's three-storey façade and even if he had knowledge of Huyssen's already existing façade in Antwerp it certainly did not impact on his sketch II F. The same can be said for other, non Roman three-storey facades including

[157] Bösel, Richard, Orazio Grassi, Rome, 2004, p. 116, n. 29, p. 134, n. 82
[158] Ibid, p. 117 and 117,n. 35

Girolamo Rainaldi's and Palladio's proposal for S. Petronio in Bologna.[159] Architectural treatises also provided three-storey church elevation, mainly Cesarino's foglio IIIr from 1521 and secondly Serlio's elevation in Book V but, as a comparison shows, neither design left a mark on sketch II F. **[figs. 180, 181]** In fact Domenichino's sketch II F does not resemble any of the afore-mentioned facades and thus is not easily placed into any regional or theoretical context unless we consider other characteristics of this façade articulation in the context of other building types.

Looking back for a moment at the three-storey proposal for Sant' Ignazio we notice that the aediculae of the second storey windows are articulated with terms. Like three-storey facades terms are usually associated with Northern Italian and French architecture but are rare on Roman church facades, although there are precedents of high profile, even if most of them were not built. The earliest and most prominent is Vignola's proposal for Il Gesù where terms frame the main portal and the clerestorey window. **[fig. 165]** Most likely this design influenced another Roman façade project that was probably very well known to Domenichino and contemporary with his own sketches of church facades. This is the final proposal for Sant'Andrea della Valle by Maderno and Borromini and here terms are used in the aedicule of the clerestorey window. **[fig. 182]** Given Domenichino's close associations with Sant'Andrea della Valle it is quite likely that this proposal was known to him and it might have triggered his idea to import terms into the façade articulation of sketch II F. Indeed in line with the proposal for the Theatine church Domenichino's terms are integral to the aedicule framing the clerestorey window, but more importantly they are also a main feature of the trabeated system of the second storey.[160] While the latter feature is a completely novel articulation for a Roman church façade, precedents still exist in the holy city. Michelangelo's tomb monument for Julius II was certainly known to Domenichino since he himself had designed a tomb for Girolamo Cardinal Agucchi in the same church of San Pietro in Vincoli in 1605-6.[161] **[fig. 183]** Despite major differences

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[159] Other three-storey façade proposals that were never realised are one of Michelangelo's designs for San Lorenzo, a project for a façade proposal for the Duomo in Milan and Buontalenti's modello grande for Santa Maria del Fiore, 1587-1590

[160] This aedicule is not consistently articulated, only the left side shows a herm while the right side shows a column.

[161] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p. 85 Herms also feature prominently in the nympheums of Ammannati in the Villa Giulia in Rome and Maderno's Villa Belvedere in Frascati

between the articulation of Michelangelo's tomb and Domenichino's sketch II F, elements of the architectural vocabulary such as the side niches and the terms are the same. Caryatids appear in the Vatican's frescoes in the Stanza dell' Incendio and Elidorio *The Expulsion of Heliodorus* by Raphael, which Domenichino is known to have greatly admired.[162] **[fig. 184]** Here the similarities seem more palpable as the arrangement of caryatids and relief panels are echoed in sketch II F. Domenichino's fondness for the motif could very well have had its origins in the frescoes of caryatids executed by him as part of the Annibale Carraci's decorative scheme for Palazzo Farnese. The introduction of busts into the articulation of a church façade is unique to Domenichino and as we have seen in our discussion of the Vigna Ludovisi the same arrangement of busts appears there on the entablature.

The terms that frame the large inscription panel of Ponzio's Acqua Paola could be regarded as architectural precedents and the method of their integration into the trabeated system is repeated in sketch II F. **[fig. 127]** At the base they spring from a continuous entablature but terminate en ressault. Then there are the caryatids of the upper storey of Vignola's portal of the Farnese gardens, that Sandro Benedetti attributes to Michelangelo's assistant Giacomo del Duca.[163] **[fig. 185]** The closest Roman sources however, are the tomb monuments of the popes Sixtus V and Paul V in the Sistine and Paoline chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore. **[fig. 71]** The general outline of Domenico Fontana's design and Ponzio's imitation are clearly reflected in sketch II F, but not, however, without modifications. Tetrastyle becomes hexastyle and the lower salient order of Composite columns is transformed into an order of Doric pilasters with a continuous entablature. The upper storey with its caryatids is stretched, the bas relief panels are more rectangular and the caryatids seem to be turned into herms. The crowning broken segmental pediment bracketing the papal coat of arms is dropped from the upper storey in favour of a projecting aedicule framing the portal and the niches filled with statues that flank the tomb monuments of Santa Maria Maggiore could even be included as a source for the lower storey of the side bays.

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where Domenichino occasionally resided. The nympheum of the Villa Belvedere is also decorated with busts.

[162] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p. 170, n. 53

[163] Benedetti, Sandro, Giacomo del Duca e l'architettura del Cinquecento, Roma, 1972-73, pp. 175-186

Some of these changes like the greater height of the second storey simply reflect the required proportioning of a church façade while others like those made to the lower order are more idiosyncratic. It is interesting to see that someone with such a fondness for the Corinthian order only applies the Doric order here where it appears in combination with terms (like in the Farnese gardens). This choice in combination with the continuous entablature seems to imply that he wanted to confine the plasticity and sculptural richness of a decorative program mainly to the second storey while the lower storey's decorative scheme is expressed solely in the standard niche decoration as in the third storey where the decorative scheme is reduced again mainly to the aedicule of the clerestorey window.

Another idiosyncratic choice is that of busts placed on the salient entablature of the second storey. The placing of busts on facades follows the general fashion of adorning exterior walls of Roman Baroque *palazzi* and *ville*. The cortile of Maderno's Palazzo Mattei is one such example where antique busts are placed in circular niches above wall-strip, thus offering a faintly similar arrangement to sketch II F. This classicising type of exterior decoration for *ville* and *palazzi* was quite popular with the Roman nobility from the sixteenth century onwards. Relief panels, tablets and arcuated, circular or oval niches were filled with antique spolie-like busts, narrative bas relief panels and decorative schemes taken from antique monuments in order to create a perception of a family's connections with the ancient Roman past and its main characters. The Medici removed the side panels depicting mythological scenes and decorative schemes from the Ara Pacis in order to adorn the garden front of their own villa that was moreover built on the spot where Lucullus was believed to have resided.[164] Antique bas relief panels once covered Villa Borghese and in the context of Domenichino the Villa Ludovisi is certainly the most interesting example for that decorative practise because of the arrangement of a row of busts above the main

[164] Cresti, Carlo; Rendina, Claudio, Die Roemischen Villen und Palaeste, Udine, 1998, pp. 156-67
see also: Montagu, Jennifer, Roman Baroque Sculpture, New Haven & London, 1992, p. 157
and Krems, Bettina E., 'Die 'magnifica modestia' der Ludovisi auf dem Monte Pincio in Rom. Von der Hermathena zu der Marmorbüste Gregor XV', in Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft, Bd. 29, Marburg, 2002, pp. 105-163

entablature and the garden scheme also included a series of terms, both features which appear in sketch II F. **[fig. 90b]** Whether Domenichino's sources were *ville* and *palazzi* can not be traced with certainty, but they do represent the most compelling precedents as there are none for a series of busts as part of a decorative program for church facade and so the contextualising of them with terms is even more original.

All of the above examples establish a Roman trend of a rich and romanising articulation using caryatids, terms, bas relief panels and busts for a variety of building types that allowed for a potentially propagandist narrative. While sketch II F is unique as a church façade its rich decorative scheme reflects a trend towards decorative opulence based on classical motifs in ephemeral architecture, which patrons like the Ludovisi certainly appreciated. In fact in 1622 the canonisation of five Saints was instigated by the Ludovisi and one of the dominant features of Paolo Giudetti's ephemeral architectural decoration for the festivities in Saint Peter's included caryatids set into a continuous Serlian motif. **[fig.186]**

Not only does sketch II F fall into a Roman architectural trend for tomb monuments, secular buildings and ephemeral architecture, it also reflects the taste of Domenichino's important personal patrons like the Ludovisi and the Aldobrandini. Apart from the influential tomb monument articulation of the Sistine and Paoline chapels Domenichino's sketch II F could reflect his patrons' fondness for such decorative systems even when applied to a church. To a certain extent Domenichino revivied a Renaissance tradition of rich sculptural façade articulation that can be traced to Michelangelo's San Lorenzo in Florence and Giuliano da Sangallo's possible proposal for the same church façade. **[figs. 138, 137].**

Sketches I F, III A and II F can be grouped together on the basis of the common sources which are the altars and tomb monuments of the Sistine and Paoline chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore. They are geographically and visually the closest possible influences on these sketches. While good northern examples like the Sanctuary at Saronno with terms as façade decoration can not be discounted as influences their very different articulation and application makes that scenario unlikely. Moreover

there is certainly a good range of precedents for the use of terms in a Roman context and there are even some Roman examples for three-storey facades. I would argue this number of storeys was not the primary concern in Domenichino's thinking. Rather it was a mere by-product of a façade articulation that attempted to merge the combination of tomb monument with the Gesù-type. The above models are further examples of the broad range of building types that Domenichino sourced as suitable motifs for transformation into a church façade. These sketches are less informed by classical prototypes; instead Michelangelo and Fontana feature prominently. Still residues of antiquity are discernible; in sketches I F and III A the arch motif with angels in the spandrels is reminiscent of the figures of victory on the triumphal arch. The caryatids of sketch II F not only evoke Fontana's tomb monument together with the bust and bas relief panels but also carry connotations of classical antiquity and as we have seen elsewhere caryatids are a favourite motif of Domenichino, a fondness that might have been spurred by Annibale during his formative years.

As a church façade, II F is a remote variation on the Gesù model. In this case the Gesù type does not have the same prominence as in the previous sketches because it exceeds the two-storey silhouette and it is a façade articulated in just one plane. In fact its single planar wall and its bay articulation of the first storey harks back to S. Spirito in Sassia. However, the addition of the narrower third storey with a clerestory window should be regarded as an attempt to import and fuse the Gesù model with a derivation of a two-storey tomb monument that allows for a regular bay articulation as required by a church facade. The connotations of such a façade in tandem with caryatids are very suggestive of a family mausoleum and we know that such a project was actively pursued by Cardinal Ludovisi in the early 1620s.[165]

Clearly Domenichino did not consider the exterior-interior relationship when designing this façade as is also the case with Maderno's Santa Susanna and the executed Sant'Andrea della Valle. The height of the clerestorey window in sketch II F suggests an exceptionally tall and narrow nave which makes this façade implausible.

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[165] Bösel, Richard, Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien, Teil 1, Vienna, 1985, p. 191, Haskell, Francis, Patrons and Painters, London, 1963, p. 73

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Another iconic motif of major significance for Domenichino's church facades is the triumphal arch. In a secondary role it already appeared in some of the sketches discussed previously but sketches I A, III B and III E are dominated by a triumphal arch motif. **[figs. 187, 188, 189]**

The *Porta Triumphalis* has its origin in the first century BC. Gradually this building type developed distinguishable forms that are single arch, triple arch of equal size, and a triple arch with a great central arch and smaller flanking arches.[166] Within each category there are a numerous variations concerning the articulation of the arches, the orders, the ornament and the attic. In early examples like the Augustan Arch of Rimini aediculae frame a single opening, a feature that survives in later arches like the Arch of Tiberius in Orange, the Roman Arch of Drusus, the Porta Tiburtina, and the Arch of Gavio in Verona. **[figs. 156, 157, 158, 190, 191]** With the omission of giant aediculae the articulation of the solids was more lavishly expressed with rhythmical pattern of orders and enriched by a multiplication of arches, columns, relief panels and an elaborate attic zone that was often crowned by a statue of a military leader guiding a Quadriga. Part of a process towards a more complex articulation was the inclusion of inscription panels in the attic zone as well the as the figures of victory and the statues above free-standing columns and salient entablature.

The now destroyed Arch of Augustus in the Forum Romanum was the earliest example in Rome of a triumphal arch with three passages. Unlike its surviving successors, the arches of Septimus Severus and Constantine, its minor openings were linteled instead of arcuated and framed by aediculae. Furthermore the attic was confined just to the width of the central arch giving a stepped silhouette to the entire structure. **[figs. 153, 192, 193]**

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[166] The fourth type is represented by the arch of Arcus Ianus et Argitariorum with four openings, one to each side, however this type did not have any bearing on Domenichino's church facades and can thus be neglected. For a discussion of triumphal arches see: Deiseroth, Wolf, Der Triumphbogen als grosse Form der Renaissancebaukunst Italiens, Diss., München, 1970

The Roman arches of Constantine and Severus document a preference for free-standing Corinthian columns which, as is the case with the Arch of Constantine, are also crowned by statues. Rome also has a number of single arches like the Arch of Titus, or the earlier aediculed arch of Drusus. Features like the free-standing Corinthian columns with statues, the single arch and the giant aedicule also left their mark in Domenichino's sketches.

Many of the triumphal arches played an important role in traditional processions that originated as celebrations of military victories initially using ephemeral arches until the first century BC when the first permanent structures were built as commemorative monuments dedicated to certain persons and/or events. The tradition of procession along the Roman *Via Triumphalis* continued throughout the Middle Ages up to and beyond the life time of Domenichino albeit with changes in emphasis. In post-imperial times they became celebration of the *prossessio* where the newly crowned pope proceeded from the Vatican to the Lateran Palace as part of his inauguration ritual. Other processions that included triumphal arches were coronations for emperors and the annual Easter Monday procession. New ephemeral triumphal arches appeared once more as part of these celebrations. As a consequence the antique prototypes continued to be important and were imbued with religious connotations from the medieval period on. In early modern times particularly, popes and the church triumphant allied themselves with Roman emperors and the triumphal arch was both an architectural link to the great past and a powerful visual symbol.[167]

In 1450 for the first time a triumphal arch motif informed by classical prototypes articulated the façade of an ecclesiastical building not surprisingly commissioned by a modern military leader, Sigismondo Malatesta. Alberti is the first early modern architect who properly grasps the architectural language of the triumphal arches and his Tempio Malatestiana (1450) is followed by another essay on the triumphal arch motif Sant'Andrea in Mantua from 1470. **[fig. 174]** While the Tempio reveals slight

[167] Deiseroth, Wolf Bernard, 'Der Triumphbogen als 'Grosse Form' in der Renaissancebaukunst Italiens', Diss., München, 1970

influences from the Arch of Rimini, Sant'Andrea is a purely generic treatment of the triumphal arch motif with equal weight given to the temple front motif. Sant'Andrea façade was influential in Northern Italy as Bramante's Abbiategrasso shows. **[figs. 194]** Another influential northern design is Bramante's proposal for Santa Maria presso San Satiro in Milan from 1480. **[fig. 123]** Here a triple triumphal arch motif is grafted onto a double gabled church with a taller central block and lower and narrow side bays, thus revealing the section of the interior in the façade. In Peruzzi's (?) Cathedral in Carpi from 1515 a similar articulation is even clearer and the triumphal arch motif of the facade is admittedly somewhat ambiguous as it can also be read as reflecting the section of the interior space behind it. **[fig. 124]** This mostly flat façade type becomes an established theme in Northern Italy, Lonate's earlier cited wooden model of the Dome of Vigevano being a case in point. **[fig. 160]** Another prominent example is Alessio's Tramello's S. Maria di Campagna from 1522. **[fig. 195]**

Roman church facades based on the triumphal arch motif are hard to find. As we have seen Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was involved in an unexecuted façade project for S. Marcello al Corso where he incorporated the triumphal arch motif into a design scheme that included a giant aedicule and the temple front motif, His Santa Maria in Porta Paradisi from 1522 is however, the only built example of the Roman Cinquecento church and while it is vaguely reminiscent of Alberti's Sant'Andrea it lacks its forceful articulation and monumentality. **[figs. 161, 196]** Clearly the triumphal arch motif did not have a lasting impact on Roman church facades. Vignola's unexecuted project for Il Gesù is somewhat suggestive of a triple arch motif, even if it is an imperfect one because of the distortion of scale between major and minor arch motifs and the string course that continues the impost of the central arch does not meet the keystone of the minor arches**. [fig. 165]** Nevertheless the motif is still legible because of the triple arrangement of the portals set into arches, a composition that is repeated in a modified form in the outer bays.

In contrast to most Roman church designs Domenichino's sketches give the arch particular prominence sometimes as part of a dominant triumphal arch scheme, sometimes as an articulation of a detail like the central portal. Even in such cases the

reference to the triumphal arch is deliberate as we have already seen in sketches I F and III A where the decoration of the spandrels points to the origin of the motif. Only a few Roman churches older than Domenichino's sketches have arcuated façade articulation. Apart from Sangallo's rather dull Santa Maria in Porta Paradisi these are Santa Maria del Carmine **[fig. 197]** by Angelo Specchi (1605), Ss. Annunziata dei Monti, by an unknown architect from the first half of the seventeenth century, and Vignola's Santa Maria dell'Orto from 1566-7. **[fig. 198]** None of these explores the triumphal arch motif as intensely as Domenichino does in his sketches. Only the deeply recessed portal of Santa Maria in Porta Paradisi gives a stronger suggestion of the motif and recalls Domenichino's occasional recession of the central portal. The other facades are flat and timid articulations that merely hint at the prototype.

Triumphal arches were also the subject of paintings and drawings. In history painting their depictions have stage set qualities that enhance a narrative but they were also the subject of purely architectural recordings where they are shown without their surroundings. In cases of significant damage to structure and ornament of the ancient models missing parts are embellished beyond mere reconstruction of original features. At times architects and architectural theorists felt free to 'improve' aspects of ancient monuments in their recordings in order to make them compatible with their notion of good practice of classical Roman architecture. The most notorious examples of 'improvements' are the original *pilastrini* of the attic range of the Pantheon. Interior views by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Bernado della Volpaia, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Sebastiano Serlio and others make that clear. Illustrations of Triumphal arches where some features and details are subjected to changes can be found in Giuliano da Sangallo's Codex Vaticanus Barberinus 4424, in the highly re-composed triumphal arches of Androuet du Cerceau who actually never saw the original monuments as he never crossed the Alps, and in Serlio's Book III on Antiquities.

Domenichino's painting of a triumphal arch from (ca.1609) is unique as it oscillates between pure architectural depiction and history painting. **[fig. 151]** In its proportion and articulation Domenichino's triumphal arch is almost identical to the Arch of Trajan in Ancona, **[fig. 149]** Domenichino, however, reinvents all ornament and

inscriptions, features that are largely missing on the prototype. His arch completely dominates an Arcadian setting in which human presence and the landscape is marginal. Even though the reference to the arch of Trajan in Ancona is compelling this painting is not an architectural recording in the mode of those by Giuliano da Sangallo, du Cerceau and Serlio because of the fictional and evocative setting and more importantly because both ornament and inscription introduce a narrative. A closer reading reveals their meaning as an appraisal of the virtues of Giovanni Battista Agguchi, thus Domenichino's painting re-enacts the ancient function of the triumphal arch as a commemoration of a particular person.[168] A complex narrative emerges that reveals this painting as a celebration of Saint John the Baptist and his namesake Giovanni Battista Agucchi as virtuous individuals, and the ancient architectural icon- the triumphal arch- serves as a medium to honour the Monsignor in association with the saint and in accordance with ancient practice. Thus architectural recording and history painting are uniquely merged into one. Domenichino's choice of medium - oil instead of chalk or ink- ennobles the subject and thus distinguishes this painting from being a mere architectural record of an existing monument.

A close comparison between his painting, the arch itself and Serlio's illustration of it in his book *On Antiquities* reveals that Domenichino's depiction is an exact copy of Serlio's Arch of Trajan**. [fig. 199]** The most telling detail that is common to Serlio and Domenichino, but missing in the original, is the non-salient cornice, a feature praised by Serlio in Bramante's Cortile del Belvedere.[169] When modifying the triumphal arch in Ancona with an unfluted order, a scroll-like keystone and unpanelled corner *pilastrini* in the attic zone, all features distinctive to Serlio's illustration, it becomes clear that Domenichino consulted Serlio and not the actual monument. Consequently Domenichino made use of Serlio and perhaps other architectural treatises from as early as 1609 which gives added weight to the statement from about 1621 by the physician Mancini that Domenichino "*si diletta d'architettura et in essa ha studiato molto tempo e fattovi progresso.*"[170] In this painting the imitative process is rather unimaginative as Domenichino fused two

[168] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven ,London, 1982, pp. 153-55
[169]Serlio, Sebastiano, Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva, translated by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, New Haven, London, 1996, Serlio III, CXLIII (118r)
[170] Mancini, Giulio, Considerazioni sulla pittura, Roma, 1956-57, p. 243, also Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p. 85

definite sources for the painting of his triumphal arch. For the architecture he copied Serlio's illustration of the Arch of Trajan in Ancona and as Spear already pointed out the decorative elements seemed to be based on the two frontispieces for the album of drawings of the *Life of St. Paul*, prepared in Annibale Carracci's studio ca. 1605.[171] Nevertheless the result is unique as an ancient architectural motif becomes the protagonist of a narrative theme.

Around the same time in 1609 the iconic triumphal arch motif becomes part of the decorative scheme in the Cappella of S. Nilo in the Abbey church of Grottaferrata where Domenichino devised a triumphal arch design for the chapel's west wall. **[fig. 3]** A recessed single arch motif separated from the flanking bays by illusionistic free-standing orders and responds and topped by an attic with central inscription panel is used as a matrix to compartmentalise the west wall into six sections where the side bays are filled with *trompe-l'oeil* depictions of religious statues on the lower and upper level. A preliminary study in pen also shows flying victories in the spandrels of the arch. This space-defining scheme is integrated into the overall decoration of the chapel where it responds to the Serliana leading into the eastern sanctuary. Spear suggests that the west wall is derivative of the Arch of Constantine. The triumphal arch motif, however, is too generic for making such a specific link.[172] The ancient connotations of the architecture were already pointed out in the earlier discussion of this chapel.[173] Similarly the attic of the triumphal arch in his aforementioned painting is partially overgrown in order to achieve a comparable effect.

At the same time Domenichino adapts the triumphal arch theme into a religious context. In the Cappella di S. Nilo the arch held the now removed baptismal font and the *trompe-l'oeil* statues of saints are placed in the side bays substituting the relief panels of the prototype. Precedents for the use of triumphal arches in funerary monuments are Andrea Sansovino's tomb monuments for Ascancio Sforza and

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[171] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p.165 Spear points out that two emblems used have precedent there, if in another context. p. 154: n.7 Fol.Lr contains a rising sun and a star-filled sky on the socle of the right hand column; in the pediment of fol. Lv there is an open seashell on a rock facing a starry sky. These emblems are repeated in Domenichino' painting.

[172] ibid, p. 165
[173] ibid, p. 152

Girolamo Basso della Rovere (1505, 1507) as well as Peruzzi's tomb monument for Hadrian VI in Santa Maria dell'Anima (1575). **[figs. 200, 201]** Despite changes concerning the orders and the degree of plasticity the similarities in the arrangement of the lower range of each scheme are quite striking. Flanking the arch with the flying victories in the spandrels are bays filled with free-standing statues and square relief panels above the string course. Domenichino goes beyond faithful reconstruction and subjects the prototype to an imitative process that reorganises the model according to the new requirements.

Domenichino's choice of a triumphal arch scheme as decoration for an entire wall of a chapel is rare in itself, but what makes it really unique is the ambiguous architectural play between illusion and reality. There are *trompe-l'oeil* pretensions of spatial depth particularly well expressed by columns in front of responds on the one hand while on the other the arch proper is actually recessed by sixty centimetres into the wall, thus real architecture is introduced into a seemingly illusionary scheme and in this context the missing column on the right (illusionistically accommodating a real door) also constitutes also an amusing vignette.

Like the temple front the triumphal arch reappears as a dominant motif within the twenty sketches. There is, however a difference in approach to the two prototypes. While the temple front sketches are based on a generic use of the model those based on the triumphal arch refer at times to a specific arch. Given that ancient temple fronts are very similar to each other the generic approach is not surprising, and a similar generic approach could have been taken towards the triumphal arch motif and in some instances this is clearly the case. Ancient triumphal arches, however, are more diverse and individualistic in their articulation than temple fronts and thus allow an architect to consider more explicit references that would identify a specific arch when they base their work on imitative practice, and this is reflected in some of the triumphal arch quotations within these twenty sketches. As we have seen Antonio da Sangallo's S.Maria in Porta Paradisi is an early Roman example where the triumphal arch motif is merely a generic reference and the result is unremarkable. **[fig. 196]** In contrast Domenichino makes more references to specific models and their details which

results in a much richer façade articulation particularly regarding plasticity and widens the imitative range. The challenges that grow out of changing the building type, the order, the features and their function and the plasticity give a dimension of excitement of the imitative process that is lacking in the case of Sangallo's S. Maria in Porta Paradisi.

The prototype for the sketches I A, III B, and III E is the Arch of Constantine which is reworked with different degrees of directness. **[figs. 187, 188, 189, 193]** Each sketch modifies the original to suit the requirements of an early modern church façade and emphasises different aspects of the prototype.

The lower storey of Sketch I A cites and transforms many aspects of the Arch of Constantine. This sketch is particularly concerned with its main feature, the triple arch itself, which Domenichino turns into hemispherical niches that contain an aedicular portal in the centre and free standing statues on plinths in the side bays. Of crucial importance for the legibility of the triple arch is the design solution of side niches rising directly from the ground and consequently adopting the role of the minor arches of the prototype.

One defining aspect that ties the triple arch motif of the ancient monument together is a stringcourse that connects the impost of the central arch with the keystones of the minor arches. In Rome this feature is observed by both surviving triple triumphal arches, the Arch of Constantine and the Arch of Septimus Severus. Strangely enough Domenichino ignores this crucial motif, as his keystone is placed considerably below the stringcourse. This deviation from the original points towards the Arch of Constantine as illustrated in Serlio's Book III *On Antiquities* where we find the source for this inaccuracy which incidentally also appears in Serlio's illustration of the Arch of Septimus Severus. **[figs. 202]** Another correspondence between sketch I A and Serlio's illustration of the Arch of Constantine is the presence of stringcourses at the impost level of the small arches on the piers of the central opening. Neither feature is original to the Roman monument and both correspondences together strongly suggest that Serlio's illustration rather than the Arch of Constantine itself was the source for

Domenichino's design. In 1609 Domenichino refers to Serlio's depiction of the Arch of Ancona in his book *On Antiquities* and fourteen years later the illustration of the Arch of Constantine from the same source informs one of his twenty sketches for church facades. Consulting the same source repeatedly over such a long period of time suggests that Serlio's book was an important point of reference and makes it highly likely that Domenichino owned a copy of it. In light of all of these visual connections it can be stated that Domenichino did not only survey actual buildings but that he also consulted architectural treatises as part of his creative process. Evidently there were incidents where he could have consulted both the book and the building and where literature took precedence over the actual monument.

The string courses of sketch I A horizontally unify the imposts of the aedicular portal with those of the niches thus reducing the effect of the broken unity of arches. As in the Arch of Constantine the decorative scheme above impost level is framed by string courses and Domenichino also introduces them also as one connective tissue to tie up the plinths of the orders and the statues, a feature again resulting from the change of building type. Similar horizontal relationships are established in the upper level which further emphasises the overall horizontal accent of the blocky silhouette of this façade. The lower level's decorative program of paired tondi is also specifically a Constantinian reference.

This imitative treatment of the triple arch motif has only one vague and unexecuted precedent in Roman church facades, Vignola's Il Gesù proposal. **[fig. 165]** While Vignola had the luxury of three openings corresponding to the arches of the prototype his solution lacks definition and is over laden with distracting motifs which are alien to the triumphal arch theme. Nonetheless Vignola's Gesù proposal should not be disregarded as it might have influenced Domenichino's niche design. The dominant side niches of his proposed façade also reach (almost) down to ground level and it is the only earlier Roman instance of such a niche articulation. Moreover sketch I A and Vignola's project share the asymmetrically clustered orders of the aedicule framing the central bay and on a more general level also possess the same sense of classical clarity and equilibrium. Considering Giuliano da Sangallo's proposal for a religious

edifice perhaps the Florentine church of S. Lorenzo is much more direct in its references to the triumphal triple arch scheme. **[fig. 137]** This loggia design veers from all other northern incidents as it considers all the sculptural and decorative qualities that are inherent in the ancient prototype and tries to transfer them to a plausible church façade, thus bringing Giuliano closest to Domenichino's architectural approach.

In sketch I A not only the arches but also the fluted and salient Corinthian orders with their statues recall the prototype. This reference is further emphasised by the wall-order relationship as Domenichino faithfully follows the model in the positioning of the outer order. Nevertheless some changes such as the lowering of the plinths in order to correspond with those of the statues in the side niches as well as the inner orders that become part of a segmental aedicule are reflective of the change to church façade.

The decision to replace the triple passages of the ancient building with niches throughout serves not only the requirements of a single entrance façade, but also helps to preserve the legibility of the triple motif as one unit. As a side effect of this façade articulation the central niche anticipates an apse of a sanctuary (like the one in Sant'Andrea della Valle) which adds to the drama of the exterior- interior relationship. Furthermore the slight shadowing of the façade suggests a relatively flat façade with only a minor projection of the central bay and thus the deep niches introduce a dramatic sculptural quality that breaks up the relative flatness of the overall façade.

If the lower storey of sketch I A is an imitation of the Arch of Constantine the upper storey imitates the lower storey. The motifs introduced below resurface in a reduced version. The main motif- the triple arch -has lost it pronounced sculptural quality. Here its presence is reduced to the obligatory side niches and the depressed relieving arch of the central bay that contains the aedicular clerestorey window. Bramante's proposal for S. Maria di S. Satiro first applied such wall layering of such arches framing aedicular clerestorey windows. **[fig. 123]** In sketch I A this wall frame

establishes a feature exclusive to the upper storey as the side niche show corresponding rectangular wall frames that are missing below. As a consequence the wall surface of the upper storey has another layer added to the clustered orders, but their weaker shadowing suggests pilasters while those below are meant to be free-standing columns. Also repeated are the string courses while the decorative scheme is reduced to relief panels above and below the side niches. Clearly the articulation of the upper storey as a whole is a variation on the triumphal arch theme established below.

Due to the saliency of orders and entablatures that culminate in a pediment with a projecting tympanum over the central bay sketch I A comes very close to being a façade with a composite double aedicule. It only lacks a pediment crowning the inner orders. In this case the origin of the aedicular motif is the consequence of superimposing the triumphal arch motif and crowning the resulting two-storey façade with a Gesù-type pediment and has nothing to do with Northern influences. The triumphal arch motif is the source and the dominant theme of this façade and by adjusting it to the requirements of a Counter Reformation façade it almost accidentally imports aedicular features which, according to Whitman, are already dormant in the Gesù proposals of Vignola and della Porta.[174] It is also one of the first three-bay façade designs with a block-like silhouette. Built Roman examples like Soria's San Gregorio Magno and San Carlo ai Catinari or San Domenico e Sisto by Nicola and Orazio Torriani were only established during the late 1620s. **[figs. 203, 204, 125]** For precedents one has to look at one of Michelangelo's proposals for San Lorenzo which also shows also similarities in the use of storeys of equal height and the slight triumphal arch reference in the prominent roundels of the upper storey**. [fig. 138]** The earliest Roman example is Giacomo della Porta's S. Luigi dei Francesi. **[fig. 205]**

In the exploration of the Arch of Constantine sketch I A stresses the triple arch motif and the horizontal unity between the bays. Sketch III B, however, uses the columns as a point of departure for the imitative process. **[fig. 188]** Unlike in the previous sketch

[174] Whitman, Nathan, 'Roman Tradition and the Aedicular Façade', in Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1970, pp. 108-23

Domenichino basically retains the single storey plus attic scheme of the prototype, but in this case his pedimented attic is reduced to the central bay thus adopting to a degree the Gesù-type silhouette but without a fully developed upper storey as the attic with its large inscription panel that is part of the ancient model is still preserved. Within this one-storey plus attic façade the wall–order relationship becomes the dominant aspect for the imitative process. Domenichino uses the fluted Corinthian free-standing columns with their crowning statues as a bay separating device. Each bay is framed by the orders, thus creating a sequence of independent units. Moreover the triple arch motif is diluted to a recessed shallow central arch that is hardly unified with the columnar aediculae of the niches of the side bays. Only the left niche still rises from the ground, an idea seemingly abandoned and replaced by an alternative proposal on the right side. This independence of the bay articulation facilitates a stronger planar differentiation between the central bay and the side bays and the plans below the elevation confirm this. This plasticity is of course alien to any triumphal arch and even a comparison with contemporary church facades demonstrates the remarkable degree of depth to the façade articulation as the central bay projects beyond the free-standing columns of the side bays and then recedes twice towards the portal to form this highly sculptural façade in three planes. In this respect Domenichino was influenced by recent Roman church facades like Santa Susanna that shows a similar arrangement of columns but with a considerably lesser degree of spatial depth. **[fig. 170]** The rich columnar motif also introduces a high degree of vertical orientation. The horizontal continuity is reduced to the main entablature and the string course springing from the impost of the central arch. As in the prototype and sketch I A they form the framing device for the by now well known decorative scheme of roundels and flying victories but now enhanced by the added tympanum relief set inside the arch. The statues and the central inscription panel also derive from the Arch of Constantine. The three-bay, one-storey plus attic scheme enhanced by the decorative program are strong reference points for this Roman arch, but first and foremost it was Domenichino's intent to explore the orders of this prototype in terms of a wall-order relationship with the aim of achieving a significant degree of plasticity and vertical orientation. Basing his façade design on the Arch of Constantine gave him the freedom to explore the wall-order relationship to a novel degree.

The plan fragment below reveals the use of responding pilasters behind the columns and there we also see return pilasters at the corners. Only in this sketch do we get some insight into the inside-outside relationship. What is the beginning of a nave corresponds with the taller central bay and it is reasonable to assume that chapels correspond with the side bays. If this truncated nave indicates the width for the entire nave it makes up exactly one third of the width of the overall façade.

The Arch of Constantine is also the point of departure for sketch III E, but this time the source is highly modified. **[fig. 189]** The triple arch motif is replaced by a five bay façade with a dominant tetra-style free-standing colonnade crowned by statues set against an attic and a mezzanine storey with roundels below. These columns are turned into a major order which rises to a height of two storeys and offset by a minor order that is confined to the corner bays. The paired roundels of the Arch of Constantine resurface as single roundels that decorate the mezzanine level of the three bays of the taller central block. In the attic zone the relief panels between the statues repeat that rhythm. The ensemble of columns, roundels and attic zone with four statues identify the Arch of Constantine as a source but clearly each feature is substantially modified. The bay-dividing pattern of the major order appears to introduce connotations of the temple front motif as a sub-theme that is also echoed in the pediment and the tall rectangular portal which incidentally is similar to sketch III D as it also tapers towards the lintel, a motif favoured by Vitruvius and taken up by Alberti, Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo and Serlio.[175] The entablature that connects the side bays separates the decorative scheme of the roundels from the lower storey; thus Domenichino introduces a three-storey articulation for the three central bays where the mezzanine and the attic together equal the height of the lower storey.

Sketch III D is a façade design that subjects the triumphal arch vocabulary to the modern use of major and minor orders. Reading sketch III E from that perspective it becomes clear that the regular pattern of the major order might not have been derived from the temple front after all but from Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori.

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[175] Vitruvius, Ten Books of Architecture, Alberti, Leon Battista, Ten Books of Architecture, Serlio, Sebastiano, Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva, New Haven, London, 1996, pp. 288-291, for Giuliano da Sangallo see proposal for a church possibly San Lorenzo, Florence, fig. 50

While the Palazzo has hardly any visual presence in this facade its unique use of the orders does, if only as a modified secondary motif. This fusion of Michelangelo's application of orders with the architectural vocabulary of the triumphal arch explains the three storey division of the façade. Dividing the lower storey of the triumphal arch scheme horizontally into two parts allows for the introduction of a giant order without relinquishing the conventional articulation of the attic zone with statues and relief panels. The three storey design facilitates the introduction of a new theme while the main motif is retained. In our discussion of the aedicular facades we have seen that in sketches I B and III D Michelangelo's minor order of the Palazzo dei Conservatori is recast as an element of the triumphal arch motif i.e. free-standing columns crowned with statues. In sketch III E the order of the triumphal arch is stretched over two storeys thus becoming a major order particularly as an additional minor order is introduced. What is a romanisation of a dominant Michelangelo motif in the sketches I B and III D is reversed here as sketch III E is a Michelangelisation of the dominant Roman Triumphal arch motif.

Curiously the minor order is confined to the side bays and the inner order disappears behind the projecting central block thus suggesting a continuation of the theme behind the three central bays. The bays flanking the central portal were subjected to pentimenti. Niches that were first placed were cancelled out later. A few fragmented and faint lines are remnants of that feature.

Superimposed in chalk is a variation of sketch III E. The fainter lines show a taller pediment and side bays that reach up to the attic level raising the side bays which are decorated in the mode of sketch III D. It seems that in this version the minor order is replaced by another giant column on each side again crowned by statues. The result would be a hexa-style colonnade being the dominating element of the façade with strange intercolumniation. Thus the columnar element of the triumphal arch motif would have been expanded not only vertically but also horizontally to a point where the source is hardly recognisable.

Clearly sketches I A, III B and III E can be linked to the Arch of Constantine and while I B and III D are also related to that prototype these particular facades belong to the aedicular type. Our discussion of some of the other façade types has occasionally referred to the triumphal arch motif although in a secondary role and on a more generic level. The flying victories, the statues on free-standing columns, the inscription panels that are integrated into the architectural fabric, the articulation of attic zones and the sculptural program are recurring features imbued with triumphal arch connotations of a mostly generic type that resurface in different shape and context throughout many of these sketches. One could even argue that the façade I B and III D that are dominated by a giant aedicule also belong to the triumphal arch type since this motif appears first in the early triumphal arches. However in light of the general articulation of their aediculae and their likeness to the Palazzo dei Conservatori I preferred to place them into a different category. We have seen that the triumphal arch motif was first developed in Northern church facades but as a rather generic motif void of the sculptural qualities of the ancient monuments. Since Antonio da Sangallo's Roman church of Santa Maria in Porta Paradisi belongs to that tradition Domenichino provides the first proposals of Roman church facades that address specific features from specific triumphal arches and he explores and enhances their sculptural and decorative qualities. They are fused with elements of early modern architecture like the composite aedicule, novel niche articulation, the layered wall surface, the deeply projecting façade with free-standing columns, major and minor orders, the block- type façade, the layered wall surface. Many of these features are either novel or more pronounced in these sketches than is the case in contemporary existing facades. Domenichino shifts the emphasis from sketch to sketch when he modifies his imitation of the triumphal arch according to the requirements of Counter Reformation church facades. We also learned that his ideas were on occasion based on Serlio's illustrations of ancient monuments.

Similar to the sketches belonging to other categories these facades provide ample spaces for an ornamental program full of propagandist messages concerning patrons, saints, orders and Counter Reformation pronouncements in general. The triumphal arch itself is of course is the perfect medium for such a purpose. This we can learn from Domenichino's painting of the ancient monument where he exploits the

propagandist potential in accordance with its tradition. In one respect, however, the triumphal arch is an unconvincing prototype in the context of these sketches. For a monument that owes its existence to the phenomenon of processions it seems to be wasted as a matrix for church façades that are not capable of accommodating processions due to their single portal. But then again Roman churches played only a minor role in processions whereas the triumphal arch has powerful Roman connotations.

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Sketch III C is one of three facades with a block-like silhouette that resembles Michelangelo's proposal for San Lorenzo, the other two being sketches I A and II A. **[fig. 206, 138]** However, the classical equilibrium that characterises the other two facades has been sacrificed for a more vertical orientation and accumulative articulation towards the centre. The dominating aedicule over the aedicule of double orders that frames the central bay is quite ambiguous as the outer orders also pair up with the orders at the corners of the façade. This ambiguity is based on tensions and contradictions between a vertical and horizontal context and it distinguishes this façade from the aedicular facades discussed previously. Nor is the inner order part of a two storey aedicule confined to the lower central bay as it forms a single storey aedicule. Considering the accumulation of incidents ambiguity becomes a theme in relation to the use of orders.

The entire portal articulation can be described as a classicised version of Giacomo della Porta's Il Gesù with elements of Rughesi's Santa Maria in Vallicella. As in Il Gesù the projection of the paired orders differs between lower and upper storey while the segmental aedicule and the relief panel known from the Oratorian church are embellished with a set of free-standing columns crowned by statues and flanking the portal. **[fig. 129, 145]** The latter feature introduces an element of Roman classicism but the references to Il Gesù could be termed mannerist in character, thus ambiguities gain further prominence. The clerestorey window and the flanking niches have an interesting feature as their arched openings break into the pediments of the

surrounding aedicules. To mark this motif as the dominant theme of the upper storey it is reiterated in the frontispiece as a whole by inserting a blind arch that pentrates the broken pediment. In his book *On Antiquities* Serlio illustrates an ancient door of such a design which, according to him, is situated between Foligno and Rome and he describes it as a licentious but pleasing invention.[176] **[fig. 207]** Given Domenichino's familiarity with Serlio this could well have been the source for this clerestorey window that also appears in sketch II C. Of particular interest is the wall layering of the upper storey. Paired pilasters are set against wall sections that project most and frame the recessed blind arch which contains the aedicular clerestorey window. This combination of blind arch and clerestorey window which is already familiar from another block-like façade, sketch I A, can ultimately be traced back to a Bramante proposal for S. Maria presso S. Satiro**. [fig. 123]** As in most of his two-storey designs Domenichino is here following here the Vitruvian doctrine of scaled down height for the upper range, while not exactly adhering to Vitruvian proportions.[177]

In the lower storey Domenichino places the columns in different planes and thus introduces a degree of plasticity. The central aedicule composed of inner columns and segmental pediment projects, while the outer columns are paired with those at the corner creating a framing device for the side bays of which variations can be found in Maderno's Santa Susanna (1603) **[fig. 170]**, and Carlo Rainaldi's Sant'Andrea della Valle (1658-74). **[fig. 208]**[178] The block-like shape of this two-storey façade anticipates by a few years a number of Roman two–storey churches with a similar silhouette most notably S. Domenico e S. Sisto, S. Gregorio Magno and S. Carlo ai Catinari. Its most notable Roman precedent is San Luigi dei Francesi with which it shares the unpedimented outer bays.

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[176] Serlio, Sebastiano, Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva, translated by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, New Haven, London, 1996, p. 146

[177] Vitruvius, Ten Books of Architecture, Book V, Chapter 6.6

[178] The other similarity with the SS Vinzenco ed Anastasio is the absence of pedestals for the lower order. Judging by the shadows the lower order appears to be free-standing and sits on a low plinth which emerges from either side of the splayed stairs.

The single-storey open porch façade is a common Roman pre-Renaissance type. San Lorenzo fuori le Mura constitutes just one example of many such facades with a colonnaded porch or loggia articulating the lower storey. These broad schemes are usually defined by their regular intercolumniation without a central emphasis. We already established as part of the analysis of temple fronts that Roman post-medieval classicized open porch facades only began to emerge with Michelangelo's project for Saint Peters. **[fig. 107]** Apart from San Crisogono, San Sebastiano fuori la Mura and Santa Francesca Romana there are no other recent Roman instances based on the classical architectural vocabulary that were built prior to Domenichino's open porch sketches II A, C, D, and III F. **[figs. 98, 99, 100]** There are, however, some unrealised classically inspired designs for open porch facades that will be discussed here because of their influence on Domenichino's drawings. Still his interest in the building type is an exploration of relatively new territory, and like his proposals for temple fronts his ideas are quite diverse and very different from the precedents mentioned above. Sketch II A represents an example where the open porch is a sub-theme of the temple front motif and as such it has already been discussed. Its regular colonnade comes closest to the colonnades fronting the traditional Roman church type mentioned above. Both storeys, however, are of equal width, where the pediment emphasises the centre and the temple front motif is the point of departure for this design.

Outside the realm of church facades the open porch façade is first established in Rome with the Palazzo Massimo delle Colonne followed by Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori. Apart from these secular buildings most, if not all, of the other Roman examples of the use of an open porch façade are ville often in close proximity to the city.

Their façade designs incorporating porches are usually less austere, and a more relaxed and sumptuous architectural vocabulary prevails usually providing a focal point in an Arcadian garden setting. Sketch II D is reflective of such a villa design as it uses a richer decorative palette and explores the portico façade of the Villa Medici. **[figs. 209, 210]** The dominant Serlian motif is derived from the central block of its

garden façade on the Pincio. The paired columns and the entablature with the relief panels above initially suggest a mere copying of Ammannati's central motif, but some changes are introduced. The drawing seems to show a replacement of the Ionic by the Corinthian order and the single corner columns of the villa are combined with responding pilasters in Domenichino's design. The most important change is the introduction of taller fluted pilasters framing the outer bays of the lower storey. As in sketches I B, D, III D,E, IV and V Domenichino applies two different orders in one storey but this time in the form of independent, spatially separate motifs as the major order of Corinthian pilasters is confined unexpectedly to the side bays flanking the Serliana of the central block. The latter motif is set into a Michelangelesque wall frame and occupies almost the entire lower storey of the central three bays. Domenichino's use of orders replaces the profusion of decorative motifs characteristic of the Villa Medici with simplicity and clarity of design. Furthermore, together with the (Mannerist) correspondence of the fluted pilasters below and the upper pilasters the juxtaposition of the two orders in one storey adds an element of tension to the overall façade.

Another Roman precedent for the combination of a Serliana with a taller pilaster order is the Casino dell' Aurora of the Villa Borghese from 1605, now part of the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi. Giovanni Vansanzio fused these two motifs in the central block of the casino, thus the Corinthian pilasters divide the Ionic Serliana into its three constituents. **[fig. 211]** Together with the façade's rich decoration this solution again relinquishes clarity for an ornamental effect.

The application of Serliana and pilaster order is the core motif in sketch II D and it has two ecclesiastical precedents of open porch facades that never got beyond the design stage. Both are related to Bologna, the first one also being a proposal by the Lombard Flaminio Ponzio dating from 1611 this time for the cathedral of San Pietro in Domenichino's hometown. **[fig. 212]** An Ionic Serliana with paired columns dominates the wide central bay and the motif is continued into the side bays where it reappears. Narrow projecting wall strips articulated with paired pilasters are laid over the entablature connecting the Serliane.

The second design is a church design by the Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio. **[fig. 181]** It appears in the fifth book of his *Architettura* and not being designed for a particular project, its purpose is purely instructive. Its key elements are an open porch façade with ground floor Serliane intersected by a taller order reaching up to the first entablature. Given the close affinities of the lower storeys in both designs it is quite likely that Ponzio's proposal for the façade of the Bolognese cathedral was based on Serlio's design. In this case, however, it distinguishes itself from the former by the pairing of pilaster and columns.

Apart from similarities in the general conception, details of both designs emerge in II D. The use of taller pilasters as a framing device for the bays and the smaller pilasters responding to the single Serlian columns have parallels in Ponzio's facade, whereas the simpler decoration of the lower storey and the omission of high plinths for the pilaster order are closer to Serlio's design.

Given that Domenichino consulted Serlio's *Architettura* on other occasions the idea of using the Serliana as a porch of a church façade could well have been derived from the same source and then modified with reference to Ammannati's garden façade for the Villa Medici. Sketch II D differs from all the other facades as there are no references to antique prototypes either in detail or in general conception.[179] Domenichino probably wanted to explore different options for open porch facades and the Serliana offered itself as a natural choice. In the process he for once put his predilection for antiquity to one side. Moreover sketch II D shows some rare mannerist touches in the application of the paired order where the separation of bays is blurred as the inner pilaster of the paired order corresponds to a pilaster above while the outer pilaster terminates in statues. The boundaries between the bays are fluid and the paired order is separated by function. One pilaster serves a purely structural purpose while the other supports ornament. The single planar nature of the façade facilitates this mannerism.

[179] The Serliana is ultimately antique but here its use is clearly informed by modern precedents.

The upper storey introduces an aedicular theme as the overall storey is an aedicular feature that contains the triple aedicule motif already discussed in sketch I D. Domenichino applies here the same strategy as in the upper storey of sketch III C where a recurring motif becomes a theme. Moreover this motif relates the columns and openings of the two storeys to each other.

Overall sketch II D is unusual within these twenty sketches as it is almost entirely based on modern precedents with little reference to antiquity or the Gesu-type. Instead its single plane façade plays to such an extent on mannerist articulation that is hard to find anywhere else in Domenichino's architectural deliberations.

Another motif that ideally rendered itself for an open porch façade is the exedra of the Pantheon interior which consists of a recess separated from the main space by two freestanding columns and is framed by corner pilasters and niches on either side. **[fig. 142]** In sketch II C this motif is applied to the entire lower storey. **[fig. 213]** The clerestorey window of the upper storey has an arch breaking into the pediment, the design being familiar from sketch III C that might in turn have been derived from Serlio's Book III *On Antiquities* where we find an illustration of a Roman door of similar design that once existed between Folignio and Rome. **[fig. 207]**

Given the sketchiness of detail in this façade the order of the upper storey is perhaps an unfinished feature and thus needs no further deliberation. The only detail of interest is the replacement of the pediment with an attic, a unique feature within these sketches. This cursoriness suggests that Domenichino's main concern was simply to explore a variation of a portico façade based on the interior Pantheon motif and therefore neglected details such as orders and ornament in this design. Because of the ink wash that should be interpreted as shadowing, sketch II C is regarded in previous discussion by Pope-Hennessy, Blunt, Spear, and Curcio as a convex façade. Domenichino's point of departure was the exedra motif of the Pantheon and in my view it was initially conceived in one plane as it appears on the left and then reconsidered which means the curvature represents an afterthought. If the convexity is intended, and there is nothing to suggest it was not, then it would represent the very

first church façade design with curved features. Its source could be the curvature of the Pantheon motif itself which Domenichino reversed from concave to convex. It is important to note that there is no consistency in the sketching of the main entablature. At first sight it seems seamless but close scrutiny reveals a line left of the right side bay that indicates a projection of sorts suggesting either a different plane or the beginning of the convex Pantheon motif which is absent on the left. Given that this pentimento is almost exclusively expressed by ink wash which introduces a chiaroscuro effect the idea of convexity is the most plausible interpretation. Moreover this is consistent with the ink wash in the niches of the side bays and therefore the alternative interpretation of the pentimento as a projecting portico can be discounted.

When Domenichino explores the open porch facades he does not adapt the traditional Roman prototype of a broad colonnaded portico. He shirks this popular medieval type in favour of a highly classicised articulation. He picks the temple front, the Serliana and the exedra of the Pantheon in sketches II A, II D and II C. In the first instance he was probably inspired by Michelangelo's proposal for Saint Peter's while Serlio, and possibly Ponzio, informed his choice for the Serliana. To use the interior Pantheon motif of the exedra represents a solution without precedent that is entirely novel for a Roman church façade even without the suggested curvature. Perhaps this is the reason why this motif appears again in sketch III F. **[fig. 214]**

As mentioned previously the Tempietto del Clitunno was a popular object of study among Renaissance architects and theorists, who conceived it as a pagan Roman temple. **[fig. 215]** Perhaps Domenichino knew the *tempietto* from his travels between Bologna and Rome or he could have been familiar with drawings done by either Palladio or Onofrio Panvinio (1530-68) who held the position of corrector and reviser of the books in the Vatican library and was regarded as one of the major archaeologists of his time. Panvinio also had close links to the Farnese family, future patrons of Domenichino. In any case, Domenichino's sketch III F contains motifs that appear in this building.

Emerick places the Tempietto del Clitunno firmly within a Christian context and offers three possibilities for its dating all of which fall between the seventh and the ninth century. In the course of his argument Emerick draws attention to the formal repetitions that go hand in hand with the replacement of the imperial iconography with Christian Iconography i.e. the image of Christ replacing that of the emperor without changing the established formal practice.[180] Emerick does not, however, extend that observation to the formal continuity of the architectural framework. This concerns particularly the architectural motif of the fastigium on the interior that was employed as a symbol of sovereignty in sacred and imperial architecture since the first century AD mainly in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire as is evident from surviving examples like the Diocletian palace in Spalato. **[fig. 216]** A close variation of that motif - an arch penetrating a triangular pediment - reappears at the eastern end of the cella in the Tempietto del Clitunno but in this case framing Christian iconography. **[fig. 217]** Despite the iconographic shift the essential architectural form and its symbolism remains unaltered.

When analysing Domenichino's sketch III F under this aspect an intriguing picture emerges. **[fig. 214]** The overall scheme of this drawing is based on a simplified Il Gesu model with paired pilasters, and two storeys connected by scrolls with niched side bays at the lower level. However, inserted into this is a central block with a colonnaded exedra based on the interior Pantheon motif below and above a monumental apse above. The latter penetrates into the pediment just like the Serlian door but spatially it forms an elevated monumental stage set that is formally and symbolically closer to the concept of a fastigium with a scenographic central portal flanked by two further niches with statues all set below a hemisphere. This clerestorey opening in sketch III F is either a window of appearances that provides a stage for religious sermons, including the presentation of reliquaries or more likely a portal leading to a benediction loggia.

More importantly Domenichino's sketch deliberately plays on the continuity of the architectural symbol of sovereignty. In imperial times the emperor used to appear

[180] Emerick, J.J., The Tempietto del Clitunno near Spoleto, 1998, Pennsylvania, p. 422

under the fastigium as a "*frontone glorificante*". In the Tempietto del Clitunno he was replaced by a depiction of the figure of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul and the clerestorey opening of sketch III F suggests occasional appearances and thus the symbolic presence of a cardinal or perhaps even the pope under the fastigium surrounded by an iconographic program similar to that of the Tempietto.[181] Clearly a tradition that has its roots in imperial Roman times resurfaces in Domenichino's design with its architectural form and symbolism intact, while the decorative scheme is suggestive of a program not unlike that of the Tempietto del Clitunno.

In conjunction with the fastigium Domenichino uses the interior Pantheon motif for the articulation of the porch. To quote a second antique architectural motif from another 'converted temple', this time the Pantheon, the most admired motif of the most revered of all Roman buildings, of course enforces the connotations of the upper storey.[182] Basing the porch on the Pantheon's screened niches that are reserved for divinity implies a transfer of further devotional and reverential aspects to sketch III F. Given this inherent symbolism one could speculate whether such a combination of potent motifs was a response to the Ludovisian desire for a family mausoleum. The interior Pantheon motif is also an ideal formal choice because both antique features have concave niches and as such are compatible.[183] Domenichino is careful to keep the two features as separate entities; his entablature articulation across the whole central block is straight and not *en ressault* like the corners of the façade, thus he does not allow the central block to be perceived as one giant aedicule, a perception that would dilute the diverse sources of this sketch. The antique quotations need to stand out clearly from the modern Gesù-type two-storey façade in order to fulfil the entire façade's evocative potential. The image of a church triumphant is enhanced and consolidated by associating itself with triumphant images from imperial times.

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[181] Merz, Jörg Martin, Pietro da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture, Chicago, 2008, p. 200

[182] Michelangelo described the Corinthian order of the exedras as "un disegno angelico e non humano" see: Loerke, William C.,'A rereading of the Interior Elevation of Hadrian Rotunda', in The Journal of Architectural Historians, Vol. 49, No. 1, March 1990, pp. 22-43.
There was also criticism levelled at the interior elevation of the Pantheon which mainly concerned the attic storey as it did not conform with early modern conceptions of scale and ordering particularly concerning the vertical relationship of voids and solids. Giuliano da Sangallo, Raphael, Michelangelo were among those who pointed out such perceived incongruities in articulation. Generally, however the Pantheon was held in the highest regard.

[183] In case of the Pantheon concave and rectangular niches alternate.

This formal solution with its rich associations addresses the concerns of the Counter Reformation. The church façade offers itself as a stage set and frame work for the hierarchy's need and desire to present their religious messages and their authority in the form of a theatrical display as the upper balcony shows.

At first glance this formal solution seems an entirely novel architectural idea. For the first time a whole church facade is projected into space by use of a colonnaded porch and a concave central bay. It makes this sketch the most radical together with sketch II C. And indeed this three dimensional articulation over two storeys is a novelty for church façades in the early seventeenth century. However, Domenichino's interest in, and understanding of, antiquity takes precedence over a quest for innovative formal schemes *per se*. It is the imitative process of using motifs of ancient architecture for a modern building type that triggers the design and the formal innovations concerning the exploitation of spatial depth are almost an exciting by-product. Consequently the novel aspect is not innovative façade articulation for the sake of it but a result of a deliberate application of ancient motifs with their inherent symbolism, to a modern church facade. Finally in 1665 under the patronage of Pope Alexander VII who aspired to turning the whole city of Rome into a *teatro* a similar scheme was realised with Cortona's Santa Maria in Via Lata. **[fig. 218]** One could happily argue that Domenichino's sketch III F was ahead of its time, when in fact it would be far more instructive to point out its proximity to Cortona's scheme, as this reveals its connectedness to a general quest for a new symbolically charged architectural vocabulary. This is important because such an approach takes sketches like this out of the realm of the purely theoretical exercise and commends them as schemes with a definite potential for realisation and that is exactly what they deserve.

Mysteries

This chapter reassesses Domenichino's architectural drawing P.-H. no. 1741, which, like the twenty church facades was first published in 1948 in *The Drawings of Domenichino in the Collection of his Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* by John Pope-Hennessy. With the help of references by Bellori, Pope-Hennessy identified these sketches as Domenichino's proposals for the Roman Jesuit church of Sant' Ignazio.[184] Domenichino's drawing of pen and brown ink over grey chalk on white paper measures 235x271mm and shows a series of church designs. **[fig. 219]** To the left side there are three different sections partially overlaid and a faintly drawn square plan. The centre of the sheet shows two longitudinal sections of a nave, the one at the top faintly drawn in chalk, while the one in the centre of the page is carefully detailed in brown ink drawn over chalk: both can be related to the fragment of the plan drawn below them. Another fragmented plan on the right side of the sheet is drawn over a single bay elevation and below this plan is a fourth section drawn in chalk and brown ink. Further fragmented plans are visible to the left and right of this section. A faint drawing of two arches appears at the bottom edge and a further arch is visible at the upper right edge of the sheet. To date this is the only known architectural design by Domenichino that deals with the complexities of interior church design.[185]

Undoubtedly Pope-Hennessy's publication on Domenichino's drawings in Windsor Castle is extremely valuable; nevertheless his analysis of this particular architectural drawing is incomplete and misleading in places and on the whole its re-examinations by Blunt, Spear, Curcio, Fagiolo d'Arco, Bösel, Matteucci and Antinori neither challenged his erroneous findings nor did they add any substantial visual analysis. In light of this I shall endeavor to offer a new reading of the drawing P.-H.1741 through a thorough analysis of each individual section,

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[184] Bellori, Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti, Rome, 1672, p. 350

[185] With the exception of the simple sketch of a ground plan relating to the church façade in P.-H. 1740

elevation and plan fragment including every *pentimento,* and then position the result in the context of Domenichino's imitative strategy.[186] The spatial interrelations of the drawings were not yet accurately reflected in previous analyses and for this reason it deserves a closer re-examination, particularly when considering the originality of Domenichino's other architectural sketches and the high esteem in which his architectural ideas were held until long after his death despite his small oeuvre in that field.[187] Bottari's *Dialoghi* illustrate this point very well.[188] Furthermore, the fact that P.-H. no. 1741, a personal work sheet void of any representational character, was regarded as a collectable item evinces the importance in which it was held by Domenchino's estate and subsequent collectors.

My analysis grows out of six important basic observations: firstly each of the individual sketches is executed on the same scale.[189] Clear indications of this are the equally sized arches that appear in almost every sketch of this drawing, be it plan or section. These, together with other correspondences in scale, will be examined individually throughout this chapter. Secondly, all the sketches are interrelated. Not only the scale but more importantly an examination of the relationship between the plan fragments and the sections will clarify this point. Thirdly, they are almost exclusively concerned with the section west of the crossing of the church including nave, aisles and chapels.[190] We will see that the plan fragments represent that part of the church and how the different sections shown on this sheet depict various aspects and evolutions thereof. Fourthly, the worksheet proposes alternative ideas for various aspects of this church design, both on a grand scale and in detail. Again a comparison of the plans as well as

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[186] Pope-Hennessy, John, The drawings of Domenichino ...at Windsor Castle, London 1948, pp. 121-122. The three sections on the left are not all "transverse sections of the nave and side aisles of the church." Nor is the section on the right a "study of a nave and right aisle and a ground plan of the nave, entrance and right aisle.

[187] Ibid, pp. 121-122

[188] Bottari, Giovanni, Dialoghi sopra le tre arti del disegno, 1826, p. 54 ....ma (i gesuiti) fecero un misto d'ambedue, diverso dal pensiero dell'architetto, con che si venne a perdere in Roma l'architettura d'un tempio che sarebbe stata lo stupore de'secoli futuri. ...

[189] One differently scaled plan does not have any adverse implications for all the others and it will be dealt with towards the end of this article

[190] The exceptions are two faint chalk sketches, i.e. the plan at the lower right corner and the arch straddling the right edge of this sheet. Both will be discussed in detail and related to the other sketches.

alternative design solution within a given section will clarify this point. The Serliana, the dominant architectural motif on this worksheet, is the point of departure. During the design process it evolves into other architectural motifs but not without impacting on the overall plan. These five observations will be supported by the detailed analysis which follows. Lastly close examination of all extant architectural drawing by Domenichino shows that nearly every mark is meaningful, even if interpretation can be elusive at times. In the case of this worksheet absolute consistency between sketches is not to be expected because pentimenti and alternative ideas evolve as work is in progress.

Firstly let us concentrate on what I call Section One at the centre of this sheet **[fig. 220].** This is the prominent longitudinal section of a nave. Mainly drawn in ink it consists of two bays of a nave articulated by Composite or Corinthian Serliane under sizeable relief panels. This nave is crowned by a coffered barrel vault *all'antica.* The bays are divided by either Corinthian or Composite columns supporting statues placed on individual entablature blocks. These columns and statues are free-standing in front of wide baseless wall strips two of which terminate with a salient cornice.[191] A further projection of the cornice indicates another wall strip at the centre of the wider strips which is hidden behind the free-standing column with its statue. Domenichino offers alternative solutions for the treatment of the relief panels. The most distinctive panels fill out the entire space between the apex of the arch of the Serliane and the cornice. The right panel even links into a recessed cornice above it. In the same bay we recognize a pentimento of a wider panel with supporting nudes. Moreover a weaker ink drawing of smaller framed panels of which the right one is adorned with shell ornament offers another alternative. The latter panels point towards a bay articulation of smaller framed panels set in between a wall frame which is suggested by a strong ink line below the cornice. However, obliterated by the hatching of the entire wall surface, it seems that both panels and the wall frames were subsequently abandoned in favour of monumental panels. Within the context of the arches and the equally tall flanking statues supported by free-standing columns they evoke the triumphal arch

[191] The central one is shown in frontal view and the one on the right is shown in profile.

motif instead of referencing Michelangelesque wall frames and the smaller relief panels in the Bolognese church of Santa Lucia by Girolamo Rainaldi from 1623.[192] **[fig. 221]** Wall frame articulation throughout the bays would have been consistent with the third bay on the right of Section 1 which can be seen now as a transitional bay between nave and crossing bay. There, a feature that might be interpreted as a variant involving a salient entablature is retained as a framework for a door and a balustraded balcony that houses the organ, an arrangement not unlike the one recently executed in the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte by Gaspare Guerra (1604-1612) **[fig. 222]** Faint chalk lines in the nave bay on the left belonging to an under drawing represent an initial idea for an alternative, a larger arch design that would have reached up to the cornice, thus denying the space for any relief panels.

In the context of discussing openings I would like to suggest another reading for the smaller panels discussed above. This feature is in line with the Jesuit architectural program as devised in 'Il Gesù' where such *coretti* covered by grids communicate with galleries in behind that are reserved for the Jesuit lay brothers during sermons. Their partial obliteration might indicate that this idea was abandoned with the introduction of the relief panels unless these relief panels represent a larger version of *coretti*. On balance, however, it is more probable that these features represent relief panels for inscriptions or paintings or even both, given Domenichino's predilection for them elsewhere.

Vertically the nave is divided into three parts of equal height, from floor to the impost level of the Serliane, from there to the top of the cornice, and from there to the apex of the barrel vault. The overall height of the free-standing columns and socle of the statues is equal to the distance from centre to centre of the same columns. Also the relief panels are equal to the height of the statues and the width of the central opening of the Serliana, a further indication of Domenichino's

192 Richard Bösel notes in his essay 'Gli ordini religiosi' that Santa Lucia was judged by contemporaries as "tutto Il Gesù corretto." in Storia dell'architettura Italiano. Il Seicento, Milan, 2003, pp. 63-64

careful consideration for measure, scale and proportion. This is consistent not only within this design but throughout the whole sheet. There is a clear interrelation between the other sketches on the sheet.

The most obvious relationship is between Section One and the fragmented Plan 1 below it. **[fig. 223]** In Plan One we recognize the same Serliane, the piers, and also the responds behind the freestanding columns. The Serliane of the nave lead into an aisle and are repeated again at the entrance to the chapels. At the back wall of the chapels are pilasters that roughly correspond to the Serliane. There is also an outline of an altar and further lines that possibly indicate the initial arrangement for the solids between the chapels. Plan One shows a third Serliana leading to a large column on the left with a respond pilaster on the return. This return may be seen as the internal façade and as such this is the most westerly bay.[193]

Drawn in ink the plan also continues on the right, where a similar arrangement of columns and walls is clearly visible. After the column belonging to a Serliana there follows an outline of a corner pier with two pilaster strips cushioning and responding to the last freestanding column. (The hatched column part of an alternative plan immediately to the left of this column must be ignored for the moment.) The pier continues and after turning a corner a larger pilaster strip follows. Then the outline recedes with two further notches before it stops. A faint chalk line, however, appears to the right, almost overlapped by unrelated features drawn in ink. This short straight line soon turns a corner to indicate a beveled face with a centrally placed niche. This is followed by another short straight line and then an extensive weaker line returns towards the aisle of Plan One. **[figs. 223, 224]** From this we can deduce that Plan One consists of a three bay nave, with Serliane leading into an aisle and a second set of Serliane leading from the aisle into side chapels. The free-standing columns with statues placed in front of piers continue throughout the nave and responded to by a terminating corner pier at the

[193] This feature is not exactly in line with the other column-pier motifs, however the relationship is obvious. An unexplained feature is the uneven width of the nave piers.

western end of the nave and by a transitional bay that separates the nave from the crossing at the eastern end of the nave. **[fig. 225]**

Further this transitional bay of Plan One can be related to the single bay elevation drawn above it, which now appears as a continuation of Section One **[fig. 223, 225].** The correspondences between the parts of the plan fragment that are drawn in ink and the single bay are very clear. The relationship between the plan fragments drawn in chalk and the elevation above are less obvious but they are plausible in the context of the overall relationship between plan and elevation. First let us look at the clear correspondences between Plan One and the longitudinal section including the transitional bay. We can clearly see, both in section and plan, the last column of the Serliana, the last tall free-standing column against the projecting crossing pier, the tall pilaster strip and the recession of the wall giving way to an opening. The plausible continuation of this correspondence is the following chalky outline in plan of the transitional bay above and the following beveled face with the central niche and the returning line suggesting a crossing pier. From these correspondences between Section One and Plan One emerge a design for a three-bayed church nave with Serliane leading into aisles from which further Serliane lead into three chapels. A projecting transitional bay terminates a free-standing column motif in front of the nave piers and links the nave proper with the crossing. **[fig. 226]**

At the beginning of this chapter I established six basic observations which are most relevant to the accurate contextualization of the sketches on this sheet. The faint sketch in chalk straddling the right edge of the sheet, however, does not strictly adhere to this system. **[fig. 219]** It shows an arch below an entablature under a segmental double line. There is no Serliana, and this analysis will show that it is not part of the western section of the church nor does it represent an alternative to any of the other sketches. Despite some inconsistencies that are partly due to the undeveloped nature of this chalk sketch and partly due to the sometimes generally ambiguous character of the fragments on this worksheet,

nevertheless I would like to suggest that this sketch adheres to the scale of the other sketches and is compatible with some of them. In terms of scale it matches the crossing arch of the transverse section -Section Two- on the top left both in height and width. The height of the orders that are just about discernable on the left flank of the arch are revealing too. The pilaster orders in the transitional bay of Section One were subjected to pentimenti and thus propose two different heights for this order. Not so the faintly drawn order discernible on the left flank of the chalk sketch where the question of height seems to be settled in favour of the taller order proposed in the transitional bay of Section One. Consequently the height of the orders in Section Two is misleading as it was not subjected to the same pentimento we see in the transitional bay of Section One.

Other compatible features between the chalk drawing and Section One is the common base line and the faint horizontal line to the left of the apex of the smaller depicted arch that meets a vertical line drawn partially in ink and partially in chalk. When we contextualize these lines with the faint chalk drawing of the arch, the aforementioned baseline and the whole of Section One we realize that this chalk drawing represents a section of the crossing and a section through the transitional bay and the arch it carries which is partially sketched in ink. This means that not only does Section One consist of the western section of the church depicting the nave and the transitional bay, but that actually it also represents a section of nave, transitional bay and the crossing. **[fig. 227]** As we will see during the course of this discussion it is the only drawing that gives us an insight beyond the western section of the church, thus settling the ambiguity about the height of the pilaster order of the transitional bay.

Unfortunately the aspect of compatibility with other sketches -the very aspect that helps to establish this reading- also raises questions about the validity of such an interpretation. When the crossing arch of the extended Section One is related to Plan One below a lack of compatibility becomes apparent in the form of a mismatch between this section and the eastern edge of the plan of the crossing pier

as shown in fig. 7. Another unrelated problem concerns the segmental feature above the entablature of the crossing. It could be read as a groin vault, as pendentives or as a shallow dome. In light of the general practice of dome construction, each solution would not only be highly unusual but also highly problematic with regard to making the crossing accessible to light. The most likely interpretation for that feature would be a shallow dome, a feature that once more points to Raphael who used it in the loggia of the Villa Madama. **[fig. 228]** The realization of the ensuing problems might be the reason why Domenichino did not develop the sketch of the crossing any further and as we shall see he gave the crossing pier a much more monumental aspect which suggests that it was intended to act as a support for a much more substantial dome–like structure.

The established three- bay design for a nave with flanking chapels followed by a transitional bay leading into a crossing is a variation of the Jesuit church of Il Gesù **[fig. 229].** Similarities can be observed regarding the nave with its number of bays, particularly the inclusion of the transitional bay. The door of this bay suggests a corresponding space which in Il Gesù is part of a quincunx of domed spaces that communicates with nave, transept, chapel and the spaces adjoining the church proper. There are also, however, considerable differences. The spaces that serve as interconnected chapels in Il Gesù are recast in sketch P.-H.1741 as an aisle running past three chapels of much lesser depth. Nave, aisles and chapels are generously interconnected and the transitions between these spaces are emphasized by the insertion of the Serliana motif. A related motif of paired columns appears in Maderno's aisles of San Pietro in Vaticano, but here Domenichino employs it as a single motif and he changes its orientation from the longitudinal to transverse axis. **[fig. 230]**[194]

The application of three orders as nave articulation is also unprecedented in a Roman church. In addition to the small order of the Serliana motif, there is the

[194] Similar paired columns appear already in a study for the façade for Saint Peters from c. 1606, see Thelen, Heinrich, Francesco Borromini: die Handzeichnungen, Graz, 1967, pp. 40f. and Hibbard, Howard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, London, 1971, plate 51b; cf. p. 158

medium size order of the free-standing columns set between the bays and also the tall pilasters that support the main entablature and frame the transitional bay leading to the crossing. Neither in San Pietro nor in Il Gesù do we see such an emphasis on the orders. In this respect Domenichino follows faithfully antique examples such as the Therme di Caracalla. Apart from studying the remnants of the original structure Domenichino might also have consulted the recordings and reconstructions by Palladio that were based on a more complete state of this structure than Domenichino could have witnessed. **[fig. 231]** Not only did he emulate the rich application of the orders in an interior space but he also employed them in similar fashion. The application of just one order to three different scales throughout the building, most likely the Corinthian order, is a case in point as it features prominently in the *natatio* of the *terme*. At the same time this application of orders constitutes a remarkable digression from the Counter Reformation prototype of Il Gesù in so far as the desired effect of a singular spatial unity is broken up by the intrusion of that columnar motif into the nave which introduces a processional character and furthermore obliterates the smooth and regular double pilaster articulation of the piers. In contrast to Domenichino's proposal the latter treatment of the piers as established in Il Gesù resurfaces in the built church of Sant' Ignazio. The windowless barrel vault of the nave is a further reference to classical antiquity, as it is a variation of the coffered dome of the nearby Pantheon or it may even be inspired by its sister building the Roman Temple of Divus Hadrianus. Alberti's Sant'Andrea which itself was derived from antiquity and the vault of the entrance of the Roman Palazzo Venezia **[fig. 232]** are more recent predecessors but it is likely that Domenichino's thinking was in this particular case guided by the classical antique, since it pervades so many aspects of his formal vocabulary.[195] The alternative design above this section confirms this notion as it adopts motifs from the Bath of Diocletian and the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine.

[195] Domenichino might also have consulted both Palladio's and Hieronymus Cock's recordings of antique Roman buildings. It is known that he owned Palladio's 'I quattro libri dell'architettura.'

Furthermore Peruzzi's reconstructed plan of the latter may have informed Domenichino's arrangement of free-standing columns in front of the nave piers, particularly those flanking the apse. **[fig. 233]** A reworked apse- column combination also appears in Andrea Pozzo's executed altar design of about 1690, which recalls Domenichino's free-standing order surmounted by statues along the nave. **[fig. 234]** Even if these references are no reliable indicator of the articulation of Domenichino's apse at least they resonate with his nave designs and thus represent intriguing hints of a likely apse design. The Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine and its reconstructions by Peruzzi perhaps were also sources for the free-standing column motif of the Bolognese church of San Salvatore. **[fig. 235]** This church designed by Giovanni Battista Mazenta was completed in 1623. Bellori states that during his stay in Bologna from 1619-1621 Domenichino involved himself intensely in architectural studies and we may recall that during this period Mazenta's church was under construction.[196] Given the similar application of free-standing columns in the nave of San Salvatore, Domenichino might also have based his designs for Sant'Ignazio on Mazenta's work. In any case both designs clearly share references to classical antiquity particularly the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine. Unlike any of these precedents Domenichino's free-standing columns support statues, which are suggestive of the triumphal arch motif. There is, however a suggestive precedent in the Roman church of Santa Susanna set by Maderno where deeply projecting pilasters crowned by statues are placed along the nave albeit without establishing a regular pattern. **[fig. 236]** We have also seen that Maderno and Domenichino were repeatedly involved in the same projects including the planning stage of Sant'Ignazio. An earlier precedent for a columnar motif crowned by statues is the nave of the Veronese church of San Giorgio in Braida (nave: 1536-43). If not familiar to Domenichino, it could have been know to Maderno given his northern origin and perhaps it inspired his nave design of Santa Susanna in Rome. **[fig. 237]**

[196] Bellori, Giovan Pietro, Le Vite dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti moderni, 1672, Roma, p. 321 A connection between Domenichino and Mazenta is not mentioned by Bellori.

Section Two, the transverse section on the top left of the work sheet is related to Section One and Plan One. **[fig. 238]** Again drawn to the same scale, it establishes the width of the nave, aisles and chapels. Many features conform to the ones we already know from Section One and Plan One, however, further insights can be gained into the fabric and details of the design. The view is from the liturgical west towards the east, and in the nave we see the pair of freestanding columns supporting statues. Here the left side conforms to the equivalent features of Section One; the tall pilaster of the transitional bay is topped by a full entablature that seems to be salient above the capitals, but only a second separate cornice or abbreviated entablature placed above it is continued along the nave. Such a 'double entablature' is an unusual motif, however we encountered variations of it in the church façade IV and in the wall monument for Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi in Bologna, a much earlier work from 1608-10. In the Sant'Ignazio proposal the lower entablature, together with the capitals of the pilaster order, corresponds in height and location with the statues in the nave, while the upper abbreviated entablature marks the transition from wall to vault. The alignment of panels and statues establishes a triumphal arch reference while the upper entablature had to be continued to demarcate the transition from wall to vault. Obviously Domenichino was experimenting here as on the opposite side of the sketch this upper abbreviated entablature is missing. Alternative designs are offered and the reduced application of horizontal members on the right side of the nave helps to emphasize the vertical character of the pier articulation and the columnar motifs.

This emphasis on verticality is even stronger in the alternative longitudinal section above Section One. Here the entablature is dropped altogether and the bays are solely articulated by Serliane set into arches with a window placed above. These examples reveal Domenichino's preference for a combination of classical Roman prototypes mixed with an emphasis on verticality.

One feature in Section Two raises once more the problem of the *coretti.* Did Domenichino at one point contemplate this feature above the Serliane of the longitudinal Section One? It is difficult to give a definite answer. The faint outlines in chalk seem to point towards exterior buttressing and there also seems to be an embryonic idea of a small cupola or lantern above the chapel on the extreme left. The crucial elements for the inclusion of *coretti* are the prominent ink lines above the aisle as they hint to an inclusion of a gallery. But even if that is the reason for their presence Domenichino seems to have been abandoned this idea since it is not developed beyond a fragmentary drawing. Thus the squares above the arches of Section One are indeed grand relief panels. Given the logic of the classical plan the Sections One and Two and Plan One establish the following plan which includes some conjectures like the entrance and the crossing. **[fig. 239]**

So far the prominence of the Serliana is undeniable. Richard Spear suggests that Domenichino "just might have thought... a columnar plan... would please Cardinal Ludovisi, since Maderno recently had begun a Palladian-motif cortile in his family's palace." **[fig. 240]**[197] To this might be added, Giulio Romano's Abbey Church of San Benedetto, Polirone (1540's) which involves three bays with the Serliana motif separated by tall pilasters and it constitutes a precedent where this design is a defining feature for the nave and marks the transitions from nave to the aisles. **[fig. 241]** [198] Perhaps the most important precedent is Giovanni Tristano's use of the Serliana in Il Gesù in Ferrara, which I will discuss later. The previous chapter has shown that the earliest Roman connection between the Serliana applied as a space dividing motif in church design and Domenichino is the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Badia di Grottaferrata which Domenichino decorated from 1608 until 1610. **[fig. 1]** In Plan One of Domenichino's sketch P.-H. 1741 it also marks the transition from the aisles to the chapels, thus the Serliana

[197] Spears, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 94 Hibbard says that "the basic arcade unit *seems* [my emphasis] to have been designed by Maderno." Hibbard, Howard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, London, 1971, p. 78

[198] The earliest examples of serliane in church architecture are Santa Maria delle Grazie in Pistoia (1470) and in the upper storey of San Maurizio in Milan, designed by Gian Giacomo Dolcebuono in around 1500.

dominates the transverse axis across the western part of this church design. The visual emphasis on the transverse axis also points towards Roman Baths, particularly the *frigidarium* in the Thermae di Caracalla, where a transverse axis linking the *natatio* to the *caldarium* competes with the general longitudinal orientation of the space. **[fig. 242]**

Let us now turn to Plan Two where we will see that the Serliana motif is further emphasized along the transverse axis by its pairing in a transitional space between nave and aisle as well as in the chapel. Furthermore it is also introduced in pairs along the longitudinal axis of the aisle as it makes its first appearance in the aisle. **[figs. 243, 244]**

At this point a few explanations are necessary that will clarify this observation by dealing with some pentimenti that changed this plan subsequently. First of all let us consider the layout of the plan. The orientation in terms of an east-west axis is exactly the same in Plan Two as in Plan One, but this time the sketch relates to the northern side of the nave. Drawn on the same scale as Plan One we see a monumental northwestern crossing pier that terminates the free-standing column with statue motif on two sides, the nave and the northern transept.[199] To the west of the crossing pier we see the nave pier with Serliane on either side of it. This nave pier is now as deep as the crossing pier thereby introducing a transitional space between nave and aisle. Below at the bottom right hand corner of the sheet and corresponding with this crossing pier there is a second crossing pier faintly drawn in chalk, thus the space in between the two piers, equal to the width of the nave in Section Two, marks the transition from nave to the crossing. Incidentally the distance between these piers is twice that of the centres of the Serliana columns and the width of the nave equals almost two full Serliane. This distance is exactly equal to the width of the crossing in Section Two.

[199] A comparison of the size between the Serliane of Plans One and Two and the size of the footprints of the free-standing columns shows that both plans are of the same scale.

The space [A] north of the northwestern crossing pier is part of the aisle. **[fig. 247]** As the aisle continues towards the west [B] it opens into a chapel [C] and into the transitional space [D] which is connected to the nave below it. To the east of aisle space A lies the northern transept [E]. The transition from aisle to transept is flanked by free-standing columns with responding pilasters. More importantly, a Serliana marks the entrance into the aisle. Therefore, unlike in Plan One, the Serliana is also introduced here along the longitudinal axis echoing the columnar articulation of the aisles in San Pietro. No analysis of this plan has been proposed by other authors.

After clarifying the orientation and the spatial configuration of Plan Two let us address the problems posed by the pentimenti. The initial design of Plan Two was generated by the application of the Serliana motif along the transverse and the longitudinal axis. It is important that this motif was always applied in pairs, a fact that is obscured by subsequent pentimenti. While the Serliane along the nave, the transept and indeed the back of the chapels are all still fully preserved in Plan Two their counterparts along the aisle underwent changes. Let us look at the extension at the back of the crossing pier as it is a good example of such pentimenti. On closer examination we recognize strong dark lines in that drawing that indicate a smaller extension ending in pilasters which would have responded to free-standing columns on two sides **[figs. 245, 246].** This evidently is the initial Serliana motif. Only a subsequent pentimento connected these columns, turning them into engaged columns flanking a niche that is set into a beveled wall face. Further proof of the initial Serliana motif can be seen at the diametrically opposite corner of the same space where two circular marks (also in red, **fig. 243**) representing free-standing Serliana columns are still preserved without being attached to anything. The method of drawing at the other two corners also suggests a change from Serliana to a niche flanked by engaged columns and it becomes clear that all the Serliane still preserved at the periphery of Plan Two were originally paired with those more centrally placed, (i.e. around space B), however, that connection

is now obscured by subsequent pentimenti **[fig. 247].** We will come to the third free-standing column later.

Both the pairing and the application of the Serliana motif along the transverse and longitudinal axis make Plan Two a progression or evolution from Plan One. It puts the Serliana already prominent in Plan One centre stage and makes it the generating factor for the overall plan. In this context Bramante's longitudinal plan U. 7945 A verso for St. Peter's seems to take on a crucial role as the proposed plan fragment focuses on the same area and explores a similar spatial concept between space, solids and the use of columnar motifs, but in a simpler solution. **[fig. 248]**. Domenichino designs a variation on the theme that reconnects Bramante's ideas back to the antique sources of the Basilica of Constantine and Maxentius and the triumphal arch theme when he places a larger free-standing columnar motif supporting statues in front of the nave piers. Like Bramante he introduces differently sized orders and a spatial strategy of inserting transitional spaces between nave and aisles as part of a longitudinal plan. In both cases this results in a very expansive western section of the church consisting of a multiplicity of interconnecting spaces. In the case of the Sant' Ignazio proposal the Serliana motif is eventually revised which leads to complex pentimenti.

The idea of pairing the Serliane defines the shape of the spatial units between such pairs in that the distance between the Serliane equals the distance between the columns of a Serliana. Thus the spaces A, B, C, D in between are squared by the Serliana motif. **[fig. 247]**

The use of paired Serliane along the transverse and longitudinal axis leads to a modular division of the available spaces into square units and as such it also determines to a large extent the shape and size of the solids in between. For example, the monumental crossing pier needed to accommodate the spatial

demands of the modular use of the Serliana and the nave pier needed to be as deep to preserve the modular use of squares resulting from the paired Serliane. Indeed the drawing of the nave pier shows that the front and the back were linked by an interconnecting wall from the start. **[fig. 243]**

Although not exclusively, the articulation of space and solids is determined by the Serliana, as well as the transition between spaces and the sight lines. Of course, the Bramantesque articulation of the face of the crossing pier and the recesses at their back are independent motifs and Domenichino seemed to have absorbed and applied this source for his own purpose. Even Michelangelo's square spatial organization at the back of these piers could be regarded as a prototype. Nevertheless, while all these elements are important the overall design was first and foremost generated by the Serliana with the other design elements developed and integrated subsequently. Certain models like the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine or early ideas by Bramante are clearly discernible, but the Serliana is the leit-motif, as it is already established in Section One. In Plan One we see its application along the transverse axis and in Plan Two it is further applied to articulate the longitudinal axis, i.e. the aisles. Therefore in this work sheet Domenichino worked from the particular towards the general without following a master plan and this might explain the expansive spatial configurations that become apparent when the implications of this plan fragment are considered later.

Moreover the rich columnar articulation that imbues the nave with a processional character spills over into the aisles of Plan Two albeit in a different articulation thereby anticipating the processional character of the executed enfilades that terminate and in the church as built finally culminating in chapels dedicated to S. Ignazio on the left and to Pope Gregory XV and the Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi on the right. The instigator of the idea to unify the Jesuit church *ex novo* with a family mausoleum that includes a double tomb for the pope and his *nepote* was the

Cardinal Ludovisi himself who also provided 200.000 *scudi* and further regular financial contributions for the construction of this project following his death.[200]

The pentimenti in Plan Two, do show however, that Domenichino reconsidered this heavy reliance on the Serliana and introduced a new architectural motif. This motif evolved from the Serliana by connecting the free-standing columns with a beveled wall containing a central niche. It is placed at each corner of the aisle space [B] in front of the chapel.[201] **[figs. 243, 244, 247]** With the introduction of this pentimento he departed from the use of the Serliana as a recurring feature along the aisle and consequently this new motif also features in the aisle space of the neighbouring bay to the west.[202] Only the Serliana at the entrance to the aisle survived.

Why did Domenichino compromise on the plan-generating Serliana motif? Perhaps the sections on the worksheet will answer such questions. It is instructive to recall four of the five basic observations mentioned at the top of this chapter before analyzing these sections, i.e. that they all adhere to the same scale (which matches the scale of the plans), are all part of the western section of the church, are all interrelated and that they show, like the Plan Two, several pentimenti.

Section Y at the bottom left of the worksheet is a good point of departure. **[fig. 249]** Pope-Hennessy regarded it as he regarded all of the other transverse sections on P.-H. 1741, namely as "transverse sections of the nave and side aisles of the church."[203] However, with the postulated basic observations in mind and

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[200] Büchel, Daniel; Karsten, Arne; Zitzlsperger, Philipp, 'Mit Kunst aus der Krise? Pierre Legros' Grabmal für Papst Gregor XV in der römischen Kirche S. Ignazio', in Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft, 29 Bd. 2002, p. 170

[201] This motif is not executed at the top left corner.

[202] Here Domenichino also introduced another pentimento, featuring a niche and an unfinished pier with corner pilasters but this design can be neglected as it is unrelated to my discussion of Plan Two.

[203] Pope- Hennessy, 1948, The Drawings of Domenichino...at Windsor Castle, London, 1948, cat. P.-H. 1741

comparing it with Plan Two it reads as a transverse section through Plan Two. Following the line of Section Y we can see a recess [R], a chapel [C], an aisle [B], a transitional space [D] and finally the nave **[figs. 250, 219].** Read from left to right, the sectional drawing Y follows the same sequence with the whole and the parts matching in scale. Due to lack of space it had to be located away from the plan, and so does not adhere to common architectural drawing practice which is to have section and plan aligned. We recognize, however, the niches of the chapel and the transitional space and an examination of the orders in the aisle space shows engaged columns instead of Serliane. Thus we know that this pentimento in Plan Two preceded the drawing of this section. Even some nave structures are indicated by the last three open-ended vertical lines at the right of this section. Strangely enough pilasters which are not indicated in plan are present in the beveled walls. Instead the niches are missing and so too is the articulation in the recesses of chapel [C] and transitional space [D].

I would suggest that this omission shows that this sketch has a different focus, one that might also reveal why Domenichino compromised on the Serliana motif after all. To my mind Domenichino was rather more concerned with the upper reaches of these spaces. This sketch serves as a visualization of the sequence of vaults, starting with groin vaulting for the chapel, followed by a domed aisle space or an alternative that will be discussed below, followed again by groin vaulting in the transitional space, which then leads into the barrel vaulted nave. This clarifies that Domenichino envisaged a dome above aisle space B. **[figs. 243, 244]** His problem was to link the dome with the square set of four Serliane below. If he wanted to retain such a dome and support it properly he had to compromise on the Serliana motif and that is what he did as we can see in Aisle Space B in Plan Two. Domenichino's solution was to turn the Serliane into engaged columns that are linked by a bevelled wall with a niche acting as an aisle crossing pier. Surprisingly Domenichino does not opt for the pendentives as a link between entablature and drum but he does seem to suggest an octagonal dome over the aisle space. **[fig. 249]** A closer look reveals that instead of pendentives there are straight wall sections above the main entablature of which the one to the right of the arch is

decorated with a big roundel seen in foreshortening implying an octagonal dome. Moreover, there is evidence of a very novel solution for dome design. On closer examination we see a curved double line rising from the right pier just above the entablature until it stops just above the springing point of the arch below. A single curved rising line also springs from the opposite pier but without meeting the other lines. Alone these lines alone do not make much sense, but it is worth considering them in context with a small plan that consists of two concentric squares and is placed just above Section Y and to its right. **[fig. 251]**

When superimposed on aisle space B of Plan Two **[fig. 243]** it becomes clear that the outer square of the dome plan fits neatly onto the pier of that space with the small circles matching the engaged columns. The inner square has a circle inscribed into it and both squares are joined by diagonal lines that continue into the inner circle.[204] Aisle Space B in Plan Two and Section Y are of equal shape and size because they are drawn to the same scale. Therefore, the curved lines in section Y and the square dome plan could be two components of the same design that illustrate in both plan and section an inner dome with open oculus for the Aisle Space B in Section Y. If that is so, Domenichino would have been ahead of Guarini and Mansart, the first architects to design similar domes.[205] This interpretation of section and plan, does, however, need to be treated with caution, as occasionally Domenichino aimed for illusionist effects.[206] **[fig. 252]** [207] In view of this, another less innovative albeit more plausible interpretation for the dome plan should be considered which points towards a favorite source of Domenichino:

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[204] The corners of the inner square also match the free-standing columns as drawn in aisle space B. These two features are not related. I am going to address the role of these free-standing columns later in the main body of the text.

[205] Francois Mansart designed an inner dome for Chateau of Blois in 1635, the Bourbon chapel in 1665, Guarino Guarini's design of San Lorenzo dated back to 1666.

[206] The oval showing God, the Father in the dome of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori, the ceiling and the octagonal ceiling painting in Santa Maria in Trastevere and the pendentives of the dome of Sant'Andrea della Valle are all examples of illusionism in his work. Illusionism can also be found in his sketch for the Stanza di Apollo and the oratory of Sant'Andrea al Celio, which should be cautiously attributed to Domenichino.

[207] The fact that the dome window is seen in full length behind that inner dome design contradicts such an interpretation. However, the rising curved double line is a pentimento added to the sketch at a later stage as is clear from other visible features like part of the entablature and roundel that should be hidden behind the inner dome. Thus the visual presence of these features does not contradict the inner dome design.

Raphael. His illusionist soffits of the Logge del Vaticano, in particular that of the second *loggia,* could be regarded as an inspiration behind this dome plan. **[fig. 23]** In light of this, the sketch should be read as a coved vault leading to a flat centre and decorated with illusionist features; feigned columns that are indicated in the upper part of the sketch, a feigned opening or a panel at the right and a dome in the centre. As in the earlier discussion of the crossing such vaulting entails the omission of a light source and it would also render superfluous a dome with windows in the drum as shown in all the other transverse sections including Section Y. Therefore it can be argued that Domenichino's point of departure for the dome plan might have been Raphael's illusionist soffits of the *logge* that were then modified into a real architectural scheme of a coved vault with an open centre inside a dome that provides the necessary illumination.

Let us now look at Section X placed just above Section Y, which, like the previous one, has not yet been analysed in detail in the literature. **[fig. 253]** Again there are no pendentives in this transverse section. Instead we see above the entablature a beveled wall with a niche and 'extra' pilasters thus emphasizing an uninterrupted verticality from the base of the pier all the way up into the drum. This arrangement unusual in a Roman context is reminiscent of the interior of the chapel of Chateau of Anet which Domenichino might have known from engravings by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the Elder.[208] **[fig. 254]** Quite early in his career Domenichino had already collaborated with the French sculptor Jacques Sarrazin, Their most important collaborations were the choir of Sant'Andrea della Valle begun in 1623 and the altar of the Porfirio chapel from 1625 in San Lorenzo in Miranda, not long before the Sant'Ignazio was commissioned. Perhaps Sarrazin was another channel through which Domenichino became acquainted with French architecture.

[208] Soria used the interlaced balustrade design of Balleroy for Santa Maria della Vittoria, which he knew from the engraved designs of Jaques Androuet du Cerceau the Elder. Domenichino and Soria worked together in San Gregorio Magno. See Blunt, Anthony, 'Roman Baroque Architecture: The Other Side of the Medal', in Art History, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1980, p. 66.

Let us now examine whether Section X can also be related to Plan Two. At first sight the relationship seems problematic, but I would still contend that section and plan are compatible. In this respect we can rely on Domenichino's adherence to scale and the correspondences of scale between different sketches as a useful tool for clarification.

I believe that Pope-Hennessy was again mistaken when he identified this sketch as "transverse section nave and aisle".[209] Nor is it a transverse section through crossing and transept as stated by Curcio.[210] A comparison of the use of orders along the crossing and the transept of Plan Two with the order of Section X makes that clear. The dimensions of the orders and of the arch are those of the aisle section of figure 30. With the basic observations stated at the outset of this chapter, particularly those on scale and the use of alternative design proposals, we can identify Section X as being part of the aisle and a transitional bay of Plan Two, thus matching the line of Section X. **[figs. 255, 253].** From left to right we look from the domed aisle space F towards the arch leading into Aisle Space B, and the engaged double columns that are reflected in the pentimento of the plan. When we omit the obvious mistake of a third engaged column set against a solid that is not fully drawn from this pentimento, we are left with engaged double columns that flank the bevelled wall face with the niche in the transitional bay as well as the aisle. As a result such columns form a regular pattern at the junctions of aisle, transitional spaces and chapels. This is followed by the transitional space G that reveals a smaller niche and a barrel vault springing from the line of the columns. Again open ended vertical lines on the extreme right indicate the taller space of the nave. The single column immediately to the left supports a projecting segment of entablature and an arch all of which belongs to the Serliana leading into the nave.

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[209] Pope- Hennessy, John, The Drawings of Domenichino…at Windsor Castle, London, 1948, cat. P.-H. 1741

[210] Curcio, Giovanna, 'Le contraddizioni del metodo II. L'architettura esatta di Domenichino', in Domenichino, Milan, 1996, p. 156

While discussing earlier the reason for a change from Serliane to engaged columns at the back of the nave pier I suggested that this pentimento had to be carried throughout the aisle (except for the Serliana at the aisle's entrance). In fact what we see in Section X is the motif of engaged -or as a close scrutiny of the section seems to suggest- alveolic paired columns from the back of the nave pier reappearing in the transitional space. In both cases, i.e. the pentimento of Plan Two and Section X the pair of engaged columns adhere to the same spacing and width. **[figs. 255, 253]** To accommodate the motif of paired columns in the transitional space other pentimenti were necessary. The niches had to be scaled down and so Domenichino introduces barrel vaulting. Thus Section X shows how the design process evolved during the drawing of Plan Two.

Considering all the pentimenti we now have a clear picture of a revised plan, which looks like this: **[fig. 256]**

The Serliana and its pairing along transverse and longitudinal axis are the underlying generating factors of this plan. It triggers the complex interior layout with its expansive width made up of the nave, the transitional spaces, the aisles and chapels. Also the vaulting of the spaces is initially, to a large extent, generated by paired Serliane as their columns are the springing points for the groin vaulting. Subsequent pentimenti affecting the Serliane of the aisle led to mannerisms as the groin vaults over the chapels, domes over the aisle and barrel vaults over the transitional spaces are now supported by a mixture of Serliana and engaged columns.

These are odd spatial configurations for early Seicento architecture and the overall plan would fly in the face of the architectural outlook of the Jesuit order. Domenichino as architect, consistently looked beyond the conventions of his time and also borrowed ideas from a wide range of chronological, diverse sources and

building-types. Plan One was certainly informed by the Basilica of Constantine and Maxentius or even the square plan of Peruzzi's aforementioned reconstruction of it while the rather squat Plan Two echoes Bramante's early proposals for San Pietro. Like Domenichino's Sant'Ignazio, Bramante's first plan which was intended to be executed proposes a three bay western section of the church. However, although the layout is quite squat it is not seven but five bays wide with very shallow 'chapels' terminating the transverse axis. **[fig. 257]** So what seems unusually odd and clumsy, in the case of, for example, the ratio of width to length, might just be derived from Bramante's plan for San Pietro and Peruzzi's reconstruction of the antique. The complex spatial arrangement of Plan Two, however, negates the simple clarity of either Peruzzi's or Bramante's plans.

Serliane apart the use of niches and square spatial units in chapels, aisles and transitional spaces establish a regular pattern that is reflected in the alternative proposals for the vaulting of these spaces which I outlined earlier in Sections X and Y. Given his familiarity with Serlio's *I Sette Libri dell'Architecttura* it is very likely that, Bramante's and Peruzzi's influences aside, Domenichino contemplated Raphael's plan of San Pietro contained in the third book in which is also seven bays wide, albeit two bays longer. **[fig. 258]** If he did so it seems to have been an afterthought that perhaps shaped Plan Two in tandem with the modular application of the Serliana, the foremost motif to generate the overall spatial concept even when modified by subsequent pentimenti. Both plan fragments discussed so far represent a working method which is contrary to the idea of an overall master plan.

Borromini's plan for Sant' Ignazio from 1627, now in the Albertina in Vienna, offers another intriguing comparison. **[fig. 259]** It could be read as a corrective response to Domenichino's Plan Two, in that Borromini is careful to preserve the paired columnar motif but by pushing the columns closer together and by omitting the modular use of squares his plan is not as sprawling as Domenichino's Plan Two. Moreover Borromini reduces all columns to one size and ties them to the

architectural fabric of the solids. He does, however, preserve the processional characteristic of Domenichino's aisles as columnar enfilades. The sprawl of the additive modular units is condensed and Domenichino's mixture of Serliane and engaged columns reworked; paired, free-standing columns mark the transverse axes and paired engaged columns mark the longitudinal axis. Not only does Borromini preserve the distinctive articulation for each axis but he essentially locates these columnar figurations in the same transitional places as established in Plan Two. Another intriguing columnar design in that vein has been related to San Pietro. **[fig. 260]** Designed by an anonymous architect its plan and elevation again outline a nave and northern aisle with the emphasis on the latter.[211] The articulation of solids and voids bridges Domenichino's Plan Two and Borromini's plan which gives rise to the question of whether this design should instead be linked to Sant' Ignazio instead of S. Pietro, a suggestion already raised by Guethlein.[212] Given, however, that such columnar designs did not yet exist in Roman church interiors, except for the aisles of S. Pietro, these correspondences in the planning process and the layout of the plans seem to indicate that not only do they relate to the same project but also a close exchange between the participating architects. This also suggests a chronology in which some of Domenichino's ideas were then reconsidered by Borromini and perhaps another anonymous architect.[213]

Domenichino's work sheet contains another highly fragmented plan drawn in chalk only which is spatially incongruous in relation to all of the other fragments of this sheet. Therefore no specific interpretation can be extracted but there are three possible different readings. **[fig. 261]** Located in the lower section on the right it incorporates a crossing pier that at first sight appears to be an under drawing of the crossing pier for Plan Two. Plan fragment Three is also based on

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[211] Heimbürger–Ravalli, Minna, Architettura, Scultura, e Arti Minori nel Barocco Italiano, Firenze, 1977, p. 86 (date unknown)

[212] Güthlein, Klaus, 'Review of Architettura, scultura e arti minori nel barocco italiano, by Minna Heimbürger-Ravalli', in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, XLI, 1978, p. 342

[213] At that point in time Borromini worked as Maderno's assistant, who was present at the meeting concerning the design and plan of Sant'Ignazio on the 7/4/1627, which was also attended by Domenichino, Torriani, Maruscelli, de Vecchi, Arconio and most likely Grassi. Giornale del libro maestro 1626-55, published by Pollak, Oskar, in Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur, 4, 1910/11, p.66) Thus the Albertina plan could also have been a collaboration between Borromini and Maderno and any of the participants of the above meeting might be the anonymous architect.

the Serliana and yet again is clearly not conceived as a master plan. Although the individual features are of the same scale as all the other drawings the distances between them are not. That causes difficulties in relating this Plan Three to any of the other drawings. Since it is drawn in chalk only and is fragmented, marginal and partially overdrawn with ink one reading of this plan suggests that it is simply a discarded idea. Secondly it could be read as a plan fragment for the choir flanked by Serliane that lead into chapels on either side or lastly it might be a plan fragment for one of the transepts most likely the northern transept. If we accept either case we get the only indication of a continuation of Serliane and the free-standing columns into the transepts or the most easterly section of the church.

The distinct articulation of Plan Three with corner columns and free-standing columns marking the transitions to neighbouring spaces is a variation on one of Peruzzi's drawings for Saint Peter's. **[fig. 262]** Of course, Peruzzi's proposal constitutes a different part of a centralised plan, but we have seen that San Pietro and design ideas by Peruzzi resurface frequently on the horizon of Domenichino's architectural thinking.

Returning to Plan Two my discussion so far avoided one very important pentimento: the mysterious free-standing columns in front of the niches of Aisle Space B. **[fig. 243]** They appear in each corner bar the one at the top left and they are each drawn in a different way; one in chalk and ink, one in ink only, and one in chalk only. This betrays a certain hesitation regarding their inclusion in the scheme, a hesitation that is also apparent in the way they are drawn. Their size is more or less equal to that of the Serliana columns and they certainly predate the pentimento of the niche connecting the columns.

I would like to offer two explanations for this strange columnar scheme. The first is of a purely architectural nature and proposes that Domenichino wished to align all the individual spaces as equally sized squares and in order to achieve this he, at one point, toyed with the idea of a quincunx design for the aisle space B. He

abandoned the idea once he realized that this would lead to a heavy crowding of columns between the bays at the back of the nave pier and/or to provide support for a dome as suggested earlier. **[fig. 263]** My second explanation is based on an account of the luxurious celebration of the laying of the foundation stone for the church of Sant'Ignazio on the 2nd of August 1626.[214] Mentioned in it is a discussion between the event's participants about the architecture of the Temple of Solomon. This edifice was, according to its description in the bible, of exceptional columnar richness. Considering this and the biblical temple's apparent importance for the celebrants, such a rich columnar articulation applied to a modern temple (i.e.church), which, of course, seems entirely strange and implausible for an early seventeenth century church, might actually not only appear quite plausible but even appealing. Surely Domenichino must have known of the biblical temple and its appreciation by the clergy and its repeated evocation on such occasions. Perhaps this discourse led him to contemplate the Temple of Solomon as a point of departure at one stage during the design process for Sant'Ignazio, which would explain this overly rich columnar plan. If so it further illustrates his exploration and fusion of ancient sources within a modern context, albeit only as a transitional stage within the overall planning process.

There is another section and unlike those discussed previously it is mainly drawn in chalk. **[fig. 264]** Section Z is aligned with Aisle spaces B and A; its main arch and the whole right part of the aisle are roughly compatible. **[fig. 265]** Its dominant feature is a column set into the corner of aisle space B. This much bigger column also represents a bigger mystery. Obviously Domenichino redefined the columnar articulation of aisle space B. While the footprint of this mystery column is almost the same diameter as the free-standing columns in the plan of aisle space B, its alignment is highly problematic because it does not obscure the engaged column behind it as it should. On the other hand its height corresponds with the entablature of that space and its location is only marginally off line.

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[214] Ragguaglio della solennità che l'illustrissimo Signor Cardinal Ludovisi pose la prima Pietra della nuova Chiesa di S. Ignatio nel Collegio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù, manuscript, Archivio del Vaticano, Roma, 1626

While we need to take the spatial correspondences between Section Z and Plan Two into account we have to realise that the section offers a different columnar corner articulation. Relatively common it has also Bolognese and antique precedents that can be linked to Domenichino. The former are the Cappella Ghisilardi in the Convento Patriacale di San Domenico by Peruzzi and Mazenta's recent presbytery in S. Pietro where corner columns frame an arch with the smaller order. **[figs. 266, 267]** It is this columnar articulation set against an arch leading into another space (an apse in the later example) which is echoed in Section Z. We recall Bellori's claim that Domenichino was involved in architectural studies in Bologna between 1619 and 1621[215] and given the Ludovisian interest in the construction of S. Pietro in Bologna it is very likely that this particular project was known to Domenichino.[216] When considering the section through the entablature above, however, we realise that the column in Section Z is less proud of the wall as the Bolognese precedent but rather pushed into the corner thus supporting a non-salient entablature. While there is a general agreement between Sections X, Y and Z concerning the spatial divisions the latter offers the alternative of a giant order that most likely supports groin vaulting over a squared aisle space instead of the previous dome proposals or coved vaults. With each section therefore the change of the order is linked to a change of vaulting. Such a combination of columnar articulation of the corners and groin vaulting might be based on antique precedents like the Basilica of Maxentius with the added feature of a continuous entablature.

In the context of the flanking chapels and its corresponding transitional spaces one could argue that in Sections X, Y and Z as well as in the different stages of Plan Two the aisle assumes the character of a minor nave in its own right crucially with the additional element of free-standing columns spilled over from the nave proper not only to articulate the corners but to re-establish the processional character of these enfilades. This characteristic of the aisles survived into the executed building

[215] Bellori, Giovan, Pietro, Le Vite de'Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni, 1672, p. 321
[216] Matteucci, Anna Maria, 'Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta e il dibatitto a Bologna sulla 'colonna libera'', in Arte Lombarda, 2002, II, p. 52

and was later exploited by the sculptor Legros when he designed the tomb monument for Pope Gregory XV and his nephew Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.

It seems that the revised Plan Two based on Sections X and Z as shown above is the final result of evolving ideas triggered by the initial Serliana motif. Concerning the aisle and its lateral spaces what we witness is a clear shift from an articulation involving multiple free-standing columnar motifs towards the integration of columns into the fabric of the solids, thus emphasizing clarity monumentality and solidity. However, when considering the oddity of the overall plan, the patrons, the available site and funds, Plan One seems a much more realistic proposal for Sant' Ignazio. Still the Serliana motif in the aisle of Plan Two, along with other ideas suggested in this drawing by Domenichino, survived as a variation into the present church. **[fig. 268]**

Not only does the overall bay articulation of the nave betray Domenichino's fondness for this motif but it is also a reference to Giovanni Tristano's bay design for the Il Gesù in Ferrara which was built between 1570-1580. **[fig. 269]** There are two reasons why Domenichino must have known or at least been familiar with, this Jesuit church firstly because of its proximity to Bologna and secondly because it represented the first milestone of the Jesuit building tradition. Tristano, the first Jesuit *consiliarius aedificiorum*, was also employed as an architect by the order in many Italian towns among them his home town of Ferrara. In the latter half of the sixteenth century Jesuits claimed his architectural solutions as "il modo che usa la compagnia" because his modest and inexpensive solutions were seen to reflect the order's ethical and moral principles. Quoting Tristano's design dating from the pioneering days of the Jesuit order can be seen as an act of historical awareness. This design quotation might represent a deliberate reminder of the first *consiliarius aedificiorum*'s architecture and the fact that this motif is one of the few to survive from Domenichino's diverse proposals into the executed building supports this idea that it was acceptable to the Jesuits because it represented a part of their architectural tradition.

Domenichino incorporates the Serliana into a general articulation derived from classical Roman antique *basiliche* like the Basilica di Maxentius and Constantine or the Bath of Diocletian **[fig. 270].** The alternative longitudinal section of the nave is the clearest indication of an approach where the monumentality of antique Roman classicsm is fused with the use of the Serliana as nave articulation. **[fig. 271]** In the choice of clerestorey windows Domenichino's chalk sketch shows similarities to Serlio's reconstructions and there are also similarities to Palladio's drawing of the Baths of Caracalla, not only in the use of Serliane but also in the upper wall articulation and the vaulting. **[fig. 231]**

As Elisabeth Cropper has shown in her discussion of the *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* subtle invention, analysis, contemplation and research of the subject matter at hand were all important to Domenichino in order to intensify the narrative of the art work.[217] In most cases architecture does not offer the same narrative possibilities as painting. Nevertheless Domenichino's nave articulation seems like an architectural narrative about Jesuit tradition and Ludovisian desire. By quoting Tristano's pioneering design for the Jesuit church of Il Gesù in Ferrara and monumental antique models as well as various designs sourced from San Pietro he seems to have been intent on creating an emblematic architectural ensemble that celebrated both the most successful of all Counter Reformation orders and the *magnifica modestia* of the Ludovisi who aspired towards a church cum family mausoleum that "should be second to none in size and beauty".[218] The historical reference to Tristano's wonderful arch-Serliana design would have been woven into a much grander and luxurious solution with vast windows, diverse vaults and deeply coffered soffits and domes, chapels for altars and multiple niches to house monuments and finally adorned with the favorite motif of free-standing columns supporting statues that would introduce a processional aspect to the overall fabric. Domenichino's attempts, however, to tease the Jesuits into embracing the splendor of Roman classical antiquity failed despite the generous

[217] Cropper, Elisabeth, The Domenichino Affair, New Haven and London, 2005, pp. 67-97
[218] Haskell, Francis, Patrons and Painters, London, 1963, p.73

funds provided by the Ludovisi.[219] With the Ludovisian influence on the wane the order once again followed "il modo che usa la compagnia" by employing the in-house architect Orazio Grassi.

In P.-H. 1741 Domenichino's initial approach is rather painterly as he sets out from a richly articulated longitudinal nave section instead of a parti as a generating idea. He takes great care, however, to adhere to the same scale and his sketches are (bar one) confined to the western area of the church, which makes it possible to interrelate them. In the 'stage sets' of the nave sections he explores the architectural vocabulary of arches and orders combined with a rich sculptural program. As elsewhere his designs evince a fondness for a vocabulary informed by classical antiquity but this time giving the Serliana dominance, perhaps in an acknowledgement of Jesuit architectural tradition. Bolognese sources like Mazenta's San Pietro and San Sebastiano as well as Rinaldi's Santa Lucia may have been considered as well, but they themselves are largely derived from those classical antique Roman sources that deeply influenced Domenichino's architectural outlook. If diverse regional sources can be cited as sources of imitation then Lombardy is the most influential source for Domenichino's imitation outside of Rome. Tristano's church of Il Gesù in Ferrara and Mazenta's projects in Bologna both can be linked to Domenichino's ideas and experiences. Rainaldi as well as Maderno and Ponzio were also involved in Bolognese projects and surely represent other possible sources for Domenichino's imitative strategies, but it should be said that all of them were strongly connected with Rome and Roman architecture. Domenichino also tries to integrate ideas that can be linked to Raphael's plan for San Pietro, as well as the *loggia* of the Villa Madama. It is interesting to note that the Michaelangeleque elements of the layered wall articulation of the nave are relinquished to the more classical triumphal arch articulation, so that the overall church is imbued with an antique monumentality that is most strongly represented in the alternative nave section.

[219] Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni, Rome, 1672, p. 350

This Serliana becomes the plan-generating factor by means of pairing and squaring Serliane both along the transverse and longitudinal axis. After several pentimenti a plan can be extrapolated that shows spatial configurations with a clear tendency towards strict regularity and modular thinking coupled with the desire to articulate different sight lines or axes hierarchically and distinct from each other. This also results in a barrel vaulted nave with free-standing columns; in domed, coved or groin vaulted aisles separated by paired engaged columns and arches and sight lines from nave to chapels that are articulated by a sequence of orders and arches with an alternative of barrel or groin vaulted spaces. However, it also shows an overall plan that is "alien to the sensibilities of early Seicento architecture"[220] or as Elisabeth Kieven put it "reminiscent of a squashed bug"[221] i.e. the west of the crossing which is – for its length - disproportionately wide. This monumental plan could not have been realized adjacent to the Collegio Romano, due to a lack of space. In light of this Domenichino's theoretical, ideal plan proposals exceed the possible and enter the realm of the fanatastic.

Another peculiar aspect is the treatment of the transition from crossing piers to dome. It seems strange that someone who excelled in the fresco decoration of pendentives omits them in each of the alternatives proposed. This omission is, however, in line with the general emphasis on verticality throughout these designs.

On first impression Domenichino's sketches are misleading but once joined up like pieces of a jigsaw they reveal their true significance. The many pentimenti begin to establish a narrative not only regarding the reconstruction of this virtual church but of the actual design process which was playing out in Domenichino's mind. Step by step we can retrace how one proposal of relative simplicity and clarity leads towards a much more complex design that offers multiple variations on individual architectural members. It is this complexity and richness that drives the narrative of the design process as a whole and in detail as the plan expands and

[220] Richard Bösel in conversation on the 24.04.07
[221] Elisabeth Kieven in conversation on the 20.04.07

some of the classical architectural vocabulary is recast as if to establish an experiment on standard motifs. Firstly Domenichino explores a combination of orders in three different sizes set inside a single space and secondly every space is dominated by orders in multiple shapes: as pilasters, as free-standing columns engaged and alveolic, clustered and paired, as supports of statues and most of all as part of Serliane. They support familiar entablatures, cornices, a strange double entablature and statues. Soffits range from coffered barrel vaults to groin vaults to domes. Where pendentives are expected they yield to spandrels and the niche motif known from the chapel in Anet. Monumental wall frames/strips and a range of differently sized relief panels as well as a modular use of niches layer and articulate the wall surfaces. The simple side aisles of the first proposal grow into processional enfilades that evoke a strong sense of veneration and commemoration suggestive of the worship of saints on one hand and a family mausoleum on the other. At the same time secondary spaces are planned in modular units, a concept that ultimately fails to preserve the Serliana as the main motif.

The six basic observations established at the beginning of this chapter allow for fascinating insights into Domenichino's church proposals and his design process, but the many ambiguities particularly concerning the second proposal raise some questions that can not be solved satisfactorily. These concern occasional inconsistencies between plans and sections, precise readings of proposed domes, spatial difficulties of the dome above the crossing, the squat dimension of Plan Two, and last but not least sources of light. On the other hand Domenichino's quest for solutions through pentimenti and alternative designs provides a rich tapestry of ideas that would have been wanting in a more decisively worked out proposal. Consequently sources for his imitative strategies and how they are applied can be more readily discerned.

That Roman classical antiquity is a source of priority is consistent with his other sketches and executed design. In addition to such sources as were discussed in the previous chapter Domenichino experiments with prototypes like the Basilica of

Constantine and Maxentius and the Roman Baths. Even where North Italian influences are palpable as is the case for Mazenta's San Sebastiano and San Pietro in Bologna, for example, the common Roman antique source must be regarded as the ultimate point of departure. As in his church facades Michelangelo's idiom also emerges, in this case in the wall articulation of the nave. Being romanised once more it is now subjected to pentimenti to a point where it yields to monumental Roman classical prototypes. Another key prototype is San Pietro which surfaces in many guises, often referencing early designs mostly of unexecuted projects from Bramante to Raphael and from Peruzzi to Michelangelo. Revived and adapted to the plan generating motif of the Serliana they seem to have triggered an untried concept of a multi-aisled layout with monumental solids and a strong columnar articulation. The Serliana itself had predecessors elsewhere but in light of the nave articulation of Tristano's Il Gesù in Ferrara this pioneering church must be considered as the most plausible source.

Given that this discussion deals with Domenichino's imitative approach the Jesuits' rejection of these church designs is of minor relevance. His general approach to architecture is consistent as motifs and sources observed elsewhere resurface in sheet P.-H. 1741. Once more this confirms his capacity to generate architectural innovation from eminent prototypes extraced from different periods of the past, mainly Roman Classicism and the Renaissance and, as it seems in this case, the architectural tradition of the Jesuits. From the outset the comparatively flat wall articulation and hall-like character of the Gesù-type Counter Reformation church is substituted with a rich columnar wall articulation imbuing the nave with a directional and processional character which subsequently spilled over into the aisles as this structure develops into a complex monumental temple of modular units flanking three processional enfilades. Traditions -built and unbuilt- provide sources for a novel classicism. A lost past unearthed and re-imagined was to renew and enrich the conventions of Counter Reformation architecture of the early seventeenth century. Bellori's claim that the columns that appear in the chapels are the only surviving input of Domenichino inventions could, however, be more generous and we could also add the free standing columns crowned with statues

that frame the altar and the domed chapels that are interconnected with a columnar motif so that they assume the character of a processional aisle.[222]

Shortly after 1622 Cardinal Ludovisi made a first attempt to commission a Jesuit novitiate named SS. Andrea e Francesco Saverio on the Monte Cavallo precisely at the site of the later Sant'Andrea in Quirinale that should also serve as a family mausoleum for the Ludovisi.[223] Boesel states that no information can be retrieved regarding the architecture of this project.[224] Domenichino's studies of the facades in the collection of Windsor Castle show two rough sketches of elevations of centralized edifices, one of which is furnished with a plan. **[figs. 272, 273]** As mentioned in the chapter of the twenty church facades the same sheet also shows a sketch for the frescoes of the Palazzo Costaguti dating from 1622-23. Coinciding with the Ludovisian project, it is worthwhile examining the drawings to see if they can be related to ideas which Domenichino may have had for the novitiate-mausoleum. While there is no evidence to connect these sketches to the Ludovisian project, circumstances other than their date indicate the possibility of a link. As we know during these years Domenichino was *architetto del Palazzo Apostolico* appointed by Cardinal Ludovisi, who also involved him in the planning stages for the church of Sant'Ignazio. Tristano's small church of the novitiate was to make way for this new building which housed three altars and co-incidentally three altars appear in Domenichino's plan. Moreover, the dual dedication to saints combined with the buildings function as a family mausoleum is in agreement with a plan containing three chapels.

While we can not identify the Ludovisian project with the sketches at least they give us a definite insight into Domenichino's imitative strategy. Despite some difficulties in terms of the legibility of individual features due to the sketchiness of

[222] Bellori, Giovan Pietro, Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni, Rome, 1672, p. 350
[223] Haskell, Francis, Patrons and Painters, London, 1963, p. 73
[224] Bösel, Richard, Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien (1540-1773), Teil 1, Wien, 1985, pp. 213-214

the drawings the commemorative aspect of the architecture is strongly suggested. The centralized plan with the three distinctly separate chapels makes more sense under the aspect of worship and commemoration than a conventional liturgical use of these spaces.[225] Circular domed spaces that are reached through a vestibule are derived from the archetypal mausoleum: an important Roman example of the early Christian period being Santa Costanza. An unidentified temple outside Rome recorded by Serlio in his book on antiquities can perhaps be regarded as an influence as this plan contains rather unusual elements like the separate circular chapel leading off the main rotunda that contributes the rather strange outline. **[fig. 274]** A more recent plan devised by Peruzzi anticipates the underlying triangular character **[fig. 275]**

The three–domed elevation above the plan betrays references to Saint Peter's albeit showing a lower pitched dome which would be in line with Michelangelo's design. Given that three arches lead into this vestibule some symbolic meaning might be attached to the number three. The central arch establishes an axis through loggia, portal, rotunda and the passage that terminates in the chapel beyond. Openings shown in plan and elevation make provision for light. The earliest antique precedents for lighted mausolea are early Christian.

By contrast the second elevation (which is deeply enigmatic) of a centralized building above evokes models of the Imperial period. **[fig. 273]** This more monumental elevation is dominated by a windowless cylinder placed on a podium. Access is provided on two levels, firstly through portals on the ground floor that lead into the wings and are set against Serliane and secondly from the loggia on the podium that is reached over a split level staircase. Walking past giant statues set within a colonnade of paired orders the central portal leading into the rotunda is reached. Around the drum statues occupy the places where windows would be expected to be and they alternate with columns that support more statues which are placed above the entablature and are set against the top segment of the drum,

[225] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p.93

which thus assumes the character of an attic. The cylinder terminates in a pantheon-like dome topped by a columnar lantern. The entire elevation is framed by an arch.

A number of motifs in Domenichino's sketch are derived from the great Imperial mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian, but it must be stressed that the imitative approach taken favours artistic imagination over archaeological accuracy. The lack of light sources is striking and in accordance with the above prototypes but it contrasts with the previous sketch and early Christian mausolea. Another typical feature of the imperial prototype is a prominent square podium as a base for a cylinder, a similar arrangement to that employed in this sketch, but unlike the antique type, this podium does not seem to be square and also functions as a loggia that can be reached over a set of stairs. The interiors of the mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian both had two chambers one above the other and without knowing the interior arrangement of Domenichino's elevation a corresponding arrangement can be assumed from the points of access on two levels; firstly portals in the wings leading into the podium at ground level and secondly the central portal that leads into the rotunda at upper level. While this suggests a correspondence in the sequence of these spaces the separate access for each level breaks the rule of single entrances for the above mausolea and it is safe to assume that the articulation of the interior spaces would also differ significantly from the small chambers of the mausolea.

Domenichino might have known the rather vague descriptions of mausolea by Roman authors like Suetonious, Strabo and others and he was certainly familiar with remnants of the building type situated along the Roman main roads and perhaps some Renaissance drawings of unearthed ornamental fragments of these monuments. In any event he based these sketches loosely on that building type and his inventions are not far off attempts by other artists and scholars of different periods to visualize the original monuments. **[figs. 276, 277]** Certainly the annular articulation of orders and the statues that replace openings are a common and

recurring theme. The rich palette of sculpture, orders, Serliane and the dome with its Pantheon reference shows once more Domenichino's antique bias and would certainly have pleased the Ludovisian ostentatious taste for antique grandeur. Incidentally the Serliana motif is interesting in the light of the inclusion of such features in later, free-standing mausolea which "were built with *fastigia* or honorific facades, reserved for shrines...."[226] To see portals placed against the serliane, a motif of sovereignty, gives further rise to the speculation that they may lead into commemorative chapels and places of burial.

Domenichino shows the entire elevation through an arch. This might represent a view into an enclosure that separates the mausoleum from its environs, which is consistent with the mausoleum of Hadrian that once was surrounded by an enclosure characteristic of a *temenos*. Pirro Ligorio describes another example which he calls "Templum Minervae Flaviae" and it actually existed in very close proximity to the site on the Monte Cavallo favoured by Cardinal Ludovisi for his project of a novitiate cum family mausoleum: "...a beautiful building placed in the middle of an atrium of a Flavian House at *Malum Punice*, [having] a circular form..."[227] Already in 1502 Bramante revives the idea of an enclosure in his plan for the tempietto of S. Pietro in Montorio as published by Serlio and once again a few years later in his deliberations for a sacred precinct surrounding S. Pietro in Vaticano.

As earlier discussions of tomb monuments in relation to Cardinal Girolamo Agguchi and certain sketches have shown antique Roman sources represented a recurring theme in Domenichino's thinking. Another, closely related example of architectural relevance that might give insight into his use of antique sources is his painting of the *Consecration of an Emperor*. **[fig. 278]** Painted between 1634-36 it was a contribution to a series of paintings with antique Roman themes commissioned by the Spanish King Phillip IV to various artists. The setting is an evocation of the Campo Marzio with the Pantheon, the Trajan column and the Colosseum (with changed orders!) in the background. **[fig. 279]** The central

[226] Johnson, Mark, The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity, New York, 2009, p. 185
[227] Ibid, p. 24

ephemeral structure of a four tiered pyre can be related to a variety of antique sources. Roman coins showing consecration motifs like the one for Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, provided the basic form of the pyre topped by a Quadriga, the symbol of the apotheosis. **[fig. 280]** The addition of a circular pycnostyle colonnade could perhaps be inspired by the remnants of the trophy of Augustus in La Turbie erected to celebrate the subjugation of the Alpine tribes in 6-7 BC. **[fig. 281]** Other decorative elements like the trophies are also triumphal in character, while the roundels at ground level evoke the Arch of Constantine. **[fig. 282]** Coins are also the source for the commemorative aspects of the painting like the statues that dominate the second tier of the pyre but in particular the central motif of the *decursio* which is modeled on images like that of the apotheosis of Faustina riding towards heaven in a *biga*. **[fig. 283]** Certainly Domenichino consulted antique coinage but he adds symbols of triumph to those of commemoration, in search for an overall monumental effect.

While a case can be made for some input from Domenichino into the architecture of Sant'Ignazio the ideas expressed in these sketches for a related project did not manifest themselves architecturally. However, together with the discussed painting they once again evince Domenichino's interest in antique sources, and how he modernizes them to suit a project at hand. Even though these are merely preliminary sketches they should not be dismissed since the ideas expressed are original and unique for the time in respect of antique sources as point of departure for innovation. In this regard they not only resonate with Domenichino's architectural idiom elsewhere but also with Bernini's High Baroque project of the Collegiata S.Maria dell'Assunta which in turn was inspired by the most cherished building of Roman classical antiquity, the Pantheon. **[fig. 284]**

Imitation

Having examined each individual architectural design by Domenichino under the aspect of imitation it is now possible to draw conclusions about his general thinking on imitation and how this is reflected in his choice of sources and the imitative techniques these sources are subjected to. In this chapter the emphasis therefore shifts from the specific to the general in order to illustrate how his design choices reflect his underlying theoretical concerns. In this regard the following anecdotes are a relevant introduction.

A month into Domenichino's work on the vast decorative project for the choir and the pendentives of the dome in the Roman church of Sant'Andrea della Valle the Bolognese artist was confronted by the Theatine order about his lack of progress in the face of the task at hand. When they expressed their dismay that after several months and payments not one brushstroke had yet been executed Domenichino retorted calmly that "it is with my brains that I paint."[228] Perplexed by the riposte they retreated in silence and eventually their patience was rewarded with one of the most stunning and important decorative schemes executed in an early seventeenth-century Roman church.

Not only did Domenichino create a beautiful integration of fresco painting, sculptural and architectural decoration but also he referenced many important artistic precedents spanning from antiquity to near contemporary times. An antique bust of the *Dying Alexander* was studied and even more idealised, as can be seen in a series of sketches which now reside in the collection of Windsor Castle, until Domenichino exacted the desired expression for his beautiful and heroic depiction of Saint John. **[fig. 285]** Along side him the other three Evangelists are placed in the pedentives below Lanfranco's decoration of the dome. Their powerful monumentality is derived from

[228] Baldinucci, Filippo, Notizie del Professori del Disegno, Volume Quarto, Firenze, 1846, p. 74, "Io v'ho operato del continovo colla mente, colla quale dipingo più che co' pennelli."

Michelangelo's prophets and sibyls in the Sistine chapel and seems to burst through their architectural framework while the delicacy of colour and some of the gentler aspects of the imagery are reminiscent of Correggio. Raphael was the source for the figure of Christ in the fresco of *St. John revealing Christ to St. Andrew and St.Peter* that is modelled on the lead-in figure on the left side of the *Disputa* in the *Stanze* while the *peltae* are monumental versions of a motif from Raphael's *Logge di Vaticano.* **[fig. 286, 287, 49]** Preparatory drawings point towards these sources which were transformed until the appropriate solution was found. Some decorative systems and their sculptural and ornamental elements clearly derive from the then recently finished Paoline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, a work by Ponzio that also involved frescoes by Cesare d'Arpino and Domenichino's fellow Bolognese and friend Guido Reni. As a point of departure for several motifs within the pendentives and the apse they are adapted to a new idiom and to the different spatial requirements of the setting. (In addition to this imitative approach, narrative elements make ample references to the patron Perretti-Montalto by introducing lion and pear ornaments and equally make reference to the Theatine's religious codex that is symbolised in the six female figures of the virtues.) This eclectic approach is then subjected to a Counter Reformation rhetoric of martyrdom and salvation that employs the three visual arts, thereby creating a work which is truly baroque in character.

More references to sources embedded in this masterpiece could be cited, but those mentioned above should suffice to illustrate the point Domenichino made when he said that "it is with my brains that I paint."[229] To him composition, narrative and motifs had to be anchored in memory and an artistic tradition that went beyond the whim of the brush. He planned a work following, as it were, a private consultation process with the best and most relevant precedents available in order to maximise the quality and the imaginative content of his own artistic output. This ensured that his creativity was rooted in the fertile ground of good (or even iconic) precedents that would germinate the seeds of his own imagination in an exacting, purposeful and controlled manner. Sourcing artistic precedents also imported an already idealised expression into his work which brought him closer to his goal of the ideal in his own

[229] Ibid, p. 74

artistic output. Evidence of this careful, deliberate process is contained in the aforementioned preparatory drawings for the frescoes of Sant'Andrea della Valle which are now held in Windsor Castle, but there is also ample evidence in most if not all of his other works.

Not only does Agucchi's treatise on art express the aim for the perfect ideal but Domenichino himself, in an undated letter to his friend Francesco Angeloni, states that, if I may paraphrase, not only does he paint with his brain but the work constructed in the mind surpasses its physical manifestation.[230] On the one hand this can be understood in a Platonic sense that the idea *per se* is beyond human expression, while on the other it could imply be that the artistic work with references based on good precedent triggers, in the inner eye of the discerning viewer, an imaginative tapestry so rich that it surpasses the mere image as visually perceived. Domenichino probably realised that the above mentioned consultation process with the best of artistic tradition was a way of solving the Platonic dilemma. Creating art that way is naturally a much slower process, but nonetheless in the eyes of those subscribing to the theory of imitation it must yield a superior harvest.

No wonder then that Annibale challenged Antonio Carracci's (the illegitimate son of his brother Agostino) notion of the young Domenichino as a slow ox, when he retorted "This ox ploughs very fertile soil that one day will nourish painting." [231] Annibale, of course, was Domenichino's teacher and his *Scuola degli Incamminati* fully embraced the imitative approach to art-making. He himself famously forged his own oeuvre out of a multiplicity of artistic sources, a fact that gives his reply serious weight as it reflects his deep insight into Domenichino's process of working.

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[230] Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, Le Vite dei Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti Moderni, 1672, pp. 358, 359 Domenichino in an undated letter to Francesco Angeloni: "...se bene non mi pongo fra gl'ingegni esquisiti, contuttociò gl'intendenti artefici per lo piú sentono minor gusto dell'opera loro che gli altri di poco sapere; e la ragione e perché, avendo essi fabbricato prima l'opera nell'intelletto, né potendo per difetto della materiale distenderla equale alla mente, perciò non restano sodifatti, conoscendo l'opera inferiore a se stessi."

[231] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p. 24

While teacher and pupil shared imitative strategies in seeking out the best parts of the best precedents Annibale was, however, flabbergasted by another technique Domenichino used to achieve the proper expression required for the figures in his paintings. One day when curiosity lead him into *Sant'Andrea al Celio*, to see how his young protégé progressed with the grand fresco of *The Flagellation of Saint Andrew*, he encountered the painter alone inside the oratory acting with menacing rage and full of threat. Recoiling, he timidly enquired what had led to such upset, to which Domenichino replied that he did this to experience the feeling of rage which would then enable him to portray the *affetto* of one of the Roman executioners accurately. The visual expression of menace was Domenichino's ultimate aim and in this case he tried to achieve it by means of *ekphrasis*. His motivation for this transference from acting to painting was not, therefore, to depict the menace of a particular individual but to capture menace in its essence which would allow him to create an archetypical character of menace instead of merely portraying some menacing individual. In this instance Domenichino's imitative strategy borders precariously close on frowned-upon naturalism, only, however to achieve the ultimate ideal in art: an archetypal image of a human *affetto*.

The anecdotal character of these stories gives a glimpse into Domenichino's artistic thinking. Reading them as reflections of different aspects of Domenichino's artistic roots reveals the profound importance of imitative thought in his work. His statement that "work constructed in the mind surpasses its physical manifestation" originates in the Platonic concept of the idea that exists solely in the mind but is denied material presence. Any attempt to capture it in the form of a physical manifestation is doomed to failure as no form is able to express the idea's elusive nature. In the Domenichino anecdotes, however, this notion is qualified. When he states that it is with his brain that he paints before committing anything to paper he tries to overcome the Platonic problem of the elusive idea by engaging artistic vision in a dialogue with the best parts of the best precedents. This reflective strategy of slow mastication is a stepping stone towards forming physical manifestations of the idea shaped by best precedent emerging from the most beautiful aspects of many models. Parallels with Cicero's account of the painter Zeuxis, whose depiction of Helen of Troy was derived from the

most beautiful feature of several women instead of one, are self evident. The theme, of course, became popular during the Renaissance and was then frequently reiterated in accounts derived from other classical Roman writers most notably Lucius Seneca's metaphor of the honey-making bees that gather pollen from many flowers and then add the sweetness with their breath. These ancient ideas paved the way for artistic imitation based on the multiplicity of sources. Provided the imitating artist had the ability to breathe sweetness into the honey, in other words to transform the sources through his own imagination, he was able to produce a novel work of art based on precedent. Imitating artists thus established their own unique artistic excellence but this was firmly rooted in an art historical canon. When Annibale turned Antonio's insult of Domenichino into praise he expressed exactly this process by using the metaphor of ploughing rich and fertile soil.

It was the Carracci Scuola degli Incamminati that rejected Vasari's myopic Florentine bias in defining artistic excellence, and that widened the range of distinct schools by endorsing four different styles, the Lombard, the Venetian, the Tuscan and the Roman in correspondence with what were then accepted as the four ancient styles, namely the Hellenic, Ionic, Sicionic (i.e. Sicilian) and Roman. Acknowledging their diverse qualities and using this multiplicity of sources became a core feature of their artistic practice. In the process they rid art of the shackles of Vasari's proclaimed Florentine superiority. Annibale's marginal remarks in his personal copy of Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* evince this, particularly in the life of Raphael, himself a great imitator who relied on the ancients, Perugino and Michelangelo specifically, as sources.

Annibale and Domenichino greatly admired Raphael. For them his imitative approach to art put Vincenzo Danti's distinction between imitation (showing how things ought to be) and *ritrarre* (showing things as they are) into practice. Imitation thus entailed an improvement on the back of the sources, and the above cited example of Domenichino's many drawings of the *Dying Alexander* aptly illustrates that search for ultimate idealisation.

The classicising tendencies already espoused in Bologna became even more prominent when Annibale, and eventually Domenichino, moved to Rome where their imitative strategy was placed on a theoretical foundation in the writings of the theorist Giovanni Battista Agucchi. In his early Roman years Domenichino stayed in Agucchi's house and the ensuing cross fertilisation between Agucchi's theories and Domenichino's artistic practice established a strong emphasis on classicism in art and architecture. The concept of the idea shifted towards an Ideal Style which considered the ancients, the four different schools in Italy and the school of Dürer, as valid and distinct entities and also as sources for imitation. For Agucchi the Bolognese school (particularly Annibale Carracci and Domenichino) embodied the protagonists of "universalità" and artistic excellence as they forged, from the integration of these different schools, their own ideal style.

> "Se non è conosciuto adesso, sara conosciuto col tempo, e in quella guisa che lasciando i dipinti del Francia, di Pietro Perugino e de' Bellini, che prima sembravano miracoli, hanno atteso a studiare I nostri maggiori l'opere di Michelangelo, di Raffaelle, e di Tiziano, lasciando anche questi I nostri successori , si esercitano su quelle di Annibale, come già fanno, andandano tutti alla galleria e su quelle del nostro Domenichino."[232]

In his treatise Agucchi sees the Bolognese as being at the pinnacle of an additive principle of improvement that, with reference to the canon of art history, aspires towards artistic perfection. Another of Agucchi's core concerns for artistic excellence is the juxtaposition of nature and beauty. Under the influence of Aristotelian thought Agucchi states the highest form of art shirks the imitation of imperfect nature. Instead it is an ennobling act employing the means of idealised imitation. Agucchi explains this with reference to the example of Alexander the Great.

> "Poiché se bene ad operare perfittissimamente non si dovrebbe cercare, quale sia stato il volto di Alessandro, o di Cesare, ma quale esser dovrebbe quello di un Re, o di un Capitano magnammo, e forte, e tuttavia I più valenti

[232] If he [Domenichino] is not known yet he will be in time, and in the same manner as paintings by Francia, Pietro Perugino and Bellini that once seemed miraculous were left aside, when our most important artists proceeded to study works of art by Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and also abandoning these, our successors study and practice on works of Annibale, as they already do, when they all go to the Galleria [Farnese] as well as works by our Domenichino.

> Pittori, senza levare la somiglianza, hanno aiutato la natura con l'arte e rappresentati I visi più belli, e riguardevoli del vero."[233]

As we know well by now, Domenichino put this theory into practice many years later using the very example cited by Agucchi. Not only did Agucchi caution against imperfect nature but also against the bizarre inventions of the mind. Unlike in the case of Alexander the Great, no bust of a frenzied Roman executioner was available, so Domenichino's method acting provided what he might have regarded as the next best thing. It helped him to depict a generic form of rage. In the same way Agucchi proposes turning a specific image of Alexander into a generic image of a king or leader. Different methods serve the same artistic aim of idealised imitation.

In the Renaissance and Baroque period imitation in art was regarded as a creative process. Particularly during the Renaissance the study of good prototypes as a point of departure was a universal practice in the production of art (Leonardo was the exception). In painting many compositions of narratives assumed an iconic character as certain pictorial devices such as poses and the arrangement of figures was subjected to repetition over generations. Depictions of the Annunciation prove the point. Within such a framework there was ample room for individual compositional solutions, so they could be changed to greater or lesser degree without losing sight of the precedent.

In relation to Domenichino famous examples for that practice are his *Assumption* of the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere **[fig. 43]** that is based on Annibale's version in Santa Maria del Popolo, *The Rebuke of Adam and Eve* derived from Michelangelo's *Creation of Adam,* and most controversially his *Last Communion of St. Jerome* based on that of Agostino Carracci. As we have seen many more can be

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[233] If aspiring towards perfection in art one should not search for what the face of Alexander the Great, or Cesar would have looked like, but for that of a king, or a noble and powerful leader, and in general the most deserving painters, without relinquishing likeness helped nature with art and depicted faces more beautiful and respectful to truth.

added but these imitations are never mere copies and in her book *The Domenichino Affair* Elisabeth Cropper has most rigorously and convincingly dismissed any charge of artistic theft in Domenichino's work *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome.*

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Domenichino was not only deeply indebted to Annibale for his decorative style. The seed of his imitative approach was planted during his formative years in the Bolognese School of the Carracci, the Scuola degli Incamminati, a school which actively taught that imitation should be derived from many sources, albeit in relation to painting. The *universalità* of the Carracci was a reaction against the perceived Vasarian paralysing effect on the development of art stemming from statements he made such as: "I can say confidently that art has achieved everything possible in the imitation of nature and has progressed so far that it has more reason to fear slipping back than to expect ever to make fresh advances."[234] The Carracci were not impressed with the notion that artistic decline after Michelangelo was a forgone conclusion. In his annotated copy of the *Vite* Annibale vents his anger about Vasari's Florentine bias when he calls him "l'ignorante Vasari", "l'invidioso Vasari" and points out "la malignità del Vasari".[235] Consequently the Carracci set up a school of their own, placing the concept of *universalità* at its core. This entailed a much broader outlook. Their sources were not confined to Florence and Rome, but also embraced Venetian and Lombardian schools of painting, and even Dürer, as is stated somewhat later by Giovanni Battista Agucchi. In Mambro Santos' words:

> "Il concetto seicentescho di "universalità" si resolve in un vero e proprio elogio della fusione estetica, laddove insiste sull'opportunita di riunire in un'unica opera, il lessico stilistico e il metodo di lavoro adotatti dalle differenti scuole, senza alcuna eccezione aprioristica nessun vincolo pregiudiziale. L'attenta disamina delle caratteristiche essenziali dei maestri del Rinascimento- da Tiziano a Rafaello, da Correggio a Michelangelo- permette a Annibale di spaziare fra i molteplici generi pittorici, impiegando una resa sempre diversa e consona ai singoli temi affrontati." [236]

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[234] Vasari, Giorgio, Lives of the Artists, Volume II, London, 1987, p. xvii

[235] De Mambro Santos, R, Arcadie del Vero, Arte e Teoria nella Roma del Seicento, Roma, 2001, p. 31

[236] De Mambro Santos, R, Arcadie del Vero, Arte e Teoria nella Roma del Seicento, Roma, 2001, p. 41
The seventeenth century concept of '*universalità*', is resolved in a real and true discourse about aesthetic fusion where it persists on the prospect to reunite in a single work of art a stylistic vocabulary and a working method adopted from different schools without a priori exceptions or prejudice. Close scrutiny of the essential characteristics of Renaissance masters- from Titian to Raphael, from Correggio

With its roots firmly in the Renaissance this concept opened up new avenues in painting and the young Domenichino was immersed in it at a practical and theoretical level. In an almost contemporary development an art theory based on the artistic practice of the Carracci was drawn up by Giovanni Battista Agucchi, first in consultation with Annibale and then more intensely with Domenichino. Wanting to save art from the maligned Florentine Mannerism, Agucchi's theory promoted the Scuola degli Incamminati because they regarded all regional styles not only as equal but also as sources for their imitative artistic strategy. In line with the four manners of classical antiquity he defined four regional styles - Roman, Venetian, Lombardian and Tuscan, thereby basing his theory on ancient precedent.

> "E per dividere la Pittura de' tempi nostri in quella guisa, che fecero li sopranominati antichi (Hellenica, Ionica, Sicionica, Romano): si puo affermare, che la Scuola Romana, della quale sono state Ii primi Rafaelle, e Michelangelo, ha seguitata la bellezza delle statue, e si e avvicinata all'artificio degli antichi. Ma I Pittori Vinitiani, e della Marca Trivigiana, il cui capo e Titiano, hanno più tosto imitate la bellezzza della natura, che si ha innanzi a gli occhi. Antonio da Correggio il primo de' Lombardi e stato imitatore della natura quasi maggiore, perché ha seguito in un modo tenero, facile, & egualmente nobile, e si è fatta la sua maniera da per se. I Toscani sono stati autori di una maniera diversa dalle già dette, perché ha del minuto alquanto, e del diligente, e discuopre assai l'artificio. Tengono il primo luogo Vinci, & Andrea del Sarto tra' Fiorentini; perché Michelangelo quanto alla maniera, non si mostro troppo Fiorentino: e Mecarino [nickname for Domenico Beccafumi], e Baldasare tra I (*sic*) Sanesi... Possonsi dunque costituire quattro spetie di Pittura in Italia, La Romana, la Vinitiana, la Lombarda, e la Toscana. Hora sì come egli è vero, che li sopranominati Maestri, e tanti altri valent'houmini, che dietro alle vestigia di quelli si sono incamminati alla perfettione dell'arte, hanno recata la Gloria a'nostri secoli da uggulagliarsi a quello dell'antichità..."[237]

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to Michelangelo- allows Annibale to move freely between multiple painting styles always employing a rich diversity and a consistence with a given task in question.

[237] Mahon, Denis, Studies in Seicento Art and Theory, 1971, Westport Connecticut, p. 246
And in order to divide painting of our times in the same way as the above mentioned ancients Hellenistic, Ionic, Sicilian?, Roman) it can be asserted that the Roman School, among which Raphael and Michelangelo are the first, followed the beauty of statues, and they came close to the contrivance of the ancients. The painters from Venice and the Marche, with the leader Titian, rather imitated the beauty of nature, as it appears to the eye. Antonio da Correggio the first among the Lombards was an imitator of nature as its best, because he followed it in an equally tender, light and noble manner, and thus created his own manner. The Tuscan were the authors of a manner different to the above, because they are rather minute and diligent, and rather artificial. The first among them are Vinci and Andrea del Sarto; because Michelangelo's manner is not very Florentine: and Mecarino, and Baldasare among the Senese... Therefore we can establish four different schools of painting in Italy: the Roman, the

By drawing a parallel between the four manners of antiquity and the Renaissance the Vasarian Florentine bias was rendered obsolete. Connecting the argument to antique precedent had such gravitas that it restored each style to its rightful place. Agucchi is quick to point out that all styles of Renaissance art rest on the precedent of antiquity in particular on its sculpture and architecture.

> "A' tempi moderni, dopo d'essere stata la Pittura per molti secoli come sepolta, e perduta, ha havuto mestieri quasi di rinascere da que' primi rozzi, & imperfetti principij dell' antico suo nascimento: e ne meno sarebbe cosi prestamente rinata, e perfettionata, come le èsuccesso, se non havessero gli artifici moderni havuto avanti gli occhi il lume delle Statue antiche conservate sino a i tempi nostri: dale quali, si come dall'opere di Architecttura, hanno potuto apprendere quella finezza di disegno, che tanto ha aperta la strada alla perfettione." [238]

Agucchi places sculpture and architecture at the core of the development of Renaissance art and his statement betrays a deep interest in ancient architecture. Incidentally this appreciation is reflected in Agucchi's differing reception of Domenichino's first proposal for the Agucchi monument in Bologna and Ludovico Carracci's Sega Monument in Piacenza. The latter project was designed without antiquity in mind and there is no evidence of an enthusiastic reaction from Agucchi unlike in the case of Domenichino's proposal where he praises the "*all'antica* " articulation.[239] In light of Agucchi's recognition of the crucial role played by the architecture and sculpture of the ancients in the art of the Renaissance, Domenichino's architectural designs seem to reflect the Monsignore's thinking as ancient prototypes that "open the road to perfection" are omnipresent in his work and always evolve into novel articulations. A "proponent of imitation of many models",

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Venetian, the Lombardian and the Tuscan. Now so it is true that the above masters and many other great men that followed in the footprints of those who walked towards the perfection of art have carried that glory into our centuries by equalling the ancients...

[238] In modern times, after painting was dead and lost for many hundred years, it acquired the experience to be reborn from those early and crude and imperfect beginnings from its ancient birth. And it would not have been reborn so quickly if the modern artists did not have the shining light of antique statues that survived into our times in front of their eyes: from those, and equally from the works of architecture they could learn the finesse of design, which opened wide the road to perfection.

[239] Wood, Carolyn, H., 'Agucchi, Ludovico Carracci and the Monument to Cardinal Sega at Piacenza', in Burlington Magazine, no. 1060, 1991, pp. 432-433 and Malvasia, Carlo, Cesare, Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Conte Carlo Cesar Malvasia, Bologna, 1841, tomo secondo, p. 234

Agucchi followed the school of thought that "favoured innovation and the autonomy of the maker."[240] Concerning painting he cites Annibale as the perfect example of an imitative artist who studied nature, the sculptures of the ancients and the colour and design of the modern schools with a view to imitating and to innovation and consequently his art achieves the highest degree of distinction.

> "Onde diremo, che qua(n)to all'esser egli stato imitatore di coloro, che la più rara bellezza di esprimere si studiarono, havendo egli conseguito quel fine, che nel suo primo arrivar a Roma si propose, di congiugnere insieme la finezzza del Disegno della Scuola Romana, con la vaghezza del colorito di quelle di Lombardia; si può affermare, che in questo genere di operare, che la più sovrana bellezza ricerca, egli sia arrivato ad un grado eminentissimo." [241]

Domenichino's imitative strategy applied to architecture seems to echo this approach. In the face of the rich extant architectural heritage of classical antiquity and the by now historical period of the Renaissance his imitative strategy mainly suggests a chronological approach rather than a regional one, despite occasional references to a regional style associated with Northern Italy. Unsurprisingly antique architectural and sculptural sources are not only at the core of Agucchi's theory but also that of Domenichino's architectural and ornamental inventions.

In addition the structure of Agucchi's theory itself echoes Domenichino's architecture. The rhetorical strategies applied in his art theoretical writings are devised against the background of a Renaissance tradition that in turn based itself on ancient precedents, as Renaissance literature on art followed the models of Cicero and Quintillian. The reliance on classical models revived by the Renaissance is shared by Agucchi and Domenichino and in that sense Domenichino's projects and proposals are architectural parallels to a literary tradition.

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[240] Payne, Kuttner, Smick, Antiquity and its Interpreters, Cambridge, 2000, p. 11

[241] Therefore we can say that in as far he has been an imitator of those who strived to express the rarest beauty and having persevered to that end at his first arrival in Rome it offered itself to combine the finesse of Roman design with the Lombardian beauty of colour; it can be asserted that by working in that manner, in that quest for the highest form of beauty he arrived at in a most accomplished manner.

Successful imitation had to be based on good or even iconic precedent. Domenichino clearly adhered to that as all the above examples show. These prototypes were then subjected to a range of imitative techniques ensuring the expression of artistic originality. We come now to consider these different techniques and of these the principal ones for Domenichino are the fusion of sources, classicising the modern and modernising the classical, importing secular motifs into religious settings, monumentalisation and verticality. In the case of the *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* the most obvious techniques were the reversal of the composition and the changed *affetti*. In the architectural context, only reversal is applicable. The interior Pantheon motif that articulates the ground level of the central block of sketch II C is a reversal of the source from concave to convex. Another example is that of the double pediments, a motif virtually unknown in antiquity but prominent in Michelangelo's Porta Pia and for the first time applied by him to the portal of the Laurentian Library in Florence. In Domenichino's sketch I C the church façade's triangular and segmental pediments are reversed and in sketches II A and II E segmental pediments are placed above triangular ones, which represents a reversal of the conventional application of pediments to Roman church facades at the time. **[figs. 108, 110]**

The fusion of sources is another imitative technique of much greater consequence as it aims for the creation of a single new idea. Being more than a simultaneous use of at least two different architectural sources, their integration is primarily a strategy to aim for a novel design. Nonetheless the recognition factor of these sources that are often iconic in character is maintained in order to enrich the invention with imitative content. Thus the quotation of good precedents can be enjoyed as a point of departure for novelty. Numerous examples can be found in Domenichino's architectural drawings as well as in his built architecture. The Agucchi tomb monument fuses Michelangelo with antique inspired ornament, while the church facades I B and III D fuse the application of the orders at the Palazzo dei Conservatori with the triumphal arch motif resulting in an entirely novel façade articulation. **[fig. 154, 155]** Fusion opens the way for further imitative techniques that are well illustrated by the same three examples, which is classicising the modern and/or modernising the classical.

This can be achieved by simply combining the antique with the early modern or by remodelling a modern idea with the help of other imitative strategies, for instance classicising the Michelangelesque order, or vice versa. It is a technique that is the basis for some of Domenichino's most distinctive ideas, particularly when he draws on Michelangelesque sources like the Porta Pia, the Palazzo dei Conservatori or Saint Peter's, which happens frequently. Domenichino's imitative strategy endeavours to re-establish the classical source hidden by Michelangelo's imitative strategy that had often modified it almost beyond recognition. By contrast in Domenichino's hands motifs like the aedicule, the Serliana, columns crowned by caryatids, the temple front, etc, always aspire towards the noble form of the antique and iconic precedents. It could be argued that Michelangelo's individualism is replaced by a less individual and more idealised generic treatment of iconic sources, with a view to ennoble rather than conceal sources, a characteristic that informs all of Domenichino's art, as we have observed earlier. His entire selection of sources hinges on that strategy and in that sense idealisation must be regarded as a core imitative strategy. Paradoxically, and unlike his contemporaries or the previous generation of architects, he does not shy away from the inventions of Michelangelo's challenging architecture. Instead he embraces entire Michelangelesque schemes (as he does in painting) but deliberately insisting on idealisation in a classical sense. This is echoed in his paintings where idealisation is a core principle and features in almost every aspect of his style, from the composition to the setting to the figures, and the *affetti*. Whether it is Domenichino's painting or architecture; idealisation is his aspiration for classical clarity, equilibrium and balance. The following comparison between Michelangelo and Domenichino regarding their use of sculpture in the context of architecture elucidates this point further.

Both, Michelangelo and Domenichino have a strong propensity to mix architecture and sculpture. As everybody knows figurative sculpture appears prominently in combination with Michelangelo's architecture, but more importantly it can frequently also disappear inside it as his architecture embodies abstract forces of physical properties like tension, proportion and contortion but also the human scale derived from sculpture. Roman examples are the Porta Pia, and the forcefully expressed trabeated system of the giant pilaster order and the broad entablature of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In other words sculpture is embodied within the architecture of

Michelangelo. Equally Domenichino's architecture emphasises the sculptural elements and a rich tapestry of statues is woven into almost all of his architectural schemes. Sculpture and architecture are, however, kept as separate entities, both distinct and visible. In the case of Domenichino, sculpture is not embodied in his architecture as was the case with Michelangelo. It is rather incorporated to enrich his architectural schemes. This principle is nowhere more apparent than in the altar of the Porfirio Chapel where columns and statues are merged into one unit. **[fig. 72]** It illustrates perfectly the difference between the Michelangelsque embodiment and Domenichinesque incorporation of sculpture in architecture. Unlike in the architectural work of Michelangelo, where the human figure is abstracted in order to subvert the classical language of architecture, the presence of Domenichino's statues is the key to evoke antiquity. Both artists employ imitative strategies, but where Michelangelo conceals or even loses the source, Domenichino reveals it. It allows him to resolve the starkness and tension inherent in much of Michelangelo's architecture by reinstating classical equilibrium and decorum into his schemes.

Vice versa, antique prototypes are configured to breathe new life into flat and often dull wall articulations of recent Roman church facades. Key to this animation is the columnar and sculptural components of antique precedents like temple fronts, triumphal arches, aediculae or, in the case of the Sant'Ignazio proposal, the Roman baths and the Basilica of Maxentius.

Frequently fusion involves predominantly modern sources as many of his church facades are based on the Il Gesù model fused with Michelangelesque concepts. On the other hand there are instances where only antique models are used as is the case in sketch II B. Moreover, fusion can involve more than two models as in the façade II E that is based on the temple front, the triumphal arch and fountain architecture. Sources come from a wide range of building types that include villas, public buildings, fountain architecture, and tomb monuments as well as triumphal arches, Roman baths and basilicas, aedicular forms and temple architecture, including the Pantheon. Part of the success of Domenichino's imitative strategy is his emphasis on the generic

character of a number of these prototypes in order to ensure high recognition, despite novel changes that might have been derived from lesser known or more specific sources. Determining the generic falls in line with the Platonic concept of the idea and it involves analysis of the different specific sources in order to extrapolate the generic character behind them. These principles which lie behind Domenichino's architecture echo those that are characteristic of his paintings where, as I have already outlined above, he strives for an idealised form of expression that aims for the generic rather than the specific or the individual.

Domenichino's architectural vocabulary combines canonical orders niches and openings, Serliane and pilasters, vertical continuity, wall layering and planar exploration, rich classicised decoration, inscription panels with statues, and orders supporting statues. By combining these individual motifs he often alludes to building types that are rather concealed behind the dominant generic theme of a given design. Occasionally he exploits the ambiguity which exists between the high recognition expressed by the generic quotation of a motif and the concealment expressed by importing secondary motifs into a given design. The church façade II E provides a good example where the temple front and fountain architecture are dominant motifs, but the inclusion of statues to the right of the large inscription panel is an allusion to the triumphal arch motif.

To import particularly secular motifs into a religious setting is another favourite procedure of his imitative strategy. Sketch II D shows how the architecture of a villa's garden facade articulates a church facade, and elsewhere this interesting concept encompasses fountains, city gates, and other public buildings, thereby widening the horizon of architectural sources. Bramante had set a precedent for the fusion of religious building types when he described his idea for Saint Peter's as the Pantheon placed on top of the Temple of Peace (Basilica of Maxentius). Domenichino followed that concept but extended, as it were, the terms of reference to secular buildings. This opened up numerous possibilities for some interesting contextualisation of such motifs as are evinced in the church facades II C, D, E, F. The combination of the

secular and the sacred takes its most dazzling form in the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere where a secular motif from the family coat of arms and a religious image of the *Assumption* are incorporated into a ceiling design that originates in a tradition spanning all the way from Antonio da Sangallo via Serlio back into antiquity. Despite, or rather because of, this multiplicity of sources it is an entirely novel composition. A characteristic of this selection process is the equal consideration given to generic as well as particular sources, in this instance a ceiling design that ultimately originates in late Roman antiquity and a specific family emblem, the Aldobrandini star.

Family emblems are applied to the Agucchi wall monument in Bologna and the apse of Sant'Andrea della Valle where they provide examples for the imitative technique of monumentalisation. Peltae derived from the Logge del Vaticano are the source in both cases.[242] **[figs. 21, 47]** They are enlarged and decorated with emblematic references to the patrons and in Sant'Andrea della Valle they feature in half relief as part of a larger white and golden scheme involving Annibale-inspired sphinxes. In painting, the four Evangelists in the pendentives of the Theatine church are key to Domenichino's embrace of monumentalisation as they constitute the first ever instance of pendentives in a Roman church where the monumental depiction of this scheme bursts out of its architectural framework. Another example of monumentalisation is the Cappella della Strada Cupa **[fig. 60]** where putti and acanthus scrolls are all derived from less conspicuous sources, for example the nearby Altemps chapel, and form an essential part of a truly baroque programme involving architecture, sculpture and painting on a grand scale that ignores the mannerist multiplicity of the sister chapel in Santa Maria in Trastevere or the Paoline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore but not without drawing on valuable aspects of these. The Agucchi wall monument in Bologna is an example of a monumental inscription panel, a motif that gains dominance in the studies of church facades and especially in some

[242] In his letter from the 31 of January 1609 Agucchi quotes Domenichino where the artist refers to the Logge del Vaticano. While there is no mention of Peltae and other decorative motifs, it shows Domenichino's awareness and appreciation of the Logge's decorative scheme. It is therefore certain that he knew the Logge and not unreasonable to assume that he sourced some motifs from there. See: Malvasia, Carlo, Cesare, Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Comte C.C. Malvasia, Bologna, 1841, tomo secondo, p. 235

of the Sant'Ignazio proposals. In the case of the latter the panels are not necessarily large but they dominate the wall articulation of the nave and as a set they have an imposing prominence. Moreover, the entire articulation of the church and its spatial concept are monumentalised, not only by drawing on an antique precedent like the Basilica of Maxentius but by extending it to an expansive plan over seven aisles wide which further incorporates giant piers and a choice of three differently sized orders within a single space.

Not only do orders express monumentality they also establish verticality, a favourite compositional device in Domenichino's imitative strategy as it is a crucial tool for the modification of iconic prototypes. Evidently the church façade I A is derived from the triumphal arch motif which articulates its lower storey. Vital to the successful integration of this motif into church architecture is the prominence given to the orders of the triumphal arch motif and their consequent continuation into the upper storey. This vertical linkage throughout two storeys was yet unexecuted in Roman church facades. It unifies the upper and lower storeys by the coherent use of orders connected with a salient entablature and it brings vertical tendencies of earlier Roman church facades like both della Porta's and Vignola's Gesù facades, Santa Susanna and della Porta's and Grimaldi's Sant'Andrea della Valle to their logical conclusion. Della Porta and Grimaldi planned the façade of Sant'Andrea della Valle with a radically expressed verticality that would have reflected the articulation of the church's interior and it most likely represents the most inspiring precedent for Domenichino's use of the verticalism of what Wittkower and others describe as a double aedicule. **[fig. 169]** This façade type gained currency in Northern Italy with facades like Vitozzi's project for the Sanctuary at Vicoforte, Alessi's projected façade of S. Raffaele, Milan, Tibaldi's Sanctuary at Saronno and Ricchino's San Giuseppe. Perhaps more important in the context of Domenichino is Girolamo Rainaldi's proposal for the Bolognese church of Santa Lucia (1623) **[fig. 167]**

Domenichino's fondness for vertical continuity is evident almost everywhere and his aedicular exploration of the Counter Reformation church façade (eg. I B and III D)

would have represented a new departure in the Roman context. Given his strong classical leanings it has been suggested in the chapter on church facades that northern precedents were probably less influential than Roman antiquity, in combination with della Porta, Grimaldi, Maderno and Vignola. This combination of classical antiquity and Counter Reformation is particularly strong in the twenty church facades and it makes his sourcing of northern columnar and aedicular facades an unlikely scenario particularly in light of the early dating of his sketches. Domenichino's use of vertical continuity was also applied as a technique in order to clarify the language of mannerist schemes as we have seen, nowhere more so than in the comparison between the Altemps chapel and the Cappella della Strada Cupa.

Sketch I A is an exemplary case where vertical continuity is based on the imitative articulation of an antique source leading to an innovative solution for an entirely different modern building type. A similar use of verticality can be observed in the church façade IIA where two temple fronts are placed on top of each other, the upper one being a variation on the theme. In sketch III D vertical continuity is derived from Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori. Applied to a church façade Michelangelo's revolutionary concept of mixing minor and major orders is idealised in a classical sense. Characteristically the *terribilità* of Michelangelo's work is resolved into a more canonical classicism by turning the major order into an aedicule and the minor orders into a support for statuary in the triumphal arch mode. The right bay even hints at caryatids, as a close examination of the drawing reveals a projecting cornice. This articulation evokes the ancient prototype of the Augustus forum. Again verticality is at the core of the imitative strategy evolving from sources originating in completely different periods and building types into an exceptionally innovative church façade. The pavilions of the sketch for a centralised church represent a variation on the same principle where giant aediculae with salient entablature and crowning statues and the orders of the colonnade and the drum above culminate in crowning statues. As already mentioned the four orders of the nave and the crossing in the Sant'Ignazio proposal also fall into the category of diverse iconic motifs being governed by dominant vertical architectural components. In this case motifs such as the Serliana, the caryatids evoking the forum of Augustus and the Michelangelesque giant pilasters as

pier articulation are pulled together into one composition. In Domenichino's built architecture caryatids are a strong feature in the apse of Sant'Andrea della Valle and the Cappella della Strada Cupa is the best example of vertical continuity. In both cases Domenichino was constrained by pre-existing circumstances, but the inclusion of caryatids emphasises the vertical aspect that controls the entire scheme. While some examples show verticality as an imitative technique the latter simply establishes it as a stylistic preference.

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Having examined Domenichino's techniques of imitation and their use let us turn our attention to the different architectural periods that provided the main sources for Domenichino's imitative strategy. They are classical antiquity, High Renaissance, near contemporary and contemporary architecture. To begin with, the canon of classical antiquity is certainly a core feature and in light of Domenichino's artistic education and environment, as well as the dissatisfaction with recent artistic and architectural trends, this does not surprise.

Canonic motifs like the temple front, the triumphal arch, the aedicule, the Pantheon, the basilica of Maxentius, the baths and the imperial fora form the backbone of his imitative strategy. None of these motifs were used so explicitly in the church designs of his contemporaries or in those of previous generations of architects. Instead they were usually quoted in a highly concealed way, as for example the temple front motif that had already evolved over generations to be subsumed into the fabric of the modern church façade.[243]

In the face of an architectural paralysis that had lasted for decades Domenichino searched for prototypes by going to the origins of classical architecture. Coming from an eclectic painterly tradition his selection process was informed by the ideal of beauty that evolved from best precedents and, with the advent of the Renaissance,

[243] See chapter: Church facades, pp. 96-100

antiquity was seen as providing these. An architectural canon of antique motifs promised an ideal and generic articulation and by quoting from such a source without concealing its character an ancient theme was deliberately and systematically placed within a modern context. Since concealment would have been counterproductive Domenichino's designs are mostly based on legible canonic motifs that immediately establish themes like the temple front, the basilica, the triumphal arch, the Pantheon motif, the aedicule etc. Against the background of the architectural conventions of the early seventeenth century these sources open up new territory as Domenichino's variations on such themes explore new possibilities for architectural articulation. The ensuing contextualisation of such iconic motifs within a modern framework is an innovative challenge in itself.

The iconic antique motif, moreover, allows for a richness of articulation that also goes beyond the architectural conventions of the time. Instead of the prevailing common architectural practice that often lacked expressiveness, the sculptural qualities of the antique vocabulary open the way to a new richness of ornamental articulation which included free-standing orders, plastic exploration of walls, statuary and complex decorative schemes. This new plasticity introduces sculptural qualities to the church façade, the church interior and wall monuments as evinced, for instance, by Domenichino's twenty sketches, the Sant'Ignazio proposal, the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori and the Porfirio Chapel respectively. Clear legibility together with decorum, harmony, symmetry and balance are the ordering principles of these projects, all being closely associated with the architecture of the classical antique that serves as an idealised model. This is the point of departure and the foundation for innovation which at its most radical leads to the exploration of the curved church façade, as in sketch II C, the articulation of a nave by a triple order in the Sant' Ignazio proposal, the complexity of a crystalline ceiling design that incorporates a large canvass, as in Santa Maria in Trastevere or Michelangelesque imitation of the Palazzo dei Conservatori which anticipates Bernini's Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. These are particularly apt in illustrating that Domenichino's architectural ambition aimed beyond the restoration of 'the correct manner'. Instead of seeking tradition for tradition's sake, he looks rather for innovation derived from antique precedent. On

that basis his innovative solutions never stray into the realm of the fantastic, a trait that is so often associated with Mannerism.

At times Domenichino's oeuvre evinces an emotive relationship with the ancient that takes on a retrospective or even nostalgic character. As we know during the years of 1608-09 Domenichino worked on the tomb monument for Cardinal Girolamo Agucchi in the church San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna and the Agucchi letters from that time considered a number of design ideas for this commission. A letter written on the 31st January reveals Domenichino's attitude towards ancient ruins.[244] In a response to Agucchi's concerns about the eventual damage of stucco works if applied to the lower ranges of the monument Domenichino points out that "grand and noble projects must be carried out in their decoration without concern for the occurrence of an accident" and he adds that if some lower parts should be damaged, then the upper ones would, by contrast, seem all the finer. In this context he evokes Annibale's deliberately designed broken *stucchi* in the Galleria Farnese, which would not be made more beautiful if repaired.

I would like to suggest that this appreciation of ruins resurfaces in Domenichino's work a number of times, most of all in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori. The missing column in front of the Porta Santa gives the feigned architecture of the triumphal arch a deliberately unfinished appearance. **[fig. 3]** It thereby respects the real medieval Porta Santa that is treated as a "found object" to which the feigned ancient architectural prototype has to give way. Neither the Porta Santa nor the omission of the column adds visually to the beauty of the composition. Other examples of deliberate flaws are the feigned grisaille ovals with images of the two ancient Saints Natalia and Adriano to which the chapel was once dedicated. **[fig. 12]** Their rather faded look suggests that they are ancient features. Tantillo cautiously ascribes to Domenichino the aedicule containing the baptismal font and he speculates that this

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[244]Malvasia, Carlo Cesare, Felsina Pittrice,Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Conte Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Bologna, 1841, tomo secondo. This passage is based on the discussion of the subject matter by Spear, Richard, Domenichino, 1982, p. 152, and Tantillo, Mignosi, Almamaria, Domenichino, 1996, p. 220

would constitute a case where Domenichino constructed an architectural feature using some of the oldest spoglia from the church of the abbey.[245] This use of spoglia for the baptismal font is another example of the introduction of found objects to the articulation of the north wall. **[fig. 97]** One could argue that the incorporation of two such features based on a common design idea in the one wall gives further support to Tantillo's attribution of the font to Domenichino. Still, this instance is based on a hypothetical attribution, but nevertheless all examples echo the same spirit that is expressed in Domenichino's letters to Agucchi.

Showing ancient architectural ruins in painted architectural backgrounds had of course been commonplace among artists for generations but in most cases they are not dominant motifs. Domenichino's *Triumphal Arch* painting, for instance, is different in that regard and moreover it falls into the category of the above mentioned broken *stucchi* by Annibale. **[fig. 151]** With weeds growing on the arch the dimension of time is subtly added into the painted architecture. In each of these examples Domenichino follows Annibale's spirit. Whether he incorporates visual flaws or *spoglia* they were to be understood as traces of the passing of time or of times which have passed into his architectural set of iconic prototypes. By doing so he evokes the ancient world to enhance the object's beauty. This approach to beauty, however, requires a leap of imagination on the part of the spectator as it is rather conceptual. In order to grasp their beauty the *trompe l'oeil* ovals depicting the saints Natalia and Adriano must be seen in the same way as Domenichino saw Annibale's broken stucchi in the Galleria Farnese. The same is true for the depiction of weeds on the *Triumphal Arch* painting. They are beautiful flaws because they evoke the world of the ancients, which was regarded as one of the most important sources for formal beauty. In these instances beauty does not manifest itself in the physical depiction of a given object but rather in the connotations it carries. This broadened definition of beauty relies on the spectator's mind by triggering associations beyond the realm of the purely visual. It

[245] Tantillo, Mignosi, Almamaria, Domenichino, 1996, p. 220 The baptismal font incorporates some of the oldest parts of the church later dismembered by Alessandro Farnese. Odoardo Farnese wanted to locate the baptismal font beside the entrance above the area of the pre-existing cemetery according to a Byzantine tradition. Two hexagonal pilasters with cosmatesque decoration, two columns with capitals from the XII century and lions for the base are part of its articulation.

could be termed Arcadian beauty, a nostalgia which yearns for the lost world of the ancients.

If only to establish this particular sense of beauty in art and architecture, imitation of the ancient prototypes was a necessity as it could provide the visual link across the ages. Giving this re-imagined past the evocative expression of the passage of time appealed to the senses and the mind and added an emotive layer to the imitative process. At the time these effects mirrored not only the thinking of Domenichino but also that of many other artists and *cognoscenti* like Annibale Carracci, Agucchi, Angeloni or Cassiano Del Pozzo. Both Domenichino and Agucchi delved into these notions of the ancient and the beautiful systematically and enthusiastically, each in their respective ways and, as it seems, each influencing one another. Evidence for this is the above mentioned letter, Agucchi's treatise and many visual instances in Domenichino's *oeuvre*.

But the Arcadian theme did not simply trigger nostalgic responses in Domenichino's art. Like the Carracci he was known for his caricatures, of which examples survive today in the Windsor Castle collection and the best known and artistically more sophisticated work of the type is the inclusion of the Aldobrandini house dwarf in the Apollo fresco cycle in the Stanza di Apollo inside the water theatre of Villa Belvedere. Obviously this represents a lighter side to Domenichino's art and it contrasts particularly strongly with the seriousness of the world of pagan gods. An architectural instance relevant to our discussion on imitation is the sketch P.-H.1695 in the Windsor Castle collection which represents the ambiguity of Domenichino's view of the Arcadian world. **[fig. 288]** All of the essential Arcadian ingredients are there: a lead-in figure resting on the wall draws our attention to the distant sylvan, almost infinite landscape with woods, a glade, lakes with boats, hills, birds in the sky and finally the sea with more boats. The buildings of the fore- and middle ground are highly evocative of the ancient world. There is no distant view on the left as it is closed off by a monumental ancient wall, at the right we glimpse past it at a semi-concealed Ionic temple in the middle ground and a broken obelisk. So far we have a perfect Arcadian setting, but the main features put a twist on it. A wayfarer, who

appears to have just walked into the setting given his demeanour of amazement, is overawed by a ridiculously gigantic vase with a festoon and a bacchanalian head. Its facial expression seems to respond to the wayfarer's moment of *eureka* with Mona-Lisa-like mockery, perhaps because the whole moment is decidedly ridiculed by a central figure in the act of relieving himself who is blissfully oblivious to the grandiose experience of the wayfarer behind him. Is it, as it were, light relief, satire and boisterous humour? Perhaps all of that, but the wayfarer's silly adoration of a grotesque monument and Domenichino's central insertion of toilet humour against the backdrop of an Arcadian setting definitely shows irreverence towards the whole concept of the ideal of beauty. Despite all the mockery there is a serious side to it when looked upon from an imitative angle. A fresco scene in the second imperial style painted around 30 BC from the House of Augustus has affinities with Domenichino's sketch. **[fig. 289]** The placing of a similar gigantic vase in the foreground against a section of a free-standing wall and trees would suggest that Domenichino was familiar with this or a similar fantastical scheme where a vase becomes a grotesque building. Referring to such schemes with this degree of irreverence, but still with a deliberate compositional sense and attention to detail, shows his ability to form a poignant critique which exposes theories as a fashionable expression of the prevailing *Zeitgeist* of the ideal of beauty. Sketch P.-H. 1695 at the same time reveals Domenichino's healthy ambiguity towards prevailing trends and his deep interest in, and knowledge of, sources and their effective use to make a point.

As we have seen earlier, Domenichino's perception of antiquity is in part influenced by Serlio, whose version of the Arch of Trajan in Ancona as well as the Arch of Constantine provided the models for his triumphal arch painting and the church façade I A respectively. Moreover his sensibility about ruins also resonates with Serlio who "advocated incorporating the broken, ruinous, and the anachronistic into a building to broaden its expressive range. He even suggested that the architect do the breaking and spoiling for himself if necessary."[246] Serlio's deliberations were promptly put into practice by Domenichino's mentor, Annibale, during his formative years spent working in the Galleria Farnese. In this regard his perception of antiquity

[246] Greene, Thomas E., Light of Troy, Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry, New Haven, London, 1982, p. 235

and beauty is anchored in precedents set down by Serlio and Annibale. Both influence Domenichino's architectural imitative strategy, Serlio on a conceptional level and Annibale in practice.

While antiquity is a core feature, Renaissance precedents also surface heavily in Domenichino's architecture. But Domenichino does not follow Renaissance trends of "an invented tradition" that manipulated the vocabulary of classical architecture according to preconceived ideas. To Domenichino both antiquity and the Renaissance equally provided a rich tapestry of sources and his selective process was not concerned with re-inventing a canonical manner according to a bias of pre-conceived notions about the classical orders, which failed to acknowledge the architectural riches of classical antiquity that did not comply with a set of imposed theoretical rules. Perhaps that explains his predilection for Michelangelo and to an extent Raphael, who had established their strong personal styles within the classical vocabulary. In the context of the latter, Agucchi's discussion of the wall monument in Bologna in his letter of 5/12/1609 is insightful when he describes Domenichino's pilasters placed above a niche as something the ancients did "ma non fatta in buon secolo."[247] **[fig. 21]** Nonetheless Domenichino got his way in the end as the executed design shows. It betrays his Raphaelesque attitude as the great Renaissance master not only made a similar "mistake" in the façade of the Palazzo Branconio but, moreover, drew the articulation of the attic of the Pantheon interior faithfully showing the same mistake, unlike many other Renaissance architects, among them Francesco di Giorgio, Serlio, Peruzzi, and Antonio da Sangallo, who either ignored or "corrected" this perceived incongruity. **[fig. 142]**

As we will examine in detail later Agucchi's theory rejects the panegyrical rhetoric of earlier art-historians and theorists like Vasari, or his Venetian counterpart Lodovico Dolce. His inclusive theory recognizes the distinct merits of each regional school and praise goes to those that value the best which each school has to offer as part of their imitative strategy. Accordingly Domenichino's painterly output echoes that regional

[247] Malvasia, Carlo Cesare, Vite dei Pittori Bolognesi del Conte C. C. Malvasia, Bologna, 1841, Tomo secondo, p. 235

approach, whereas the choice of his architectural sources reflects it in a chronological sense. Three periods- antiquity, Renaissance and the near contemporary architecture mostly based on Roman models - take the place of the four regional schools that are referenced in his paintings.

Now that we have looked at antiquity we turn our attention to the High Renaissance. The discussion of Domenichino's individual designs in the earlier chapters has shown that no individual architect had a more palpable influence on him than Michelangelo. Domenichino's frequent and repeated explorations of entire Michelangelesque schemes warranted the earlier, separate discussion, while the influences of other Renaissance architects such as Bramante, Raphael, the Sangalli, Peruzzi, Serlio and Palladio will be examined together and generalised as Renaissance influences, as none of them impacted on Domenichino to the same extent as Michelangelo. Lacking Michelangelo's irreverence, this may be explained by their adherence to the decorum of a classical vocabulary which is in line with Domenichino's taste and his own sense of decorum. In other words the vocabulary of classical antiquity formed a common point of reference between them and Domenichino. Consequently the classicising that can be observed in relation to Domenichino's treatment of Michelangelesque schemes naturally became redundant when evoking these sources. Given Domenichino's emphasis on decorum Michelangelo's importance seems a paradox, but the unique sculptural strength and inventive power of his architectural compositions constituted an extremely rich and rewarding source, indeed heretofore unexplored by most architects, perhaps with the exception of Giacomo del Duca.

Generally the impact of the aforementioned architects centres mostly on aspects of a given project but hardly ever the entire parti. The most important exception is the seven aisled plan of the Sant'Ignazio proposal which had its origin in Raphael's first plan for Saint Peter's from 1514. **[fig. 258]** Common sources for the plans by Raphael and Domenichino's Sant'Ignazio are the Basilica of Maxentius and to an extent Bramante's longitudinal project n. 10 A. in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe in the Uffizi. **[fig. 290]** As we have also seen, Raphael's fresco for the Expulsion of

Heliodorus and the School of Athens are also reflected in the Sant'Ignazio proposals in their aspirational and lofty spirit which is expressed by Raphael when he discusses the rebuilding of Saint Peter in his letter to Leo X, where he says that "I envision a project of loftier ambition, which is to discover the beautiful form of antiquity. I know this is perhaps the flight of Icarus. Vitruvius (...) shines a beacon, yet I seek more."[248] As the Sant'Ignazio proposals reveal, Domenichino (in hope of liberal access to the financial resources of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi) not only tries to revive a discarded Raphaelesque plan but is motivated by the same spirit which is expressed in the above quote.

Given the spell cast on the architects of the sixteenth century by ancient architecture and the construction of St. Peter's it is not surprising to find in the work of the papal architect Domenichino similarities with plans by Bramante and Peruzzi relating to St. Peter's as well as plans for the basilica of Maxentius by Peruzzi. His reconstruction of the basilica also features double columns. **[figs. 233]** This particular motif, coupled with the larger sections of his plans, resurface in Domenichino's sketches for a centralised church and in the plans for Sant'Ignazio. Giuliano da Sangallo sets another Renaissance precedent for the Sant'Ignazio proposals with his archaeologically motivated drawings of ancient interiors. **[fig. 291]** While Domenichino takes such precedents into account his Sant' Ignazio project is not an archaeological approximation; in spirit he is closer to Bramante's works, such as the Tempietto, the cloister of Santa Maria della Pace or the Nymphaeum in Genazzano where different aspects of antique architectural form are a point of departure for innovation. Of course, Bramante's claim that his Saint Peter's was itself to be a combination of the Pantheon on top of the Temple of Peace provides a further precedent for an innovative process based on Roman classicism.

Returning to Raphael another important influence straddles the border between painting and architecture and it concerns illusionary spatial concepts articulated in *trompe l'oeil*. When accepting the feigned architectural scheme of the Oratorio di

[248] Vecchi, Pierluigi, Raphael, New York, London, Abbeville, 2002, p. 88

Sant'Andrea al Celio as Domenichino's design the influence on him of Raphael's Loggia di Psiche in the Villa Farnesina, or the illusionary vaults in the Logge del Vaticano, is palpable. Certainly there cannot be any doubt about Raphael's Loggia as a source for Domenichino's sketch for the Stanza di Apollo. Peruzzi also proves to be an inspiration (repetition of 'source') for illusionary motifs as his Sala delle Prospettive in the Villa Farnesina is a strong influence for the same sketch and for the doorway for the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata. When accepting Domenichino as author, his illusionist schemes are witty plays on revelation and concealment. In the case of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori the 'revelation' of the real Porta Santa and a fragment of a feigned responding pilaster is achieved by the deliberate 'absence' of a column belonging to the feigned triumphal arch scheme, whereas in Sant'Andrea al Celio the 'concealment' of fictive architectural spaces that form part of a Greek cross plan is achieved by equally feigned hanging tapestries obscuring the view into the illusionary cross arms of this oratory. This adds a conceptual finesse which is missing in the aforementioned illusionist schemes by Raphael and Peruzzi. Where these precedents simply reveal feigned motifs or spaces, Domenichino goes a step further and cleverly introduces first the absence of illusionism to reveal an architectural reality behind it and he secondly conceals one illusion with another. In each case he introduces an innovative layer to proven illusionist schemes. The latter concept shows influences on the one hand of Bramante's Santa Maria presso San Satiro where real and fictive spaces are equally unified into one and on the other hand the layering and overlapping applied to feigned pictures and statues in Annibale's Galleria Farnese. Absent in both precedents, however is the pronounced illusionistic ambiguity of revelation and concealment of real and fictive architecture.

Nonetheless many decorative schemes of Domenichino are strongly indebted to those of Annibale, while Raphael's influence is partly filtered through him and partly emerges directly in motifs like the peltae, or the quadruple hybrid motifs of the nave ceiling in Santa Maria in Trastevere that are taken straight from Raphael and his followers Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine.

Antonio da Sangallo and Serlio's influences represent the two opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of quoting sources directly. In the case of the former, influences are concealed while the latter is directly quoted in detail. Examples are the nave ceiling of Santa Maria in Trastevere derived from Sangallo's ceiling of the sacristy of the Palazzo Silvestri, or the triumphal arch motif applied to a church facade which had only one Roman precedent, the modest church façade of Sangallo's Santa Maria in Porta Paradisi. By contrast Serlio's drawings of the Arch of Trajan in Ancona and the Roman Arch of Constantine were chosen over the actual arches as my earlier analysis of the painting of a triumphal arch and the church façade I A has shown. Serlio's book III may also have influenced the ceiling design for the nave in Santa Maria in Trastevere and the typology of the church facades II D and III C can be traced back to the same source.

The third period that exerted a major influence on Domenichino was near contemporary and contemporary architecture. Our discussion of the church facades has highlighted the pivotal role of the Gesù designed by Giacomo della Porta; moreover, Vignola's proposal is also considered by Domenichino. Della Porta's Gesù plays a crucial role in the dynamic development of façade articulation. Its movement through acceleration of incidents towards the centre by accumulation of wall ornament and planar progression is echoed in many of the twenty church facades. Domenichino's fusion of the Gesù model with antique iconic motifs modernises this façade type as the resulting sculptural quality strengthens its Baroque tendencies. With San Nicola in Carcere della Porta himself had provided a rare and minor example of a fusion of modern and antique motifs to great effect.

Not only classical antiquity but Maderno's Santa Susanna with its progression from pilasters to alveolic columns sets a precedent for strong plastic and sculptural façade articulation as it introduces a relief quality to the Gesù type.

According to Hibbard, Maderno did not belong to the species of Renaissance men that practised the three visual arts and had explicit interests in aesthetical concerns and in architectural theory. Coming from the Domenico Fontana school that was mainly concerned with engineering he seemed to have had a rather pragmatic approach to architecture. Wall articulation and ornament only played a secondary role and as such were often left to the executing masons.[249] Thus his architecture is somewhat lacking in originality. Exceptions are Saint Peter's and the facade of Santa Susanna, probably his masterpiece. It is those projects that left a mark on Domenichino: the temple front motif incorporated into Saint Peter's, a faint echo of Michelangelo's project, is palpable in sketch IIB, while Santa Susanna's rich columnar articulation is reworked in the several facades, mainly I C, E, F and III C. Maderno's northern propensity for columnar articulation is at its strongest here and Domenichino's sketches develop the Santa Susanna articulation into more dynamic schemes. Given that both Maderno and Domenichino worked frequently on the same commissions for the Aldobrandini, the Perretti-Montalto and the Ludovisi they certainly must have known each other. In contrast to Maderno, Domenichino conforms to the image of a Renaissance man involved in all three visual arts (apparently he sculpted parts of Agucchi's tomb monument in San Pietro in Vincoli himself) as well as music. His projects and proposals evince a fondness for the possibilities of wall articulation and ornament which is alien to Maderno. Given their acquaintance, their common patronage and the contrasting approach to architecture one can see a possible collaboration on some projects, for instance the renovation of the Palazzo Colonna and the Vigna Ludovisi where aspects of the articulation could have been developed in tandem, which would explain existing parallels in the use of columns, specifically the Serliana. This proximity makes it possible that Maderno might have had the most tangible influence on Domenichino, at least in an advisory capacity, while Domenichino may have contributed ornament and wall articulation to the above mentioned projects and perhaps even elsewhere (the Palazzo Mattei and the water theatre of the Villa Belvedere comes to mind). In any case della Porta and Maderno constitute the most important sources for the typology of a Counter Reformation church façade in many of Domenichino's modifications of these models.

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[249] Hibbard, Howard, Maderno, London, 1971, p. 86

Flaminio Ponzio's works provide further important architectural sources not only for the church facades but also for the decorative scheme of Sant'Andrea della Valle. The most surprising aspect in Domenichino's imitative strategy is the change of building type that resonates in two of the church facades. Domenichino takes Ponzio's tomb monument in the Paoline chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore as a point of departure for the articulation of sketch II F while sketch II E incorporated aspects of Ponzio and Vansanzio's Acqua Paola. Both fountains and tomb monuments are unlikely sources for the articulation of a church façade and there is no further contemporary Roman example for such a radical change of building type between a source and an intended project.

As we have seen earlier while it was the norm to consider secular ancient Roman structures like baths and basilicas as prototypes for ecclesiastical buildings, it was a novel idea to contemplate modern secular buildings or tomb monuments as models. Other architects, including those from previous generations, mainly refer to the triumphal arch as an ancient model for tomb monuments, but it certainly was an unusual source for a church façade.

Referring to the architecture of tomb monuments reaffirms the earlier suggestion that Domenichino's church facades, or at least some of them, were commemorative in character and therefore might have been designed for potential patrons like the Ludovisi, the Aldobrandini or the Peretti-Montalto. Domenichino's selection of individual architectural motifs such as large areas for inscriptions and recent tomb architecture, most prominently that of the commemorative Paoline chapel, strengthen that notion.

Such a choice of motifs which exploit the commemorative character of these modern prototypes may reflect the Ludovisian plans during the early 1620 s to build a family mausoleum, which would have required a highly commemorative façade articulation.

The monumental inscription panel of II E, possibly sourced from the Acqua Paola, potentially fulfils such requirements and even more so the façade II F where numerous relief panels and statues offer a rich pictorial tapestry which is based on Ponzio's tomb monument for Paolo V. In Domenichino's sketch this source is further monumentalised, firstly by simply changing it into a church façade and secondly by adding a third storey over an attic thus expanding the narrative possibilities of the scheme.

Elsewhere Ponzio's work is also subjected to monumentalisation. Domenichino's architecturally decorative scheme for the choir and the pendentives of Sant'Andrea della Valle are partially based on Ponzio's Paoline chapel. As we have seen the motifs and figures of the pendentives are similar but in Sant'Andrea della Valle they are much larger and that monumentalisation is continued into the choir.[250] It seems that, apart from della Porta and Maderno, Domenichino prioritises Ponzio as a near contemporary source perhaps because he recognises the imitative potential of some of the most impressive recent projects added to the fabric of the city. Perhaps their novelty constituted an artistic challenge and Domenichino saw them as evocative models for the task at hand. In the context of Ludovisian plans for a family mausoleum these unexpected sources for church facades make perfect sense indeed and emphasising their monumental character underscores the desired effect. At the same time it would be a mistake to conclude that Domenichino set out to subject all of the sources related to Ponzio to monumentalisation, change of building type or a commemorative character. Ponzio's San Sebastiano (finished by Vansanzio) and the proposal for San Pietro in Bologna are potentially primary sources for the sketches II A and II D without monumentalisation or a change of building type. Even commemorative purposes are difficult to ascertain as the emphasis is on the exploration of the iconic architectural motifs of temple front and Serliane, which are less likely to be read as commemorative symbols.

[250] Ponzio was the executing architect of the Paoline chapel, the frescoes of the pendentives are by Cesare D'Arpino and Guido Reni.

Ponzio is not, however, the only architect who inspired Domenichino to a commemorative facade articulation. We only need to recall the multiple references to motifs from Michelangelo's Medici chapel. Sketch III A can therefore be read as another commemorative façade with powerful reference to a tomb monument aptly fused with the triumphal arch motif that had inspired Sansovino to the Roman tomb monuments for the cardinals della Rovere and Sforza and Peruzzi to that of Pope Hadrian VI in the church of Santa Maria dell'Anima. **[fig. 172]** The powerful projecting broken portal with its reclining figures evokes once again the Medici chapel, in this case fused with triumphal arch motifs while the overall *parti* is modelled on Rughesi's portal for Santa Maria in Vallicella. **[fig. 145]**

A stipulation of the project of the Cappella della Strada Cupa was to imitate Martino Longhi's and Pasquale Cati's Altemps chapel also in Santa Maria in Trastevere. As the executed project shows neither Longhi nor Cati had any far reaching impact on Domenichino's solution, instead Domenichino responded to their scheme by monumentalising and simplifying some of the motifs while ignoring others in order to achieve greater clarification. Other minor architects also left a mark on his designs, but never profoundly, as they are generally a single citation of a particular motif. Of these Lambardi and Buzio are the most important as their respective facades of Santa Francesca Romana and Il Gesù e Maria introduced allusions to Palladian temple fronts into the Roman ambit. **[figs. 162, 163]** Palladio's superimposed temple front motif was not fully expressed however and their ambiguous solutions in some respect anticipate Domenichino's church facades I B and III D. Orazio Torriani at San Lorenzo in Miranda incorporated the ruined temple front of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and this can be seen as making a contribution to Domenichino's much more convincing design of church facades based on temple fronts particularly sketch II E. The late 1620s and the following decade saw a profusion of Roman rectangular two-storey façades with Nicolo and Orazio Torriani's San Domenico e Sisto, Soria's San Gregorio Magno (1629) and Rosati's San Carlo ai Catinari (1636-8). In light of the late date these facades are unlikely to have had any influence on Domenichino's rectangular facade designs I A, II B and III C. More likely sources are della Porta's San Luigi dei Francesi (1589), Ponzio's San Sebastiano (1609), Serlio's church

façade fol.111 in Book 7 and, most importantly, Michelangelo's San Lorenzo proposal.

Ammannati's garden façade for the Villa Medici is strongly represented in the church façade II D but given the similarities of the sketch to Ponzio's project for the Bolognese church of S. Pietro this influence is less strong than it first seems. Nowhere else do we encounter any discernible influence from Ammannati.

Of course, Domenichino's entire imitative approach is rooted in his artistic formation under the Carracci in Bologna, and later during his Roman period such affinities with imitation were further encouraged by his training under Annibale. His shared interests and close friendship with the Bolognese art theorist, Giovanni Battista Agucchi, helped to develop his personal approach that should also encompass architecture. The strong personal impact of these two men in terms of imitation is pivotal and how this is reflected in Domenichino's artistic outlook and his works merits a closer analysis.

Annibale had no great affinity with architecture, nevertheless his decorative schemes of feigned sculptural-architectural ornament in the Galleria and the Camerino Farnese would leave their mark on Domenichino's architectural thinking. A drawing in Windsor Castle of a section of the vault of the Galleria Farnese is particularly suggestive in this regard as it focuses solely on the sculptural architectural framework leaving the *quadri riportati* panel blank. The *cupola* of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori and the ceiling in the Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi at Bassano di Sutri, both early commissions, prove the point. The feigned stucchi decorations incorporate motifs of pairs of sphinxes that are closely modelled on those in Annibale's Camerino and Galleria Farnese. While the wall monuments for Girolamo Cardinal Agucchi share some of these decorative elements from these sources, Domenichino ventures into new territory as feigned stucchi become sculpturally expressed and an integral part of their architectural framework. Agucchi's Roman tomb monument, for

example, incorporates full relief sphinxes and the Bolognese wall monument is crowned by a group of reclining ignudi and supporters in full relief reminiscent of the *trompe l'oeil* version of terms and ignudi in the Galleria Farnese. In terms of motifs this source still has a strong presence in Domenichino's proposals for the interior schemes for *ville* usually associated with the Stanza di Apollo from 1616 and even more so the Vigna Ludovisi from 1621-23. Once more we encounter the combination of load-bearing figures - this time terms and *ignudi*. Later the linkage of sculpture and architecture becomes fully established in executed projects. The altar of the Porfirio chapel serves as a good example, but due to the greater architectural complexity Sant'Andrea della Valle and the Cappella della Strada Cupa become more significant. Nevertheless even at this late stage of Domenichino's Roman career feigned stucchi appear in the manner of Annibale, most prominently the ignudi and putti above the windows of the apse of Sant'Andrea della Valle. In the face of this it cannot be doubted that Domenichino depended on Annibale's ornamental vocabulary in his early career and it subsequently evolved into a personal style, adhering to Annibale's language over decades but releasing it from its *trompe l'oeil* existence into a space as sculpture integrated with architecture.

As in painting, imitation in architecture serves Domenichino as a vehicle for overcoming the paralysis of mannerism that had left a generation of buildings with little excitement in terms of ornament, wall articulation, movement and verticality or classical virtues like balance, equilibrium and most of all a rich and often columnar articulation of the orders. Nor did this generation of architects, Giacomo del Duca apart, attempt any real 'mastication' of Michelangelo. In his imitative process Domenichino did not ignore mannerist architecture, but his focus was on classical antiquity followed by Renaissance as he widened his range of sources beyond that, thus imbuing architecture with a language that marks the advent of a classical baroque style. With logical consequence he did for architecture what Annibale and the Scuola degli Incamminati had done for painting before him.

Conclusion

Already at an early in Domenichino's career as an independent artist visual evidence of his interest in architecture is 'written' on the wall. *The Building of the Abbey Church,* one of the two main frescoes in the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori from 1608-09, is a rare depiction of the range of activities on a building site. **[page 258]** The consultation between architect and patron about the plan of the abbey is the central motif, set against the background of the demolition of an ancient structure making way for the yet unfinished new abbey. Building materials, including precious *spoglie,* are transported, reshaped, fitted and recycled and this process is shown with the variety of necessary skilled and unskilled labour, tools and construction equipment. Prominently in the foreground an ancient sarcophagus with a relief of a reclining male is carefully moved centre stage in order to play some part during the construction process.[251] Indeed, the entire composition of this building cycle poignantly depicts the birth of the new from the demise of the old by recycling and modifying not only *spoglie* but the language of classical architecture itself.

Domenichino hardly aspired to depict an authentic illustration of the original construction of the medieval abbey and its church in the year 1008. Leaving the narrative of the miraculous arrest of the tumbling column aside we may read his fresco either as a depiction of contemporary building practices or as being neatly in line with the subject matter of this thesis as Domenichino's appreciation of classical sources as a point of departure for his own novel style as an architect.

In any case this final piece of visual evidence presented here should further dispel any blunt notions about Domenichino's amateurishness. Had the various architectural

[251] Spear, Richard, Domenichino, New Haven, London, 1982, p.163 This sarcophagus is a copy from an ancient Antoinine relief in the Abbey's collection.

drawings mentioned by Baglione[252] and the "libro de' pensieri d'Istorie, ornate e architetture del Domenichino"[253] survived, it surely would have attested to Domenichino's expertise as a knowledgeable and innovative architect. Nevertheless the existing small architectural - sculptural oeuvre of a few drawings and even fewer executed commissions already reveals a fecund and inventive architectural mind. This thesis goes beyond previous studies of Domenichino's architecture, revealing for the first time inherent complexities and riches that emerge from the close scrutiny of his *oeuvre.* It led to new discoveries in relation to his Sant'Ignazio proposals and throws new light on his drawings of church facades and wall monuments. In respect of executed projects associated with his name a fresh look reveals novel insights and revisits questions raised by others concerning his role in some of these projects.

While his predilection to draw on a wide range of architectural sources has already been stated in the literature no detailed analysis of his use of sources and imitative strategies had yet been undertaken. Exploring this key aspect of Domenichino's architectural *oeuvre* shows him to be more experimental than systematic nevertheless persistently and consistently drawing on fundamental architectural themes sourced from across the ages. While diverse regional styles are relevant for his paintings and frescoes, Roman sources from across the ages have an overwhelming influence on his architecture. Only a few Northern sources are discernible, most notably the projects for Bolognese church facades by Girolamo Rainaldi, Ponzio and Maderno. In relation to Domenichino's Sant'Ignazio proposals Mazenta's free-standing columnar scheme in S. Salvatore, Bologna and Giovanni Tristano's Serliane in the nave of Il Gesù in Ferrara provide the strongest northern examples. Rather unexpectedly, French influences, otherwise rare in the Roman ambit, are notable in the articulations of one of the dome proposals for Sant'Ignazio and in some minor features of the Vigna Ludovisi.

[252] Baglione, Giovanni, Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, Architetti, ed Intagliatori dal Pontificato di Gregorio XII del 1572. fino a' tempi de Papa Urbano VIII. nel 1642, Rome, 1642, p. 385
[253] Galli, 1927, p. 238, no. 111

My systematic analysis illuminates the mechanics of Domenichino's imitative strategies. Distilling the essence of fundamental and iconic architectural themes is his first step; intent on rediscovering the architectural essentials of ancient prototypes he focuses on individual salient features and shifts the emphasis from design to design. A point in case is the triumphal arch motif: the triple arch might dominate one design while elsewhere the emphasis might rest on its columnar scheme, or the motif might be reduced to an attic articulation in another instance. In order to explore its columnar articulation the temple front motif is liberated from its meek mannerist articulations so prevalent in contemporary Roman architectural practice. The interior Pantheon motif is used to expand façade articulation into novel spatial schemes. His imitative strategies, however, go much further by fusing diverse classical architectural archetypal prototypes with each other and also with modern schemes. This fusion of prototypes creates novel compositions which are varied across diverse designs or even within one scheme. One theme may be given prominence while the second is deliberately concealed. In the nave of Sant'Ignazio, for example, the Serliana is cast as a main theme and fused with a rather more concealed triumphal arch motif.

Most notable is Domenichino's affinity with Michelangelo's works such as the Medici tombs, the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the Porta Pia and Saint Peter's. No other Roman architect before him, with the exception of Giacomo del Duca, was engaged in Michelangelo's inventions with such understanding. This affinity with the great master is perhaps rooted in Domenichino's complex artistic personality. Although less prolific and possessing a different emphasis he was, like Michelangelo, active in the three visual arts and as a parallel to Michelangelo the poet, Domenichino was an inventor and maker of musical instruments. This shared broad artistic outlook coupled with an admiration of classical antiquity and the Renaissance was unique in the early seventeenth century and stood in contrast to the rather pragmatic engineering concerns of post-Fontana architects such as Maderno, Ponzio, Vasanzio, and late sixteenth-century practitioners like Vignola and della Porta. Domenichino was rather guided by formal concerns that, while based on tradition, would open up new territory. Perhaps it was this interest in fundamental architectural forms and their renewal that led to his embrace of Michelangelo's work as it heretofore represented

the most forceful precedent for an imitative strategy that modernised antiquity. Stylistically, however, Domenichino did not follow the path this great master had taken before him. Even in his synthesis of Michelangelesque schemes with antique motifs he was careful not to relinquish decorum to *terribilità*. Instead of shattering the vocabulary of classical architecture he preserved it. By classicising Michelangelesque schemes he articulates them with the intent of imbuing them with decorum. We have seen this in the church facades and Agucchi's tomb monument in San Pietro in Vincoli is a realised albeit comparatively modest example. This reciprocal relationship between the ancient and the modern is not only confined to Michelangelo; amongst others, the most notable modern theme subjected to ancient prototypes is the Gesù façade.

A key motif, this façade-type is often used for the exploration of the aedicule. Not only does the range of aedicular variations illustrate once more Domenichino's inventiveness, but also his predilection for verticality, which he brings here to its logical conclusion, at least simultaneously, if not even slightly earlier than the first northern examples. Moreover his treatment of the aedicule shows how an adopted motif when subjected to an imitative strategy, could have instigated an innovative shift towards a vertical articulation of the Roman church façade, if it had been built.

As Michelangelo's innovative use of the interior Pantheon motif in the vestibule of the Laurentian Library is an apt example of the successful application of an imitative strategy in the emergence of an architectural style so is Domenichino's vertical articulation of the aedicule for church façades. This is, however, just one of many examples of his architectural thinking where both imitative strategy and architectural style result in a novel use of established architectural form. In contrast to Michelangelo, Domenichino's use of the interior Pantheon motif in his church facades is far less radical and by no means shocking. If built, however, these facades would have anticipated the High-Baroque innovations of Cortona's S. Maria della Pace and S. Maria in Via Lata. Nor do we find the same innate tension of Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori in Domenichino's imitative use of its combination of orders.

If built, however, his designs would have anticipated the High-Baroque innovations of Bernini's Santuario di Galloro and Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. We do, however, find in Santa Maria in Trastevere a ceiling design of a geometry which is unparalleled anywhere in Rome, built more than twenty years before Borromini's dome of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane. And let us not forget Domenichino's drawings of temple front facades that look forward to those built by Carlo Rainaldi in the Piazza del Popolo forty years later.

Contrary to Blunt's verdict of Domenichino as an amateurish architect mainly following the mode of the late Cinquecento this demonstrates that he was rather more at home among High Baroque architects than in the realm of his contemporaries or predecessors of the late bygone century.[254]

It is true to say that works by the generation of Maderno, Ponzio, Lambardi as well as Vignola and della Porta do indeed resonate in Domenichino's *ouevre*, but, guided by the philosophy of imitation, he took their best parts and transformed them through a change of context and by modifying them with a new compositional sensibility for legibility, simplicity, rich plasticity and sculptural ornament.

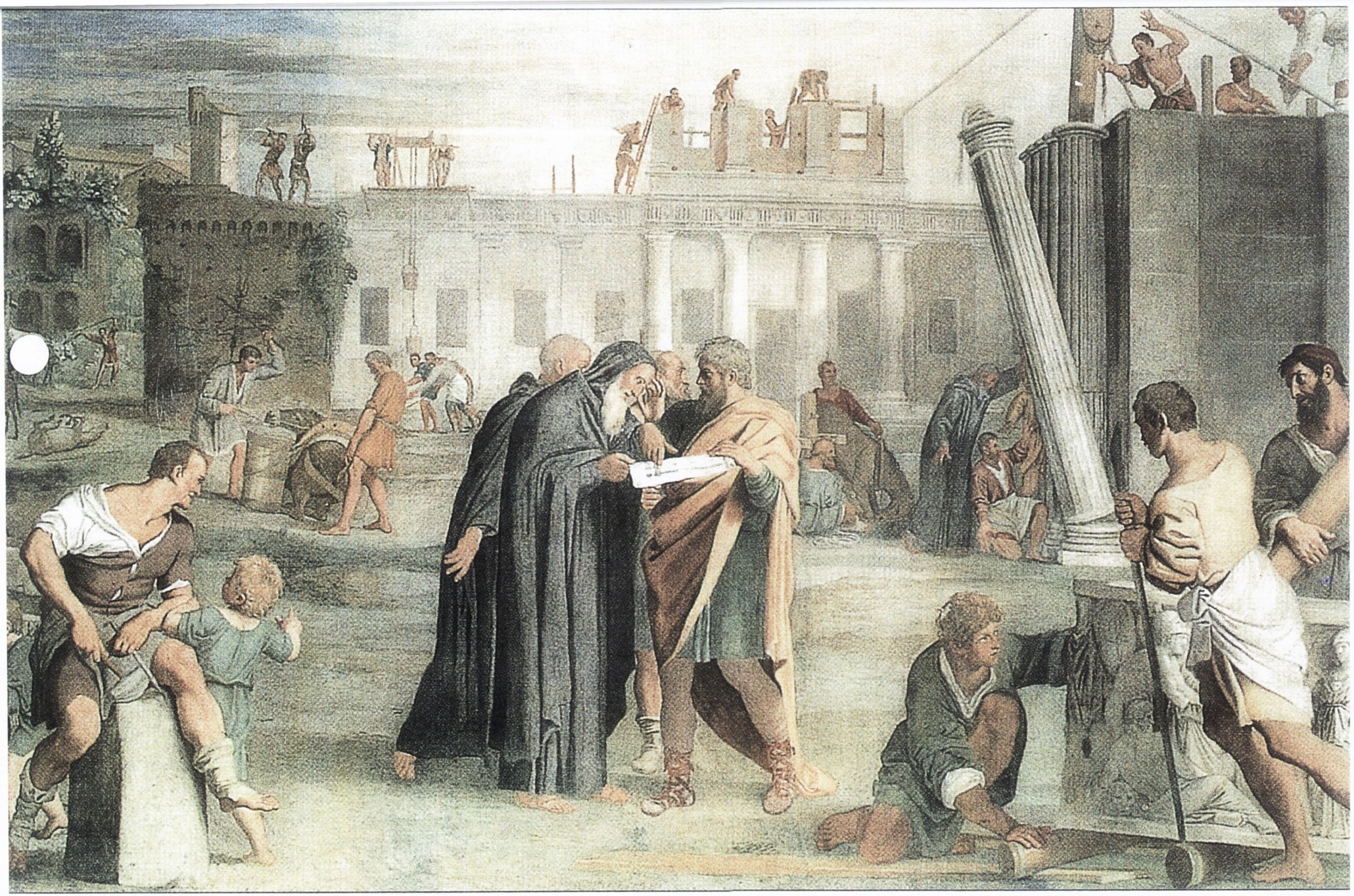
Of deep relevance for his Sant'Ignazio proposal are S. Peter's early designs from Bramante, Raphael and Peruzzi. Not only does this lead to columnar articulations, unusual for his time but to even more unusual spatial configurations on a monumental scale. Domenichino's sometimes witty illusionism draws on the same three sources and in this context we also need to remember his mentor Annibale Carracci, himself a follower of Raphael, who imparted a decorative vocabulary that is present throughout Domenichino's entire *oeuvre,* where it frequently becomes an integral part of the architectural-sculptural fabric. From Raphael to Annibale to Domenichino we can establish, as it were, a genealogy of ornament, which helps to raise interesting

[254] Blunt, Anthony, 'The Other Side of the Medal' in Art History, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1980, p. 63

observations in terms of Domenichino's participation in relation to the façade articulation of the Vigna Ludovisi. Many of these influences are discussed here for the first time and the last to name is his fellow Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio, whose illustrations of triumphal arches in his books on architecture clearly served Domenichino as templates for some of his own church facades, a fact established in the analysis of the use of the triumphal arch motif.

A measure of successful imitation is the right distance between source and design. In Domenichino's case it is at the same time brief enough for the recognition of sources but long enough for innovation. That fine balance is based on his understanding of the language of classical architecture, in particular its fundamental motifs, his knowledge of sources and his range of imitative strategies that are applied with the courage to vary and experiment. His choices, eclectic in a chronological rather than geographical sense, inform his architectural style and speak consistently of his affinity with the concept of the ideal and of beauty. Had Domenichino the architect, been given a better chance to make his mark the architectural paralysis that lasted from the latter decades of the sixteenth century into the early decades of the seventeenth century would have ended much earlier than it did.

This thesis offers new observations that raise old questions about Domenichino's uncertain input in some projects; definite answers still, however, remain elusive. It uncovers and describes for the first time in the literature the complexities of the Sant'Ignazio proposals where a lot, but not everything, is clarified about Domenichino's spatial concern thus leaving room for further research. Uncertainties concerning his architectural education and career continue to exist, as this aspect was not part of the remit of this research. Nevertheless through description and revelation I endeavoured to do justice to Domenichino's architecture and I hope this to be an impetus for further research which will contribute significantly to releasing his *oeuvre* from its undeserved obscurity.



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