CHAPTER 11

'HIGH BAROQUE CLASSICISM': SACCHI, ALGARDI, AND DUQUESNOY

THE foregoing chapters have been devoted to the three great masters of the High Baroque. Older artists, mainly Guercino and Lanfranco, had decisively contributed in the 1620s to the Baroque surge, to which the Bolognese classicism of the second decade had to yield. Although the authority of all these masters was tremendous, it remained by no means unchallenged; the voices of moderation, rationalism, and partisanship with the classical cause were not drowned for long. In the 1630s new men formed a powerful phalanx. They knew how to fight and even win their battles. The most distinguished artists of this group are the Frenchman Poussin, the Roman painter Andrea Sacchi, and two sculptors, the Bolognese Alessandro Algardi and the Fleming Francesco Duquesnoy. What they stand for is not a straight continuation of Bolognese classicism, but a revised version, tinged to a certain extent by the influence of the great masters and, in painting, by a new impact of Venetian colourism which was shared by the leading 'Baroque' artists, Lanfranco, Cortona, and Bernini. Compared with the Early Baroque classicism, the new classicism was first rather boisterous and painterly; it has a physiognomy of its own, and it is this style that by rights may be termed 'High Baroque classicism'.

ANDREA SACCHI (1599–1661)

For Poussin's development and the principles he believed in, the reader must be referred to Sir Anthony Blunt's masterly presentation.[1] The Italian leader of the movement was Sacchi.[2] Reared in Rome, he was trained by Albani, first in his native city, later at Bologna; but from about 1621 he was back in Rome for good. In contrast to the dynamic Baroque artists a slow producer, critical of himself, bent on theorizing, he was by temperament and training predisposed to embrace the classical gospel. Yet his earliest large altarpiece, the *Virgin and Child appearing to St Isidore* (after 1622, S. Isidoro), is still much indebted to Lodovico Carracci. Probably less than three years later he painted the *St Gregory and the Miracle of the Corporal* (1625–7, Vatican Pinacoteca; Plate 94A), which reveals a mature and great master. With its rich and warm colours painted in a light key and its splendid loose handling, this work may be regarded as the first masterpiece of the new manner. The story, taken from Paulus Diaconus, illustrates how the cloth with which the chalice had been cleaned is pierced with a dagger by the pope and begins to bleed. The stranger who had doubted its magic quality sinks on to his knee, amazed and convinced. His two companions echo his wonderment, but the pope and his deacons are unperturbed. Sacchi had learned his lesson from Raphael's *Mass of Bolsena* and rendered the story in similar psychological terms: the calmness of those firm in their faith is

contrasted to the excitement of the uninitiated. A minimum of figures, six in all, invites detailed scrutiny and enhances the effect of the silent drama. The organization of the canvas with its prominent triangle of three figures is essentially classical. But there is no central axis, and the cross of spatial diagonals allies the design to advanced compositional tendencies. Moreover the tight grouping of massive figures and the emphatic pull exercised by those turned into the picture belong to the Baroque repertory. The *St Gregory* is exactly contemporary with Cortona's Bibiana frescoes (Plate 87), and it is evident that at this moment the antagonism between the two artists, though latent, has not yet come into the open – on the contrary, both works reveal similar intense qualities and clearly form a 'common front' if compared with works of the older Bolognese or the Caravaggisti.

We have seen that shortly after the *St Gregory* Sacchi worked with and under Cortona at Castel Fusano (1627–9). At that time their ideological and artistic differences must have begun to clash. A few years later Sacchi had moved far from the position of the *St Gregory*, as is proved by his best-known work, the *Vision of St Romuald*[3] (Vatican Pinacoteca; Plate 94B). Here under the shadow of a magnificent tree, the saint is telling the brethren his dream about the ladder leading to heaven on which the deceased members of the Order ascend to Paradise. The choice and rendering of the subject are characteristic for Sacchi: instead of employing the Baroque language of rhetoric, he creates real drama in terms of intense introspection in the faces and attitudes, and the soft Venetian gold tone permeating this symphony in white is in perfect harmony with the pensive and deeply serious frame of mind of the listening monks. Within Sacchi's range, the *St Gregory* is by comparison 'loud' and trenchant colouristically, compositionally, and psychologically. The Baroque massiveness of the figures has now been considerably reduced; in addition they are moved away from the picture plane and face the beholder. All his later work is painted in a similar low key and with a similar attention to psychological penetration and concentration on bare essentials. In the 1640s he went a step further beyond the *St Romuald*. The principal work of this period, the eight canvases illustrating the *Life of the Baptist* painted for the lantern of S. Giovanni in Fonte (1641–9),[4] shows that he wanted to strip his style of even the slightest embroidery. Trained on Raphael, he reached a degree of classical simplicity that is the precise Italian counterpart to Poussin's development of these years.[5]

Sacchi's and Cortona's ways parted seriously during their work in the Palazzo Barberini. As Cardinal Antonio Barberini's protégé, Sacchi was given the task of painting on the ceiling of one room *Divine Wisdom* (1629–33;[6] Plate 93), illustrating the apocryphal text from the *Wisdom of Solomon* (6: 22): 'If therefore ye delight in thrones and sceptres, ye princes of peoples, honour wisdom, that ye may reign for ever.' Possibly finished in the year in which Cortona began his *Divine Providence*, the two works, with their implicit allegorical references to the Barberini Pope, supplement each other as far as the theme is concerned. But how different from Cortona's is Sacchi's approach to his task! Divine Wisdom enthroned over the world is surrounded by eleven female personifications symbolizing her qualities in accordance with the text. Sacchi represented the scene with the minimum number of figures in tranquil poses; they convey their sublime

role by their being rather than by their acting. Raphael's *Parnassus* was the model that he tried to emulate. He renounced illusionism and painted the scene as if it were a *quadro riportato* – an easel-painting. But he did not return to the position of Bolognese classicism, for the fresco is not framed and the entire ceiling has become its stage. Although the affinities with Domenichino cannot be overlooked, the light and loose handling is much closer to Lanfranco.

The Controversy between Sacchi and Cortona

Cortona's and Sacchi's vastly different interpretations of great allegorical frescoes reflect, of course, differences of principles and convictions, which were voiced in the discussions of the Accademia di S. Luca during these years.[7] The controversy centred round the old problem, whether few or many figures should be used in illustrating a historical theme. The partisans of classical art theory had good reasons to advocate compositions with few figures. According to this theory, the story in a picture should be rendered in terms of expression, gesture, and movement. These are the means at the painter's disposal to express the 'ideas in man's mind' – which Leonardo regarded as the principal concern of the good painter. It is only in compositions with few figures (Alberti admits nine or ten) that each figure can be assigned a distinct part by virtue of its expression, gesture, and movement, and can thus contribute a characteristic feature to the whole. In a crowded composition, single figures are evidently deprived of individuality and particularized meaning.

Another aspect supported these conclusions. Since painters had always borrowed their terms of reference from poetry (stimulated by Horace's 'ut pictura poesis'),[8] they maintained that a picture must be 'read' like a poem or tragedy, where not only does each person have his clearly circumscribed function, but where the Aristotelian unities also pertain.

Pietro da Cortona fully accepted the traditional assumption that the familiar concepts of poetical theory apply to painting. But he pleaded for paintings with many figures, thus departing from classical theory. He compared the structure of painted plots to that of the epic. Like an epic, a painting must have a main theme and many episodes. These are vital, he maintained, in order to give the painting magnificence, to link up groups, and to facilitate the division into compelling areas of light and shade. The episodes in painting may be compared to the chorus in ancient tragedy, and, like the chorus, they must be subordinate to the principal theme. Sacchi, by contrast, insisted unequivocally that painting must vie with tragedy: the fewer figures the better; simplicity and unity are of the essence.[9] It is now clear that both masters made the theoretical position which they defended explicit in their work.

If we can here follow the formation or rather consolidation of two opposing camps, it is also evident that Cortona never dreamed of throwing overboard the whole intellectual framework of classical art theory. Like Bernini, he subscribed to its basic tenets but modified them in a particular direction. On the other hand, the circle round Poussin, Sacchi, Algardi, and Duquesnoy was a strong party which would never waive its con-

victions. His French rationalism and discipline carried Poussin even further than Sacchi; as early as the end of the 1620s he endeavoured to emulate ancient tragedy by reducing the *Massacre of the Innocents* (Chantilly) to a single dramatic group. The stiffening of the theoretical position may be assessed by comparing Poussin's *Massacre* with Reni's, of 1611.

Sacchi himself further clarified his theoretical standpoint in the studio talk given at about this time to his pupil Francesco Lauri (1610–35),[10] and later in a letter written on 28 October 1651 to his teacher, Francesco Albani.[11] In the former document he reiterated the basic repertory of the classical theory by concentrating on decorum and the rendering of the *affetti*,[12] gestures and expression. He advocated natural movement and turned against the obscurantism produced by rhetorical embroidery and every kind of excess, such as the overdoing of draperies. In the letter to Albani, concerned with similar problems, he laments with extremely sharp words the neglect of propriety and decorum which has caused the decay of the art of painting. Albani, in his answer, strikes a new note by deriding the choice of tavern scenes and similar low subjects, for which he makes the northern artists responsible. Against their degrading of high principles, he upholds the ideals of Raphael, Michelangelo, and Annibale Carracci.[13]

Albani's targets were, of course, the Bamboccianti. Sacchi's controversy with Cortona, by contrast, was on the level of 'high art'. Equal is speaking to equal, and the differences are fought out in the lofty atmosphere of the Academy. The theoretical rift, though, and its practical consequences are clear enough. It did not, however, prevent Cortona from frequenting the circle of artists who were opposed to his views. We are not astonished to find that Cortona, in the *Treatise*[14] which he published together with the Jesuit Ottonelli in 1652, upheld the traditional ideals of propriety and decorum and also insisted on the moral function of art. But side by side with this appears the concept of Art as pure form without an extraneous *raison d'être*. Thus the Baroque antithesis *docere–delectare*[15] makes its entry into the theory of art, and the hedonistic principle of delight as the purpose of painting comes into its own. In keeping with this, Cortona's art has an outspoken sensual quality, while Sacchi, classicist and moralist like Poussin, refrains more and more from appealing to the senses.

There is no doubt that Sacchi and his circle won the day. Not only did he and his confrères pursue relentlessly the aim of cleansing their art of Baroque reminiscences, but they extended their influence to Cortona's pupils, such as Francesco Romanelli and Giacinto Gimignani (1611–81), and made possible in the 1640s the ascendancy in Rome of archaizing painters like Sassoferrato (1609–85) and Giovan Domenico Cerrini (1609–81). Even the great Baroque masters were touched by their ideas, and Bernini himself, after his abortive classicizing phase of the 1630s, found a new approach to this problem in his old age. The classical wave surged far beyond the confines of the artistic capital and threatened to quell a free development in such vigorous art centres as Bologna. Moreover the classical point of view received literary support, not dogmatically perhaps, from the painter and biographer of artists Giovanni Battista Passeri, the friend of Algardi and Sacchi, and most determinedly from Giovanni Bellori (1615–96), the learned antiquarian, the intimate of Poussin and Duquesnoy, and the mouthpiece and universally acclaimed promoter of the classical cause.

Even if it is correct that Monsignor Agucchi (p. 14) anticipated Bellori's ideas, the old battles were fought on new fronts. While Agucchi had turned against Caravaggio's 'naturalism' and the *maniera* painters, Sacchi, Bellori and the rest sustained the classic-idealistic theory against the Baroque masters and the Bamboccianti, the painters of the lower genre. In the light of this fact, we may once again confirm that 'Baroque classicism' dates from the beginning of the 1630s. Before that time no serious collision took place. It was only from the seventeenth century on that there existed real dissenters, and, therefore, classicism had to dig in. While at the beginning of the century there was a large degree of theoretical flexibility, the attitude of the defenders of classicism had to become, and became, less tractable after 1630; and as the century advanced the breach between the opposing camps widened – until in the wake of Poussin the French Academy turned the classical creed into a pedantic doctrine. The Italians proved more supple. Sacchi's position was taken up by his pupil Carlo Maratti, who handed on the classical gospel to the eighteenth century and ultimately to Mengs and to Winckelmann, the real father of Neo-classicism and passionate enemy of all things Baroque. Pietro da Cortona, on the other hand, must be regarded as the ancestor of the hedonistic trend which led via Luca Giordano to the masters of the French and Italian Rococo.[16]

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (1598–1654)[17]

No sculptor of the seventeenth century bears comparison with Bernini. Indeed, in the second quarter of the century there existed in Rome, apart from his studio, only two independent studios of some importance: those of Algardi and Duquesnoy. The latter was a solitary character; with the exception of the statue of St Andrew in St Peter's, he never had a large commission, he never had a devoted pupil, and his considerable influence was exercised through the objective qualities of his work rather than through the fascination of his personality.[18] The case of Algardi is different. For a short time his studio had some similarity to that of Bernini. During the last fifteen years of his life he had to cope with numerous and extensive commissions; and, after Bernini's, his reputation as a sculptor had no equal between about 1635 and his death in 1654. At the beginning of Innocent X's reign (1644 ff.), at a time when the greater man was temporarily out of favour, he even stepped into Bernini's place.

Algardi, coming from Bologna where he had frequented the Academy of the aged Lodovico Carracci and studied sculpture with the mediocre Giulio Cesare Conventi (1577–1640), reached Rome in 1625 after a stay of some years at Mantua. He came with a recommendation from the Duke of Mantua to Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi, himself a Bolognese and the owner of a celebrated collection of ancient sculpture,[19] and established contact with his Bolognese compatriots, above all with Domenichino. Cardinal Ludovisi entrusted him with the restoration of antique statues,[20] while Domenichino negotiated for him his first Roman commission of some importance: the statues of Mary Magdalen (Plate 95A) and St John the Evangelist for the Cappella Bandini in S. Silvestro

al Quirinale (*c.* 1628). These data indicate the components of his style, which derived from the classically tempered realism of the Carracci Academy, the close study of, and constant work with, ancient statuary, and his association with men like Domenichino, the staunch upholder of the classical *disegno*. As one would expect, for the rest of his life Algardi belonged to the younger circle of artists with classical inclinations; and Poussin, Duquesnoy, and Sacchi were among his friends.

Yet in spite of the difference of talent and temperament, education and artistic principles, Algardi was immediately fascinated by Bernini: witness his figure of Mary Magdalen (Plate 95A), the style of which is half-way between the subjectivism of Bernini's *Bibiana* and the classicism of Duquesnoy's *Susanna* (Plate 95B). In fact Algardi remained to a certain extent dependent on his great rival. This is also apparent in his early portrait busts; that of Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Millini (d. 1629) in S. Maria del Popolo is unthinkable without Bernini's *Bellarmine*, while that of Monsignor Odoardo Santarelli in S. Maria Maggiore, probably belonging to Algardi's earliest productions in this field, follows closely Bernini's *Montoya*.

Nevertheless, Bernini's and Algardi's approach to portraiture differed considerably. A comparison between Bernini's *Scipione Borghese* of 1632 (Plate 54B) and Algardi's perhaps earlier *Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia* in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Plate 96A),[21] makes this abundantly clear. In contrast to the transitory moment chosen by Bernini, Algardi represents his sitter, with his mouth closed, in a state of permanence and tranquil existence. Scipione Borghese seems to converse with us, while Algardi's cardinal remains static, immobile for ever. Even the most meticulous attention to detail, down to wrinkles and warts, and the most able treatment of skin, hair, and fur does not help to give such portraits Bernini's dynamic vitality. Compared with Bernini, who never loses sight of the whole to which every part is subordinated, Algardi's busts look like aggregates of an infinite number of careful observations made before the sitter. All forms and shapes are trenchant and precise and retain their individuality: this is a decisive aspect of Algardi's 'realist classicism'. But for solidity and seriousness his portraits are unequalled; the mere bulk of any of his early busts brings the sitter physiologically close to us, and in this weightiness consists the High Baroque community of spirit not only with Bernini but also with Cortona and the early Sacchi.[22]

Algardi's genius for the sober representation of character has always been admired. The number of portrait busts by his hand is considerable, and it seems that many of them were done during his first years in Rome. In any case, it would appear that already in the course of the 1630s Algardi had begun to move away from his intense realism. Abandoning the warm and vivid treatment of the surface and the subtle differentiation of texture, he replaced the freshness of the early works by a noble aloofness in his later busts. One of the finest busts of that period, the stylish Pamphili prince (after 1644, Rome, Palazzo Doria; Plate 96B), exhibits this classicism to perfection.[23] Thus, not unlike Sacchi, Algardi steers towards a more determined classicality.

In 1629 Algardi's reputation was not yet sufficiently established for him to be considered for one of the four monumental statues under the dome of St Peter's. He was in his fortieth year when the first great commission, the tomb of Leo XI, fell to him; and

it was not until 1640 that he was offered another monumental task: the over-life-size statue of St Philip Neri in S. Maria in Vallicella, in which he followed closely the example set by Guido Reni in the same church. Then, under Innocent X, the commissions came in quick succession.[24] Between 1649 and 1650 he executed the memorial statue of Innocent X in bronze as a counterpart to Bernini's earlier statue of Urban VIII (Palazzo dei Conservatori). Once again Algardi was impressed by Bernini; but instead of suppressing detailed characterization as Bernini had done, his pope has been rendered with minutest care and is, indeed, a great masterpiece of portraiture. Yet for all its intimate qualities the statue lacks the visionary power of its counterpart. Algardi did not accept the hieratic frontality of Bernini's *Urban*; he turned his statue in a more benevolent attitude towards the left; he considerably toned down the great diagonal of the papal cope, and transformed an energetic and commanding gesture into one of restraint and halting movement. He weakened the power of the blessing arm by the linear and decorative folds of the mantle, while Bernini enhanced the poignancy of benediction by pushing the arm forcefully forward into the beholder's space.

The execution of Leo XI's tomb (Plate 97A), extending over many years,[25] ran parallel with that of Bernini's tomb of Urban VIII. But Algardi, beginning six years after Bernini, must have been familiar with Bernini's design. Leo's tomb is, in fact, the first papal tomb dependent on that of Urban VIII. All the salient features recur: the pyramidal arrangement of three figures, the blessing pope above the sarcophagus, and the allegories standing next to it in a zone before the papal figure. Algardi had to plan for an unsatisfactory position in one of the narrow passages of the left aisle of St Peter's. Bound by spatial restrictions, he reduced the structural parts to a minimum. At the same time, the absolute preponderance of the figures suited his classicizing stylistic tendencies. Algardi also supplied a narrative relief,[26] for which there was no room in the dynamic design of the Urban tomb. But during his classical phase Bernini did introduce a relief on the sarcophagus of the Countess Matilda monument in St Peter's (begun 1633), and slightly later on the tombs of the Raimondi Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio.[27] Algardi made use of this device, and his debt to the Matilda monument is borne out by the fact that he fitted his narrative biographical relief into a similar trapezoid shape.

If the compositional elements of Leo XI's tomb were thus derived from Bernini, Algardi departed from him most decisively in other respects. The tomb consists entirely of white Carrara marble. Algardi avoided the use of colour as emphatically as Bernini accepted it. Instead of a warm rendering of the skin and a luminous sparkle of the surface such as are found in Bernini's Urban tomb, Algardi's evenly-worked marbles have a cool, neutralized surface which is particularly evident in the head of the allegory of Courage. Instead of the transitory moment represented in Bernini's allegories, we find a permanent condition in those of Algardi. In fact, Algardi asserts his classical convictions in all and every respect, but I am far from suggesting that the result is a truly classical work. It is as far or even farther removed from Canova's classicism as Sacchi's paintings are from those of Mengs. Under the shadow of Bernini's overpowering genius, Algardi never even attempted to follow Sacchi the whole way. His tomb of Leo XI is a true monument of High Baroque classicism.

In contrast to this papal tomb, Algardi created a new Baroque species in his largest work, the relief representing the *Meeting of Leo and Attila* (1646–53, St Peter's; Plate 98).[28] The historical event of the year A.D. 452 was always regarded as a symbol of the miraculous salvation of the Church from overwhelming danger, and it was only appropriate to give this scene pride of place in St Peter's. Much indebted to Raphael's example, Algardi's interpretation of the event is simple and convincing. As in Raphael's fresco, only pope and king perceive the miraculous apparition of the Apostles; the followers on both sides are still unaware of it. The rigidly maintained triple division of the left half, right half, and the upper zone results from the story, the protagonists of which dominate the scene. Once the traditional reserve towards this relief has been overcome, one cannot but admire its compositional logic and psychological clarity. Its unusual size of nearly 25 feet height has often led to the fallacious belief that its style, too, has no forerunners; but in fact the history of the illusionistic relief dates back to the early days of the Renaissance, to Donatello and Ghiberti. In contrast, however, to the *rilievo scacciato* of the Renaissance, Algardi desisted from creating a coherent optical space and used mainly gradations in the projection of figures to produce the illusion of depth. The flatter the relief grows, the more the figures seem to recede into the distance, while the more they stand out, the nearer they are to us. The figures in the most forward layer of the relief are completely three-dimensional and furnish transitions between artistic and real space; the problem of spatial organization is thus turned into one of psychological import and emotional participation.

After Algardi had created this prototype, such reliefs were preferred to paintings whenever circumstances permitted it. This was probably due to the fact that a relief is a species half-way, as it were, between pictorial illusion and reality, for the bodies have real volume, there is real depth, and there is a gradual transition between the beholder's space and that of the relief. More effectively than illusionist painting, the painterly relief satisfied the Baroque desire to efface the boundaries between life and art, spectator and figure. Only periods which demand self-sufficiency of the work of art will protest against such figures as the Attila, who seems to hurry out of the relief into our space; for people of the Baroque era it was precisely this motif that allowed them fully to participate in Attila's excitement in the presence of the miracle. But now it is important to realize why it was Algardi rather than Bernini who brought into being the pictorial relief of the Baroque.

In Bernini's work, reliefs are of relatively little consequence; it seems that they did not satisfy his desire for spatial interpenetration of sculpture and life. A relief is, after all, framed like a picture, and consequently the illusion it creates cannot be complete. If we recall Bernini's handling of plastic masses which invade real space without limiting frames (p. 105), Algardi's *Attila* appears by comparison temperate, controlled, and relegated to the sphere of art. It would not be difficult to show that this difference between Bernini's and Algardi's approach cannot be explained by the hazards or demands inherent in different commissions. While Bernini seeks to eliminate the very difference between painting, relief, and free-standing sculpture, Algardi meticulously preserves the essential character of each species.

His interpretation of a free-standing group can best be studied in his *Decapitation of St Paul* (1641–7, Bologna, S. Paolo; Plate 99).[29] The two figures of the executioner and the saint are placed within a framing semicircle of columns behind the main altar. Entirely isolated, each figure shows an uninterrupted silhouette and preserves its block-like quality. It would have been contrary to Algardi's principles to detract from the clarity of these figures by placing them against a sculptured or 'picturesque' background. This is particularly revealing in view of the fact that he was stimulated by pictorial impressions: it was Sacchi's *Martyrdom of St Longinus* at Castelgandolfo that had a formative influence on his conception.[30]

The Attila relief was Algardi's most important legacy to posterity.[31] While a work like the *Decapitation of St Paul* with its Sacchesque gravity, simplicity, and psychological penetration illustrates excellently his partisanship with the classical cause, the more 'official' relief shows that, confronted with a truly monumental task, he was prepared to compromise and to attempt a reconciliation between the leading trend of Bernini's grand manner and the sobriety of classicism – between the impetuous art of a genius and his own more limited talents.

Francesco Duquesnoy (1597–1643)

Duquesnoy was probably a greater artist than Algardi; in any case, he was less prepared to compromise.[32] Born in Brussels in 1597, the son of the sculptor Jerôme Duquesnoy, he came to Rome in 1618 and stayed there until shortly before his premature death in 1643.[33] He was so thoroughly acclimatized that even the discerning eye will hardly discover anything northern in his art. Soon Duquesnoy was a leading figure in the circle of the classicists; after Poussin's arrival in Rome he shared a house with him, and he was on intimate terms with Sacchi. He also soon belonged to the group of artists who worked for Cassiano del Pozzo's *corpus* of classical antiquity (p. 152). But ten years went by before he became a well-known figure in the artistic life of Rome. Between 1627 and 1628 Bernini employed him on the sculptural decoration of the Baldacchino.[34] His reputation established, he was chosen to execute the *St Andrew*, one of the four giant statues under the dome of St Peter's. And in 1629 he received the commission for his most famous work, the statue of St Susanna in the choir of S. Maria di Loreto (Plates 95B and 100).[35]

For a study of Duquesnoy, one should first turn to this celebrated figure. Susanna originally held the martyr's palm in her right hand; with the left she is making a timid gesture towards the altar, while her face is turned in the direction of the congregation.[36] Bellori, a devoted admirer of Duquesnoy's art, maintained that it was impossible to achieve a more perfect synthesis of the study of nature and the idea of antiquity. Duquesnoy, he relates, worked for years from the model, while the ancient statue of Urania on the Capitol was always before his mind's eye. The stance and the fall of the drapery are, indeed, close to the Urania and other similar ancient figures. The contour of the statue is clear and uninterrupted and the studied *contrapposto* is utterly convincing: the leg on

which the weight of the body rests, the free-standing leg, the sloping line of the shoulders, the gentle turn of the head – all this is beautifully balanced and supported by the fall of dress and mantle. The folds are gathered together on the slightly protruding right hip, and it was precisely the classically poised treatment of the drapery that evoked the greatest enthusiasm at the time. Bellori regarded the *Susanna* as the canon of the modern draped figure of a saint. This judgement was perfectly justified, since there is hardly any other work in the history of sculpture, not excluding Bernini's most important statues, that had an effect as lasting as Duquesnoy's *Susanna*.

A comparison between the *Susanna* and Bernini's *Bibiana* of five years earlier (Plate 47A) makes the limpid and temperate simplicity of the *Susanna* all the more obvious, particularly if one considers that the *Bibiana* was well known to Duquesnoy, and that even he could not entirely dismiss her existence from his thoughts. Coming from the *Susanna*, one finds the stance of Bernini's figure ill-defined and the mantle obscuring rather than underlining the structure of the body. In contrast to the wilfully arranged fall of the folds in the *Bibiana*, the mantle of the *Susanna* strictly follows the laws of gravity; in contrast to the individual characterization of Bibiana's dress, Susanna is shown in the timeless attire of classical antiquity. Duquesnoy abstained from any indication of time and space; a simple slab, instead of a rock with vegetation, forms the base of the statue. It was not the individual fate of a saint, but the objective state of sainthood which he desired to portray. Consequently, he represented his saint in a state of mental and physical repose instead of selecting a transitory moment as Bernini had done. He gave shape to an ideal norm with the same compelling logic with which Bernini had characterized a fleeting instant and a fluctuating movement. No light is playing on the surface, the forms are firm, clear, and unchangeable, and any departure from such objectivity is carefully avoided.[37] The face of Susanna is shown with her mouth closed and her eyes gazing into space with the blank eyeballs of Roman statues; whereas Bernini made it a point to incise the iris and pupil, which gives the look direction and individual expression. Behind these two contrasting interpretations of saints lie the two different approaches: the Baroque and the classical, a subjective as opposed to an objective conception, dynamic intensity as opposed to rational discipline. The similarity of Sacchi's and Duquesnoy's developments is more than mere coincidence; both turn over a new leaf in 1629, the one with the *Divine Wisdom*, after having worked under Cortona at Castel Fusano, the other with the *Susanna*, after having worked under Bernini in St Peter's.

So far I have treated the *Susanna* and *Bibiana* as basically antagonistic, but this is not the whole story. Nobody with any knowledge of the history of sculpture would fail to date the *Susanna* in the seventeenth century. Sacchi's and Algardi's works have shown that this 'Baroque classicism' reveals symptoms characteristic of the period. The head of the *Susanna* displays a lyrical and delicate sweetness (Bellori called it 'un aria dolce di grazia purissima') such as is found neither in classical antiquity nor in the adored models of Raphael and his circle; but we do find the same sort of expression in paintings of the period, such as the almost exactly contemporary frescoes by Domenichino in the choir of S. Andrea della Valle; and conversely, echoes of the head of the *Susanna* are frequent in Sacchi's pictures. This essentially seventeenth-century sensibility and the stronger

sensations of ecstasy and vision do not differ intrinsically, but only in degree. The blending of classical purity of form with the expression of seventeenth-century susceptibility had an immense appeal for contemporaries, a fact which is borne out by the many replicas of the head of Susanna.[38] Moreover, a direct line leads from here to the often sentimental prettiness of the 'classicist Rococo'[39] of which Filippo della Valle's *Temperance* (Plate 169) may serve as an example. Not only has the head of the Susanna a distinctly seventeenth-century flavour: the porous and soft treatment of the surface, of skin, hair, and dress, which seems to impart warm life to the statue – a life that is completely lacking in most of the ancient models known to the seventeenth century – is typical of the spirit of the Baroque. Finally, with the subtle relations between the statue, the altar, and the congregation, Duquesnoy enlarged the spiritual relevance of his figure beyond its material boundaries. Thus he advanced some steps along the path which Bernini followed to the end.

The case of the *Susanna* is closely paralleled by Duquesnoy's *St Andrew* (1629–40; Plate 101).[40] The stance of the figure and the fall of the drapery are of almost academic classicality, adapted from ancient statues of Jupiter. A comparison with Bernini's *Longinus* (Plate 47B) illustrates emphatically the deep chasm that divides the two artists. But even this figure is not self-sufficient, for St Andrew turns with pleading gesture and devotional expression towards the heavenly light streaming in from the dome, while the ample cloak endows him with Baroque mass and weight. Duquesnoy's eminence, however, lay in the handling of works of smaller dimensions, and this monumental statue lacks the convincing oneness which in those very years he was able to give to his *St Susanna*. The statuesque body of the figure contrasts with the emotional expression of the head; and the transference of the heroic Jupiter type to the Christian saint is as unsatisfactory as the Baroque diagonal going through shoulders and arms is petty and feeble.

During his first Roman years Duquesnoy had earned his living mainly by small sculpture in bronze and ivory, by wooden reliquaries, and by restoring ancient marbles. Nor are many of his later works in marble of large size; neither the tomb of Andrien Vryburch of 1629 (Plate 102A) nor that of Ferdinand van den Eynde of 1633–40 (Plate 103), both in S. Maria dell'Anima, nor the earlier tomb of Bernardo Guilelmi (S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura),[41] in which he followed fairly closely Bernini's Montoya bust. An endless number of small reliefs and statuettes in bronze, ivory, wax, and terracotta representing mythological, bacchic, and religious subjects continued to come from his studio to the end of his life; and it was on these little works of highest perfection that his reputation was mainly based. Artists and collectors valued them very highly and regarded them as equal to antiquity itself; and original models and casts after such works belonged to the ordinary equipment of artists' studios.[42]

Duquesnoy's special interest was focused on representations of the putto (Plate 102, A and B). He really gave something of the soul of children and modelled their bodies so round, soft, and delicate that they seem to be alive and to breathe; the subtle transitions between one form and another and the tenderness of the surface can be as little reproduced as the quivering *sfumato* of Correggio's palette. It was Duquesnoy's conception of the *bambino* that became a general European property and, consciously or unconsciously,

most later representations of small children are indebted to him. But Duquesnoy's rendering of the putto was not static, and this is reflected in the differences of opinion about the Vryburch and van den Eynde tombs. Some critics regarded only the one, some only the other as original. The truth seems to be that the putti of both monuments are entirely by the hand of the master; but while the Vryburch monument, the earlier of the two, shows a type close to Titian, those of the van den Eynde monument are evidently indebted to Rubens.[43]

Even if Bellori and Passeri had not related it, it would be impossible to overlook how carefully Duquesnoy had studied Titian. We know from the sources that he was fascinated by Titian's *Children's Bacchanal*, now in the Prado, at that time in the collection of Cardinal Ludovisi – a fascination which he shared with Poussin. The putti of the Vryburch monument comply closely with Italian standards of beauty and show a comparatively firm treatment of the skin, while those of the van den Eynde tomb have the fat bellies and soft flexibility of children by Rubens. There are other works which testify to Duquesnoy's intimate study of Titian, and I would date these, analogous to Poussin's Venetian period, in the early years, before or about 1630.[44] On the other hand Flemish characteristics become more prominent towards the end of Duquesnoy's career, the most important example being the relief with singing putti on Borromini's altar of the Cappella Filomarino in SS. Apostoli, Naples (Plate 102c).[45]

It appears that Duquesnoy returned to his native Flemish realism, which had lain dormant under the impact of the Italian experience, and that he imparted it above all to his putti – in other words when he was not concerned with work on a large scale, and therefore felt free from the ideological limitations of the classical doctrine. He thus inaugurated a specific Baroque type, the influence of which not even Bernini and his circle could escape.[46]

CHAPTER 12

ARCHITECTURAL CURRENTS OF THE HIGH BAROQUE

EACH of the three great masters of the High Baroque, Bernini, Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona, created an idiom in his own right. Since many or even most of their buildings were erected after 1650, their influence, on the whole, did not make itself felt until the later seventeenth century and extended far into the eighteenth century. The decisive factor of the new situation due to their activity lies in that, for the time being, Rome became the centre of every advanced movement. And as so often in similar circumstances, minor stars with a distinctly personal manner arose in the wake of the great masters. It is with their work in Rome that we must first be concerned. The following survey is necessarily rather cursory, and only buildings which in the author's view have more than ephemeral significance can be mentioned.

ROME

Carlo Rainaldi

By far the most important architect in Rome after the great trio was the slightly younger Carlo Rainaldi (1611–91). He commands particular interest not only because his name is connected with some of the most notable architectural tasks of the century, but also because he achieved a unique symbiosis of Mannerist and High Baroque stylistic features. Some of his buildings are, moreover, more North Italian in character than those of any other architect working in Rome at that time. This was certainly the result of his long collaboration with his father, Girolamo, who, born in Rome in 1570 and a pupil of Domenico Fontana, had imbibed North Italian architectural conceptions during his long stays at Bologna, Parma, Piacenza, and Modena.[1] In Rome we find him as the 'Architect to the City' (1602) working on a large number of commissions,[2] and even when Innocent X appointed him 'papal architect' at the advanced age of seventy-four (1644) and entrusted him with the design of the Palazzo Pamphili in Piazza Navona,[3] he appeared unburdened by his years – and almost untouched by modern stylistic developments. Together with his son, Carlo, he later shouldered the great task of the planning of S. Agnese. But by then – he was eighty-two – the initiative seems to have slipped into Carlo's hands. The large design of the exterior of S. Agnese in the Albertina, Vienna, showing a heavy and clumsy dome and an unsatisfactory façade derived from Maderno's St Peter's, must be attributed to the son rather than to the father.[4] It illustrates, however, the extent to which Carlo accepted an outmoded fashion.

His time came after his father's death in 1655. Soon he was moving into the limelight and developed a typically Roman grand manner, though without ever ridding himself

of the paternal heritage. It is mainly three works, executed during the 1660s and 1670s – S. Maria in Campitelli, the façade of S. Andrea della Valle, and the churches in the Piazza del Popolo – that warrant a more thorough discussion.

In 1660 Pope Alexander VII decided to replace the old church in the Piazza Campizucchi by a new, magnificent structure of large dimensions.[5] Two years later medals showing Rainaldi's design were buried in the foundations. This design, a grand revision of the project for S. Agnese, had little in common with the present building: a dominating dome was to rise above a concave façade framed by powerful projecting piers. The derivation from Cortona's façade of SS. Martina e Luca is evident. Since this scheme was much too ambitious, Carlo next designed a two-storeyed façade behind which the dome, considerably reduced in size, was to disappear. While he retained from SS. Martina e Luca the concept of the convex façade between piers, he drew on another of Cortona's buildings, namely S. Maria in Via Lata, for the portico in two storeys.[6] At this stage the plan of the church consisted of a large oval for the congregation and an architecturally isolated, circular domed sanctuary for the miraculous picture of the Virgin in honour of which the new building was to be erected (Plate 104A). The elevation of the oval room followed closely, but not entirely, Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale, for the strong emphasis on the transverse axis – a Mannerist motif – was derived from Francesco da Volterra's S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, and so was the shape of the dome, closed at the apex and with lunettes cutting deep into the vaulting. I have singled out this plan for a close scrutiny because the combining of the most recent High Baroque achievements of Cortona and Bernini modified by a deliberate return to a Mannerist structure is typical of Rainaldi. In the final design, which was still further reduced, Rainaldi exchanged the oval room with its low dome for a nave, and this required a straight façade. The building was begun early in 1663 and finished by the middle of 1667 (Plates 104B and 105 and Figure 18).

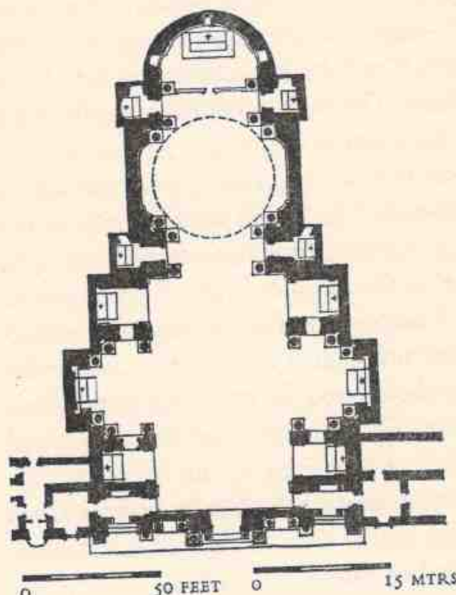


Figure 18. Carlo Rainaldi: Rome, S. Maria in Campitelli, 1663–7. Plan

The final plan contains a number of exciting features which are adumbrated in the oval scheme. The longitudinal nave, to which the domed sanctuary is again attached, opens in the centre into large chapels placed between smaller chapels. It will be recalled that this type of plan has a distinctly North Italian pedigree. Notable among such churches is Magenta's S. Salvatore at Bologna (1605–23; Figure 4), which was rising when Girolamo Rainaldi began to erect S. Lucia in the same city. In S. Salvatore too the transverse axis is strongly emphasized by means of chapels which open to the full height of the nave. In S. Maria in Campitelli these chapels have been given still

more prominence by virtue of their decoration with free-standing columns and by the gilded decorations of the arches. By contrast, the nave is uniformly white and has only pilasters; but an arrangement of columns identical to that of the chapels, an identical accentuation of bays, and the same type of gilded decoration recur at the near and far ends of the sanctuary. Thus there are most telling visual relations between the large chapels and the sanctuary, and the eye can easily wander from the impressive barriers of the transverse axis along the main direction to the sanctuary. Moreover the bright light streaming into the sanctuary from the dome immediately attracts attention. It appears that in this church the Mannerist conflict of axial directions has been resolved and subordinated to the unifying High Baroque tendencies of direction determined by mass (columns) and light. Details, such as door and balcony surrounds and the curved pilasters standing in the corners of the domed part, owe not a little to Borromini. But it would be a mistake to believe that there is anything Borrominesque in the basic conception of the structure.

What singles out this building and gives it a unique place among the High Baroque churches of Rome is its scenic quality, produced by the manner in which the eye is conducted from the 'cross-arm' to the sanctuary and into depth from column to column. This approach was at home in northern Italy (p. 79), but in Rome the scenic character of the architecture of S. Maria in Campitelli anticipates the development of the Late Baroque. Thus we find in this extraordinary building North Italian planning coupled with Roman gravity and Mannerist retrogressions turned into progressive tendencies. The plan of S. Maria in Campitelli had no sequel in Rome. On the other hand, one need not search long to come across similar structures in the North. In the year in which Rainaldi's church was finished Lanfranchi began to build S. Rocco in Turin, where free-standing columns arranged like those of S. Maria in Campitelli were given a similar scenic function. Moreover, the 'false' Greek cross with an added domed chapel remained common in the North throughout the eighteenth century.[7]

An interesting combination of North Italian and Roman tendencies will also be found in the façade of S. Maria in Campitelli. The main characteristics of this front are the two aedicules, one set into the other and both going through the two storeys. This type, which I have called before 'aedicule façade' (p. 77), had no tradition in Rome; it was, however, common in the North of Italy and only needed the thorough Romanization brought about by Rainaldi to become generally acceptable. Preceded by his father's attempt in the design of S. Lucia at Bologna, Carlo knew how to blend the aedicule façade with the typically Roman increase in the volume of the orders from pilasters to half-columns and free-standing columns. The Roman High Baroque quality is clearly expressed in the powerful projections of the pediments, the heavy and great forms, and the ample use of columns. Characteristically Roman, too, are the farthest bays, which derive from the Capitoline palaces;[8] and the motif of the two recessed columns in the bays between the outer and inner aedicule stems from Cortona's SS. Martina e Luca. Rainaldi's transplantation of the North Italian aedicule façade to Rome led to its most mature and most effective realization. None of the highly individual church façades by Cortona, Bernini, and Borromini lent itself freely to imitation. But Rainaldi's aedicule conception

in Roman High Baroque dress was easily applicable to the longitudinal type of churches and was, therefore, constantly repeated and re-adapted to specific conditions.[9]

Almost exactly contemporary with S. Maria in Campitelli runs Rainaldi's execution of one of the great church façades in Rome, that of S. Andrea della Valle (Plate 106A). Here, however, he had not a free hand. The façade was begun in 1624 from a design of Carlo Maderno. When the latter died, it remained unfinished with only the pedestals of the order standing. Rainaldi not only turned Maderno's design into an aedicule façade but also managed by a stress on mass, weight, and verticalism to bring to bear upon the older project the stylistic tendencies of the mid seventeenth century. The façade which we see today does not, however, entirely correspond to Rainaldi's intentions.[10] As compared with his design, the present façade shows a greater severity in the treatment of detail, a simplification of niche and door surrounds, an isolation of decoration and sculpture from the structural parts, and a change in the proportions of the upper tier. All these alterations go in one and the same direction: they classicize Rainaldi's design, and since there is proof that Carlo Fontana was Rainaldi's assistant during 1661 and 1662,[11] it must have been he who was responsible for all these modifications. The present façade of S. Andrea della Valle, therefore, is a High Baroque alteration of a Maderno design by Carlo Rainaldi, whose design in its turn was 'purified' and stripped of its ambiguities by Carlo Fontana.

Concurrently with S. Maria in Campitelli and the façade of S. Andrea della Valle ran the work of S. Maria di Monte Santo and S. Maria de' Miracoli in the Piazza del Popolo (Plate 107 and Figure 19). Here the architect had to show his skill as a town-planner. His task consisted of creating an impressive piazza which would greet the traveller on entering Rome by the Porta del Popolo. From the Piazza del Popolo three main streets radiate between the Pincio and the Tiber, each of them leading into the heart of the city. The decisive points were the two front elevations, facing the piazza between these streets. At these points Rainaldi planned two symmetrical churches with large and impressive domes as focusing-features from the Porta del Popolo. But since the sites were unequal in size, the symmetry which was here essential was not easily attained. By choosing an oval dome for the narrower site of S. Maria di Monte Santo and a circular dome for the larger one of S. Maria de' Miracoli, Rainaldi produced the impression from the square of identity of size and shape.[12] On 15 July 1662 the foundation stone of the left-hand church, S. Maria di Monte Santo, was laid. After an interruption in 1673 building activity was continued from a project by Bernini, and Carlo Fontana, as acting architect, completed the church by the Holy Year 1675. Rainaldi himself remained in charge of S. Maria de' Miracoli, which was executed between 1675 and 1679, again with Fontana's assistance.[13] The interior of S. Maria di Monte Santo shows, of course, none of Rainaldi's idiosyncrasies. At S. Maria de' Miracoli on the other hand Rainaldi worked once again with a strong accentuation of the transverse axis but counteracted it by emphasizing at the same time the homogeneity of the circular space. He wedded Mannerist ambiguity to the High Baroque desire for spatial unification.

Much more important than the interiors are the exteriors of these churches. The façades with their classically poised porticoes, which already appear in the foundation

medal of 1662, seem to contradict in many respects the peculiarities of Rainaldi's style. In fact, no reasonable doubt is possible that he was influenced by his youthful assistant, Carlo Fontana, through whom he became familiar with Bernini's approach to architecture.[14] When working for Bernini on the plans of the Square of St Peter's, Fontana

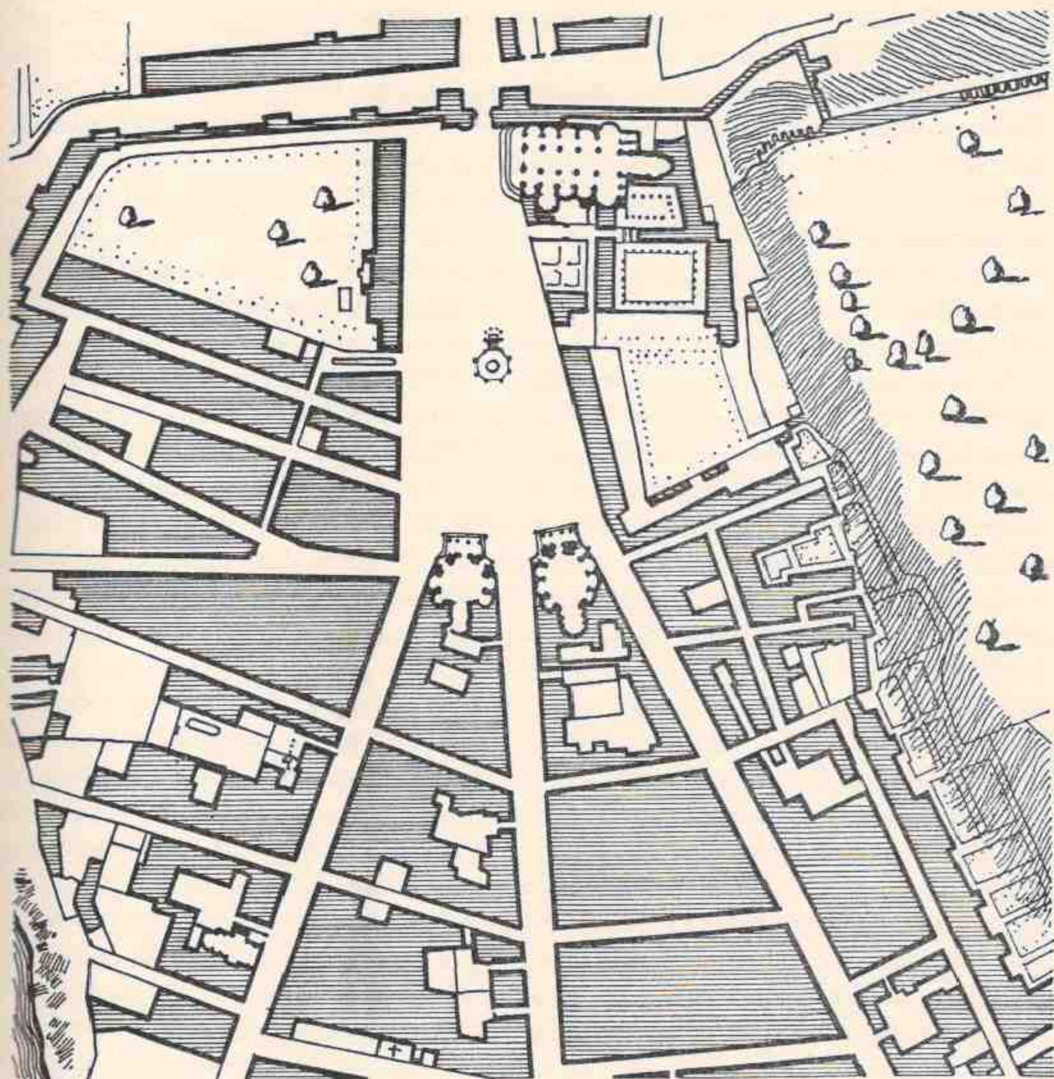


Figure 19. Rome, Piazza del Popolo, from Nolli's plan, 1748

must also have been involved in Bernini's project of 1659 (which remained on paper) to erect a four-columned portico in front of Maderno's façade of the basilica. This idea of the classical temple front was realized in the churches in the Piazza del Popolo.[15] But the Berninesque appearance of these porticoes has an even more tangible reason, for it was precisely here that Bernini altered Rainaldi's design in 1673. Rainaldi wanted to place the pediments of the porticoes against a high attic. For him a pediment was always an

element of linear emphasis. Bernini abolished Rainaldi's attic, so that, in accordance with his own style, the free-standing pediment regained its full classical plasticity. Moreover, Bernini probably had a formative influence on the solution of Rainaldi's most pressing problem. Bernini always had the beholder foremost in mind and the optical impression a structure would make on him from a given viewpoint. One wonders, therefore, whether Rainaldi would ever have devised the pseudo-symmetrical arrangement of these churches without the impact of Bernini's approach to architecture. In any case, it is worth noting that Rainaldi began planning the two churches as corresponding 'false' Greek crosses. This would have made absolutely symmetrical structures possible, but at the expense of the size of the domes. However that may be, the final design marks a new and important departure from the enclosed piazza, for the churches not only create a monumental front on the piazza but also crown the wedge-shaped sites, unifying and emphasizing the ends of long street fronts. The breaking-in of the street into the piazza, or rather the weaving into one of street and square, was a new town-planning device – foreign to the High Baroque, and heralding a new age.

With the exception of the exterior of the apse of S. Maria Maggiore no work fell to Rainaldi in any way comparable with those that have been discussed. In S. Maria Maggiore he united the older chapels of Sixtus V and Paul V and the medieval apse between them into a grand design (1673), forming an impressive viewpoint from a great distance. It is informative to compare Bernini's project of 1669 with Rainaldi's executed front. Bernini wanted to screen the apse with an open portico; his design embodied a structural organization of the utmost sculptural expressiveness, while in Rainaldi's somewhat straggling front the apse stands out from the thin and unconvincing wall of the high attic.

In the early 1670s Rainaldi was also responsible for the façade and the interior decoration of Gesù e Maria (p. 208). In addition, during the 1670s and 1680s he had a hand in a great many smaller enterprises, such as chapels in S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Maria in Araceli, S. Carlo ai Catinari, the design of tombs and altars, and the completion of older churches.[16] But his star was waning. Although Rainaldi's principal works belong to the 1660s, he represents a slightly later phase of the Roman High Baroque than the three great masters. In fact Cortona's and Borromini's careers came to an end in that decade, while Rainaldi worked on for almost another generation. His life-long attachment to Mannerist principles, his transplantation to Rome of North Italian conceptions of planning, his scenic use of the free-standing column, his borrowings from Bernini, Cortona, and Borromini – all this is blended in a distinctly individual manner which, however, never carries the conviction of any of the cogent High Baroque architectural systems.

Martino Longhi the Younger, Vincenzo della Greca, Antonio del Grande, and Giovan Antonio de' Rossi

Next to Rainaldi there were four approximately contemporary architects of some distinction working in Rome, whose names are given in the title to this section. Apart from Giovan Antonio de' Rossi, none of them has many buildings to his credit. Martino

Longhi (1602–60), the son of Onorio and grandson of the elder Martino, belonged to an old family of architects who had come to Rome from Viggiù. His reputation is mainly based on one work of outstanding merit, the façade of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio in the Piazza di Trevi, built for Cardinal Mazarin between 1646 and 1650 (Plate 106B).[17] This front, thickly set with columns, is superficially similar to that of S. Maria in Campitelli, but the similarity consists in High Baroque massiveness rather than in any actual interdependence. To be sure, SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio is in a class of its own and is as little derived from earlier models as the façades of SS. Martina e Luca or S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane. The principal feature of the façade is three free-standing columns at each side of the central bay, forming a closely connected triad which is repeated in both tiers. This repetition, together with the slight stepping forward of the columns towards the centre, gives the motif its brio and power.[18] The freedom which the columns have here attained is evidenced by the fact that their movement is not dependent on, or caused by, a gradation of the wall, and their impression of energetic strength is reinforced by the accumulation of massive pediments. It is further reinforced by the large caesuras between the triads and the outer columns in the lower tier.[19] But the logical arrangement of the articulation was obscured in more than one place. The farthest columns and the third columns of the lower triad frame empty wall space, and that two such columns should be regarded as complementary is emphasized by the unbroken entablature that unites them. Moreover in the lower tier, in contrast to the upper one, no structural link exists between the third columns of the triads.[20] Such a link, however, is provided for the second columns by the broken pediment, the two segments of which are connected by decorative sculpture. More problematical is the central segmental pediment from which a compressed shell juts out energetically: instead of capping the inner pair of columns, it crowns the angularly broken tablet (with the inscription) which is superimposed on the entablature above the door. It will be noticed that the projections at the level of the entablature correspond in number, but not in structure either to the projections of the upper tier or to those of the triad of columns. But Longhi created the optical impression that the two lower pediments top the outer and inner pairs of columns.[21]

This rather cumbersome analysis has shown that the relationship between the pediments and the columns is as inconsistent as that between the lower and upper triad, and in this inconsistency may very well lie part of the peculiar attraction of the façade. Seen genetically, Longhi employed Mannerist devices but subordinated them to an overwhelmingly High Baroque effect of grandeur and mass. The character of the decoration reveals similar tendencies, for Longhi combined Berninesque free-moving, realistic sculpture with the rigid, hard, and tactually indifferent motifs of Mannerism. It appears, therefore, that Longhi, like Carlo Rainaldi, did not entirely eliminate Mannerist ambiguities, and this view is strengthened by a study of his modernization of S. Adriano (1656), where in the crossing two free-standing columns matched two pilasters as supports of the oval dome.[22] The construction of S. Carlo al Corso, one of the largest churches in Rome, begun by his father Onorio, occupied Martino for several decades. It is fair to assume that the plan with an ambulatory, quite unique for Rome, depends on northern models. But the history of S. Carlo is extremely involved, and since

Cortona rather than Martino Longhi was responsible for the decoration, hardly any trace of the latter's personal style can now be discovered.[23]

Vincenzo della Greca,[24] who came to Rome from Palermo, deserves a brief note for his work in SS. Domenico e Sisto. The flat, reactionary façade, always attributed to him but in reality designed by Nicola Turriani in 1628,[25] would not be worth mentioning were it not for its superb position on high ground, of which Vincenzo della Greca made the most by devising an imaginative staircase (1654) which ascends in two elegant, curved flights to the height of the entrance. The idea was probably derived from Cortona's Villa del Pigneto, but it was here that a Roman architect built for the first time a Baroque staircase in an urban setting – a prelude to Specchi's Port of the Ripetta and to the grand spectacle of De Sanctis's Spanish Staircase.

Although more eminent than Vincenzo della Greca, Antonio del Grande,[26] a Roman by birth whose activity is documented between 1647 and 1671, also has nothing to show that could compare with Longhi's SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio. Most of his work is domestic, done in the service of the Colonna and Pamphili families. His monumental Carceri Nuovi (1652–8) in Via Giulia owe not a little of their effect to Borromini's influence, as the deeply grooved cornice proves. In his great gallery of the Palazzo Colonna, of impressive dimensions and the largest in Rome, begun in 1654 and vaulted in 1665, he took up the theme of Borromini's gallery of the Palazzo Pamphili in the Piazza Navona. At both ends of the gallery he screened off adjoining rooms by free-standing columns, an idea that may have come to him from Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale, then rising.[27] His most important work is that part of the Palazzo Doria-Pamphili which faces the Piazza del Collegio Romano (1659–61).[28] But the large façade contains no new or important ideas. It follows Girolamo Rainaldi's design for the Palazzo Pamphili in the Piazza Navona in that the central bays are articulated by orders in two tiers resulting in an additive system which lacks the High Baroque emphasis on the *piano nobile*. The rest of the façade, outside the central bays, is in the tradition of Roman palazzo fronts; but with the unequal rhythm of the windows the architect even returned to the Late Mannerist arrangement of Giacomo della Porta's Palazzo Chigi in the Piazza Colonna, and also truly Mannerist is the portal with its frame of pilasters superimposed on quoins. More progressive are the details of the window-frames of the second storey and some door-surrounds inside the palace, where Borromini's dynamic life of forms has been toned down to a peculiar staccato movement. The most interesting feature is perhaps the vestibule, impressively spacious and ample and with a treatment of detail of almost puritanical sobriety.[29]

Giovan Antonio de' Rossi (1616–95), a contemporary of Carlo Rainaldi, produced some works that might be described as transitional between the High and the Late Baroque. This is less obvious in his ecclesiastical than his secular buildings. Some of his ecclesiastical work belongs to the finest flower of a slightly softened High Baroque in which the influence of each of the three great masters can easily be detected. We may single out the interesting Cappella Lancellotti in S. Giovanni in Laterano,[30] built on an oval plan with projecting columns – the whole clearly a Baroque re-interpretation of Michelangelo's design of the Cappella Sforza in S. Maria Maggiore. The masterpiece of

his mature style is S. Maria in Campo Marzo (1682–5),[31] an impressive Greek cross with oval dome but without drum. The way the bulk of the apse closes the view from the Via della Maddalena is devised in the best tradition of the Roman High Baroque. Still later he built the oval chapel in the Palazzo Monte di Pietà, a little jewel resplendent with coloured marble incrustation and amply decorated with reliefs, statues, and stuccoes.[32] But of the High Baroque density of space- and wall-treatment little remains.

Among Rossi's palaces, two require special mention: the Palazzo Altieri in the Piazza del Gesù and the Palazzo D'Aste-Bonaparte overlooking the Piazza Venezia. The first is his most extensive if not his most accomplished work. Begun by Cardinal Giovan Battista Altieri in 1650, the palace was probably finished at the time of the latter's death in 1654. After the accession to the papal throne of the Altieri Pope Clement X an enlargement became necessary, which Rossi carried out between 1670 and 1676.[33] The new parts towards the Piazza Venezia continue the earlier scheme but remain architecturally unobtrusive, so that the older palace stands out unimpaired as the principal building. Although the interior rather than the traditional façade deserves attention, Rossi's skill in solving his difficult task shows that we are dealing with a resourceful architect. The Palazzo D'Aste-Bonaparte (Plate 108A) is perhaps the most accomplished example of his mature manner.[34] Designed as a free-standing block, the palace is essentially a revision of the traditional Roman type. Only the Borrominesque rounded-off corners and the chaste, unorthodox order in three tiers, retaining the four façades, are mildly progressive; all the motifs, including the elegant curved pediments of the windows, are rather unpretentious. Reserve and an immaculate sense of proportion are the virtues of this style. Rossi's intelligent blending of Cortonesque and Borrominesque decorative detail and its transformation into a comparatively light and pleasant personal idiom – such as we see it in the pediments of the Palazzo D'Aste and on many other occasions – predestined him to play an important part in the development of eighteenth-century architecture. It is not by chance that Alessandro Specchi's Palazzo de Carolis (now Banco di Roma) [35] and Tommaso de Marchis's Palazzo Millini-Cagiati,[36] both on the Corso, vary Rossi's Palazzo D'Aste but little. A further study would show that the style of his many smaller palaces – some of which have been pulled down in recent years – determined the character of innumerable houses of the aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie of eighteenth-century Rome.[37]

Architecture outside Rome

During the roughly fifty years between 1630 and 1680 the architectural panorama in the rest of Italy is on the whole less interesting than one might be prepared to expect. Venice, it is true, had a great architect. But Lombardy, after the full and varied Borromeo era, had little to offer; Genoa was exhausted by the plague of 1657; Turin, under her progressive rulers, was only beginning to develop into an important architectural centre. To be sure, Ricchino carried on at Milan and Bianco at Genoa till after 1650, but the climax of their activity lay earlier in the century. When all is said and done, there remain only three High Baroque architects of more than average rank outside Rome: Longhena in

Venice, Gherardo Silvani in Florence, and Cosimo Fanzago in Naples. Of these, Longhena seems to me by far the greatest. In addition, there is Guarino Guarini, who must be regarded in many respects as a master of the High Baroque although he belongs to a slightly later generation. There is, however, good reason not to separate his work from the survey of later Piedmontese architecture (p. 268).

During this period churches, palaces, and villas of intrinsic merit rose in great numbers all over the country, but historically speaking many of these buildings are 'provincial', since they not only rely on Roman precedent or assistance but are also often retardataire by Roman standards. The Palazzo Ducale at Modena, one of the largest palaces in Italy, may serve as an example. Attributed to the mediocre Bartolomeo Avanzini (*c.* 1608–58),[38] it is certain that at the beginning, between 1631 and 1634, Girolamo Rainaldi had a leading hand in the planning; the present palace shows, in fact, a distinct affinity with Rainaldi's Palazzo Pamphili in the Piazza Navona. In 1651 Avanzini's design, based on that of Rainaldi, was submitted to the criticism of Bernini, Cortona, and Borromini, and Bernini, stopping at Modena in 1665 on his return from Paris, made further suggestions. Later (1681) Guarini directed the execution. Ideas of all these masters, and particularly of Bernini, were certainly incorporated, but it is doubtful whether the history of the building can ever be fully disentangled.

Bologna, always an important centre of the arts and always a melting-pot of Central and North Italian conceptions, provides another aspect of the situation. Between 1638 and 1658 Bartolomeo Provaglia (d. 1672), the architect of the magnificent Porta Galliera (1661), built the Palazzo Davia-Bargellini with an austere and monumental façade, rather unusual for Bologna, but close to Roman palazzo types. Only the two free-moving, massive atlantes that carry the balcony above the entrance show that we are not on Roman soil. These figures, seemingly bending under a heavy load, are the Baroque descendants of Leone Leoni's Mannerist atlantes on the façade of the Palazzo degli Omenoni at Milan and must be regarded as an important link with the use of the same motif in the Austrian and German Baroque. A similar mixture of Roman and North Italian ideas is to be found in Giovan Battista Bergonzoni's (1629–92) S. Maria della Vita, which belongs to the end of the period under discussion. The main body of the church was built between 1686 and 1688, while the oval dome was not erected until a century later.[39] The derivation from S. Agnese in Piazza Navona is evident in the elevation rather than in the plan (Figure 20). While the latter is actually a rectangle with bevelled corners and shallow transverse chapels, the elevation is treated like a Greek cross, with the arches under the dome resting on projecting columns.[40] A square choir

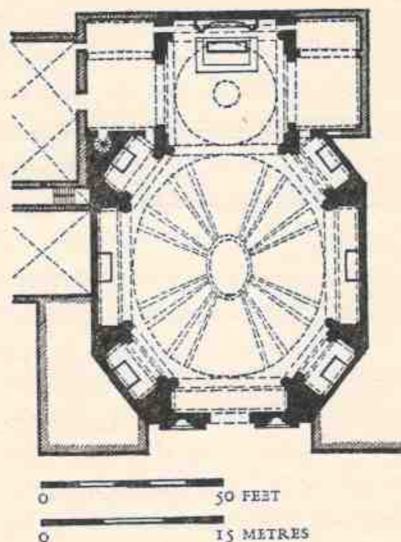


Figure 20. Giovan Battista Bergonzoni: Bologna, S. Maria della Vita, begun 1686. Plan

with dome is joined to the oval main room, and it is this that tallies with the North Italian type of plan which Ricchino had fully developed in S. Giuseppe at Milan. Yet in contrast to this church, built half a century earlier, the congregational room and the choir are here firmly interlocked, for the arch as well as the supporting columns belong to both spaces: they have exactly corresponding counterparts at the far end of the choir. Gaetano Gandolfi and Serafino Barozzi, by painting between 1776 and 1779 a domed room which extends, so it seems, behind the choir, stressed only the scenic quality contained in the architecture itself.

It was the long established interest of Bolognese *quadratura* painters in ever more daring illusions that found a response in the architects at the end of the century. The staircase hall of the Palazzo Cloetta-Fantuzzi (1680) by Paolo Canali (1618–80) is a case in point. Two broad flights open above into arcades and are lit from both sides under the painted ceiling – a scenographic spectacle which owed nothing to Rome. A new era was dawning, and later Bolognese architects found here a model that they followed and developed in the grand staircase designs of the eighteenth century (p. 256). The staircase in the Palazzo Cloetta illustrates a volte-face from Rome to Venice. It is a tribute to the genius of Longhena, who was to have a profound influence on North Italian architecture.

Baldassare Longhena (1598–1682)

Longhena's span of life corresponds almost exactly to that of Bernini, and unquestionably he is the only Venetian architect of the seventeenth century who comes close in stature to the great Romans.[41] He left one capital work, S. Maria della Salute (Plates 109–11 and Figure 21), which occupied him in the midst of his vast activity for most of his working life.[42] During the plague of 1630 the Republic deliberated the erection of a church as an *ex voto*. Longhena won a competition against Antonio Fracao and Zambattista Rubertini, who had suggested a Latin-cross plan, and, as a memorandum by his hand shows, he was well aware and immensely proud of the novelty of his design. Construction began on 6 September 1631, and after more than twenty years the bulk of the structure was standing though the consecration did not take place until 1687, five years after the architect's death. Venice is nowadays unthinkable without the picturesque silhouette of this church, which dominates the entrance to the Canal Grande; but it would be wrong to insist too much on the picturesqueness of the building, as is usually done, while forgetting that this is in every respect one of the most interesting and subtle structures of the entire seventeenth century. No further credentials are, therefore, needed for a detailed analysis.

The salient feature of the plan is a regular octagon surrounded by an ambulatory. This seems to be unique in Renaissance and post-Renaissance architecture, but the type is of Late Antique ancestry (S. Costanza, Rome) and is common in medieval, particularly Byzantine, buildings (S. Vitale, Ravenna). Longhena reverted to these early sources only for the plan and not for the elevation. The latter is a free adaptation of a well-known North Italian type derived from Bramante,[43] S. Maria della Salute differing from the Renaissance models mainly in the decorative interpretation of the columns. Instead of

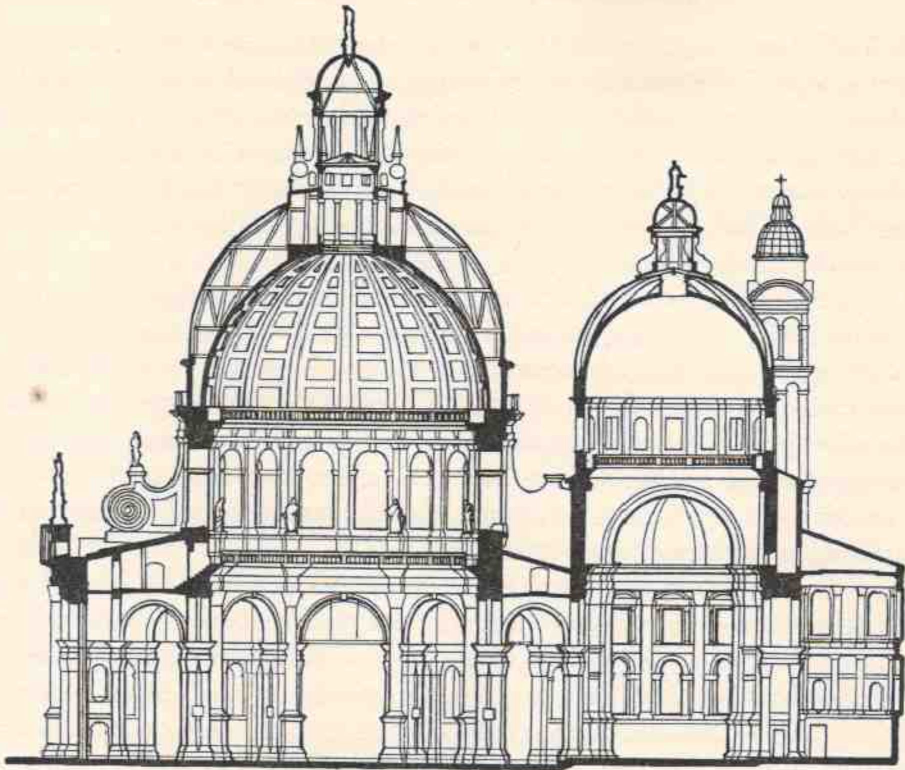
continuing the columns of the octagon into the architecture of the drum, we find a large figure topping the projecting entablature of each column. It is these iconographically important figures of prophets that turn each column into an isolated unit and at the same time emphasize the enclosed centralized character of the main room. The idea may have come to Longhena from the famous woodcut in Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*, which shows precisely this motif in a section through a centralized domed building with ambulatory. But the *Hypnerotomachia*, well known to every Venetian, can of course have determined only the conceptual direction and not the actual architectural planning. For it Longhena used, as we have seen, Late Antique, medieval and Bramantesque ideas and wedded them, moreover, to the Palladian tradition with which he was linked in a hundred direct and indirect ways.

From Palladio derives the colouristic treatment: grey stone for the structural parts and whitewash for the walls and fillings. But it should be remembered that this was not Palladio's speciality; it had, in fact, a medieval pedigree, was taken up and systematized by Brunelleschi, and after him used by most architects who were connected with the classical Florentine tradition. The architects of the Roman Baroque never employed this method of differentiation, the isolating effect of which would have interfered with the dynamic rhythms of their buildings. In contrast, however, to Florentine procedure, where colour invariably sustains a coherent metrical system, Longhena's colour scheme is not logical; colour for him was an optical device which enabled him to support or suppress elements of the composition, thereby directing the beholder's vision.

Many details of the Salute are also Palladian, such as the orders, the columns placed on high pedestals (see S. Giorgio Maggiore), and the segmental windows with mullions in the chapels, a type derived from Roman thermae and introduced by Palladio into ecclesiastical architecture (S. Giorgio, Il Redentore). All these elements combine to give the Salute the severe and chaste appearance of a Palladian structure. But it can be shown that Palladio's influence was even more vital.

One of Longhena's chief problems consisted in preserving the octagonal form outside without sacrificing clarity and lucidity inside. By the seemingly simple device of making the sides of two consecutive pillars parallel to each other, he succeeded in giving the optically important units of the ambulatory and the chapels regular geometrical shapes,[44] entirely in the spirit of the Renaissance. The full meaning of this organization is revealed only when one stands in the ideal and real centre of the octagon. Looking from this point in any direction, the spectator will find that entirely homogeneous 'pictures' always appear in the field of vision.[45] Longhena's passionate interest in determining the beholder's field of vision is surely one of the factors which made him choose the problematical octagon with ambulatory rather than one of the traditional Renaissance designs over a centralized plan. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that no other type of plan allows only carefully integrated views to be seen; here the eye is not given a chance to wander off and make conquests of its own.

It would seem that the centralization of the octagon could not have been carried any further. Moreover, the sanctuary, which is reached over a few steps, appears only loosely connected with the octagon. Following the North Italian Renaissance tradition of



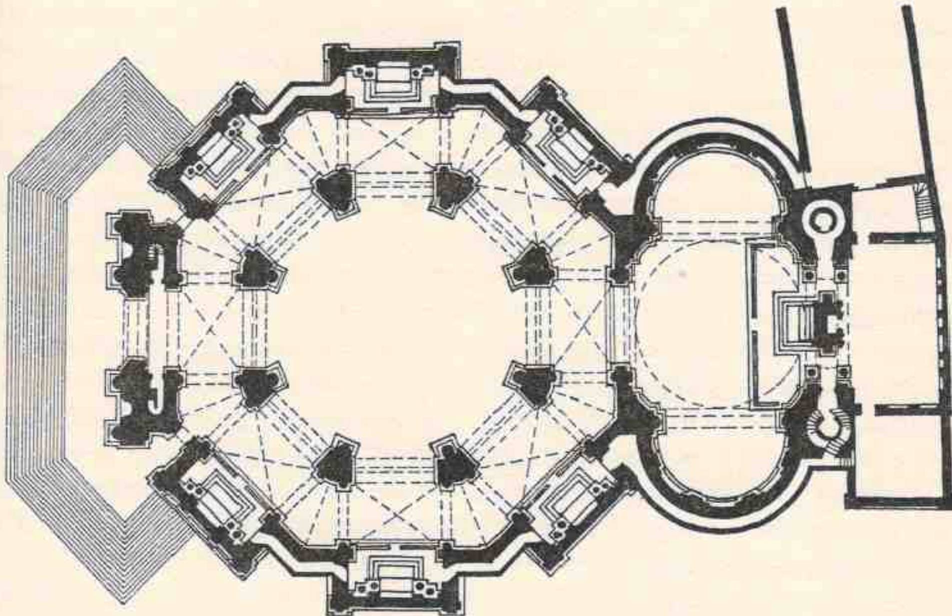


Figure 21. Baldassare Longhena: Venice, S. Maria della Salute, begun 1631. Section and plan

centralized plans (Bramante's S. Maria di Canepanova), main room and sanctuary form almost independent units. For the two large apses of the domed sanctuary Longhena employed a system entirely different from that of the octagon; he used giant pilasters instead of columns and replaced the mullioned windows of the chapels by normal windows in two tiers.[46] Shape and detail of the sanctuary depend on the Redentore, where Palladio had performed a similar change of system between the nave and the centralized portion.

A third room, the rectangular choir, is separated from the sanctuary by an arch resting on pairs of free-standing columns, between which rises the huge, picturesque high altar. Inside the choir the architectural system changes again: two small orders of pilasters are placed one above the other. At the far end of the choir three small arches appear in the field of vision.[47] Longhena, one is tempted to conclude, simply grouped together isolated spatial units in a Renaissance-like manner. But this would mean opening the door to a serious misinterpretation, for in actual fact he found a way of unifying these entities by creating scenic connexions between them.

From the entrance of the church the columns and arch framing the high altar lie in the field of vision – it is important that only this motif and no more is visible – and the beholder is directed to the spiritual centre of the church through a sequence of arches, one behind the other: from the octagon to the ambulatory and the altar and, concluding the vista, to the arched wall of the choir. Thus, in spite of the Renaissance-like isolation of spatial entities and in spite of the carefully calculated centralization of the octagon, there is a scenic progression along the longitudinal axis. It is often said that Baroque architecture owes a great deal to the contemporary stage. As regards Roman High Baroque architecture, it is correct only with considerable qualifications, for an architecture aiming at dynamic spatial effects is intrinsically non-scenic. Quite different Longhena: in his case a specific relation to the stage does exist. In S. Maria della Salute clearly defined prospects appear one behind the other like wings on a stage. Instead of inviting the eye – as the Roman Baroque architects did – to glide along the walls and savour a spatial continuum, Longhena constantly determines the vistas across the spaces.

It is apparent that the judicious grouping of self-contained units rather than the Roman concept of dynamic spatial unification was the pre-condition for a strictly scenographic architecture. This also explains why the Late Baroque in spite, or just because, of its classicizing tendencies was essentially a scenographic style, even in Rome.[48]

In unifying separate spaces by optical devices, Longhena once again followed Palladio's lead. The hall-like nave and the centralized domed part of the Redentore – entirely separate entities – are knit together optically for the view from the entrance,[49] and it was this principle of scenic integration that Longhena developed much further. Thus, based on Palladio, Longhena had worked out an alternative to the Roman Baroque. His Venetian Baroque was, in fact, the only high-class alternative Italy had to offer. It is not sufficiently realized that in their search for new values many architects of the late seventeenth century turned from Rome to Venice and embraced Longhena's scenographic concepts.

Like the interior, the picturesque exterior of S. Maria della Salute was the result of

sober deliberations. The thrust of the large dome is diverted on to pairs of buttresses (the scrolls) which rest on the arches of the ambulatory. The side walls of the chapels (aligned with these arches) are therefore abutments to the dome. It is often maintained that Longhena's Salute follows closely a design engraved by Labacco in 1558. This opinion, however, cannot be accepted without reservation.[50] Even if Longhena was attracted by the large scrolls in Labacco's engraving, he entirely transformed them and invented the imaginative decorative spirals which introduce a luxuriant note into his otherwise austere design.

The large dome of the Salute has an inner and outer vault, the outer one consisting of lead over wood, in keeping with Venetian custom (including Palladio). While the principal dome ultimately derives from that of St Peter's,[51] the subsidiary dome with its stilted form over a simple circular brick drum and framed by two campanili follows the Byzantine–Venetian tradition. The grouping together of a main and a subsidiary dome fits well into the Venetian *ambiente* – the domes of S. Marco are quite near – but never before had the silhouette been so boldly enriched by the use of entirely different types of domes and drums in one and the same building. No less important than the aspect of the domes from a distance is the near view of the lower zone from the Canal Grande. From here the chapels right and left of the main entrance are conspicuous. They are therefore elaborately treated like little church façades in their own right; in fact they are clever adaptations of the small front of Palladio's Chiesa delle Zitelle. Their small order is taken up in the gigantic triumphal arch motif of the main entrance. It is this motif that sets the seal on the entire composition.

The central arch with the framing columns corresponds exactly to the interior arches of the octagon, so that the theme is given before one enters the church. In addition, the small order also repeats the one inside, and the niches for statues in two tiers conform to the windows in the sanctuary. And more than this: the façade is, in fact, devised like a *scenae frons*, and with the central door thrown wide open, as shown in a contemporary engraving, the consecutive sequence of arches inside the church, contained by the triumphal arch, conjures up a proper stage setting. It can hardly be doubted that the *scenae frons* of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico had a decisive formative influence on Longhena's thought. In a sense entirely different from Cortona's, Borromini's, and Bernini's churches in Rome, Longhena has created in the Salute an organic whole of outside and inside, a fact which an impressionist approach to this kind of building tends to obscure.[52]

Centralized buildings with ambulatories remain exceedingly rare in Italy, even after Longhena's great masterpiece was there for anybody to see and study. The only other important church of this type, Carlo Fontana's Jesuit Sanctuary at Loyola in Spain, could not, however, have been designed without the model of S. Maria della Salute.[53] Thus a Late Antique plan, common in Byzantine architecture, revised in seventeenth-century Venice, was taken up by a Roman architect and transplanted to Spain.

Longhena's other works in Venice and on the *terra ferma* can hardly vie with his *magnum opus*. This is true of his two other large churches, the early cathedral at Chioggia (1624–47)[54] and S. Maria degli Scalzi in Venice (begun 1656);[55] the latter, a simple hall structure with large central chapels, stimulated a considerable number of later church plans.

As characteristic for one facet of his late style we may mention the immensely rich façade of the little Chiesa dell'Ospedaletto near SS. Giovanni e Paolo (1670–8),[56] where the structure seems submerged under glittering sculptural decoration. In his many palaces we find him slowly turning away from the dry classicism of his teacher Scamozzi[57] and evolving a typically Venetian High Baroque manner by a premeditated regression to Sansovino's High Renaissance palaces. The formula of rusticated ground floor, ample use of columns in the upper storeys, and a far-reaching dissolution of wall surface suited him perfectly. His final triumph of sculptural accentuation, Baroque monumentality and luminous richness will be found in the celebrated Palazzi Rezzonico and Pesaro (Plate 108B),[58] which fully expose his debt to Sansovino's Palazzo Corner and, to a lesser extent, Sanmicheli's Palazzo Grimani. Thus, measured by Roman standards of the 1660s, these splendid palaces must be regarded as retrogressive. On the other hand, in the staircase hall of the monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore (1643–5; Plate 111C), where two parallel flights ascend along the walls to a common landing, Longhena once again proved his consummate skill as a master of scenic architecture. This staircase hall is far in advance of its time; it made a deep impression on architects, particularly in northern Italy, and was taken up and developed in the countries north of the Alps.

Florence and Naples: Silvani and Fanzago

It is characteristic of the situation in Florence after the first quarter of the seventeenth century that in 1633 Grand Duke Ferdinand II planned to execute Dosio's model of 1587 for the façade of the cathedral. The members of the Accademia del Disegno opposed this idea – not because they regarded Dosio's project as too tame, but because, in their view, he had not sufficiently taken into account the older parts of the cathedral. They produced a counter-project which, in contrast to the classical dignity of Dosio's model, suffers from a breaking down of their design into many petty motifs. At the same moment, in 1635, Gherardo Silvani, who had grand-ducal support, made a model of his own (Museo dell'Opera, Florence) which was in fact an improvement on the Academy project. In his design Silvani combined mildly Baroque decorative features with neo-Gothic elements borrowed from Giotto's Campanile. Yet the weaker and more conformist Academy model was chosen. Execution, however, never went beyond the initial stages.[59]

It is clear that in the antiquarian climate of Florence there was no room for a free Baroque development. The enlargement of the Palazzo Pitti is another case in point. In two campaigns, the first starting in 1620 and the second in 1631, Giulio Parigi enlarged the palace from its original six bays to its present width of twenty-five bays. His simple device of repeating the Quattrocento parts was preferred to Pietro da Cortona's vigorous designs for the remodelling of the entire palace front.[60]

In spite of such conservative and antiquarian tendencies, Gherardo Silvani (1579–1673)[61] gave Florence and other Tuscan cities (Volterra, Prato, Pisa, etc.) buildings of considerable distinction. For over fifty years he was in full command of the situation; he had an extraordinary capacity for work, and the list of his creations is very long. His

best known ecclesiastical work is S. Gaetano, in the construction of which Nigetti is traditionally given too great a share.[62] The impressive façade (Plate 112A) comes closer to a High Baroque design than any other building in Florence. But one should not be misled by the use of a massive pediment, by the bold projections, and the accumulation of sculpturally conceived architectural forms in comparatively narrow spaces: the structure itself, based on a simple rhythm of pilasters (the double pilasters framing the central bay are repeated in the upper tier), takes up the theme of Giovanni de' Medici's cathedral model of 1587, and while the three doors under their aedicule frames are derived from Dosio, other features point to an influence of Buontalenti's cathedral model. A good deal of the decoration, in fact, consists of an ebullient reworking of Buontalenti motifs. But much of the decoration belongs to the late seventeenth century, and it is this that gives the façade its flickering Late Baroque quality. The interior shows the noble reserve typical of the best Florentine Seicento buildings.[63] The wide nave with three chapels to each side separated by pillars with niches for statues above them owes its effect to the sophisticated colour scheme: the white reliefs on the pillars and the white statues above them,[64] silhouetted against the blue-grey *pietra serena* architecture, combine to give an impression of aristocratic restraint. Nothing could be further removed from contemporary Roman buildings such as Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane.

Silvani's palaces, with their unadorned plaster fronts, simple string courses, and overhanging wooden roofs are Tuscan counterparts to the severe Roman palace type such as Maderno's Palazzo Mattei (e.g. Palazzi Covoni, 1623, and Fenzi, 1634). Only the central axis is given emphasis by a projecting balcony with a richly designed balustrade and, in the case of the Palazzo Fenzi, by the superb portal with Raffaele Curradi's Harpies.[65]

Seicento architecture at Naples would seem at the farthest remove from that of Florence, for Naples under her Spanish rulers with their native love for the plateresque witnessed the rise of a decorative style of dazzling richness and most intense polychromy produced by inlaid coloured marbles.[66] But to see the Tuscan and the Neapolitan Seicento in terms of absolute contrasts is somewhat misleading; structurally, the architecture of Naples is much closer to that of Florence than to that of Rome: this is revealed by such an important work as Cosimo Fanzago's large *chiostro* of the Certosa of S. Martino (1623–31) [67] with its elegant arcades which would not be out of place in fifteenth-century Florence. Fanzago's range is, however, very wide. One need only step inside from the courtyard to come face to face with his exuberant decorative Baroque (Plate 112B), showing his characteristic Neapolitan style fully developed.

In Fanzago (1591–1678) [68] Naples had a Baroque master who must be ranked very high, if not always for the quality, at least for the versatility of his talent. Longevity, an incredible stamina, facility of production, and inexhaustible reserves of energy – these are some of the characteristics of this tough generation. Bernini died aged eighty-two, Longhena eighty-four, Fanzago eighty-seven, and Silvani ninety-six. In Rome, Venice, Florence, and Naples artistic events till the last quarter of the seventeenth century were largely determined by these artists. But Fanzago's position can be compared only with that of Bernini, for like the greater man he too was a master of all-round performance,

being architect, sculptor, decorator, and even painter. Unlike Bernini, however, who had to struggle all his life against the competition of first-rate artists, Fanzago's supremacy at Naples seems to have been almost unchallenged. He was born in October 1591 at Clusone near Bergamo, and settled as early as 1608 in Naples, where he lived with an uncle. Trained as a sculptor – in 1612 he calls himself 'maestro di scultura di marmo' –

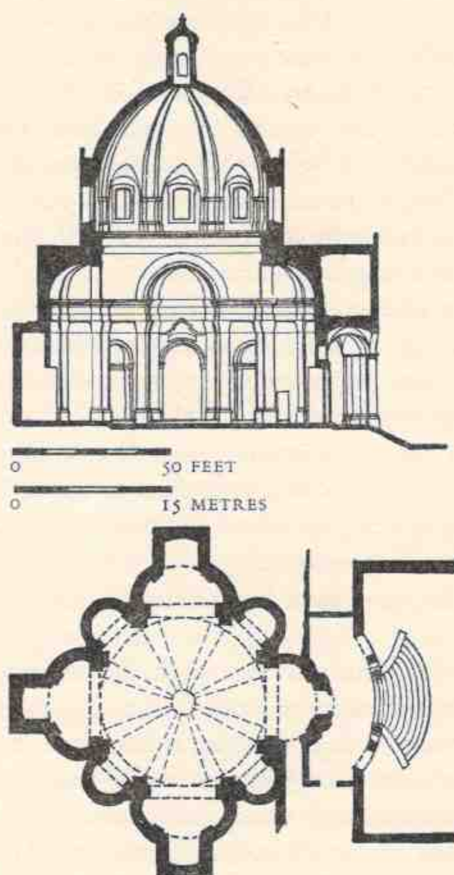


Figure 22. Cosimo Fanzago: Naples, S. Maria Egiziaca, 1651–1717. Section and plan

he makes his debut as an architect probably in 1617 with the design of S. Giuseppe dei Vecchi a S. Potito (finished 1669). It is here that he first planned a Greek-cross church, a scheme to which he returned in one form or another in most of his later churches.[69] But since he stressed the main axis, the centralization of these plans is usually not complete. Although he thus carried over into the High Baroque an essentially Mannerist conflict (p. 75), his high domes produce a new and decisive concentration. Only S. Maria Egiziaca (1651–1717; Figure 22) is a true Greek cross and departs altogether from the more traditional plans of his other churches. The plan of this, Fanzago's finest church, is so close to that of S. Agnese in Rome that a connexion must be assumed. In addition, the

design of the dome seems to be derived from Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale and the convex portico from other Roman models. But if the date 1651 is correct, Fanzago would have anticipated later Roman conceptions. Since the building of the church proceeded very slowly, one would prefer to believe that he adjusted his design after having become acquainted with the most recent Roman events. However, the extreme economy in treating the detail and the emphasis laid on structural parts by painting them slightly off-white (polychromy is reserved for the high altar) help to produce an imposing effect of simplicity, which is entirely un-Roman.

The phenomenon that Fanzago was capable of such a design is revealing, for it shows that ornament was for him, in Alberti's phrase, 'something added and fastened on, rather than proper and innate'. It is precisely this that makes one aware of the deep gulf between Fanzago's and Borromini's architecture although certain of Fanzago's decorative features (Plate 112B) are reminiscent of the great Roman master. None of Fanzago's designs betray dynamic concepts of planning [70] – on the contrary, he is tied to certain academic patterns, and a search for a continuous development from project to project will therefore be disappointing. This is, however, not true so far as his façades for churches and palaces are concerned; for they provided large scope for a display of imaginative combinations. Here it is easy to follow the change from the severe classicism of the portico of the Chiesa dell'Ascensione (1622), still dependent on Domenico Fontana, to the rich façade of S. Maria della Sapienza (1638–41),[71] which in spite of complexities remains classically academic, and further to the façade of S. Giuseppe degli Scalzi with its decorative profusion and accumulation of incongruous elements – an early example of a Late Baroque composition, if the traditional date 1660 is correct. Taking also into account such strange compound creations as the Guglia di S. Gennaro (1631–60) with its surprising mixture of Mannerist and Baroque features, or the vast Palazzo Donn' Anna (1642–4),[72] bristling with personal though perhaps provincial re-interpretations of traditional motifs (never finished and, moreover, left a ruin after the earthquake of 1688), or the decorative abundance of the powerful portal of the Palazzo Maddaloni – one will find that Fanzago mastered in the long course of his immensely active life the whole gamut of Seicento possibilities from Early Baroque classicism to the pictorial effervescence of the Late Baroque.[73]

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While the prevailing inter-Italian classicism of the first quarter of the seventeenth century had an impersonal quality, the architectural trends of the next fifty years are as many as there are names of great architects. It will be granted that in spite of the numerous cross-currents, Rainaldi's, Longhena's, Silvani's, and Fanzago's buildings have as much or as little in common as those of a Bernini and a Borromini. Nevertheless, the generic term 'High Baroque' retains its value, if only to circumscribe the age of the great individualistic creators.