The Evolution of Palazzo Barberini in the Seventeenth Century

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Abstract

This thesis will analyze Palazzo Barberini’s development with its inhabitants and patrons while considering the concept of collection and display. The aim is to examine the change of function and decoration of Palazzo Barberini from the time it was built (1625-1628) until its restoration and remodeling in the late seventeenth century (1670s). To do so, I will first analyze the Barberini family history, the background of the property before the Barberini purchased it, as well as the original floor programs and decoration (from 1628-32) and the idea of the secular and ecclesiastical sections of the palace. Following, I will explore Cardinal Antonio Barberini’s use of the palace (1640s). Then, I will discuss the social and historical context surrounding Roman palace plans and ornamentation in the seventeenth century, as well as the societal changes that took place in the seventeenth century such as the evolution of the Grand Tour. Finally, I will investigate Francesco’s renovations in the 1670s as well as his interests in collecting and his contributions to the Palazzo Barberini collections.

Overall, this thesis is focused on the evolution of the use of space through the analysis of the Palazzo’s plan and use in one period and then the reuse of the same space well regarding the importance of collection and display. Research questions that drove the development of this work were: How did the function, use and decoration of Palazzo Barberini change through its multiple inhabitants who were of secular and ecclesiastical positions? What was the difference between the secular and ecclesiastical parts of the palace? Were the collections and display in the palace constant, or did they change? What prompted Francesco’s renovation of the palace in the 1670s?
Dedication

I dedicated this thesis to my family, especially my parents.

Thank you for always supporting me and furthering my education.
Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge Professor Foster and Professor Tegmeyer for agreeing to work with me on this project.
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1. Introduction

Urban VIII pontificate, 1623-1644, was the peak of the most concentrated phase of art patronage. For the thirty years before him, the sternness and severity of the Counter Reformation had been unwinding and dissolving with the formation of enterprise and opulence. Artists were encouraged to create and experiment in this period, since there was a market and demand for vast ornamentation due to the concept of display, ceremony and status that was extremely important in the aristocracy of the seventeenth century. Thus, the reign of Urban VIII and his encouragement of the arts resulted in an extensive increase of art patronage, and ultimately to its diminishment. Urban’s direct predecessors, Paul V (1605-1621) and Gregory XV (1621-1623) established a system of benefaction that Urban VIII followed and expanded upon. It was common to erect papal monuments, construct and decorate family residences such as palaces and villas, create elaborate family chapels in esteemed Roman churches, support religious foundations, enrich and advance family members through the church and with other titles, as well as support the collections of nephews.

As popes came to the throne, it was normal for them to surround themselves in Rome with relatives, friends and clients, who would gather in Rome to take advantage of the profitable positions that would be reassigned during the replacement of a pope. These men, likewise, began to build chapels, palaces, and galleries for their collections. The nephews of Urban VIII, Taddeo, Cardinal Francesco and Cardinal Antonio, similar to most papal nephews, established themselves in Rome and began to construct palaces and build collections. Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane is the palace of the Barberini inspired and built as a result of the pontification of Urban
VIII. The Palace is magnificent and is one of the best examples of a Baroque palace in Rome. A look into the Barberini family history will give an explanation to the culmination of pope Urban VIII, the establishment of the Barberini in Rome, and how they came about building such a palace.

The Barberini in the late 16th and early 17th centuries present an example of the political and well-managed Roman family. They understood that power and wealth depended on association with the church and the legacy of the family through prosperous marriage; because through the church families had the opportunity to attain influential roles, as well as fortune.¹ This structure can be seen throughout the generations of the Barberini family and is what brought them to establish themselves in Rome (see Fig. 8 for family tree).

The Barberini were a Florentine family in origin and successful merchants at the time of Antonio Barberini’s Marriage to Camilla Barbadori in 1561.² After ten years of marriage, Antonio died and left Camilla a widow with six young sons. The oldest son, Carlo (1562-1630) and second youngest, Maffeo (1568-1644), offered the most potential according to their parents, and were chosen to be groomed according to the channels of development mentioned above and were taken on as protégées by uncles. Carlo was educated for a business career, and Maffeo, after studying law at the University of Pisa, was sent to Rome to pursue a career in the church under his uncle, Monsignor Francesco Barberini who was an Apostolic Protonotary.³ Maffeo was sent to France as envoy extraordinary to Henry IV (1589-1610), and for his work Paul V nominated him as Cardinal in 1606, Bishop of Spoleto in 1608, legate of Bologna in 1611, and

¹ Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, 128.
² Ibid.
³ Rietbergen, Power and Religion in Baroque Rome. 98; Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, 128; Haskell, Patrons and Painters, 24.
then prefect of the Signatura in 1617. Their youngest brother, Marcello (1569-1646), who adopted the name Antonio, after his deceased father, also entered the church and became a Capuchin monk.

Carlo took on the role of continuing the family line: he married Costanza Magalotti in 1595, and fathered the next generation of Barberini. In 1600, Monsignor Francesco Barberini died and left his residence, “Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari, to his heir, Maffeo. “Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari was the compilation of multiple houses and apartments that were combined over the years of Monsignor Francesco’s inhabitance from 1581-1600. It was expanded repeatedly over ninety years by three generations of Barberini; however, it was not considered suitable to be the Barberini Palace because “Casa Grande” was characteristic of more organic Roman architecture. The house was hardly noticeable to people passing by, which did not suit the growing status of the family in the 1620’s; in contrast the Palazzo Barberini was built distinctly to proclaim the rank and wealth of the family, through eminent architecture, symbolic decoration, and prestigious collections.

With the inheritance of ”Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari, Maffeo moved his family from Tuscany by opening his inherited house to his widowed mother, his brother Carlo and his family. Maffeo, with the support and sponsorship of his Uncle Monsignor Francesco, flourished in the church and quickly rose to the rank of Cardinal in 1606, during the second year of Pope Paul V Borghese’s papacy, and was elected Pope himself, under the name of Urban VIII, on the sixth of August 1623. As Pope Urban VIII, Maffeo elevated his youngest brother Antonio from the role of a Capuchin monk to a Cardinal in 1624.

6 Ibid.
In Rome, the Barberini family continued the same plan of family management, like the generation before them. Carlo’s wife Constanza had eight children, of which six survived infancy. The children were raised with ecclesiastical or secular intent. Their first child, Francesco, only lived for one year (1596-97), but soon after another son was born and was also named Francesco (1597-1679). Francesco had a long and distinguished career in the church; He was established as a Cardinal in 1623 by his uncle, Pope Urban VIII, specifically as the cardinale-nipote to serve as the pope’s personal deputy and representative, and then appointed Vice-Chancellor in November 1632. The youngest son of Carlo and Constanza was Antonio (1608-71), was nominated to be a cardinal by his uncle, Pope Urban VIII in 1627, and was confirmed in 1628. The responsibility for continuing the family line through marriage was then delegated to Taddeo (1603-47), because his two brothers both held ecclesiastical positions. Taddeo accepted guidance from his father and his uncle, Urban VIII, regarding the choice of a bride, because it was a major family and political decision. Primarily Urban wanted a Roman marriage, perhaps because of their new establishment in Rome, and eventually choose Anna Colonna (1601-58), the daughter of the Conestabile Filippo Colonna of Naples, to be Taddeo’s wife. The Colonna family also had a long history in the Roman aristocracy. With the inheritance of titles of Taddeo and the nomination to Cardinal for Francesco, it was natural that

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8 After a long conclave, that lasted from the 16th of July to the 6th August, Maffeo Barberini was elected, by 50 out of 55 possible votes, to succeed Gregory XV; Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*. pp. 280.
9 Considering that the papacy was an elected office, and cardinals were created by patronage, Rome enticed ambitious families from elsewhere to acquire ecclesiastical positions, which would brighten prospects for the entire family politically and financially. The Barberini followed this model; Feigenbaum and Freddolini, *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750*, pp. 8.
11 The nomination was held due to protests of nepotism for six months; Burke and Bury, *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, pp. 113.
13 Ibid.
they would build a palace emanating their status, thus they began constructing Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane.

My aim in this thesis is to examine Palazzo Barberini and analyze the evolution of it’s plan, use, and decoration from the time it was built to its restoration in the late seventeenth century. In order to do this, I will also consider the social and historical circumstances that may have influenced the formation of the palace and the evolution of collecting, especially in the case of Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

In the first chapter, I focus on the Sforza ownership, the Barberini family leading to the purchase of the property, and the construction of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. In order to analyze the function of the Palazzo Barberini after its construction and after renovations in the late seventeenth century, it is important to understand the history of the site and a preexisting palace there. Following this analysis, I will review the economic means of the Barberini palace that permitted them to purchase, renovate, and expand the palace. The family’s life within the palace and an understanding of their collections will also be reviewed. The history of the purchase of the site and construction of the palace is thoroughly documented in Patricia Waddy’s Seventeenth Century Roman Palaces: Use and Art of the Plan, while the extensive program of painted decoration was treated by John Beldon Scott, Images of Nepotism. These two sources will serve as the primary guide for an overview of the Barberini family’s history and approach to their grand residence.

In the second chapter, I focus on the visual analysis of the Palace, the floor program of how one would move throughout the rooms along with the interior ceiling fresco decorations that the palace originally had, with the installations done by the Barberini. Palazzo Barberini is of vast scale, with various annexes and extensive gardens that also defined a sector of the growing
Baroque Roman city. To understand the complexities and transformations of the palace as well as the change of its decoration throughout its inhabited years, it is important to know about the base of the building that was purchased, the expansions done architecturally, as well as the floor programs and interior decorations that the palace originally had and was based off when it was built.

In the third chapter, I focus on the social and historical context that would have influenced the design, plan, evolution and decoration of Palazzo Barberini. During the seventeenth century, Rome was an international city that catered to abundance of wealthy, elite residents; many of which were affiliated with the church, through position or family. It was important at this time, to display rank and status through property, palaces were thus, a reflection of power, wealth and status, especially since they were open to the public and were where the Roman elite conducted their business. This chapter focuses on the general layout of a Roman palace from the seventeenth century, and the movement that would take place through one’s reception rooms in accordance to hierarchy, as well as the social aspects that were implemented through ceremony, display, collections.

In chapter four, I will focus on breaking down the remodeling and renovation that Palazzo Barberini experienced under Cardinal Francesco Barberini. I will do so by focusing on the specific areas that were affected and explain the additions, creation, and change or establishment of ornamentation in each area. This chapter will also discuss Cardinal Francesco’s interest in collecting antiquities through primary sources.

From my analysis, it will emerge a comprehensive study of the evolution of Palazzo Barberini. An understanding of the social and historical context that shaped the seventeenth century Roman palaces along with Palazzo as well as the interpretation of collections.
2. The Sforza, Barberini, and the Construction of Palazzo Barberini

The Location History and Previous Owners

The location of the property is on the Quirinal hill that stretches into Rome from the northeast where the Aurelian wall and Michelangelo's Porta Pia are located to Montecavallo the location of Palazzo Quirinale. In the sixteenth century, this area was removed from the dense populated core of Rome, and was an area of vigna and suburban villas; but by 1625 the Rome had begun to expand in that direction. The site was rough, and sloped up from Piazza Grimana (modern Piazza Barberini) toward the ridge of the north slope of the Quirinal hill and the terrain was complex also because it was the location of Circus of Flora ancient ruins as well as the modern vigna as well.

The original owner of the vigna where Palazzo Barberini was constructed was Giacomo Cesi who sold it to Cardinal Pio da Carpi in 1549. Cardinal Pio da Capri then built a casino, and lodged a noteworthy collection of antiquities there. Not much of the earlier history is known of the land, however the property was significant enough that the structure was included in

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14 Waddy, “The Design and Designers of Palazzo Barberini.” 152
17 Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi's vigna was considered one of the greatest ancient sculpture gardens in Rome; Eiche, “Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere and the Vigna Carpi.” 115.
Renaissance maps that depict the Rome by the cartographers Bufalini, Ligorio, Dupéac and Tempesta (Fig. 1-4).^{18}

Gulio della Rovere, acquired the *vigna* from Cardinal Pio di Capri after his death, and Gulio della Rovere’s successors relinquished the palace to Cardinal Alessandro Sforza di Santa Fiora in 1581.^{19} The property under the Sforza consisted of a large building that was constructed partly on a foundation of Ancient Roman ruins, and it’s core was the mid sixteenth century casino constructed by Cardial Rodolfo Pio di Capri. There Sforza built two main additions that were carried out in 1583 and 1612, which formed the central, long and narrow palace that would be included in the New Palazzo Barberini as the north wing.^{20} The Sforza addition was apparently constructed directly above Pio’s casino, and which was completely noticeable because of different building materials and a juxtaposition between modern and ancient architectural structures (Fig. 6).

Cardinal Alessandro Sforza’s brother and heir Paolo Sforza were responsible for the expansion and ornamentation of the palace from its original form.^{21} The Sforza carried about further additions and alterations of their palace which consisted of extending Paolo Sforza’s palace six bays to the west (the western rooms of the north wing of the Palazzo Barberini), which leveled Pio’s casino and provided an uncovered entrance to the palace.^{22} By comparing details in two maps of Rome, that of Antonio Tempesta of 1593 and Giovanni Maggi in 1625, we may see the expansion of the vigna into a palace form, complete with an interior courtyard, that was begun by Sforza in 1612 (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5). The rendering of the palace in Maggi’s map

\[\text{\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{19} Mochi Onori and Vodret, } Guide to the National Gallery of Ancient Art at Palazzo Barberini, 4.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{20} Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, 174.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{21} The original construction of the Palazzo was in part on the foundation of an ancient Roman masonry; Blunt, } “The Palazzo Barberini: The Contributions of Maderno, Bernini and Pietro Da Cortona.” 258.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{22} Waddy, “The Design and Designers of Palazzo Barberini.”154.}\]
curiously does not correspond to a site plan of the same date. Additionally, there must have been popular interest in the development of the property, for before the construction and maybe even the final purchase of the area took place, the Maggi map, published in 1625, depicted the Palazzo Sforza labeled as “P. de Barberini”.

The Sforza renovations were stopped due to an unexpected drop in the family’s fortunes permitting the sale of the palace and property to the Barberini in 1625. The eastern rooms on the pian terrano of the purchased palazzo included recent Sforza ceiling frescoes, which the Barberini would persevere and incorporate into their decoration of the palace. The Barberini also purchased all other properties between the Sforza allotment, an area framed by the Strada Pia (present-day via Venti Settembre), and the Via Felice (now via Quattro Fontane), with intent to expand the palace and the grounds.

The site of the Palazzo was already prepared with considerable urban infrastructure, thanks to the late sixteenth century expansion and urbanization of the zone. It stood on an allotment both on the edge of the abitato within the Aurelian walls, on the rise of the Quirinal hill. When the Barberini family purchased the vigna Sforza, it was already something between an urban palace and a country villa. The newly-constructed Acqua Felice aqueduct and the creation of the via Felice, a straight avenue leading from Trinità dei Monti to the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, enhanced the importance of the palace’s location in the city. The nearby

24 Ibid, 175.
25 Mochi Onori and Vodret, Guide to the National Gallery of Ancient Art at Palazzo Barberini, 4.
26 The location and the purchase of the surrounding land plots were ideal for the Barberini and their plans for their fusion urban palace, country villa. Due to the location the architects had the ability to play with the concept of a Villa Surburbana, a palace that as the aspects of both a urban Roman palace as well as a country villa.
27 The aqueduct continued the water supply and was built re-using the springs and route of an ancient Roman aqueduct, the Aqua Alexandrina. See, The Waters of Rome: Aqueducts, Fountains, and the Birth of the Baroque City by Katherine W. Rinne who has written more about the water sources in Renaissance and Baroque Rome.
source of fresh clean water made the area more easily inhabitable, while the new streets increased traffic through the area.

Once purchased, the Barberini began to make it their own. Instead of tearing down the existing Palazzo Sforza (Fig. 6), the Barberini instead incorporated it into their designs and used the established palace in their new construction. The Barberini did not solely keep the structure of the building but also some of the ornamentation, including interior decorations, such as ceiling frescos, which can still be seen in the palazzo today.\(^{28}\) Strategically, by not tearing down the acquired Palace and building anew, the Barberini family was able to inhabit the palazzo sooner while the additional constructions to the Sforza palace were being carried out.\(^{29}\)

**Purchase and Building of Palazzo Barberini**

Taddeo’s family is mainly associated with the building of Barberini Palaces, for they are the ones that largely inhabited them. However, Cardinal Francesco Barberini was the one who originally bought Palazzo Barberini from Alessandro Sforza in 1625,\(^{30}\) and then donated the property to Taddeo in 1626.\(^{31}\) Pope Urban VIII also played a large role in the building of Barberini Palaces and affected most of what his family built even though he lived at the Vatican as well as at other Papal properties.\(^{32}\) He had a vested interest in the welfare of his family, and

\(^{28}\)This will be expanded on in chapter two under the section ceiling frescoes.  
\(^{29}\)Taddeo and his family moved into the North wing during the construction of the palace, while the West facade and South wing were under construction; Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 179.  
\(^{32}\)They are a family well known for their patronage in his time as the papal leader, for their funding and appreciation of the arts and commitment to beautifying the city, although controversial, the pontification of Urban VIII 1623 marked the climax of a most intensive phase of art patronage. Mostly because of Urban VIII personality and deep appreciation for the arts, he himself was a poet; Francis Haskell goes into detail on Urban VIII’s personality and patronage in chapter two of his book, *Patrons and Painters* (Yale University Press, 1980).
his generosity towards them with both money and rank made it possible to build the Barberini palace to the scale that it is in size and ornamentation. 33

Palazzo Barberini was built shortly after Pope Urban VIII was elected as Pope in 1623. It served as a sort of monument of Urban VIII’s ascent to the papacy, as well a testament to the rank and power of his family members. The pope elevated Francesco to the purple, while Taddeo was provided with the lucrative positions of the Prince of Palestrina and the Prefect of Rome. While the Barberini already had “Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari (Fig. 7), the Palazzo Barberini was built as symbol of power as well as to put the Barberini in line with the other established families in Rome. 34 The Farnese, Borghese and Pamphilj families all had significant palaces. The design of Palazzo Farnese established the essential model for the aristocratic palace type, with long, high facades with simple window series interrupted by a central portal. The north façade of Palazzo Barberini is clearly influenced by Palazzo Farnese, and demonstrates a similar style. 35 Palace Barberini was built to house Cardinal Francesco, Taddeo and his family, his mother Constanza. Francesco invested in the Palazzo Barberini, for the South wing of the building that was intended as his residence opposite of the North wing where Taddeo and his family would live, in the renovated wing that was originally the Sforza Palace.

In the seventeenth century, few patrons thought much about the facades of their palaces, and instead were more focused on the palace interior; especially in regards to the grand staircases

33“Many years later in his biography of Taddeo, Francesco speaks of Urban’s involvement in Taddeo’s projects: a certain design for Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane “also pleased Pope Urban, who, however, as His Holiness also had good taste in these matters, added a few embellishments and improvements which had not been foreseen [by others]”; Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, 130.
34A Cardinal typically established his presence in Rome with the construction and decoration of a palace that served as both his home and the seat of his court, by creating a dual palace the Barberini establish Francesco as a new cardinal (cardinale- nipote in specific) and also have the ability to accentuate Taddeo’s rank as well; Feigenbaum and Freddolini, Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750, 8.
35 Hibbard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580-1630, 31
and reception rooms.\textsuperscript{36} Thus, palace planning and external decoration of the Palazzo Barberini in this period was extremely innovative. Most palaces were organized around a central courtyard with one main façade entrance. Whereas, the Palazzo Barberini is essentially two palaces integrated into one, constituted by the north and south wings, connected by a receded loggia at its core (the west façade) that featured gardens on either side, and an innovative \textit{grand salone} that extended two stories of the palace, that featured gardens on either side. Due to the fact that palace was designed as two palaces, for the residents Taddeo and Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who held secular and ecclesiastical positions, the palace features two main facades in different styles to represent its duality. The north façade is of an urban palace façade design for Taddeo’s secular duties and the west façade is reminiscent of a villa, in representation of the church and Cardinal Francesco. Which is why Palazzo Barberini’s architectural plan, 1627-29, was so exciting; it broke from the norm of seventeenth century urban palace design.\textsuperscript{37}

Carlo Maderno, a papal architect, was hired as the main architect of Palazzo Barberini and was in charge of the plan and construction of the building until his death on 31 January 1629; the overall plan of the palace was settled before his death.\textsuperscript{38} Maderno employed Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini as assistants, and as a result of Maderno’s death Bernini took over the position as head architect, while Borromini continued to serve as his assistant. Pietro da Cortona also took part in some of the architectural planning.\textsuperscript{39}

Carlo Maderno, a papal architect, was hired as the main architect of Palazzo Barberini and was in charge of the plan and construction of the building until his death on 31 January

\textsuperscript{36} This will be expanded on in chapter three: Collections and Display.
\textsuperscript{37} Hibbard, \textit{Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580-1630}, 32
\textsuperscript{38} Waddy, \textit{The Design and Designers of Palazzo Barberini}, 157.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 151.
1629. Maderno employed Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini as assistants, and Pietro da Cortona also took part in some of the architectural planning.\footnote{Ibid.}

Upon Maderno’s death in 1629, Gian Lorenzo Bernini took over as chief architect at the palace, while Borromini continued to serve as his assistant. He is the architect responsible for the design and completion of the West Facade that connects to the two palace wings. Bernini continued and maintained Maderno’s project in its essentials, while enhancing it with his own additions. For instance, the concept of the high central salone that extends through two stories of the palace is one of Bernini’s main contributions and enhancements.

**Moving in and out of the Palazzo**

The purchase of the old Palazzo Sforza was complete in 1625, and preliminary work to the gardens and existing structure was started directly after the purchase. The major construction was in process in 1628, a year after Taddeo’s marriage to Anna Colonna and a month after their first child, Camila (1628-30) was born. However, Camila died young at the age of two. Taddeo’s first son, and second child, Carlo (1630-1706) was born in January 1630. A month after the birth of Taddeo’s first son, his father Carlo died, leaving Taddeo to succeed him as Prince of Palestrina in February of 1630. Following, in August 1631, Taddeo became the Prefect of the city of Rome, and in the same year, Taddeo’s second son, Maffeo (1631-85), was born.\footnote{Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 129-130, 242-243.}

With the inheritance and undertaking of rank and titles, Taddeo could establish himself and his family properly in the new Palazzo. It is documented that the transference of his items from “Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari to the Palazzo began in April and ended in May 1632 and
Taddeo and his family successfully moved into the North Wing the same month.\textsuperscript{42} Lucrezia (1632-98), the next child, was born while they lived there in September 1632. However, two years later in 1634, while the palace was still being built Taddeo began the process to move back into “Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari, and his goods were moved back to the house between September and December 1634.\textsuperscript{43} Taddeo then rented his half of the palace to his younger brother Antonio in early 1635.\textsuperscript{44}

Francesco’s position as the cardinal nipote, and representative of the church within the family is clearly expressed in the building. He influenced the function, assignment and construction of specific rooms such as an extensive library space as well as designated viewing rooms; because of his scholarly interests, he had a large collection of books and manuscripts along with his interest in art. Francesco’s collections of contemporary and antique art, accompanied with his inherited collection from Antonio in 1671, is what led to the renovation and remodeling of the palace in the 1670s.\textsuperscript{45} However, while the construction of Palazzo Barberini was still underway, Francesco was appointed as Vice Chancellor in late 1632, which included residence in the Cancelleria.\textsuperscript{46} For this reason Francesco did not immediately move into his designated wing of the Palazzo, and instead Antonio who had already rented the North wing, the unfinished palace was left solely to him, until 1644. Nevertheless Francesco maintained interest in Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, and ultimately returned and remodeled the palace in the 1670s.\textsuperscript{47}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid. 197.
\item \textsuperscript{43} It is documented in a letter written by Francesco that the motivation for Taddeo and Anna to move back to “Casa Grande” was because the air was damp and there was superstition surrounding the fact that Anna had not been able to conceive another boy. Once back in “Casa Grande” Anna gave birth to another boy. Waddy, \textit{Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces}, pp. 242-243.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Waddy, \textit{Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces}, 129-130, 242-243.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Burke and Bury, \textit{Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome}, 114.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Waddy, \textit{Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces}, 289.
\end{itemize}
The Death of Urban and the Exile of the Barberini

Pope Urban VIII’s reign coincided with the Thirty Year War (1618-1648). He struggled to maintain neutrality between the participants, Spain and France, and it was clear that Urban held sympathy for the French. In addition, during the Pontificate of Pope Urban VIII, there was tension between the other families in Rome and the Barberini for their vast patronage, building and use of the papal revenues for their family projects. Urban was an obvious nepotist, for he had appointed his brother and two nephews Cardinals, and advanced another brother and nephew, which enriched them all immensely; it is stated that in his old age Urban did feel conscience-stricken which caused him to seek advice from theologians on his use of the papal coffers. However in his last years, pushed by his nephews, Urban was involved in a war over papal fief over Castro, which involved Odoardo Farnese (1641-44), in which Urban was defeated and the war lead to the ruin of the finances for the papal state.

With the death of Urban VIII in 1644, followed the election of the Spanish faction’s candidate in the College of Cardinals, Pope Innocent X Pamphilj, who wasted no time in seizing the Barberini family’s properties and running the family members out of Rome. The Barberini fled to France, and in April 1646, once Innocent X had confiscated the Barberini properties, Cardinals de Valençay and Grimaldi occupied the palace with French soldiers, and declared that Antonio had given the property to the king of France. Following, the ambassador of France, on 24 May 1647 came to Rome and took residence in the palace, reinstating that the Cardinal Antonio had handed the property to the king of France, and he inhabited the palace until the

49 The consequence of Urban’s biased neutrality brought the counter-reformation in the empire to a close; Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, 250.
summer of 1653, when the Barberini returned to Rome.\textsuperscript{53,54} The diplomatic breakthrough that reconciled the Barberini with Pope Innocent X, was in June 1653 when Taddeo’s son, Maffeo Barberini was married to Innocent X’s great-niece, Olimpia Giustiniani. Soon after Innocent X also nominated Maffeo’s older brother Carlo to be a Cardinalate.\textsuperscript{55}

Antonio resided briefly at the Palazzo Barberini upon his return, but soon after he rented another palace, Palazzo Bonelli at the south end of the piazza SS Apostoli (Fig.9, no. 4), and left the Palazzo Barberini to his younger relatives to manage the palace. In 1658 Antonio purchased “Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari from his nephew Maffeo, where he lived until he died in 1671.\textsuperscript{56} In the 1670s Cardinal Francesco began extensive construction on Palazzo Barberini, partially due to his inheritance of his brother Antonio's art collection. Francesco was able to complete almost all of his renovations, however the last piece, the obelisk was the only thing that was not established before Francesco died in 1679.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54} Antonio became completely dependent on the diplomatic authority of his former secretary Mazzarino in Paris. Even though he fled Rome in haste as a fugitive of the Papal state, Antonio organized to have the most valuable pictures from his collection shipped out of Italy (See Laurin-Portemer, ‘le Palais Mazarin”, p.165, n.36); Burke and Bury, \textit{Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome}, 116.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid; Waddy, \textit{Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces}, 251.
3. Visual Analysis

Façades

In the same way that the Barberini had two branches, one ecclesiastical and one secular, their palace had two wings and two main facades—the loggia like recessed central block served as the main façade facing west, and the redesigned yet still severe north façade that was once the Sfroza palace. The two halves were designed corresponding to the customs and usages of seventeenth century Roman palaces, and their contrasting exterior forms indicate their identity. The north façade was for Taddeo, for he inhabited the north wing, and the west façade was intended for Francesco, for he was to inhabit the south wing. The connecting center annex contained the only shared space—the deep portico and the grand salone located directly above it. This the north and south wings, unite in the central block, which supports the idea that Palazzo Barberini is two palaces made as one. The contrast between the two facades can be seen in a drawing by Liven Cruyl in 1665, that depicts Palazzo Barberini on the slope of the Quirinal hill from Piazza Barberini (Fig. 10).

North Façade

The North façade of the Palazzo Barberini is in line to that of a typical Roman Urban palace (Fig. 11). It exhibits a rectangular and flat façade made up of four floors, with nineteen window bays a lining each story horizontally. The windows have alternating triangular and segmental window pediments, and a central balcony that exhibits arms. The balcony is located

57 Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, 180.
above the central arched portal door, that was the main entrance to Taddeo’s apartments. The facade is made of four floors and has a arched portal door in the middle on the ground floor. The north façade is reminiscent to that of Palazzo Farnese (Fig. 12), that was designed by Michelangelo and was the largest urban palace of Renassiance rome, because of the alternating window pedaments and central balcony. However, this pattern is only used on the piano nobile on the Palazzo Farnese whereas it is present on the third and fourth floors of the North Facade of Palazzo Barberini; as well as over every other window on all sides of the Palazzo except for the West Facade.

The façade is not unified, each floor is distinct from the others with different decoration, material and they are separated by stringcourse. The basement level (where the entrance portal is located) appears to be made of cement, the pian terran is constructed by ashlar blocks with framing around each window, the piano nobile is taller than the other floors and is flat, and the piano secondo exhibits a painted frieze between its window pediments and corbels.

**West Façade**

The West facade (Fig. 13) is reminiscent of a country villa. The juxtaposition between the two facades is also what contributes to the Palazzo carrying out a dual function. The Facade is made of travertine and is a recessed enormous seven bayed loggia, with a distinct piano nobile, that connects the north and south three story wings. The facade sits on top of a hollow, arcaded and vaulted open portico that supports the three stories above it. Behind the seven bayed arcade opening, a deep vestibule recedes back under the palace, moving to three bays and ending with a hemicycle space, in the renovations done by Cardinal Francesco in the 1670s the hemisphere space is severed; a carriage drive and ramp to the garden was added and is what can be seen today.
The two stories above the portico have seven windows that imitate the arcaded openings below them; there are seven windows on each floor, however on the top story there are vaulted incisions above the windows implemented for perspective, and there are individual balustrades in front of each window. The superimposition of the arched windows and loggia-like openings is reminiscent of papal architecture, similar to the benediction loggia, destroyed in 1616, at St. Peter’s and also of Bramante’s loggia of the Cortile di san damas at the Vatican Palace. On the piano nobile there is a projected balcony with a parapet in front of the middle window, and above the center window is the seal and heraldry of the Barberini family; three bees in the middle of a seal with the papal crown and two crossed keys. The bees are also used as decoration on the sprandels of each arched window on the piano nobile. The massive seal of arms hanging at the center of the façade reflects that of papal monuments and is suited the palace of a papal family.

Between the arcade openings and the windows there pilastered columns that follow the Classical Order: Doric on the ground floor, Ionic the middle floor and Corinthian on the top floor. There is a metope between the portico and the grand salone floor that also present symbols specific to the Barberini family. The different symbols present in the metope are: the head of Apollo, sun radiating wisdom, Barberini bees, a military bonnet, as well as a rams head. The head of Apollo and the sun are meant to symbolize wisdom, an important quality to the Barberini. The military bonnet is meant to symbolize Taddeo and his rank, and the bees are the classic symbol of the Barberini family. Above the secondo piano and Corinthian column capitals, corbels are used decoratively with floral reliefs in between them and connect the facade with the roof. There are also eight open mouthed sculptural faces situated above each of the corinthian capitals.

58 Scott, Images of Nepotism, 18.
Architects

Scholars have focused their attention on the contrast between the Palazzo Barberini and the other Roman Palaces designed with the previous century’s noble palace type, which was more severe and less focused on ornamentation. The general movement from the severe and strict architectural forms to a more expressive and decorative form of building is demonstrated at the Palazzo Barberini, the freedom of expression is clear through the designs of different architects; while the work of each architect is distinguishable throughout the palace complex, the building is completely unified. Palazzo Barberini is one of the first prominent Baroque palaces constructed in Rome and was designed by four of the most eminent architects of the time; it’s importance has long been recognized, especially because it was constructed as a monument to the most ambitious building family of the seventeenth century. The expansion of the Palazzo under the Barberini family was elaborate, principally for the different aspects desired, and there was a need for multiple architects to construct it. Therefore, the work was carried out by Carlo Moderno, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Borromini and Pietro da Cortona.

The design of Palazzo Barberini was lead under the direction of the architect Carlo Maderno, and it went through several stages. His main assistants in the beginning of the construction were Gian Lorenzo Barberini and Francesco Borromini, his nephew. Maderno’s first plan was of a classic Roman Renaissance palace scheme, which would have centered around courtyard including the Palazzo Sforza as one of the sides of the quadrangular building built around the courtyard. This plan was then replaced, most likely because of the circumstances and location of the property, with the plan to create a palace with no courtyard and two

59 Scott, Images of Nepotism, pp. 11; Hibbard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580-1630, 31
61 Mochi Onori and Vodret, Guide to the National Gallery of Ancient Art at Palazzo Barberini, 5.
projecting wings on the sides of a central block; a revolutionary departure from the standard Roman palace type. This inventive design united the functions of a palazzo, a representational city residence, and the plan of a suburban villa, that of extensive gardens with long open vistas, and did so with two monumental facades; the north and west facades. The North façade, used the old Palazzo Sforza Façade, and faces the Piazza Barberini and used the conservative, severe, traditional Roman palace design, which contextually worked for it faced the inhabited part of the city, and represented the secular part of the family housed in the north wing; and the west was fluid and decorative in its design, representing the ecclesiastical position of Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who succeeded Maderno upon his death, continued Maderno’s project in its essentials while enhancing it with his own additions. Bernini is responsible for the design and completion of the west façade, as well as the high central salone. The West facade, that spans the distance between the two wings, and is specific to Palazzo Barberini, most likely for its location situated at the edge of the inhabited city and vineyards just outside of it. The loggia facade visually links the deep portico below it, a place where the exterior and the interior meet, as well as the two entrance staircases that are symmetrically located at opposite to each other at either end of the loggia. Each staircase leads from either end of the loggia up to the Piano Nobile, with individual vestibules. The left staircase is a square staircase designed by Bernini, and the right staircase is the spiral staircase that was designed Borromini, who participated in the first stages of the palace building in his uncles workshop. Borromini’s hand is also recognizable in the design of the windows of the piano nobile of the central block section as well as in certain other decorative details around the palazzo, such as the carved Barberini bees that are present in the square staircase and all over the West facade.
Pietro da Cortona, foremost known for his paintings within the palazzo, also contributed as an architect. Cortona participated in the building of the palace complex. There is a Borromini drawing of a design that is attributed to Cortona of a wall and rusticated portal that extended from the North wing. From which, Cortona's biggest contribution, the design of the theater wing was built; and the portal (Fig. 14), mentioned above, served as the entrance to the theater. 

**Floor Program**

The Floor program of Palazzo Barberini is unique primarily because of its structure, two palace wings joined by a connecting loggia; but also because of the way it was designed for its specific residents. The north half of the palace was built for Taddeo and Anna Colonna, and the south half was intended for Cardinal Francesco, his brother. Each resident has rooms according to their family role and political position. Taddeo and Anna each have their own apartments, decorated according to their rank in north wing, the secular section of the palace, whereas Francesco had his own wing intended solely for his use, and was the ecclesiastical section of the palace, because of his position as the nipote cardinale. Both halves were designed according to seventeenth century Roman palace structure, and indicate their functions through interior decorations and floor programs following the exterior facades that indicated the inhabitants. In the next sections please refer to Figures 15, 16, and 17 in reference to the floor plans analyzed below.

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63 The theater wing was demolished in 1926 with the construction of modern Via Barberini. The demolition of this wing was a great loss for the history of seventeenth century theater, spectacle and pageantry, for it had a great example of a Baroque stage and structures; Mochi Onori and Vodret, *Guide to the National Gallery of Ancient Art at Palazzo Barberini*, 6; Wittkower, Connors, and Montagu, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 1600-1750, 64.
**North Wing**

The north wing consisted of five levels, beginning on the lowest level, located on the decline of the hill, the ground-floor, the piano nobile, and the secondo piano. This is the half of the palace that is used mainly for secular activities, where Taddeo the Prince of Palestrina and Prefect of Rome as well as Ana Colonna lived and operated politically.

*Taddeo Barberini*

Taddeo’s apartments are located on the ground floor of the north wing, however when approached from the north facade they are located on the floor above the entrance, giving the illusion of it being the piano nobile; A particular feature of the palazzo that worked in favor of its location on the slope of the Quirinal hill. To access Taddeo’s apartments, one would enter the palace properly from the north facade into an entrance hall, ascend a single wide staircase (S1) into a vestibule outside of his apartments. The first room entered after the vestibule is the sala de palafrenieri or solotto (B19) and then there are three antechambers (B20, B29, B28). Taddeo’s chapel (B30) was located directly next to the second antechamber (B29), and had a small room adjacent to it (B31), where Taddeo could listen to mass privately; this room could also be accessed through his third antechamber (B28). The audience room (B27) was the last of the public spaces on the northwest of the north wing, and was the last room before his private chambers was the audience room (B17).

Taddeo then had four private rooms (B23-26). It is believed that of the four private rooms B26 was most likely Taddeo’s bedroom, for it is adjacent to a staircase that connected his

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64 Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 180, 188.
apartments to his wife’s upstairs (S7); however Taddeo also had another staircase (S9) in a service room next to his bedroom (B24) that gave him a private exit.65

On the easternmost part of the ground floor in the north wing is a large room (B36) that was not part of Taddeo’s apartment that was sealed off from his rooms; it was the tinello for the women attendants. However, in later renovations, this room is repurposed and connected to the rest of the rooms on the floor. To the right of the antechamber B29, there are three rooms that are thought to be Taddeo’s summer apartments (B32, B33, and B34).66

Anna Colonna Barberini

Anna Colonna Barberini’s apartments were directly above of her husband Taddeo’s, located on the Piano Nobile of the north wing. The prominence of Anna’s apartment, on the main receiving floor of Palazzo Barberini was due to her role as “consort” of the pope, beholden as Urban VIII’s female relative to receive guests on his behalf, after her mother-in-law Costanza had been released of the obligation.67 Because of the location on which the palace is built, on the north slope of the Quirinal hill, the floors of the north wing are visible from different angles. If entering from the north facade, her rooms would be located on the third floor, and if entering from the west facade it would be the second. Unlike her husband, to enter her apartments one would use the west facade entrance, and the square staircase (S1) to the left of the great portico to enter the vestibule.

The staircase is wide, collonaded, with a high vaulted ceiling that moves up with the stairs. The staircase is situated around a small open square courtyard that serves as a lightwell to the staircase. It is lined with paired columns that open to the courtyard. The columns are

66 Ibid.
67 Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, 193.
positioned on top of the balustrade and are of Doric Order located on a stretch of stairs leading to each landing (Fig. 18). On each corner there are adjacent to each other. Along the walls there are pilaster column connected by fictive sculpted balustrades that mirror the columns located on the balustrade surrounding the light well that create a harmonious balance. On each landing there are two niches, positioned to be seen walking up and down the staircase that display sculpture (Fig. 19). The niches are framed with and feature sculptural Borromini bees below the two bottom corners of the niche. The Barberini bees are also used decoratively in relief on the capitals of the Doric columns as well as on the pedestals of the sculptures positioned in each niche. The staircase leads to the vestibule (C21).

In the vestibule, there is a massive window looking out into the entryway to the west facade of the palace, and there are two massive doorways on either side with relief decoration that are almost identical. Both doorways are framed by Aedicules, that feature fluted pilaster columns, and have two winged women sphinxes that face away from each other with bare chests staring outwards on top of the door frame. Above the backs of the sphinxes backs are shields displaying the heraldry of whose rooms lay beyond it; The right door leads to Anna Colonna’s apartments and the shield displays three Barberini Bees as well as the Colona symbol, a column. The left door faces south, and features only the Barberini symbol of three bees; this door opens into the grand salone, and faces Cardinal Francesco’s apartments(Fig. 20-22).

The grand salone (C1), is located in the middle of the North and South wings and served as the sala dei palafrenieri. Anna’s anterooms (C19 and C20) were accessed through the grand salone in the northeastern corner, and proceeded into a bigger third chamber (C29) that is situated against the North facade and was called the “Salotto della Divina Sapienza,” for the
famous fresco, “Divine Wisdom” that was created on the vaulted ceiling by Andrea Sacchi.68 Between Anna’s second and third Antechambers (C20 and C29) there is a small chapel room that it located above Taddeo’s. After The third antechamber there is a fourth that features the ceiling fresco, “the Creation of Angels,” (C28, Fig. 23) and leads into her audience room (C27). Behind the audience room there are four small rooms for Anna’s private use, similar to Taddeo’s on the floor beneath it. Her bedroom is located directly above Taddeo’s (C24) and the two are linked with a private staircase (S8). The design of the palace on the hill allows Anna her prominence as the pope’s female relative and at the same time her normal position as a wife to Taddeo.69

However, Anna also had summer apartments on the opposite side of her wing (C33-38) as well as another chamber that may have also been used as another audience room (C32). The rooms that were used as summer apartments looked out into the garden and were decorated accordingly, especially in Anna’s sala della conversatione (C35) that features puti and garden ornamentation by means of ceiling fresco.70

South Wing

Cardinal Francesco

Francesco Barberini’s position as the representative of the church as the cardinale nipote is demonstrated through the building program of the palace. The south wing, pendant of the North Wing, was created as his intended residence. Francesco’s apartments complement Anna’s and are similar in their construction. To enter his apartments one would use the West facade entrance, and the spiral staircase (S2) to the right of the great portico to enter the vestibule. Francesco’s vestibule also has a window and two doorways with the sculpture elements like in

69 Ibid,194.
70 Ibid.
Anna's vestibule, that feature pilastered columns on either side of the doorways and women sphinxes laying down on top with heraldry shields over their backs. The sala dei palafrenieri for Francesco was also the grand salone.\textsuperscript{71} Francesco also had a number of antechambers (C2, C3) that lead to his audience room (C6). His chapel (C4) opened from both his antechambers, and Francesco could hear mass privately if he wished from C5 because of a window through the wall.\textsuperscript{72} Francesco’s apartments also featured summer rooms that looked out over the garden (C11-C15).

**Whole Palace**

*Cardinal Antonio Barberini*

Although Palazzo Barberini was originally designed as the representative household for the Barberini that was meant to house Cardinal Francesco, the *cardinale-nipote* of Pope Urban VIII, and Prince Taddeo who had to take over the families responsibilities as Prince of Palestrina in 1630 and as Prefect of Rome in 1931, the space ultimately was completely occupied by Antonio when both of his brothers had moved elsewhere.\textsuperscript{73} While in the palace Antonio took on the role as family sponsor for cultural events as well as other key roles important to cultural life in Rome.\textsuperscript{74} He remodeled the Barberini palace by changing the functions of the wings and apartments, and by installing his own art collections and court there.\textsuperscript{75}

When Antonio moved into the Barberini palace, the floor programs and functions of the rooms designed for Cardinal Francesco, Prince Taddeo, and Ana Colonna were completely

\textsuperscript{71} Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 199.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 199-201,154-70, 242-51.
\textsuperscript{74} Burke and Bury, *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, 114; He was Cardinal Protector of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, an artists confraternity, as well as the protector of the Capella Pontificia, the official Papal music establishment.
\textsuperscript{75} Antonio’s art collections, see M.A. Lavin, Seventeenth-century Barberini Documents and Inventories of art (New York: New York University Press, 1975); Burke and Bury, *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, 114.
changed. He immediately choose Taddeo’s apartments to be his own. However, he easily found use for the other apartments throughout the palace as spaces for games, art galleries, and reception. Antonio he made use of the full *piano nobile*, and north ground floors, but he did not use the south lower half of the Palazzo because the space was not developed as apartments and rooms were occupied as bookkeeping offices, and construction storage.\(^\text{76}\)

From the arrangement of rooms, Antonio could find already decorated spaces that would fit his interests. During Antonio’s occupation of the palace, he used the already existing rooms and decoration to cater to what he wanted, for instance, Antonio used Taddeo’s previous audience room (B27) with the ceiling fresco of “Apollo on Parnassus” and made it his music room, for the fresco complimented it. Antonio had many rooms with musical instruments (C23, C29, and C39), as well as rooms for games; his inventory lists display that he owned four billiards tables, and three were in the same salon (C34).\(^\text{77}\)

By using the whole palace instead of a single set of apartments, Antonio changed the significance that the palace was meant to have, as the home of the secular and ecclesiastical heads of that generation of the Barberini. Antonio’s additions to the palace architecturally are minimal, for he mostly made adjustments within the already existing structure.\(^\text{78}\) His biggest contribution to the palace was the Barberini theater.

\(^{76}\) The rooms on the ground level of the south wing were used for carpentry during the construction of the Palace and Antonio thought they were poorly planned; Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 250.

\(^{77}\) Ibid, 245.

\(^{78}\) Antonio changed the functions of different rooms that he didn’t require anymore and focused the resulted around his interests; For example, Antonio changed the laundry room into a heated bath.
Ceiling Frescoes

When the Barberini acquired the palace in 1625 from Alessandro Sforza, it already included an ensemble of twenty-three painted ceilings from the Sforza family. The Barberini decided to keep them and even incorporate them into their new palace, and many of them can still be seen in the palazzo today. A majority of them, were fragmented and the work of undistinguished artists. Yet, the paintings worked to demonstrate the characteristic approach of ceiling frescoes that existed in the last sixteenth century in Rome and directed the iconographic and innovative program of the later Barberini frescoes. The Sforza and Barberini frescoes, for this reason, are compatible and demonstrate common interests of aristocratic families with ecclesiastical connection. The theme of the Sforza ceiling paintings are biblical, focusing on the Virgin Mary, church fathers, and old testament scenes. Alongside the biblical scenes are symbols of the Sforza family; the lion head as a symbol of the family and their patronage, as well as their coat of arms.

However, many of the Sforza ceiling frescos were painted on stucco and were not in terrific shape when the palazzo was acquired by the Barberini. The Sforza ceiling paintings in the north wing are much more crowded and framed with decorative elements around the scenes than the ceiling frescos that were commissioned by the Barberini, they are visible in Taddeo’s as well as in Anna’s apartments because of how they incorporated the old palace into their new construction. There is also a major difference in color choice between the Barberini frescos and that of the Sforza. The mythological subjects of the ground floor frescos distinguish them from the biblical imagery on the piano nobile and are characteristic of scenes deemed appropriate for

79 Scott, Images of Nepotism, 19.
80 Ibid.
the painted decoration of loggias and villas.\textsuperscript{81} Along with the biblical and mythological subjects, there are also fictive architectural elements in the ceiling frescos which can be seen in one of Taddeo’s anterooms.

Taddeo’s second antechamber (B29) still exhibits its original ceiling frescoes today, which display a painted architectural balustrade following the structure of the room with exotic animals, monkeys, birds and snakes, dispersed around it throughout the room. In the center of the painted vault are three cherubs holding up the family crest, three bees, and a crown above it symbolizing Taddeo’s role as the prince of Palestrina. It is documented that there would have been a fountain in this room as well, but it is not present today.\textsuperscript{82} Taddeo’s third antechamber (B28) exhibited a vault painting by Marziani, “The Choice of Hercules.” In Taddeo’s audience room (B27) the scene of “Apollo on Mount Parnassus,” was painted onto the vault by Andrea Camassei, and beyond the audience room in one of Taddeo’s private rooms (possibly his study, B25) Maziani also painted “Bellerophon Slaying the Chimaera” (Fig. 24).\textsuperscript{83}

Two of the most important ceiling frescos in the Palazzo Barberini, are \textit{Divine Providence} (Fig. 25) by Pietro da Cortona and \textit{Divine Wisdom} (Fig. 26) by Andrea Sacchi; both celebrations of the Barberini family, but predominantly celebrating Pope Urban VIII. These fresco’s are located in Anna’s apartments, and were completed in early 1632 before Taddeo and Anna moved into the palace. In addition, Pietro da Cortonna and his assistants are responsible for the creation of additional ceiling frescoes in Anna’s apartments; specifically for the painting in her garden apartments (C35, Fig. 27) and the mural frescoes in her chapel. The scenes in the garden apartment frescoes are symbolic of Anna Colonna Barberini’s role as a mother to the

\textsuperscript{81} Scott, \textit{Images of Nepotism}, 30.
\textsuperscript{82} Waddy, \textit{Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces}, 180, 188.
\textsuperscript{83} Waddy, \textit{Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces}, 188.
future generations of Barberini, with puti and flora. The frescoes in the chapel illustrate scenes from the infancy and passion of Christ, and the painting in dome depicts angels holding the instruments of the passion (Fig. 28).  

*Divine Wisdom* depicts wisdom seated on a cloud-born throne surrounded by her personified virtues lounging on clouds around her; the figures hover in the clouds above a terrestrial globe. An interesting aspect of the composition is placement of the sun (wisdom) and the earth, suggesting a heliocentric solar system, in the family place of Urban VIII Barberini who supported the imprisonment of Galileo for supporting the Copernican system two years after the finalization of the fresco. Authors have commented that Sacchi must have opted for extreme classicism instead of using illusionism, for the arrangement is not convincing. However, Sacchi and his patrons must have been content with the work because multiple copies were made of the work.

Pietro da Cortona’s Divine Providence in the Salone located at the core of the palace was the biggest commission in Rome since the Sistine Chapel; no other Roman palace possessed such a painting. It is a complex allegorical depiction of the Barberini family with scenes from the old testament, zodiacal and astrological symbols depicting important dates to the family, as well as family emblems, the Barberini bees and the papal crown with crossed keys in the center of the fresco.

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84 Scott, *Images of Nepotism*, 35.
85 Ibid, 38
86 Scott, *Images of Nepotism*, 39; Haskell, Patrons and painters, pp. 51; Wittkower, *Art and architecture in Italy*, 263
87 At least six easel copies exist of *Divine Wisdom* and two of them were given to distinguished guests of the palace; Scott, *Images of Nepotism*, 39
4. Collections and Display

Seventeenth-century Rome was home to a multitude of wealthy, elite, international, political and religious patrons. This is substantially due to the fact that Rome was the seat of the papal court, which generated international diplomatic representatives from all over Italy and the world. In Rome, there were seventy members of the College of Cardinals, each with their own court and residence, that gave the city universal character and assisted in the construction and beautification of Baroque Rome. The elite created a culture of demand, due to their unique requirements, for creators as well as staff to fill the niche markets that they created. To fill this need, into the city arrived a multitude of people from all over Europe and Italy; they were skilled workers that could design, create, decorate, build, and furnish their palaces; artists and musicians that entertain them with poetry, music and theater; and staff that could watch over and tutor their children as well as service, manage and maintain their households and restore and service their collections.

Cardinal Nipote

In 1630, Pope Urban VIII ruled that cardinals would have the status and benefits of prince of in the church, equal to a Prince of noble blood. Precedence and rank were extremely important at this time and were constantly asserted. Cardinals were equivalent to princes of

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88 The number of cardinals was fixed in 1583; Feigenbaum and Freddolini, Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750, 6.
89 Feigenbaum and Freddolini, Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750, 5
90 Ibid, 6
Rome, but the Pope’s nephew, *cardinal nipote* or the cardinal nephew, were even more beneficial, and were pivotal in the contribution to the display of art in Rome. The cardinale nipote were trusted family members that were chosen by the pope to fulfill a diplomatic and administrative role, that is similar to the role of secretary of state.\(^{91}\)

Cardinal-nephews were given a high ranking position, that also gave them a chance to personally enrich themselves and their families from their office. Of the cardinal nephews, a number of them, namely, the Barberini, the Borghese and the Pamphilj were major benefactors and builders, especially when it came to their palaces.\(^{92}\) In the seventeenth century, a major concern of cardinals and their families was their residence; a good address and substantial palace not only to show the rank of the family, but also to accommodate them.\(^{93}\) Palaces and there decoration were used as a tool to promote status and culture throughout Rome.\(^{94}\)

The nipote palaces are known for the most prominent propagandistic frescoes, depicting family glory and their uncles, the pope, as seen through the allegorical Barberini Palace frescos. Roman Baroque architecture was expensive, and was helped financed by nepotistic abuses that ultimately troubled the popes themselves.\(^{95}\) However, wealthy cardinals were collectors of antique statues, paintings, and other expensive objects for exhibition, and were great contributors to antiquarianism and collection in the seventeenth century; they were decisive in shaping the display of art, and galleries as well.\(^{96}\) Palaces, collections and display of art were used as tools to express gradations of hierarchy between cardinals and the elite.\(^{97}\)

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\(^{92}\) Ibid.

\(^{93}\) Ibid, 78.

\(^{94}\) Ibid.

\(^{95}\) Urban VIII was the last nepotistic Pope, mostly due to the pope that followed him, Innocent X, who persecuted the Barberini for their abuse and sought to make sure it would not happen again; Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 281.


\(^{97}\) Ibid, 6
Ceremony

The construction and decoration of a palace was an essential practice by cardinals to establish their presence in Rome; the palace would serve as both a residence and seat of his court, and was where one would receive guests and colleagues. Furthermore, palaces were the primary site where the elite conducted business in seventeenth-century Rome. For this reason, palaces had distinct sections for public and private use, which is visible in their plans. The interior plans of palaces were also configured to accommodate the ceremonial aspects that would have accompanied such visitations; Antechambers were an integral part of the ceremony. They were regarded necessary to classify and establish rank of visitors, and graded the spaces in which visitors would be situated; which contributed to the display of the palaces and such antechambers in itself (See Fig. 29 for a depiction of interior palace).

Thus, the display of art in seventeenth-century palaces consequently served more to communicate status, identity, as well as to be part of ceremony, and to articulate individual positions, of the visitor and the proprietor, within the space. Women, the relatives of prominent cardinals and wives of aristocrats, were also given the responsibility of receiving guests and hosting diplomatic calls. In such circumstances there was protocol and a ceremonial system that was regulated during such visits.

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99 The enfilade constituted to a display in itself, because the succession of rooms presented visitors with series of ceiling frescos that usually developed in programmatic unity. Palazzo Barberini demonstrates this development in their ceiling frescos; Ibid.
100 These diplomatic meetings required utmost protocol and were governed by extreme etiquette and hierarchy that was extremely calibrated and was so regulated that it required the compilation of thick manuals, outlining conduct and ceremony. While elite lived mostly in the public eye, they also arranged spaces in the palace where they could withdraw and spend time in private; women especially needed these spaces. Anna Colonna at, Palazzo Barberini, could perform her official duties as the wife of Prince Taddeo Barberini and the niece in law of Pope Urban VIII in her formal apartments (C19-20, C27-32) and retire to her smaller private rooms (C33-38, that were arranged next to a garden). In one of her private rooms (the Gallerietta room C35) she had frescoes that portrayed her role as a mother of the future generations of the Barberini, and the other private rooms were also decorated with references to
The enfilade of rooms provided an environment for display through the architecture of the palace itself, with decorated grand portals, staircases, landings, thresholds, and suits; through artwork and objects, tapestries, thrones, furnishings, baldachins, paintings and other objects that signified status and wealth; through symbolism of the family coats of arms and portraits to display family history; and also through frescoes that would communicate with the visitors allegorical or symbolic narratives of the family’s power and glory. Such display was crucial to ceremonial procedure of palace visits that was encoded in the social and intellectual culture of the seventeenth century.

**Storage and Exhibition of Collections**

Collecting and display was an ever-shifting process during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Collections were never absolute, and would have varied in size continuously, for items were constantly acquired from commissions, sales, or even contemporary excavations. To account for extensive collections, items would be stored in the guardaroba, or could be transferred and retrieved between properties, whether country villas or urban palaces. It is difficult to tie down any item to a specific place, for the wealthy families in Rome, especially the papal families had copious goods for display, which would be revised and relocated constantly; a log of these actions can be accounted for in registers of the guardaroba of these families that if still in existence can be found archives. They also acknowledge how families exchanged palaces and apartments within them in response to major family changes, such as deaths,

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102 The guardaroba was a room specifically used for storage of valuable items.

marriage and changes in rank. Lists of goods were created constantly and for a variety of reasons, such as sales, acquisitions, inheritances, confiscations, rentals, dowries, in the general management of household goods, and in the creation of a fidecommissio, the only thing is that not all of them have survived.¹⁰⁴

Thus the palace experienced changes constantly in decoration; whether it was because of newly acquired items or adjustment of different paintings, sculptures, furniture, within the rooms themselves— that also exhibited stucco, pendants and decorative aspects on their own.¹⁰⁵ While display was part of reception and the culture of the seventeenth-century, palaces normally had multiple galleries in addition to the grandeur and spectacle of the visitation rooms. There were gallery spaces specifically devoted to pictures and sculpture to impress viewers, and demonstrate the proprietors taste, as well as display rooms that were private to the owner that were nonrepresentational and exclusive to the family.¹⁰⁶

In addition, when considering collections and display, the refurbishment of paintings, furniture, sculptures, and other items would have impacted the movement of collections throughout the palace, and with this shift, their would have been revision of the location of items to fill gaps and to fit into decorative schemes of different rooms. The palace architecture also facilitated display through its physical design, which provided space to be decorated. Furthermore, there were four audiences that would have interacted with display in the Roman palace. First, people that were there to conduct business with the prince or cardinal, that would see the art and decoration in terms of status. Second, the connoisseurs, academic scholars and

¹⁰⁴ The fidecommissio was a clause in wills that prevented heirs from selling or disposing of entire or individual parts of their “legacy”, such as the items, property, and collections that the deceased had acquired in their lifetime. The fidecommissio usually also considered the evaluation of the individual items; Feigenbaum and Freddolini, Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750, 27.
¹⁰⁵ Feigenbaum and Freddolini, Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750, 19.
¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 21.
artists that would visit places solely to see the architecture or artworks on display. Third, the public that might be interested in seeing the palace in whole, and forth the owner.107

The Seventeenth Century Palace

Reception Rooms

Palaces varied in their design, layout and size, due to their patron. However, most Roman palaces possessed reception rooms for guests because palaces were where the elite conducted business. Reception was an important part of Roman public life, thus it was necessary to have accommodations for such a practice in their for palaces. The order of rooms in which the guests were received was based on etiquette and was associated to the ranks of both the host and visitors.108 The receiving rooms were ordered from the scala, sala dei palafrenieri, prima anticamera and capella (normally the chapel would be off of the first or second anticamera), second anticamera, camera d’ udienza, camera, and retrocamera (Fig. 30).109 They were an enfilade of rooms for receiving visitors that were distinguished by their name, sequence and decoration as well as by the guests that could visit them. The guest would be greeted by palace staff, and the host would meet the visitor in the room that coordinated with their rank. The protocol for visitation of palaces would begin with the visitor entering through a portal entrance in the facade of the palace, into a courtyard and then up a grand staircase (the scala).

The staircase would led the visitor to the sequence of visitation rooms, that would normally begin with the guard room (sala dei palafrenieri) and then the anterooms (the prima anticamera, seconda anticamera), the number depending on the owner of the apartments. The

audience room (*camera d’udienza*) was the final room in the sequence, and visitors would not go past this room because it is the last public room in the palace; the bedroom (*camera*) and service rooms (*retrocamera*) were usually placed behind it and were private to the residents of the palace.\(^\text{110}\) To leave, the guest would repeat the process out of the palace. How the guests were received, the etiquette presented between the host and guest, the interaction between the rooms and display between the objects, and the building itself, were all part of ceremony.

**Movement**

Movement was a large part of the ceremony and inner workings of the palace.\(^\text{111}\) The guest’s carriage would move through the portal and enter into courtyard, the guest would then ascend the staircase and move through the reception rooms, the staff circulated the palace in hidden staircases while attendants and the host would greet visitors. Objects imitated this movement, for they were relocated around the palace in different apartments as well; the chairs were arranged to rank in the audience rooms, furniture and wall coverings were circulated, tables were organized for meals, and collections were modified as well.

The audience rooms were outfitted and arranged based on guests, and the residents also moved between seasonal appropriate apartments throughout their palace. This movement throughout the palace was fundamental and ritualistic, not only for display and also for customs of the seventeenth century, but also for the inner working of the palace. In addition, the structure of the palaces could be modified, like the expansion and renovations that took place with Palazzo Barberini. Multiroom apartments and palaces had boundary walls, with a clear division between


\(^{111}\) Movement is the theme of Waddy’s article “Inside the Palace.”
the private palace interior and the public streets or piazzas that surrounded them, allowing the proprietor liberty to alter their space freely.

**Variation in Apartment Layout**

Apartments could be augmented by rooms, or even by another apartment in alternate seasons; it could be adjoined with apartments for other family members; it could be adjacent to a library or baths, or any specialized room corresponding to the owner’s interest; and the apartments would be accompanied by variety of service rooms. Apartments were adaptable, and could be modified undoubtedly for the needs of different residents. This was done at the Palazzo Barberini, when Cardinal Antonio Barberini inhabited the entire palace, the north wing apartments in 1634 that were for Anna Colonna Barberini and her husband Prince Taddeo Barberini were rented and altered according to Cardinal Antonio’s taste and needs.112

Each section of the palace served a specific function. The ground floor was generally used for palace services, however, in some palaces there might also be assigned rooms or apartments on the ground floor to serve as summer apartments to escape the heat, each palace varied between proprietors. The main apartments, and reception areas were located on the piano nobile and were accessed through grand portals and staircases. Then above the piano nobile on the secondo piano, there would be more rooms of various designations; galleries, more apartments for family members, libraries and guardaroba storage space.113 The function determined by the family living in the space, designated based off of need. The separation of public and private areas in the palace also would have played a part in the sectioning and

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112 Feigenbaum and Freddolini, *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750*, 32
113 Ibid.
determination of room and apartment function. And, of course with the assignment of rooms, came the decoration and display of art.

**Display in Palazzo Barberini**

With the change of inhabitants, came the change of display and function of rooms in the multiple apartments of Palazzo Barberini. There were multiple display opportunities as well as designated gallery spaces throughout the palace, that was complemented by the architectural features and frescoes that were built into the space. Aside from in designated gallery space, paintings would also be installed above doors or above windows, and this was form of display was also implemented in the Palazzo Barberini. When Cardinal Antonio Barberini inhabited the whole palazzo, in 1644, all of the rooms in his main apartments used for the reception of visitors, located on the *piano nobile* of the south wing (rooms C2-C15), had paintings hung above the doors and windows that would have accompanied other wall hangings; however, except for three large paintings in his first antechamber, there were no other pieces of art. A majority of Cardinal Antonio’s sizeable collection of sculptures and paintings were displayed in his appointed gallery rooms that were located in the north wing of the *piano nobile* (C33-C44 next to his summer apartment rooms C19-C32) and also on the ground floor of the north wing in his ground floor apartment (rooms B19-B38) where he would have invited personal guests.

When Francesco remodeled the palace from 1673-1679, he created new apartments on the ground-floor of the south wing that were used for the display of sculpture and art, partly due to his inheritance of from his brother Antonio. Which will be discussed in more detail in chapter four. After 1679, In Palazzo Barberini, the paintings and sculptures were displayed together in

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115 Ibid.
two ground-floor apartments (Originally Prince Taddeo’s Summer apartments, B33-34). In the new display rooms there were no fabric wallcoverings because the walls were completely covered by paintings. The last room of the wing (B36) was ornamented with a majolica pavement, landscape frescoes on the walls, and with a fountain with a sculpture of bacchus-- an indoor garden to complement the display or art.

**Academic and Grand Tour Mindset**

The seventeenth century was the first period when secular visits to Rome superceeded religious pilgrimages. The grand salone of Palazzo Barberini was the most well-known display space within the palace for the “Divine Providence” ceiling fresco by Pietro da Cortona, publicized through a pamphlet describing the work. Numerous visitors came to Palazzo Barberini to view the phenomenal vault and once under it many would ask the man on duty in the sala, Mattia Rosichino, for an explanation of the allegorical scene above them. So many people asked that Mattia took it upon himself to ask a poet about the scene from which he wrote and published a pamphlet about the vault in 1640, that he could give to interested viewers.

Visitors to a palace, most likely would have encountered a display of ancient artifacts in the courtyard or garden, whether it was an inscription, sculpture, or architecture fragments. The display could be organized in different ways, depending on the state of the item; sometimes the

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116 The remodel will be expanded on in Chapter Four.
117 Feigenbaum and Freddolini, *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750*, 37
118 Rome was a principal stop for Grand Tourists during the later seventeenth century and through the eighteenth century. The city drew a multitude of visitors to see the ancient monuments in the city, as they had in the past, as well as to admire modern art and architecture of the previous century. Artists and artisans flocked the city to see and create paintings and models for tourists to take home; most visitors on the Grand Tour would return with tokens from their trips. Display in palaces and collections that focused around the antique may have been influenced by the tourists and the academic aspects of viewing art in Rome. The city may have adapted to this new wave of visitor.
item would be positioned in an organic way to make the item look like it was found in that spot, and others were exhibited, placed to supplement the architecture and gardens. Modern Rome was unique, for its history and being the site of an ancient civilization, which designated the city to be not only a major tourist destination, but also a place where modern people could interact with the ancient past; one could dig up ancient fragments, sculptures and inscriptions and deem them *in or ex urbris*. These ancient artifact finds, along with others that were purchased, could be displayed all over palaces, in galleries, courtyards, gardens, or on the facade. 

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120 Ibid, 6
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
5. Cardinal Francesco’s Renovation of Palazzo Berberini and Collection

Renovation Overview and Plan

In the 1670s, Palazzo Barberini went through extensive remodeling and renovations, carried out and paid for by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. He evaluated and broke down the existing apartments in order to produce a complete and fluid space. Cardinal Francesco did so, by creating new apartments in the ground-floor of the south wing, renovating the north wing, the full piano nobile as well as excavating and establishing a defined garden space in the east and south sections of the garden. The south wing ground-floor was completed as a finished apartment, and rooms were excavated in the basement below it to install services for it. As a result of the excavated land, the pain terreno was released from the earth that once surrounded it, which were the higher gardens, by large-scale excavations and the creation of a retaining wall. A carriage drive was established in the new excavated space.¹²³

The carriage drive pierced through the niche of the portico and the oval room that was on the piano nobile, the previous garden level, and the driveway was ramped towards the gardens to the east. The bridge that once connected the piano nobile to the gardens, as a result of the excavation and construction of the ramp, was rebuilt. Another bridge was also built on the south side of the palace for the same reason, to connect anteroom C3 to the gardens as well. This new bridge was designed with arches that appear to be collapsing from age, that created an antiquity quality, and featured a wooden drawbridge that could be moved so that one could utilize it.

The Renovation is dated between 1673 and 1679, and the remodeling of the palace the may have been the result of Cardinal Francesco Barberini’s inheritance from the death of his brother, Cardinal Antonio Barberini on 4 August 1671. The renovations within the palace may also have been to accommodate the collections and works of art and antiquities that Francesco had acquired from Antonio as well. Antonio’s assets are listed in an inventory from his residence at “Casa Grande” ai Giubbonari. From the inventory it is understandable why Francesco would have needed extra space, if not for the display of the works, but for the storage; The description from moving bill that was handled from “Casa Grande” to Palazzo Barberini, from August to October of 1672, illustrates that there were, “ninety-one cartloads of sculptures, medals, busts, figurines, pedestals, and a large harp, at a cost of 29.50 scudi, and 116 cartloads of of paintings, costing 14.20 scudi.” For these reasons, the sheer amount of items that were meant to accompany the already inhabited and decorated Palazzo Barberini, Francesco must have planned the renovation, remodeling and expansion of space accordingly.

An extensive plan for the renovation was completed before June 1672, for there is documentation of the payment to the architect Erigo Zuccalli concerning the preparations of “plans for the new fabric” at Palazzo Barberini. The work is documented in multiple misure, most likely of the extent of work that was carried out in diverse areas of the palace, and also because of the length of the project, nonetheless, the plan for the final project was organized from the beginning. The work began in 1672 and continued through 1679, when Cardinal

124 Blunt dated the carriage drive and the consequent alterations to the garden facade between 1673 and 1679; Blunt, “The Palazzo Barberini,” pp. 267; Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, pp. 251.
125 Cardinal Antonio Barberini’s inventories at have been organized and translated by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin; see Lavin, Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art.
126 Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces, pp. 251
127 Ibid.
Francesco passed away 10 December 1679.\textsuperscript{128} For the floor plans of the remodeled palace, please refer to figures 31 and 32.

**South Wing**

The first course of action for the alterations of the palace was to empty the ground-floor of the south wing, where Francesco planned to establish a new functioning apartment. This was done from August until October of 1670; sculptures were moved from the rooms, which were used as an antiquarium, to the opposite wing of the palace.\textsuperscript{129} Most of the rooms on the ground-floor of the south wing were used as service spaces, and the bookkeeping office (computisteria) was located in rooms B9-B10, and as a part of Francesco’s plan a new structure was built external of the palace to house the computisteria along with the other service rooms, such as a tinello (a small dining room for staff), a despensa, and a bakery.\textsuperscript{130} In order to establish new basement quarters below the south wing ground floor, the existing pavements were removed and the ground below was excavated and shaped for the construction of masonry vaults; this was done to create the basement rooms A21-A27. No later than August 1672, rooms B7-B10 were completely finished with marble steps next to the windows, new floor pavement was inserted, plaster as applied, decorative stucco implemented on the vaults with the Barberini arms topped by the Cardinals hat with the maltese cross.\textsuperscript{131} Following, marble sculptures were placed in the refurbished rooms by January 1673; however, at his time the rooms still had no formal entryway because rooms B4 and B3 still needed to be remodeled.\textsuperscript{132}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{128}] Ibid. 251-252
\item[\textsuperscript{129}] Ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{130}] ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{131}] Ibid 252.
\item[\textsuperscript{132}] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
There was a pause on the renovation of the palace between 1673 and 1675 because the guardaroba of the palace, that was located in the mezzanine, was in bad condition and needed to be repaired, therefore construction was conducted there. Yet, in 1675 when they began working again, the earth removal had reached the lower level of the ground-floor and the service stair S3 had been extended down to connect the new basement floors with the ground-floor of the south wing; it did so by connecting the elliptical stair S2.\textsuperscript{133}

Following the basement floor, the rooms on the ground floor of the south wing were also renovated to create the complete apartment, the passageway B2 that featured a short set of stairs was restored to serve as the proper entrance to the completed apartment, and the floors below them were not excavated. Finally, the former credenza, was altered to a sala, and was the first room the newly formed apartment. Room B3, that had been the carpenter’s workshop, then because an anteroom, and was decorated with a stucco enframement on the vault along with a frieze of Barberini bees and garlands, and outfitted with marble door frames.\textsuperscript{134} In addition, a new doorway was created from the anteroom to the chapel B5, an altar was created and the chapter was created also with plaster, a frieze and stucco decoration on the vault.\textsuperscript{135} The three sequenced room offered a proper entrance to the new apartment and received ornamentation that complemented their function. Rooms B6-B10 followed the plan of the rooms above them on the piano nobile. None of the rooms in the new apartments of the ground-floor (pian terreno) received wall hooks that were intended for tapestries, most likely because there was a plan to fill the walls with paintings.\textsuperscript{136} Outside, following the excavation of land and refurbishment of the

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid. pp. 254.  
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid, pp. 255.  
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid. pp. 254.
ground-floor rooms, the south facade was freshly plastered and the windows were outfitted with grills on its thirteen rooms.\textsuperscript{137}

The artwork and sculptures that were transferred to the north wing during the renovation were not moved into the finished rooms (B4, B6, B7 and B8) until May 1678, and according to the misure, the task took some time as well as adjustments to finalize the exhibition of the works; furthermore in the succeeding months additional artworks were added to the space (B3, B4, B6 and B12) and room B11 was established as an ancient painting room, in which the paintings were fitted with protective coverings.\textsuperscript{138}

**Gardens and Carriage Drive**

Another feature of the remodel that was underway at the same time as the renovation and excavation of the ground-floor and basement of the south wing were the preparations and excavations for the new carriage drive. The plan for the drive was to attach the western forecourt with the eastern gardens, an act that would heighten the palaces element of display, as well as provide more space for visiting carriages.

By July 1672, the old wooden bridge that connecting east facade of the palace to the garden was removed and a temporary parapet was established in the doorway of the room C17 in its place. The excavation and removal of land on the east side of the palace (next to rooms B17, B15-B13) began by June 1672, and was the principal action to free the south and east facades from the higher gardens, in order to outside access to the gardens as well as light enter the rooms.\textsuperscript{139} Then, throughout October 1676 and June 1677, The space between the bridge and the

\textsuperscript{137} ibid.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid. pp. 255.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid. pp. 253-254.
northeast wing of the palace had been withdrawn down the ground-floor level, as had been done before with the south bridge, and three parallel drives were prolonged from the bridge, away from the palace towards the garden gate, the central drive ramped up from the portico under the palazzo. Retaining walls were made on either side of the central drive and another was created at a right angle to the northeast wing of the palace, that spanned to the level of the garden.\textsuperscript{140} Following, they continued the bridge construction by attaching two wings the sides of the bridge as well as a balustrade. Then four sculptures were placed in decorative niches in the hemisphere portico, and multiple others were positioned on the east façade (Fig. 33).\textsuperscript{141}

Later in the renovations, the axial drive was extended once again, this time from the garden gate to the most eastern boundary of the garden. There a wooden gate was situated at the end of the drive, and the foundation was created for a big fountain there as well, done by May 1678.\textsuperscript{142} Following the foundation of the fountain, waterlines, a basin and travertine pieces were positioned; the travertine was arranged as a craggy base off of which a statue of Apollo was placed.\textsuperscript{143} The Apollo Statue possessed a lyre, and was comprised of an antique torso accompanied with contemporary and newly carved head, arms and legs that was created by Giuseppe Giorgetti (Fig. 34).\textsuperscript{144} The final composition of the fountain consisted of the Apollo situated on top of the rocky travertine base, where water flowed from, with the back of the statue positioned towards Vicolo Sterrato (now Vicolo S. Nicola da Tolentino).

Although the south wing was already excavated in September 1676, new excavations took place in June 1678 to make the space leveled and consistent, after a retaining wall was constructed, which altered the position of the old bridge that was used to connect anteroom C3 to

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid. pp. 256-257.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid. 257.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
the south gardens, thus the bridge was moved to align with the door that connected antechamber C3 with C2; which also created a vista from inside the palace. Pilasters were created along the plastered south facade wall as well as on the retaining wall, and then began the renovation of the south bridge. Two granite columns were positioned and assembled with small capitals, an intentional choice for Francesco wanted the bridge to appear as spoglie (Fig. 35, Fig. 36) Arches were formed also with antiquity in mind, for they were fashioned to appear ruined--- on the brink of collapse, with missing voussoirs.

The axis of the south, or “ruined bridge” was meant to have continued into the garden to an erected obelisk of Antinoos. The obelisk of Antinoos is an antiquity that had laid in the forecourt of Palazzo Barberini since 1632 without purpose; Francesco had planned before, in 1658 to assemble the obelisk with an elephant base that was designed by Bernini, but it was not carried out. However, the plan to erect the obelisk in the garden was stopped abruptly by Cardinal Francesco’s death in December of 1679.

**North Wing Renovations**

Once the land was excavated at the corner between the northeast wing and the east facade of the palace (the area next to rooms B19 and B20), the ground-floor rooms of the north wing began to be refurbished. With the removal of earth, the previous garden apartments on the piano nobile, (particularly room C36) were left without immediate access to a garden space;

145 Ibid. pp. 261
146 The production of the bridge was possible due to stable masonry and reinforcing chain metal. The bridge also functioned as a drawbridge; the mechanism that operated the bridge was positioned in the wall of the anteroom C3; Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, pp. 261.
147 The artist Specchi incorporated the obelisk in an engraving that he did of the Palazzi in 1699, likely because he knew of the original plans to palace it in the garden opposite the “ruined bridge” (Fig. 37). Ibid. pp. 261-262
148 This took place by June 1677; Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, pp. 257.
however, in the 1640s, when Antonio had occupied the palace, he had already changed their function from garden apartments, typically a woman’s room, to his summer apartments, and spaces for galleries and game rooms. Because the function of garden rooms were altered previously by Antonio, and they were physically separated from the garden, Francesco decided to incorporate them into the piano nobile. The spiral staircase that was previously used as a service stair was removed and new windows were created on the north facade.\textsuperscript{149}

The \textit{galarietta} of the north wing was also modified, its form was lengthened and consequently, the painted decoration throughout the rooms was reworked to reinstate its former ornamentation.\textsuperscript{150} Doorways were then cut at the opposite ends of the \textit{galarietta} to align the space with the rooms to the western part of the wing, and the door frames were made of breccia marble (Fig. 38); this construction created a relationship between the western rooms of the north wing and the \textit{galarietta} which countered its old connection to the former garden room C36.\textsuperscript{151} The other rooms of the piano nobile keep their original form, however, the door ways were enlarged or moved in alignment with others so that they were uniform throughout the floor. The door frames were refurbished with frames of breccia similarly to the doorways of the \textit{galarietta}, that replaced older travertine frames from the 1630s. Also, each doorway was equipped with new walnut doors and bronze door handles that were custom made for the palace.\textsuperscript{152}

Room B36 on the ground-floor went through extensive redecoration and remodeling during this period, as well.\textsuperscript{153} The old dividing wall in the room was removed and two pairs of granite columns with marble Ionic capitals and bases were inserted in its place; rounded arches

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid. pp. 258
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{153} Room B36 was originally a tinello for women attendants in the original floor plan of the Palazzo, in the 1640s it is believed the space functioned as Antonio’s library, and at some point during Antonio’s occupation of the palace it was decorated to be more appealing and titled the “Stanza di Pinta”; Ibid, pp. 258.
were created on the ceiling above the columns to supply armature for the entablature, and to support the weight of the columns an arched and vaulted ceiling was established in room A12 below it.\textsuperscript{154} Michelangelo Marulli Maltese was appointed to paint the vaults of the ceiling, the cornice, and to paint fictive architecture framework throughout the room consisting of columns, pilasters, windows, and doors, on the east and west walls of the room.\textsuperscript{155} Doors were then created in room B36 to connect and establish the room with the other rooms around it, and the door were adorned with travertine frames to unify them with the other frames of the ground-floor of the north wing. The room was completed in July 1679, however, the Bacchus fountain, painted landscapes and colored tiled floor that can be seen in the palazzo today are left out of Francesco’s misure, hence they must have been added in the years just after his death. The only remnants of the late seventeenth-century decor are the paving, fountain, and columns, and architectural frescoes (Fig 39, 40).

Like on the \textit{piano nobile}, the rooms on the ground-floor were also refurbished. The main focus was on the ceiling frescoes of the western rooms of the apartment, and the central panels of the vaults in rooms B22-B26 were repainted and ornamented with repaired or fresh stucco. Then, four windows were enlarged in rooms B19 and B20, as a result of the excavation of the garden space, with new marble steps installed below them; yet the door frames on the ground-floor maintained there original frames of travertine unlike the floor above.\textsuperscript{156} The artworks that were displayed on the ground-floor of the north wing were moved during these renovations and were brought back when the work was completed.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid. pp. 258-259.  
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid. pp. 259. The granite columns and the painted architectural framework can be seen in an old photograph of the room (fig. 40).  
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid. pp. 260.  
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid. pp. 260.
Collecting and Cardinal Francesco

The Barberini Family amassed an extensive collection throughout their years as a papal family. This is greatly attributed to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, and enthusiasm of art and collections. Yet, less recognized are Cardinal Francesco Barberini and his interest in collecting. While it is well known that there are two prominent types of collections that were popular in the seventeenth century, scholarly and aristocratic, there is also a third relatively unmentioned kind of collection, which was not motivated by scholarship or social display but rather piety.

This category of collecting does not intend that such collectors were only interested in acquiring Christian art, only that it would have been given preference. Other cardinal nephews also participated in this genre of collecting, were Scipione Borghese and additional families such as the Mattei, the Sforza, and the Medici amongst others. Additionally, this category of collection does not mean that scholarly and aristocratic collections did not include religious items; on the contrary, they also included religious artifacts but were less focused on the obtainment of them.

From this interest, also grew the interest in collecting antiquities. In fact, by the early seventeenth century, antiquario was a full-time occupation. Cardinal Francesco Barberini employed his own antiquario, Leonardo Agostini (1594-1675), who was successful and skillful at his job. The Barberini account books document that Agostini was successfully obtaining ancient works much prior to his employment with Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Yet even with the assistance of the antiquari, it was a common practice for high ranking clergymen to take part in excavations, this was in part concerning the development of collection, the discovery of historical objects, and in part to participate in a learned discourse as well as to protect shared
cultural heritage; there have been instances when sites were destroyed because there was no one to protect.

Cardinal Barberini was one of the churchmen that was popular for taking part in such excavations, and there are letters and documents that still exist today that discuss his involvement concerning excavations along with the items that he acquired from them. These accounts are mostly written by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657), who was the *gentiluomo ordinario* to cardinal Francesco Barberini, and then his *primo maestro di camera* (head of household) in 1633. Cassiano dal Pozzo wrote *Notizie di diversi anticaglie trovate nel mio tempo* (‘notes on various antiquities found in my time), a piece that he eventually abandoned, but that contained 24 paragraphs in total from which we can consider Cardinal Francesco Barberini as a collector. Of the 24 paragraphs the first 16 are very brief and not extremely detailed in terms of dates; yet these paragraphs are concerning antique finds that were located during the Barberini building programs or items that were added to their collections (See Appendix 2 for letters).

Thus, it is documented from Cassiano dal Pozzo that Francesco acquired from an excavation near St. Peter’s, a substantial statue of a person lying in a bed, the statue originally had an inscription, however, it was destroyed and Cardinal Francesco took this statue to display it in his garden. Then, it is documented that after being summoned to an excavation site, Francesco had the ability to choose from a number of unearthed items, of which Cardinal Francesco bought a Medusa bust to place in his palace. Following, from the first, brief paragraphs of *Notizie di diversi anticaglie trovate nel mio tempo*, Cassiano dal Pozzo recognizes the excavations that took place on the Palazzo Barberini ground, when they were removing ground from the ground-floor to make the carriage drive, that interrupted the remains of the
ancient Hori Carpensi that the palace was built on top of. The excavators discovered a room with a painted landscape that was copied promptly by the Flemish painter, Frangione.

In the later part *Notizie di diversi anticaglie trovate nel mio tempo*, Cassiano dal Pozzo writes longer and more detailed accounts about other sculptures that Cardinal Francesco Barberini was able to obtain, such as the discovery of the Barberini Faun, that was discovered near Castello, as well as another statue that depicted a river god and jasper pieces that Francesco procured. In addition, Cassiano reports on the finding of the multiple pieces of bas-relief that was then added to the Barberini collection.

Other primary documents that discuss Cardinal Francesco Barberini’s collection are in the form of letters and are mostly written by his *antiquario*, Leonardo Agostini (see appendix 2). These letters were regarding discoveries and selected artifacts for Cardinal Francesco. In one letter from July 1661, Agostini writes, that he had discovered numerous pieces of travertine as well as columns from which Agostini had chosen fourteen for the Cardinal of different orders. In another letter dated to September 1665, Agostini accounts to both Antonio and Francesco Barberini, that he had discovered an obelisk with impressive and distinct hieroglyphs, as well as a sparrowhawk head made of basalt, which was immediately placed in their collection.

These first-hand accounts assist us in understanding the development of Cardinal Francesco Barberini’s collections, for there are not many records of them except for the inventory list from of Cardinal Antonio Barberini that Cardinal Francesco had inherited. They also help illustrate how Palazzo Barberini once was, with antiquities decorating the gardens and galleries. Thus, Francesco Barberini attributed to the religious and antique collections of the Barberini in the seventeenth century.
6. Conclusions

Throughout my analysis, my intention was to highlight and examine the change in function, decoration, and floor program of Palazzo Barberini, while considering the societal standards of collections and display. It has emerged that the different inhabitants each established their own program and usage of apartments; for Ana and Taddeo Barberini this was established in the north wing, whereas for Cardinal Francesco Barberini it was the whole palace, and for Cardinal Francesco Barberini it was the entire palace and surrounding gardens. Palazzo Barberini was transformed with each inhabitant in the seventeenth century. Along with the function of the palace, each inhabitant altered and modified the collections that were on display at their time of residence, which was in line with the general customs of ceremony, and display. Overall, we can see that Palazzo Barberini was completely evolved from its state when it was purchased, through the late seventeenth century renovations.
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[https://jculibrary.on.worldcat.org/oclc/6142492](https://jculibrary.on.worldcat.org/oclc/6142492).


Appendix 1: Image List

Fig. 1. Vigna Capri, Bufalini, detail of the map of Rome, 1551 (Eiche, “Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere and the Vigna Carpi.”).

Fig. 2. Vigna Capri, Ligorio, detail of the map of Rome, 1552 (Eiche, “Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere and the Vigna Carpi.”).
Fig. 3. Vigna Capri, detail of the map of Rome, 1577 (Eiche, “Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere and the Vigna Carpi.”).
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Appendix 2: Primary Sources


Excerpts from *Notizie di diversi anticaglie trovate nel mio tempo* by Cassiano dal Pozzo:

“In saint Peter’s, at the Confessio of the apostles, in excavating the foundations for the spiral bronze columns, was found quite near the said Confessio a statue of someone lying on a bed, larger than life, with an inscription in praise of the dishonest epicurean life, which was destroyed, and the statue was preserved and taken to the garden of Cardinal Barberini at Quattro Fontane.-- (4 August 1626, cf. account in a Chigi manuscript published by C. Fea, *Miscellanea Filologica, Critica e Antiquaria* (Rome, 1790-1836)”

“When digging in the garden of the monks of San Gregorio they found an underground room with its vault side walls painted in fresco, the vault with arabesques or more accurately grotesques of various kinds, with two portraits of a man and a women, and the walls with putti playing, and a scene of a Venus who plays in the water, swimming and recorded among the drawings in the house; it was completely demolished after Cardinal Barberini in company with the Duke of Parma, who was in Rome at the time had seen it: in the same excavation sometime earlier were found various ancient bronzes, namely a statuette like a seated Cybele, most superbly dressed a little over a palmo in height, a group of a centaur between an Aesculapius and Hercules, on a slightly larger scale, that for 20 scudi was brought by Cardinal Barberini, a head of Mercury with its bust, all exquisite skill.”

“In the ditches of Castello were found in digging two statues that were taken to the garden of Cardinal Barberini, one of a river in the usual reclining position, the other the torso of a faun, equal to the Belvedere torso. There were also found i don’t know how many pieces of ancient jasper, which cardinal Barberini also has.”

“In excavating the ground in the Barberini garden at Quattro Fontane, previously the Hori Carpensi, in order to distance the earth from the first-floor apartment was found a room painted with a fresco of a landscape. Immediately a copy in oils was commissioned from Frangione, the Flemish painter, and from that were made various other copies.

“When building the church of san Francesco Saverio, making the cut to open the new street from Piazza di Sciarra to the Pantheon, enlarging the Casa degl’Incurabili, in excavating the foundations of that corner were found pieces of various bas-reliefs, belonging perhaps to come arch, which being pulled out, though not all of them, were by
the placed of San Jacomo donated to Cardinal Barberini and were for a while deposited in the dining hall of the Capuchins now that of the Courtiers.”

“A few months later, digging the foundations in front of the entrance to the Palazzo dei Colonnssi, previously di Palestrina and noe di Carbognano in said Piazza Sciarra, and opposite the Incurabili, to erect the door of said palazzo, was found a large block which was one third of an inscription from an arch honoring Claudius after he subjugated England. Encouraged by this, on the orders of the Cardinal [Francesco Barberini], they began to extend the excavation to search further and sound several other pieces of bas-relief, companions to those which had been found first under the Casa degli Incurabili and a column certainly belonging to the arch; oversaw by the antiquary of Cardinal Barberini who oversaw the work, Leonardo Agostini. The piece of inscription, like the other pieces of bias-relief, was donated by the Duca di Carbognano to Cardinal Barberini who had taken them to his Palazzo at Quattro Fontane.”

Letters from Agostini:

3 July 1661.
“In the garden of the ‘Moniche Barberini in capo alla valle Quirinale’ (Barberini nuns at the top of the Quirinal valley’) excavations had been going on for two years. Great quantities of travertine had been discovered in this place, along with columns, either entirely preserved or broken, together with their capitals and bases. The day before Agostini had chosen 14 beautiful columns of different orders for Cardinal Antonio Barberini. Statues had not been found, since the unearthed dated from late antiquity and older ones could be seen below their ruins. *footnote 125*: the “Moniche Barberini’ are the nuns of the monastery of the Santissima Incarnazione. Together with the church of Santa Maria dell’Annunziata, the monastery was located via Alta Semita, close to Quattro Fontane.”

12 September 1665.
“In the garden of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, an obelisk was about to be unearthed. To judge from what could be seen already, the hieroglyphs had been cut remarkably well and the height might have been as much as 30 palmi. It lay at about 20 palmi below ground level, with its pedestal nearby. In the same garden a beautiful statue of Osiris had been found earlier, its sparrowhawk head made of the black stone that Pliny calls basalt. By September 1665 it was in the gallery of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. Footnote 143* : For the obelisk and its reinstallation by Bernini in front of the church, see C.D. Onofrio, Gli Obelischi di Roma (Rome, 1967) 232-7. The statue of Osiris could be the one listed in Cardinal Antonio’s inventory of 1644; See Lavin, Barberini Documents. 181 no 652. The discovery of Egyptian sculpture close to Santa Maria sopra Minerva is due to the presence of a dormer sanctuary of Isis and Serapis in this area; see Nash Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome.”