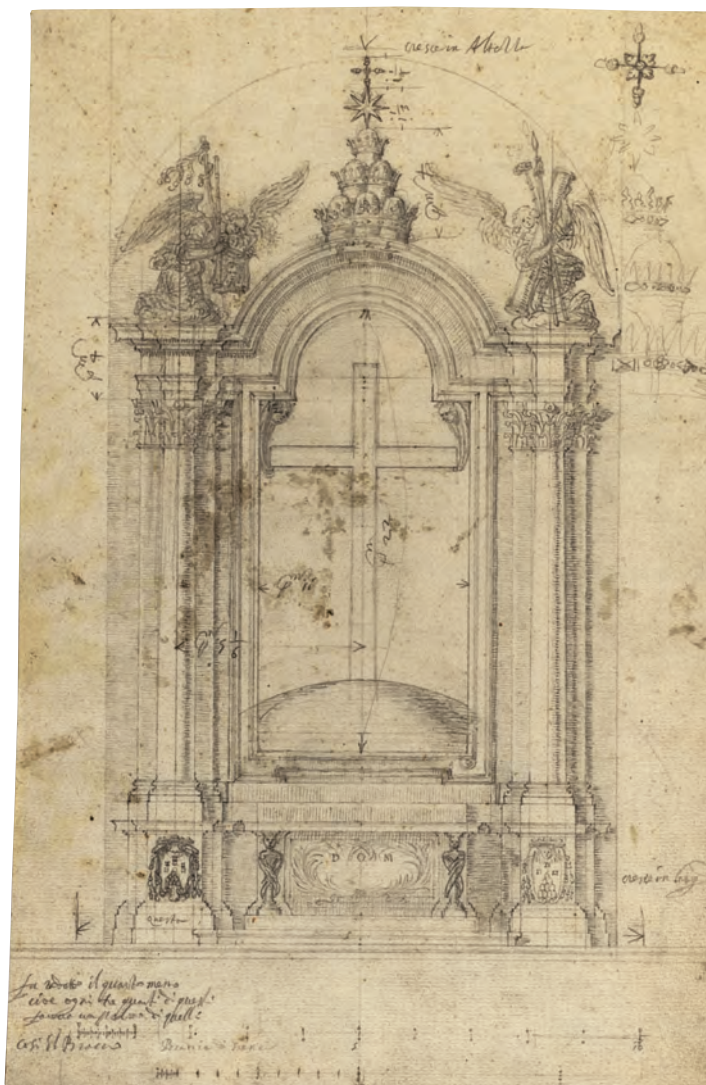
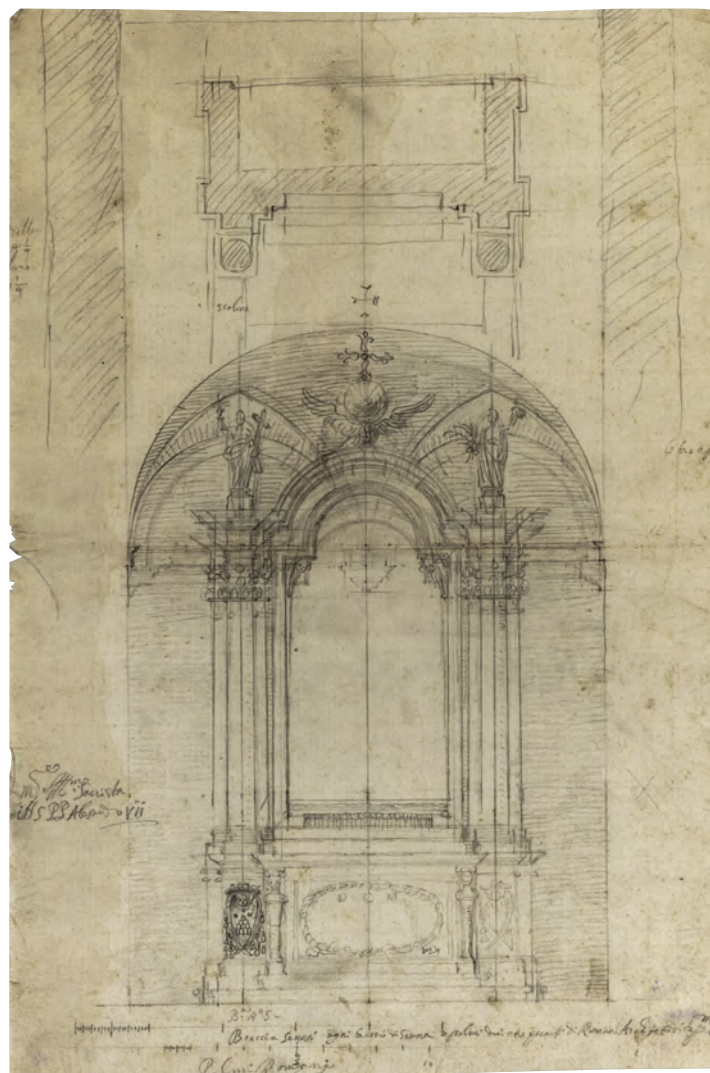


Borromini in Siena

by JOSEPH CONNORS and MACHTELT BRÜGGEN ISRAËLS



8. Design for the Crucifix Chapel in S. Martino, Siena, by Francesco Borromini. Early 1660s. Pencil on paper, 39.4 by 25.3 cm. (Albertina, Vienna).



9. Design for the chapel in the sacristy in S. Martino, Siena, by Francesco Borromini. Early 1660s. Pencil on paper, 42.1 by 29.2 cm. (Albertina, Vienna).

COMPARED WITH THE other protagonists of Roman Baroque architecture, Gianlorenzo Bernini and Pietro da Cortona, Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) travelled remarkably little after his arrival in Rome as a young Lombard immigrant in 1619. Nevertheless, he managed to design several works outside the city. The most sumptuous and beautiful of these is the Filomarino chapel, carved under his supervision by the cream of the sculptural profession and sent to Naples.¹ It is likely that the architect visited Naples to supervise its installation.

A city gate in a hill town of the Viterbese, San Martino al Cimino, was made to his design, and it is possible that he went to inspect the site beforehand.² In the case of the Lisbon family chapel for the Spanish ambassador Don Manuel de Moura, Marchese di Castel Rodrigo, Borromini had the pieces shipped but did not follow up with a visit.³ Likewise, although he sent drawings to Gubbio for a complete church, a copy of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, he did not travel to Umbria to supervise its execution.⁴

¹ S. Schütze: 'Die Cappella Filomarino in SS. Apostoli: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung und Deutung von Borrominis Projekt in Neapel', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989), pp.295–327.

² G. Eimer: *La fabbrica di S. Agnese in Navona*, Stockholm 1970, I, p.203, notes 24–25 and M. Heimbürger Ravalli: *Architettura scultora e arti minori nel barocco italiano: ricerche nell'Archivio Spada*, Florence 1977, pp.259–70.

³ J. Connors: 'Borromini and the Marchese di Castel Rodrigo', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 133 (1991), pp.434–40. P. Varela Gomez: 'Les projets de Francesco Borromini et Guarino Guarini pour le Portugal', *Revue de l'art* 133 (2001–03), pp.81–92; *idem*: "'Damnatio Memoriae'". A arquitetura dos marqueses de Castelo Rodrigo', in J.L. Colomer, ed.: *Arte y diplomacia de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVII*, Madrid 2003, pp.351–76.



10. Crucifix Chapel, S. Martino, Siena. 1660–64. The frame and altar based on a design by Francesco Borromini. c. 1664, with *Christ on the cross with mourning Virgin and St John*, by Giovanni di Stefano. Polychromed wood. 1480s. (Photograph: Fabio and Andrea Lensini).

11. The Gori Chapel, S. Martino, Siena, with the coloured marble frame and altar by Ascanio Cavoni da Cortona, c.1620, and the *Circumcision* by Guido Reni. Canvas, 372 x 216 cm. (Photograph: Fabio and Andrea Lensini).



In addition to these four projects outside Rome, there are two autograph Borromini drawings for hitherto unidentified chapels in Siena in the Albertina in Vienna (Figs.8 and 9). They have been known since Eberhard Hempel's monograph of 1924, and there was a flurry of interest by a new generation of Borromini and Bernini scholars between 1958 and 1967.⁵ Their destination in general terms was clear, as one of the drawings bore a scale marked in *braccia senesi*. Heinrich Thelen identified the patron, Monsignor Ambrogio Landucci (1596–1669), an Augustinian priest of the Congregation of Lecceto. The fact that the drawings

are in Vienna, where the architect's personal collection went in the mid-eighteenth century, shows that he kept them. There was no evidence that they had served as the designs for executed chapels. After the initial wave of interest they slid back into obscurity.

It has now become clear that versions of these drawings arrived in Siena and that one of them was carried out. It is the Chapel of the Crucifix, the second on the left as one enters the church of S. Martino (Fig.10).⁶ It centres on a stately altar built mostly of coloured marbles enfaming an older statue group. As a work of architecture it easily holds its own with one of the most

⁴ J. Connors: 'A Copy of Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Gubbio', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 137 (1995), pp.588–99; M.V. Ambrogi et al.: *Gubbio nel Seicento: Francesco Borromini e la chiesa della Madonna del Prato*, Città di Castello 2005.
⁵ Albertina, Vienna, Az. Italien 282a (formerly AN Siena 8) Crucifix Chapel, published in E. Hempel: *Francesco Borromini*, Vienna 1924, p.185, pl.121 right; P. Portoghesi: 'Saggi sul Borromini. I. Un'opera ignota di Borromini: la decorazione della Chiesa di S. Lucia in Selci', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura dell'Università di Roma* 25–26 (1958), pp.7 and 25 fig.41; *idem*: *Borromini: architettura come linguaggio*, Milan 1967, fig.cxxxiv; H. Thelen: *70 disegni di Francesco Borromini dalle collezioni dell'Albertina di Vienna*, Rome 1958, p.24, cat. no.54; and *idem*: *Francesco Borromini: Die Handzeichnungen*, I: 1620–32, Graz 1967, p.99, note 9. Inscriptions on top: 'cresce

in Altezza'. At lower right: 'cresce in larghezza'. On altar: 'D O M'. Over the scales: 'fu ridotto il quarto meno / cioe ogni tre quarti di questi / faceva un palmo di quelli'. Under the scales: 'cosi il Braccio', 'Braccia di Siena', and 'Palmi Romani'. Several dimensions are given in palmi. The smaller chapel: Albertina, Vienna, Az. Italien 282b (formerly AN Siena 9), published in Hempel, *op. cit.*, pl. 121 left; and Portoghesi 1967, *op. cit.*, fig.cxxxiii. Inscriptions cut off at upper right: 'della / 4 ¼ / lino / 1 ¼'. At right: 'libro e palme'. On step of plan: 'scalino'. At lower left margin: 'M[onsignore] e Ill.mo Sacrista / di N.S. P.P. Alesandro vii'. On altar: 'D O M'. Under scales at bottom: 'Braccia senesi ogni braccio di Siena è palmi dui e tre quarti di Romano Architetto dicho p[al]mi. 2 ¼'.

⁶ On the church and its convent, see A. Liberati: 'Chiese, monasteri, oratori e spedali senesi: ricordi e notizie', *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 13 (1954) and pp.143–51

sumptuous early Baroque altars in Siena, the Gori Chapel opposite it, where a lavish marble frame by Ascanio Cavoni da Cortona houses Guido Reni's *Circumcision* of c.1625–30 (Fig.11).⁷ Although carried out on a partially altered design without the architect's on-site supervision, the Crucifix Chapel still qualifies as a late work by Borromini, datable to 1660–64. The other design concerned the sacristy of the same church but was not used in execution. Let us examine the drawings before turning to the patron.

Although it dates from late in his career, Borromini's design for the Crucifix Chapel is drawn with a precision that recalls his early graphite style. He wanted to convince the patron with an exceptionally elegant drawing and, after absorbing his reaction, would have sent other drawings on a larger scale to the *scarpellini* in Siena. Most characteristic of his style is the arcuated lintel at the top of the altar, similar to those in the cloister of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane and the nave of S. Maria dei Sette Dolori, both in Rome. Borromini adds cherubs whose task is optically to support the arms of the cross with their elegantly curling winglets. The kneeling angels at the top of the drawing who carry the *arma Christi* have asymmetrically spreading wings like those on the façade of S. Carlo.

The final altar differs from the drawing, but some of the changes look Borrominian. For example, the clustered columns of the drawing have turned into 'pocketed' (*alveolate*) columns in the built chapel, a common feature in his work. The top of the chapel, however, was much changed in execution. The patron must have given the *scarpellini* orders to follow the Gori Chapel closely. The angels on top now vie with the exquisite angels in Reni's painting and with Ascanio's stucco Virtues. On top of the chapel of the Crucifix, a broken pediment encloses a central image, an arrangement modelled on the Gori Chapel.⁸ Borromini, deliberately original in everything he touched, was coaxed into creating a sibling for a chapel that was a generation older.

Borromini's drawing shows a cross in the centre. The chapel in S. Martino indeed contains a group of polychrome wood statues depicting the *Virgin and St John mourning Christ on the Cross* attributable to Giovanni di Stefano (1444–c.1511), the son of the great Siennese painter Sassetta.⁹ Giacomo Todeschini



12. Detail of the pedestals flanking the altar in the Crucifix Chapel in S. Martino showing the Landucci arms. (Photograph: Fabio and Andrea Lensini).

Piccolomini (1441–1507), nephew of Pius II and builder of nearby Palazzo Piccolomini, may have been the patron of these statues.¹⁰ How Landucci came to possess the patronage rights and the much-venerated *Crucifixion* is unknown.¹¹ The statues are heavily overpainted.¹² Just as in Borromini's drawing they stand in a semicircular niche, the back wall of which is now a horrid blue. We know that Landucci ordered expensive brocade for his chapel, and one could imagine the backdrop of the statue group lined with this fabric.¹³

and M. Israëls: 'Sodoma at Porta Pispini and the Pictorial Decoration of Siennese City Gates', in T.B. Smith and J. Steinhoff, eds.: *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*, Farnham 2012, p.205.

⁷ P. Bacci: 'L'elenco delle pitture, sculture e architetture di Siena: compilato nel 1625–26 da Mons. Fabio Chigi poi Alessandro VII secondo il ms. Chigiano I.I.11', *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 10 (1939), p.316. For the sculptor, see G. della Valle: *Lettere sanesi*, Venice and Rome 1782–86, III, pp.399–402 and D. Gallavotti Cavallero: *Lo spedale di Santa Maria della Scala di Siena: vicenda di una committenza artistica*, Pisa 1985, p.301; E. Carli, ed.: *La chiesa di San Niccolò in Sasso a Siena*, Siena 1995, pp.6–7. On the *Circumcision*, commissioned c.1625–26, see D.S. Pepper: *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of his Works with an Introductory Text*, Oxford 1984, p.283, cat. no.180.

⁸ The Crucifix Chapel now has a *God the Father with two angels* by Giuseppe Nicola Nasini (1657–1736). The Gori Chapel has a *God the Father* after Reni. See G. Faluschi: *Breve relazione delle cose notabili della città di Siena*, Siena 1784, pp.121–22; E. Romagnoli: *Biografia cronologica de' bellartisti senesi* [before 1835], Florence 1976, II, p.412; and M. Ciampolini: *Pittori senesi del Seicento*, Siena 2010, II, p.518. According to Faluschi, Reni's *God the Father* was the artist's gift, but was replaced by a copy and entered the collection of the Gori di San Martino. Faluschi also mentions Reni's gift of a *St Catherine of Siena* to the Gori of Camollia. This might be identified with the painting sold at Christie's, London, 7th December 2006, lot 50 (as Guido Reni).

⁹ For the attribution, see A. Angelini: 'Il lungo percorso della decorazione all'antica tra Siena e Urbino', in *idem*, ed.: *Pio II e le arti: la riscoperta dell'antico da Federighi a Michelangelo*, Cinisello Balsamo and Siena 2005, p.350. Gianluca Amato (verbal communication, 24th November 2013) argued for a date in the early or mid-1480s.

¹⁰ He endowed a Crucifix Chapel in S. Martino with 24 florins annually in his Will of 25th September 1507. In a codicil of 28th December 1508 Giacomo Todeschini Piccolomini stipulates that his sons Silvio and Enea and their male heirs were to inherit the chapel's *ius patronatus*. Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter cited as ASS), Conserveria Piccolomini 59, resp. p.22, no.81, p.32, and the partial copy in Archivio Arcivescovile di Siena (hereafter cited as AAS), 3611, fols.35v–36r. The chapel of the Crucifix and St Michael Archangel was still under Piccolomini patronage in 1583. See AAS, Sante Visite 24, fol.14r.

¹¹ From one of the conditions ('*solemnizzare detta festa [della santissima Croce] al altare dove di presente è il Crucifixso, ò ad altro che occorresse mettere detto Crocifisso*') accompanying the 495 scudi that Girolamo di Bartolomeo de Machi bequeathed to S. Martino in September 1654 it appears that the Crucifix was a cult object in search of a new altar; ASS, Conventi 2788, fols.43v–44v.

¹² Romagnoli, *op. cit.* (note 8), III, p.767, who like most other antiquarians misattributed the statues to Jacopo della Quercia, confusing them with the sculptor's altarpiece for S. Martino (now Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena), recalls that they were recently '*contro ogni buon senso colorite al naturale*'.

¹³ In a letter dated 9th February 1664 written from Rome to his friend Angelico Aprosio, Landucci mentioned the '*panno di broccato*' for the Crucifix Chapel. See G.L. Bruzzone: 'Contributo per fra' Ambrogio Landucci e fra' Giuseppe Eusani sacristi pontifici', *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (1997), p.192. He also mentions it in his testament, see Appendix, 1E below. For an example of this kind of fabric, a chasuble that Cardinal Flavio Chigi gave to Siena Cathedral, see M. Ciatti, ed.: *Drappi, velluti, taffetà et altre cose: antichi tessuti a Siena e nel suo territorio*, Siena (S. Agostino) 1994, p.154, cat. no.73 (entry by S. Falconi).



13. Façade of S. Martino, Siena, the lower storey built in 1613 and the upper storey in 1656–69. (Photograph: Fabio and Andrea Lensini).



14. Detail of Fig. 13 showing the Landucci heraldry in the pediment surmounted by the Lecceto emblem.

At the summit of the altar Borromini drew the Chigi arms, six crowned *monti* surmounted by a star. It must have seemed natural to him that Landucci would want to please the reigning pope, Alexander VII (reg. 1655–67), in this way. The arms are identical, for example, to those in the stucco decoration of the vault of S. Ivo alla Sapienza, Rome. On top of the star Borromini drew a tiny cross made out of acorns, which he sketched again at larger scale at the upper right of the sheet. These allude to the Chigi device of an oak tree, but also to the Augustinian Congregation of Lecceto. However, Landucci must have immediately seen that in the Siennese context a chapel with Chigi arms would be taken not as flattery to the reigning Chigi pope but as a sign that this was one of the many Siennese chapels under the patronage of that family.

¹⁴ Ten mountains gules surmounted by three staggered plinths gules on a field argent. See for example: E. Carli, et al. eds: *Le bicchere: tavole dipinte delle magistrature senesi (secoli XIII–XVIII)*, Rome 1984, pp.287 and 352. The Landucci crest was similar to that with ten mountains gules surmounted by four plinths gules on a field argent of the ancestral town of Montefollonico.

¹⁵ P. Palliot: *La vraye et parfait science des armoires* [1660], facs. ed. J.B. de Vaivre, Paris 1979, pp.133–35; B.B. Heim: *Heraldry in the Catholic Church: Its Origin, Customs and Laws*, Gerrards Cross 1978, pp.107–11. It should be noted that most cardinals' shields in Baroque Rome have six tassels per side, not the ten or fifteen found in later cen-

He found it safer and more congenial to put the Landucci arms at the centre, although he kept them colossal, as if they were papal.

The monsignore was extraordinarily enamoured of heraldry – his shield appears dozens of times on his numerous commissions – and the Landucci crest is on the column bases of the Borromini chapel (Fig. 12). It consists of ten *monti* with three plinths hovering over them, all red. If it were fully coloured, the background would be silver.¹⁴ Both on the drawing and in the chapel the shield is surmounted by a *galero*, or flat hat with six tassels on either side. The hat is not coloured, and one's first instinct is to assume that it is notionally red and the patron was a cardinal. But Landucci never advanced to that rank. He was created a bishop in 1656, and bishops had the right to a green *galero*, not a red

turies for cardinals of the highest rank. We thank Monika Butzek for pointing us in the right direction on the bishop's *galero*.

¹⁶ Green enamel is used for the *galero* on a marble reliquary Fabio Chigi had made in 1648–52. See A. Angelini, M. Butzek and B. Sani, eds.: exh. cat. *Alessandro VII Chigi (1599–1667): il papa senese di Roma moderna*, Siena (Palazzo Pubblico and Palazzo Chigi) 2000, p.134, cat. no.58 (entry by B. Sani); p.60, cat. no.12 (entry by A. Pezzo); p.198, cat. no.120 (entry by P. Torriti). John Evelyn observed the *possesto* of Innocent X in 1644 from his vantage point on the steps of the Aracoeli: 'Then came the Cardinal Bishops, next the Cardinal Priests, Card: Deacons, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and

15. The sacristy of S. Martino, Siena. Architect unknown. c.1664. (Photograph: Fabio and Andrea Lensini).



one.¹⁵ Fabio Chigi, the future Alexander VII, used the green *galero* while he was bishop but not yet cardinal.¹⁶ In this, as in much else, Chigi was Landucci's model.

Most conspicuously, on the façade of S. Martino itself one finds a monumental Landucci shield ensconced in the pediment (Figs. 13 and 14).¹⁷ The *galero* here, like those on the Borromini altar, is of white stone, although we are meant to think of it as green. The monochromatic *galero* had a distinct advantage for an

ambitious patron: it would never have had to be changed in the happy event of his promotion to the Sacred College. Over the Landucci shield at the apex of the façade we see the symbol of the Congregation of Lecceto, a cross with verdant branches of holm oak (*lecci*) sprouting at its base.¹⁸ Returning to the chapel (Fig. 10), we can now see that the Landucci arms at the top are intertwined with the symbols of the congregation in a playful way. The ten *monti* (Landucci) support a cross (Lecceto) which

Bishops all in their several & distinct habits; some in red, others in greene flat hats with tossles'. E.S. de Beer, ed: *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Oxford 1955, II, pp.280–81.

¹⁷ G. Macchi: *Notizie di tutte le chiese che sono nella città di Siena* [1708], ASS, Manoscritti D107, fol.142r: 'La facciata di pietra di questa chiesa [di S. Martino] è stata fatta a spese del Padre Sagrista Landucci il quale servì la felice memoria di Papa Alessandro Settimo de Chigi, si come ancora a sue spese è stato fatto l'altare del Santissimo Crocefisso in detta Chiesa'. G. Gigli: *Diario sanese*, Lucca 1723, II, p.405: 'La Facciata del Tempio fu in quella forma alzata da Monsig. Ambrogio Landucci'. The façade is usually attributed in its entirety to Giovanni Fontana (1540–1614) and the soffit of the lintel over the main door and the

platform in front of it both bear the date 1613; however, the style of the upper storey, which might be called late Baroque classical, is entirely consistent with the new date.

¹⁸ A. Landucci: *Immagine del B. Niccolò Mariscotti Detto il profeta di Siena dell'Ord. Eremit.*, Rome 1656, p.57 with an explanation of the symbolism of Lecceto. The *monti* stand for the three theological virtues. Holy men must climb them to get to the cross at the summit, which stands for the constant suffering of those who seek the Lord. The 'S' curving around the cross stands for Silence and the verdant branches of holm oak (*lecci*) sprouting from its base stand for perseverance in cloistered observance at the Lecceto.

16. Portrait of Ambrogio Landucci, from A. Landucci: *Sacra Leccetana Selva*, Rome 1657, designed and etched by Guillaume Valet. Etching, 23.7 by 16.8 cm. (Florence, Berenson Library).



in turn holds up three plinths (Landucci) while four acorns (Lecceto) radiate out from its centre. One can imagine Landucci's delight at this example of Borrominian wit.

The second Albertina drawing (Fig. 9) shows a chapel half the size of the first. The dimensions of the space and the form of the vault on pendentives, which the furniture to some extent hides, correspond exactly to the sacristy of S. Martino, a narrow room entered via a corridor to the south of the high altar (Fig. 15). Borromini conceived of it as a miniature of the Crucifix Chapel. It repeats the motif of the arcuated lintel with cherubs in the upper corners. Statuettes about 50 cm. high, one of Faith and another of a figure holding palm fronds and a book, crown the columns. The Landucci arms decorate the column bases, while a winged globe and cross are sketched at the top. It was not used, however, and none of the present sacristy arrangements can be attributed to Borromini. To house the many relics that Landucci held in veneration, he covered the sacristy's walls with cupboards; at the short east wall they encompass a wood altar.¹⁹ Flut-

ed pilasters, a broken pediment and two Landucci shields frame a painting by Raffaello Vanni (1595–1673) of *St Ambrose baptising St Augustine*, referring to the name the patron had adopted in religion.²⁰ The arms appear once again on the font in the painting. Above the altarpiece are the *monti* and oak branches of Lecceto, although the cross has broken off. Compared to what Borromini proposed, this design is far simpler, and the use of wood made it relatively inexpensive. Landucci concentrated his resources on the more public of the chapels. It is said that he had spent 2,000 scudi on the Crucifix Chapel by the time it was finished in 1664, and he endowed a respectable number of masses to be said there after his death.²¹

Aside from the clue in the heraldry, we know the identity of Borromini's patron because the drawing for the smaller chapel (Fig. 9) bears a dedication to 'monsignore the most illustrious *sacrista* of our lord Pope Alexander VII'. *Sacrista* is not a sacristan in the modern custodial sense, but rather the *Praefectus Sacrarii Apostolici*, one of the most important positions in the private entourage of the pope. From 1352 the *sacrista* was always an Augustinian Hermit of Lecceto, who was appointed bishop *in partibus*, initially of the See of Thagaste, St Augustine's birthplace, but from the reign of Innocent X Pamphilij (reg. 1644–55) to the present day, of Porphyreon in Palestine. The *sacrista* is the custodian of the liturgical vessels, vestments and implements of the papal chapel including the mitre and the Golden Rose. He precedes all other bishops at the papal coronation ceremony and accompanies the pope in audiences. He pre-tastes the bread and wine used in the papal mass. He carries the viaticum to the dying pope and closes his eyes. During the *sede vacante* he enters the conclave each morning to recite the hymn *Veni Creator*.²² He has to be a man with whom the pope can feel comfortable in life and death, ideally a fellow-countryman. Landucci was all of these. He served as *sacrista* from 1655 through to the death of Alexander VII in 1667 and then continued in the post into the pontificate of Clement IX Rospigliosi (reg. 1667–69) until his own death on 16th February 1669. It is time to examine his career, his activity as a patron and his opportunities for contact with Borromini.

Volunnio Landucci, to use his baptismal name, was born in Montefollonico on 11th July 1596 to Girolamo Landucci and Fortunina di Volunnio Nelli (Fig. 16).²³ The Landucci belonged to the Siense Monte del Popolo and were landowners in Montefollonico, a fortified hamlet situated on the Siense frontier between the Val d'Orcia and the Val di Chiana. Volunnio entered the convent of S. Martino in Siena on St Martin's day in 1608 and took the habit and adopted the name of Ambrogio on

¹⁹ Because of the '*pietà sua verso le sacre reliquie*', on 12th September 1631 Landucci had a notary draw up a list of the many relics in the sacristy cupboards at S. Martino. ASS, Conventi 2787, fols. 110v–112v.

²⁰ See Appendix, 1C, below. For the painting, see Romagnoli, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 203 and Ciampolini, *op. cit.* (note 8), III, p. 1063.

²¹ See Appendix, 1B; and Bruzzone, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 192, drawing on ASS, Conventi 3850, 9th February 1664.

²² *Enciclopedia cattolica*, Florence 1953, X, 'Sacrista', cols. 1600–01.

²³ On Landucci, see I. Ugurgieri Azzolini: *Le pompe sanesi* . . . , Pistoia 1649, I, pp. 639–40; and the eulogy by M. Mariani: *Il dolor mitigato con approvarlo nell'esequie di monsignor Ambrogio Landucci* [. . .] del dottor Marsilio sanese, Siena 1669. His patronage in Montefollonico included the still extant main chapel in S. Leonardo and the chapel of St Thomas of Villanova in the Madonna del Triano (or Criano) just outside the city gate. See Appendix, 1D. On Montefollonico, see G.A. Pecci: 'Montefollonico', in *Lo stato di Siena antico e moderno* [1750s–60s], published in M. De Gregorio: *Torrta*,

Montefollonico, Ciliano, Guardavalle, Siena 2007, pp. 99–117 and G. Hanlon: *Human Nature in Rural Tuscany: An Early Modern History*, Basingstoke 2007.

²⁴ F. Landucci, unpaginated preface to A. Landucci: *Sacra leccetana selva cioè origine, e progressi dell'antico, e venerabile eremo e congregazione di Lecceto in Toscana*, Rome 1657. The earlier Latin version is *idem: Sacra Ilicetana Sylva siue Origo et chronicon breue coenobij et congregat. is de Iliceto Ord. erem. S. P. Augustini in Tuscia* . . . , Siena 1653.

²⁵ AAS, 3611, fols. 49v and 53v–55r. He devoted energy to the archives and in 1626 drafted its *Repertorio*. Biblioteca Comunale di Siena (hereafter cited as BCS), MS K.VI.82.

²⁶ Landucci, *op. cit.* (note 18), p. 54; C. Alessi et al.: *Lecceto e gli eremi agostiniani in terra di Siena*, Siena 1990 and Le Monache Agostiniane di Lecceto, eds.: *L'eremo di Lecceto*, Siena 2011.

²⁷ His first term was between September 1629 and April 1630, then again in 1634–36, with terms as vicar general in 1630–32, 1636–38 and 1653.

²⁸ Brief notice in G. Olmi: *I senesi d'una volta*, Siena 1889, pp. 207–08.



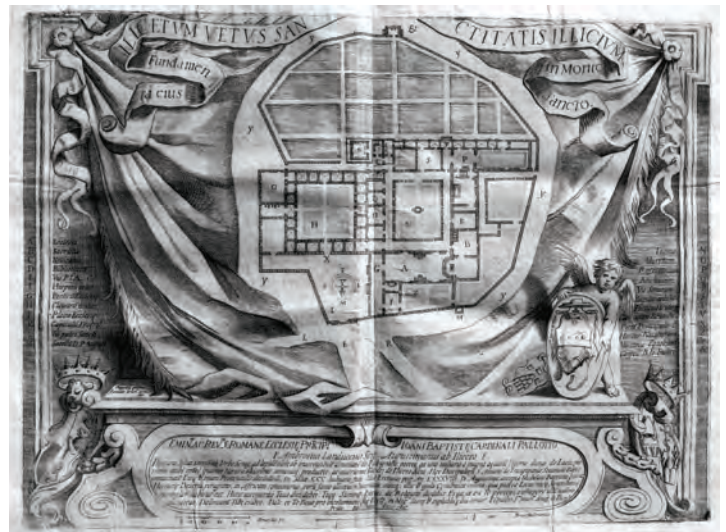
17. Frontispiece and title page of A. Landucci: *Sacra Leccetana Selva*, Rome 1657, designed by Raffaello Vanni and etched by Guillaume Château. Etching, 25.2 by 16.0 cm. (Florence, Berenson Library).

14th June 1610. He rose quickly in the order and was made prior of S. Martino for 1626–29. Friend of antiquity in writing but ‘implacable enemy’²⁴ of the old and outdated in buildings, he made many changes in the church during his short tenure.²⁵ An inscription of 1629 above the sacristy entrance threatens excommunication, endorsed by a decree of Urban VIII Barberini (reg. 1623–44), to anyone found removing items from the library, archive or sacristy.

²⁹ Among other works, he commissioned Raffaello Vanni’s *Visit of Pius II to the Blessed Cristoforo Landucci*, which bears the Landucci arms and the date 1630. L. Martini: ‘Il rinnovamento decorativo del convento nel Seicento e nel Settecento’, Alessi, *op. cit.* (note 26), p.273, fig.9. See ASS, Conventi 3850, fols.106r–v.

³⁰ The fresco (Martini, *op. cit.* (note 29), p.276, fig.16) shows the same portrait as the print in Landucci 1657, *op. cit.* (note 24) but in reverse, which suggests that they are based on the same lost model. In the sacristy he placed a now-lost Crucifixion by Crescenzo Gambarelli originally from S. Martino, where Raffaello Vanni’s *St Ivo* had made it redundant. ASS, Conventi 3850, fols.111r–v, 117r–118r and 154r; and Bacci, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.316.

³¹ For the *Propago* designed by Raffaello Vanni and engraved by Mario Paradiso in 1627, see Romagnoli, *op. cit.* (note 8), X, p.242. In Landucci 1653, *op. cit.* (note 24), p.75 and his life of Marescotti, *op. cit.* (note 18), p.148, Landucci gives the alternative date of December 1629, and in his ‘Memoria’ in ASS, Conventi 3850, fol.114, he writes: ‘della gravissima mia fatica che per 3 anni continui ho fatto, con gravissima spesa ancora, in 2 Rami, dove sono intagliate l’Arme di questa Santa casa e congregazione con vago sparti-



18. Plan of the Eremo di Lecceto, designed by Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi. 1651. From A. Landucci: *Sacra Leccetana Selva*, Rome 1657. Etching, 24.5 by 33 cm.

S. Martino was the church of the Augustinian Hermits in metropolitan Siena, but their spiritual centre was nine kilometres to the west at Lecceto, named for the forests of ageless holm oaks, or *lecci*, that grow all around. A magical wilderness, since the trecento it drew saintly young men fleeing family and fatherland to lose themselves in its ‘sacred horrors’.²⁶ Landucci was prior of S. Salvatore at Lecceto repeatedly.²⁷ He felt a strong family connection and maintained that the great brick tower, the major landmark of the hermitage, had been begun in 1407 by his ancestor the Blessed Cristoforo Landucci (c.1390–1461).²⁸ He continued the transformation of the church at Lecceto from medieval to Baroque,²⁹ and began a fresco cycle of portraits of learned friars and *beati* in the refectory, culminating in his own portrait in 1662.³⁰

Landucci was the learned friar who brought Lecceto, somewhat belatedly, into the age of print. One of his first acts was to commission Raffaello Vanni to make a large print entitled *Sacra Ilicetana Propago* celebrating the holy men of the abbey.³¹ No copies are known, but the composition survives in a painting in the sacristy of Lecceto, and the research that went into it was continued in Landucci’s other publications. He wrote two versions of an erudite bio-bibliography of the learned authors of Lecceto, one in Latin, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva*,³² and the other in

mento delli Beati Ilicetani et huomini illustri della medesima qual fatica l’intitolai Sacra Ilicetana Propago, la compii in questi tempi. We suppose that it was the model for the painting with the tree of the famous writers and *beati* of the congregation at Lecceto. See Martini, *op. cit.* (note 29), pp.263 and 282, figs.1 and 21. ‘Un quadro con cornice nere, vi è l’Albero di Lecceto intagliato in Rame’ hung in the library at S. Martino: BCS, MS Z.I.2, fol.287r. For what follows, see Martini; and Bruzzone, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp.175–206.

³² Landucci 1653, *op. cit.* (note 24). It contains a list of Landucci’s own writings on p.75, which is the source for the lists in A. Rocca: *Thesaurus Pontificiarum Sacrarumque Antiquitatum...*, Rome 1745, pp.359–60; and D.A. Perini: *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum Notis Biographicis Scriptores Itali*, Florence 1929–38, esp. II (1931), pp.143–45. It includes a portrait of Landucci as an Augustinian hermit designed by Raffaello Vanni and etched by Guillaume Château. A frontispiece with the Medici *palle*, the Florentine *marzocco* and the Siennese *lupa* flatters the young Prince Cosimo de’ Medici (later Cosimo III; 1642–1723). This is probably the print discussed by Vanni in an undated letter to Landucci, asking advice about the etcher’s reluctance ‘di accomodare nel rame le due città che V.R. desidera’. BCS, MS A.VI.17, fol.205v.



19. Baptismal font, by an unknown sculptor. c.1660. Marble, height from original black base c.106 cm. (S. Agostino, Rome. Photograph: Alessandro Vasari).

Italian, *Sacra leccetana selva* (Fig. 17).³³ In the Latin version he listed his own published writings, as well as many of his unpublished manuscripts. In both editions he included a large plan of Lecceto drawn in 1651 by the Siennese architect Benedetto Giovannelli

Orlandi (1601–76) that bears the arms of Prince Cosimo de' Medici, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pallotta, the Augustinians and the Congregation of Lecceto in addition to Landucci's own (Fig. 18).

³³ Landucci 1657 *op. cit.* (note 24), published in Rome by his nephew Fabrizio Landucci. For the 1653 and 1657 editions of the book, see F. Bisogni and M. De Gregorio, eds.: *exh. cat. Santi e beati senesi: testi e immagini a stampa*, Siena (Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati) 2000, pp.45–46, cat. nos.6–7. The prefatory letter by Ambrogio Landucci to 'Illustrissima Signora' Caterina Frescobaldi Bartolommei già Smeducci, dated 20th September 1654, shows that Landucci had built up a relationship with this aristocratic clan, patrons of the rebuilding of S. Stefano in Florence during Landucci's brief term as prior there in 1632–34. On the church, see W. and E. Paatz: *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt 1940–54, V, p.211, who suggest that the patron, Caterina's husband, Anton Maria Bartolommei Smeducci, was the architect; F. Angelini: 'Bartolommei Smeducci, Girolamo', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, VI (1964) and A. Spagnesi: *S. Stefano al Ponte Vecchio: cenni storico-artistici*, Florence 1981, pp.5–8, who attributes the architecture to Andrea Arrighetti and the sculpture to Fer-

dinando Tacca. The date given by Paatz for the beginning of work is 1636, but Landucci's prefatory letter claims that it was begun 'nel tempo, che io governavo cotesto Convento'. Mariani's eulogy of Landucci, printed in 1669 also mentions his role in this church of the congregation of Lecceto. See Mariani, *op. cit.* (note 23), p.10.

³⁴ A. Rocca: *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome 1591 and *idem: Bibliotheca Angelica* . . . , Rome 1608. Rocca also wrote on the office of *sacrista: Chronistoria De Apostolico Sacristo* . . . , Rome 1605; the second edition of 1745 contains some information on Landucci's life and writings. See Rocca, *op. cit.* (note 32), pp.359–60.

³⁵ D. Arrighetti: 'Un'ipotesi di attribuzione per il chiostro di S. Martino', in M. Ascheri and P. Turrini, eds.: *La Misericordia di Siena attraverso i secoli*, Siena 2004, pp.205–11. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi G.II.48, fols.448r–460r contains material on seventeenth-century reconstructions of the convent including the plan (fols.456v–457r) reproduced in P. A. Riedl and M. Seidel, eds.: *Die Kirchen von*



20. Epitaph of Ambrogio Landucci, bust by an unknown sculptor. c.1669. Marble, c.210 x 110 cm. (S. Agostino, Rome).

Landucci was not only an author but also a first-class bibliophile. In Rome an excellent role model could be found in the Augustinian *érudit* of an older generation, Angelo Rocca

(1545–1620), founder of the Biblioteca Angelica, expert on library history, and coincidentally the *sacrista* of Clement VIII Aldobrandini (reg. 1592–1605) and Paul V Borghese (reg. 1605–21).³⁴ In Rome a new Biblioteca Angelica was in construction in 1659–68, the period of Landucci's most intensive book-buying activity and, as we shall see, his patronage in S. Agostino. There was already a book collection of some sort at S. Martino in 1629, but it grew exponentially thanks to Landucci's Roman purchases. Sometime between 1636 and 1667 Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi rebuilt the cloister and presumably the adjoining library.³⁵ Landucci frequently returns to the acquisition of books in his correspondence of 1652–64 with the younger Augustinian scholar Angelico Aprosio (1607–81): '*La libreria cammina benissimo e piace universalmente*' he wrote in 1652 when the shelves of the library at S. Martino were nearing completion, and in 1655 he compiled its catalogue.³⁶ His nephew Fabrizio Landucci, who was in charge of the library holdings, added fulsome praise of his uncle in the preface of the Italian edition of *Selva*, which he brought out in 1657:

Monsignor my uncle intended to found the noble library that we see today in the Convent of S. Martino to show his love of the Fatherland and provide a facility not only for members of the order but for all scholars. After he had superbly built the beautiful salone with magnificence and order he decorated it with paintings and curiosities of the ancient and modern worlds, and furnished it with such an abundance of books of every discipline that, in addition to the few that came from the convent, they amounted almost to six thousand volumes.³⁷

In a letter of 1658 Landucci wrote that his constant purchases were all made with '*la mia libreria Martiniana*' in mind, and in 1664 that he sent an expensive astrolabe to the library and spent lavishly on books for it. In his Will of 20th June 1665 he says that all his books, with the exception of a small collection on the office of *sacrista* that would stay in Rome, were to go to S. Martino, along with his collections of medals and other curiosities. In 1655 he gave the library a new name, the Libreria Alessandrina.³⁸ This inveterate flatterer could not resist a salute to the pope, who founded his own Biblioteca Alessandrina at the Sapienza in 1659–60.

In his thirties Landucci was the up-and-coming man at S. Martino in Siena and at Lecceto. His career was darkened in some mysterious way, however, in the later years of Urban VIII's reign; he was prohibited from preaching in 1640 and accused of violent assaults as well as thefts of money and books.³⁹ The storm passed with the election of Innocent X, and Landucci was cleared of all charges on 11th April 1645. Thereafter his career

Siena, I: *Abbadia all'Arco-S. Biagio*, Munich 1985, II, fig.407.

³⁶ Bruzzone, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp.183, 189 and 191. For the immensely long catalogue or index, see BCS, MS Z.I.2.

³⁷ Landucci, 1657, *op. cit.* (note 24) unpaginated preface dated 16th August 1657 used in Perini *op. cit.* (note 32), p.140.

³⁸ Landucci describes his library as the 'Alessandrina' on the frontispiece of his catalogue (BCS, MS Z.I.2) and in his Will (BCS, MS A.III.4, fol.10r), which also speaks of a bookplate with the Landucci arms. A bookplate, inscribed '*Mag[iste]r Fr[ater] Ambrosius La[n]duccius Senen[sis]*' and showing the Landucci coat of arms surmounted by a helmet is in, for example, BCS, MSS A.VI.17 and Z.I.2. On 2nd October 1657 Alexander VII decreed that anyone removing books from S. Martino's '*insigne Bibliothecam*' would be excommunicated. The printed decree is inserted behind the frontispiece of BCS, MS Z.I.2. One of the books Landucci wrote as *sacrista* is the '*Liber Secundus in quo habentur De Instructionibus dispositionibus et praeparationibus pro divinis*

officiis in Cappella Pontificia', Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, MS, AF._IX.80.

³⁹ Landucci's adversity lasted seven years, according to Ugurgieri Azzolini, *op. cit.* (note 23), I, pp.639–40. Landucci dedicated the plan of Lecceto, etched in 1651 and present in both editions of *Sylva/Selva*, to the prelate who was instrumental in his rehabilitation, Giovanni Battista Maria Pallotta (1594–1668), cardinal protector of the Augustinians and an outspoken critic of corruption who often sparred with the nephews of Urban VIII. Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger hated Pallotta, and to spite him supported a general of the Augustinians whom Pallotta thought was harming the order. Perhaps Landucci was somehow swept up in this infighting but, like Pallotta himself, was rehabilitated when Urban VIII and his nephews were finally gone. The manifest of Landucci's rehabilitation is in AAS, 3850, fol.140v. See also fols.117r–v and 136v–137r. In the inventory of the Landucci library at S. Martino we find portraits of Cardinals Pallotta, Borghese and Orsini, along with portraits of Alexander VII as cardinal and as pope. BCS, MS Z.I.2, fol.285r, also 287r.

unfolded mostly in Rome. He was made prior of S. Agostino in 1645 and the next year he wrote a history of the other Augustinian church in Rome, S. Maria del Popolo.⁴⁰ In 1652 his fellow Sieneſe Fabio Chigi was made cardinal and began to reſtore the Chigi Chapel in that church.⁴¹ The Sieneſe historian and the Sieneſe cardinal had ample opportunity to bond. Thus, when Fabio Chigi was elected Pope Alexander VII in 1655 and had to find a *sacriſta*, preferably an Augustinian of the Congregation of Lecceto, Landucci was the obvious choice.

Landucci continued to weave his web with the Chigi family through carefully calibrated hagiography. In 1656 he published a life of the Blessed Niccolò Marescotti, the Augustinian prophet of medieval Siena, which he dedicated to Flavio Chigi, the new cardinal-nephew.⁴² Landucci's main assertion in this otherwise faragginous book is that the Blessed Niccolò was probably a friend of the Blessed Giovanni Chigi. The cult of this family eremit under Alexander VII led to the commissioning of a large-scale painting by Giovanni Battista Gaulli, now in Palazzo Chigi in Ariccia, and the publication of a best-selling life.⁴³

It was in the world of bibliophiles that Landucci came across Borromini. Their link was Fioravante Martinelli (1599–1667), priest, antiquarian, writer on church history, *scrittore ebreo* of the Vatican Library from 1636 and *scrittore latino* from 1637. Landucci owned several books by Martinelli, and in his treatise on S. Maria del Popolo of 1646 he listed him among the learned men in the Vatican and lamented the lack of appreciation of his studies.⁴⁴ Martinelli returned the compliment in his guidebooks. In the 1658 edition of his popular *Roma ricercata* he praised *sacriſta* Landucci 'whose fame will be immortal on account of the erudite works that he has published and is about to publish'.⁴⁵ In *Roma ornata*, composed in 1660–63 but left in manuscript, Martinelli praised the book on S. Maria del Popolo by '*Monsignor Ambrogio Landucci dignissimo Sacriſta*'. There is an intriguing passage on the high altar of St Peter's where Martinelli mentions a manuscript

by one Vincenzo Berti in Landucci's possession that supposedly attributed the main idea for the Baldacchino to Agostino Ciampelli rather than Bernini. Martinelli's compliment to Landucci, 'whose outstanding merits render him most worthy of a higher status', seems to hint that the monsignor thought he might be about to trade the green *galero* for a red one.⁴⁶

Martinelli had become Borromini's most passionate advocate in the course of the 1650s.⁴⁷ He took every opportunity to praise the architect's work and to dig deeper into the principles that underlay his designs. Borromini, for his part, gave Martinelli drawings for his little guidebook, *Roma ricercata*, and pencilled his corrections into the margins of *Roma ornata*. He may have written Martinelli into his Will, but we will never know since he withdrew it immediately after Martinelli's death in 1667.

There was another link. Both Borromini and Landucci were swept up in the whirlwind of change that descended on the church of S. Agostino around 1660.⁴⁸ The Augustinians decided to build a new library, the Biblioteca Angelica. Borromini tried to accommodate the building into the cramped site and to adjudicate a dispute over the piazza between the Jesuits and the Augustinians.⁴⁹ On the interior of the church, the canonisation of St Thomas of Villanova in 1659 and a *sacra visita* in 1660 set off waves of renewal and replacement. Altars that had stood against the inner façade for a century were suddenly judged inappropriate, since the priest celebrating on them would have to turn his back on the high altar.⁵⁰ This was when the Martelli Chapel next to the main door on the Epistle side lost its altar and Jacopo Sansovino's famous *Madonna del Parto* of 1516–21 was transformed from acting as an altarpiece to a cult statue.⁵¹ Similarly, the chapel of the celebrated antiquarian Bartolomeo Marliani (1488–1566), symmetrically placed next to the main door on the Gospel side, was removed.⁵²

Landucci seized his chance by offering to pay for a new baptismal chapel in the spot where the Marliani Chapel had been (Fig. 19). Due to renovations elsewhere in the church a new bap-

⁴⁰ A. Landucci: *Origine del tempio dedicato in Roma alla Vergine Madre di Dio Maria Preso alla Porta Flaminia, detto hoggi del Popolo*, ed. N. Dalmatio, Rome 1646, dedicated to Pallotta.

⁴¹ Fabio Chigi's work on the chapel was first documented in D. Gnoli: 'La sepoltura d'Agostino Chigi nella chiesa di Santa Maria del Popolo in Roma', *Archivio storico dell'arte* 2 (1889), pp.317–26. Contributions that make use of Landucci's book include: J. Shearman: 'The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961), pp.129–60; T. Marder: *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, New York 1998, pp.283–88; N. Riegel: 'Die Chigi-Kapelle in Santa Maria del Popolo: Eine kritische Revision', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 30 (2003), pp.93–130 and C. Strunck: 'Bellori und Bernini rezipieren Raffael: Unbekannte Dokumente zur Cappella Chigi in Santa Maria del Popolo', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 30 (2003), pp.131–82, esp. p.169, note 182.

⁴² Landucci, *op. cit.* (note 18) with a dedication to Cardinal Flavio Chigi of 10th April 1657.

⁴³ The *Vita B. Ioannis Chisii, Ord. Eremit. S.P. Augustini*, Antwerp 1641, dedicated to Fabio Chigi, then nuncio in Cologne, was published in an expanded edition by the Dominican Raimondo Capizucchi in Rome in 1655 and verse editions in 1656 and 1662; see Angelini, Butzek and Sani, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.60, cat. no.12 (A. Pezzo), and p.198, cat. no.120 (P. Torriti). The Blessed Giovanni Chigi (c.1300–1363) lived near Lecceto and is buried in the Chigi Chapel in S. Agostino in Siena. Gaulli's painting of the saint reclining among thorns was commissioned in 1672 by Cardinal Flavio Chigi and found its way, via Palazzo Chigi ai Santi Apostoli and Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Colonna, to Ariccia in 1916. F. Petrucci: *Bacicio: Giovan Battista Gaulli 1639–1709*, Rome 2009, pp.48–49, fig.47, pp.322–23 and 576–77, cat. no.D21.

⁴⁴ Landucci, *op. cit.* (note 40), 'Al Pietoso Lettore', unpaginated [p.vii] and p.172. Landucci's index of 1655 of his library at S. Martino lists Martinelli's '*Imago B.M.V., Roma antica*', and '*Roma [ex ethnica] sacra*'. BCS, MS Z.I.2, fols.3r, 7r, 9v and 169r. Fabrizio Landucci in the library's catalogue of 1673 also includes Martinelli's '*Trofeo della SS. Croce*'. BCS, MS Z.I.1, p.227.

⁴⁵ F. Martinelli: *Roma ricercata nel suo sito e nella scuola di tutti gli antiquarii*, Rome 1658, p.37. Our thanks to Vincent Buonanno for timely access to this book.

⁴⁶ 'Vincenzo Berti, manoscritto appresso monsignore Landucci, Sacriſta di Nostro Signore Alessandro VII, e per le sue eminenti virtù dignissimo di grado superiore', passage from F. Martinelli: *Roma ornata dall'architettura, pittura e scoltura*, Biblioteca Casanatense Rome, MS 4984 [1660–63], published by C. D'Onofrio as *Roma nel Seicento*, Florence 1969, p.158 (fol.201). Irving Lavin paid attention to this passage and made enquiries with the BCS: *Bernini and the Crossing of Saint Peter's*, New York 1968, p.11, note 53; 'Bernini's Baldachin: Considering a Reconsideration', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1984), pp.405–14; *idem*: 'Bernini at Saint Peter's: Singularis in Singularis, in Omnibus Unicus', in W. Tronzo, ed.: *Saint Peter's in the Vatican*, Cambridge 2005, p.233, n.17 and *idem*: 'The Baldacchino. Borromini vs Bernini: Did Borromini forget himself?', in G. Satzinger and S Schütze, eds.: *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506–2006*, Munich 2008, pp.291–92, n.32, fig.18. Thelen 1967, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.99; and *idem*: *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Hochaltar-Architektur von St. Peter in Rom*, Berlin 1967, pp.46–52, was interested as well. See also M.C. Terzaghi: 'Bernini padre, figlio e cognato: nuovi dati e aperture', in F. Cappelletti, ed.: *Decorazioni e collezionismo a Roma nel Seicento: vicende di artisti, committenti, mercanti*, Rome 2003, pp.101–06.

⁴⁷ For Martinelli, see C. Hülsen: *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo*, Florence 1927, pp.xliii–xliv; L. Schudt: *Le guide di Roma*, Vienna and Augsburg 1930, pp.62–67, 103–04, 251–57 and *sub indice*; D'Onofrio, *op.cit.* (note 46), pp.vii–xxvii; A. Angelini: *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e i Chigi tra Roma e Siena*, Milan 1998, pp.288–93; F. Martinelli: *Roma ex ethnica sacra Sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolica praedicatione profuso sanguine*, Rome 1653; and *idem*: *Roma ricercata nel suo sito e nella scuola di tutti gli antiquarii*, Rome 1644; 1650 and 1658.

⁴⁸ M. Breccia Fratadocchi: *S. Agostino in Roma: arte storia documenti*, Rome 1979; B. Montevecchi: *Sant'Agostino*, Rome 1985, pp.61–87 and R. Samperi: *L'architettura di S. Agostino a Roma (1296–1483)*, Rome 1999; M. Gill: 'A French Maecenas in the Roman Quattrocento: The Patronage of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (1439–1483)', Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University 1992) and R. Preimesberger and M. Weil:

tistry was needed. The new position was perfect. After all, Carlo Borromeo had taught that a baptistry 'should be constructed inside [a church] close to the main door on the Gospel side'.⁵³ Landucci's offer came with a condition: he was to be allowed burial under the font's step.⁵⁴ In effect he created a personal chapel without an altar in a church where space was usually reserved for cardinals and generals of the order. He put one Landucci shield on the font and another, now crossed with the arrow-pierced heart of the Augustinians, in the aedicula over it, reminiscent of the Vanni altarpiece in the sacristy of S. Martino, which shows a baptismal font with the Landucci arms.

The inner façade of S. Agostino is now dominated by a gargantuan organ loft installed in the early twentieth century. Its installation destroyed frescos on both sides of the main door: on the Epistle side it obliterated Polidoro da Caravaggio's frescos over the Sansovino *Madonna*, and on the Gospel side it obliterated Raffaello Vanni's frescos that Landucci had commissioned above the new baptistry. Landucci's preferred painter in Siena and Lecceto, Vanni worked in Rome not only for Landucci but also for Alexander VII both as cardinal and as pope. In fact, the pope also enjoyed contact with Raffaello's brother Michelangelo Vanni and admired his curious speciality of painting on, or in fact within stone, making pigments penetrate into a marble support, as can still be seen in the monument at S. Giorgio in Siena that in 1656 the brothers made for their father the painter Francesco Vanni.⁵⁵ Three such paintings wound up in the Chigi collection, and Landucci wrote a clause in his Will bequeathing a *Nativity* painted into stone to Alexander VII.⁵⁶

After Landucci's death on 16th February 1669 his family, presumably guided by his nephew Fabrizio, thought he deserved a more conspicuous memorial than the font. They commissioned an epitaph with portrait roundel in high relief showing Landucci in the *mozzetta* that was the prerogative of bishops and cardinals.

It is accompanied by an inscription carved in gilt letters on black marble outlining his career (Fig. 20). The family moved too slowly, however, and the obvious position for the monument, on the pier to the right of the baptistry, was taken for the memorial of Alessandro Saracinelli (died 23rd June 1669), a wealthy benefactor who was not even a cleric but who had a brother in the convent.⁵⁷ Fabrizio had to find another location for his uncle's inscription, probably on a nearby pier. In Luigi Vanvitelli's thoroughgoing restoration of S. Agostino around 1750 the monument was removed and placed in the corridor leading to the sacristy.⁵⁸

We can now add a face and a career to the barebones title '*sacrista di Nostro Signore*' inscribed on the Borromini drawing. In Rome, Ambrogio Landucci's patronage was limited to the modest baptistry in S. Agostino. In Montefollonico, Lecceto and especially Siena, however, he left a mark. The façade of S. Martino lifts the Landucci arms high above the loggia of Pius II, and the convent that he built surrounds the church with its gracious courtyard. The Libreria Martiniana/Alessandrina must have been one of the best in the city. Landucci seems to have thought it was natural for a cleric of his rank to look for a star architect in Rome for his chapel back home. Bernini was available to serve only princes and kings, but Borromini was open to working for the export market. Landucci was not in the same class of wealth or influence as Ascanio Filomarino or the Marchese di Castel Rodrigo, patrons of the chapels in Naples and Lisbon, but he nevertheless wanted a chapel designed by Borromini as the capstone of his patronage in Siena and he was willing to spend a large amount of money to have local craftsmen carry it out. It expressed his piety towards the Crucifix group, long venerated in the church, and it gave him the opportunity to crown still another commission with the proud arms of the Landucci of Montefollonico.

⁵³ 'The Pamphili Chapel in Sant'Agostino', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975), pp.183–98. See Appendix, doc.2 for the *sacra visita*.

⁴⁹ R. Bösel and J. Garms: 'Die Plansammlung des Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 23 (1981), pp.335–84; *idem: ibid.* 25 (1983), pp.225–72; J. Connors: 'Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism', *Römische Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989), pp.268–79; R. Samperi: 'Borromini e la Biblioteca Angelica: storia di un'esperienza interrotta', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura dell'Università di Roma 'la Sapienza'* 31 (1998), pp.27–36.

⁵⁰ The problem is discussed for altars in St. Peter's in L. Rice: 'The pre-Mochi Projects for the Veronica Pier in Saint Peter's', in C. Miner, ed.: *The Eternal Baroque: Studies in Honour of Jennifer Montagu*, Milan 2015, pp.175–201; and *idem: The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter's: Outfitting the Basilica, 1621–1666*, Cambridge 1997, p.296, doc.8.

⁵¹ G. Corti: 'Jacopo Sansovino's Contract for the Madonna in Sant'Agostino, Rome', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 113 (1971), pp.394–96; M. Hirst: 'Addenda Sansoviniana', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 114 (1972), pp.162–63, 165 and B. Boucher: *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, New Haven and London 1991, II, pp. 320–21, cat. no.10, figs.66–69. M. Garrard: 'Jacopo Sansovino's Madonna in Sant'Agostino: An Antique Source Rediscovered', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975), pp.337–38, notes 33 and 37, suggests that the birth cult probably did not begin until the nineteenth century. She also asserts, on the authority of T. Temanza: *Vita di Jacopo Sansovino*, Venice 1752, p.11, that the altar was still in place in 1752, but Temanza did not visit the church or see the altar, which was taken out in 1660.

⁵² According to the *visita apostolica* of the confraternity of 2nd April 1704, the tomb 'in cui è sepolito il Marliano fondatore, con proibitione di sepolirvi alcun'altro è situato incontro il Fonte Battesimale'. The same document states that the chapel was originally 'ove ora è il Fonte Battesimale, ma essendo stata demolita per ragione del sito opposto all'Altar maggiore; perciò in luogo di essa i Padri di S. Agostino surrogarono, e comessero alla Compagnia la descritta cappella, come per instrumento rogato Giovanni Francesco Abinante li 19 ottobre 1660'; ASV, Congr. Visita Ap. 97, fol.2r–v.

⁵³ E. Voelker: 'Charles Borromeo's "Instructiones Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae", 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis', Ph.D. diss. (Syracuse University 1977), pp.258–59. Such was the case also in St Peter's; see Rice 1997, *op.cit.* (note 50), p.187.

⁵⁴ See Appendix, 1A.

⁵⁵ A. Negro: 'Raffaello Vanni', in A. Lo Bianco, ed.: *Pietro da Cortona 1597–1669*, Milan 1997, pp.235–44 and 422–27; R. Krautheimer and R.S.B. Jones: 'The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Artists and Buildings', *Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975), esp. nos. 59, 92, 116, 164, 301, 342, 384, 411, 544, 555, 602 and 926 for Michelangelo Vanni, and 665 and 854 for Raffaello Vanni. As Negro points out (p.244, note 56) the entry of 5th October 1664 shows that the pope saw Raffaello Vanni's *St Ivo* (which is also emblazoned with the Landucci arms) in Rome before it was shipped to S. Martino in Siena. See also Ciampolini, *op.cit.* (note 8), III, pp.1034, 1042 and 1063, pl.532.

⁵⁶ See Appendix, 1F–G. The artist is not mentioned in the Will but the likelihood is that it was Michelangelo Vanni. His technique is discussed by F. Barry: 'Painting in Stone: The Symbolism of Colored Marbles in the Visual Arts and Literature from Antiquity until the Enlightenment', Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University 2006), ch.12. For paintings on stone in the Chigi collection, see V. Golzio: *Documenti artistici sul Seicento nell'Archivio Chigi*, Rome 1939, p.272 and B. Sani, in Angelini, Butzek and Sani, *op.cit.* (note 16), pp.168–70.

⁵⁷ E. Saracinelli: *Memoria storico-biografica della nobile famiglia Saracinelli conti, patrizi di Orvieto*, Florence 1968, pp.37–38. In 1649 Saracinelli offered to restore some of the convent's property for 400 denari and pay an annual rent of 150 denari, for which he was guaranteed posthumous weekly masses at the altar of St Nicholas of Tolentino. ASV, Misc. Arm. VII, 54, fols.559r, 560r, 567r, 568v, 573r, 574r, 581r, 589r and 597v.

⁵⁸ The inscription is transcribed in Rocca 1745, *op.cit.* (note 34). It was missed by Forcella but noticed by Thelen 1967, *op.cit.* (note 5), p.99, note 9; and Montevecchi, *op.cit.* (note 48), p.179. Jennifer Montagu kindly advised us against thinking of Domenico Guidi for the bust, which remains anonymous.

Appendix

I: Excerpts from Ambrogio Landucci's Will of 20th June 1665 and codicil of 15th February 1669 (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Segretari e Cancellieri della R.C.A., busta 243, notary Gregorius Bellisarius, fols.452r-v, codicil of 15th February 1669; fols.453r-v, act of opening of the Will on 16th February 1669; fols.454r-455v and 465v-472r, Will of 20th June 1665 with broken seals stamped with Landucci arms; fols.487r-502v and 525r-538r, inventory of the belongings of Landucci in his rooms at the Quirinal and Vatican palaces, including about 120 books and 275 paint-ings. Copies of the Will are in the Archivio di Stato di Siena, Conventi 2788, fols.46r-55v; and the Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, MS A.III.4, fols.7r-16r. Unless otherwise stated, transcriptions are based on the latter).

IA. Landucci asks to be buried at the foot of the baptismal font in S. Agostino, Rome [fol.8v].

Il mio Corpo, quando io muoja in Roma, bramo, e vorrei, che fosse seppellito nella Chiesa del Padre S. Agostino, se però quei Padri miei Fratelli se ne contenteranno, ed il luogo preciso vorrei, che fosse immediatamente sotto lo scalino del Battesimo da me fatto fare in detta Chiesa, et a questo mi muove non solo per esser quella Chiesa della mia religione, ma anche per essere stato benchè indegnamente Priore di detto Convento.

IB. Institution of masses at the altar of the Crucifix in S. Martino, Siena [fol.10v].

Primieramente, che detti padri di S. Martino siano obligati ogn'anno in perpetuo di far la festa della Santissima Croce al mio Altare fatto fare in detta Chiesa di S. Martino, e del mese di Maggio, e di settembre, quando cioè in detto Altare non vi sia simile obbligo, con far dire dieci Messe in Chiesa, e la cantata a detto Altare, con fare applicare il S. Sacrificio per l'Anima della Santità di Papa Alesandro VII quando passerà all'altra vita, di tutti li miei Benefattori, et anco di tutti quelli, che mi fossero stati poco amici, et inimici, e per la mia.

IC. Institution of masses at the altar in the sacristy of San Martino, Siena [fol.11r].

Similmente di far fare in perpetuo la Festa della Conversione del Padre S. Agostino all'altro Altare di Sagrestia con cantatovi la Messa, e dirvene due basse, facendo applicare il Sacrificio come sopra. Parimente, che siano obligati di far fare un Officio con il Notturmo, sei Messe basse, et una cantata una volta l'anno dopo la Festa della Santissima Croce di Maggio per l'Anima mia, di mio Padre, Madre, sorelle e zii [fratelli *cancelled*], e quest'obbligo pure duri in perpetuo.

Id. Institution of masses at the altar of St Thomas of Villanova in the Madonna del Triano and at the high altar of S. Leonardo, both in Montefollonico [fol.11r].

Item, che sian obligati ogni settimana di tutto l'anno in perpetuo di far celebrare una Messa all'Altare, che ho fatto fare nella Chiesa della Madonna detta del Criano nella terra del Monte Follonico stato di Siena sotto l'invocazione di S. Tomaso da Villanova, e la Messa sia la corrente, con la Commemorazione, e Colletta di S. Tomaso, e s'applichino il Sacrificio per l'Anima mia, Padre, Madre, Sorelle, Zii [Fratelli *cancelled*], come sopra. Item siano obligati il primo giorno dopo S. Leonardo Confessore non impedino di far celebrare nella Chiesa dedicata a detto Santo nella medesima Terra del Monte Follonico un'Officio de' Morti con sei Messe basse, et una Cantata all'Altare grande da me fatto fare in quella Chiesa, per me, per tutti li miei Congiunti, e per tutti li Morti di Casa Landucci.

IE. Stipulation regarding loans of the brocade of the Crucifix Chapel in S. Martino, Siena [fols.12v-13r].

... e sopra del Panno, o Coltrone di Broccato fatto fare nella medesima Chiesa di S. Martino, quale voglio, che solamente si possa prestare a tutti quelli di detta mia Casata de' Landucci, et ad altri Parenti più stretti, conforme a chi più giudicaranno meglio il Padre Priore, e Sagristano di detta Chiesa pro tempore.

IF. Landucci bequeathes a Nativity painted in stone to Pope Alexander VII [fol.15v].

Per miei Esecutori Testamentarii in Roma eleggo, e dichiaro il Signore Niccolò Finetti senese primo collaterale di Campidoglio, Magistro Riccardo Cruciani Cappellano segreto di Nostro Signore, et il Padre Reverendissimo Generale di tutto l'Ordine di S. Agostino, gli prego con tutto l'affetto del cuore ad intraprendere volentieri per l'amor di Iddio questa fatica, et ad operare speditamente, che si eseguisca quanto io ho disposto, particolarmente circa alla carità, e lasciti a' miei Familiari, et al mio Funerale, et a quanto io ho detto; et io se piacerà a S. D. M. di darmi la sua santa grazia prometto di pregare per loro, e voglio, che a ciascun di loro si dia, et assegni un quadro a loro elezione, eccetto però quello, che è dipinto in pietra, nel quale è la Natività di Giesù Cristo mio Redentore, il quale quadro voglio, che sia presentato alla Santità di N. S. Papa Alesandro VII dal quale sono stato favorito, e meco ha usata tanta carità di compattare li miei defetti.

IG. Landucci makes a codicil bequeathing the painting of the 'Nativity' mentioned in IF to Clement IX, 15th February 1669 (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Segretari e Cancellieri della R.C.A., busta 243, fol.452r-v).

Ambrogio Landucci infermo di corpo; consegnato a me notaio il suo testamento sigillato [. . .] nel quale detto Monsignore dice havere lasciato alla Medesima SM di Alessandro Settimo un quadro conforme si dice contenere in detto testamento et hora detto Monsignore codicillando il medesimo quadro come sopra lasciato, lo lascia a Nostro Signore Clemente Papa Nono supplicando la Santità sua gradire questa piccola memoria dispiacendoli di non potere fare di vantaggio.

2. Record of the 'sacra visita' of 1660 to S. Agostino in Rome and its implementation (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. VII, 54, fols.550r and 552r).

Il Signore Pietro da Cortona è stato a visitare la Chiesa di S. Agostino, e fatta osservazione sopra li dui Altari che sono posti a i lati dell'Altare Maggiore è di sentimento, che veramente non vi stiano bene, e che non vi siano stati fondati nel principio della chiesa, ma dopo qualche tempo riportati; dice però che levandosi detti Altari necessariamente bisogna ricoprire i Pilastri, et incrostargli di marmi mischi conforme ai lati di dentro si vede al presente; e questa spesa arriverebbe incirca scudi 400. Nell'Altare a Cornu Evangelii la Signora Principessa Borghese vi fa hora il quadro del B. Giovanni di S. Facondo per gratia ricevuta da detto Beato, con una lampada d'Argento.

Nell'Altare a Cornu Epistole vi sono tre corpi santi di S. Trifone, Respicio, e Ninfa titolo antico della Chiesa.

Il Convento al presente si ritrova in debito 4000 scudi senza il debito che fa hora della fabbrica nella piazza della Chiesa, che ascenderà a scudi 600 l'anno per frutti di censi vitalitii.

[25th February 1660] Il Priore di S. Agostino di Roma protrato a i piedi della Santità Vostra humilmente gl'espone, che havendo eseguito i suoi ordini nella demolitione delle cappelle nel fondo della Chiesa cioè della Madonna del Sasso fondata dalla nobile famiglia de Signori Martelli fiorentini con obbligo di Messe novantasei l'anno e della Cappella di S. Appollonia con obbligo in essa di una messa il giorno legato del quondam Bartolomeo Marliano; come anco dell'altre due cappelle a i lati dell'Altare Maggiore con obbligo in quella di S. Trifone di messe quattrocent'ottantaquattro l'anno, et una Anniversaria nel mese d'Aprile per la famiglia de Bagattini. Supplica la Santità Vostra degnarsi che gl'obligi per i Signori Martelli già nella Cappella della Madonna del Sasso si sodisfaccino nella Cappella di S. Tomaso, quelli di Santa Appollonia nella Cappella di S. Nicola di Tolentino, e quelli di S. Trifone nell'Altare Maggiore.