

Representational Strategies in the Baldini Tomb at Sant'Agostino and in other Physicians' Funerary Monuments in Baroque Rome

Abstract

When Giovan Giacomo Baldini died in 1656, he had no inkling that a funerary monument would be erected in his honor. A papal physician whose family had its origins in Apiro in the Marches Region, Baldini lived most of his life in Rome and, upon his death, was buried in the Basilica of Sant'Agostino. In his will, he furnished detailed instructions for his internment under a simple floor slab, an indication of his spiritual concern for the salvation of his soul rather than of a desire for the perpetuation of his memory. Soon after Baldini's death, however, and contrary to his wishes, the project of a grandiose funerary monument was undertaken by his universal heirs, the Twelve Canons of the Collegiate church of Sant'Urbano in Apiro that had been founded in 1633 by the physician himself under the aegis of the then ruling pope, Urban VIII Barberini. The discovery of abundant and hitherto unpublished documentation regarding Baldini's funerary monument sheds new light on this neglected personage. Even more importantly, it allows for the reconstruction of the complex stages of the monument's creation, a lengthy process (1656–ca. 1678) involving artists and architects such as Francesco Borromini, Giovanni Somazzi and Pietro Papaleo, prolonged through interruptions, design revisions, the death of one of the artists, dissatisfaction on the part of the patrons, and even a legal dispute.

To broaden the perspective of the present study and determine whether Baldini's restrictive prescriptions regarding his burial were common among his contemporary colleagues, the paper takes into consideration several last wills of other physicians active in Rome, and examines whether and how they wished to be remembered, were it through a humble floor slab or a monumental tomb.

A Physician's Modesty

Rome, 2 February 1656: in his letter addressed to the Canons of the Collegiate church of Apiro, a village in the province of Macerata in the Marche region, the Canon Domenico Cherubini announced the death of his beloved friend Giovan Giacomo Baldini, declaring that “the entire city of Rome mourns him” (“tutta Roma lo piange”).¹ While such a statement might seem exaggerated, there is no reason to doubt the basic sincerity of Cherubini’s words. Indeed, although known only to modern art historians for having been the owner of the canvas with *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert* by the French Caravaggesque painter Valentin de Boulogne (1591–1632),² Baldini had been a renowned physician and philanthropist, holding the most prestigious role of his career – that of papal physician – during the pontificates of Urban VIII Barberini (r. 1623–1644) and Innocent X Pamphilj (r. 1644–1655).³

Baldini was born in Apiro into a family of relatively humble origins, on 25 March 1582.⁴ His father, Mattia, was a destitute blacksmith who moved to Apiro from Serra de’ Conti, seeking a better life for himself and his family.⁵ While still living in his native village, the young Baldini had been appreciated for his acumen by Ottavio Bardi, Steward of Cardinal Andrea Peretti Montalto, who financed his education at the University of Padua, where Baldini became Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine in 1603.⁶ After working as a physician in Apiro and then in Corinaldo in the Marche, Baldini moved to Rome, where he dedicated the remainder of his life to serving hospitals and aiding not only the poor, but also the nobility and highest-ranking Catholic clergy, from Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani and Cardinal Scipione Borghese to Popes Urban VIII and Innocent X.⁷

The special bond between Baldini and the village of Apiro is apparent from his having established the Collegiate church of Sant’Urbano there. After gaining Urban VIII’s approval, the Collegiate was founded in 1633, with the endowment of twelve canonicates and eight benefices.⁸ In his testament of 1656, Baldini appointed the Twelve Canons of Apiro as his universal heirs; among their designated tasks were to enhance the Collegiate church of Sant’Urbano with the funding he had left, carry on with philanthropic activities, and oversee his burial and legacy.⁹

Consideration of Baldini’s funerary monument logically begins with his testamentary dispositions for his burial, which may be summarized as follows: 1) the request to be interred in a highly symbolic site; 2) the rejection of anything resembling a funerary monument; and 3) the prescription to be buried with the book *De Arte Bene Moriendi*.¹⁰ Indeed, regarding this last prescription at the very

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1 Archivio Capitolare di Sant’Urbano, Apiro (hereafter ACSU), *Lettera di Domenico Cherubini ai Canonici di Apiro*, Letter of 2 February 1656, typescript of a document currently missing in the archive, and transcribed by Father Ezio Mosca.

2 On this painting and Baldini’s art collection, see Serafinelli 2022, pp. 38–50 with earlier literature.

3 Marini 1784, vol. 1, pp. XLII–XLIII.

4 ACSU, *Pievania di Santa Felicita, Battezzati (1579–1591)*, Libro II, fols. 7v–8r.

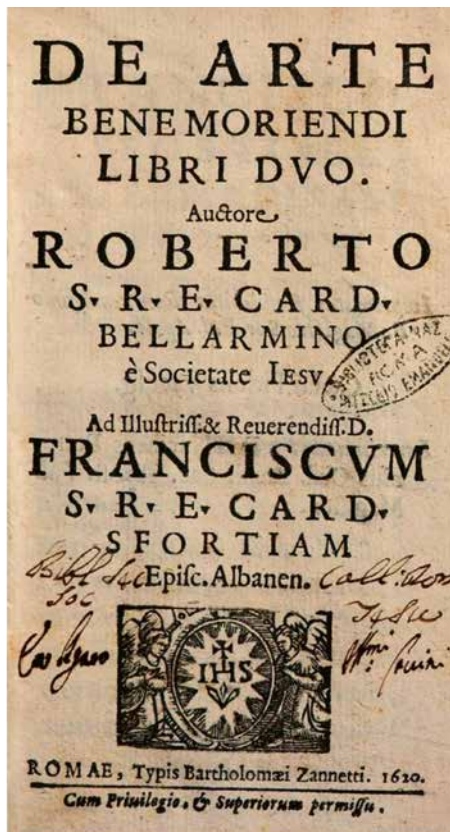
5 For a biography of Baldini, see Panelli D’Acquaviva 1757–1758, vol. 2, 1758, pp. 278–285; Turchi 1762 *ad indicem*; Borioni n.d., *passim*; Serafinelli 2022, pp. 38–43.

6 Turchi 1762, p. 322.

7 See above note 5.

8 See above note 5. See also Bevilacqua 1999, pp. 213–219; Serafinelli 2022, p. 42, fig. 10.

9 For Baldini’s testament and inventory, see Archivio di Stato, Rome (hereafter ASR), Ufficio della Curia del Cardinal Vicario di Roma, Uff. 32, Valentinus Jacobus Garzia, vol. 168, testament (2 February 1656), unnumbered fols., inventory (3 February 1656), fols. 357r–398r. See Serafinelli 2022, pp. 43, 68, n. 131 with earlier literature.



1 Roberto Bellarmino, *De Arte Bene Moriendi. Libri duo*, Rome 1620, title page (photo author)

outset of his will, in which he commends his soul to God, the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and his protector saints, Baldini mentions *De Arte Bene Moriendi* (*The Art of Dying Well*) by the Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino (fig. 1).¹¹ Published in 1620 as a spiritual treatise on how to prepare for a good death by a good life, it provides evidence of Baldini's eschatological meditations.¹² As a physician, he had of course saved the lives of many patients throughout his lifetime; yet, not even the profoundest knowledge of the art of medicine, as he openly admitted, could prevent him from escaping death, the inevitable *terminus* of the cycle of life and the great social leveler that is everyone's lot.¹³ With this in mind and in order to prepare for death, Baldini drew up his will while still of the formulaic "sound mind and body," faithfully following the instructions provided by Bellarmino¹⁴ and specifying that he should be buried with a printed copy of *De Arte Bene Moriendi*, which he had used as an aid to meditate on his sins and examine his soul.¹⁵

The practice of burial with objects, ranging from pottery, utensils, jewelry, rosaries and crosses to indulgences, etc., has enjoyed a long-standing tradition in funerary ritual.¹⁶ In the case of physicians, for instance, there are significant testimonies of burials from the Greco-Roman world containing or illustrating medical and surgical instruments as indicators of the deceased's professional role in life.¹⁷ Paradigmatic in this regard is the Roman *Sarcophagus with a Greek Physician in his Library* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York representing the

10 ASR, Ufficio della Curia del Cardinal Vicario di Roma, Uff. 32, Valentinus Jacobus Garzia, vol. 168, 2 February 1656, unnumbered fols.

11 "Havendo io Gio. Giacomo Baldini figliolo delli *quondam* Mattheo Baldini de Apiro Cameirini Diocesis, d'età d'anni 70, e mesi tre, e mezzo in circa, Medico in Roma, letto, che ad un huomo Cristiano per ben morire, importa assai fare a tempo, o come va, con li debiti modi, et riqusiti, il suo testamento, come più particolarmente ragiona di questo, l'Eminentissimo Signore Cardinale Bellarmino nelli suo Libro intitolato Arte delli ben morire. Ed io la professione di Medico, che da molti anni in quà essercito, ho osservato, che quando l'huomo sta aggravato dal male, appena puole raccomandarsi a Dio, non che disporre rettamente delle cose temporali, e spessissime volte fa cose, che non possono stare a martello; per questo, hora, che per misericordia e gratia di Dio, mi ritrovo sano di corpo e di mente, con tutti li miei sensi integri, mi sono risoluto fare il mio nuncupativo testamento, che comunemente si chiama sine scriptis, e di disporre delle cose mie, nella seguente maniera, e modo. In primis, io raccomando, misero, e infelice peccatore sopradetto, l'anima mia all'Omnipotente Dio, Padre, Figliuolo, e Spirito Santo, e à tutta la Santissima Trinità, alla quale ho portato sempre grandissima devotione. Alla Gloriosissima Vergine Madre Maria, mia Tutrice e Protettrice, e à tutti li Santi miei divoti, e tutelari, li quali priegho con la maggior humiltà, che so, e posso, che vogliano impetrarmi alla Maestà Divina la remissione delli miei innumerabili peccati, e dalla sua infinita Misericordia, la salute dell'anima mia, facendo, e ratificando al presente tutte quelle proteste che altre volte ho fatto avanti la maestà sua, e li ho portati sempre meco registrati in detto libretto stampato, con il quale ancora essere seppellito in oltre voglio, che il mio corpo separato che saria da esso l'anima, si porti alla chiesa parrocchiale, e di li si conduca con mediocre pompa alla chiesa di Santo Agostino di Roma, se però accadrà che io muoia in Roma; e se all'Apiro, alla chiesa di Santo Urbano, dove è la Collegiata, e se altrove, in una chiesa dedicata alla Santissima Vergine Maria. Dessidero mediocre pompa nel mio sotterratoio, non per ambizione; poichè per misericordia di Dio, mentre sono vissuto in questo mondo, sono stato sempre alieno da ogni ambizione, e superbia; ma lo fo acciochè da questo mondo conosca, e si ricordi, che ognuno muore, siasi di che grado, e conditione, qualità, e professione si vuole, e che con essere stato medico tanti anni, e haver medicati tanti, e in tanti anni, che ho fatto la professione, non ho potuto far si, che con le regole dell'arte abbi potuto fuggire la morte [...]" ASR, Ufficio della Curia del Cardinal Vicario di Roma, Uff. 32, Valentinus Jacobus Garzia, vol. 168, 2 February 1656, unnumbered fols.

12 Bellarmino 1620.

13 See above note 11.

14 Bellarmino 1620, esp. pp. 206–215 on meditation upon death.

15 See above note 11. When compared to other contemporary physicians, Baldini's request to be buried with the *De Arte Bene Moriendi* appears unusual.

16 The literature on this topic is voluminous, in a wide range of disciplines. Suffice it to mention Gray 2021 with earlier literature.

17 See, for example, *Medizinische Instrumente* 1982.



doctor in philosopher's garb, reading before a book cabinet on top of which surgical tools are kept in an open case (fig. 2).¹⁸ The representation of the physician as a cultivated man resonates with the expression of the nobility of his profession resting primarily on intellectual rather than on merely manual skill.¹⁹

In the case of Baldini's burial, the physician eschewed a grand funerary monument in favor of a modest floor slab succinctly inscribed with his name, surname, origins, and profession. Rather than focusing on self-identity and displaying individual pride in his professional accomplishments, Baldini's central preoccupation for his grave was its siting: he wished to be interred in the Basilica of Sant'Agostino in Rome, beneath the floor of the transept facing the icon of the Virgin Mary on the high altar. The explanation for Baldini's preferred location is provided in his will:

I wish to be buried in the Church of Saint Augustine, since I have always had particular devotion to that Most Holy Image of the Most Glorious Virgin Mary, and to this effect I most earnestly beseech the Fathers of that convent to allow me to be buried before the High Altar of the said Church, where the Most Holy Image is, and if it seems appropriate to my heirs, they may have a most simple tombstone placed in the ground, with my name, surname, hometown, and profession [...].²⁰

As Baldini stated, he wished to be interred in Sant'Agostino because of his great reverence for the ancient icon of the *Virgin Mary with the Child and two Angels* (*Virgo Virginum et Mater Omnium*) on the high altar (a privileged altar), which had been freshly inaugurated in 1628 (figs. 3–4).²¹ This Marian icon in Sant'Agostino is of the *Hodegetria* (Our Lady of the Way) type, representing the Madonna pointing to the Infant Jesus as the source of Salvation for mankind. The sacred image, whose chronology is still debated, was one of those many deemed to have been painted by St. Luke, and credited for miraculous actions.²² In his *Tesori nascosti dell'alma città di Roma*, Ottavio Panciroli recalled that, when in 1485 the

2 Sarcophagus with a Greek Physician in his Library, early 4th c. AD, marble, 55.2 × 59.1 × 215.6 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 48.76.1, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Brummer and Ernest Brummer in memory of Joseph Brummer, 1948 (photo metmuseum.org, public domain)

18 McCann 1978, pp. 138–140, figs. 174–175.

19 See also the case of the *Funerary Monument of Physician Alexander* (Vatican Museums, Galleria Lapidaria) investigated by Alonso Alonso 2021.

20 “[...] voglio essere seppellito nella chiesa di Santo Agostino, poiché ho avuto sempre particolare divotione à quell’Imagine Santissima della gloriosissima Vergine Maria, ed à questo effetto priegho instantissimamente li padri di quel convento, di permettere, ch’io sia seppellito avanti l’altare maggiore di detta Chiesa, dove stà l’Imagine Santissima, e se parerà alli miei heredi, potranno far ponere in terra una lapide semplicissima, con il mio nome, cognome, patria, e professione [...].” ASR, Ufficio della Curia del Cardinal Vicario di Roma, Uff. 32, Valentinus Jacobus Garzia, vol. 168, 2 February 1656, unnumbered fols.

21 See Montevecchi 1985, pp. 125–134; Pedrocchi 2006.

icon was conducted in procession to the Vatican by Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484–1492), it miraculously halted the epidemic of plague and saved the people of Rome.²³ Baldini's request reveals both his desire for salvation and his humility.

Christian belief in the power of the burial place, which resulted in the *tumulatio ad sanctos*, the practice of the interment of the dead near to the tombs of saints, dates back to at least the second half of the fourth century.²⁴ Early evidence of this custom is found in the writings of Pope Damasus I, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa.²⁵ Underlying this practice was the belief in the intercession of saints for the salvation of souls. Nevertheless, as observed by Robert Wiśniewski, the usage was also extended to other significant sites within a sacred space, such as apses close to the altar where the Eucharist was celebrated.²⁶ Furthermore, burial in proximity of a miraculous icon or an object of devotion was not unusual.²⁷ Emblematic is the case of the icon, *Salus Populi Romani* (Salvation of the Roman People), in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, the miraculous image *par excellence* that had halted the plague in Rome in the year 590.²⁸ About this icon, Steven Ostrow has observed:

The efficacy of the Virgin and her image as intercessor and *Redemptrix* also gave rise to the tradition of burial in proximity. Agapito Colonna (†1380), the titular cardinal of S. Prisca, articulated in his will his desire to be buried as close to the icon as possible, and this practice continued, culminating in Paul V's placement of the icon in his burial chapel.²⁹

It is not unlikely that Baldini's request to be buried in proximity of an image of the Virgin for which he had a particular devotion stemmed from his hope for salvific intercession, with Mary acting as his advocate.³⁰ Moreover, the icon in Sant'Agostino was revered for its healing powers and thus, seen from a physician's perspective his choice takes on a more nuanced symbolic meaning. Having recognized at the outset of his will the ineffectualness of his medical knowledge before the ultimate destiny of humankind, and hence the supremacy of divine revelation over human reason ("e in tanti anni, che ho fatto la professione, non ho potuto far si, che con le regole dell'arte abbi potuto fuggire la morte"),³¹ Baldini's disposition to entrust his soul to the salvific intercession of a miracle-working icon, a vessel of divine healing, is fundamentally a sign of humility. This act of humility resonates with the precepts of the *Ars moriendi*,³² and most impor-

22 According to the legend, the icon was plundered by "some Greek men" from Hagia Sophia and taken to Rome after the Fall of Constantinople (1453); subsequently, on 25 March 1482, the icon was donated by Clemente di Giovanni Toscanella to the Basilica of Sant'Agostino. For a study of this icon and the debate on its chronology, see Angelelli 2018 with earlier literature.

23 Panciroli 1625, p. 471. See also Angelelli 2018, pp. 420–421. As observed in a recent contribution on Baldini's collection, the plague may have been the subject at the core of his interests. Baldini, in fact, owned a rich book collection with several treatises on plague, including *Istruzione sopra la peste* by Michele Mercati (1576) and *Providenza metodica per preservarsi dalla peste* by Vincenzo Alsario della Croce (1630). See Serafinelli 2022, pp. 44, 68, n. 135.

24 The literature on this subject is vast. For the purpose of this study, see Brown 1981; Duval 1988; Wiśniewski 2019, esp. pp. 83–100.

25 Wiśniewski 2019, pp. 86–87.

26 Wiśniewski 2019, p. 98.

27 On the necessity of a specific site to be interred, see De Jong 2023, pp. 44–53 with earlier literature.

28 Wolf 1990.

29 Ostrow 1996, pp. 126, 316, n. 31.

30 See above note 11. Baldini was born on 25 March 1581, the Feast of the Incarnation, which explains his special devotion to the Virgin Mary. See also Serafinelli 2022, pp. 41, 67, n. 110.

31 See above note 11.

32 Bellarmino 1620, pp. 132–134.

tantly, with the trope of the *Christus Medicus*;³³ a trope frequently predicated by St. Augustine to emphasize the importance of the virtue of humility as the guiding principle of Christian life. In this regard, Rudolph Arbesmann noted how recurrently in his sermons, St. Augustine

[...] depicts Christ in the role of the Divine Physician, who by the medicine of His humility heals man from the festering wound of pride, which had caused humanity's fall, thus accomplishing the Redemption and inviting man to imitate Him in this virtue. It is then by presenting the Saviour above all in the role of the *medicus humilis* that St. Augustine injects new life into an idea which, by his day, had become a commonplace of Christian apologetics.³⁴

The location of Baldini's tomb in the Mother Church of the Augustinian Order suggests that the physician's humility might also have been informed by his knowledge of the writings of the Bishop of Hippo.

Although with significant exceptions, an examination of burial dispositions dictated by other physicians who lived in Rome in the seventeenth century, reveals that such dispositions apparently share similarities with those prescribed by Baldini himself, with special reference to the expression of humility regarding their social standing.

There was a considerable increase in the population of surgeons and physicians active in Rome during the seventeenth century. For instance, when Baldini died in 1656, there were 140 doctors, with a ratio of 11.6 per 10,000 individuals.³⁵ Without claiming to be exhaustive, an initial survey of the last wills of physicians who died in Rome, notably those in the service of popes Urban VIII and Innocent X, offers evidence of their scant concern with memorializing themselves by means of a funerary monument.

The most reliable list of papal physicians is that compiled by Gaetano Marini, Prefect of the Vatican Archives. In his two-volume study, *Degli archiatri pontifici* (1784), Marini provides a substantial revision with corrections and additions to Prospero Mandosio's *Θεατρον* of 1696, which was rife with inaccuracies.³⁶ With reference to Urban VIII's pontificate, the first physician mentioned in this amended list is the Genoese Domenico Rivarola (†1649), who had served the Holy Father



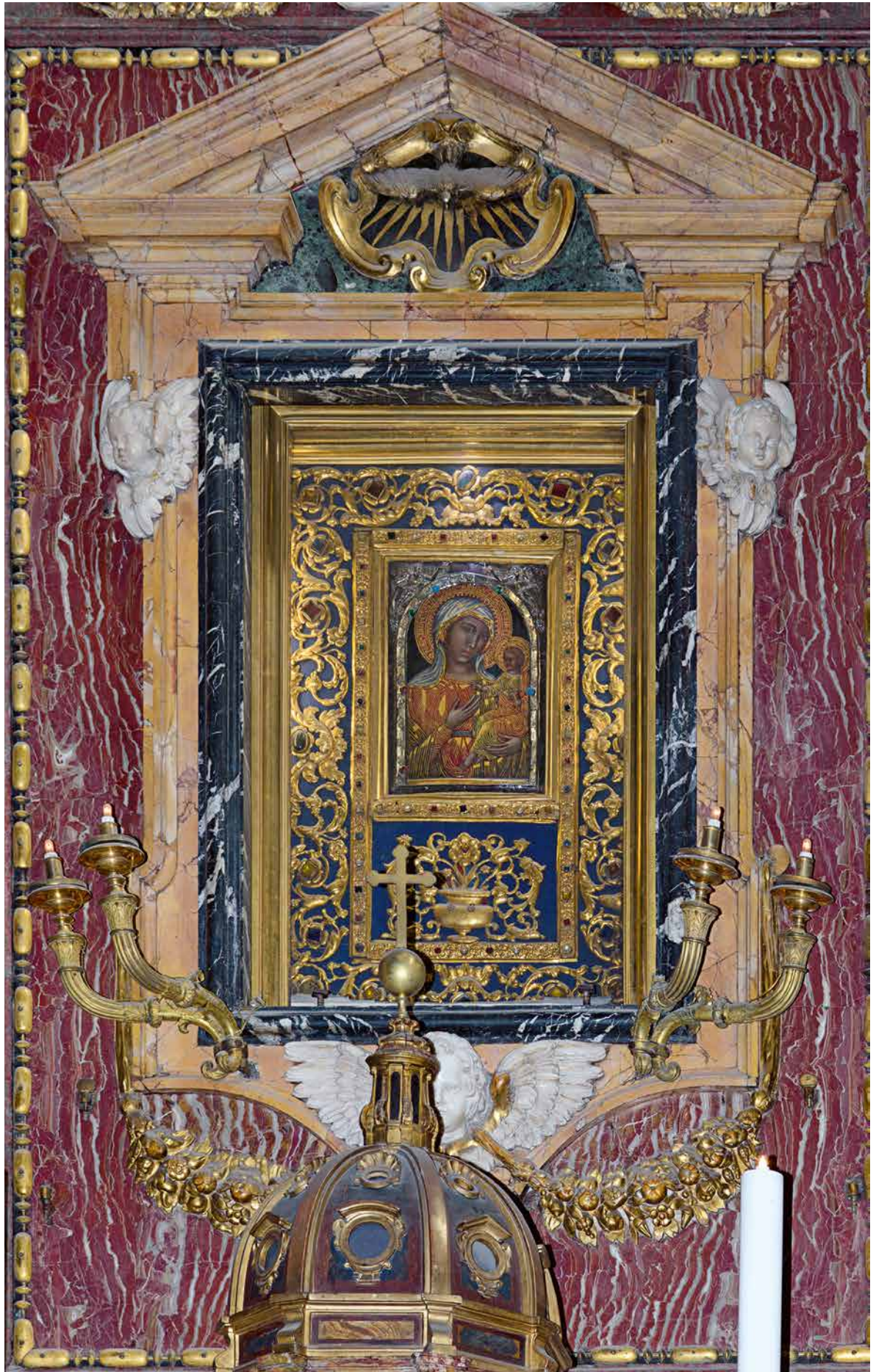
3 Santi Gheretti, The High Altar, 1626–1628. Rome, Basilica of Sant'Agostino (photo Mauro Coen)

33 For an overview of the *topos* of the *Christus Medicus*, see Kaminska 2021 with earlier literature.

34 Arbesmann n.d., p. 11. Baldini's adherence to humility in imitation of Christ as *medicus humilis* can be also inferred from an anecdote on his modesty reported by Domenico Gagliardi in his *L'idea del vero Medico Fisico, e Morale* of 1718. See Gagliardi 1718, pp. 17–18. Gagliardi's is a treatise on the moral and practical duties of physicians, in which humility is advocated among the primary virtues of the profession. "[...] E tanto più, che deve essere d'animo modesto, e temperato, di ottimi costumi, umano, e giusto, conforme egli giudicò nel libro del Medico." Gagliardi 1718, p. 121.

35 By 1675, the number of physicians had grown to 164 with a ratio of 12.6. See the table on physicians and population in selected European towns between 1575 and 1675 published in Cipolla 1976, p. 82.

36 Marini 1784. On the role of papal physicians, see in esp. Andretta 2011, pp. 219–347.



4 Icon of the Virgin Mary with the Child and two Angels (*Virgo Virginum et Mater Omnium*), 13th-15th c.
Rome, Basilica of Sant'Agostino (photo Mauro Coen)

also during the latter's cardinalate.³⁷ In Rivarola's testament, there are no references to his profession other than mention of his doctor's robes.³⁸ Even more than Baldini, Rivarola's concern was the seeking of salvation. He prescribed interment in the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, with no other instructions regarding burial or inscriptions, and asked that his personal belongings – clothes, physician's robes and shoes – be sold to cover the costs of his funeral, as well as to give alms to the Fathers of San Lorenzo in Lucina in exchange for prayers for his soul.³⁹ Moreover, Rivarola ordered his sister Tommasa to invest 400 scudi in perpetual government bonds (“Luoghi di Monte non vacabili”) in favor of the same Fathers so that, with the yields, they could celebrate perpetual masses for his salvation.⁴⁰

The prominent Umbrian physician Silvestro Collicola (†1651), nephew of the renowned Taddeo Collicola (1551–1643), who had succeeded Giulio Mancini as papal physician of Urban VIII, became one of the pope's personal doctors in 1634, also obtaining his uncle's chair of *Medicina pratica* at the University of Rome La Sapienza, with an annual income of 450 scudi.⁴¹ Despite having reached a superior social status and an extraordinary level of affluency (signaled by owning horse-drawn carriages), Collicola showed no interest in perpetuating his own memory. Indeed, in his testament he bequeathed 50 scudi to the Confraternity of the *Bona Mors* (Good Death) so that its members would pray for the health of his soul, and requested interment – without providing any further indications or requests for inscriptions – in the church of the Gesù, where in 1648 the Confraternity had been founded.⁴²

Another paradigmatic case is that of the surgeon from Veroli, Giovanni Trulli (1599–1662), anonymously interred in the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli.⁴³ Trulli's modesty and lack of interest in any personal memorials is all the more curious if one considers the fame he had reached throughout his life. Lecturer of “chirurgia extra ordinem” at La Sapienza and papal surgeon from 1642, Trulli, who had been also a member of the household of Cardinal Francesco Barberini and served Pope Alexander VII Chigi (r. 1655–1667), was specialized in lithotomy, dissections and embalming.⁴⁴ In 1644 he was called on to embalm the body of Urban VIII.⁴⁵ Trulli was author of medical treatises, and among

37 Marini 1784, vol. 1, p. XLII. See, for instance, the payment of 10 scudi to Rivarola for having cured several members of the Barberini family (27 June 1622), as well as the payment of 6 scudi for the same purpose (22 September 1622). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Giustificazioni I, vol. 35 (Maffeo Barberini), unnumbered fols.

38 ASR, Notai del Tribunale delle Ripe, Angelus De Prosperis, vol. 138, testament (31 October 1649), fols. 600r–601v, 606r, codicil (1 November 1649), fols. 624r–v.

39 ASR, Notai del Tribunale delle Ripe, Angelus De Prosperis, vol. 138, testament (31 October 1649), fols. 600r–v.

40 ASR, Notai del Tribunale delle Ripe, Angelus De Prosperis, vol. 138, codicil (1 November 1649), fols. 624r–v.

41 Völkel 1990, pp. 497–498, n. 17.

42 “Lascio, che il mio Corpo che quando si separerà dell'anima sia seppellito nella Chiesa del Giesù, alla quale lascio le ragioni della seppoltura tutte. Item voglio, che si celebrino mille messe di Requiem per suffragio della mia anima, cioè Cinquanta nella detta Chiesa del Giesù [...]” ASR, Notai dell'Auditor Camerae, Uff. 6, Hadrianus Gallus, 21 August 1651, vol. 48, fol. 339v. The testament (fols. 339r–344r) was drawn up on 21 August 1651 and opened on 9 November 1651, when Collicola died.

43 “Item voglio che il mio Cadavere morendo in Roma sia sepelito nella chiesa chiamata della Madonna delli Angioli con quella spesa funerale che sarà giudicata espediente dalli infrascritti miei Heredi. Lasciando che à detta chiesa siano date le sole spese funerali [...]” ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 28, Nicolaus Rignanus, vol. 6, opening of the testament (27 December 1662), fols. 324r–v, testament (24 October 1654), fols. 325r–327v, in part. fols. 325–326. With regard to Trulli's biography, see Tonetti 2020 with earlier literature (the date of Trulli's death is incorrectly reported as 1661).

44 Marini 1784, vol. 1, pp. XLII–XLIII; Belloni 1985; Völkel 1990, p. 499; Tonetti 2020.

45 Tonetti 2020, p. 141 with earlier literature.



5 The Tiracorda Chapel. Rome, Church of San Salvatore in Lauro (photo Mauro Coen)

his distinguished patients was Galileo Galilei, who consulted him about his failing eyesight, which would eventually result in blindness.⁴⁶

There is also the case of Nicolas Larché or Larcher (1602–1665), a French surgeon in the service of Innocent X, who moved to Rome no later than 1625, becoming Director of the hospitals of Santa Maria della Consolazione and San Giacomo degli Incurabili.⁴⁷ An art collector, Larché is also known for having taught anatomy to the French painter Nicolas Poussin.⁴⁸ In his biography of Poussin, Giovan Pietro Bellori reported:

Having attended anatomy lessons in a hospital, [Poussin] again took up this study with [the book by] Vesalius; later, practicing with Larché, the noble surgeon, [and] conducting exercises on cadavers and skeletons, he became supremely knowledgeable.⁴⁹

Larché, who drew up his will in 1656 at the time of the plague, died in Rome in 1665.⁵⁰ In his testament, replete with legacies to Roman hospitals, he simply requested that his body be buried in the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli near the Privileged Altar, that is, an altar to which indulgences were offered as suffrages for souls to be freed from Purgatory.⁵¹ Larché, thus, made no effort to perpetuate his memory. His sole concern appears rather to have been, as in other cases examined so far, to site his burial place in such a way as to enhance his soul's chances of salvation.⁵²

Finally, among the most notable papal physicians active in the court of Innocent X, to which we will return later, the example of Giovanni Tiracorda (†1692) stands out. Tiracorda, like Baldini, came from the Marches (Alteta, Ascoli Piceno).⁵³ Having served both Innocent X and subsequently, Alexander VII, and generally acknowledged to be Rome's

most valuable living physician (“quello, che hoggi vive in maggior concetto tra’ Medici di Roma”), he was summoned to cure the elderly Gian Lorenzo

46 Tonetti 2020, p. 141 with earlier literature.

47 Marini 1784, vol. 1, p. XLII. See also ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Medici e Barbieri, b. 54, fol. 25, 27 July 1625, cited in Cavazzini 2023, p. 64, n. 13.

48 On Larché's collection of paintings, see Roethlisberger 1961, vol. 1, pp. 169–170; Cavazzini 2023, p. 64.

49 “Avendo egli in Parigi atteso all'anatomia in uno spedale, ripigliò di nuovo questo studio dal Vesalio, e dopo, con la pratica del Larcheo, nobile chirurgo, esercitandosi sopra cadaveri, e scheletri, ne divenne ottimamente instrutto.” Bellori 1976, p. 427. I borrow the English translation from Barker 2004, p. 663. For Larché and Poussin, see also Passeri (1772) 1934, p. 326.

50 ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 18, Franciscus Pacichellus, vol. 1070, testament (8 November 1656), fols. 7r–8v, opening of the testament (28 January 1665), fols. 6r–v, 28r–v, cited in Cavazzini 2023, p. 64, n. 16.

51 ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Uff. 18, Franciscus Pacichellus, vol. 1070, fol. 7r.

52 Among the papal physicians listed by Marini (Marini 1784, vol. 1, p. XLII) we can also mention Giulio Cesare Marsella, who served Pope Innocent X and who was buried in a simple grave in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. ASR, Uffici della Curia del Cardinale Vicario di Roma, Uff. 30, Vincentius Octavianus, vol. 277, fols. 207r–209v, 246r–250v, testament (4 December 1681), fols. 200r–ff.

53 Marini 1784, vol. 1, p. XLII.

Bernini.⁵⁴ Tiracorda, of whom Pier Leone Ghezzi made a caricature, had been also the master of a physician of even greater renown, Giovanni Maria Lancisi, who became his assistant in 1676, when he served as the primary doctor of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia.⁵⁵

Despite Tiracorda's successful career, which earned him the moniker "Coryphaeus of the physicians of his time" ("Corifeo dei medici di quei tempi"), his testamentary dispositions reveal his lack of interest in magnifying his own memory and accomplishments.⁵⁶ In his testament, opened at his death on 4 June 1692, Tiracorda declared his wish to be simply interred "in the Church of the Madonna Santissima di Loreto of the Marches nation in Rome, that is in the Chapel of St. Liutgard erected there by the Signora Paradisa Jacometti, my consort" (fig. 5).⁵⁷

Originally dedicated to San Salvatore in Lauro, in 1669 that church became the property of the Pio Sodalizio dei Piceni – the Confraternity of the Marches nation in Rome – which, in addition to changing its name to Santa Maria di Loreto, had introduced there the cult of Our Lady of Loreto, protectress of the Marches.⁵⁸ In 1670 the most revered statue of Our Lady of Loreto was installed on its high altar.⁵⁹

On the floor of the Tiracorda Chapel (the fourth on the church's left side, in close proximity to the high altar), a generic, unadorned slab inscribed only with the physician's family name in Latin "De Tiracordis" was laid (fig. 6).⁶⁰ Giovanni Tiracorda's personal, social and professional identity is thus expressed collectively through the framework of his family's identity, a shared identity conveyed in terms both of the family's particular devotion to Our Lady of Loreto and its geographical bond to the Marches. Tiracorda's lack of interest in any memorial, or even in an inscription with his full name commemorating himself is perhaps to be understood as an indication of his personal humility. Not unlike Baldini, among Tiracorda's books was Bellarmino's *De Arte Bene Moriendi*.⁶¹ It thus may be assumed that Tiracorda, too, prepared for death by abiding by the principles of modesty advocated in Bellarmino's manual. Indeed, as predicated by Bellarmino in the second precept of *De Arte Bene Moriendi* ("which is, to die to the world") the just and pious man, in whose heart reigns the love of God, follows a life of humility in imitation of Christ;⁶² such a man is contrasted with the one who is wicked, who lives in sin and imitates "the arrogance and pride of the devil, not the humility and mildness of Jesus."⁶³



6 Floor slab of the Tiracorda family in the Tiracorda Chapel. Rome, Church of San Salvatore in Lauro (photo Mauro Coen)

54 ASR, Cartari Febei, vol. 87, fol. 267v.

55 Laganà 2000, pp. 14, 16.

56 "Egli [Tiracorda] è stato, mentre visse, il Tutelare della Sanità dei Principi di Roma, e quindi Medico d'Innocenzo X: anzi se dobbiamo prestar fede a Bernardino Genga nell'Opera, che porta il titolo *Anatomia Chirurgica* lib. II, cap. XXXIII pag. 292 della seconda impressione il Tiracorda era il Corifeo dei Medici di quei tempi. Fu Maestro di Monsignor Lancisi, il quale da lì inanzi riguardò Giovanni Tiracorda dietro gl'insegnamenti d'Ippocrate come un altro Padre." Panelli D'Acquaviva 1757–1758, vol. 2, 1758, p. 266.

57 "Separata poi sarà l'anima dal corpo, voglio che il mio Cadavero sia seppellito nella Chiesa della Madonna Santissima di Loreto della Natione della Marca in Roma, cioè nella Cappella di S. Liutgarda ivi eretta dalla Signora Paradisa Jacometti mia consorte, alla qual Chiesa lascio ciò che li v'è per raggione di seppoltura [sic]." ASR, Notai dell'Auditor Camerae, Uff. 3, Bellettus Successor, vol. 849, 4 June 1692, fol. 472v.

58 Fanano n.d., pp. 14–16.

59 Fanano n.d., p. 15.

60 Forcella 1869–1884, vol. 7, 1876, p. 105, n. 231. On the Tiracorda Chapel dedicated to St. Liutgard, see Fanano n.d., p. 78.

61 ASR, Notai dell'Auditor Camerae, Uff. 3, Bellettus Successor, vol. 849, 4 June 1692, fol. 597r.

62 Bellarmino 1620, pp. 5–17.

63 Bellarmino (1620) 1623, p. 10.

The First Stage of the Project and the Involvement of Francesco Borromini

The lengthy story of Baldini's funerary monument begins on 2 February 1656. On that day, Domenico Cherubini, Baldini's agent in Rome, addressed a letter to the Canons of Sant'Urbano in Apiro announcing "with tears of blood" ("con lacrime di sangue") that Baldini had passed away the night before. He describes how Baldini abruptly fell into his arms, seemingly taken by an apoplectic stroke, and that in less than half an hour, was gone.⁶⁴ Cherubini adds that following Baldini's testamentary dispositions, his body was first taken to his parish church of Sant'Eustachio where, with forty burning torches positioned around the coffin, it lay in state for public view, and that later that night, it was transported in a modest procession to the Basilica of Sant'Agostino for burial.⁶⁵ In his letter, Cherubini urges Canon Tommaso Peranzoni, whom Baldini appointed to serve with him (Cherubini) as co-executor of his will, to come Rome immediately. As will be seen, Peranzoni would have a decisive role in initiating the process of a tomb for Baldini.

A few days later (5 February), Cherubini addressed another letter to the Canons in Apiro, reporting that not only had he almost completed the inventory of Baldini's goods, but also that Baldini's body had since been buried in Sant'Agostino and that it would be best if an appropriate gravestone were fashioned in his memory ("a noi converrà farli una lapide meritevole").⁶⁶

On 12 February, Cherubini wrote a third letter to the Canons, informing them that he urgently needed Peranzoni's help to administrate Baldini's bequest, which was considerable, exceeding 100,000 scudi ("una grossa eredità che passa sopra 100.000 scudi sicché ci conviene molto vigilare et osservare et ubbidire").⁶⁷

On the first of March 1656, Peranzoni received 25 scudi to travel to Rome to manage the affairs of the late Baldini.⁶⁸ A few days later (15 March), Peranzoni, writing from Rome, addressed a letter to the Canons of Apiro informing them that a funerary monument for Baldini was to be erected and that, because they wished for "something that has grace," they had begged Cavalier Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) to draft a design for the tomb.⁶⁹ Eight days later (22 March), Peranzoni urged the Canons to immediately send him a *procura* (a power of

64 See above note 1.

65 See above note 1.

66 "Molto Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Signori Padroni e miei fratelli amatissimi, Di novo li vengho a rinovare le piaghe della afflitione e dolore grande che giorno e notte io ne sento della perdita grande che lor altri mia signori et io ho fatto, in tre quarti di hora perdere un Babbo di ventuno anno, che Dio l'abbia ricevuto nella sua gloria, tutta Roma lo piange ho esequito l'ordine suo in quanto al mortorio e fatto Portare qui in S. Agostino, in deposito perché a noi converra farle una lapide meritevole gli ho fatte dire quasi tutte le messe in diverse chiese, e dove ci hordina, ho quasi finito di fare l'inventario di ogni cosa alla presenza di Testimoni come ogni cosa vederanno [...]." ACSU, Lettera di Domenico Cherubini ai Canonici di Apiro, Letter of 5 February 1656, unnumbered fol. The holdings of the Archivio Capitolare of Sant'Urbano of Apiro are still in the process of reorganization. Some of the letters that will be cited in this study are still to be catalogued.

67 ACSU, Lettera di Domenico Cherubini ai Canonici di Apiro, Letter of 12 February 1656 (typescript of a document currently missing in the archive, transcribed by Father Ezio Mosca).

68 "E più come sopra scudi vinticinque dati al S. Canonico Peranzoni per andar in Roma in lettica ad accettare l'eredità del nostro fondatore." ACSU, Entrate et Uscite dell'Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Urbano, vol. 400, fol. 1 (there also follow several payments for the making of Baldini's catafalque in Apiro).

69 "[...] qui vi terrà da farsi il deposito che per fare qualche cosa che habbia garbo, habbiamo prigato il Sig. Cavaliere Borromino che farria il disegno [...]." ACSU, Lettera di Domenico Cherubini ai Canonici di Apiro, Letter of 15 March 1656, unpaginated fol. Corradini briefly mentions the names of Francesco Borromini and Pietro Papaleo as the authors of Baldini's funerary monument. No archival references are provided, however. See Corradini 1994, p. 160. Several excerpts of documents on Baldini's funerary monument are also cited in *Memorie di Apiro* 2005, pp. 153–154, regrettably, without providing dates or archival references.

attorney), a document that would legalize their construction of a monumental tomb for Baldini in place of the simple tombstone the physician had requested for himself in his will.⁷⁰ As will be explained further ahead, the tombstone was made by the stonemason Giovanni Somazzi, a long-standing collaborator of Borromini and one of the trusted artists of Virgilio Spada.⁷¹ Interestingly, the reason for this request lay in the fact that cardinals and other notables were claiming that Baldini, on his own merits, deserved an appropriate tomb. For its construction, Peranzoni estimated that 1000 scudi would be needed.⁷² Yet, Peranzoni's request for power of attorney, as well as for 1000 scudi, went disregarded.

On 5 April Peranzoni penned another letter to the Canons in which he expressed discontent that, despite his repeated requests, they had not given their consent to erect a monument for an individual to whom the Canons themselves owed so much.⁷³ Peranzoni admitted that the plain tombstone that had been laid on the floor of the church of Sant'Agostino was doubtless an apt (if only partial) solution, since it echoed Baldini's humility and his desire to avoid personal glory.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Peranzoni cautioned the Canons that distinguished persons, including the Cardinals Pallotta and Ruspoli, had been complaining about the inappropriate memorial tribute to the physician and were urging construction of the tomb. Perhaps the Canons were initially reluctant to commission a monument due to Baldini's own testamentary directives with respect to not only the location of his grave near the high altar, but also his desire for modesty concerning his tombstone.⁷⁵

70 “Per camminare bene è necessario che loro altri signori mandino una Procura, che si possa fare il Deposito per la bona memoria del Signor Giovan Giacomo si con[?] la qui acclusa minuta, poiché nel suo testamento lascia cosa semplice, e qui da Cardinali et altri signori li si fa istanza che facciamo cosa riguardavole rispetto alli suoi meriti, che per ciò ci vuole la procura di loro altri signori, come anco di potere spendere per servitio e bisogno della Chiesa mille scudi, [nelli paramenti et altro] e non si meraviglino se si domanda tal procura [...]” ACSU, Tit. V, Lettere degli Esecutori Testamentari Cherubini-Peranzoni, Letter of 22 March 1656, unnumbered fols.

71 “Pagare la pietra di marmo a Mastro Gio. scalpellino e per fare la fossa, calcina e mattoni in tutto 25 scudi.” See *Memorie di Apiro* 2005, p. 153. Presented in this volume are excerpts of documents transcribed by Alberto Bevilacqua (1909–1959) from the Archivio Capitolare of Sant'Urbano of Apiro. Regrettably, the transcriptions are incomplete, lacking both the dates and archival references of the documents. See also below note 120.

72 See above note 70.

73 “[...] Restiamo assai mortificati che almeno non si sia dato ordine, che per il deposito o sepolchro per chi tanto dovemo non si sia stato dato ordine che questo non basta con lettere: è vero che si è lasciato con una semplice lapide, che così conveniva dire ad un homo come era lui lontano da tutte l'ambitioni. La Compagnia del Santissimo Salvatore a Sancta Sanctorum al medico Mariotti [sic], che apparità al Signor Giovan Giacomo era niente, con tutto ciò l'ha fatto un deposito da Cardinale, essendo questa Compagnia herede, che cosa havessimo da dire al Signor Cardinale Pallotta, al Signor Principe, Signor Cardinale Ruspoli, se tanto che desiderano la memoria eterna di questo anco Patre dove sono andati li spiriti di farsi Busti de Bronzo, li giuro, che ci ha dato grand'afflitione [...]” ACSU, Tit. V, Lettere degli Esecutori Testamentari Cherubini-Peranzoni, 5 April 1656, unnumbered fols.

74 See above note 73.

75 See above note 11. It is interesting to recall that a great number of cardinals who died in Rome and were buried in grandiose tombs had never prescribed the construction of their funerary monuments in their testaments. For instance, while Cardinal Giochino Besozzi specified in his will of 27 February 1747 that his tomb be as simple as possible, his heirs, the Cistercians of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, erected an elaborate tomb for him. In citing this paradigmatic case and others, Philipp Zitzlsperger observed that “Dieser Widerspruch ist in Rom nicht selten zu beobachten, ebenso wenig wie die Tatsache, dass die Mehrzahl der Kardinäle, die opulente Grabmäler erhielten, von diesen in ihren Testamenten nichts verlauten ließ. Zentraler Bestandteil der Kardinalstestamente dieser Zeit ist die Verfügung von Seelenmessen; letzte Anweisungen zu einem Grabmal zählen jedoch zu den testamentarischen Ausnahmen.” Zitzlsperger 2010, p. 26.



To compel the Canons to act, Peranzoni reminded them of an apparently embarrassing matter regarding the physician Giovan Pietro Moretti. Moretti had died in Rome in 1646 and had appointed his wife Plautilla as his universal heir; in case of either her death or remarriage, however, he appointed the Roman Confraternity of the *Raccomandati* of the Hospital of San Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum as his heir.⁷⁶ In his testament, Moretti provided the following instructions for his burial and funerary monument:

I want my body to be buried in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in the sepulchre of my wife Plautilla, near the Chapel of St. Leo the Pope, with such pomp as may seem appropriate to her, and that a marble monument with my portrait bust, that is, a head and bust with the inscription of my name, surname, birthplace, profession and coat of arms, be placed near the said tomb, or in another convenient place in the same church.⁷⁷

To erect his funerary monument in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Moretti allocated 100 scudi to the Confraternity of the *Raccomandati* (fig. 7).⁷⁸ In doing so, he expressed concern not for his salvation but rather for fashioning his identity and perpetuating his memory through a funerary monument that would eternalize his public self through a portrait bust, an inscription and his coat of arms, thereby celebrating his profession and status.

With specific reference to Baldini's monument, Peranzoni emphasizes that despite Moretti's (whom he erroneously calls "Mariotti") being "nothing in comparison with Baldini," the Confraternity of the *Raccomandati* had nevertheless erected a tomb worthy of a cardinal in his honor.⁷⁹ From the expense reports of the Confraternity, we learn that the religious institution spent much more than 100 scudi, for instance, paying the stonemason Alessandro Montonesi (or Montanero or Montanini) the remarkable sum of 208 scudi and 65 baiocchi, and the sculptor Domenico de Rossi a down payment of 25 scudi for the physician's portrait bust.⁸⁰ Further, regarding the epitaph, the Confraternity far exceeded Moretti's requests, conceiving a lengthy celebratory inscription that rather than commemorating the deceased for his merits, became an encomium to the Confraternity itself.⁸¹

Peranzoni's report of alleged voices of discontent did not immediately convince the Canons to act. Almost two years later (16 November 1657), Domenico Cherubini addressed another letter to the Canons, again stressing that cardinals, prelates, princes, *signori* and papal physicians whom Baldini had cured were all con-

7 Domenico de Rossi, *Funerary Monument of Giovan Pietro Moretti*, 1648–1649. Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (photo © Capitolo Santa Maria Maggiore)

76 ASR, Notai dell'Auditor Camerae, Uff. 6, Testamenti, vol. 29, fol. 608v.

77 "Il mio corpo voglio che si seppellisca nella Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore nella sepoltura della Signora Plautilla mia moglie vicina alla Cappella di S. Leone Papa con quella pompa che ad essa parerà, e vicino à detta sepoltura o in altro luogo comodo della medesima Chiesa si ponga il deposito del mio Ritratto di marmo, cioè una Testa col busto con l'Iscrizione del mio nome, cognome, patria, professione, et arma." ASR, Notai dell'Auditor Camerae, Uff. 6, Testamenti, vol. 29, fols. 592r–v, opening of the testament (9 December 1646), fols. 590r–591r, testament (15 December 1645), fols. 592r–594v, 608r–609r.

78 The payments for this commission are published in Curziotti 2012, p. 45, n. 2.

79 See above note 73.

80 For the full transcription of the payments, see Curziotti 2012, pp. 48–49, Appendix A.

81 Forcella 1869–1884, vol. 11, 1877, p. 74, no. 144.

cerned that his tomb was not being built. From this letter, however, we learn that the monument had not yet been erected owing to an alleged threat of plague, but that one of the Canons of Apero, Giuseppe Brunamontini, had already received Borromini's design.⁸²

With few exceptions, physicians who had died in Rome – even the most notable ones – had been interred under a simple floor slab. The claims reported by Peranzoni and Cherubini thus seem to have been more of a pretext to accelerate the construction of Baldini's tomb, possibly prompted by the competition with the *Raccomandati* who had erected Moretti's tomb. The timing of the Baldini tomb project coincided with a particularly difficult period for Borromini. It was during that year (1657), an *annus horribilis* for Borromini, that he lost important commissions such as the direction of works for the Basilica of Sant'Agnese in Agone, although his status would be rehabilitated thanks to the support of the Spada brothers, notably Virgilio.⁸³

As will be seen, Borromini's lost drawing for Baldini's tomb was never put to use. The documents discovered to date are not sufficiently informative to enable a proper hypothetical reconstruction of Borromini's project for the tomb, though it likely included a portrait of the deceased, possibly a bust. This can be inferred from the passage in Cherubini's letter of 16 November 1657, in which Cherubini himself committed to support Brunamontini by supervising "the artists" to whom he had already given Baldini's portrait to be used as a model.⁸⁴ Cherubini, in fact, owned a painted portrait of the physician that he used as an object of mourning, kissing it, and even shedding tears in front of it as if it embodied the presence of Baldini.⁸⁵

A clue for reconstructing Borromini's lost design for the tomb may perhaps be found by examining the funerary monument of Monsignor Clemente Merlini (†1642) from Forlì, an Auditor of the Rota, in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, "perfetionato dal signor Cavalier Francesco Borromino architetto" between 1656 and 1657, exactly the same years during which Baldini's tomb was being planned.⁸⁶ Constructed under the supervision of the Oratorian Virgilio Spada (1596–1662), Merlini's tomb was executed by the stonemasons Sante Ghetti and his son Giovanni Francesco, as well as the *scalpellino* "Giovanni," whose identification with Giovanni Somazzi has been recently dismissed in favor of Giovanni Maniscalchi.⁸⁷ The portrait bust of Merlini, which is housed within a circular recess surmounted by a pediment broken at the top to accommodate

82 See Appendix 1.

83 See for example Montalto 1958; Connors 2000, p. 18; Güthlein 2000; Tabarrini 2008, pp. 41–45.

84 See Appendix 1. Moreover, in Bevilacqua's notes can be found an excerpt from a letter of Tommaso Peranzoni (8 March 1656), currently missing in the Archivio Capitolare of Sant'Urbano, from which one learns that, after Baldini died, no one undertook to make a cast of his face in order to have mortuary mask: "Per il busto che si desidera, non è stata presa la faccia con il gesso come si doveva, Dio sa come si potrà fare." See *Memorie di Apero* 2005, p. 154.

85 See Appendix 1.

86 ASR, *Fondo Spada Veralli*, vol. 494, unnumbered pages, published in Roca de Amicis 1987, in part. p. 134. For the monument's inscription see Forcella 1869–1884, vol. 11, 1877, p. 73, no. 140. In his *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* of 1658, Fioravante Martinelli writes: "osservarete in un pilastro della facciata dentro la chiesa la memoria eretta con disegno del Cavaliere Borromino à Monsignor Merlino Decano della sacra Rota Romana; l'essaltatione delli cui meriti, desiderata dalla Corte ma schernita dalla morte, è stata con egregia maestria espressa nel trofeo eretogli tutto di porporeggianti marmi da chi forse ammira la sua virtù anche nell'ossa quivi sepolte & immortalate con il seguente epitaffio in carattere d'oro [...]." Martinelli 1658, pp. 464–465. On the debate regarding the attribution of Merlini's tomb design to Borromini, see Curzietti 2012, in part. pp. 46–47 with earlier literature.

87 Curzietti 2012, p. 47. In his recent study of Somazzi, Alfonso Ausilio erroneously lists Merlini's funerary monument among the works executed by Somazzi. See Ausilio 2019, p. 69.



8 Giovanni Somazzi, *Funerary Monument of Giovan Giacomo Baldini*, 1670–1678. Rome, Basilica of Sant'Agostino (photo Mauro Coen)

Merlini's coat of arms, was modeled by Giuseppe Peroni from his portrait and a death mask, and cast in bronze by Angelo Pellegrini.⁸⁸ The result of team work, Merlini's tomb, with its profusion of *cottanello* (red Roman marble), for which Sante Ghetti held the monopoly in Rome,⁸⁹ cost the notable sum of 700 scudi, albeit 300 scudi less than what Peranzoni had envisioned for Baldini's tomb.

Comparisons with coeval tombs clearly evidence that Baldini's testamentary executors embarked on a remarkably ambitious project for the physician's memorial, starting with the choice of Borromini, whom Baldini, as personal physician of Innocent X, had undoubtedly met when the architect was at work on Pamphilj projects. Apparently, Baldini's wish was to fashion the Collegiate church of Apiro on the model of San Giovanni in Laterano, which Borromini had renovated under the supervision of Virgilio Spada, during Innocent X's pontificate. In this regard, in Alberto Bevilacqua's notes one can find a payment to a certain architect "Francesco" ordered by Virgilio Spada for the plan of the Collegiate church of Sant'Urbano in Apiro ("All'architetto Sig. Francesco, d'ordine del P. Virgilio Spada per il disegno della chiesa di S. Urbano sc. 3.10").⁹⁰ Assuming that the architect "Francesco" is to be identified with Borromini and given that the architect who renovated the Collegiate church of Apiro was Antonio Maria Sinibaldi da Osimo, this document might furnish evidence of established and recurrent contacts among Baldini, the Canons of Apiro, Borromini and Spada.

With Borromini's design unrealized, five and a half years later the project for Baldini's tomb was back to where it had started.⁹¹ In a letter of 6 May 1662 addressed by Brunamontini to the Canons, one learns that, surprisingly, they were debating if Baldini's tomb should be erected in Rome or Apiro.⁹² The debate stretched on until 1670 when the stonemason Somazzi finally received the commission to erect Baldini's tomb in the Basilica of Sant'Agostino (fig. 8).

Giovanni Somazzi and Andrea Stuccalone's Works for Baldini's Tomb

"In Roman affairs, you have to put up with long delays."⁹³ These words of frustration were expressed by Brunamontini in his letter to the Canons of Apiro of 12 July 1664, prompted by what he might have felt, if with exaggeration, "the tragedy of the tomb." Two years later (22 June 1666), to compensate for the delay, and to meanwhile erect a memorial in honor of Baldini, Brunamontini commissioned the Rome-based Sicilian sculptor Pietro Papaleo (1642?–1718)⁹⁴ for a marble portrait bust of the physician – which has up to now been unpublished and unattributed – that would eventually be installed in the Collegiate church of Apiro.⁹⁵ The turning point in the vicissitudes of Baldini's tomb was in 1670, when a certain "Monsignor Ill.ustrissimo Florido" apparently stepped in. This indi-

88 Curzietti 2012, p. 47.

89 Curzietti 2012, p. 47.

90 *Memorie di Apiro*, 2015, p. 153. The transcription of the payment record is incomplete, lacking both the date and its archival references.

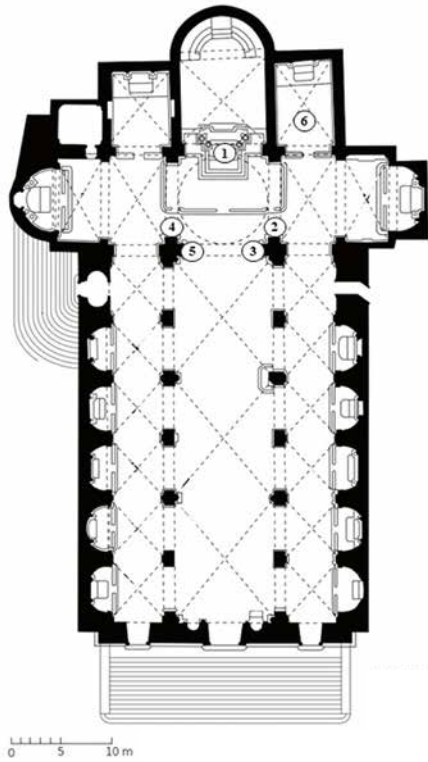
91 The delay in the making of Baldini's tomb may have been caused by the fact that, at that time, the Canons were occupied in renovating, with Baldini's legacy, of the Collegiate church of Sant'Urbano. See Serafinelli forthcoming.

92 ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro, Letter of 6 May 1662, n. 458.

93 "Delle cose di Roma bisogna compatir la lunghezza," see ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1633 al 1664, Letter of 12 July 1664, unnumbered fol.

94 The literature on Papaleo is negligible. The monographic study on the sculptor by Giovanna Papaleo (2012) is an amateur work, replete with inaccuracies and a misleading reading of the sources. The most complete work on Papaleo is that by Alfredo Marchionne Gunter (see Marchionne Gunter 2003 with earlier literature). On Papaleo, see Serafinelli, forthcoming.

95 Serafinelli, forthcoming.



9 Plan of the Basilica of Sant'Agostino in Rome. 1: Icon of the Virgin Mary with the Child and two Angels; 2: Funerary monument of Giovan Giacomo Baldini; 3: Funerary monument of Antonio Ghirlandari; 4: Funerary monument of Fulgenzio Petrelli; 5: Funerary monument of Filippo Maria Visconti; 6: Chapel of St Nicholas of Tolentino

vidual, who for unknown reasons first urged the Canons of Apiro to erect Baldini's tomb, is identifiable as Florido Salvatori, personal physician to Pope Clement X Altieri (r. 1670–1675) and Canon of the Roman church of San Lorenzo in Damaso.⁹⁶ Impatient with the delays in the construction of the tomb – as it now emerges from a document of 12 November 1670 – Salvatori took action and, after informing Pope Clement X of his intentions, ordered that there be no more tarriance.⁹⁷ On 20 November, Brunamontini updated the Canons that Monsignor Salvatori had approved the new tomb's project, to be erected “sopra la lapide ove è sepolta la bona Memoria Del Signor Baldini,” that is against the pillar of the right nave facing towards the high altar above Baldini's burial place.⁹⁸ Other unpublished documents reveal that the design of Baldini's tomb was by the stonemason Giovanni Somazzi, who in turn involved the sculptor Papaleo to carve the portrait bust of the physician that would be installed on the tomb.⁹⁹ Papaleo is thus the author of two marble portrait busts of Baldini: that in Sant'Agostino and the previously mentioned bust in the Collegiate church in Apiro. The earliest payments to Somazzi (64 scudi) and to his nephew Andrea Stuccalone (5 scudi) date to April 1670.¹⁰⁰

In Sant'Agostino, there were already three funerary monuments positioned against the two piers directly facing the high altar (fig. 9). On the left, facing the high altar, is the tomb of the General of the Augustinians Fulgenzio Petrelli (†1648); on the inner side of the same pier, facing inwards on the nave, is the sepulchre of another General of the Augustinian Order, Filippo Maria Visconti (†1664); on the opposite pier and facing Visconti's, is the tomb of the Apostolic Protonotary and Steward (*Maestro di casa*) of Pope Innocent X Antonio Ghirlandari (†1669).¹⁰¹ Once constructed, Baldini's tomb would visually complete these memorials conceived as tripartite aedicules of colored marbles of similar dimensions (400 × 180 cm) and architectural patterns; indeed, all four tombs are set on a high, multilayered plinth ornamented with marble mixtilinear patterns (*specchiature mistilinee*) and a black front slab with a gold-lettered inscription enclosed in a molded frame of yellow marble. At the top center, between two piers, a portrait bust of the deceased is set into an octagonal niche that symbolically refers to the theological Eighth Day, the day of Eternal Life; each tomb is surmounted by an arched pediment carved in white marble and interrupted at the center to accommodate the deceased's coat of arms.

96 “Monsignor Illustrissimo Florido resta appagato della disposizione della buona volontà che tengono le Signorie Vostre Illustrissime di far fare il deposito alla Chiara memoria del Signor Baldini [...]” ASCU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro 1670, Letter of 19 July 1670, no. 376. About Monsignor Floridi, see Marini 1784, vol. 1, p. XLIV; Muzi 1844, vol. 1, p. 198.

97 “Il medico di N.S. si tormenta per la confetione del deposito che di già mi ha detto che si ha parlato a Sua Santità, et però non vuole che si induggii più [...]” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro 1670, Letter of 12 November 1670, no. 360.

98 “Il Sig. Medico di N.S. resta sodifsatto della prontezza che a nome delle Signorie Vostre Illustrissime l'ho mostrata di farsi far il disegno et il loco sarà sopra la lapide ove è stato sepolto la bona memoria del Signor Baldini.” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro, Letter of 20 November 1670, no. 359.

99 See Appendix 2.

100 See Appendix 2.

101 For the inscriptions of these funerary monuments, see Forcella 1869–1884, vol. 5, 1874, pp. 95–98, nos. 286, 289–290, 293; Breccia Fratadocchi 1979, pp. 113, 121; Montevecchi 1985, pp. 58–60 (where Baldini is erroneously deemed to be a cardinal and it is said that he had died in 1675); Contardi 1995, pp. 24–38; Ferrari/Papaldo 1999, p. 11 (where Baldini is erroneously said to be a cardinal and his portrait bust is attributed to an anonymous artist); Pedrocchi 2009, pp. 378, 413. For Ghirlandari's role as Steward (*Maestro di casa*) of Pope Innocent X, see ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazioni di Tesoreria, vol. 115, int. 5, “Ruolo della famiglia di Innocenzo X, aprile 1653, novembre 1653,” cited in Leone 2017, p. 450, n. 58.



10 Luca Berrettini, *Funerary Monument of Antonio Ghirlandari*, 1666–1669. Rome, Basilica of Sant'Agostino (photo Mauro Coen)

From the documentation of 1667, it emerges that Father Petrelli's tomb was begun by the architect Camillo Arcucci and was expected to be fashioned on the model of Ghirlandari's monument, which was then under construction.¹⁰² Indeed, Ghirlandari's tomb was designed and executed by the stonemason Luca Berrettini, cousin and collaborator of Pietro da Cortona, between 1666 and 1669 (fig. 10).¹⁰³ Like Petrelli's memorial, Baldini's project had to conform to a pre-existing monument, i.e., that of Father Filippo Maria Visconti, as is apparent from a letter by Brunamontini (24 January 1671), in which the agent announced that the Augustinians desired it to be made according to that model ("li Padri bramano che si facci in quella conformità").¹⁰⁴

While these new conditions precluded that Somazzi – whose lost drawing for Baldini's tomb¹⁰⁵ was sent to Apiro on 14 February 1671 – would be able to express any significant originality, they are revealing about the downsizing of Baldini's tomb project and the alleged discarding of Borromini's design. Like Ghirlandari's tomb, originally intended to be grandiose but subsequently scaled down to a simpler monument,¹⁰⁶ so the cost of Baldini's memorial, originally estimated at 1000 scudi, in the end was expected to be realized for 300 scudi.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, it should be noted that Ghirlandari and Baldini shared more than having both faithfully served Pope Innocent X. This can be inferred from Ghirlandari's testament of 22 September 1666, in which he named the icon of the Virgin Mary on the high altar of Sant'Agostino as his universal heir.¹⁰⁸ While Baldini did not go that far, the selection of the similar location for their burial within the church undoubtedly reflects their common personal devotion to that miraculous icon.

The choice of Somazzi to execute this task is not surprising. Somazzi, whose father, like Borromini, hailed from the area of Lake Como, had lived in Rome since at least the second half of the 1620's.¹⁰⁹ At different stages of his life, Somazzi

102 Pedrocchi 2009, p. 37 with earlier literature.

103 As in the case of Baldini's tomb, even the design of Ghirlandari's funerary monument was changed to something less elaborate. In this respect Stephanie Leone observed: "In this project Berrettini was both designer and executant. His drawing for the tomb is referenced in the documents, but no longer exists. Unfortunately, it is impossible to analyze his design because major discrepancies exist between the present plain monument and the description that suggests a grander architectural work. Missing are 'le 4 mensole verde come le colonne che sono al confessionale,' 'due nicchie di mischio,' 'le due Morte che vanno dentro alle nicchie,' 'la incrostatura di nero e Giallo di Porto Venere per la cassa,' 'la cornice per l'adornamento della pittura,' 'l'aquila,' and other details. However, the execution of the robust coat of arms, with plastic olive branches and tassels that move in the wind, evinces Berrettini's lively naturalism." Leone 2017, p. 450.

104 "[...] Perché in faccia della Colonna vi è un deposito bello del Padre Generale Visconti li Padri bramano che si facci in quella conformità che di già le pietre sono tutte quasi in ordine il disegno ho commesso al maestro che lo farà fare et lo trasmetterò alle Signorie Vostre Illustrissime." ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1671 al 1672, Letter of 24 January 1671, no. 427.

105 "Trasmetto il disegno del deposito della *bona memoria* del Signor Gio. Giacomo Baldini et si giova creder che riuscirà di intiera sodisfazione già le pietre sono state aggiustate et presto si farà la statua che va in mezzo [...]." ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1671 al 1672, Letter of 14 February 1671, no. 91.

106 See above, note 103.

107 See below, note 120. It is hard to determine the actual cost of Baldini's Tomb considering the incomplete documentation discovered so far. See Appendix 2.

108 Pedrocchi 2009, p. 413.

109 Laura Bartoni's archival discoveries demonstrate that Somazzi resided near the now-demolished church of San Nicola in Arcione first, and then in the area under the jurisdiction of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, maintaining his workshop in the current via Sistina. More specifically, from 1626 to 1629 the stonemason resided in Strada dell'Olmo together with his mother Barbara and his brother Bernardino. The head of the family, as Bartoni clarified, was the stonemason Attilio Stuccalone, the husband of Giulia Somazzi, Giovanni's sister, and the father of Andrea Stuccalone, Somazzi's collaborator. From 1650s Somazzi lived near the Convent of San Giuseppe a Capo le Case. For Somazzi's and Andrea Stuccalone's residences in Rome, see Bartoni 2012, *ad indicem*, esp. p. 55.

cohabited with members of his family, notably with his nephew, the already mentioned stonemason Andrea Stuccalone, who, following Somazzi's death in 1673, would play a significant role in the completion of Baldini's tomb.¹¹⁰

By the date he was called to work on Baldini's memorial, Somazzi had already worked in Sant'Agostino. Collaborating with Carlo Spagna under the direction of the architect Paolo Marucelli, in 1634, he had assembled the floor in front of the high altar and its balustrade.¹¹¹ Besides working with Borromini in the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano (1646–1651)¹¹² and at Sant'Agnese in Agone (1653–1657),¹¹³ Somazzi had also been involved in several other prestigious commissions under the direction of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1645–1649),¹¹⁴ eventually becoming one of the Spada family's most trusted artists. Indeed, his name is associated with several of Spada's commissions, among which the decoration of the Spada's chapels in the churches of San Paolo in Bologna (1641–1645),¹¹⁵ and San Girolamo della Carità (1634–1635; 1654–1657)¹¹⁶ and Santa Maria in Vallicella (1665–1672) in Rome.¹¹⁷ In 1661, Somazzi began the decoration at his own expense of the chapel of the Holy Cross in the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte,¹¹⁸ due to a lack of financial backing, however, the chapel was eventually assigned to the Accoramboni family, who, following Somazzi's death, had the work completed by Somazzi's brother Bernardino and his nephew Andrea Stuccalone in 1676.¹¹⁹

In January 1671, the Fathers of Sant'Agostino approved the insertion of Baldini's funerary monument against the pier of the right nave aisle facing the high altar.¹²⁰ From the testimony of two unpublished letters (14 February and

110 Significantly, Somazzi and Stuccalone lived under the same roof during the years 1651–1652 and 1655–1659. For these documents, see Bartoni 2012, *ad indicem*.

111 For the payments to Somazzi and Spagna for their work on the floor of the church, see Pedrocchi 2009, pp. 379, 410–411 with earlier literature.

112 Roca de Amicis 1995, pp. 56–57, 65; Fiore 1980; Ausilio 2019, pp. 69, 79, n. 17.

113 D'Amelio 2000, pp. 407–408.

114 Somazzi's name is included in the “Lista dell'Homini Scarpellini che lavorano alla Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro” under the direction of Bernini. See Ausilio 2019, pp. 69, 79, n. 16, see also pp. 79–80, n. 19, for Somazzi's participation in the work on St. Peter's Colonnade.

115 Heimbürger Ravalli 1977, pp. 38, 46–48.

116 Heimbürger Ravalli 1977, pp. 82–88; Ausilio 2019, p. 69.

117 Beyond Baldini's tomb, even the work in the Spada Chapel of Santa Maria in Vallicella were carried out by Andrea Stuccalone after Somazzi's death. See Pampalone 1993, esp. pp. 28, 32, 34–38, 43–44, 47, 58–59, 78, 109–125.

118 Ausilio 2019.

119 Ausilio 2019.

120 “Già li Padri di S. Agostino ci han concesso il sito da far il deposito nella colonna ultima entrando dalla porta maggiore per andare all'altare maggiore che pare a me che è quel sito che brama la *bona memoria* del *Signor* Baldini. La spesa non arriverà a trecento scudi et lo farà quel maestro istesso [Somazzi] che pose la lapide in terra non mi scordo delle altre cose da farsi non effettuate benche io ho fatte le mie diligenze et per fine li riverisco di Roma li 10 Gennaro 1671. *Devotissimo et obligatissimo* Giuseppe Brunomontini.” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1671 al 1672, Letter of 10 January 1671, no. 424. Interestingly, from a letter of Peranzoni dated 1672, we learn that he had offered the Fathers of Sant'Agostino 60 scudi for the concession of the tomb's location; however, through the intervention of Monsignor Salvatori, the Augustinians negotiated a price of 100 scudi, pointing out that Ghirlandari had paid 500 scudi for a similar location. Peranzoni wrote: “Sempre son andato pregando il Padre Priore di S. Agostino a fine si contentasse di *scudi* 60 per il loco del deposito, ha portato l'istanza in capitolo conventuale e non ha voluto [sic] potuto riportare altro che si osservi l'esempio del Ghirlandari che per loco simile pagò scudi Cinquecento il Priore però mi ha detto che si è promesso à Monsignor Floridi per scudi Cento si paghi detta somma et darà il loco avanti l'Altare Maggiore si che in detto non vi vedo strada da esimersi da detto pagamento di *scudi* Cento si compiacciano però darmi l'ordine perche le pietre del deposito tutte son finite et così in pochi giorni sarà posto su il deposito et sopra tutto mi avvisono tutto quello hanno da comandare [...]” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1671 al 1672, Letter of 20 August 1672, no. 220.

4 March 1671) addressed by Brunamontini to the Canons of Apiro, we learn that the marble blocks to be worked by Somazzi for the monument were ready and that the physician's portrait bust by Papaleo was soon to be carved.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the issue now at stake was the absence of portraits of Baldini in Rome for Papaleo to use as a model. Interestingly, the Fonseca family, most notable for one of their members, the physician Gabriele Fonseca – who like Baldini, had served Innocent X – owned a portrait of Baldini himself, but refused to lend it for copying.¹²² As a remedy, a portrait of Baldini was sent from Apiro to Rome.¹²³

Brunamontini's account of expenses for Baldini's tomb permits tracing the downpayments to Somazzi until 27 February 1672, the year in which work came to a halt due to Somazzi's worsening health, and then his death in January 1673.¹²⁴ Work on the funerary monument was resumed by Stuccalone with an eye on the Jubilee of 1675; thus, on 23 February Brunamontini urged the Canons to send the text for the epitaph.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, a letter he wrote a year later (15 February 1676) reveals that, despite all the marble revetments and stone had been assembled, the funerary monument was still unfinished:

Regarding the tomb in the church of S. Agostino, not perfected but with all the stones in place, I have no other fault than to have encountered such a person [Stuccalone], not to say something worse, having already paid the entirety of the agreed upon sum with an addition of twelve *pauli*, besides having obtained from the Judge the order to have the monument completed, but he [Stuccalone] did it poorly, being that the person [Somazzi] with whom I contracted, had died [...].¹²⁶

If this was not enough, progress on the tomb was delayed even further by the unexpected death of Brunamontini in 1676. An undated letter (*post* 1678) sheds light on the final stages in the construction of Baldini's tomb. The Canon Bernardo Perucci, who had replaced the defunct Brunamontini, urged Stuccalone to complete the funerary monument, compensating him with an additional

121 For the letter of 14 February 1671 see above note 105. For the letter of 4 March 1671, see ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1671 al 1672, Letter of 4 March, no. 419. See also ACSU, *Acta Capitularia 1660–1676*, 6 March 1671, fol. 112r.

122 “Solo li Signori Fonseca hanno qui il ritratto del fundatore [Baldini] che non lo vogliono dare per lunghezza di tempo se vi fusse, inviar solo la tela lo stimo bene per far la statua [...]” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1671 al 1672, Letter of 22 April 1671, no. 413. Baldini's portrait is not listed in the 1699 Inventory of Gabriele Fonseca. For the transcription of Fonseca's inventory see Fiorentini/Novoa 2020, pp. 289–311.

123 “Ho in ordine il ritratto si dice questi Signori dell'Apiro che il mulattiere arriverà tra dieci giorni che così ha scritto il Signor Barzi; l'invio senza fallo del resto io ricevo disgusto per primo senza mia colpa et per fine li riverisco, Roma 16 dicembre 1671 [...]” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1671 al 1672, Letter of 16 December 1671, no. 397.

124 See Appendix 2 and 3.

125 “Supplico le Signorie Vostre Illustrissime tutto quello che bramano che si metti nell'iscrizione del deposito della *bona memoria* del Signor Gio. Giacomo [Baldini] giache questa sola manca che io poi in latino la farò aggiustare in quel modo ordineranno con che per brutta. Li riverisco di Roma li 23 febbraio 1675. Devotissimo servitore obbligatissimo Giuseppe Brunamontini.” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1675, Letter of 23 February 1675, no. 161.

126 “[...] Nel deposito non perfettionato ma poste tutte le pietre in S. Agostino io non ho altra colpa che d'havermi incontrato con una persona [Stuccalone] così fatta per non dire male havendoli io pagato l'intiero del patto convenuto et pauli dodici di più oltre haver ottenuto dal Giudice gravatorie per farli porre detto deposito et detto male l'ha fatto l'esser morto [Somazzi] con chi contrahei [...]” ACSU, Lettere di Giuseppe Brunamontini, agente in Roma della Perinsigne Collegiata di Sant'Urbano in Apiro dal 1676–1693, 15 February 1676, no. 280.



11 Pietro Papaleo, *Portrait Bust of Giovan Giacomo Baldini*, ca. 1675–1678. Rome, Basilica of Sant’Agostino (photo Mauro Coen)

six scudi. When Perucci left Rome, however, Stuccalone sent the Canons a claim for the payment, which was eventually rejected by Canon Domenico Passerini.¹²⁷

A payment was made to Stuccalone on 13 April 1678.¹²⁸ Two months later (13 July), in a letter addressed by Stuccalone to the Canons, the stonemason provided an explanation for having left the monument unfinished.¹²⁹ Having not received the final payment, he had not been able, he said, to compensate those workers who assisted him. From the same letter, however, we learn that the tomb was only lacking Papaleo’s portrait bust, for which he had received a downpayment in 1675. In fact, the marble bust was finished and needed only to be installed in its octagonal niche.¹³⁰ According to Bevilacqua’s incomplete notes, it emerges that on 24 September 1680 Stuccalone (whom he erroneously refers to as “Stivalone”) received a payment of 280 scudi for the completion of Baldini’s tomb.¹³¹ If we are to accept Bevilacqua’s transcription of the document (lacking, however, the archival reference), then Papaleo’s bust must have been set in its niche in ca.1680. In comparison to the portrait busts in the nearby tombs of Ghirlandari, Petrelli and Visconti, it seems that the installation work was carried out hastily and without attention to detail (fig. 11).

Interestingly, neither Somazzi nor Stuccalone were new to such controversies. When Somazzi was working on the decoration of the Spada Chapel in Santa Maria in Vallicella (1666–1672), he repeatedly and unjustifiably complained about his payments, despite that he had apparently already received more than

127 See Appendix 3.

128 See Appendix 2.

129 See Appendix 4.

130 See Appendix 4.

131 *Memorie di Apiro* 2005, p. 159.

132 Pampalone 1993, pp. 37–38, p. 38, n. 4, see also p. 44, n. 1.

- 12 Giovanni Somazzi, *Funerary Monument of Giovan Giacomo Baldini*, 1670–1678. Rome, Basilica of Sant’Agostino, detail of the epitaph (photo Mauro Coen)



he was owed. In 1667, he was even urged by Orazio Spada to redo part of his work, that was judged to be “a mess” (“una porcaria”).¹³² Moreover, when, after Somazzi’s death, Stuccalone was commissioned to polish the Spada Chapel’s marbles, he hesitated for fear of not being paid.¹³³

The Inscription of Baldini’s Tomb

In his *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (*On the care to be had for the Dead*, ca. 421–424), St. Augustine, reflecting upon the *post mortem* benefits that might derive from being buried at the memorial site of some saint or with all the pomp and ceremony, concluded:

So, then, all these things, care of funeral, bestowal in sepulture, pomp of obsequies, are more for comfort of the living, than for help to the dead. If it at all profit the ungodly to have costly sepulture, it shall harm the godly to have vile sepulture or none.¹³⁴

Because St. Augustine, as Peter Kaufman noted, “asserted that it mattered what was done *in* the body, not *to* the body postmortem,”¹³⁵ a tomb or a funerary ceremony does not, in other words, bring any benefit to the dead, but rather to those who survive, for their grief, consolation and acts of commemoration.

In the same spirit, Renaissance authors from Leon Battista Alberti to Raffaele Maffei showed disapproval with regard to the tradition of erecting grandiose funerary monuments.¹³⁶ As Jan L. de Jong recently noted in his study of early-modern tombs in Rome, Lorenzo Valla expressed strong criticism on this matter in his *De voluptate* (*On pleasure*, 1431), where he stated that “[...] the magnificence of tombs and the statues of ancestors [...] are an ornament not to those who are dead but to the descendants of the family as long as they live.”¹³⁷

¹³³ Pampalone 1993, p. 78, n. 1.

¹³⁴ *Seventeen Short Treatises* 1847, p. 520.

¹³⁵ Kaufman 2019, p. 83.

¹³⁶ De Jong 2023, p. 48, n. 125.

¹³⁷ “Certe ita sunt omnia viventium bona ut si qua mortuis concedi videntur, iis tamen vivi fruamur, ut magnificentia sepulchrorum, statue maiorum que non illis mortuis sed posteris eius familie quoad vivunt ornamento sunt” (*De voluptate sive de vero bono* II, 9, 2). For the English translation of this passage, see Valla 1977, p. 155. See also De Jong 2023, p. 48, n. 126.

The story of Baldini's funerary monument is a case in point, in that the monument was not an "ornament" the physician would have ever wished for himself, but rather an instrument to both perpetuate his memory and, indirectly, to represent the identity of those who commissioned it, i.e., the Canons and Baldini's testamentary executors.

Unpublished documents have shown that soon after Baldini's death, his testamentary executors, Cherubini and Peranzoni, envisioned a grandiose tomb by Borromini in place of the humble floor slab Baldini had requested. Construction of the tomb stretched from 1656 to 1678, and when it was finally erected (ca. 1680), it was complete with the deliberately chosen constituent elements needed to immortalize Baldini's social status, memory and professional accomplishments: his coat of arms at the top of his tomb, his portrait bust and most importantly of all, an epitaph. The latter consists in a lengthy inscription that, as Giovanni Panelli wrote in his short biography of Baldini of 1758, "admirably helps to give us an account of this most dignified Apiran physician" (fig. 12).¹³⁸

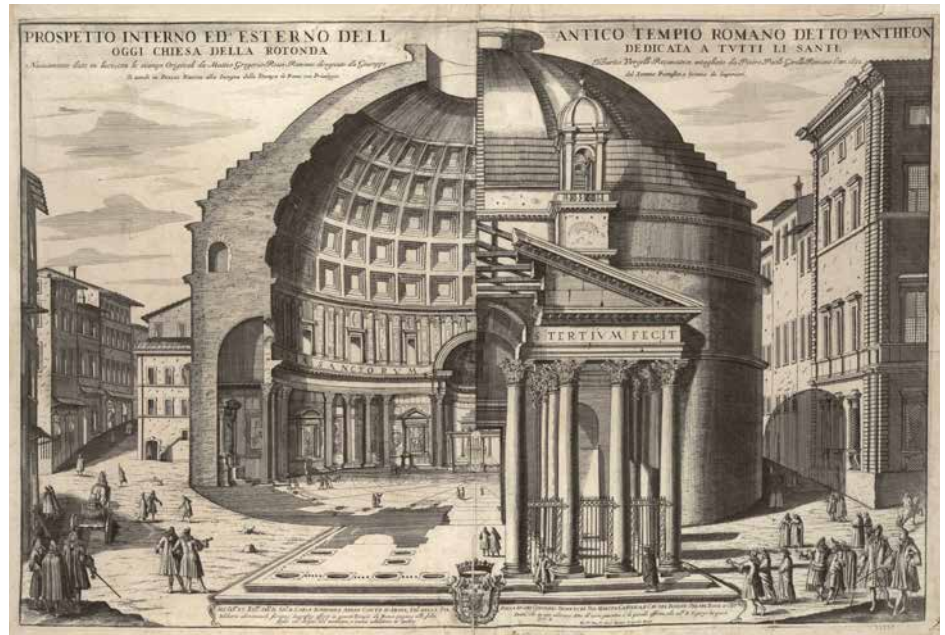
Starting with Baldini's name, family name, origins and degree, the first part of the inscription provides a thorough narrative of his professional success and social circle in Rome, mentioning the names of the grandees he served as a physician, from Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, who was responsible for Baldini's move to Rome, and Cardinal Scipione Borghese to popes Urban VIII and Innocent X; in the epitaph it is also recalled that Baldini declined only to serve Alexander VII, owing the fact that he felt he was by then too old to usefully perform his duty as a physician. The second and longer part of the inscription is focused on what Baldini accomplished for his hometown, Apiro, which it states "he had made famous with the splendor of his work by the bestowal of wealth."¹³⁹ It is then specified that he established both the Collegiate church of Sant'Urbano in Apiro and the Twelve Canons with Eight Beneficiaries and, most importantly, that he had appointed the Twelve Canons as his universal heirs.

The intentions of the Canons are also manifested in the closing lines of the inscription, wherein, moved by gratitude, they expressed their wish to cultivate

138 "La Sua iscrizione Sepolcrale, che si osserva in Roma nella Chiesa di S. Agostino, che qui sotto ho fedelmente trascritta, ajuta mirabilmente a darci contezza di questo dignissimo Medico Apirano." Panelli D'Acquaviva 1757–1758, vol. 2, 1758, p. 281. The epitaph on Baldini's tomb reads: "D.O.M./ IO. IACOBUS BALDINUS EX APIRO IN PICENO PHILOSOPHIAE AC MEDICINAE/ LAUREA DECORATUS A BENEDICTO CARD. IUSTINIANO ROMAM ACCITUS/ SCIPIONI QUOQ. CARD. BURGHESEO INSERVITUS ILLUSTRIS NOMINIS EXISTIMATIONE/ ITA INCLARUIT UT EIUS OPERA OMNES FERRE PURPURATI PATRES AC PRINCIPES/ UTERENTUR QUIN IMO REPARANDA URBANI VIII. AC INNOCENTII X SALUS EIUS CU-/RAE SAEPE CREDITA FUIT AB ALEXANDRO VII PARITER ACCERSITUS OB VALETU-/DINEM AC SENECTUTEM IMPOTENS MERITO MUNERE SE ABDICAVIT TOT. VE-/RO POST HONORIFICOS LABORES VITE METAM ATTINGENS PATRIAM QUA-/M OPERUM SPLENDORE CLARAM REDDIDERAT OPUM LARGITIONE LOCUPLE-/TAVIT NAM IN APIRO UBI ECCLESIAM SUB INVOCATIONE S. URBANI A FUNDAMENTIS EREXERAT COLLEGIATAM DUODECIM CANONICORUM CUM OCTO BENEFICIATIS INSTITUIT VIRGINIBUS NUBILIBUS CERTAM PECUNIAM IN DOTEM PRE-/SCRIPSIT ET EX OMNI ASSE HAEREDES DUODECIM CANONICOS ULTIMIS TABULIS/ DECLARAVIT MULTIS DEINDE LOCIS PIETATE ADDICTIS LEGATO INGENTI AERE CO-/NSULUIT QUI ENIM AMATISSIMUS PAUPERUM PATER FUERAT PAUPERUM/ INOPIAE ETIAM POST FATA PRAESTO ESSE VOLUIT SIC PLUS ALIIS QUAM SIBI VI-/VENS ANNO REDEMPTAE MDCLVI. AETATIS SUAE LXXII PIE DEVIXIT TOT/ IGITUR OB PROMERITA CANONICI S. URBANI IN APIRO GRATISSIMORUM/ ANIMORUM INSTINCTU TANTI BENEFACITORIS MEMORIAM COLERE VOLENTES/ ILLUM HAC IN ECCLESIA IN QUA CONDI VOLUIT LUCI RESTITUUNT ET AETERNITATI/ COMMENTANT ANNO IUBILEI MDCLXXV. THOMAS PERANZONUS CANONICUS/ ET EXECUTOR TESTAMENTARIUS/ MONUMENTUM HOC AERE HAEREDITATIS PONENDUM/ CURAVIT." See Forcella 1869–1884, vol. 5, 1874, p. 98, no. 293.

139 See above note 138.

13 Matteo Gregorio de' Rossi, *View of the Pantheon in Rome, Half being the Exterior and Half the Interior*, 1692, engraving, 45 × 68 cm. Rome, Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Inv. 000034710 (photo public domain)



the memory of their benefactor in the Basilica of Sant'Agostino. Their intention to eternalize Baldini's memory and fame in sight of the Jubilee of 1675 is explicitly stated. Interestingly, at the bottom of the inscription, Canon Tommaso Peranzoni, executor of Baldini's will, is mentioned as the one responsible for erecting the funerary monument with Baldini's legacy.¹⁴⁰

Tomb epitaphs are a source of precious information. In combination with other components of the funerary monument such as its siting, form, materials, orientation, and dimensions, they communicate to viewers the deceased's public identity. The fashioning of the public self through an epitaph can be either the personal creation of the individual buried in the tomb, or the posthumous invention of those charged with the erection of the latter's tomb (as in the case of Baldini), composed with the intention of reiterating or enhancing the collective identity of a family clan, a social group or a religious Order.¹⁴¹

In the former case, there exist a few physicians' tombs for which the deceased composed his own epigraph, thereby creating his own public persona to be handed down over the centuries. Besides the example of Giulio Mancini,¹⁴² that of Matteo Caccia, a wealthy physician from Orte who died in Rome 1644, is paradigmatic. Although he was married with children, he bequeathed his belongings to the Hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili, prescribing that his legacy be used to decorate that hospital and the church of Santa Maria Porta

140 Baldini's tomb had not yet been erected when Peranzoni, in his letter of 7 February 1671, informed the Canons of his wish to be remembered in the epitaph for having commissioned the monument. He specified, however, that his request "was not due to vanity, but rather to accompany those bones with my name": "[...] e perché ho ordinato al nostro Agente in Roma si faccia nella Chiesa di S. Agostino un Deposito onorevole alla *Bona memoria* Dell'*Eccellentissimo* Signore Baldini fondatore prego li *Signori Canonici* far porre nel fine dell'iscrizione queste parole *Canonicus Thomas Peranzonus ab Apiro executor testamentarius fieri fecit*, e ciò non per vanagloria, mà solo per accompagnare quegli'ossi col mio nome." ACSU, Tit. V, Lettere degli Esecutori Testamentari Cherubini-Peranzoni, Letter of 7 February 1671, unnumbered fols.

141 For a theoretical framework for this concept, see for instance Oexle 1978; Oexle 1995; *Creating Identities* 2007; Zitzlsperger 2010; Assman 2011; Zitzlsperger 2020.

142 The case of Giulio Mancini's burial in the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia and the transfer of his body to Siena to be interred in his chapel in the church of San Martino is too complex to be considered here. For Mancini's bust by Francesco Morelli (1630–1633) in the church of San Martino, see Maccherini 2004; Maccherini in *Alessandro VII Chigi (1599–1667)* 2000, pp. 110–111.

Paradisi.¹⁴³ He also ordered that his funerary monument, which would be executed by Cosimo Fancelli (ca. 1645), should be erected in Santa Maria Porta Paradisi complete with an inscription that celebrated him not for his professional achievement, but rather for his artistic patronage in favor of that church.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps the most interesting case of this kind is the tomb of the Anglo-French poet, physician and professor at La Sapienza, James Alban Gibbes (1611–1677), erected as he wished in the Pantheon, to the right of the Chapel of St. Nicholas in the *Cornu Evangelii* (“a man destra della Cappella di San Nicolò, nel Corno dell’Evangelo”) (fig. 13).¹⁴⁵ Besides the prestigious location of his tomb, Gibbes, specified in his testament that his sepulchral monument – for the construction of which he left 250 scudi – be completed with his portrait bust in marble, and two self-celebrating epitaphs, one in prose and the other in verse, which he himself had composed.¹⁴⁶ The marble bust, attributed to Pietro Paolo Naldini, was executed after a portrait of Gibbes etched by Albert Clouwet after a drawing by Pietro Berrettini da Cortona (fig. 14).¹⁴⁷

An analogous case of a physician fashioning his own identity by prescribing the contents of his epitaph is that of the Portuguese doctor Gabriele Fonseca (1586?–1668), eternalized by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in one of his most devotionally-intense portrait busts (ca. 1668–1669), installed in the Fonseca Chapel in the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina (1661–1665) where Gabriele and other members of his family are buried (fig. 15).¹⁴⁸ Fonseca, whose family were converted Jews, established his career in Rome by participating as a physician in the conclave that elected Pope Urban VIII, serving at the court of Innocent X, and lecturing at the *Studium Urbis* from 1646 to 1667.¹⁴⁹ In his testament, opened in 1668, Fonseca specified that his epitaph should make mention not only of his given name,



14 Albert Clouwet, after Pietro Berrettini da Cortona, *Portrait of James Alban Gibbes*, 1666, engraving, 13.7 × 8.3 cm, from *Carminum Iacobi Albani Ghibbesii*, Rome 1688

143 For Caccia’s will, see Ferrari/ Papaldo 1999, p. 325 with earlier literature and notably Guerrieri Borsoi 2004.

144 For the transcription of the epigraph on his funerary monument, see Alvieri 1664, vol. 2, p. 63; Guerrieri Borsoi 2004.

145 “Vuole resa l’Anima al Creatore, che il suo corpo sia sepolto nella Chiesa di Santa Maria ad Martyres già chiamata Pantheon, et hora detta la Rotonda, nel luogo, che i Signori Canonici di quella Chiesa si sono compiaciuti conceder à man destra della Cappella di San Nicolò; nel Corno dell’Evangelo, e di rimpetto al Deposito di Monsignor Gamma, che stà nel Corno dell’Epistola, come apparisce dal foglio del memoriale dà detti Signori accettato, e sottocritto, che detto Signor Testatore hà consegnato à me notaro infrascritto ad effetto d’inserirlo nel presente testamento. Volendo, che si mettano due tavole di marmo nel muro con le Inscrittioni, ò siano Epitaffi dà lui composti in prosa, e in versi; l’essempio de quali parimente mi hà consegnato ad effetto d’inserirlo, in un foglio del tenore etc. Et inoltre vuole, che vi si ponga sopra anche il suo busto di rilievo intagliato in marmo, secondo il disegno di Pietro da Cortona, che v` stampato in Carta, e si vede nel suo Libro Lirico.” ASR, Ufficio della Curia del Cardinal Vicario, Uff. 30, Vincentius Octavianus, vol. 264, 12 April 1677, fols. 576r–581v, 585r–588v; 582r–v, in part. fol. 577r (the present transcription is mine). Gibbes’ last will is transcribed in Bertolotti 1886, esp. pp. 250–256.

146 See above note 145. Irving Lavin noted that “Whether Gibbes’ wishes concerning the tomb were carried out to the letter is doubtful, since only one of the inscriptions he wanted was recorded by Valesio in the eighteenth century.” Lavin 1970, p. 148, n. 95. For the inscription, see Forcella 1869–1884, vol. 1, 1869, p. 302, no. 1147.

147 See Titi 1686, p. 327; Lavin 1970, pp. 144, 147–148, figs. 26–27; Ferrari/ Papaldo 1999, p. 260. Gibbes’ portrait bust is in an oval niche in the Pantheon. For the fragments of his tomb, see Draghi 2003, pp. 73–74; Federici 2022, p. 357.

148 The literature on the Fonseca Chapel is extensive. Without any claim to exhaustiveness, see Dobias 1978 with earlier literature; Contardi 1990; Careri 1993; Barry 2004; Bernardini 2021, vol. 2, cat. 121, pp. 399–402, cat. 134, pp. 443–444.



15 Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Gabriele Fonseca*, ca. 1668–1669. Rome, Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana)

family name, origins and age, but notably should list all honors and titles bestowed on him by Pope Innocent X, while also citing his role as lecturer at Sapienza (“et anco specificare gl’honori, e cariche concessemi dalla fel. mem: di Innocenzo X, et la lettura di pratica da me essercitata nella Sapienza di Roma”).¹⁵⁰ For unknown reasons such an epitaph was never completed by his heirs.

Gibbes and Fonseca’s vainglorious epitaphs naming their accomplishments could not offer a more striking contrast to Baldini’s humility. According to the sources, Gibbes was conceited and eager for fame. In his *Athenae Oxonienses* of 1691–1692, Anthony Wood depicts him as “a most compact body of vanity, so great lover of flatteries (tho he himself flatter’d none).”¹⁵¹ His self-worship clearly emerges also between the lines of his testament, when Gibbes wished for himself a funeral ceremony appropriate to his social standing: “essendo egli Dottore, et havendo altri titoli riguardevoli,” in other words, being a physician and boasting other remarkable titles.¹⁵² On the other hand, Fonseca’s pretensions may have stemmed from a different source connected to his origins. Born into a family of converted Jews, Fonseca’s request for a grandiose chapel, a portrait bust by one of the most important artists of his time, and a self-celebratory epitaph can be understood not just as an instrument to extol his

professional accomplishments, but most importantly to legitimize the authenticity of his religious beliefs, all the more so considering that “New Christians” were sometimes suspected of “relapsing” back into Judaism.¹⁵³

In the case of Baldini’s tomb, it is apparent that rather than a celebration of the physician himself, his epitaph was conceived as an instrument to represent a social group. This is evident not just from the contents of the inscription, but also from the arrangement of its lines. When standing before Baldini’s tomb, one cannot fail to notice that the Twelve Canons are mentioned three times, each time in an eye-catching position: first, in the center, at eye level; then, two lines later, and, finally, five lines below.

In this arrangement, it is possible to follow an inscribed narrative through which the Canons themselves fashioned their own identity by highlighting their story in three episodes: their establishment in Apiro, their appointment as Baldini’s heirs and their gratitude to the physician. An interesting comparison can be drawn to Moretti’s tomb, where references to the physician’s heirs – the Hospital of San Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum and its custodians (the Confraternity of the Raccomandati) – appear twice, in eloquent placements: at the beginning

149 For a biography of Fonseca, see Novoa 2013.

150 Dobias 1978, p. 66, n. 6. While the Fonseca Chapel has been adequately investigated, not enough attention has been paid to Fonseca’s dispositions regarding his epitaph.

151 Wood 1691–1692, vol. 2, 1692, p. 867.

152 ASR, Ufficio della Curia del Cardinal Vicario, Uff. 30, Vincentius Octavianus, vol. 264, 12 April 1677, fol. 577r.

153 On suspicions against converted Jews, see Caffiero 2004, pp. 203ff, with earlier literature. On the use of artistic patronage and collecting as an aid to social legitimization, see Serafinelli 2020a; Serafinelli 2020b. Finally, despite not being a papal physician [although Mandosio included him among them (see Marini 1784, vol. 1, p. XLIII)], there is the noteworthy physician Paolo Zacchia (ca. 1584–1659), who, like Fonseca, belonged to a family of converted Jews. However, unlike Fonseca, Zacchia was buried in his family’s tomb in the Roman church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, without an individual slab. On Zacchia, see esp. De Renzi 2008 and more recently De Renzi/ Tonetti 2020 with earlier literature.

of the inscription and in its closing lines, sealing their names to the memory of the deceased within the papal Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, the chief Marian shrine in Rome.¹⁵⁴

The Position of the Tomb

Though often neglected, the location of a funerary monument within a sacred space can reveal layers of meaning, bringing to light the intentions of either the deceased or the members of the deceased's family. Giovan Giacomo Baldini chose a humble burial site under the floor of the transept of the Basilica of Sant'Agostino because of his devotion to the icon of the Virgin Mary displayed on the high altar. When the Canons of Apiro undertook to erect his sepulchral monument, they obtained approval to construct it near to his actual burial place, that is, against the front of the first pier of the right nave facing the high altar. In such a position, Baldini's tomb would face both the apse and the contiguous Chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino in the right-hand transept (figs. 9, 16).

Arguably, the choice of the position of the tomb was not fortuitous. Besides keeping to the physician's wish for proximity to the venerable icon, the location of the tomb established a new symbolical connection with the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino. One of the Augustinian Order's preeminent saints, Nicholas (1245–1305) had gained a reputation as a holy man during his lifetime, not just in Tolentino, but also in the surrounding Marches region. Canonized in 1446, St. Nicholas, as Anne Dunlop observed, was "the only saint to emerge from the Marches between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries."¹⁵⁵ Greatly venerated by the people from his region, St. Nicholas is invoked as patron of the souls in Purgatory and as a healer and miracle worker. The saint's holy sanctuary in Tolentino, where his body is enshrined, is among the most frequented pilgrimage sites in central Italy. No less important, however is the St. Nicholas of Tolentino Chapel in Sant'Agostino that besides hosting an important relic of the saint, features one of the most complete and extensive illustrated cycles of his life, which guaranteed "un esempio di grandissima autorevolezza e di sicuro richiamo per la devozione al Santo."¹⁵⁶

If the proximity of Baldini's grave to the icon of the Virgin Mary offered him a greater chance of salvation, its nearness to the chapel of a saint from his own region would have established, as in the case of Tiracorda, a powerful visual and spiritual connection that signaled a palpable sense of shared geographical connection and territorial identification, strengthened by the fact that, at that time, Apiro and Tolentino were part of the same diocese of Camerino.

Baldini's epitaph, too, shows that the Canons' urge to complete his tomb in time for the Jubilee of 1675 underscores their wish to gain visibility and momentum on the occasion of the Holy Year, which attracted over 1,004,000 pilgrims.¹⁵⁷ Pamela Jones, in discussing the location of the Basilica of Sant'Agos-



16 Chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino. Rome, Basilica of Sant'Agostino (photo Mauro Coen)

154 Forcella 1869–1884, XI, 1877, p. 74, no. 144.

155 Dunlop 2007, p. 83.

156 Tosini 2006, p. 67.

tino, aptly observes that with the opening of the Via Leonina (the present day Via di Ripetta) under Pope Leo X (r. 1513–1521), “by the early Seicento S. Agostino’s role as a church on the pilgrimage route was well established.”¹⁵⁸ This is particularly true for those coming from the north, who entered the papal city at the Porta del Popolo and reached the Vatican by means of Via del Corso, Via dei Coronari and Ponte Sant’Angelo.¹⁵⁹ Because Sant’Agostino was erected at the junction of an important crossroad that connected Via dei Coronari to Ponte Sant’Angelo and the Vatican, it is likely that many pilgrims on their way to St. Peter’s would have visited the Mother Church of the Augustinians. This can be inferred especially for pilgrims coming from the Marches, who before heading to Via dei Coronari to pay homage to the Madonna of Loreto in the homonymous church, would have wanted to stop at Sant’Agostino to see the *Madonna of Loreto* by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, as well as to visit the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

The cults of the Madonna of Loreto and St. Nicholas of Tolentino were especially popular in the Marches. Moreover, because the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino treasured a venerated relic of the saint, it would have attracted numerous pilgrims; indeed, the chapel itself enshrined St. Nicholas’ miraculous blood, once kept in a reliquary bust of the saint. In his treatise of 1725 on the blood of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, Nicola Girolamo Ceppi recalls that the devotion to that relic was so profound and widespread that Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–1585) even accorded to that altar the same privilege as the Gregorian altar in the church on the Caelian Hill, that is to release a soul from Purgatory.¹⁶⁰

Conclusions: The Reception of Baldini’s Tomb

When considering Baldini’s sepulchre in a broader perspective, with special reference to its inscription, location, and response to the nearby chapels, it is apparent that the Canons and most importantly the physician’s testamentary executors (who were Canons themselves) conceived the tomb as an artifact replete with overlapping symbolical meanings, designed for an interactive community of the faithful and to elicit a variety of responses. Conceivably, such a public would have consisted not only of pilgrims, but also of the community from the Marches resident in Rome. When leaving the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, they would have faced Baldini’s tomb and its lengthy celebratory inscription. For those who came from the Marches in particular, Baldini’s tomb and its connection to the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino and the Madonna of Loreto would have elicited a sentiment of belonging, community and possibly of civic

157 “Si raccoglie ancora, oltre al numero de’ Pellegrini sudetti, e de le Compagnie, esservi stato in Roma intorno ad un Milione, e quattrocento mila Persone. Si può credere, che le Guerre ne habbino impedito, e trattenuto più di un terzo, che sarebbe venuto à godere l’acquisto di sì grand’Indulgenza.” Caetano 1691, p. 461.

158 Jones 2016, p. 79.

159 Indeed, as Pamela Jones noted: “Once they reached the heart of the city by means of the Via del Corso, they needed to cross the Campus Martius to the Ponte S. Angelo. Sixtus IV therefore razed numerous medieval structures in the area to form the Via dei Coronari, a straight street that corresponded to the ancient Via Recta, which had run from the south end to the ancient Via Flaminia (the Renaissance Via del Corso) across the Campus Martius to the river.” Jones 2016, p. 78.

160 “Fù tale poi la frequenza, e devozione de popoli in questo Santuario, fregiato di tal’ Reliquia, che la Santa Memoria di Gregorio XIII si mosse ad arricchirlo d’un privilegio segnalatissimo; e fù il concedere all’Altare di S. Nicolò nella Chiesa di S. Agostino di Roma a prò dell’Anime Purganti quel privilegio medesimo, che fù concesso all’Altare di S. Gregorio, di modo che celebrando un Sacerdote sù l’Altare del primo, sia lo stesso che celebrasse all’Altare del secondo.” Ceppi 1725, pp. 177–178.

pride. Equally important was the social prestige of the Canons of Apero and their bond with the city of Rome, made visible to the public of viewers not just by the epitaph and the prominent location of Baldini's tomb in Sant'Agostino, but also by the fact that, as seen so far, Baldini's sepulchre furnishes one of the rare examples of a physician's funerary monument erected in a Roman church in the mid-Seicento.

Aside from commemorating an individual, Baldini's tomb offers a case study on the complex layers of meaning that can be expressed by a funerary monument, demonstrating the efficacy, after centuries, of the paradigm introduced by St. Augustine on the function of a tomb as a memorial for the benefit of the living more than of the dead. Furthermore, in Baldini's case, coincidentally or not, the tomb represents the fulfilment of an old dictum, one that the evidence shows Baldini seems to have taken seriously, at least when it came to his burial, i.e., that of Matthew 23 : 12. Here the Evangelist records Christ as having said, "And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted." For Giovan Giacomo Baldini and the labyrinthine history of his tomb, there could be no better description.

Appendix

1

ACSU, Lettera di Domenico Cherubini ai Canonici di Apero, Letter of 16 November 1657, no. 5

Molto Illussimimi et Reverendissimi Padroni et fratelli in Cristo

Do parte alle *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime* come sono arrivato con buona salute qui in Roma, et ho fatto di molte visite e di Cardinali e di Prelati et di Principi et Signori grandi, che medicava lor la *bona memoria* di Signor Gio. Giacomo [Baldini] nostro fondatore, et anco i medici pavonazzi di Palazzo, et da tutti questi personaggi mi è stato domandato di molte cose, et in particolare, se si è fatto una bella memoria di un deposito per lui, et io a tutti ho detto che non si è fatto per ancora in stante questi romori di contagio, ma che adesso si è dato ordine al nostro Agente, che di già havessi avuto il disegno fatto dal *Signore Cavalier Borromino*, et questo prima si comincerà.

Hora Cari miei Signori per sfuggire qualche mormoratione, se li paresse bene alle *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime* loro dare qualche ordine al *Signor Giuseppe* [Brunamontini] io in questo tempo che staro qui, mi esibisco à sopra stare alli artisti et presterò il ritratto, che ho appresso di me del mio *Padrone* [Baldini] che l'ho ritrovato bello, e che l'ho baciato e pianto più volte, et per essere io puntuale in tutte le cose, e non già fastidioso, operarò che siano ben serviti, li avviso questo a tutti, per bene, et con tal fine à tutti mi li affido et raccomando *Humilmente* DD. SS. VV. M.to Ill.mi et Rev.mi.

Di Roma li 16 novembre 1657

Affetionatissimo et *Humilissimo fratello* et *servitore*
Domenico Cherubini

2

ACSU, Tit. X, Lettere diverse, Conti di Giuseppe Brunamontini, unpaginated fols.

Payments to the stonemasons Giovanni Somazzi and Andrea Stuccalone for the making of Baldini's funerary monument and to the sculptor Pietro Papaleo for Baldini's portrait bust. From the long list of expenses, only the payments referring to Baldini's tomb are here transcribed. The present list of payments might be incomplete, given that Alberto Bevilacqua transcribed a final payment of 280 scudi to Stuccalone made on 24 September 1680, without, however, providing any archival references (see above note 131).

A dì 28 Aprile 1670

81 – *scudi* 5. Ricevuta di Andrea Stuccalone *per* il deposito

82 – Ricevute in un foglio di varie somme di Gio. Somazzi in tutti *scudi* 64 per il deposito

83 – Adì 8 dicembre 1675 *scudi* 3 ricevuta d'Andrea Stuccalone *per* il deposito

84 – Adì 21 luglio 1671 *scudi* 10 ricevuta di Gio. Somazzi *per* il deposito

85 – Adì 27 febbraio 1672 *scudi*. 5 ricevuta di Gio. Somazzi *per* il deposito

93 – Adì 28 Gennaio 1676 *scudi* 4 ricevuta di Gio. Andrea Stuccalone per il deposito

96 – Adì 12 Novembre 1675 *scudi* 9 ricevuta di Andrea Stuccalone

97 – Adì 30 Agosto 1675 *scudi* 5 ricevuta di Gioseppe Andrea Stuccalone

Adì 16 febraro 1675 *scudi* 10 ricevuta del *medesimo* per deposito

123 – Adì 13 aprile 1678 *scudi* 1 et 70 ricevuta di Andrea Stuccalone *per* deposito

130 – Adì 16 febbraio 1675 in Roma *scudi* 20 poliza in forma etc. di Andrea Stuccalone di pagare à Papa Leon [Pietro Papaleo] per fattura del Busto del medico con ricevuta del *medesimo* di *scudi* 6 dal Brunamontini

[...]

Ricevuta d'Andrea Stuccalone in più volte di *scudi* 5.60 dal Brunamontini ricevuti

Ricevuta del Somazzi come sopra di *scudi* 5 del deposito 27 febraro 1672

Ricevuta del medesimo di *scudi* 10 a buon conto del deposito da farsi nella chiesa di S. Agostino 22 di luglio 1671

Due ricevute di Stuccalone di *scudi* 10 e *scudi* 5 a conto del deposito

Ricevuta del medesimo da Brunamontini di *scudi* 3

Altra del medesimo di *scudi* 1:70

Due altre in un foglio di *scudi* 6 e *scudi* 3 del medesimo

Altra del medesimo di *scudi* 4

Obbligo e ricevuta di Pietro Papaleo per il deposito del Sig. Gio. Giacomo Baldini.

3

ACSU, Tit. X, Lettere diverse, ca. 1678–1679, unpaginated fol.

Anonymous report regarding the completion of Baldini's funerary monument after the death of Giovanni Somazzi

Circa nove anni sono dal *Signor* Giuseppe Brunamontini già Agente del Capitolo d'Apiro Legatario del *quondam Signor* Dottore Giacomo Baldino da Apiro fu ordinato al *quondam* Gio. Sommazzi scarpellino di fare un Deposito nella Chiesa de Padri di S. Agostino di Roma per memoria del *detto Signor* Dottore Baldino fondatore della Chiesa Collegiata di S. Urbano d'Apiro, in vigore di che detto Sommazzi diede principio al lavoro di detto Deposito, e fra detto tempo succedendo la morte di detto Sommazzi, Andrea Stuccalone nepote, et Herede d'ordine come sopra subentrò al lavoro del detto Deposito, per il quale tanto al *detto quondam* Sommazzi, quanto ad Andrea Herede è stato somministrato parte del denaro del *detto Signor* Brunamontini à conto del lavoro come per ricevute, e venuto à morte il *detto Signor* Brunamontini restò il *detto* lavoro imperfetto ancorche poca cosa vi mancasse alla perfettione / il Sig. Bernardino Perucci Canonico di detta Chiesa ritrovandosi in Roma, e visto *detto* Deposito à buon termine con ordine del suo Capitolo ordinò à detto Andrea Stuccalone il perfettionare detto Deposito, che da esso sarebe [sic] stato sodisfatto tutto quello importava l'opera facendogli pagare a buon conto come sopra per le mani del *Signor* Piersanti Lattanzi scudi sei di moneta, per il che il lavoro da *detto* Andrea si ridusse à totale perfettione conforme al presente si vede, e partito da Roma il *detto Signor* Canonico Perucci, il *detto* Andrea non essendo stato sodisfatto dell'intero pagamento di *detto* lavoro tanto à nome di suo zio, come à nome proprio, et Herede fece presentare in Apiro una Citatione Camerale à quel Capitolo, quale riprodotta nell'Offitio dell'Angelucci fu dal *Signor* Domenico Passerini succeduto Agente al *detto Signor* Giuseppe Brunamontini per il sudetto Capitolo fatta protesta non dovere cosa veruna, et il *detto* Andrea non trovandosi il modo di litigare, supplica il venir alla sodisfatione dell'opera.

4

ACSU, Tit. X, Lettere diverse, Lettera di Andrea Stuccalone ai Canonici di Apiro, Letter of 13 July 1678, unpaginated fol.

Per mezzo del *Signore* Domenico Passarini hò supplicato altre volte le *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime*, affinché si compiacesse di terminarmi il pagamento per lavori fatti al deposito del *Signor* Giacomo Baldini in questa Chiesa di S. Agostino d'ordine delle *Signorie Vostre*, e perché fin'hora non hò veduto giustamento veruno in questo negotio, hò stimato bene infastidirle con queste quattro righe, affinché si compiaccino dar ordine al *detto Signor* Domenico che veda d'ultimare questo negotio, trovandomi astretto ancor di pagare quei tali che lavororno al *detto* Deposito, e se certo non havessi tal'ingerenza aspettarei qual tanto piacesse

alle *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime* quali con ogni magior fervore le prego, che almeno mi sia contato parte del mio denaro à conto di quello doverà havere, acciò possa agiustare i miei interessi senza de quali mi riesce impossibile il terminarli. E qui pregandoli almeno di qualche giusta risposta, affinché non habbia maggiormente d'infastidirli con lettere resto con farli humilissima riverenza.

Roma 13 luglio 1678

Al qual soggiungo, che d'ordine delle *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime* mi fù fatta istanza dal detto *Domenico*, che terminassi il deposito, al che risposi non mancarmi altro che il ritratto, quale è già terminato come ha inteso il detto *Signor Domenico* dal medesimo Scultore [*Pietro Papaleo*], e certo non mi manca altro che metterlo in opera, quale si fa in poche hore, si che non mi manca altro che le *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime* comandino quando si deve fare, mentre non mancarò alcune parti, quando sia corrisposto dalla benignità delle *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime* alle quali mi ratifico come sopra.

Humilissimo devotissimo et obligatissimo servitore
Andrea Stuccalone

5

ACSU, Tit. X, Lettere diverse, Lettera di Andrea Stuccalone ai Canonici di Apiro, Letter of 27 July 1678, unpaginated fol.

Credevo in risposta della mia sentire dalle *Signorie Vostre Illustrissime* terminato il mio interesse del Deposito fatto in S. Agostino d'ordine di codesto *Capitolo*, et in particolare d'alcuni delle *Signorie Vostre*, quando da quella sento che io me l'intenda con il *Signor Passarini*, e dichi le mie pretensioni, et che non occorre ne scriva d'avvantaggio alle *Signorie Vostre*, il che certo mi è parsa molto strana la risposta, mentre il *Signor Canonico Bernardino Peruzzi*, che fù tante volte ad infettarmi per il compimento di quel deposito puol verificarli, se quante volte mi hà detto, che quando non havesse sodisfatto il *Capitolo*, l'havrebbe fatto lui à sue proprie spese, et hora mi si [?] che io ponga le mie pretensioni, mentre sono tante chiare [?] voler delucidare alle *Signorie Vostre*; il rimettermi al *Signor Passarini* mi contento perche lo stimo persona [?], ma per quello prego alle *Signorie Vostre*, e di dar ordine, che venghi ultimato questo negotio, e non si ritardi avanti di mese in mese perche non mi par il dover essere trapassato, doppo che mostrati serviti con ogni puntualità, e quando havessero animo di andando [sic] non ultimarlo, le prego instantemente darmene qualche cenno, acciò anche io possa pigliar altra strada, ma non credo disgustino non mi sarà negato il mio, havendo io tutte le mie giustificationi fatte mentre resto con farle humilissima riverenza.

Roma 27 luglio 1678

Devotissimo et obligatissimo Servo
Andrea Stuccalone

List of Abbreviations

ACSU

Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Urbano, Apiro

ASR

Archivio di Stato, Rome

BAV

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

DBI

Dizionario biografico degli italiani, ed. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1960ff.

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