NOT DEAD BUT SLEEPING: RESURRECTING NICCOLÒ MENGHINI'S

SANTA MARTINA

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Niccolò Menghini's marble sculpture of *Santa Martina* (ca. 1635) in the Church of Santi Luca e Martina in Rome belongs to the seventeenth-century genre of sculpture depicting saints as dead or dying. Until now, scholars have ignored the conceptual and formal concerns of the *S. Martina*, dismissing it as derivative of Stefano Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* (1600). This thesis provides the first thorough examination of Menghini's *S. Martina*, arguing that the sculpture is critically linked to the Post-Tridentine interest in the relics of early Christian martyrs. The disjunction between the sculpture's severed head and seemingly living body reinforces the authority of Pietro da Cortona's 1634 discovery of St. Martina's relics beneath the old Church of SS. Luca e Martina. The detached and moveable head (rarely seen in early modern sculpture) evokes associations with cephalophory and inventively implies that St. Martina was somehow miraculously involved in the recovery of her own relics.

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To my dear friends Alex, Emily, Lucy, and Leanna.

Ars longa, vita brevis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Behind the high altar of the Church of Santi Luca e Martina in Rome a marble effigy of St. Martina nearly tumbles out of the dark niche (Fig. 1). The early Christian martyr is shown resting on her right side with arms folded, while her right hand dangles languorously from her wrist. The figure of the saint occupies the entire length of the niche. Her right knee is drawn up beneath her left leg and the tips of her bare toes, extended ever so slightly, nearly graze the cornice of the niche. Her eyes are gently closed in what could be placid contemplation, dreamless sleep, or perhaps even death. But while the figure of St. Martina features a living, moving body, the saint's head is fully severed.

Despite its unusual conceit, Niccolò Menghini's reclining sculpture *Santa Martina* (ca. 1635) has long escaped the sustained attention of scholars. Unlike similar, better-known sculptures of reclining martyrs such as Stefano Maderno's *Santa Cecilia* (1600) and Giuseppe Giorgetti's *San Sebastiano* (1671-72), whose churches are open daily and serve active parish communities, *S. Martina* is less accessible as the church of the Accademia di San Luca in the Roman Forum is only open once a week (Fig. 2). Notwithstanding its relative obscurity, *S. Martina* is a compelling case study of how the combination of text, image, and relics could be leveraged to resurrect the image of a forgotten martyr.

Menghini's *S. Martina* lies at the nexus of three worlds central to Counter-Reformation sculpture in Rome: the Accademia di San Luca, the circle of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and the school of Pietro Berrettini, more commonly known as Pietro

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da Cortona. In giving Menghini's *S. Martina* its rightful due among significant Roman Baroque sculptures and providing a more robust picture of its creator, this research maps an additional layer of meaning onto the complex network of artists, patrons, and professional institutions that converged at SS. Luca e Martina. While Karl Noehles and Jörg Martin Merz have extensively studied Pietro da Cortona's architectural conceit for SS. Luca e Martina, this is the first sustained treatment of the church's sculptural altarpiece and its significance.[1]

The first task of this research is to ground the sculpture in the context of Pietro da Cortona's discovery of St. Martina's relics beneath the *confessio* of the old SS. Luca e Martina in 1634, which precipitated the commission of the marble *S. Martina*. The hagiographic impulse of Post-Tridentine Rome and the demand for documentary evidence to authenticate relics fundamentally shaped the design and purpose of the sculpture. In turn, the sculpture acts as a visual record of St. Martina's posthumous legacy. The second task of this thesis is to weave together the disparate threads of scholarship that have at times brushed up against Menghini's *S. Martina* but have never been fully combined to address the critical issues of the sculpture's genesis. In revisiting archival documents, plans, and drawings, this research clarifies the historical evidence of the sculpture's development.

The third, most important task, is to provide an interpretive framework for the sculpture and its function within SS. Luca e Martina. While scholars such as Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Lothar Sickel claim that *S. Martina* is simply a variation on

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[1] Karl Noehles, Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, and Carlo Pietrangeli, *La Chiesa dei Santi Luca e Martina nell'opera di Pietro da Cortona*, Saggi e Studi di Storia dell'arte; 3 (Roma: U. Bozzi, 1970) and Jörg Martin Merz, *Pietro da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

Stefano Maderno's sculpture of *Santa Cecilia* (1600), this thesis argues that *S. Martina* is functionally complex in its own right.[2] By assessing the sculpture as merely derivative of *S. Cecilia* and dismissing its formal presentation as "unsatisfactory," scholars have missed an opportunity to understand the visual strategies at work in the sculpture.[3] This thesis corrects this scholarly lacuna and argues that *S. Martina* is a forceful statement of the authenticity of the relics and the authority of the Church of SS. Luca e Martina as the legitimate seat of the saint's cult. Using Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood's framework of the "anachronic" object, this thesis argues that the sculpture simultaneously emphasizes the historical veracity of St. Martina's relics and her sacred status as a martyr. In addition to considering the sculpture's anachronicity, this thesis examines the implications of the unusual design of the sculpture, which features a body with a detached head that is materially autonomous. The severed head accompanied by an active body makes a claim for the primacy of the relics discovered in SS. Luca e Martina over competing cults by evoking associations with cephalophory. Finally, this research concludes by examining how resurrecting St. Martina's image in sculptural form impacted Niccolò Menghini's career.

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[2] Incisa della Rocchetta, Giovanni. "Notizie sulle Opere d'Arte e le Memorie Storiche" in *La Chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina nell'opera di Pietro da Cortona*, eds. Noehles, Karl, Incisa della Rocchetta, Giovanni, and Pietrangeli, Carlo. Saggi e Studi di Storia dell'arte; 3. (Roma: U. Bozzi, 1970), 182.

[3] Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600-1750*, 6th ed. (Pelican History of Art. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 201.

CHAPTER II

THE CONTEXT FOR ST. MARTINA

St. Martina and the Origins of SS. Luca e Martina

According to Oratorian Honoratio Marsilio's 1635 *vita* of the saint, Martina was a young Christian woman of noble birth who lived in Rome during the reign of Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235).[4] In 228 CE Martina was forcibly taken to the temple of Apollo and made to offer incense to the god. Martina refused, making the sign of the cross instead. With this gesture, the temple of Apollo miraculously started to shake. The tremors caused part of the temple to collapse, destroying the statue of Apollo and killing the priests and a number of their followers. As punishment, Martina was scourged with iron chains and tortured with hooked iron rods. Later, Martina was taken to the temple of Diana. As soon as she passed through the door the devil came out from the temple and a fire from heaven destroyed the building. Disturbed by these supernatural events, Alexander Severus ordered Martina's flesh to be "torn to pieces with currycombs" so thoroughly that she received 118 wounds on her breasts alone.[5] Despite these ordeals, Martina did not renounce her faith. Infuriated by Martina's refusal to reject Christ, Alexander Severus placed her in an amphitheater to be eaten by a lion. Rather than devour the saint, the lion merely "crouched at her feet like and dog and licked her

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[4] Marsilio Honorati, *Historia di Santa Martina vergine e martire romana, cavata da gl'antichi manoscritti con alcune annotationi, e considerationi sopra di* essa, (Rome, 1635): 6-41. See also a translation of Cesare Baronius' account of St. Martina's martyrdom in Ebenezer Cobham Brewer, *A Dictionary of Miracles: Imitative, Realistic, and Dogmatic*, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1884): 478. See also Joannes Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum [...] Januarii Tomus primus*, ed. Joannes Carnandet (first published in Antwerp, 1643; Paris, 1863), 11-18.

[5] Brewer, *A Dictionary of Miracles*, 478.

hands."[6] The emperor then tried to execute Martina by burning her on a pyre, but she was miraculously spared. It took a decapitating blow of an executioner's sword to finally dispatch her.

It is not clear where St. Martina's body was initially buried after her martyrdom in 228. Pope Honorius I (625-38) initiated the saint's cult in the seventh century when he built the church to St. Martina in the Roman Forum, near the Arch of Septimius Severus.[7] In 1256 Pope Alexander IV reconsecrated the church, which came to be known as the chapel of the bishops of Ostia in the fourteenth century. By the time Pope Sixtus V gave the church to the Accademia di San Luca (Rome's newly formed corporation of professional artists) in 1588, renaming it SS. Luca e Martina, the building had fallen into disrepair.[8] By the time of Cortona's election to *principe* (director) of the Accademia di San Luca in 1634, the academicians had repeatedly failed to raise sufficient funds to commit towards a major renovation of the church. Even when Cortona became *principe*, he faced an Academy reluctant to finance even minor repairs. [9] Any campaign to renovate the entire church would require a spectacular stimulus, such as physically recovering the saint's relics. And this is exactly what happened with the discovery of St. Martina's relics in 1634.

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[6] Ibid.

[7] For a detailed history of the church see Noehles, *Chiesa*, 41-43 and Jörg Martin Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 53-56.

[8] Pope Gregory XIII founded the Accademia di San Luca in 1577 by papal brief. The first meeting of Academicians took place in 1593 with the purpose of ennobling the arts by providing structured pedagogy and instituting economic and professional regulations for artists. See Peter Lukehart, "Visions and Divisions, *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590-1635*, ed. Peter Lukehart, Seminar Papers (Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (U.S.)) 2. (Washington, D.C.: New Haven, CT: National Gallery of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009), 166-170.

[9] Noehles, *Chiesa*, 97. In April of 1634, during his first year as *principe*, Cortona offered to pay for the glass for the windows.

Relics and Martyrs in Early Modern Rome

The potent attraction of St. Martina's relics and the impetus to celebrate her martyrdom in sculptural form must be understood within the broader reinvigoration of interest in early Christian martyrs that swept through Rome at the end of the sixteenth century.[10] The discovery of early Christian catacombs in the Via Salaria in 1578 by priests from the Oratory of St. Philip Neri contributed to a related revival of paleochristian archaeology. Oratorian priest Antonio Bosio (1575-1629) led the excavations and detailed his findings on early Christian history in *Roma Sotteranea*, which was published five years after he died in 1629. Bosio's work described the death and burial of Roman martyrs, traced the topography of the catacombs, and reproduced illustrations of early Christian images.[11] The excavations provided, to an audience of the faithful, "abundant material proof of the existence of martyrs" and kindled both popular and papal devotion.[12] As Simon Ditchfield writes, the Church saw the catacombs as *vestigia* of authentic Christianity.[13] Moreover, the catacombs and the relics of the martyrs served as physical reminders of Rome's exclusive claim to the unbroken lineage of Apostolic Succession, particularly important in light of the challenges of the Protestant Reformation.[14]

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[10] See Hippolyte Delehaye's foundational work *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (1933) for a detailed history of the cult of saints and relics in the early Christian period.

[11] Simon Ditchfield, "Text before Trowel: *Roma Sotteranea* Revisited" *Studies in Church History* 33 (1997): 345. Cortona's 1634 excavation of SS. Luca e Martina and discovery of St. Martina's relics appears in the 1651 edition of *Roma Sotteranea*.

[12] Jörg Martin Merz, "Saint Martina Refuses to Adore the Idols:" Pietro da Cortona's Painting at Princeton in Context," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 62 (2003): 89.

[13] Ditchfield, "Text," 346.

[14] Ibid., 352. In Rome's view, the nascent Protestant movement had forfeited its claim to two thousand years of tradition by splitting from the Church

However, it would be misleading to construe the Oratorian fascination with the relics of early Christian martyrs as merely a form of morbid trophy hunting, intended only to score points in a religious conflict. Instead, the material evidence of martyrdom facilitated devotion to the cult of martyrs. Beginning in the first century, martyrs were seen as the highest models of faith, imitating Christ unto death and waging holy war against the devil.[15] The early Church saw martyrdom as means of expanding the mission of Christ after his ascension. The third-century theologian Tertullian, for instance, illustrates this belief when he writes, "We [Christians] multiply every time we are mowed down by you; the blood of the Christians is the seed." [16] Proximity to the martyrs, and by extension to their relics, was believed to fortify the faithful and provide special intercessory powers for their prayers. By virtue of their sacrifice, the martyrs enjoyed an intimate relationship with God and could intercede on behalf of those who called upon them for aid.[17]

Despite the spiritual appeal of the martyrs within the Roman Catholic Church, the extra-scriptural status of saints made devotion to the martyrs a particularly vulnerable target of criticism for sixteenth-century reformers such as Desiderius Erasmus.[18] In the

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[15] Alexandra Herz, "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context," *Storia dell'arte / Dir. da Giulio Carlo Argan* 62, (1988): 55-56. Herz relies on the work of James Edward Sherman W.H.C. Frend to form her conceptual framework of martyrdom. See J.E. Sherman, *The Nature of Martyrdom. A Dogmatic and Moral Analysis According to Thomas Aquinas* (Paterson, N.J., 1942); W. H.C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church, a Study of Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Oxford, 1965).

[16] Ibid., 55.

[17] The intercession of the martyrs on behalf of the faithful is also invoked in the Litany of Saints (introduced by Pope Gregory the Great in the sixth century) and continues to be used in the modern mass, particularly at the Easter Vigil.

[18] For example, Erasmus expressed distaste for the improbable size and quantity of relics purporting to be wood from the true cross. John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-century Europe*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology, (New York:

face of Protestant criticism, the Catholic Church "aggressively affirmed" the validity of the cult of saints and the concomitant tradition of relics and images.[19] The last session of the Council of Trent in 1563 (which crafted the Roman Catholic Church's institutional rebuttal to the doctrinal crises raised in the Protestant Reformation) clarified that "it is good and useful" to offer supplication to the saints, to venerate their relics, and to create sacred images, with the caveat that all superstition and lasciviousness should be avoided.[20] While the Tridentine mandate entrenched the church's position on the cult of saints, Rome also made efforts to regulate the systems for recognizing and venerating saints. The "spirit of regularization" initiated at Trent had profound implications for the authentication and recognition of relics.[21] Just over a decade before Cortona's discovery, Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621-1623) established a commission to oversee the extraction and authentication of relics in an effort to combat spurious relic claims.[22] The impulse to

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Oxford University Press, 1999), 174. The cult of martyrs strikes at the core of the conflict between Protestant reformers and the Roman Catholic Church. Both claimed spiritual authority in the Eusebian framework of truth by way of returning to origins. Protestants relied on the scriptures as the ultimate source, while Rome relied on both scripture and tradition.

[19] Ibid., 187. For further discussion of shifting attitudes towards the cult of saints and relics in the Counter-Reformation period see Julia M. H. Smith "Relics: An Evolving Tradition in Latin Christianity" in *Saints and Scared Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Cynthia Hahn and Holger A. Klein, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2015), 45-49. See also, Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion 1500-1660,* ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007), 201-24.

[20] Council of Trent, Session 25, *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Ecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 233-34. The Council of Trent is remarkably vague in prescribing the forms sacred art should take, emphasizing instead clarity, doctrinal orthodoxy, and didacticism.

[21] Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 18.

[22] Peter Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint" in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: German Historical Institute, 1984), 45. In the early church sanctity and sainthood was largely an "unofficial phenomenon" and only became institutionalized in the thirteenth century when Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241) established the formal rules of canonization.

regulate saints continued through the pontificate of Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644). For example, on March 23, 1630 the Barberini pope issued a decree that required the formal recognition of canonization for any patron saint of a church, city, or region.[23]

In addition to imposing stricter standards for the recognition of saints and relics, the Council prompted a movement to systemize *historia sacra* (sacred history). Prior to the Tridentine reforms, saints' cults were maintained locally, which led to overlapping (and at times apocryphal) claims to sanctity. With their expertise in paleochristian excavations, Oratorian priests such as Antonio Bosio, Cesare Baronius (1538-1607) and Antonio Gallonio (1556-1605), championed this new mode of ecclesiastical historiography. As Simon Ditchfield writes, three principles underpinned Tridentine *historia sacra*. The use of trustworthy and contemporary sources (when possible), the chronological presentation of *vitae*, and the emphasis on continuity reinforced the authority of the cult of saints through evidentiary means.[24] As Chapter Four of this thesis will demonstrate, Niccolò Menghini's sculpture of St. Martina follows the principles of Tridentine *historia sacra*, testifying to the discovery of the saint's relics and transforming the saint's posthumous legacy into visual history.

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[23] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 45. 11. In 1659 Alexander VII affirmed Urban's 1630 decree. As Peter Burke notes, Urban VIII formalized and tightened canonization procedures by making a distinction between saints and *beati* and instituting a fifty-year rule, requiring a minimum of fifty years from the death of the candidate before the canonization could begin. Burke, "How to Become," 132.

[24] Ibid., 4.

Pietro da Cortona's 1634 Discovery

Steeped in the Post-Tridentine fervor for early Christian martyrs, Pietro da
Cortona considered the implications of discovering St. Martina's relics. Donatella Sparti
argues that Cortona's plans began to take shape eight years before the 1634 discovery,
when he was commissioned to the paint the frescos for the newly renovated Church of
Santa Bibiana. The church had attracted the attention of the Pope Urban VIII, formerly
Maffeo Barberini, when St. Bibiana's relics were found under the high altar in February
1624. With the jubilee year of 1625 approaching, Pope Urban VIII commissioned Bernini
to restore the church and to create a sculptural altarpiece in honor of the saint.[25] Just three
years into his pontificate, Urban VIII understood that financing and attaching his name to
the material proof of paleochristian martyrdom would be a powerful declaration in the
face of Protestant detractors who disputed the historical existence of the martyrs.

Working on the frescos in St. Bibiana, Cortona witnessed first-hand the
correlation between newly-discovered relics and architectural renovations. Thus, Cortona
scholars like Karl Noehles and Jörg Martin Merz agree that the architect's discovery of
St. Martina's relics beneath the foundations of SS. Luca e Martina on October 25, 1634
did not happen by accident. Instead, they assert, Cortona seems to have orchestrated the
discovery of the relics to entice the Barberini to open their coffers and finance the
restoration of the church.[26] In Merz's words, if Cortona could find St. Martina's relics, he
could "play the early Christian card" and attract a major donor.[27] Cortona's plan to

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[25] Sparti, "Pietro da Cortona e le Presunte Reliquie di Santa Martina," *Pietro da Cortona /
Comitato Nazionale per la Celebrazione di Pietro da Cortona, Bernini, Borromini; Bibliotheca Hertziana
Max Planck Institut, Roma. a Cura di Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Sebastian Schütze* (1998): 244.

[26] See Noehles, *Chiesa*, 97 and Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 55.

[27] Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 55.

finance the restoration of SS. Luca e Martina hinged, however, on the relics'

unimpeachable authenticity.

The reverberations of Trent and the Oratorian hagiographic impulse coalesced at

SS. Luca e Martina. [28] When Cortona began inquiring about St. Martina's relics, naturally

he looked to the authority and expertise of the Oratorians to support his endeavor. On

July 11, 1634 Cortona contacted Giovanni Severano, an Oratorian priest who had taken

up Bosio's editorial duties of *Roma Sotteranea* after the latter's death in 1629 and asked

him about the location of St. Martina's relics.[29] Severano wrote to Cortona the next day

to report what he had found. Severano begins the letter cautiously, noting that Francesco

del Sodo, canon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, does not mention in his compendium of

Roman churches whether or not St. Martina's relics are buried in her church.[30] Severano

reports several contradictory accounts about St. Martina's relics, noting for instance that

Filippo Ferrario's *Catalogo de'Santi* (published in early 1600) says the saint's body is in

the Church of San Silvestro in Piacenza. Additionally, Antonio Gallonio's report in

Historia della Sante Vergine Romane (1591) locates the saint's head in the Roman

Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli while some of her other relics are said to be in Santa

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[28] Ibid., 20, fn. 9., 245 Even before the 1634 discovery, Cortona enjoyed an intimate relationship with the Oratorian community. Cortona's personal confessor was the same Oratorian priest Marsilio Honorato who published a report on the discovery of St. Martina's relics. Additionally, in 1633 Cortona was living in a house in the Via dei Leutari and had accepted a commission for the ceiling of the Oratorian's principal church Santa Maria in Vallicella.

[29] Ibid., 244. Importantly, Severano was also Cardinal Francesco Barberini's confessor, strengthening Cortona's link to the Barberini. As noted previously, Cortona was working on Barberini projects in the mid-1620s, decorating the newly renovated S. Bibiana. However, Cortona was in the orbit of the Barberini before S. Bibiana, thanks to the patronage of the Marcello Sacchetti, papal treasurer to Urban VIII.

[30] Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS H.29 cc. 465r-466r, transcribed by Donatella Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," Appendix, 254.

Maria Maggiore. Despite these reports, Severano concludes that the most likely location for the saint's relics is in the church named in her honor.[31] Severano's belief, supported by several martyrologies, that St. Martina's relics were buried in the church was based on a thirteenth-century inscription in the church celebrating the reconsecration of the old Church of S. Martina in 1256 under Pope Alexander IV.[32] As Sparti suggests, Severano relied on the notes of his predecessor Antonio Bosio regarding the content of the inscription. Indeed, it seems unlikely that Severano would have had the time to visit the church in the Roman Forum, consult multiple martyrologies, and answer Cortona's query within a single day.[33] Severano explicitly acknowledges the limited time he had to conduct the research, explaining to Cortona that he can only provide a brief reply given his other obligations.[34]

In relying on Bosio's notes on the inscription, Severano was also liable to repeat Bosio's errors. According to Bosio, the inscription stated that the body of St. Martina, along with those of saints Concordius and Epiphiano, was buried in the church. However, the inscription states only that the church is dedicated to St. Martina and the altar contains

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[31] Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 245. Severano's conclusion that the relics were in fact in SS. Luca e Martina was supported by the lack of documentation regarding the authenticity of the presumptive relics of St. Martina in Piacenza.

[32] Ibid., 244. The inscription reads: ANNO DO. M. CC.LVI. DNS ALER. PP IIII. PPIS. MIB. CU. DUOB. EPIS. CARDINA LIB. TUSCUL. PENNEST. AD. HONORE DEI BEATE MARTINE VGIS MAR COSECV ECC ISTA DAS IDL'GECIA UNI' ANI DUARU. QRANTANE. IN ALTARI VERO. RECONDITE S. RELIQE. B'TORU MARU. CONCORDII. ET BYPHANII. PAPIE. MARUI. NEREY ARCHILEY (sic). MARTII. MATHE. UR BANI PP 7 DE ZAGUITTA SATI MACHARII. CONSECRATO (sic) AUT HC ECA FUIT I MEDIA XL. QN EST STATO AD SCUM COSMA TUM IN SILICE IN TPE AR CHIPSBITERO ANDREA FUIT HEC ECC.A COSECRATA. Noehles, 368, iscrizioni 167.

[33] Severano wrote back to Cortona on July 12, 1634, the day after Cortona sent his initial inquiry to the Oratorian priest. Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 245.

[34] "...ho potuto raccoglier hoggi in quell poco tempo che me hanno concesso le alter occupationi." Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS H.29 466 v, in Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 254.

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the relics of several martyrs. It does not explicitly state that St. Martina's body is buried in the Church of S. Martina.[35] Unaware of Bosio's error, Severano gave a response that was sufficient to convince Cortona that an excavation could bear fruit.

On July 23, 1634 Cortona negotiated with his fellow Academicians for permission renovate the lower church at his own expense. In exchange for the renovation, Cortona purchased the right to construct his own tomb in the lower church, to be marked with an inscription of his choosing.[36] Despite securing permission from the Accademia di San Luca to renovate the lower church in July of 1634, Cortona did not "discover" the relics until October of that year.

While his team was digging in the *confessio* of the lower church on October 24, Cortona heard a hollow sound.[37] Suspecting he had hit a concealed chamber, Cortona alerted Francesco Barberini the following day. Anticipating that relics might be

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[35] Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 248.

[36] Nohles, 97; Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 243; ASL, Vol. 43 f. 4. Throughout the literature on SS. Luca e Martina, the lower church is referred as the crypt, the *confessio*, and the Church of S. Martina. The reason for these terminological discrepancies stems from the fraught history between the Accademia di San Luca and Pietro da Cortona. When Cortona secured *giuspatronato* and the right to renovate the crypt, he understood the space as distinct from the upper church and would frequently refer to it as 'S. Martina' while the upper church was 'S. Luca' This disagreement came to a head when Cortona made St. Martina his universal heir in 1667. In leaving his assets to St. Martina administered by the Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia, Cortona expressly stated the lower church was separate from the upper church. The relevant portion of Cortona's will reads "I leave and give to the said Church of S. Martina, not in unity with S. Luca, but separate from the Accademia di San Luca." Cortona's will and recognition of S. Martina as separate from the upper church sparked a two-and-a-half-year legal battle between the Accademia di San Luca and the Conservatorio di S. Eufemia. The Accademia di San Luca was determined to assert their right to both the upper and lower churches, going so far as to seize the ecclesiastical furnishings Cortona left in the lower church and changing the locks so the Conservatorio di S. Eufemia could not access the crypt. In 1903 the courts agreed with the Conservatorio di S. Eufemia and affirmed that Cortona's will applied exclusively to the lower church. To this day, Cortona's inheritance for St. Martina continues to bear fruit in the Bank of Rome. See Donatella Sparti, *La Casa di Pietro da Cortona*, 16 and Donatella Sparti, "Pietro da Cortona and the Relics of Saint Martina" (1997): 243-255.

[37] See Marsilio Honoratio, *Historia di Santa Martina vergine e martire romana, cavata da gl'antichi mansocritti con alcune annotationi, e considerationi sopra di essa*, (Rome, 1635) for the full report.

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unearthed, the papal *nipote* sent Severano and Girolamo Bruni da Fermo to document the excavations. On October 25, in the company of Severano, Bruni, and Cortona's fellow artists Alessandro Algardi, Giovanni Battista Soria and Francesco Mochi, Cortona discovered a box roughly one *palmo* long buried in the floor of the *confessio*. It contained bones and an inscription informing the reader that the relics belong to St. Martina, St. Concordio and St. Epiphiano.[38] The crowning moment of the discovery took place November 6, 1634 in the presence of Cardinal Francesco Barberini himself. Cortona disinterred a second box containing a skull placed on a copper *bacile* (plate). The epigraph "S[ant]o [sic] Ma[r]tina V[irgo]" inscribed on the box sufficed to confirm that the relics belonged to St. Martina.[39]

Giovanni Severano and Girolamo Bruni da Fermo took pains to have their report notarized by Silvestro Spada in February 1635.[40] While the notarization could safeguard against accusations that the events of the discovery were fabricated, it did not guarantee the authenticity of the items that were found. However dubious the claims to St. Martina's relics held by the congregations of San Silvestro in Piacenza and the Aracoeli in Rome might have been, they still posed a risk of diminishing the credibility of the

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[38] Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 246. Cortona, Algardi, Mochi, and Soria spent the night guarding the sealed crypt to prevent any accusations of tampering with the site. On October 28th Cortona found another inscription that read "*Corpus sancta Martine Virginis et martyris et corpora sanctorum concordii et piphanii martyrium.*" Ibid., 247.

When the excavations resumed the following day, Cortona discovered glass vases which were later identified as containing the fresh heart of the saint "bloody and tender" with the white fat still attached along with other non-desiccated remains. Given Giacinto Gigli's graphic description of the sanguineous relics, I find it odd that more was not made of the state of these relics. In the case of St. Cecilia's relics, incorruptibility was key evidence of sanctity. Biblioteca Vaticano, Ms. H.29 c. 471 r.; Giacinto Gigli, *Diario Romano*, 254.

[39] Sparti, "Presunte Relique," 247.

[40] Ibid.," 246.

relics Cortona had found. For three centuries after Cortona's discovery, the Church relied

on the inscriptions to furnish proof that the relics belonged to St. Martina. Yet, thanks to

Donatella Sparti's work, it is now known that the inscriptions are not from the third

century but are forgeries produced no earlier than the fifteenth century and perhaps as late

as the seventeenth century.[41] Several of the abbreviations are anachronistic, found only in

fifteenth century manuscripts, while others are entirely made up.[42] Additionally, the

contraction of the martyr Epiphiano's name as "piphanii" or "byphanii" in the

inscriptions closely match the characters from the thirteenth-century epigraph marking

the rededication of the church to St. Martina.[43] Sparti concludes that the forger(s) likely

used the characters from the thirteenth-century epigraph as a model to create an

inscription that could pass for paleochristian Latin.[44] And indeed, the forgers' gamble

paid off. The field of early Christian paleography was still developing in the seventeenth

century and Giovanni Severano's paleographic knowledge was limited. Because he did

not recognize the anachronistic abbreviations, he had no reason to suspect that the

inscriptions were forged.

Although Sparti does not have explicit evidence implicating Cortona in the

forgery, there is compelling circumstantial evidence that suggests he may have been

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[41] While twentieth-century paleographer Father Pio Franchi de'Cavalieri noted in 1903 that that inscriptions published by Honorato Marsilio were not authentic, Sparti is the first scholar to thoroughly interrogate the nature of the forgery.

[42] Ibid., 248.

[43] Ibid.

[44] For example, Sparti notes that the first syllable of "copora" was never used in the early Christian period, but only appeared in fifteenth century manuscripts. Additionally, the vertical sign above the letter "q" in "requiescunt" is anomalous. Ibid.

involved.[45] There were no other documented excavations between 1256 and 1634 in the Church of S. Martina. Additionally, by the time the Accademia di San Luca took ownership of the church in 1588, the cult of St. Martina was virtually non-existent. The Academicians' lack of interest in the church makes it difficult to imagine the forgery took place in the sixteenth century. Additionally, Cortona's personal investment in the lower church gave him substantial motive for facilitating a forgery that would ensure the significance of his discovery.[46]

Whether or not Pietro da Cortona was responsible for the forgery, he was well aware of the authority of inscriptions as documentary evidence. As Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood explain, by the fifteenth century there was an increasing awareness of the performative dimension of texts as a mode of authentication. Consequently, it became common for scholars to invent provenances to make their texts "more competitive."[47] These forged inscriptions fall into the category of what Nagel and Wood call pastiche, a term used to designate an invented work in a plausible historical style.[48] The inscriptions

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[45] Sparti believes that if Cortona was responsible he may have gotten the idea to forge the inscriptions from the circumstances of the discovery of St. Bibiana's relics in 1624. Domenico Fedini's 1627 biography of the saint explains that the identification and authentication of St. Bibiana's relics were made possible by a lead sheet inscribed with the saint's name buried with her remains. Ibid., 243.

[46] Sparti suggests that Algardi and Mochi were likely involved, as both were sculptors and would have helped Cortona carry out the actual carving of the inscription.

[47] Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 246. In the tradition of medieval forgery, inventing documents was accepted "as the legitimate reproduction of accidentally misplaced facts." For more on medieval forgery, see Giles Constable, "Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 29 (1983), 1-41; Horst Fuhrmann, "Die Fälschungen im Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 197 (1963), 529-54.

[48] Nagel and Wood distinguish the between the various intents of pastiche. They consider Lorenzo Ghiberti's habit of counterfeiting ancient coins a "ludic and creative" practice because the intended effect was to demonstrate the artist's ability to approach a plausible historical style while adding his own ahistorical variation, rather than mere commercial consideration. By contrast, the forged inscriptions allegedly identifying the relics of St. Martina and her companions are what Nagel and Wood would consider the "true school for pastiches." This kind of forgery falls outside of the realm of art, as its value is in providing documentary evidence for the relics, rather than its inherent skillful imitation of a historical

found buried in the crypt of SS. Luca e Martina text were made to simulate a historical past through a careful imitation of what was thought to be a paleochristian style. However, the forgers' reliance on an anachronistic source interrupted the chain of substitution and allowed the fraud to be revealed centuries later.

Cortona's possible culpability for the fake inscriptions should not be judged in the harsh light of modern attitudes towards forgery. Dontella Sparti is correct to emphasize the earnestness of Cortona's belief that the relics actually did belong to St. Martina. Applying Nagel and Wood's theory of substitution, Cortona would have seen the inscriptions as replacing the material evidence of a legitimate, but lost provenance.[49] Like the fifteenth-century Dominican friar Giovanni Nanni, known as Annius of Viterbo (ca. 1432-1502) who "simply fabricated the missing archaeological evidence that he needed in order to convince everyone else of what he already knew to be true," Cortona used the inscriptions to enhance the credibility of the relics and forestall any doubts about them.[50] In addition to using textual evidence to support the validity of the relics and inspire the generosity of the Barberini, Cortona applied a skillful act of diplomacy to ensure the papal family would finance the restoration. Cortona gave Cardinal Francesco Barberini the perfect "Senecan gift" on January 6, 1635, the eve of the first public procession with

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style. A pastiche in the art context is successful when the ruse is revealed and provokes delight in the quality of deception, whereas forged documents and inscriptions only work if the deception remains undetected. Ibid., 289, 292-293.

[49] Ibid., 250. Nagel and Wood posit that in the Renaissance, the notion of authenticity was flexible and was understood by the type or structure of the artifact rather than by the material composition of the "original" object. In this way it was possible to have a "chain of substitution" in which one object was actually a proxy for another absent artifact, without diminishing the legitimacy of either iteration.

[50] Ibid., 249.

the newly discovered relics.[51] Cortona gifted Francesco Barberini the copper *bacile* that

he had found with St. Martina's skull, to both endear the project to the cardinal and

indebt him to contribute to the reconstruction of the church.[52] The gravitas of sanctity,

along with Cortona's offering, stirred the piety and the patronage of the Barberini. In

honor of the virgin martyr Urban VIII composed a Latin hymn, while Cardinal Francesco

Barberini had a medal struck to commemorate the discovery of the saint's relics.[53] While

Urban VIII championed the project to renovate the Church of S. Bibiana, the effort to

restore the Church of SS. Luca e Martina became Francesco's personal project as

protector of the Accademia di San Luca.[54] On January 7, 1635 the benefaction Cortona

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[51] The term "Senecan gift" references the notion articulated by Roman Stoic philosopher Seneca the Younger (ca. 4 BC- 65 AD) in *De Beneficiis* (On Benefits) that gift-giving between aristocrats obligates the receiver to reciprocate in order to maintain a healthy social bond. The practice of gift-giving and exchange of favors reached its climax in the papal courts of *seicento* Rome (and as some have argued, soured, with the practice of simony). Pietro da Cortona's gift of the copper *bacile* to Francesco Barberini demonstrates the architect's shrewd understanding of the courtly practice.

[52] Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 249. Cortona also gave Francesco Barberini the wooden cross he discovered in the *confessio*. On December 12th, 1651 Francesco Barberini paid Baldovino Blavier to create a silver reliquary of a head resting on a plate, likely a copy of Cortona's own reliquary, to house the *bacile*. Francesco Barberini's reliquary was likely displayed in SS. Luca e Martina on January 30, 1652 for the saint's feast day. See Donatella Sparti, Hope, and Montagu, "Cortona's Reliquary," 450.

[53] Noehles, *Chiesa*, 100, 101 fn. 193. Reproduced in Cfr. Bonnani, *Numismata Pont. Rom…* vol. II (Roma 1706), 562, 596-99 and Ridolfo Venuti, *Numismata Rom. Pont…*(Roma 1744), 235 n. XXXVI. The medal depicts Cardinal Francesco Barberini on one side and a crown of palms with the words "Ora pro me Beata Martina" on the reverse. though not the official annual papal medal of 1635, which celebrated the Barberini project to rebuild the Church of San Caio, the Martina medal makes up one of several Barberini medals dedicated to ancient Roman churches. As Matthew Averett writes, medals functioned as "portable propaganda" designed to commemorate and disseminate the accomplishments of the papacy. According to Averett, celebrating newly restored ancient Roman churches linked the papacy to antiquity, gave physical evidence of Urban's temporal and spiritual authority, and celebrated the triumph of Catholicism over the Protestant threat. See Matthew Averett, "The Annual Medals of Urban VIII," *American Journal of Numismatics* 25 (2013): 306, 313.

[54] Francesco Barberini definitively held this position from 1627 through the mid-1640s. It has yet to be determined if he remained protector of the Accademia until his death in 1679. See Lukehart, "Visions and Divisions," 188, fn. 28.

had long hoped for came to fruition in the form of Francesco Barberini's promised gift of

6,000 *scudi* for the high altar of the upper Church of SS. Luca e Martina.[55]

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[55] Noehles, *Chiesa,* 98, 340, doc. 33. See also the original *avvisi*, AV, Vat. Barb. 6355.

CHAPTER III

THE GENESIS OF THE SCULPTURE

In his addendum to Karl Noehles' *La Chiesa dei Santi Luca e Martina*, Giovanni

Incisa della Rocchetta attributes the invention of the entire altar complex as well as the

statue of *S. Martina* exclusively to Cortona.[56] But the breadth of this claim obscures the

complex network of competing interests that forged the design of the altar.[57] By no

means is it clear that Cortona's original vision for the altarpiece included a reclining

sculpture of St. Martina. In fact, Noehles suggests Cortona was initially averse to the idea

of a sculptural altarpiece and had likely hoped to include a painting of St. Martina by his

own hand instead.[58] This did not come to pass, however. Already concerned with the

disproportionate attention given to the virgin martyr in the church dedicated to St.

Martina *and* St. Luke, the members of the Accademia di San Luca sought to assert the

primacy of the patron saint of the Academy, St. Luke. Thus, the Academicians pushed

aside Cortona's idea to display his own painting depicting St. Martina in favor of

Antiveduto Grammatica's copy of Raphael's *St. Luke Painting the Madonna and Child in

the Presence of Raphael* (Fig. 3).[59] In addition to the Academicians' intervention to

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[56] Incisa della Rocchetta, "Notizie sulle opera d'arte," 182.

[57] Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 74. Impeding an analysis of Cortona's design for the high altar is the
fact that the structure was dismantled and remade between 1674 and 1678.

[58] Noehles, *Chiesa*, 101 fn. 198.

[59] Grammatica's copy of *St. Luke* has a fraught history. Gramatica earned a degree of notoriety
thanks to Giovanni Baglione's accusation that the former *principe* attempted to sell Raphael's *St. Luke*
(before 1590). However, R. Ward Bissel explains that Gramatica's alleged subterfuge with the *Raphael*
may not have been so scandalous after all. On August 25, 1623 the Academy paid Gramatica fifty *scudi* to
make a copy of the Raphael painting to decorate the high altar of SS. Luca e Martina. In the role of *principe*
a year later, Gramatica won the vote to sell the original Raphael to Ferninando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua,
by an overwhelming majority. Apparently, the profits were to be used to restore the church. However, the
sale fell through and the Academy kept both the Raphael and Gramatica's copy. When Gramatica fell out
of favor in 1624, Gramatica's enemies used the attempted sale as a means to depose him as *principe*. See

maintain the presence of their patron saint on the high altar, Cardinal Francesco Barberini

made his own preferences clear. As the primary benefactor of the restoration project, the

cardinal wielded considerable influence regarding the design of the altar. Noehles

suggests the possibility that Francesco Barberini was responsible for the idea of a

reclining sculpture of St. Martina beneath the altar.[60] In any case, Cortona acceded to the

inclusion of both Grammatica's painting and the sculpture of *S. Martina* in the design for

the high altar, knowing that a certain flexibility was necessary to maintain the goodwill of

his financial backers.

The Sculptor: Niccolò Menghini

The sculptor chosen for the job at SS. Luca e Martina was Niccolò Menghini.

Rudolf Wittkower locates Menghini in the first generation of High Baroque Roman

sculptors, drawn into Bernini's powerful sphere of influence through his participation in

large-scale projects like the decorations for the interior of Saint Peter's Basilica.[61]

Although Menghini's sculptural talents did not quite measure up to Bernini's prodigious

ability to transform marble, Lothar Sickel acknowledges that Menghini was a skilled

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Peter Lukehart, "Introduction" in *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590-1635*, ed. Peter Lukehart, Seminar Papers (Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (U.S.)) 2. (Washington, D.C.: New Haven, CT: National Gallery of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009), 3 and R. Ward Bissell, "Simon Vouet, Raphael, and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome," *Artibus et Historiae*, 32 no. 63 (2011): 59-63.

[60] Noehles, *Chiesa*, 101 fn. 198.

[61] Wittkower, *Art and Architecture*, 201. Lothar Sickel's article "Niccolò Menghini: 'Il statuario di casa' del cardinal Francesco Barberini" in *I Barberini e la cultura europea del seicento*, ed. Lorenza Mochi Onorio (Roma: de Luca Editori d' Arte, 2007), 221-230 offers the most comprehensive survey of Menghini's life and career to date. Ronald Ridley discusses Menghini's career as papal antiquarian his entry "To Protect the Monuments: The Papal Antiquarian (1534-1870)" in *Xenia Antiqua* I, (Roma: l'Erma di Breitschneider, 1992), 117-134.

artisan and an even more adept courtier.[62] Unlike Bernini, he did not come from a family

of sculptors with established connections to the Roman nobility. Instead Menghini, the

son of a shoe-maker, rose from obscurity to secure his position among Rome's artistic

and political elite.[63] By the time he died in 1655, Menghini counted Rome's most sought-

after artist as one of his trusted friends, naming Bernini the executor of his will.[64]

Before he moved in Rome's elite circles, Menghini began his career as a thirteen-

year-old apprentice, working under the sculptor Francesco Caporale (born ca.1580), also

known as "Il Soncino."[65] Although the details of Menghini's apprenticeship are not

known, Jennifer Montagu gives an idea of what a *giovane* might learn in Caporale's

workshop. The terms of Carlo Franceschini's apprenticeship to Caporale in 1606 explain

that Caporale was expected to teach his apprentice to "make heads, hands, feet and

drawings, and to work in wax and clay, and to study the anatomy of bones and flesh,

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[62] Sickel points to an episode from 1641 to illustrate the limits of Menghini's abilities as a sculptor. In the autumn of 1641, the town of Pesaro commissioned a statue of Urban VIII for the piazza in front of the Palazzo Communale. While Francesco Barberini wrote to Pesaro praising Menghini's skill, he only assigned Menghini the torso of the statue and specified that Bernini would complete the head. Francesco Barberini likely trusted Menghini to sculpt both head and body of *S. Martina* and not Urban VIII's head thanks to the differing contexts. Because St. Martina did not have a stable iconography, Menghini was responsible for inventing a universal ideal not based on a human model. Whereas in the statue of Urban VIII, any deviation from the pope's likeness would immediately recognized and critiqued. As a master of the speaking likeness portrait bust, Bernini was a much safer choice to render the face of Urban VIII. Ultimately, neither Menghini nor Bernini completed the statue. Instead, Lorenzo Ottoni would sculpt the Barberini pope. However, Francesco Barberini could not have been entirely unimpressed by Cortona's ability to capture the human likeness as the cardinal nephew commissioned Menghini to sculpt a now-lost portrait of his mother Costanza Magalotti (d. April 1644). Sickel, "Statuario,"224.

[63] Ibid., 221.

[64] Ibid., 224.

[65] Ibid., 221. While apprenticed to Caporale, Menghini was registered in the parish of Santa Maria in Via, just blocks southwest of what would become Palazzo Barberini.

draped figures, and inventions, and other matters belonging to the said trade."[66] In

addition to learning how to make hard stone imitate the supple folds of fabric, Menghini

learned how to restore antiquities in Caporale's workshop. As Angela Gallottini observes,

Caporale was capable of "robust and creative restorations" beyond simple repairs.[67] This

exposure to Caporale's expertise in restorations was formative for Menghini, whose later

work included restoring antique statues as *statuario di casa* for Francesco Barberini.[68]

Menghini's early association with the Barberini can be traced to two key points of

contact. First, Lothar Sickel points to Pope Urban VIII's 1628 visit to the Church of

Santa Maria Maggiore. During the visit, Urban was so taken with Caporale's funerary

bust of Congoloese ambassador Antonio Emanuele Funta (called "Il Negrita") he ordered

Caporale's workshop to make a perpetual memorial, "*un suontuoso deposito con*

epitaffio" (Fig. 4). Sickel reasons that eighteen-year-old Menghini would have worked on

the project in Caporale's workshop, which might have given Menghini the opportunity to

interact with the Barberini. Menghini's second, more sure point of entry into the

Barberini court was through Francesco Barberini's personal secretary Cassiano dal

Pozzo. Cassiano dal Pozzo frequently acquired antiquities and medals through Caporale

and Sickel suspects that dal Pozzo may have recommended Menghini to the Barberini.[69]

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[66] Jennifer Montagu, *The Industry of Art: Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 6. The full terms of Carlo Franceschini's apprenticeship can be found in the Archivo Storico Romano, 30 Not. Cap. Uff. 14 M.A. Gazza, vol. 26 ff. 366-7v.

[67] Angela Gallottini, "Restoration Techniques and Sources for the Statues of the Giustinani Collection," 194. Caporale also restored the *Hygieia* in 1635.

[68] Marilyn Aronberg-Lavin translates uses the term "staff sculptor" to describe Menghini's role restoring antique sculptures and managing and curating Francesco Barberini's sculpture collection as *statuario di casa*. The term "staff sculptor" is a bit misleading as it suggests Menghini was responsible for executing every sculptural commission Francesco Barberini ordered, which was not the case. Instead, a more apt translation for *statuario di casa* might be "keeper" or "overseer" of sculptures.

[69] Ibid.

Marilyn Aronberg Lavin's transcription of the Barberini inventories reveals that Menghini officially entered the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini around 1630.[70] Under the patronage of Francesco Barberini Menghini's career blossomed.[71] After only two years of service, the young sculptor won Francesco Barberini's favor and the commission to sculpt the altarpiece for SS. Luca e Martina.

From the perspective of both Cortona and the members of the Accademia di San Luca, the choice of Menghini as sculptor was highly unusual. Alessandro Algardi, Francesco Mochi, and Giovanni Battista Soria, artists more than ten years senior to the twenty-four-year-old Menghini, had been present at the time of Cortona's discovery. Not only were the artists more established in their careers and present for the excavation, but they were also intimately connected to Cortona. In fact, Cortona tasked the trio with guarding the sealed crypt and the newly unearthed relics at SS. Luca e Martina in 1634.[72] Given the privilege accorded to the artists in attendance at the excavation, one would have expected the commission to go to Algardi or Mochi.[73] Moreover, by 1635 Cortona and Menghini seem to have had a distant, if not strained, working relationship. While drawing up the Barberini *anticaglie* inventory in 1635, Menghini hints that Cortona might have mislaid or appropriated the travertine delivered to the church. Menghini

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[70] Menghini is first named in the inventories as *statuario di casa* in 1632. Within the inventories Menghini's name is variously spelled "Menchini" and Menghino." Aronberg Lavin, *Barberini Inventories*, 25. Doc. 195a. (2 Dec 1632) [III. AEU. 32-35. 56r.].

[71] In his tenure with the Barberini Menghini worked closely with antiquarian scholar Leonardo Agostino, who later replaced Menghini as *Commisario di Antichi* when Menghini died in 1655. Sickel, 223.

[72] Sparti, "Presunte Reliquie," 247.

[73] Soria would not have been a likely candidate for the commission as his primary artistic focus was in architecture, not marble sculpture.

writes that he did not know what Cortona had done with the materials, but assumed they were used for the Church of SS. Luca e Martina.[74] Karl Noehles interprets this subtle accusation as evidence of friction between the two artists. But ultimately, Francesco Barberini's interests as patron would have superseded any objections Cortona might have raised over the choice of sculptor. It is a testament to Menghini's ability to court Francesco Barberini that he was able to secure the commission for the sculpture of *S. Martina* despite his junior standing, his absence from the excavation and the apparent bad blood between himself and Cortona.

Dating the *S. Martina*

Although precise dating of the sculpture remains elusive, records of payments from the Barberini ledgers help to narrow the range of possibilities.[75] At the end of October 1635, Menghini was paid six *scudi* for expenses including the twenty-five chisels that he had acquired for work on the interior of SS. Luca e Martina between July 20 and October 8 of that year.[76] In addition to the records of payments from the Barberini to Menghini, the development of the sculpture can be traced through models. Menghini

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[74] Ibid., (15 novembre 1635 doc. 55), Menghini writes, "Tutti li marmi piui grandi furno mandate a Santa Martina dove furno Conseqniati al Sig.r Pietro a Cortona et disse che dovevano sevire per fare li scalini del Altare di detta Santa. Eppiu si sonno mandate tutti li travertine che furno trovati in detta Cava dove furno Cosgniati al Detto Sig.r Peitro da Cortona quello che ne habbia fatto non lo so me credo che siano serviti per la Chiesa di detta Santa et il tutto fu di ordine Del EMMmo Sig.r Cardinal Padrone n.o—" See Lavin, *Seventeenth-century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*, 143.

[75] The absence of a written directive or contract between Francesco Barberini and Menghini regarding the design for the sculpture is not entirely unexpected given the ongoing working relationship between the cardinal and the artist. As *statuario di casa* of the Barberini household, Menghini regularly communicated with the Francesco Barberini while conducting inventories and restoring antiquities for the family. It is likely that written instructions for the sculpture would have been considered redundant when patron and artist could just as easily convene and discuss the concept and design in person.

[76] Karl Noehles believes the work alluded to in the ledger includes work on the statue of *S. Martina*. Noehles, *Chiesa*, 343, Doc. 54. AB Libro Mastro C Francesco Barberini, fol. 63.

produced several terracotta *bozzetti* (clay models) of St. Martina in the second half of the

1630s. Only one *bozzetto* of *S. Martina* survives, now in the collection of the Palazzo

Venezia museum in Rome (Fig. 5).[77] The Palazzo Venezia *bozzetto* is fragmentary, as the

reclining figure is truncated at the torso and both forearms have been broken off. Despite

this, it is clear that the composition of the *bozzetto* closely matches that of the finished

sculpture. In both designs, a cloak envelops the figure's lower body and the saint's arms

are gathered across her chest. The *concetto* of a severed head resting in a bowl is already

apparent in this early model. Although Menghini repeatedly used his thumb to depress

the clay and bind the figure to the supporting clay, the figure's head is distinctly severed

at the neck and is turned slightly upwards, indicating perhaps what Menghini intended to

be the ideal position of the head in the finished sculpture (Fig. 6).[78] Menghini even

sculpted the block that supports the *tazza* and the saint's hair, which cascades over the

edge of the bowl in a similar manner to that of the finished sculpture.

Along with the extant Palazzo Venezia *bozzetto*, Menghini produced another

terracotta statue of St. Martina. This gilded terracotta statue, now lost, measured

approximately three *palmi* in length (around twenty-seven inches) and was mounted on

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[77] The Palazzo Venezia *bozzetto* does not appear in the Barberini inventories, which suggests the possibility that Menghini may have kept the model in his personal collection. Although the *bozzetto* is not explicitly named in Menghini's posthumous inventory from March 15, 1656 the model could be included in a general entry that reads "diverse teste di gesso con altri modelli di creta che tutto sono del signor Nicolò" Archivio Storico Capitolino, Archivio Urbano, sez. 46, vo. 12 as reported by Lothar Sickel, p. 28. Italian lyric tenor Evan Gorga gave the *bozzetto* along with other items from his collection to the museum in 1949. Unfortunately, Gorga did not maintain detailed provenance records, making it difficult to determine the location of Menghini's *bozzetto* between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. See Andrea Cionci, *Il tenore collezionista. Vita, carriera, lirica e collezioni di Evan Gorga*, (Firenze: Nardini, 2004).

[78] While the head is clearly severed in the *bozzetto* it is not fully detached, as in the finished sculpture. This seems to be a pragmatic choice. As a portable object, the *bozzetto* alludes to the movability of the severed head while ensuring that the head is not accidently separated from the rest of the figure while in transit.

an octagonal wooden base.[79] Menghini most likely produced the Palazzo Venezia

bozzetto as a preparatory sketch before sculpting the miniature gilded *S. Martina*, which

first appears in Cardinal Francesco Barberini's inventory on March 27, 1636. Menghini

would have likely presented his patron with the initial *bozzetto* and upon the Cardinal's

approval, Menghini would have produced the second, more precious gilded terracotta

sculpture as a *ricordo* of a *modello* of the *S. Martina* commission.[80] The presence of the

gilded terracotta model in the Barberini inventories in 1636 and the similarity between

the Palazzo Venezia *bozzetto* and the finished sculpture suggests that the design for *S.*

Martina was determined by 1636, if not earlier.

In addition to Menghini's clay models of St. Martina, a drawing by Pietro da

Cortona gives further insight into how and when the design for the sculpture unfolded

(Fig. 7). The drawing, now in the collections of the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Ascoli

Piceno, shows Pope Urban VIII kneeling on a prie-dieu before the sculpture of St.

Martina, which is placed on the mensa of the high altar. Noehles dates the drawing from

late 1635 to early 1636 and considers it likely that it reflects Urban VIII's visit to the

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[79] Marilyn Lavin, *Barberini Inventories*, Doc. 197. The three palmi long statue, now lost, featured a wooden base of eight sides with the Barberini *impresa* (suns and bees) engraved with Urban VIII's name and his *nipote*, cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini. The work appears once again in Cardinal Francesco Barberini's 1649 inventory, also conducted by Menghini. See, Doc. 965. Although this piece measures two and a half *palmi*, instead of the three *palmi* gold terracotta sculpture described in Doc. 197, it seems unlikely that the discrepancy of measurement in the entry indicates the presence of a second, separate work.

[80] It is worth mentioning the functional distinctions between *bozzetti* and finished terracotta works. According to Andrea Bacchi, *bozzetti* (from the Italian *abozzare* "to roughen") were used exclusively as preparatory sketch models, while gilded terracotta sculptures, although models, were considered finished, autonomous pieces. As a point of comparison Bernini never produced clay sculptures intended to stand alone as independent works, whereas Alessandro Algardi converted several models into finished gilded terracotta sculptures, such the *Baptism of Christ* (1646), now in the Palazzo Venezia museum. Menghini's rough partial Palazzo Venezia *bozzetto* was too unfinished to be used as an independent sculpture. Because the gilded terracotta sculpture is now lost it is impossible to judge if it was used as an intermediary *modello* or a *ricordo* of the finished marble sculpture.

church on November 28, 1634.[81] The coterie of crosier-carrying attendants suggests this

was not an ordinary visit, especially given that there were no further recorded papal visits

to the church after 1634.[82] For two reasons the sketch should not be taken as a journalistic

account of Urban's visit to the church as it looked in 1634. First, Menghini would not

have been able to complete the sculpture in the month between Cortona's discovery and

Urban's visit. Second, and more importantly, Francesco Barberini did not promise his gift

of 6,000 *scudi* until January 1635 so Menghini would not yet have received the

commission for the sculpture. Even if Menghini had completed the sculpture in early

1635, it does not appear in Giovanni Baglione's *Lives of Painters, Sculptors, Architects

and Engravers* (1649), which suggests that the sculpture was not publicly displayed until

at least after 1644, the year Baglione died.[83] Indeed, thanks to a *giustificazione* (bill of

payment) from Palazzo Barberini, we know that Menghini was still working on the

sculpture in 1643.[84] Additionally, the Barberini records show that the sculpture was

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[81] The drawing was first published by Cassirer in 1921 who suggested the image portrays Urban VIII dedicating the church and might have been part of a series of images from the life of Urban VIII, Merz *Pietro da Cortona*, 297 fn. 92. The 1635-36 dating is supported by the fact the Cortona only shows two columns flanking the high altar. Another set of columns was added to the design in September 1636, which are seen the altarpiece as it exists today. In his 1998 article, "SS. Luca e Martina Reconsidered" Merz put forth an alternative interpretation that Cortona actually completed the drawing in 1643 in a bid to remind Cardinal Francesco Barberini to resume the stalled payments for the façade and the rest of the church after Urban VIII died in 1644. Jörg Martin Merz, "SS. Luca e Martina Reconsidered" in *Pietro da Cortona: Atti del convegno internazionale Roma-Firenze 12-15 novembre 1997*, eds. Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Sebastian Schütze (Milan: Electa, 1998). I find the 1635-36 date to be more convincing given that the number of columns corresponds to the pre-1636 plan for the altar. For further discussion of the history of the drawing's dating from the July 1996 Christie's auction see, James Harper "Pietro Lucatelli, Pietro da Cortona, and the Arazzeria Barberini: Three New Attributions" *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 12 no. 2 (2005): 31, 56 fn. 12.

[82] Merz, "Reconsidered," 237.

[83] Menghini is not mentioned in Baglione's *Vite*, even though Baglione personally helped Menghini gain entry into the Virtuosi dei Pantheon in 1640. This suggests that Baglione may not have thought of Menghini as a sculptor, but rather admired him for his work restoring antiquities.

[84] Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 296 fn. 51. Merz discovered *giustificazione* 4804, which was unknown to Karl Noehles at the time he published *La Chiesa* (Noehles dates the sculpture from 1635-36).

transported to Palazzo Barberini in May 1651.[85] Thanks to Jörg Martin Merz's discovery of these documents, it is now clear that the sculpture was not finished until after 1643 and was permanently installed after 1651.[86]

Cortona never intended the Ascoli Piceno drawing to be a literal record of the space and those who have tried to read it as such often become mired in an unproductive path of inquiry. Like Cristoforo Caradosso's commemorative medal of Bramante's 1506 plan for St. Peter's that depicts two unrealized towers, the Ascoli Piceno drawing is an aspirational imagining of what *would* be when the project was completed. Nor is the sheet intended as a documentary record of the architecture; instead it is a celebration of the Pope in the tradition of *res gestae* imagery. The setting is a suggestive collage of the key attributes of the future altar, which serve to signify the location of the scene as the Church of SS. Luca e Martina. Cortona shows the sculpture of St. Martina resting on the mensa, flanked by a massive column. [87] To the right of Urban VIII, Cortona depicts the

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The bill does not specify what work was done on the sculpture, only that a partition was erected next to the high altar for work on the marble statue of the saint ("…per haver fatto il tramezzo nella chiesa di Santa Martina accanto l'altare maggiore per poter lavorare la statua di marmo della suntan dal scultore").

[85] In his note on *giustificazione* 4804, Merz does not say if the payment explains why the sculpture was transported to Palazzo Barberini and from where it came. I suggest that the sculpture may have been moved in that period to protect it from construction on the nave and the right wall. After Urban VIII died in 1644, the payments for the restoration came to a halt as the Barberini *nipote* fled to France. To protect the unfinished church, Luca Berrettini constructed a wall to contain the open choir. The Barberini nephews returned to Rome in 1648 and resumed making regular payments for the construction of the church. In 1651 the vault of the nave and the right side of the church were under construction, which may have prompted the movement of the sculpture to Palazzo Barberini. See, Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 66.

[86] Ibid. Lothar Sickel also accepts Merz's dating of 1635-ca.1651 thanks to the discovery of these new documents. The latest date for the completion of the sculpture by Menghini must necessarily be 1655, as Menghini died in December of that year. Additionally, the sculpture was certainly de-installed during the 1674-78 renovation of the high altar.

[87] Karl Noehles and Jörg Martin Merz both claim that Domenico Castelli's drawing of Cortona's 1635 plan for the high altar includes a space on the mensa for the sculpture of St. Martina (Fig. 8). Yet, Merz's claim that there is "an almost indecipherable sign which could be interpreted as the sculpture of St Martina" on the mensa in the Castelli plan is not entirely convincing. Castelli's care in recording the minute details of Cortona's capitals makes it unlikely that the draftsman's lack of ability accounts for the obscured

archway that leads to the sacristy. Despite their imprecise placement and forms, taken together, these features render the site legible as the Church of SS. Luca e Martina.

The discrepancies between the Ascoli Piceno drawing, the *bozzetto*, and the finished sculpture elicit several possible explanations as to who was responsible for the design of the sculpture. Scholars such as Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Cristiano Giometti assign Cortona full responsibility for the design of the sculpture, implying that Menghini's role was only to execute the master's composition.[88] Indeed, the Ascoli Piceno drawing gives evidence of Cortona's early knowledge of the overall *concetto* for the sculpture. Cortona captures the general features of the sculpture in his drawing, including the saint's position on her side with folded arms and the head resting in a *tazza*. Cortona certainly would have been consulted about the sculpture, as he designed the space the sculpture occupied. But he would not have had to be the designer to possess knowledge of the design. Giometti asserts that Cortona's stylistic influence is legible in the design for *S. Martina,* suggesting that the surface of the clay model captures "quell'effetto pastoso e vibrante della pittura di Pietro da Cortona" (the creamy and vibrant effects of Pietro da Cortona's paintings).[89] However, the modelling of the drapery seems to reflect Menghini's internalization of high Baroque style generally, rather a clear indication of Cortona's intervention. While Cortona was aware of the sculpture and was

contours of a large sculptural figure. Perhaps the marks indicating the space between the mensa and the painting on the high altar were the draftsman's shorthand for "to be determined," because Cortona did not yet know what would occupy the space when Castelli completed the drawing. Noehles, *Chiesa*, 101 and Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 57.

[88] Incisa della Rocchetta, "Notizie sulle opera d'arte," 182.

[89] Cristiano Giometti, *Sculture in Terracotta, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia*, Museo di Palazzo Venezia (Rome, Italy), (Roma, Il Palazzo di Venezia e le sue Collezioni di Scultura; 4. Roma: Gangemi, 2011), 46.

likely involved in its development, the sculpture remains firmly within Menghini's

oeuvre.

CHAPTER IV

RESURRECTING ST. MARTINA'S IMAGE

Upon receiving the commission for *S. Martina*, Menghini faced the daunting task of resurrecting the image of a woman who had been dead for over a millennium. Compounding the challenge of historical distance was the fact that the cult of St. Martina in Rome had virtually disappeared by the 1600s.[90] Without an active cult, few devotional images of the saint were produced. Consequently, by the time Pietro da Cortona discovered St. Martina's relics, there was no conventional mode of depicting the saint, nor was her image linked to any specific location. In the absence of an established pictorial tradition and consistent attributes specific to St. Martina, artists approached the saint's image by either showing her as an idealized, generalized virgin martyr type or by graphically narrating the events of her *passio*.

In the virgin martyr mode, St. Martina is often shown holding the martyr's palm, as she does in El Greco's painting *Madonna and Child with Saint Martina and Saint Agnes* (1597/99), commissioned by the Capilla de San José in Toledo (Fig. 9). The palm is not a specific attribute to St. Martina, but broadly signifies the victory of the martyrs. A somber lion peeking out from the figure's yellow cloak is the only indication that the woman depicted is the same St. Martina who was condemned to death by wild beasts but was miraculously spared. Similar to El Greco, Peter Paul Rubens presents St. Martina in the virgin martyr mode in his *Resurrection of Christ* triptych (ca. 1611-12) (Fig. 10). Like

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[90] It is unclear how robust St. Martina's cult was during the 13th century when Alexander IV rededicated the church to the saint. However, by the time the Accademia di San Luca came into the possession of the church in 1588, the church was in disrepair, indicating that that the cult had dissipated in the intervening years. Even if devotional images of St. Martina had been produced in the Middle Ages, none survived into the seventeenth century.

El Greco's *Madonna and Child*, this image of St. Martina was produced outside of Rome and has no specific connection to the Church of SS. Luca e Martina.[91] Rubens depicts St. Martina holding the martyr's palm and shows the saint standing among the ruins of a freshly destroyed temple. The scene refers to the moment in St. Martina's *passio* when the saint refused to make a sacrifice in the Temple of Apollo and the temple was miraculously destroyed, killing all those inside except for St. Martina. The lack of consistent attributes in the versions of St. Martina by El Greco and Rubens testifies to the saint's unstable iconography during the early 1600s.[92]

The few images of St. Martina produced in Rome prior to 1635 were exclusively anchored to the saint's *passio*. For example, in his frescoed cycle of 125 martyrs in the ambulatory of San Stefano Rotondo painted in 1582 Niccolò Circignani shows St. Martina (identified in Jan van Haelbeck's print by the letter "C") exposed to torturers who rake her flesh with iron hooks (Fig. 11). Circignani's encyclopedic index of human suffering and torture, and St. Martina's place in it, serves both didactic and documentary purposes.[93] The cycle at San Stefano Rotondo vividly illustrates the fortitude of the

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[91] Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted*, 279. St. Martina's presence on the right panel is a reference to the patron Martina Plantin's namesake. Martina Plantin commissioned the triptych in honor of her late husband Jan Moretus. Jacobs notes that the right wing of the Moretus Triptych is not a donor portrait of Martina Plantin but is Rubens' interpretation of the saint herself. Indeed, Rubens' portrait of Plantin, albeit painted twenty years after triptych, shows Plantin with a long, prominent nose and a severe parietal ridge, much unlike the soft rounded features of St. Martina painted in the triptych.

[92] Of course, El Greco's distinctive style makes it difficult to draw a direct stylistic comparison to other images of St. Martina, yet the salient point remains that her attributes are not consistently depicted across artists or regions prior to 1635.

[93] Herz, "Imitators of Christ," 58. As Esther Cohen observes, Christians considered martyrdom a public contest in late antiquity. In particular, impassivity in the face of extreme physical torture signaled the sanctity of the martyr. The ability to fix one's mind on God while enduring great pain lent itself well to the metaphor of an athlete. See Esther Cohen, "The Animated Pain of the Body" in *American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 63.

martyrs and the encouraging of what Esther Cohen terms "philopassionism" or the

imitation of Christ's suffering.[94]

Despite these pictorial precedents for St. Martina, the saint's iconography was

still not established by the time Francesco Barberini commissioned the sculpture in

1635.[95] Cortona's discovery of the saint's relics presented an opportunity to resurrect St.

Martina's image according to the dictates of Post-Tridentine decorum and define it in a

manner suitable to the context of SS. Luca e Martina.[96] Even though the dubious

provenance of the relics remained a secret, the imperative to create a convincing link

between the saint's relics and the Church of SS. Luca e Martina remained.[97] Departing

from both the violent celebration of the saint's *passio* in Circignani's martyr cycle and

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[94] Esther Cohen, "Towards a History of European Physical Sensibility: Pain in the Later Middle Ages," *Science in Context* 8, no. 1 (1995): 54-59. Additionally, the cycle attests to the material reality of the golden age of Christianity and refutes Protestant challenges to the historicity of the martyrs. See Herz, "Imitators of Christ," 54-55.

[95] This is not to suggest that Menghini had considered or had seen the Moretus tripytch or El Greco's painting. Rather, it is to underscore the point that St. Martina's features had yet to be particularized.

[96] Decorum played a key role in shaping the iconography of *S. Martina* and helps to explain why Cortona did not take up Menghini's design in his own images of the saint. Jörg Martin Merz addresses Cortona's new iconography of St. Martina in his 2008 article "St. Martina Refuses to Adore the Idols: Pietro da Cortona's Painting at Princeton in Context. Merz argues that Cortona casts St. Martina as the virgin type, independent of her *passio* or relics, in his paintings of the saint after 1635. In fact, Cortona's easel paintings of St. Martina emphasize a symmetry between the saint and Mary, the mother of God. Cortona's depiction of St Martina in relationship to the Madonna suggests the private, devotional function of his paintings in contrast to the demands on a sculptural altarpiece in the public, ritual setting of SS. Luca e Martina. I believe Cortona was more successful in establishing his iconography of St. Martina than Menghini because he had the advantage of repetition. Where Menghini only made three known copies of his sculpture, Cortona made over ten easel paintings of St. Martina, which became a prototype for engravings and reliefs by artists such as Giovanni Battista Bonacina (ca. 1620-70) and Cosimo Fancelli (1618-88). See Merz, "Martina Refuses," 89.

[97] It must be stressed that there is no evidence that Menghini had knowledge of or was involved in fabricating the inscriptions. In fact, given the hint of friction between Menghini and Cortona alluded to in Menghini's inventory entry regarding marbles delivered to SS. Luca e Martina in 1635, it is highly unlikely that Cortona would have had any incentive to disclose the forgery (provided he was responsible) to Menghini and risk jeopardizing his project.

from the purely idealized representations of St. Martina as a virgin martyr, Menghini's sculpture is a visual manifestation of the saint's posthumous legacy in SS. Luca e Martina.

The Anachronic Sculpture

While Incisa della Rocchetta errs in his oversimplification of the genesis for *S. Martina*, he correctly identifies Stefano Maderno's sculpture of *S. Cecilia* (1600) as a key precedent for Menghini's sculpture in terms of decorum and design (Fig. 12).[98] Perhaps most notable among the elements that Menghini's *S. Martina* borrows from Maderno's *S. Cecilia* are those that result in the "maximum condensation and redundancy of epochal time."[99] In other words, both sculptures are anachronic objects. In Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood's framework of the anachronic object, such artifacts belong to multiple temporalities and stand in for distant objects of origin through an unbroken chain of substitutions.[100] The power of the anachronic object lies in its ability to maintain the identity of the original despite the various replicative iterations. This is a particularly useful framework for describing the conceptual mechanics of *S. Cecilia* and *S. Martina*, sculptures designed to reconstitute the presence of the saints through their bodily relics.

In his study of the *S. Cecilia*, Tobias Kämpf describes how the sculpture functions as an anachronic object (without explicitly naming it as such). Kämpf illustrates how Maderno fuses several distinct moments "into an Aristotelian unity of time, place, and

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[98] It should be noted that Bernini's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (1617) is also technically a *demi-gisant* precedent for Menghini's *S. Martina*, but I will exclude it for the purpose of this study because it is functionally not an altarpiece.

[99] Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 37. In context, Nagel and Wood refer to Alfred Acres' discussion of Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Altarpiece*.

[100] Ibid., 14.

action" in his sculpture of St. Cecilia.[101] Historical time is manifest in the seeping blood and veiled head of the saint, which refer at once to the moment of St. Cecilia's execution in the third century, the discovery of the saint's corpse in 821 by Pope Paschal I, and the subsequent disinterment of the saint's incorrupt body in 1599.[102] Likewise, in *S. Martina*, Menghini alludes to the historical past with the saint's *all'antica* garments. For example, the sleeves of the tunic gather in regular intervals and collect loosely around the figure's wrists. This type of garment, made from two rectangles of cloth fastened at points, was commonly worn by upper class Roman women between the first and third centuries.[103]

Historical veracity is further emphasized in the *loculus*, which recalls the form of early the Christian catacombs as reported by Antonio Bosio.[104] Although richly decorated compared to the rude niches carved into the subterranean walls of the catacombs, the *loculus* framing the sculpture of *S. Cecilia* effectively locates the saint in the early Christian period. Similarly, *S. Martina* is housed in a *loculus*, linking the burial of the saint's remains in the third century to the rediscovery of her relics in the seventeenth century.

The reference to the tomb in both sculptures cites more than just the historical reality of the third-century Christians; it but interweaves sacred time. The placement of the sculptures of the martyred saints near the high altar mirrors Christ's paschal sacrifice, which is enacted during every mass through the Eucharistic consumption of the

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[101] Tobias Kämpf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body: Paolo Camillo Sfondrato and the Language of Revelation," *The Sculpture Journal/Publ. by the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association*, (2001): 16.

[102] Ibid., 17.

[103] Alexandra Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, (Stroud; Charleston, S.C.: Tempus, 2000): 78-79.

[104] Ibid.

transubstantiated host.[105] Furthermore, the *loculus*, as an opened tomb, recalls the Resurrection. Just as the disciples discovered the risen Christ in an empty tomb, *S. Cecilia* and *S. Martina* allude to the promise of eternal life as temporary occupants of their respective tombs.

The symbolism of resurrection is particularly potent in the sculpture of St. Martina. Viewing the figure frontally, or at an oblique angle from the left, obscures the cleft between the figure's head and neck so that the figure appears to be sleeping. The conceit of the sleeping saint has roots in the early Christian theology of relics and resurrection. In 404 CE St. Jerome defended the veneration of relics on the basis that the bodies of the saints are spiritually alive, "without spatial location or incarceration."[106] St. Jerome argues that relics are not inert matter, writing, "…how can the martyrs, after pouring out of their blood, be left waiting, shut up under the altar…? The saints are not called dead but sleeping."[107] St. Jerome implies that the saints wait in sleep for Christ's return to resurrect the dead at the end of time.[108] The phrase "not…dead but sleeping" in St. Jerome's apology for relics takes on further meaning as it evokes a passage from the Gospel of Matthew. In the midst of a healing spree during his ministry in Galilee, Jesus brings back to life the recently deceased daughter of a leader in the synagogue. Without having seen or touched the young woman, he tells her father "…Make room, for the girl

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[105] Ibid.

[106] Carolyn Bynum Walker, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*. (New York: Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books; Distributed by the MIT Press, 2011), 179.

[107] Ibid.,178.

[108] The Apostle Paul provides the scriptural basis for the doctrine of bodily resurrection in 1 Corinthian and was later affirmed in the Nicene creed developed at the Council of Nicaea in 325 CE.

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is not dead but sleeping."[109] Thus, the sleeping St. Martina attends to the notion of both

the sleeping saint waiting patiently for Christ's return and the young woman miraculously

brought back from the dead by Christ's power.

In addition to symbolism of resurrection, Menghini's sculpture extends the

metaphor of Christ's passion, death, and submission to God the Father. While the arms of

S. Cecilia cross at the wrist, the arms of *S. Martina* cross over the figure's chest. This

gesture is not simply a compositional solution to contain the sculpture within the niche,

but invokes the orant gesture of devotion, often seen in the images of the

Annunciation.[110] However, in *S. Martina* the pose shifts from a conventionally vertical

orientation to the horizontal. The devotional gesture transfers with the shift in orientation

and echoes the gesture often given to Mary in Annunciation scenes as she speaks the

words, "…Behold, the maidservant of the Lord! Let it be to me according to your

word."[111] In the context of *S. Martina*, the gesture suggests the saint has offered herself to

God and is at peace in the pain of martyrdom.

Despite the folding of historical and sacred time in Maderno's *S. Cecilia*, the most

important precedent for Menghini's *S. Martina,* time overlaps logically and in succession

in the sculpture. By showing the sedate saint on her side with her head wrapped in cloth,

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[109] Matthew 9:24, New King James Version (NKJV). Menghini himself would have had access to the Latin Vulgate, which reads "Recedite: non est enim mortua puella, sed dormi."

[110] It should be noted that this gesture is not exclusive to Mary but is employed in other contexts such as the baptism of Christ. For example, Giovanni Francesco Romanelli's design for the *Baptism of Christ* tapestry (1651-52) from the *Life of Christ* series shows Jesus with arms crossed in humble submission. James Harper, *The Barberini Tapestries: Woven Monuments of Baroque Rome*, (Milano, Italia: Officina Libraria, 2017), 78-79.

[111] Luke 1:38, (NKJV); "…Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum." (Latin Vulgate).
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Maderno emphasizes the continuity between the state of St. Cecilia's body at the moment of her martyrdom and the incorrupt condition of her remains as they were found in 1599. As a narrative sculpture, Maderno's *S. Cecilia* is bound to a linear concept of time. The layering of time in Menghini's *S. Martina*, on the other hand, is much more complex. The complexity can be explained in part by the shifting standards of decorum for narrative altarpieces during the first half of the seventeenth century.

When Maderno sculpted *S. Cecilia* in 1600, ecclesiastical taste was just warming after a cold spell of conservativism towards independent sculptural altarpieces in the wake of the Protestant Reformation.[112] While individual sculptural altarpieces without a clear narrative were frequently used during the high Renaissance, they fell out of favor in Rome after the 1530s on suspicion of the type's "putative proximity to pagan idols."[113] The appearance of Maderno's *S. Cecilia* at the turn of the century marked the cautious return of the independent sculptural altarpiece, decades after the Council of Trent.[114]

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[112] In contrast to autonomous sculptures or images, narrative images were more theological tenable in light of the Protestant controversy of images (*bilderfrage*). While individual sculptures were subject to the Old Testament injunction against graven images, narrative religious artworks circumvented the charge of idolatry due thanks to their didactic function. In the sixth century Pope Gregory the Great defended the role of images as a tool in the spiritual education of the illiterate. By the twelfth century theologians considered images the "literature of the laity." Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands, Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 28.

[113] Dombrowski, "Sculptural Altarpiece," 120. Dombrowski notes that the discomfort with independent sculptural altarpieces in second half of the sixteenth century was not uniform throughout the Italian peninsula. For example, sculptors such as Girolamo Santacroce, Giovanni da Nola, Annibale Caccavello and Michelangelo Naccherino continued to produce single statues in Naples during the sixteenth century. In Rome, graphic cycles of martyrdom, such as Niccolò Circignani's cycle at San Stefano Rotondo (1582) served as the conventional mode of narrative decoration for churches dedicated to early Christian martyrs. Other examples of martyr cycles include the library of S. Tommaso di Canterbury, also frescoed by Circignani between 1581-84, SS. Nereus and Achilleus rebuilt and decorated by Cardinal Cesare Baronius in 1597, S. Vitale (1603) and S. Cesareo. See Herz, "Imitators of Christ," 54. In addition to San Stefano in Rotondo, examples of churches dedicated to early Christian martyrs in the first half of the seventeenth century include S. Cecilia in Trastevere, S. Bibiana, and S. Sabina.

[114] *Demi-gisant* sculptures differ from *gisant* effigies like the sculpture of Cardinal Matteo d'Acquaparta in Santa Maria in Aracoeli or the tomb of Marco d'Antonio Albertoni in Santa Maria del

Maderno satisfied the demands of Post-Tridentine decorum and skirted the threat of idolatry by incorporating the sculpture into the broader narrative program of S. Cecilia in Trastevere.[115]

Following Maderno's *S. Cecilia*, artists began to push the boundaries of linear narrative in sculptural altarpieces. For example, Bernini's vertical sculpture of *S. Bibiana* (1624-26) blends narrative and representation, as Damian Dombrowski has observed. Bernini shows the virgin martyr holding the martyr's palm as she stands next to a pillar, which alludes to the column she was tied to at her martyrdom in the fourth century. According to Dombrowski, Bernini's sculpture transforms the historical into the metaphorical.[116] However, like *S. Cecilia*, the sculptural altarpiece of *S. Bibiana* remains firmly grounded in a linear narrative thanks to the surrounding cycle of frescoed scenes from St. Bibiana's life painted by Pietro da Cortona and Agostino Ciampelli. Menghini's *S. Martina* demonstrates that by 1635, Post-Tridentine standards of decorum had relaxed

Popolo. Here, the *gisant* figures are shown unmoving, as if in sleep. Andrea Sansovino's sixteenth-century tomb of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in S. Mara del Popolo presents an intermediary form between *gisant* and *demi-gisant* with the cardinal on his side, his hand propping up his head in doleful reflection. However, as Erwin Panofsky rightly points out, *demi-gisant* figures run the risk of being unintentionally funny, as in the case of Cardinal Asciano Sforza's effigy which looks as if he perished from boredom.

Maderno's *S. Cecilia* also stablished a new mode of representing martyrs in sculptural altarpieces, particularly with the use of the reclining yet activated *demi-gisant*. Reclining effigies were frequently used to decorate cinquecento tombs, yet until *S. Cecilia*, the *demi-gisant* had not been used for altarpieces. Reclining funerary sculptures were frequently used in antiquity as well as in the early Christian period but fell into decline for 800 years after the fourth-century. In contrast to Etruscan funerary tomb figures, Ancient Roman reclining effigies were generally depicted with eyes open. According to Panofsky, these figures functioned as a material sign of the individual's sublimation into the afterlife. Whereas in the early Christian context, reclining tomb sculptures symbolically preserved the body of the deceased, who waited in timeless duration "aeternus and perpetuus" until the second coming of Christ. When a tomb contained sacred relics, the graves of the faithful were often built around the relics to provide direct contact to the holy site, acting as a "un procteuer ultraterrestre." See Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964), 29, 46, 51.

[115] Dombrowski, "Sculptural Altarpiece," 124.

[116] Ibid., 130.

to the point that altarpieces no longer needed to be supported by a clear narrative. Indeed, by giving SS. Luca e Martina a stolid white interior without a painted cycle of St. Martina's *passio,* Cortona untethered the sculptural altarpiece from any sort of linear narrative.[117]

Beyond its setting, the sculpture of *S. Martina* itself resists a linear narrative. It is unclear if the sculpture is meant to capture the moment directly after the executioner's sword severed the young woman's head from her neck in the third century, or if the sculpture reimagines the saint's bones covered once again with flesh in the present moment, reanimated with the breath of life. Instead, Menghini selectively combines distinct moments to create a chimeric vision of the saint, whose movements exist outside of linear time. Although the saint's body appears to be moving, the figure cannot possibly be alive because her head is severed from her body.[118] As metaphysicist Robin Le Poidevin theorizes, the spatial relationships between objects in a static image like a sculpture can create the idea of an instantaneous moment.[119] The disjunction between the head and body of the sculpture interrupts the spatial relationship between the parts and generates cognitive dissonance. Where the vivacity of the figure's folded arms and knees jutting out from the niche might suggest future movement, the stilted silence of the head cuts short the viewer's ability to imagine how the figure's movement might logically develop.[120] To speak in cinematic terms, if the scene were to unfold over a few more

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[117] Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 57-58.

[118] The contrast between head and body is heightened by the silence implied by the figure's closed mouth. Where Bernini regularly sculpts figures such as St. Bibiana, St. Teresa of Avila, and Costanza Bonarelli with mouth slightly agape to suggest the immediate departure of breath, Menghini gently seals St. Martina's lips.

[119] Robin Le Poidevin, "Time and the Static Image," *Philosophy* 72, no. 280 (1997): 175.

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frames, the movement suggests that the saint might stir, shift her weight to her right leg,

swing her left leg out of the niche and sit up headless. This outcome is entirely

implausible, unless read through the semiotics of cephalophory, to which I will return

shortly.

Despite the instability of the moment (or moments), Menghini's sculpture is

grounded in its referent, the actual relics of St. Martina. As Alain Bescançon writes, a

relic is the material foundation of an image made in its likeness and "communicate[s] its

virtue" so that even when the relic is lost or forgotten, the image remains grounded in its

prototype.[121] Thus, *S. Martina* points equally to Cortona's discovery as it does to the

nature of the saint's martyrdom in the third century. *S. Martina* transposes the saint's

relics into sculptural form. Together, the relics, inscriptions and sculpture form an

interlocking triad, each one validating the other.

Animating the Severed Head

St. Martina's head is the source and center of the interlocking triad of the relics,

inscriptions and sculpture. The motif of the saint's severed head resting in a *tazza*

distinguishes the sculpture from other early modern sculptural altarpieces. While there

are a multitude of representations of beheadings in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century

sculpture, to my knowledge, *S. Martina* has the distinction of being the only marble

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[120] Psychologist Jennifer Freyd's 1983 study on how humans mentally "complete" an action when shown an image of a particular moment in time provides a useful framework for explaining the mechanics of the Baroque "moment of highest action." See Jennifer J. Freyd, "The Mental Representation of Action." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 6, no. 1 (1983): 145-46. For a more thorough discussion of movement and Baroque sculpture, see Joris van Gastel, *Il Marmo Spirante Sculpture and Experience in Seventeenth-century Rome*, Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus Bd. 12. (Berlin; Leiden: Akademie Verlag; Leiden University Press, 2013).

[121] Alain Besçancon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, translated by Jane Marie Todd, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 152.

seicento *demi-gisant* with the head severed completely from the body. [122] Menghini's

design is both technically and conceptually radical. The sculpture consists of four

independent elements: the body, the severed head, the *tazza*, and the block supporting the

tazza. While the body of the figure is fixed, the other three parts are moveable. For

example, current images of the sculpture show two different types of blocks used to

support the *tazza* (Fig. 13). The *tazza* and head appear to be a contiguous whole due to

the fact that the white tendrils of hair spill over the edge of the polychrome bowl.

However, these passages of hair are attached to the *tazza*, not the head. Photographs

taken of the sculpture during the restorations of the SS. Luca e Martina between 2007 and

2009 confirm that the head is indeed independent of both the *tazza* and the body (Fig.

14).

It is not unusual for a sculpture to be composed of multiple blocks of marble,

joined together. But where Bernini dazzled audiences by hiding the joints, creating

seemingly monolithic figures out of separate pieces of marble, Menghini inverts this

technique to emphasizes the jugular juncture of his *S. Martina*.[123] As the photograph from

the 2007-09 restoration shows, the head is severed at the neck right below the chin. One

would expect the edge of the severed head to correspond to a longer stump of neck, yet

the figure's neck is entirely missing. The rest of the figure resumes in a clean break

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[122] For example, Benvenuto Cellini's *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (1545) in the Loggia dei Lanzi of the Piazza della Signoria in Florence and Alessandro Algardi's *Beheading of St. Paul* (1650) in San Paolo Maggiore, Bologna.

[123] For example, Bernini uses drapery to hide the joints of *St. Longinus* (1631-38) in St. Peter's Basilica and added marble to create the cord of the sling in the *David*. Bernini's technique departs from Michelangelo's Renaissance conceit of liberating a complete figure from a single block of stone. Michael Cole, "Bernini Struts," in *Material Identities*, ed. Joanna R. Sofaer (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2007), 57.

around the hollow cavity known as the suprasternal notch, located just above the collarbone. As result, the gulf between the severed head and the body gives the impression of a sort of "ghost neck."[124]

The deliberate omission of the neck suggests that the severed head was not designed to be permanently fixed. As Figure 13 illustrates, the distance between the head and the body, as well as the angle of the head are variable and changes how the figure's expression is read. When the head is rotated slightly down towards the *tazza*, the figure appears to be sleeping. On the other hand, when the nasal ridge is parallel to the edge of the *tazza*, the figure appears much more vivacious.[125] The adjustable severed head in Menghini's *S. Martina* radically departs from the conventions of Baroque marble sculpture as well as from conventional notions of authorship. In keeping the head, the emotive center of the sculpture, unfixed, Menghini surrenders his ability to exclusively dictate the terms of expression within the sculpture. Consequently, the apparent level of Martina's vivacity is determined by whomever has the access and the authority to adjust the severed head.

While unfixed severed head of Menghini's *S. Martina* is exceedingly rare, the representation of decapitated figures is not a new motif to early modern sculpture. Decapitated figures are central to the medieval trope of cephalophory, a tradition in which headless saints walk their miraculously animated bodies and severed heads to a specific location.[126] When a cephalophore translates his or her head to a particular site,

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[124] I am grateful to Professor Harper for suggesting the evocative term "ghost neck."

[125] There is much work yet to be done to determine if and how the members of St. Martina's cult took advantage of the adjustable head. The sculpture is ripe with potential to extract or exchange the head with the head reliquary (discussed later in this chapter) for ritual purposes.

[126] Scott B. Montgomery, "Securing the Sacred Head," in *Disembodied Heads in Medieval*

the saint endows that cult with an authoritative claim to his or her relics, over competing

claims. While other communities may have pieces of the saint's body, cephalophory links

the "presence and power" of relics to a specific narrative and a specific location.[127]

Perhaps the most well-known example of a cephalophore is Saint Denis, who is

represented holding his own head in the portal of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris.

The reliquary bust of Saint Justus (ca. 1488) in the Swiss city of Flums provides a closer

analog to Menghini's *S. Martina* (Fig. 15). Like St. Martina, St. Justus was decapitated

for his faith in the third century. Immediately after he was decapitated, the young martyr

picked up his head, gave it to his father and told him to take it to his mother to kiss it,

effectively initiating his cult.[128] The reliquary bust reinforces the relationship between the

saint and his cult, as it depicts St. Justus offering his severed head to the viewer to be

venerated. As Scott Montgomery argues, the bust reimagines the saint's act of offering

his head to his mother to initiate his cult, but within the specific topography of Flums.

The bust's "cephalophoric presentation" negates rival claims, such as the city of

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and Early Modern Culture, eds. Catrien Santing, Barbara Baert, and Anita Traninger, (Intersections; Volume 28. Boston: Brill, 2013), 80. Montgomery makes the distinction between cephalophory and cephalogy, in which the saint's severed head miraculously speaks. For further discussion of cephalophores see P. Saintyves, "Les saints céphalophores. Étude de folklore hagiographique," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XCIX (1929), 158-231, Edmund Colledge and J.C. Marler, "'Céphalogie': A Recurring Theme in Classical and Medieval Lore," *Traditio*, XXXVII (1981): 411-26, and Scott B. Montgomery, "Mittite capud meum…ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just," *Gesta*, 36 no. 11 (1997): 48-64.

[127] Ibid., 81. Montgomery explains that the rise of cephalophory as hagiographic tradition between the twelfth and fifteenth century coincides with expansion of relic cults and the attendant anxiety over the legitimate translation of relics. To underscore the particularity of the saint's selection of his cult and the establish "the geographic parameters of the legitimate home of the relics," cephalophoric hagiography often includes stories where the saint's relics miraculously resist being moved from the ordained location. These stories emphasize the exclusive claim to the relics by the cult at the chosen site.

[128] Ibid., 77-78.

Einsiedeln's claim to St. Justus' head and underscores the saint's agency in selecting

Flums as the legitimate seat of his cult.[129]

Strictly speaking, St. Martina was not a cephalophore. As she did not actually

walk her headless body to SS. Luca e Martina, St. Martina's implied agency in initiating

her cult is limited, especially when compared to the case of a true cephalophore like St.

Justus. However, the semiotics of cephalophory allows experience to override the

absence of fact. According to Marvin Minksky's "cognitive frame model," viewers

understand new experiences by comparing them to "a stereotypical model, based on

similar experiences and held in memory."[130] Therefore, a seventeenth-century viewer

encountering the decapitated *S. Martina* would interpret the sculpture according to his or

her extant range of associations and experiences. As Stuart Whatling argues, decapitation

is one example of a cognitive frame that allows viewers to unconsciously access "….a

relatively small number of schemata...sufficient to understand a high proportion of the

images that feature in medieval narrative art," in this case, cephalophory.[131] Under

normal circumstances, decapitation arrests all movement, at the moment when the head is

severed from the body. To explain an unexpected outcome, such as a moving headless

body, the viewer must conjure an analogous experience within his or her existing frame

of reference. Even though the number of cephalophoric images was limited in Rome by

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[129] Ibid., 78.

[130] Marvin Minsky, "A Framework for Representing Knowledge," in *MIT Artificial Intelligence Laboratory Memo 306*, (1974). Stuart Whatling discusses the use of semiotic and cognitive models as a framework for understanding narrative images in the first chapter of his dissertation, "Narrative Art in Northern Europe, c. 1140-1300: A Narratological Re-Appraisal" PhD diss., (Courtauld Institute of Art, 2010), 13-30.

[131] Ibid., 17.

1635, cephalophory was a well-established medieval trope, entrenched in the collective memory of the Church.[132] It is not so far outside the realm of possibility that *seicento* viewers would have associated Menghini's sculpture of a decapitated yet living body with cephalophory.

St. Martina thus does not need to be a cephalophore in fact to imply that she played an active role in initiating her own cult. Aided by gesture, the disjunction between the saint's active body and severed head signals the cognitive frame of cephalophory and insinuates St. Martina's postmortem agency. The basket-like curvature of the figure's left arm, which previously was read as the orant gesture, now invites the possibility that the saint could catch her head and carry it off if it were to roll out of the *tazza*. At the same time the hand also appears to point to the severed head. The cupped hand seems to say to the viewers, "Behold the severed head and the vessel on which it was found!" The self-referential gesture suggests that the saint sanctioned, if not actively intervened in the discovery of her relics, and specifically selected the Academicians of the Church of SS. Luca e Martina to be the custodians of her relics. Indeed, even outside cephalophory, reports of saints preventing or ordaining the desired location for the translation of their relics frequently appear in the medieval tradition of *furta sacra* (theft of relics).[133]

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[132] For example, Peter Paul Rubens illustrated St. Justus's cephalophory in his 1640 painting *The Miracle of St. Justus* (now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux, France). Rubens' painting demonstrates that medieval cephalophory still held cultural currency in the mid-seventeenth century. The third-century Armenian cephalophore, St. Miniatus (for whom the Romanesque basilica San Miniato al Monte in Florence is dedicated to) is a clear example of the penetration of cephalophory in the Italian peninsula. Although the apse moaic of St. Miniato al Monte does not depict St. Miniatus holding his severed head, Givoanni Villani's account of St. Miniatus in the Florentine Chronicle suggests that cephalophory was part of Florentine cultural consciousness

[133] For further discussion of *furta sacra* see, Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. Rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Implying St. Martina's agency in the discovery of her relics was a particularly important task in light of the competing relic claims of Piacenza and Santa Maria in Aracoeli. By visually affirming the church's exclusive claim to the saint's head, the most significant of bodily relics, the marble *S. Martina* reinforces the primacy of the cult of St. Martina at SS. Luca e Martina.

Similar to the sculpture's allusion to cephalophory, the treatment of the viscera of the severed head is polysemous. Unlike other Baroque artists, particularly Caravaggio, who delighted in the gory realism of decapitation, Menghini avoids the literal representation of the viscera of St. Martina's severed head.[134] Yet, he seems to allude to the flow of blood from the head in a more idealized form. Specifically, the curve of St. Martina's left hand directs the viewer's gaze to the tendrils of hair that spill over the lip of the *tazza*. The five tentacular marble spirals read both as delicate curls of hair and as suspended whorls of blood. A century earlier Benvenuto Cellini employed this same formal device to give liquid blood solid form in his bronze sculpture of *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (1545). Bronze spirals of viscera spill from Medusa's severed head as Perseus holds the Gorgon's head aloft, gripping a handful of writhing snakes and curled hair. Menghini leverages the same ambiguity of form in *St. Martina*. Just as the sculpture of St. Martina flickers between sleep and death as viewers move around the figure, the spiral forms flowing from the edge of the *tazza* flicker between hair and blood. This

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[134] Menghini's idealized vision of St. Martina's severed head was not for lack of opportunity to see a live decapitation. Menghini certainly would have had the opportunity to witness a public decapitation in Rome. As John Varriano writes, 658 public executions took place in Rome between 1592 and 1606. Violence in the city increased during years marked by the death of a pope and the subsequent *sede vacante*. Menghini was in Caporale's workshop when Gregory XV died and Urban VIII was elected pope in 1623 and would have been aware, if not a witness, to public executions following criminal activity that took place during the transition. See John Varriano, "Caravaggio and Violence," 319-321.

slippage of form and meaning begs sustained contemplation. Here, the materiality of marble highlights St. Martina's presence. The paradox of liquid blood and solid filaments of hair suspended in marble form simultaneously makes real St. Martina's human suffering and saintly status.

Supporting the particularity of SS. Luca e Martina's claim to St. Martina's head relic is the sculpture's emphasis on secondary relics.[135] Although secondary relics are considered less spiritually potent than the corporeal remains of a holy person, they too contain the power of the saint by virtue of their direct contact with the body. Cynthia Hahn's metaphor of contagion helps to describe the relationship between primary, secondary, and tertiary relics. Hahn writes that primary relics impart sanctity to surrounding objects, infecting them with holiness.[136] In the sculpture of St. Martina, the severed head in the marble *tazza* directly refers to the *bacile* that Cortona found while excavating the lower church. Even though the *bacile* is a second-class relic, Menghini emphasizes its sacred status by accompanying the severed head with the vessel. Pairing a severed head with a plate calls to mind the *caput in disco* iconography of St. John the Baptist. During the late Middle Ages artists began to consistently represent St. John the Baptist with his head on a platter so that eventually the two relics became iconographically inseparable.[137] Unlike the head-bearing platter in John the Baptist's

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[135] Cynthia Hahn's definition of relics should be mentioned. In her article from 2010, Hahn defines relics as a "physical object that is understood to carry the *virtus* of a saint or Christ, literally the virtue but more accurately the power of the holy person." Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?" *Numen* LVII, no. 3-4 (2010): 290.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Soetkin Vanhauwaert, "A Chopped Off Head on a Golden Plate," in *Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300-1650*, eds John Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate: 2015), 57.

passio, the vessel containing the saint's head was never central to St. Martina's hagiography. However, the inclusion of the *bacile*-cum-*tazza* intentionally signals Cortona's excavation of the saint's skull from the foundations of the old church in 1634. Thus, the marble *tazza* both particularizes the sculpture to the site of SS. Luca e Martina and visualizes the saint's posthumous hagiography. Where previous representations of St. Martina were based entirely on typographic ideals and narratives of the saint's *passio*, Menghini's sculpture of *S. Martina* anchors the saint's relics to the particular location of SS. Luca e Martina. While S. Maria in Aracoeli and S. Silvestro in Piacenza may have had pieces of the saint's body, the sculpture reminds the viewer that SS. Luca e Martina was the legitimate seat of St. Martina's most precious relic, the saint's skull.

St. Martina's Head Reliquary

The annual procession of St. Martina's head reliquary further underscores the relationship between the saint's severed head and the marble sculpture. In addition to renovating the church dedicated to St. Martina, Pietro da Cortona initiated the campaign to rehabilitate the saint's cult with music and ritual. To ensure the continued celebration of St. Martina's cult, Cortona made St. Martina his universal heir and established a perpetual income to pay for any associated expenses of the cult and upkeep of the lower church.[138] For example, in 1664 Cortona asked the Oratorians provide the music for the saint's feast day as well as to appoint a chaplain for the lower church.[139] In the 1650s Cortona obtained a license from the Apostolic Palace to open a foundry in his home-

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[138] Ibid., 71.

[139] Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Joseph Connors. "Documenti sul Complesso Borrominiano alla Vallicella (1617-1800)." *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria / Società Romana di Storia Patria* (1981), 104, 198, 126.

workshop known as the "Casa alla Pedacchia" to produce ecclesiastical goods, such as the bronze altar, chalices for use in the lower church of SS. Luca e Martina, and the gilded head reliquary for Martina's skull.[140] As Donatella Sparti writes, this head reliquary was the "protagonist" of the procession from the Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia to SS. Luca e Martina that took place annually on the saint's feast day, January 30.[141] Cortona likely designed the reliquary, now held by the Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia in Rome, sometime before 1649 (Fig. 16).[142] Although the extant reliquary has been re-silvered several times during the nineteenth century, the conceit of a severed head crowned with a halo of gems and resting in a bowl broadly adheres to Cortona's original design.[143] The head and *tazza* combination of the reliquary overlaps significantly with the iconography of sculpture of St. Martina. Cortona shows a halo hovering over St. Martina's head in the Ascoli Piceno drawing, a detail not present in Menghini's finished

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[140] Sparti, *Casa*, 70.

[141] Ibid., 16. Cortona kept the head reliquary to the Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia and not the Church of SS. Luca e Martina as a consequence of his frigid relationship with the Accademia di San Luca. As Donatella Sparti writes, Cortona had a special relationship with the Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia, which was established to educate young orphans and at the time, enjoyed the protection of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. Anticipating (correctly) that the Accademia di San Luca would attempt to interfere with his legacy and take possession of the ecclesiastical objects in the lower church dedicated to St. Martina within SS. Luca e Martina, Cortona made the Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia the executor of his estate. See footnote 35 for further discussion of the legal proceedings between the Accademia di San Luca and the Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia over Cortona's will.

[142] Although Cortona obtained the license for the foundry in 1653, he was unofficially producing metalwork in his personal forge before that time. The Barberini inventories indicate that Cardinal Francesco Barberini paid Baldovino Blavier in December 1651 to create a reliquary to house the copper *bacile* relic Cortona gave him after the excavation in 1635. Donatella Sparti believes that Cortona's design predates Blavier's reliquary and that Blavier modeled his version on Cortona's. See, Donatella Sparti's entry "102: Testa reliquario di santa Martina" in *Pietro da Cortona: 1597-1669*, eds. Anna Lo Bianco, and Palazzo Venezia (Milano: Electa, 1997), 450.

[143] Ibid., 450. The specific language of Cortona's inventory from 1669 describes the reliquary as St. Martina's head gilded with silver and jeweled. A posthumous inventory of Cortona's goods gives further description of the skull covered in wood, gilded with silver with a gold halo. See Noehles, *Chiesa*, 364.

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sculpture (Fig. 7). The Ascoli Piceno drawing may allude to Cortona's early thinking regarding the design of the reliquary. Whether or not Cortona originally conceived of the reliquary and the sculpture as a pair, the two objects are inextricably linked. The reliquary reinforces the feedback loop of sacral authority, mediating the relics and mirroring the sculpture. According to Sparti, the processions continued to take place until 1970. For Cortona, the social and sacramental were coterminous in SS Luca e Martina. As Donatella Sparti has stressed, Cortona was a pious planner. The sustained maintenance of a saint's cult for over 300 years is a remarkable testament to Cortona's foresight in developing and endowing an enduring ritual structure, and to the success of Menghini's sculpture in naturalizing the saint to the locus of SS. Luca e Martina.

CHAPTER V

NICCOLÒ MENGHINI AND THE LEGACY OF *S. MARTINA*

S. Martina remains Niccolò Menghini's most notable independent sculpture and

the evidence suggests that the commission was also an important catalyst for the artist's

career. The *S. Martina* seems to have sparked a succession of professional opportunities

that unfolded during the last two decades of Menghini's life. In 1636, a year after he

began the *S. Martina*, Menghini received the commission for the relief above Francesco

Mochi's *Santa Veronica* (ca. 1632) located in the southwest pillar of the dome of St.

Peter's Basilica.[144] Menghini completed the relief, which shows an angel carrying the

sudarium of Veronica with the face of Jesus, surrounded by two putti and a cherub, in

1641. Menghini also produced the stucco figures of *Chastity* and *Faith* on the spandrels

of the second arch on the left side of the nave of Saint Peter's Basilica between 1647 and

1649 (Fig. 17, Fig. 18).[145]

In addition to these commissions, Menghini continued to work as *statuario di*

casa for the Barberini. In this capacity he maintained and restored antiquities, conducted

regular inventories of Cardinal Francesco Barberini's goods and curated his collection of

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[144] Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, cat. 29, p. 252 and Oskar Pollack, *Die Kunsttätigekeit unter Urban VIII*, 2 vol. (Vienna 1928-30), 499-502.

[145] Robert Enggass, "New Attributions in St. Peter's: The Spandrel Figures in the Nave" 101. There is some confusion in the literature regarding which allegories each figure personifies. For example, Enggass calls the spandrel figure accompanied by a unicorn "Chastity" but Lothar Sickel calls its "Charity." I believe Enggass is correct for two reasons. The unicorn conventionally indicates female virginity, as Bronwen Wilson writes in her 1999 article on the coronation of Venetian Dogaressa Morosina Morosini Grimani. More conclusively, Ambrogio Buonvicino is responsible for the spandrel figure of Charity in St. Peter's from 1600. Buonvicino also sculpted the figure of Faith (1600) in the nave above the Capellla Celementia, which calls into question the identification of Menghini's figure as Faith. It seems strange to me to include duplicate virtues to decorate the spandrels. The payments to Menghini as published by Enggass do not identify the figures by name but only refer to them as stucco statues. Further research is required to determine the correct personification of the figure accompanied by a dog.

ancient and modern sculpture.[146] The fruits of Menghini's curatorial work can still be

seen in the statues that punctuate Bernini's staircase in Palazzo Barberini, including the

Tivoli lion.[147] In some cases, Menghini's obligation to the Barberini foreclosed the

possibility of pursuing international commissions. For example, in February of 1640

Cardinal Jules Mazarin sought out Menghini's talents as a set designer, inviting him to

France to produce a stage machine that gave the effect of a rising and setting sun.[148]

Cardinal Francesco Barberini initially agreed to the proposition, but suddenly reversed

his position on April 21, 1640 and prohibited Menghini from making the journey to

France.[149] It appears that Francesco Barberini was upset with Mazarin for circumventing

the established diplomatic channels by using Bernini as an intermediary to procure

Menghini.[150] Swept up in the diplomatic vicissitudes of his employer, Menghini remained

in Rome.

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[146] Marilyn Aronberg Lavin's transcription of the Barberini Inventories provides a record of Menghini's activities as *statuario di casa* as he drew up several of the inventories and is frequently named as the restorer of works. Menghini's activity within the Barberini household has yet to be thoroughly examined in the scholarship.

[147] Lucia Faedo, "Nati ed eletti per li primi governi della Chiesa. La decorazione statuaria dello scalene di Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane intorno al 1640."

[148] Anne Le Pas de Sécheval, "Le Cardinal Richelieu," 135-36. Contributing to Menghini's appeal was the fact that Bernini had promised Mazarin he would teach Menghini how to make the sun machine, which until that time, Bernini had jealously guarded his design.

[149] Ibid., 137-38. For the original letters see, Elpidio Benedetti, 7 March 1640, Paris, Archives des Affaires Ètrangères, Correspondance Politique, Rome, 69, fols 243r-244v.

[150] Ibid. Elpidio Benedetti's correspondence to Mazarin gives a rare glimpse into Menghini's temperament. In addition to Menghini, Bernini also invited architect Francesco Guitti to come France, but Menghini, via Benedetti, gave Mazarin an ultimatum that if Guitti was to come to France, he would stay in Rome. The position in France was very prestigious and Menghini was loath to share it with Guitti, also in the employ of the Barberini, stating that he alone wanted to share the praise or the blame for the project "*e voler esser solo a ricevere lode o biasimo delle suo operatione*." Menghini's actions hint at his irascibility, but they also demonstrate his savvy in negotiating the most favorable conditions for the advancement of his career. At the time of the incident Guitti was suffering from some ocular affliction, which bought Bendetti time to decide between the two artists. Ultimately, Benedetti chose Menghini over Guitti, deeming Menghini to be a faster worker. (A.A.E., C.P., Rome, 71, fol. 244 r).

The co-incidence of Francesco Barberini's interference in Menghini's trip to France and the artist's election to *principe* of the Accademia di San Luca just one year later has been unrecognized by other scholars until now. Thanks to the weighty influence of Francesco Barberini, protector of the Accademia di San Luca, Niccolò Menghini became *principe* of Rome's preeminent artistic organization on June 13, 1641.[151] One wonders if Francesco Barberini offered his support to Menghini's election as consolation for remaining in Rome and in the service of the Barberini family. This is not to say that Menghini's election was totally unwarranted. Menghini was active in the Academy, assisting foreign artists in Rome as *curatore di forestieri* in 1639, appraising sculpture as *stimatore* in 1637 and again in 1652, and teaching young artists as *rettore allo studio* in 1639.[152] Additionally, on August 30, 1638 Urban VIII named Menghini *commissario delle antichità* (papal antiquarian). As papal antiquarian, Menghini was responsible for the protection of classical monuments, and regulating excavations and exports of

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[151] Sickel, 228 fn. 8. The dates of Menghini's tenure as *principe* have been reportedly incorrectly as 1645-48 by various scholars, pace Robert Enggas and Lucia Faedo, thanks to Melchior Missirini's error in *Memorie per servire a storia della romana Accademia di S. Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova compilate da Melchior Missirini* (1823), 115. Lothar Sickel correctly identifies the dates of Menghini's *principe* as 1641-43, citing documents from the Archivo Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca. In addition to the roles Lothar Sickel reports, I discovered that Menghini also held the position of *curatore di forestieri* in 1639, ASL, fol. 27.

[152] The position of the *curatore di forestieri* was established in 1619 to help painters and sculptors without means as they settled in Rome. See Monica Grossi and Silvia Trani, "From Universitas to Accademia: Notes and Reflections on the Origins and Early History of the Accademia di San Luca Based on Documents from Its Archives" in *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590-1635*, ed. Peter Lukehart, Seminar Papers (Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (U.S.)) 2. (Washington [D.C.]: New Haven [Conn.]: National Gallery of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009), 38.
Citing the minutes of an Apostolic Visit in the SS. Luca e Martina on August 12th, 1625, Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta explains that at the end of his tenure, each *principe* was required to provide his portrait to add to the collection of the Accademia di San Luca. Strangely, Menghini's portrait is absent from the collection. Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, *La Collezione dei Ritratti dell'accademia di San Luca* (1979): 13.

antiquities.[153] Additionally, Menghini became a member of the prestigious

Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon in December 1640 upon the recommendation of

Giovanni Baglione.[154] Thus, even if Menghini's election to *principe* of the Accademia di

San Luca in 1641 was effected with the assistance of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, it

was not undeserved.[155]

Menghini's lack of major independent sculptural works after *S. Martina* can be

explained by the fact that he was preoccupied with a more temporary art form.[156] Despite

the lost opportunity to make stage sets for Cardinal Richelieu in France, Menghini

enjoyed great success in his innovative decorations for the *L'Orazione delle*

Quarante'Ore celebrations at the Roman Church of the Gesù in 1640 and 1646.[157] The

complex iconography and technical design of Menghini's *apparati* earned the artist great

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[153] Ronald Ridley, "To Protect the Monuments," 129.

[154] Vitaliano Tiberia, *La collezione della Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon*, 70.

[155] Moreover, Francesco Barberini's intervention in Menghini's election as *principe* was not unprecedented. The cardinal promoted the election of Bernini and Cortona in 1634.

[156] The entry on Menghini in Thieme-Becker v. 24 (1930), 389 attributes the bust of Laura Mattei-Frangipani in San Francesi a Ripa to Menghini, but subsequently has been corrected and is now attributed to Andrea Bolgi. See Antonia Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento*, Storia Dell'arte in Italia, (Torino: UTET, 1982), 91. According to Irving Lavin, Menghini is also responsible for a lost relief of the dead Christ in San Lorenzo in Damaso (A. Schiavo, *Il palazzo della Cancelleria*, Rome, 1964, 99, 103) and the bust of St. Sebastian in San Sebastiano fuori le Mura (BVAB-4 fol. 262). See, Irving Lavin "Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works" *The Art Bulletin,* 50. No. 3 (Sep. 1968): 230 fn. 52. John Pope Hennessy has suggested that Menghini is responsible for the Palestrina *Pieta* on very tenuous observation that the position of Christ's head in the *Pieta* mirrors that of St. Martina. Like Rudolf Wittkower and Lothar Sickel, I am reluctant to accept that attribution without further documentary evidence. In addition to Menghini's sculptural works, he decorated the cappella della Madonna delle Grazie inside Chiesa di San Rocco à Ripetta for Gaspare Morello. Morello's chapel was appropriated for Giovanni Domenico Paracciani's funerary monument (d. 1721) in the eighteenth century, obscuring Menghini's original design. See, Sickel, "Il Statuario," 225.

[157] Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions" 218, The Quarante'Ore was a highly theatrical Counter-Reformation era liturgical service in which the Eucharist was exposed for the forty hours. As Mark Weil writes, the *apparati* began as simple stage sets of painted flats in the first half of the seventeenth-century but evolved into elaborate productions complete with candelabras and hanging flowers.

renown in his time, but as Lothar Sickel writes, due to the inherently ephemeral nature of *apparati*, Menghini's fame disappeared along with his stage sets.[158] Menghini's career ended prematurely when he died unceremoniously in the intersection of the Via della Frezza on December 5, 1655, leaving behind a wife and five children.[159] Sickel hypothesizes that the forty-five-year-old Menghini may have perished from repeated exposure to toxic chemicals through his work with a bronze gilding process that involved mercury.[160] As a final tribute to his favored house sculptor, Francesco Barberini offered three *scudi* to cover the cost of thirty masses for Menghini's soul.[161]

After Menghini died the genre of *demi-gisant* sculptures of saints and martyrs continued to gain popularity in Rome through the second half of the seventeenth-century. The second generation of reclining saint sculptures amplify the dramatic movement of the *S. Martina*. While Giuseppe Giorgetti's *San Sebastiano* (ca. 1672) in San Sebastiano fuori le mura and Ercole Ferrata's *Sant'Anastasia* (1685) in Sant'Anastasia al Palatino belong to the same type of early Christian martyr sculptural altarpieces, both owe much more to the dramatic death throes of Bernini's *Beata Ludovica Albertoni* (1672-74) than

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[158] Sickel, "Il Statuario," 223. Menghini and his wife Anna Maria di Paolo Rovieri had five children, Felice Vittoria, Francesco, Antonio Romualdo, Chiara, and Giuseppe Filippo.

[159] Ridley, "To Protect the Monuments," 130 and Vat Lat. 7882.97. Sickel, "Il Statuario," 229, fn. 23 and ASR 30, Notai Capitolini uff. 30, volume 215 fol. 542-550, 569-577. Menghini married Anna Maria di Paolo Rovieri (b. 1610), on November 30th, 1644. Without a doubt, Menghini's first born son Francesco (b. 1648) was named after Francesco Barberini. As Sickel notes, Menghini was proud of his connection to the Barberini. In the inventory of the sculptor's house on Via del Corso, Menghini displayed four portraits of Urban VIII and his nephews. Ibid., 223.

[160] Sickel, "Il Statuario," 223. In particular, Sickel identifies the October 1654 commission by Count Carlo Cardelli for two statues made of gilded bronze and mercury, as a likely source of exposure.

[161] Barberini Inventory, Doc. 362. December 15th, 1634. Menghini's name is recorded in the book of the dead of the Gesù with the note that he was buried near the sacristy. However, his tomb is not listed today. Through e-mail correspondence, Lothar Sickel suggested to me that Menghini's tomb may have been moved in around 1800 during the French invasion of Rome.

to Menghini's *S. Martina*.[162] The supine figures of the dying *S. Sebastiano* and *S. Anastasia* feature a particular crumpling of the body at the torso that suggests a sharp inhalation of breath. By the end of the seventeenth century, heightened emotionalism, writhing figures, extreme flexion of hands and "helium infused drapery" became de rigueur for sculptures of martyrs.[163]

Conclusion

Unlike other sculptures of martyrs like Alessandro Algardi's *Beheading of Saint Paul* (1633-47) that enjoyed extensive ekphrasis and public commentary, Menghini's *S. Martina* never achieved significant celebrity in its time.[164] The contemporary critical silence around *S. Martina*, as well as the lack of current scholarship that reflects that silence in the present day, implies a tacit judgment that the sculpture is unremarkable. The intention of this research has been to provide an alternative reading. Although Menghini's *St. Martina* does not radically push the aesthetic boundaries of the *demi-gisant* sculpture, it is exceptionally functional. The visual strategies at work in the

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[162] While Ludovica Albertoni was not a martyr, Bernini's sculpture of the beatified noblewoman is closely related as a *demi-gisant* altarpiece. For more on *Beata Ludovica Albertoni* see Shelley Karen Perlove, Shelley Karen. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).

[163] In addition to the reclining figures of *S. Sebastian*, *Sant'Anastasia*, and *Beata Ludovica Albertoni*, Ercole Ferrata's *Martyrdom of Sant'Agnese* (1660-64) in the Church of Sant'Agnese in Agone and Antonio Raggi's stucco *Sant'Andrea* (1658-70) in the Church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale exemplify the high Baroque turn towards heightened drama.

[164] Specifically, Michelangelo Lualdi pays great attention to the Bolognese sculpture in his historical study of early Christianity through saints Peter and Paul titled *Istoria Eccelsiatica* (1650-51). Delbeke's interpretation of Algardi's *Beheading of St. Paul* is a useful interpretative counterpoint to *S. Martina*. Delbeke argues that in the absence of actual relics, the sculptural altarpiece uses the theatricality of martyrdom to localize St. Paul's presence in Bologna and immortalize the Spada family. Where Menghini's *S. Martina* commemorates a specific site, Algardi's *St. Paul* invents a symbolic space in celebration of martyrdom. See Maarten Delbeke, "'For We are Made a Spectacle unto the World, and to Angels, and to Men:' Alessandro Algardi's *Beheading of Saint Paul* and the Theatricality of Martyrdom," in *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture*. Eds. Anthony Colantuono and Steven F. Ostrow (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 146-47.

sculpture obscure the dubious provenance of the relics, transform Cortona's 1634 discovery into tangible visual history and resurrect St. Martina's image. Menghini's *S. Martina* performs this complex set of tasks in the gulf between the saint's still, severed head and her living, moving body.

Figure 1. Niccolò Menghini, *Santa Martina* (ca. 1635), marble. Church of Santi Luca e Martina, Rome. (In *Scultura Del '600 a Roma*, edited by Andrea Bacchi and Susanna Zanuso. Repertori Fotografici, V. 10. Milano: Longanesi, 1996, fig. 579.)

Figure 2. Pietro da Cortona, SS. Luca e Martina (1634). Rome. (John A. Pinto Collection, Princeton University, 1974)

Figure 3. Antiveduto Grammatica, *copy of Raphael's St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1623), oil on canvas. Church of SS. Luca e Martina, Rome. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4. Francesco Caporale da Soncino, *Bust of Congolese Ambassador Antonio Emanuele Funta* (ca. 17ᵗʰ century), marble. Baptistry of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome. (Photograph by author)

Figure 5. Niccolò Menghini, *bozzetto for S. Martina* (ca. 1635), terracotta. Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome. (Photograph by author)

Figure 6. Niccolò Menghini, detail of *bozzetto for S. Martina* (ca. 1635), terracotta. Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome. (Photograph by author)

Figure 7. Pietro da Cortona, *Pope Urban VIII Praying before the High Altar of Santi Luca e Martina* (after 1635), pen and rown ink, brown wash, and gouache on brown paper, mounted on canvas, 38 x 52 cm. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ascoli Piceno.
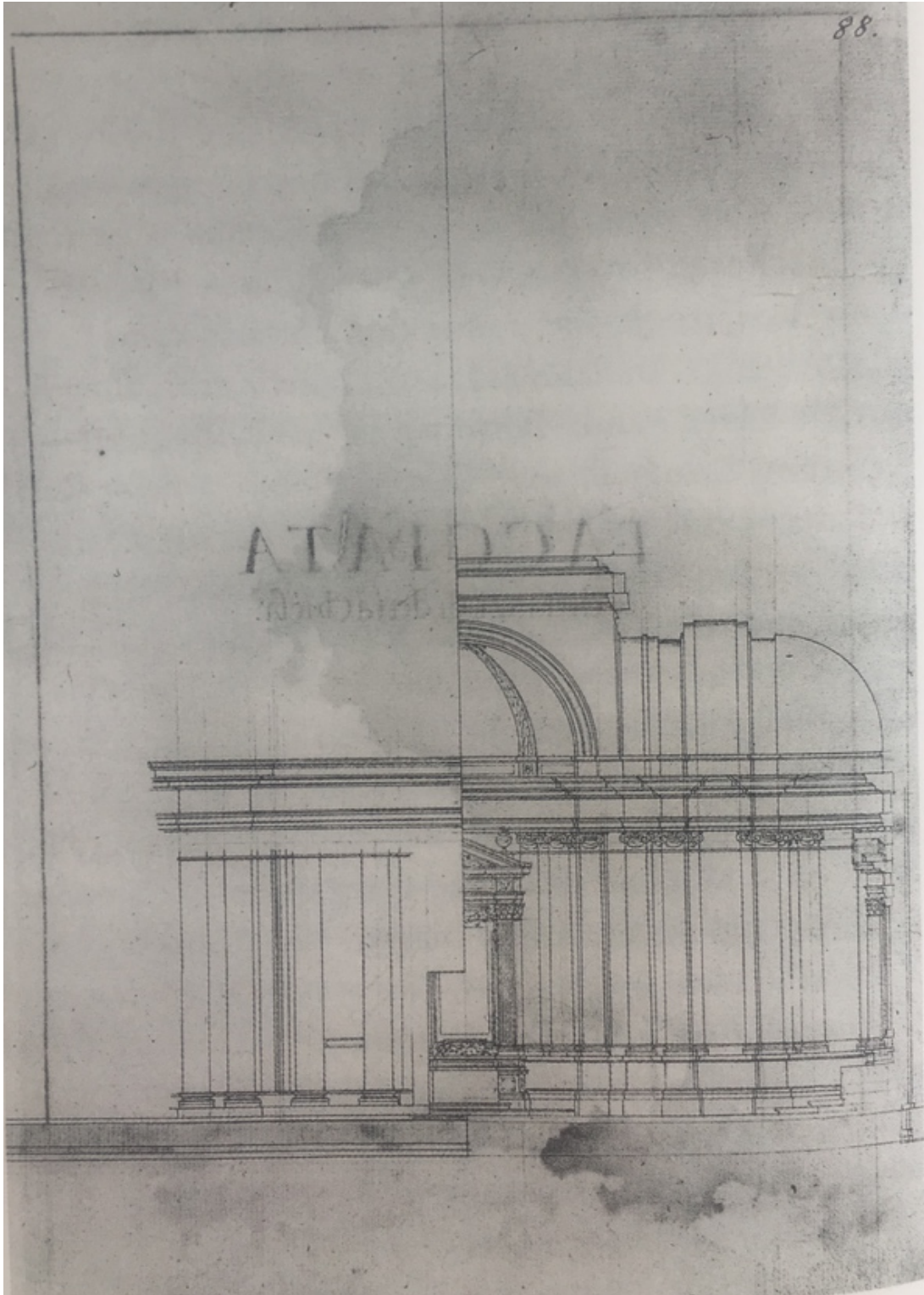
Figure 8. Domenico Castelli, Pietro da Cortona's 1636 plan for SS. Luca e Martina, 4409, fols. 87, 88. Archivo Barberini, Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome. (In *Pietro Da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture* by Jörg Martin Merz and Anthony Blunt. New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2008, 56, fig. 62.)

Figure 9. El Greco, *Madonna and Child with St. Agnes and St. Martina* (1597/99), oil on canvas, wooden strip added at bottom. 221 x 136.5 x 12.1 cm framed. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Figure 10. Peter Paul Rubens, *Resurrection of Christ* (Moretus Triptych) (ca. 1611-12), oil on panel, 138 x 78 cm. Cathedral of Our Lady, Antwerp.

Figure 11. Jan van Haelbeck, engraved print of Niccolò Circignani's martyr cycle in San Stefano in Rotondo, in *Ecclesiae militantis tirumphi sive deo amabilium martyrum gloriosa pro Christi fide certamina* (1600-1620), 20 x 13 cm. Published by Jean Leclerc IV, Paris.

Figure 12. Stefano Maderno, *Santa Cecilia* (1600), marble. Church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. (Photograph by author).

Figure 13. Comparison of variable positions of the severed head in Niccolò Menghini's sculpture of *S. Martina* (1635).
 (**Top image**: In *Scultura Del '600 a Roma*, edited by Andrea Bacchi and Susanna Zanuso. Repertori Fotografici, V. 10. Milano: Longanesi, 1996, fig. 579. **Bottom image**: In "Niccolò Menghini: 'statuario di casa' del cardinal Francesco Barberini," by Lothar Sickel. In *I Barberini e la Cultura Europea del Seicento: Atti Del Convego Internazionale Palazzo Barberini Alle Quattro Fontane, 7-11 Dicembre 2004*, edited by Lorenza Mochi Onori. 221-230. Roma: de Luca Editori d' Arte, 2007.)

Figure 14. Detail of the head of *S. Martina* removed from the *tazza*. (Photograph by G. Gabrielli, Nov. 2012. In *La cupoladei SS. Luca e Martina di Pietro da Cortona: aperti per restauri*, by Pio Porzio Baldi, Pier Luigi, and Accademia Nazionale di San Luca. Roma: Gangemi Editore SpA International Publishing, 2015, 42, Fig. 15.)

Figure 15. *Reliquary Bust of St. Justus* (ca. 1488). Silver gilt. Flums, St. Justuskirche, now preserved in Zürich, Schwizerisches Landesmuseum. (Photograph by Scott Montgomery. In "Securing the Sacred Head," by Scott Montgomery, in *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, eds. Catrien Santing, Barbara Baert, and Anita Traninger, Intersections; Volume 28. Boston: Brill (2013): 79, fig. 1.)

Figure 16. Pietro da Cortona, *Head Reliquary of St. Martina* (ca. mid-17th century) 21 x 23.5 x 16.5 cm, silver, gold, glass paste stones. Conservatorio di Sant'Eufemia, Rome. (In "The Feast of St. Martina" by Gregory DiPippo, www.newliturgicalmovement.org)

Figure 17. Niccolò Menghini, *Chastity* (1647-49), stucco. St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. In "New Attributions in St. Peter's: The Spandrel Figures in the Nave" by Robert Enggass in *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 1 (1978): 102, fig. 9.

Figure 18. Niccolò Menghini, *Faith* (1647-49), stucco. St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. In "New Attributions in St. Peter's: The Spandrel Figures in the Nave" by Robert Enggass in *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 1 (1978): 102, fig. 10.

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