

Italian Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes

IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



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THE
MET

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



DEDICATED TO
JAMES DAVID DRAPER (1943–2019)
RICHARD E. STONE (1939–2021)

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DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

Bronze statuettes have beguiled viewers from the fifteenth century to the present day: a distinctive art form that epitomizes early modern artists' desire to rival the grandeur of antiquity while encapsulating the supreme artistic ambitions of their own age. Soon after its founding, The Metropolitan Museum of Art recognized the importance of Italian bronze statuettes. The Met's first curator of decorative arts, W. R. Valentiner, doggedly acquired bronzes for a young institution eager to stand alongside the best museums of Europe and present a comprehensive history of Italian art. The Italian bronze statuette had emerged during the fifteenth century as a necessary accoutrement for any learned humanist scholar-collector. Its popularity rarely waned, becoming a staple of collecting through the Gilded Age and beyond.

Untold numbers of bronzes were produced from the Renaissance onward, and their ubiquity poses particular challenges to the study of the Italian bronze statuette. Often a bronze's maker, even the century in which it was made, can be difficult to pinpoint. Despite these inherent challenges, former department head Ian Wardropper and the late curator James David Draper envisioned a catalogue of The Met's Italian bronze collection, an initiative begun two decades ago that was both audacious and necessary: audacious in that the enterprise would require years of close study, collaboration among scholars, conservators, and scientists, and prolonged stretches of writing; necessary in that, until the publication of this volume, the number, character, and quality of the objects in the collection were largely unknown.

Working closely with conservator Richard E. Stone, who had ushered in the use of technical study in the field of Italian bronzes, Draper set about on this endeavor, ultimately writing about a third of the entries. Draper's elegant, often humorous analyses are complemented by Stone's incisive technical studies of the objects as well as an essay on the materials and making of Italian bronzes that will become a standard resource for any student of the subject. Sadly, both Draper and Stone passed away before the catalogue's completion; it is dedicated to them not only for their remarkable contributions to this volume, but also in recognition of their authority in the field of Italian bronzes at large and the Museum itself.

From the 2010s onward, the catalogue was overseen by ESDA department heads Luke Syson (2012–18) and Sarah E. Lawrence, Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Curator in Charge (2019–present). During the global pandemic's repeated social and economic shocks, Lawrence's steadfast commitment ensured completion of the project. The extended journey to publication ultimately yielded a rich, indispensable product. Specialists in Italy, Germany, and the United States contributed scholarly entries incorporating groundbreaking research. New photography was taken of every bronze. Forays into the Museum's archives produced new findings on the history of the collection itself. Determined to honor the catalogue's original vision, Denise Allen and Jeffrey Fraiman in ESDA and Linda Borsch in Objects Conservation supervised the final years of work. The result is an interdisciplinary, multigenerational study comprising a polyphony of expert opinions; it is retrospective, presenting the Museum's collection up to this point, and forward looking, providing the foundation for future study, discoveries, and connections.

What can be said of what you will uncover in the pages ahead? The Museum's collection of almost 300 Italian bronzes is much deeper than previously recognized, filled with unique examples from the Renaissance through the Baroque, as well as less distinguished serial statuettes represented in multiple casts. A reader will find many of these objects were previously unpublished, while others of exceptional quality have been largely overlooked. The collection promises to continue to grow and transform, as superlative bronzes have been acquired even as the authors were putting the finishing touches on the catalogue, including Francesco Fanelli's *Mercury and Cupid* (cat. 92), a gift of The Quentin Foundation, and the Museum's landmark acquisition of the Mantuan roundel by Gian Marco Cavalli (reproduced on the Dedication page). We are indebted to the donors who made the addition of these works possible, as well as the many donors who left large gifts of bronzes to the Museum over its 150-year history, shaping the collection into what we see today. Lastly, we are extraordinarily grateful to the donors who provided munificent financial support to this catalogue itself, above all H. Rodes and Patricia Hart, and Patricia Wengraf Ltd.

Max Hollein, Marina Kellen French Director

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The collection of Italian Renaissance and Baroque bronzes in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts (ESDA) at The Metropolitan Museum of Art is the oldest, largest, and most comprehensive in the United States. Ranging in date from around 1450 to 1750 and comprising almost 300 figurative works in the round and in relief as well as functional objects such as oil lamps, andirons, and inkwells, the collection represents the period in which the small-scale bronze flourished as an art form in Italy. Masterpieces by the greatest sculptors in bronze, such as Bellano, Riccio, Severo, Giambologna, the Susini, and Soldani punctuate The Met's holdings, but they do not characterize the collection. In fact, up until this catalogue was conceived in the early 2000s, what exactly the Museum's collection represented—not to mention how it was formed—had not been systematically explored.

A model for a bronze might pass through many hands as it goes from initial design to finished cast, and so too did this catalogue progress through many phases and collaborations as it came to fruition. But much like a bronze's original *invenzione*, it embodies the vision of one person, the late James David Draper. In the early 2000s, encouraged by ESDA department head Ian Wardropper, Jim laid the groundwork for a scholarly appraisal of the Museum's collection commensurate to its breadth and size, tenaciously securing funds and assembling a team of internationally recognized experts to serve as co-authors. Together they embarked on the process of studying, photographing, and writing about nearly 300 bronzes. Jim's inimitable prose and vast sums of knowledge are imprinted everywhere in this book, on which he continued to work until his death in 2019.

Understanding a bronze's facture is central to any attempt at properly cataloguing it. How fortunate, then, that Jim's partner in this enterprise was Richard E. Stone, Conservator Emeritus, who was instrumental in establishing technical studies of Italian bronzes as a field half a century ago. Dick's first department head in Objects Conservation and his longtime collaborator in technical studies James H. (Tony) Frantz provided him with the analytical tools and professional support to hone his expertise over the thirty-four years that they worked together. Dick mentored scores of younger scholars who themselves went on to make significant advances in the field. In preparation for this catalogue, he studied hundreds of bronzes in the Museum's collection, producing essential technical reports and answering queries from authors, while also contributing an essay that is fundamental reading for any student of bronzes. Sadly, Dick passed away a few months before publication, but

his joy in the material never diminished. We thank his wife Elizabeth Stone, a great scholar in her own right, who was a trusted reader of Dick's seminal studies. Fittingly, this catalogue is dedicated to both Jim and Dick.

If those two men were the driving intellectual forces shaping the catalogue at its inception, they needed patrons with comparable resolve, humor, and patience. We are eternally grateful for the generous and steadfast support of H. Rodes and Patricia Hart. Rodes never wavered in his conviction that cataloguing The Met's collection would advance the field of bronze studies. In addition to contributing her expertise, Patricia Wengraf supported the catalogue at a critical juncture in its development through Patricia Wengraf Ltd.

The bronzes catalogue may be among the last of the Museum's publications representing an entire collection conceived and structured as a printed book. We are fortunate to have as a preface Draper's personal account of the people and objects that shaped the content of this volume. Jeffrey Fraiman's essay "Collecting Italian Bronzes at The Metropolitan Museum of Art" is the first survey of The Met's collecting practices in the field, from the founding of ESDA over a century ago to the present day. Stone's "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Sculptors in Bronze: The Differentiation of the Hands through the Study of Their Casting Techniques" is an essential summation of what is possible to learn from the analysis of a bronze's facture. Entries dedicated to individual objects make up the body of the catalogue. The "tombstone" identifies the work's maker, region of origin, date, dimensions, and museum accession number (which begins with the year the work entered the collection). An interpretive text places each bronze in its stylistic, historical, cultural, and technical context. Each entry concludes with the object's provenance (history of ownership) and citations in previous literature and exhibition catalogues. Organized by period, region, and style, the entries constitute a richly evolving narrative of the history of Italian bronzes. The Appendix consists of bronzes for which entries were not written, largely because the works fall below today's standards of quality and significance. These sometimes puzzling bronzes often beg the still unanswered questions: When and where were they made? And, crucial to understanding a collection as old as The Met's, what did late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century experts, collectors, and dealers think a Renaissance bronze should look like?

The present publication—available in hardcover or in digital form on The Met website—preserves a slice in time, a record of what we knew and thought we knew about our subject

as of 2021. The catalogue's protracted genesis ensures that it has benefitted from almost two decades of development in digital technology. The high-resolution digital images made for the catalogue, as well as views and details not reproduced here, are available online, where they can be enlarged for close-up study in a way impossible when consulting a book. The object entries published in this catalogue will be updated on The Met Collection website as our knowledge grows and evolves, thus retaining their validity for as long as small bronzes are enjoyed, collected, and studied.

Cataloguing a collection is not solely the work of curators isolated within their realm of expertise. It is, rather, a product of many interchanges among seasoned and emerging professionals, all of whom probably would reject the title of expert. The study of Renaissance and Baroque bronzes is still very much a nascent discipline, and in that sense all participants are students delighting in the challenge of the unknown and the excitement of discovery. During the Renaissance, making a small bronze required a workshop comprising many minds, hands, and specialists ranging from sculptors to bronze founders and multiple creative talents in between. That teamwork approach is reflected in the authors' fashioning of catalogue entries, which at their best are the result of collaborations among curators, academics, conservators, conservation scientists, dealers, and collectors.

The authors deserve our utmost gratitude for their patience over such a long-haul project fraught with uncertainties, delays, and many moving parts. Peter Jonathan Bell, former Assistant Curator in ESDA, worked closely with Draper and Stone in formulating the catalogue's framework while also producing an important dissertation on Italian bronzes. Paola D'Agostino, onetime Senior Research Associate in ESDA, brought her vast knowledge, particularly of Baroque sculpture, to bear on The Met's collection both while working at the Museum and in her subsequent positions. Claudia Kryza-Gersch was one of Draper's and Stone's principal interlocutors, and her deep erudition shines throughout her entries. Writing about several key objects in the collection, Denise Allen deployed her specialized knowledge of northern Italian bronzes, gained through organizing exhibitions devoted to Antico and Riccio at the Frick. During his two-year tenure as Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in ESDA, Tommaso Mozzati tackled the thorny group of models after Giambologna and performed invaluable archival research. Fernando Loffredo, who had already made key scholarly contributions to the Museum's bronzes collection, offers a wealth of new information in his entries. In the closing years of research and writing, Senior Research Associate Jeffrey Fraiman became the catalogue's supporting backbone as project manager and chief curatorial editor as well as a contributing author. Raymond Carlson, the Jane and Morgan Whitney Fellow in ESDA, fortuitously joined the project in its final stages, writing deeply considered entries on significant bronzes and studying the objects

in the Appendix. Across multiple semesters, undergraduate intern Alex Foo jumped wholeheartedly into the world of bronzes and contributed valuable research with great care and enthusiasm. His entries represent the induction of a new member of the next generation into the bronzes community.

Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of Objects Conservation Lisa Piloni and former department heads Lawrence Becker and James H. Frantz likewise lent their strong support to the project. Conservator Batyah Shtrum worked closely with Stone on extensive computed radiography of the collection in 2010–11. Conservator Linda Borsch deserves special recognition for her role in supporting Stone's work. Linda took up countless requests from authors to study bronzes with her in Objects Conservation, responded to innumerable queries about technique and facture, reviewed each entry, and worked closely with Stone on the editing of his essay. We are also grateful to David H. Koch Scientist in Charge of Scientific Research Marco Leona for offering his department's expertise and support; Scientist Emeritus Mark T. Wypyski for his work on the project; and Research Scientist Federico Carò for performing XRF analysis to answer targeted scientific queries.

We are thankful to the Museum's leadership, Daniel H. Weiss and Max Hollein, along with their predecessors Philippe de Montebello and Thomas P. Campbell, for their support of this project and for upholding The Met's mission of producing essential scholarship and sharing its collection with the world. This catalogue encapsulates one history of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, and that it exists is a testament to the steadfast support of our ESDA colleagues, both present and former. Three department heads were crucial to its publication: Ian Wardropper, who initially recognized the need for such a catalogue; Luke Syson, who reinvigorated the project at a key moment in its history; and Sarah E. Lawrence, who determinedly navigated its final years through a host of historic challenges, including a global pandemic. Curatorial colleagues past and present Ellenor Alcorn, Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, Wolfram Koeppe, Jeffrey Munger, Elyse Nelson, and Clare Vincent offered their respective expertise along the way. The indispensable Denny Stone, General Manager of Collections, along with her dedicated team of Casey Davignon, Juan Stacey, and Sam Winks, as well as former ESDA technicians Bedel Tiscareno, Eric Peluso, and Bill Kopp, contributed to the study of these bronzes in more ways than can be enumerated. With a steady hand, Erin E. Pick was for years instrumental in overseeing all practical sides of the catalogue, followed by Kristen Hudson's constant support. Jasmine Kuylenstierna Wrede and Jenn Begazo provided additional administrative help.

This book is a long-gestating collaboration between ESDA and the Publications Department, and we thank Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief, and Mike Sittenfeld, Associate Publisher for Editorial, for their commitment to the project even during its rockiest patches. Peter Antony, Associate

Publisher for Production, adeptly led the production team, together with Christina Grillo, while Jenn Sherman had the gargantuan feat of locating and keeping track of images of hundreds of obscure Italian bronzes. The elegant design is by Rita Jules at Miko McGinty, and the book was meticulously typeset by Tina Henderson. Marcie Muscat contributed her editing during one of the book's earlier phases. No amount of words can express our debt to our editor, Philomena Mariani. Phil brought her gimlet eye to the difficult material with passion, dedication, and humor, pouring herself into the world of bronzes and learning its jargon, literature, and subtleties with aplomb.

Bronzes are notoriously difficult to photograph, and one of the major contributions of this catalogue has been the production of new photography for every Met bronze reproduced. Such a herculean effort could not have been undertaken without the keen eyes, kind collegiality, and unlimited patience of the Imaging Department, with thanks to Barbara Bridgers, Scott Geffert, photographers Joseph Coscia Jr., Katherine Dahab, and Richard Lee, and the postproduction team of Xue Chen, Chris Heins, Heather Johnson, Jesse Ng, Deepa Paulus, and Wilson Santiago.

With the book a testament to research conducted over decades, the catalogue authors are indebted to the exemplary staff of the Thomas J. Watson Library, including Ken Soehner, Arthur K. Watson Chief Librarian; Robyn Fleming; and Fredy Rivera. Research in The Met's archives was facilitated through the kind help of Managing Archivist James Moske and Angela Salisbury. Other Met colleagues to whom credit is due include Dita Amory, Carmen C. Bambach, Andrea Bayer, Sharon Cott, Laura Dickey Corey, Joan Mertens, and Rebecca Murray Noonan.

This catalogue has been enriched by an international roster of curators, conservators, scientists, academics, dealers, auction specialists, and collectors. Many of the following people had direct involvement with our project, while others are included here because their examples inspired whatever is good about it. In light of the passing of our colleagues James David Draper and Richard Stone, we wish to thank those scholars with whom we know they worked closely throughout their career, including but not limited to Charles Avery, Bertrand Jestaz, Volker Krahn, Manfred Leithe-Jasper, the late

Olga Raggio, and the late Anthony Radcliffe, as well as many of the following. In one way or another, profound debts are owed to: Alessandro Angelini, Rebecca Arnheim, Victoria Avery, Davide Banzato, Jane Bassett, Francesca Bewer, Tony Blumka, Diane Bodart, David Bourgarit, Andrew Butterfield, Francesco Caglioti, Marietta Cambareri, Pietro Cannata, Michael Cole, Pete Dandridge, Alan P. Darr, Julia Day, Martina Droth, Peggy Fogelman, Daria Rose Foner, Peter Fusco, Kristin Gagnon, Davide Gasparotto, Leslie Gat, Geneva Griswold, Sante Guido, the late Michael Hall, Arlen Heginbotham, Caitlin Henningsen, J. Tomilson Hill, Donald Johnston, Alexander Kader, Daniel Katz, Robert van Langh, Mary Levkoff, Stuart Lochhead, Alison Luchs, the late Eleonora Luciano, Philippe Malgouyres, Peter Marino, Jeffrey Marsh, Sarah Blake McHam, Jennifer Montagu, Peta Motture, Alexander Nagel, Elizabeth Pergam, Debra Pincus, the late Peter Pritchard, Benjamin Proust, Claudia Quentin, Maria Reynolds, William Russell, Alvaro Saieh, Eike D. Schmidt, Frits Scholten, Debbie Schorsch, Anne Markham Schulz, Margaret H. Schwartz, Dylan Smith, Pamela H. Smith, Joaneath Spicer, Simon Stock, Shelley Sturman, the late Aso Tavitian, Dora Thornton, Dino and Raffaello Tommaso, Jennifer Tonkovich, Jeremy Warren, Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, Patricia Wengraf, George Wheeler, Elizabeth Wilson, the late John Winter, Dimitrios Zikos, Katherine Zock, and Shelley Zuraw. Additionally, a graduate course on Italian Bronzes taught by Denise Allen, Jeffrey Fraiman, and Elyse Nelson for the Bard Graduate Center in Spring 2020 afforded us inspiring conversations with and vital research from its participants Madison Clyburn, Geoffrey Ripert, Yi Rong, and Madeline Warner, all proof that the future of the field is in good hands.

No collections catalogue is definitive but is rather a paving stone extending the path of knowledge. It is now up to students of sculpture to offer the criticisms and corrections that will make this particular stone ever steadier and stronger so that all of us may continue traveling forward. We hope that the catalogue will provide a useful introduction to readers unfamiliar with Renaissance and Baroque bronzes and most of all that it will stimulate their interest in exploring this fascinating art form.

Denise Allen and Jeffrey Fraiman

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Of Casts and Characters

A Personal History

James David Draper

Italian Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes was motivated not only by our fascination with the beauties and mysteries of Italian bronze statuettes, but also by the tremendous strides that have been made regarding them in connoisseurship, science, and documentation in recent decades. A virtual explosion in the literature, too vast to summarize, is reflected in our entries. This period overlaps with my own tenure at The Met, where I was involved firsthand in the study, acquisition, and display of many of the Italian bronzes catalogued herein. What follows is a personal reminiscence of this history.

I joined the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts in 1969, during the early years of Thomas P. F. Hoving's directorship. This moment was, for me, the beginning of a career at The Met that would span more than four decades. Drawn to the first-hand study of objects, I had previously been in the department as a Chester Dale Fellow while a graduate student at the Institute of Fine Arts. In the run-up to the centennial year of The Met's founding, when the museum needed extra help and hired lots of young people, I was offered a real job by John Goldsmith Phillips, a large, affable Harvard graduate universally called Jack, who loved Italian art. He had come to the department, at that time called Western European Arts, in 1929, and would last as chairman until 1971. Phillips wrote a booklet on ten Met bronzes—half of the attributions are wrong but his introduction is both inviting and wise—and a survey of the interrelationships of quattrocento printmaking and decorative arts, in which he attributed the nielloed silver plaques of our famous silver crucifix to Baccio Baldini (his attribution has since been called into question but never the staggering quality of the object).¹ His marriage to Giovanna Maria Sodi took him to Tuscany virtually every summer, and he continued to obsess over the kinship between Verrocchio and Leonardo da Vinci until his death in 1992.

Among Phillips's greatest challenges, and later on that of his younger colleague Olga Raggio, was how to manage the multitudinous gifts of Judge Irwin Untermyer. His father was the eminent lawyer Samuel Untermyer, who formed an encyclopedic collection that included master paintings but few bronzes. Samuel did, however, purchase the *Jupiter* then assigned to Cellini (cat. 104). In general, Irwin favored objects in three dimensions. His apartment was chockablock with things English—furniture, silver, ceramics, and textiles—as well as medieval brasses and Renaissance bronzes. A trustee since 1951, he donated huge numbers of possessions in 1964 and 1968, followed by a lesser bequest in 1971. By all means the standout early bronze in these gifts is the miraculous Paduan or Venetian *Horse and Rider Startled by a Snake* (cat. 49), worthy of a goldsmith.

With the Untermyer collection came an industrious curator: Yvonne Hackenbroch. Daughter of a Frankfurt dealer who helped sell the Guelph Treasure to the Cleveland Museum of Art and other institutions, she was the last Jewish student to earn a doctorate in Nazi Germany (University of Munich, 1936). Knowing Untermyer's beneficent intentions, the museum engaged Hackenbroch to write a six-volume catalogue.² It cannot have been an easy relationship. When she catalogued a paltry figurine of Hercules as School of Antonio Pollaiuolo, the judge appended a note below the image: "It is my belief that this bronze is by Pollaiuolo rather than his school. [Signed] Irwin Untermyer."³ Together, Untermyer and Hackenbroch exhibited a trait long common among bronze lovers: a tendency to confuse rough or muddled finish with age and authenticity. Hackenbroch's own favorite Untermyer statuette was the club-like *Neptune* by a follower of Severo da Ravenna (cat. 37). I had never believed in it and couldn't have been more flabbergasted when Dick Stone pronounced its sorry facture, revealed

through X-radiography, to be perfectly consistent with Severo's methods despite being formally haphazard, even for Severo.

The curator I came to know best was Olga Raggio, the polyglot offspring of a mother from Odessa and a father from Genoa (as I recall, Olga told me he was a theatrical entrepreneur), a combustible mix in Olga's case. She was formidably determined. Finishing her postgraduate work in Rome, she came to The Met in 1954 as a junior research fellow in our main library, answering inquiries from the public. Joining the department that same year, she rose to become chair of what is now European Sculpture and Decorative Arts from 1971 to 2001. Hoving and Philippe de Montebello, his successor, prized her organizational abilities and entrusted her with the mounting of memorable loan exhibitions devoted to the collections of Dresden, the Kremlin, the Vatican, and the princes of Liechtenstein.

I worked with Olga on the Liechtenstein show, the bronzes especially, as well as several smaller exhibitions drawn from our permanent collection devoted to Italian Renaissance sculpture, including *Early Italian Sculpture from Northern Italy, 1450–1540* (1973) and *Italian Bronzes and Other Sculptures: The Renaissance and Baroque Periods* (1983). The latter show brought together some ninety works, with many bronzes, and occupied the gallery adjacent to the Vélez Blanco Patio that eventually became singularly dedicated to bronzes.

These exhibitions, along with my everyday curatorial work and my own writings, allowed me to become increasingly familiar with the field of Italian bronzes. My dissertation was devoted to a mysterious bronze maker called Bertoldo di Giovanni, a great friend of Lorenzo de' Medici who directed an art academy in the Medici household—Michelangelo was one of his students—at a time, in the 1480s, when the bronze statuette was just developing as a species. Bertoldo's mark is all over this genre, even though there are only about twelve statuettes by him in all the world. Nobody could call him a great artist, but these lyrical, frail little works carry potent connections with Medici patronage and the young Michelangelo, who never quite shed Bertoldo's influence. Then, in 1980, I published a new edition of Wilhelm von Bode's three-volume corpus of Italian bronze statuettes in one volume. I was stuck with what he had to say, so it was hardly a glorious personal moment, but it was useful for those people who wanted to have an affordable Bode at home.

Every curator is certain to blunder as a matter of course. In a hastily written 1978 article on Paduan bronzes by and around Andrea Riccio, I was too sure of my observations by half and only confused the situation.⁴ When the *Striding Pan*, which I presumed to declare an autograph Riccio despite knowing it solely from Bode's plate, marched into my office one day, I was jubilant (cat. 18). One who disagreed was none other than Sir John Pope-Hennessy. While long considered the world authority on bronzes, "the Pope" came here as chair of European Paintings, following directorships at the V&A and the British Museum. He

could be plenty caustic and dismissive, but *contretemps* between him and our department were mercifully rare. Doubly so, as both he and Olga had voices that could escalate to piercing shrieks.

The last collection to come to The Met en bloc during my tenure was that of Jack and Belle Linsky, following the death of Mrs. Linsky in 1982. The Linskys established the Swingline Staple Company and passionately built up a large and important collection. Douglas Dillon, then chairman of the board of trustees, was instrumental in the bequest and indeed paid for the catalogue and installation (in retrospect, I doubt we would ever again install galleries to evoke a collector's Fifth Avenue apartment). The Linskys and Dillon lived in the same building, and he was a keen fellow enthusiast of porcelain—an area where the couple truly distinguished themselves. The dealers Cyril Humphris in London and Ruth Blumka of New York had advised the Linskys over the years, and Ruth was instrumental in guiding their collection toward The Met. She was also a close friend and useful advisor to Olga, who also tapped the expertise of dealers such as Alain Moatti in Paris and Patricia Wengraf in London.

As the collection matured, Olga's involvement in the purchase of bronzes waned somewhat while mine only increased. The earliest of our Florentine bronzes, an over-the-top, ultra-breezy wind deity from the circle of Donatello, datable to 1432, was the single happiest acquisition for which I feel responsible (cat. 1). It was made possible by Annette Reed, later Annette de la Renta, at the outset of her membership on the Acquisitions Committee, which she eventually chaired very effectively (high praise is due to that body for its discerning support). Other finds were more modest. The *Chronos* (cat. 32B) did not have to go before the committee because it was inexpensive. The vivid, painterly bronze made by Agostino Zoppo for a humanist's tomb in Padua was easily recognizable because we already owned its lackluster female pendant (cat. 32A). We got it for a song because it is a statuette in relief, not one of those classic figures in the round cherished by collectors.

Ian Wardropper, with twenty years behind him at the Art Institute of Chicago, ably chaired the department from 2001 to 2012, leaving it to direct the Frick. It was Ian who persuaded Alexis Gregory to finance the refurbished gallery dedicated to Italian bronzes, located just behind George Blumenthal's marble patio. It opened in 2003.

Two of Ian's Italian bronze acquisitions stand out with particular resonance. The Rothschild Lamp is a wholly autograph gem by Riccio and the most complete representative of the boat-shaped oil lamp (there are only three, all different) produced by the master (cat. 13). Little did we imagine that the group of a protective mother ape, a fragment that includes the limbs of her offspring, was to become our second bronze by the richly talented Camillo Mariani (cats. 110, 111). As long as the dealer thought he had a Giambologna, we resisted, but we gained a poignant, indeed pungent animalier sculpture whose provenance from the della Rovere hunting lodge in Pesaro is another plus.



Fig. 1. Attributed to Gian Marco Cavalli (ca. 1454–after 1508), *Mars, Venus, and Cupid with Vulcan at His Forge (The Mantuan Roundel)* (detail; see Dedication page for full image), ca. 1500. Parcel-gilt bronze with silver inlay, integrally cast gilt frame with suspension loop; Diam. 16½ in. (42 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Isaacson-Draper Fund, Florence and Herbert Irving Acquisitions Fund, 2021 Benefit Fund, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Walter and Leonore Annenberg Acquisitions Endowment Fund, Charlotte and Alejandro Santo Domingo, Michel David-Weill, David T. Schiff, Annette de la Renta, Mark Fisch, the Hon. Kimba Wood and Frank Richardson, Denise and Andrew Saul, Beatrice Stern, Wrightsman Fellows, and members of the Acquisitions Committee Gifts, 2022 (2022.6)

The department's subsequent leader was the ever-effervescent Luke Syson. He started in 2012 after long, distinguished stints at the British Museum and the National Gallery, London. Luke lent constant support and solid advice to our catalogue and raised the necessary funds from Rodes and Patricia Hart, our close collector friends in Nashville. He also gave the enterprise a terrific boost by hiring Peter Bell, Denise Allen, and Jeffrey Fraiman, and bringing on board the Italian scholars Fernando Loffredo and Tommaso Mozzati. Luke left the museum in 2018 to become director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Editors' note: James David Draper died on November 8, 2019. His dedication to the catalogue never flagged, and he wrote the majority of his entries as Curator Emeritus from 2015 to 2018. He was pleased to discuss the progress of the catalogue with Sarah E. Lawrence, Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Curator in Charge, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, whose determination to lead the project to its completion brought him joy. It is regrettable that he

could not see its publication, but he remains its principal author of entries, and, given his delight in trusting the talents of the people he worked with, no doubt felt he left the project in good hands.

In February 2022, The Met acquired the so-called Mantuan Roundel attributed to the goldsmith, sculptor, print engraver, and medalist Gian Marco Cavalli, active at the Gonzaga court in Mantua and closely associated with Antico and Andrea Mantegna (fig. 1). Though occurring too late to give it full catalogue treatment, its acquisition is a tribute to Jim, who first sought it for the museum nearly two decades prior, around the time this catalogue was conceived. The generosity of numerous donors, and Jim's extraordinary bequest, made the acquisition of this work possible.

NOTES

1. Phillips 1941; Phillips 1955. For the silver crucifix, see MMA, 17.190.499.
2. The bronze catalogue appeared in 1962 with Hackenbroch cited as author of the introduction; see Untermyer 1962.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. 38. As a pure forgery, it has been retained only for study purposes; see [cat. A49](#).
4. Draper 1978a.



Collecting Italian Bronzes at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Jeffrey Fraiman

Italian bronze statuettes entered American museums gradually over the early decades of the twentieth century. A complex web of dealers, collectors, and scholars on both sides of the Atlantic contributed to their appeal stateside as bronzes slowly populated showrooms, private interiors, and museum galleries. Despite the ubiquity of small bronzes in American museums today, the story of the genre in the United States is largely untold, and many of the personalities and objects central to this history are obscure or forgotten altogether.

Founded in 1870, The Metropolitan Museum of Art was the first American museum to collect Italian bronze statuettes in earnest. Over a little more than a century, The Met assembled an array of bronzes that today number nearly 300, on a scale with the great historic collections of Europe—museums like the Victoria & Albert in London, the Kunsthistorisches in Vienna, the Louvre in Paris, and the Bargello in Florence. While these institutions had hundreds of years of royal provenances from which to draw, The Met collection was formed instead through bequests, gifts, and acquisitions based on the vicissitudes, vagaries, and tastes of the eras and personalities involved. Reconstructing this history demands particular attention to figures typically overlooked in the scholarship, curators like W. R. Valentiner and John Goldsmith Phillips. Valentiner, The Met's first curator of decorative arts, assembled the country's earliest corpus of bronze statuettes (a group now largely consigned to oblivion); Goldsmith relied on instinct to build the bronze collection through targeted purchases over several decades.

Equally important was the largesse of private collectors. Early on, businessman Ogden Mills gifted the museum more than sixty bronze objects. His example set the precedent for collectors Michael Friedsam, George Blumenthal, Judge Irwin

Untermeyer, and Jack and Belle Linsky to donate large groups of bronzes to the museum. Their collecting habits, and those of many others mentioned here, helped shape The Met's corpus of bronzes into its present configuration. Along the way, the symbiotic relationship between academics and curators, an early focus on Baroque statuettes (predating the museum's interest in seicento painting), and the use of deaccessioning as a tool to refine and augment holdings defined collecting areas and established new critical directions.

A small beginning of a collection of Renaissance bronzes has been made through the acquisition of a bust of Pope Innocent X, attributed to Algardi, and several statuettes and plaquettes.

—W. R. Valentiner, *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Museum*, 1908¹

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Italian bronzes were a largely unknown quantity in America. Museums did not acquire or display them, and Gilded Age collectors had not yet succumbed to their charms.² Thus, in its understated way, The Met's annual report of 1908 records an important moment for both the museum's collection and the burgeoning taste for Italian bronzes in the United States. The first bronze of note to enter the collection, a bust of Pope Innocent X ([cat. 151](#)), was acquired that year from the French dealer Georges Hoentschel.³ It was installed in a small gallery at the summit of the grand staircase alongside an eclectic assortment of historical and contemporary objects, including a bronze bust of George Washington after a model by Jean Antoine Houdon and large stained-glass windows designed by the living artist Luc-Olivier Merson.⁴ The Met had not yet been structured into distinct departments with curators assigned to specific categories of



Fig. 1. View of The Met's bronzes installation, ca. 1980s, with Antonio Susini's *Abduction of a Sabine* (cat. 135) in the foreground

objects beyond a simple binary: painting and sculpture.⁵ This would soon change. Propelled by a mission to build an encyclopedic collection, the museum was on the brink of an administrative and curatorial restructuring that would replace the type of gallery containing a potpourri of materials, geographies, and epochs with a system of rooms organized in chronological and art-historical order.⁶

The gallery featuring the bust of Innocent X was soon reinstalled with works of analogous period and place: "At the head of the stairs, Room 12, are arranged some objects of the Italian seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a marble mantel with a bronze bust of Innocent X, a large harpsichord from the Crosby Brown Collection, said to have belonged to that pontiff, and several tapestries."⁷ The reinstallation epitomized the changes wrought by two figures key not only for American museums in general, but also for the introduction of the Italian bronze statuette in the United States: J. Pierpont Morgan and W. R. Valentiner.

President of The Met from 1904 until his death in 1913, Morgan had a decisive hand in determining its direction. A titan in banking, physically imposing with an intimidating bearing, he bent the museum to his considerable will. His donation of nearly 7,000 works certainly provided leverage. To oversee curatorial departments, he hired illustrious art historians who professionalized staff and influenced nascent organizations across the United States. His acquisition of a major group of French decorative arts from Hoentschel's holdings prompted the creation of a Department of Decorative Arts in 1907.⁸ Morgan asked Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), the influential director of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, to recommend a curator for the new department. A specialist in Dutch

painting and Italian Renaissance sculpture, Bode was a leading figure in the modernization of German museums.⁹ The correspondence between the two men was mediated by Edward Robinson, then assistant director of The Met. Robinson had formed a relationship with Bode as early as 1891, when the American was curator of antiquities at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.¹⁰ For the curator of decorative arts, Bode endorsed his assistant, Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner (1880–1958), the "most gifted and best equipped young student of art that I have ever had in the Museum."¹¹ Robinson met Valentiner in Frankfurt for an informal interview, then posted an encouraging follow-up: "Be assured that I shall let you know the result as soon as possible, and I trust that you still share my hope for a successful and satisfactory outcome as the sequence of our interview . . . I hope you have already begun your English studies, as a knowledge of the language will be most essential to a beginning in New York."¹²

Born in Karlsruhe, Valentiner (fig. 2) studied at the University of Heidelberg under Henry Thode. His dissertation on Rembrandt appeared in 1905, coinciding with the final volume of Bode's monumental study of the artist.¹³ After a stint in The Hague working with Cornelius Hofstede de Groot on various catalogues of seventeenth-century Dutch artists, he moved to Berlin in 1905 when Bode hired him as a personal assistant. The education he received under Bode's tutelage was transformative:

My acquaintance with Bode was my first experience with a person of true genius . . . Bode was just as much a politician as he was a scholar . . . Working with Bode was one of my most valuable experiences and had a decisive influence

on the rest of my life. I was a silent and admiring observer of his lively intellectual discussion with the department heads of the museums, with the private collectors who were his friends and whose activities he was constantly encouraging, and with art dealers, by whose experiences he expanded and evaluated his own knowledge.¹⁴

Though trained as a Northern paintings specialist, Valentiner worked across departments at the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, including Islamic art, decorative arts, and engravings, and learned from his mentor the fine points of administering a museum collection. He developed an expertise in Italian Renaissance sculpture, particularly the marble Madonnas of Mino da Fiesole, Antonio Rossellino, and Desiderio da Settignano that became prized objects among American collectors. Writing in 1912, a few years into his tenure at The Met, Valentiner declared: “The greatest care has been given to the development of the department of Italian Renaissance sculpture, which, on account of its preeminence over all other European sculpture during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, must always take a most important place in any large museum.”¹⁵

The twenty-eight-year-old arrived in New York eager to oversee a wide array of artworks and make an immediate impact on the museum’s collections and display. He remained involved in the study of Dutch paintings in addition to his duties as decorative arts curator. To Bode, he noted with pleasure that he would be allowed to consult with the recently hired paintings curator, the eminent British critic Roger Fry, on matters related to that field: “A considerable disorder seems to be prevalent in the Metropolitan Museum’s administration and each one can, if he wants, have a word on the acquisitions of other departments. Fry let me understand I could help with the Netherlands.”¹⁶ In 1909, as part of the Hudson-Fulton Celebration, he organized an exhibition, massive in both scale and influence, of 150 Dutch paintings from collections across the United States.

Valentiner imported Bode’s vision of an integrated display of objects of different mediums in thematic installations that embodied certain chronological periods: the birth of the “period room” in the United States.¹⁷ These were not, as the term is used today, preserved historical interiors. Rather, they were gallery spaces with architectural touches that evoked specific historical eras.¹⁸ In an 1891 article, Bode laid out his concept of display: “the greatest possible isolation of each work and its exhibition in a room which, in all material aspects, such as lighting and architecture, should resemble, as near as may be, the apartment for which it was originally intended.”¹⁹ This idea was new to The Met. Valentiner’s post began under the leadership of Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, who had previously directed the V&A and subscribed to its taxonomic approach to organizing galleries, with objects arranged like the specimens at the American Museum of Natural History.

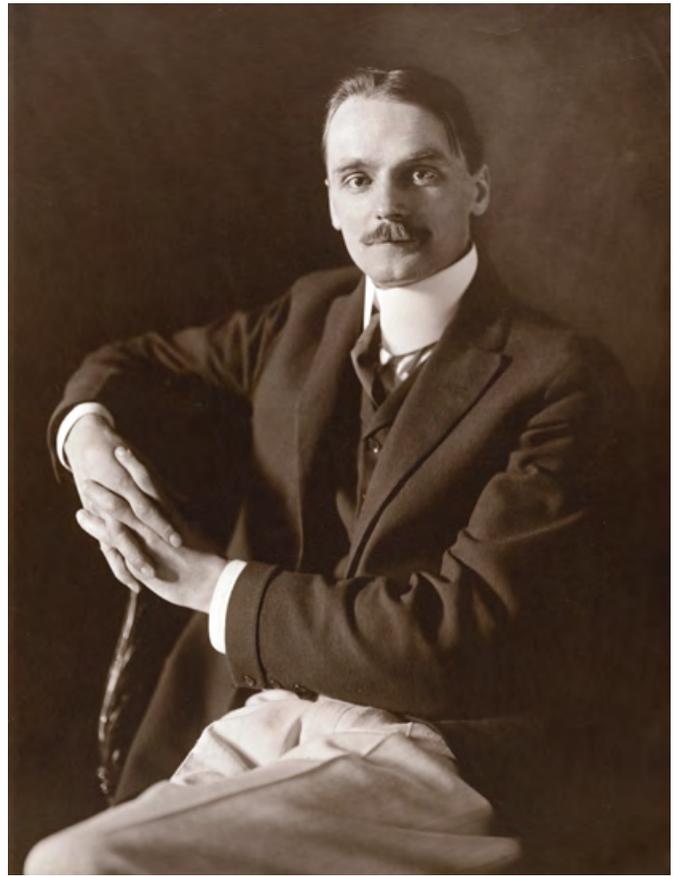


Fig. 2. W. R. Valentiner, 1919

In his deployment of Bode’s museological principles, Valentiner found in Morgan a valuable ally with mutual interests: “The fact that in the course of five years, to the outbreak of the first World War, my division at the Metropolitan Museum became the most important and also occupied the most space, was chiefly due to Pierpont Morgan’s support and aid. For Mr. Morgan was more interested in plastic and decorative art than in painting.”²⁰ The two men got on well, though the curator would later joke that while installing the collection in the Great Hall, “Morgan often came and watched, occasionally dropping a remark such as ‘It looks like a junk shop.’”²¹

With Morgan’s support, Valentiner completely revamped The Met’s methods of display, jettisoning its collection of plaster casts and the unsightly cuspidors that dotted the galleries. “When I decided, contrary to Purdon Clarke’s ideas, to install the Morgan collection on the basis of period rooms, giving the visitor a perception of the principal art epochs through well spaced masterpieces,” he later recalled, “I was unaware how significant for the future this arrangement would be. For in the course of time the New York museum came to serve as a model for most of the museums that were subsequently founded all over the country.”²² Indeed, Valentiner’s years in New York were only a precursor to a long, trailblazing career in which he would lead several American museums,

including the Detroit Institute of Arts (1924–46), the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (1946–54), the new J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (1954), and the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh (1955–58).²³ One can trace a through-line from Bode to Valentiner, their professionalization of the museum world over a century ago, and the American museum as we know it today.

Valentiner's early acquisitions of bronzes at The Met

Traditional accounts of the collecting of Italian bronze statuettes in American museums begin with Morgan's bronzes and their dispersal via Joseph Duveen, mostly into the hands of Henry Clay Frick (see below).²⁴ But an earlier, forgotten episode is reconstructed here, one that further illuminates Bode's massive influence. Bode had almost single-handedly created scholarly interest in and market appreciation of the Italian bronze statuette through a series of influential studies beginning in the late nineteenth century.²⁵ His foundational contributions coalesced in a systematic three-volume survey of the bronze statuette published from 1907 to 1912. He also authored multiple catalogues of private holdings, including Morgan's collection of 225 bronzes.²⁶ Bode's attributions, use of photographs, and extensive knowledge of public and private collections affected the entirety of subsequent bronze study, and he focused attention on names like Bertoldo di Giovanni, Bartolomeo Bellano, and Andrea Riccio.

In little more than half a decade, Valentiner amassed a collection of thirty Italian bronze statuettes for The Met that should rightly be regarded as the first substantial corpus of the "Bode bronze" in an American museum. He made the bulk of these purchases with money from the Rogers Fund, formed through the \$5 million bequest of locomotive manufacturer Jacob S. Rogers.²⁷ The fund allowed curators to make calculated purchases rather than relying solely on the whims of collectors. Working largely with dealers and auction houses in France and Germany, Valentiner focused on acquiring bronzes that would represent the range of objects catalogued by Bode in his watershed studies. He introduced many of these acquisitions to the American public via notices published in the museum's *Bulletin*, often citing Bode as the authority and linking them to exemplars Bode had published. The group included small, sometimes crude statuettes of quattrocento Florence and the northern Italian schools—mainly Padua or Venice circa 1500—and encompassed devotional subjects, like saints; male and female nude figures, often after the antique; animals, some cast from life; and utilitarian objects such as mortars and doorknockers.²⁸

In 1910, the new wing of decorative arts was installed according to Valentiner's state-of-the-art blueprint for display. His small-scale bronzes joined large sculptural pieces in the main hall featuring works of the twelfth to the seventeenth century: "Two cases contain Renaissance bronze statuettes and

plaquettes, all recent acquisitions and now on exhibition for the first time. Among the statuettes are two important works of the fifteenth century, one attributed to Bartoldo [*sic*], the teacher of Michelangelo; the other a statuette of Cleopatra by a Sieneese artist: while a Kneeling Venus, an imitation after an antique group, and a Kneeling Man of the school of Michelangelo, represent the sculpture of the sixteenth century with its more exaggerated movements."²⁹

There is a reason Valentiner's achievements in the early collection of bronzes have gone largely unrecognized: his foundational group has been vitiated by deattributions and deaccessioning. At least fourteen of the pieces were sold from the collection, most during the 1980s, when curators James Parker and Olga Raggio, together with James David Draper, winnowed down the bronze holdings to make way for the Linsky bequest (discussed below).³⁰ Of the fifteen that remain, few have been on view in recent years. Several are relegated to the Appendix to the present catalogue as poor examples that offer little beyond passing curiosity to scholars ([cats. A6, A39, A54, A77](#)). The finest bronze of Valentiner's original group is undoubtedly the *Virgin and Child* acquired as a work by Jacopo Sansovino and now attributed to Nicolò Roccatagliata ([cat. 66](#)). When Valentiner spotted the statuette at an auction house in Munich, he queried Bode: "I would be glad if you wouldn't buy it, unless of course you want it for the [Kaiser-Friedrich Museum]."³¹

This letter suggests that Valentiner deferred to his former mentor when making purchases, perhaps explaining why so few of his bronzes are of superior quality. Along with the Roccatagliata statuette, these include the two bishop-saints that Valentiner associated with Michelangelo and whose authorship still vexes ([cat. 106](#)). The putto he attributed to Verrocchio and described as an example of the "charming realism, with the love for detailed execution and gay expression" characteristic of the Florentine school, however, is now considered nineteenth century ([cat. 193](#)).³² He also published three bronzes he ascribed to Riccio, introducing this artist to American museum audiences; only one has survived scholarly scrutiny ([cats. 22, A6](#), and see [cat. 23](#)).³³

Often building upon Bode's scholarship, Valentiner made a number of interesting, but often unconvincing, proposals in regard to some of the now-deaccessioned objects. For instance, a crude figure of Adam holding an apple in his outstretched left hand ([fig. 3](#)), acquired from the Munich dealer Julius Böhler in 1908, was linked to two depictions of the biblical figure presented in Bode's bronze survey. Bode associated his pair with the Venetian sculptor Antonio Rizzo and his marble statue of Adam made for the Palazzo Ducale, Venice.³⁴ Although the three bronze Adams indeed form a heterogeneous group, Valentiner's sourcing of Bode's opinion is notable chiefly as evidence of the prestige attached to the German scholar's imprimatur. The Met's *Adam* was deaccessioned at Christie's in 1982.



Fig. 3. The bronze *Adam* acquired by Valentiner in 1908, deaccessioned in 1982



Fig. 4. The *Crouching Venus with Cupid* acquired by Valentiner in 1909, deaccessioned in the 1950s

The *Crouching Venus with Cupid* (fig. 4) met the same fate but in its early years at the museum was held in high esteem. Valentiner acquired it from the dealer Luigi Grassi in Florence.³⁵ At 16 inches tall, it was large for a statuette and had a richly embellished bronze base that Valentiner linked to Antico: “The decoration of garlands and groups of armor recalls somewhat the style of Pier Ilari Bonaccorsi [*sic*], called Antico, and indicates the province of this work as Northern Italy.”³⁶ A photograph

shows the solitary statuette on a table in the center of a decorative arts gallery, a testament to its status in the collection (fig. 5). By the time it was deaccessioned in the 1950s, the *Venus* had been downgraded to a late nineteenth-century imitation after the antique.

Valentiner absorbed from Bode the imperative to collect strategically. Early on, he recognized the need for excellent examples of quattrocento bronzes, works that are often direct



Fig. 5. The *Crouching Venus with Cupid* (now deaccessioned) displayed in the center of The Met gallery, before 1929



Fig. 6. Interior of Benjamin Altman's Fifth Avenue home, with Giambologna's *Triton* (cat. 116) on the center table, ca. 1910

casts—thus only one version exists—and rarely appear on the market. He was especially proud of a statuette depicting either Hercules or Samson with a lion, which he attributed to the Florentine sculptor Bertoldo di Giovanni. On a purchase report for this and other bronzes from the dealer J. & S. Goldschmidt, Valentiner wrote: “The pieces are of finest quality and the opportunity ought not to be lost as it is very difficult to get Quattrocento bronzes of this quality for reasonable prices.”³⁷ The “Bertoldo” was deaccessioned in 1982, considered superfluous when a finer version—at this point not associated with that artist—came in through the Linsky bequest (cat. A42).³⁸

Valentiner's term at The Met ended in 1914, when he enlisted in the German army at the onset of World War I. His acquisitions had set the stage for the programmatic collection of Italian bronzes at the museum and marked them out as a critical area of expansion. The year of his departure, the bequest of department-store magnate Benjamin Altman (1840–1913) added one bronze that has become a capstone of today's collection. Altman's bequest transformed The Met with key works of Renaissance sculpture and European painting, including Dutch masterpieces by Rembrandt, Frans Hals, and Johannes Vermeer, as well as Iranian and Chinese decorative arts.³⁹ In the words of one observer, this influx of first-rate art put the museum at “the forefront of the world's treasure houses, with the Louvre and Madrid.”⁴⁰ Altman was lukewarm about bronzes, but his bequest did include two sets of Venetian

andirons (cats. 79, 80) and, most significantly, Giambologna's *Triton*, then attributed to Adriaen de Vries but now properly given to the master (fig. 7; cat. 116).⁴¹ In a photograph of a gallery in Altman's home, the large bronze is prominently displayed on a wooden table as the room's centerpiece, surrounded by the paintings of Velázquez, Rembrandt, and Hals (fig. 6).

A final note about the museum's first decade of collecting bronze statuettes: In 1910, Bode published a lavish catalogue of J. P. Morgan's bronzes, a seminal achievement demonstrating the reciprocal relationships among scholars, dealers, and collectors, with new photographs and new attributions for circulation. Despite his close ties to The Met, Morgan left to his son the job of deciding the destination of his vast collection. Beginning in February 1914, after the financier's death, thousands of objects were brought from England and displayed across thirteen galleries at The Met.⁴² In effect, the museum was used as a showroom for Morgan's taste, where rising Gilded Age collectors could check out the formidable offerings and learn by his example. Bronzes became a fashionable part of private interiors, a new trend that the dealer Joseph Duveen quickly exploited. Duveen bought the bulk of Morgan's bronzes and sold the largest block (86) to Henry Clay Frick, with smaller groups going to Henry Huntington and Michael Friedsam.⁴³ Others went to The Met as posthumous gifts in 1917, including the Venetian relief *Elijah in the Fiery Chariot* (cat. 55) and the *Standing Boy* associated with a model by Mantegna (cat. 8). An

additional group came with the Friedsam bequest in 1932 (see below). There are presently thirty bronzes in The Met that once formed part of Morgan's storied collection, with the most recent added in 1979 (cat. A53).

Joseph Breck and Ogden Mills (1924–29)

One of Valentiner's most consequential decisions was hiring the young Harvard graduate Joseph Breck (1885–1933) as assistant curator.⁴⁴ Under Valentiner's supervision, Breck developed an expertise in Italian bronzes in addition to his specialties in medieval and Chinese art. In 1914, Valentiner recommended Breck for director of the new Minneapolis Institute of Art: "He has been of . . . great value in the installation of the Morgan Collection where two of the most successful rooms, the one of Italian bronzes and the one with the Raphael, are entirely his work."⁴⁵ Breck's stint in Minneapolis was short-lived, and he returned to occupy Valentiner's vacated post in 1917.⁴⁶ Whatever affection existed between the two men prewar was apparently fleeting: Valentiner recalled Breck's chilly reception when he visited The Met in 1921.⁴⁷ Breck was named the first director of the newly formed Cloisters in 1932, a year before his untimely death at age forty-eight while in Europe acquiring works for the museum (JOSEPH BRECK DIES ON MISSION FOR ART was the headline of his *New York Times* obituary). Among

his many contributions was a brief but intense cultivation of the New York collector Ogden Mills.

In 1923, Breck along with curators Bryson Burroughs and William Ivins organized the *Loan Exhibition of the Arts of the Italian Renaissance at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. The checklist demonstrates that, despite Valentiner's rapid acquisitions, the museum leaned on local collectors to tell a more comprehensive story of the period. Director Edward Robinson explained the show's goal: "to give our visitors a general survey of the various forms in which the artistic spirit of Italy manifested itself in the period when it reached its highest development," emphasizing that it introduced "works with which the public is not familiar."⁴⁸ The selection included twenty small bronzes, only four of which then belonged to The Met.⁴⁹ Nine were either lent by J. P. Morgan Jr. or had at some point been in the Morgan collection. Thus the show underlined the continuing relevance of both Bode and Morgan Sr. to the American public's encounter with the genre.

A year later, a substantial gift of Italian bronzes came from a benefactor whose name is conspicuously absent from the list of lenders to the 1923 exhibition. Ogden Mills's contribution to the field of Italian bronzes in the United States has gone virtually unnoticed, but he had a profound role in shaping The Met's collection. His father, Darius Ogden Mills, made a fortune during the Gold Rush and was at times considered the richest man in California. The younger Mills (1856–1929), a financier and philanthropist, served as president, director, or trustee in dozens of businesses and organizations.⁵⁰ In 1882, he married Ruth Livingston, from a prominent East Coast family, which provided Mills entrée into the upper echelon of New York society. The couple hired McKim, Mead & White to renovate the historic Livingston estate in Staatsburgh, New York, which had been in Ruth's family for five generations. Ogden and Ruth reportedly inspired the characters of Gus and Judy Trenor in Edith Wharton's novel *House of Mirth* (1905).⁵¹ Gus is described as ruddy-faced, paunchy, and given to drink,⁵² and the Trenors' Bellomont residence, based on the Staatsburgh manor, is the setting for lavish parties attended by the New York glitterati. The obituary of the real-life Mills stated rather more dryly that he and his wife "entertained extensively in their Fifth Avenue home. Mr. Mills's social leadership was undisputed, and the Mills home was internationally known for its dinner parties and for the gatherings there of persons of prominence and wealth."⁵³

Ogden and his sister Elizabeth Mills Reid inherited an estate estimated at \$60 million as well as a family tradition of giving to The Met. Darius not only gifted the museum a large group of objects in 1904, he also left it the extraordinary sum of \$100,000 in his will in 1910. How Ogden became interested in collecting bronze statuettes is unclear, though he must have known J. P. Morgan Sr. fairly well. Mills sat on the board of Morgan's New York Central Railroad line, and along with



Fig. 7. View of The Met's Altman Gallery, ca. 1920, with Giambologna's *Triton* (cat. 116) at left



Fig. 8. *Bather*, the so-called *Black Venus*. Probably Netherlands, late 16th–early 17th century. Bronze; H. 11¾ in. (29.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Ogden Mills, 1926 (26.14.15)

much of New York society—the Vanderbilts and Astors et al.—Morgan attended the extravagant wedding of Mills’s daughter Gladys in 1907.⁵⁴ It is likely Ogden’s collecting intensified upon the receipt of his portion of his father’s estate. He purchased objects to decorate his various residences: in Staatsburgh; on the Upper East Side, a Venetian Gothic townhouse at 69th Street and Fifth Avenue designed by Richard Morris Hunt; and in Paris, the magnificent Hôtel de Broglie, the city’s largest private home, built in 1752.⁵⁵ The Paris residence passed from Ogden and Ruth to their daughter Beatrice, the countess of Granard, who was known for wearing ostentatious jewels such as a 130-carat emerald necklace by Cartier. The couple’s other child, Ogden Livingston Mills, served as U.S. Secretary of the Treasury under Herbert Hoover.

In the mid-1920s, Mills gave sixty-four bronzes to The Met. The first tranche of twenty-five entered the museum en bloc in 1924. Though it came without fanfare—no catalogue or earmarked gallery—it laid the groundwork for a broader

presentation of the field of Italian bronzes through The Met’s own holdings. Like many collectors of his era, Mills preferred small Paduan bronzes and Giambolognesque compositions, and the highlights of this group are the *Bathing Venus* and *Trotting Horse* after Giambologna prototypes (cats. 124, 118). The Mills family bred racehorses—such as the champion Seabiscuit—so a predilection for equestrian motifs is not surprising: this initial group contained five such compositions (cats. 96, 119B).⁵⁶ A second tranche of twenty-four bronzes along with dozens of medals and plaquettes arrived in 1925. “Through these two splendid donations,” Breck announced, “the Museum collection [of bronzes] becomes one of notable importance.”⁵⁷ A few individual gifts and another group of ten statuettes followed in 1926 and 1927.

The Italian works in these donations further fleshed out The Met’s selection of “Bode bronzes.” The Mills corpus has suffered some attrition (ten pieces have been deaccessioned), and many of the original attributions of the Italian bronzes were optimistic (the “Giambolognas” in particular). But most have remained within the orbit of Italian Renaissance/Baroque production. One that has not is the so-called *Black Venus* (fig. 8), a lovely statuette that Breck singled out for its beauty.⁵⁸ Originally ascribed to Alessandro Vittoria, it is now considered Netherlandish. The Mills gifts also included a number of statuettes with a Northern or French provenance; several of the latter are now associated with Barthélemy Prieur.

It is doubtful that Mills actually lived with these bronzes in any of his multiple residences, unlike the French decorative arts of which he was an avid collector.⁵⁹ Rather, he seems to have enjoyed scouring the European sales of heritage collections and working with dealers specifically to buy pedigreed bronzes en masse for The Met. Mills often informed Breck of his movements abroad, as in a letter of July 23, 1925:

During the past season in Paris there were two very good collections of 16th Century Italian Bronzes sold. This is the first time for a considerable number of years since any such objects came upon the market. I have purchased the more important bronzes in both collections, especially the Lehmen [*sic*] collection, which you probably have noticed in their catalogue . . . I have ordered this collection forwarded here and propose to give them to the Museum as an addition to the bronzes which I presented last year. This will make a collection which will compare with the collection of similar objects in the Louvre . . . There is no doubt about the value of this addition and the principal bidders in Paris for all these objects were various European Museums.⁶⁰

This letter illustrates Mills’s buying strategy and reveals his aim to place The Met’s collection on a par with the best in Europe. At the time, this goal was more aspirational than grounded in reality but reflected the ambitious spirit of a young museum

and its plucky supporters. An illustrious provenance, one with a rarefied European surname attached, could burnish a bronze's reputation regardless of its actual qualities—something that appealed to American curators. Breck responded enthusiastically: “This is going to be a splendid addition to our collection. I am more than delighted with the lot.”⁶¹

Breck also notified or advised Mills about specific bronzes on the market. In a letter of April 7, 1927, for example, he appraised works on offer with the dealers Ercole and Cesare Canessa, owners of a Roman gallery with a New York outpost located at 120 West 50th Street that specialized in ancient and Renaissance sculpture:

Mr. Adamo from Canessa came to see me this morning, bringing with him four bronzes about which, I understand, you want my opinion as to their desirability for the Museum . . . The Bertoldo Hercules from the Morgan Collection is the one that interested me most. It is a bronze of the type in which we are very weak; it would be an important addition to the collection. Bertoldo was one of the great Florentine masters, and anything associated with him is of unusual interest. The price (\$4,000) seems reasonable.

The two Riccio incense burners (of which I saw only one) are fine pieces. I would advise against the statuette of the youth with his arms upraised, since we have a good example in gilded bronze of this figure; and also the Venus and Cupid, of which we have two examples—without the Cupid, who does not, in my opinion, improve the composition.⁶²

The “Venus and Cupid” to which he refers is the *Crouching Venus with Cupid* acquired by Valentiner. There is no evidence that Mills pursued any of these bronzes, but this and other correspondence between the curator and the collector indicate their strategic approach to building The Met's bronze holdings. Their productive collaboration—Mills's eagerness disciplined by Breck's expertise—established parameters for future collecting areas. If Breck disagreed with Mills's assessment of a particular object, he tactfully but firmly told him so: “You have been so kind and generous that I do hope I shall not offend you if I say quite frankly that I still find myself of the same opinion which I had when I first saw the statuette—that it was not up to the standard of the others . . . Perhaps I am ‘hipped’ on the subject, but I just do not see it with your other pieces. Forgive me!”⁶³

Michael Friedsam bequest (1931)

Over the next century, The Met's corpus of bronzes grew from the foundation laid by Breck and Mills, with each purchase, gift, or bequest directly or indirectly responding to both Bode's scholarship and the existing collection. In 1931, the museum received the vast and rather eccentric bequest of Altman's nephew Michael Friedsam (1860–1931). It included more than

100 European paintings—such as works by Dürer, Vermeer, and Rembrandt—and nearly 300 pieces of European sculpture and decorative arts. Breck, by then a seasoned curator, highlighted specific groups of interest to his department, the first of which were Renaissance bronzes.⁶⁴ The sheer quantity of the offerings proved a challenge to curators evaluating them, as Breck pointed out in a letter of May 16, 1931: “The decorative arts in the collection present a somewhat difficult problem, owing to the number of pieces, and the need for prolonged examination. . . . The collection of Renaissance bronzes numbers about fifty pieces; if only the best were selected, we might want around eighteen to twenty.”⁶⁵

Ultimately, the department accepted thirty-seven bronzes, mostly Italian. In 1916, Friedsam had purchased from Joseph Duveen a group of Morgan bronzes for which the dealer provided a custom-made display case.⁶⁶ These were not the superb exemplars from the Morgan collection that Duveen had sold to Frick, but a middling selection attesting to the fact that bronzes were now de rigueur in the home of any serious Gilded Age collector. Of course, even the most mediocre object that had passed through Morgan's hands with Bode's seal of approval acquired a veneer of prestige. Celebrated in the *Bulletin* in 1932, the Friedsam bronzes, with a few exceptions, have not sustained a reputation for high quality, though several are still useful for comparative study (cats. 99, 127).⁶⁷

George Blumenthal bequest (1941)

Following the Friedsam bequest in the early 1930s, the museum's Italian bronzes totaled well over 100 in number. Subsequent donations from the 1940s through the 1980s doubled that amount. It is through these large groups of gifts and bequests, complemented by targeted curatorial purchases, that The Met's bronze collection took its current shape, with benchmarks of the genre and representative works from across the field illustrating the breadth of production and offering opportunities for in-depth study. This trajectory parallels the development of many other areas of the museum's holdings.

The first of these groups arrived in 1941 as part of the bequest of George Blumenthal. Born in 1858 in Frankfurt, Blumenthal amassed a fortune as head of the U.S. branch of the Paris-based Lazard Frères bank. Together with his wife Florence, he was a generous supporter of The Met, giving a million dollars in 1928 and serving as president from 1934 until his death in 1941. His successor, William Church Osborn, eulogized him on the occasion of the 1943 exhibition of masterpieces from the bequest: “It is most fit that the Collection of George Blumenthal now shown should mainly come from the lustrous era of the Renaissance. Naught else could so well accord with his sense of the magnificent, his love of beauty, and the exquisiteness of his taste. He himself was of a type with the great Merchant Princes of that brilliant period, and his whole nature responded to the call of its fabulous charm.”⁶⁸

George was not the only “merchant prince” in the family: Florence was chiefly responsible for acquiring works of art abroad. The Blumenthals’ Renaissance-style palazzo at 70th Street and Park Avenue was packed with sculpture, decorative arts, and paintings spanning the eleventh to the sixteenth century. Director Francis Taylor extolled some of the delights to be found among the Blumenthal treasures: “Nowhere in this country, except at The Cloisters and in our own Morgan collection, is it possible to find a finer series of late Gothic sculptures or better examples of early mediaeval ivories and enamels.”⁶⁹ Blumenthal left to the museum all of his pre-1720 objects, along with the patio from the castle of Vélez Blanco—a masterpiece of Spanish Renaissance architecture—and his New York residence. (He even proposed that the house become a satellite branch of The Met.) The transformative bequest of hundreds of objects included over two dozen bronzes, mostly Venetian or Florentine statuettes and utilitarian items like andirons, inkwells, and incense burners. The highlight was the *Apollo* that Blumenthal purchased as a Giambologna and is now attributed to the Netherlandish sculptor Adriaen de Vries.⁷⁰ Blumenthal’s group joined his earlier gifts of bronzes: three statuettes in 1910, under Valentiner’s tenure (two since deaccessioned), and in 1932, Antonello Gagini’s important *Spinario* (cat. 163).⁷¹

Bronze statuettes were natural accoutrements for Blumenthal’s palazzo-style mansion. His interest in them also accords with descriptions of him as a collector: sensitive, instinctual, drawn to works with a tactile presence. The esteemed prints curator William Ivins observed of the man: “He once laughingly said he knew little about things he could not touch and that he got scant pleasure from them . . . Constantly his fingers overruled his eyes and ears. . . . Here is a collection in which there are few objects over which the most sensitive fingers would not linger with comforting, exciting, and exquisite pleasure.”⁷²

Judge Irwin Untermyer’s gifts (1964–71)

The gifts of bronzes from Irwin Untermyer (1886–1973) solidified The Met’s holdings and account for nearly a fifth of the objects in the present catalogue.⁷³ A judge on the New York Supreme Court, Untermyer was a longtime supporter of the museum and served on the board of trustees for two decades beginning in the 1950s. He started collecting works of art in 1912, always with an eye toward donating them to The Met, and he conscientiously avoided duplicating existing holdings.⁷⁴ From his home at 960 Fifth Avenue, he assembled a collection of more than 2,000 objects, large portions of which began to enter the museum in the 1960s (fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Interior of Judge Irwin Untermyer’s Fifth Avenue residence, before 1970, with his collection of bronzes, including *Bust of a Roman* (cat. 114) on the mantel

Untermeyer's interests were focused in several areas atypical of American collectors. His strengths lay in British decorative arts, embroidery, silver, and furniture; French and German porcelain; and medieval and Renaissance sculpture. In 1949, he recruited Yvonne Hackenbroch to study his collection. The last Jewish person to receive a PhD in Germany before World War II, Hackenbroch had worked at the British Museum and for the Canadian government. She died at the age of 100 in 2012.

Over a number of years, Hackenbroch organized seven catalogues on Untermeyer's possessions.⁷⁵ She dedicated the bronzes volume to "the Scholars whose writings have contributed greatly to the study and identification of Bronzes of the Renaissance."⁷⁶ In 1977, the museum published a catalogue of Untermeyer collection highlights. James David Draper's bronze entries incorporated the findings of conservator Richard E. Stone, an early instance of the merger of connoisseurship and science in the evaluation of bronzes.⁷⁷

The Untermeyer bronzes added many notable examples to The Met's collection. The Italian standouts include the *Horse and Rider Startled by a Snake* (cat. 49), the *Sleeping Hercules* (cat. 88), and a group associated with Riccio, particularly the *Seated Satyr* (cat. 16). He also donated important Northern and French bronzes, among them two rare works by François Lespingola, which expanded considerably the museum's holdings in these areas. Untermeyer described the bronze's appeal in the 1962 catalogue: "That fascination is easy to understand for in the perfection of the modeling, in the mellow beauty of the material, and at times in the loftiness of the conception, such small bronzes have seldom been surpassed in other departments of the arts."⁷⁸

John Goldsmith Phillips, acquisitive curator

In addition to the Friedsam, Blumenthal, and Untermeyer donations, a multitude of high-quality curatorial purchases enriched the museum's holdings. John Goldsmith Phillips was curator of decorative arts from 1929 and chair of the department from 1956 until 1971. He embodied the archetypal curator who doggedly followed his discerning eye, and with an appetite so large that he titled his unpublished memoir *Tales of an Acquisitive Curator*.⁷⁹ While earlier connoisseurs evaluated bronzes as expressions of craftsmanship manifesting the spirit of the Renaissance, Phillips acted on pure gut, the visceral jolt that an artwork can elicit. Thomas Hoving described him in evocative terms as "a rumpiled bear with a kind round face and a bald head . . . one of the Met's true eccentrics. His clothes were a mess. When he wasn't grunting, he sounded as if he were humming an aria. . . . In academe he was all but dismissed for his lack of scholarly publications, but most curators respected him. He was an 'object' man."⁸⁰ Phillips married an Italian woman, Giovanna Maria Sodi, and spent most of his summers in Tuscany. He nearly facilitated The Met's acquisition of Pontormo's *Visitation* from the town of Carmignano; the church was desperate

for funds, but Phillips's proposal was met with "hollow laughter" from paintings curator Harry Wehle.⁸¹

Phillips's memoir recounts several episodes of his spirited pursuit of specific bronzes. He remembered with pride that as a young curator in 1937 he identified and acquired the *Crucifixion* group after designs by Michelangelo at Frank Schnittjer's showroom (cat. 101): "Now, many years later, I feel that this was one of my most successful 'purchases.' Over the years it has come to be accepted as being after models made by Michelangelo himself."⁸² He recalled his encounter with a bronze *Fortuna* (cat. 123) in a London dealer's window display: "Seeing her, I wanted her. I was captivated by her serene sinuosity and her easy balance. She remained in my thoughts all day . . . How can I explain the immediacy and intensity of my reaction to *Fortuna*? . . . In my mood in London in the Fall of 1969 I would have stormed the doors of Frank Partridge & Sons to get at that bronze."⁸³ This *Fortuna* was ultimately judged a lesser cast of the celebrated Giambologna model better represented by the bronze that had entered the collection earlier as a Mills gift (cat. 122). Nevertheless, the anecdote conveys Phillips's confidence in the spontaneous, instinctual response when going after acquisitions.

His hunches often paid off. Phillips was responsible for perhaps the finest bronze in The Met's collection: Alessandro Vittoria's *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 58). He bought the statuette at auction in 1940 with the help of then-president of the board George Blumenthal: "In [Blumenthal's] characteristic Frankfurt [*sic*] accent he said: '\$1400 is too much. Bid up to \$900, Phillips, and you'll get it.' I left his tapestried office with the gravest doubts . . . But it became ours at auction for \$500."⁸⁴ Another illustrious find was Antico's *Paris* (cat. 11), purchased in 1955: "Piero Tozzi had for sale a bronze statuette of a Seated Paris. Tozzi, usually so sensitive to the surface condition of a work of art, neglected to wash Paris's hair, which had a dull, blackish tone . . . After buying it, for \$4,000, we immediately rectified his error. The dull tones instantly disappeared, revealing a profusion of brilliant and undamaged gold. The eyes were found to be silvered."⁸⁵ Phillips was also department head when the stockbroker C. Ruxton Love Jr. donated four bronzes, including the *Seated Hercules in the Act of Shooting at the Stymphalian Birds* (cat. 51) and the *David with the Head of Goliath* by Donatello's pupil Bartolomeo Bellano (cat. 2), one of the most important fifteenth-century statuettes by this early master of the form.

Curatorial strategies and collaboration

It is the purview of curators to seek superb examples of objects and to refine a collection not only through savvy accessioning but also shrewd deaccessioning. The unique nature of bronzes complicates these practices. Multiple casts might exist of a well-known model, and bronzes directly from a master's hand are scarce. Comparisons must be made between casts, and

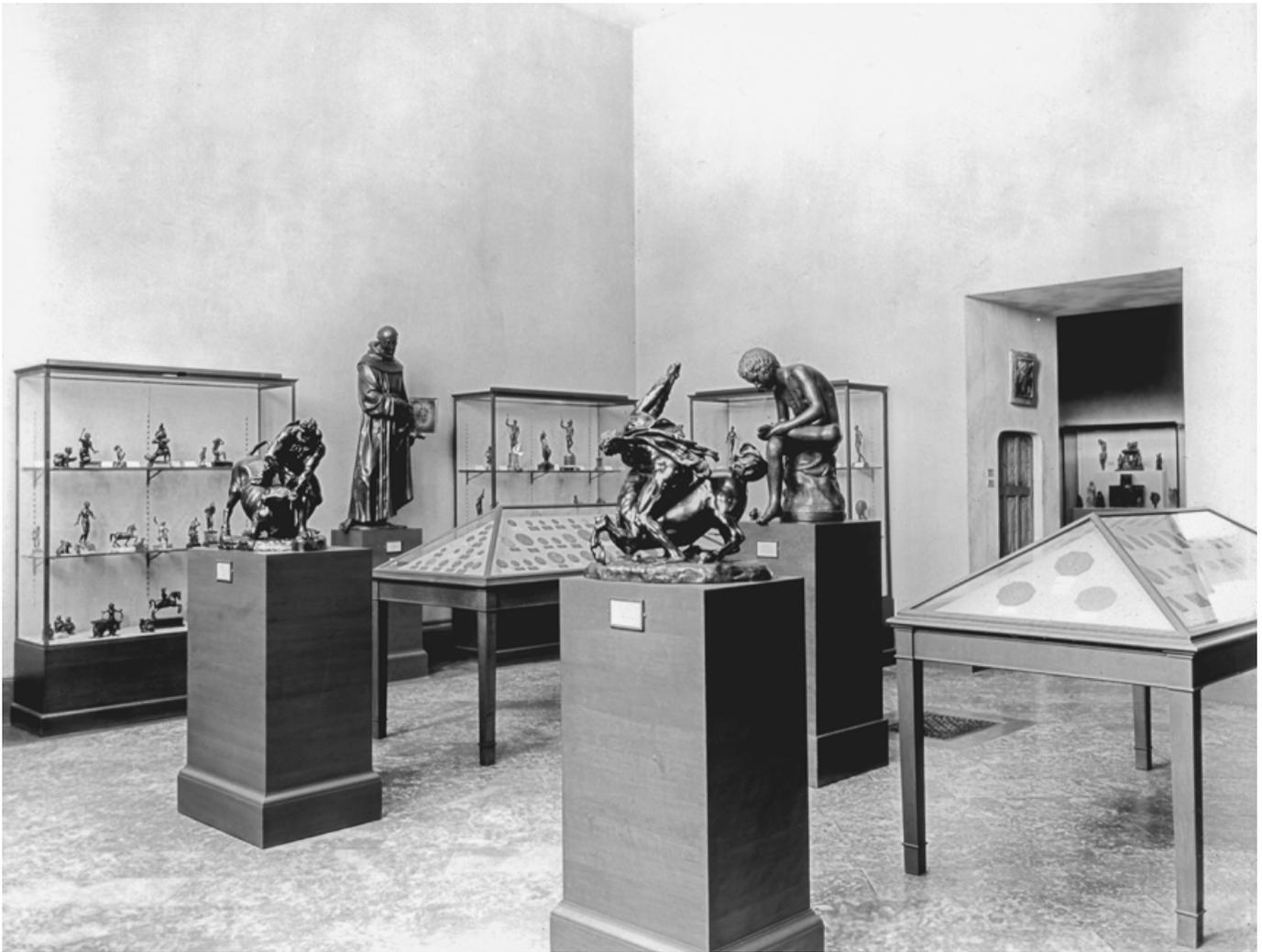


Fig. 10. The Met's bronzes gallery, ca. 1940, with *Hercules and the Cretan Bull* after Giambologna (cat. A41) on the stand at left, Antonello Gagini's *Spinario* (cat. 163), on the back stand, and Fulvio Signorini's *Saint Bernardino of Siena* (cat. 109B) against the wall

curators hunt for the finest among them. In 1930, for example, the dealer Jean Seligmann offered the museum Giambologna's bronze group *Hercules and the Cretan Bull*. Breck declined: "I am much obliged to you for sending up the Giovanni Bologna *Hercules*. It is a beautiful bronze and in fine condition, but I think it is not quite as good an example as the one in the Wallace Collection of the same subject. In the latter piece the drapery is much better modelled and composed. Under the circumstances, I think we had better wait until some other example turns up that answers all our requirements."⁸⁶ Whether Breck's demurral was a negotiation strategy or an outright rejection is unclear, but the work nonetheless joined the museum's collection three years later as a gift (cat. A41) and was prominently displayed in the bronzes gallery soon afterward (fig. 10).

Quattrocento bronzes have been a curatorial priority throughout The Met's history. All the more significant, then, is Draper's 1983 acquisition of the *Sprite* by a sculptor close to Donatello (cat. 1). In 1926, Breck penned words to Ogden Mills

that ring true to this day in terms of the collection's gaps: "Our greatest need . . . was for fifteenth-century bronzes. Here the collection is not at all strong. It would be greatly improved by the addition of a fine example of the work of Riccio or of some of the Florentine masters, such as Pollaiuolo and Bertoldo. Bronzes of this kind are expensive and hard to find, but these conditions will only increase as time goes on."⁸⁷

Scholarship on bronze statuettes has always been a delicate dance among curators, scholars, conservators, collectors, and dealers. Early on, The Met's curators engaged directly with European scholars to promote cooperation and further the study of bronze statuettes. Breck, in particular, maintained an active correspondence with his transatlantic colleagues. For instance, the dealer Germain Seligmann shared with him a 1922 letter from Bode containing information regarding the provenance of the Gagini *Spinario* (cat. 163), though this ultimately turned out to be incorrect.⁸⁸ In 1928, Breck solicited Leo Planiscig's opinion of the Roccatagliata *Virgin and Child*

(cat. 66). Two years later, the curator thanked Planiscig for his “delightful and scholarly book on Renaissance bronzes,” noting that such a study was long overdue.⁸⁹ This was undoubtedly the German scholar’s *Piccoli bronzi italiani del rinascimento*, published in 1930.

There was also an incipient interest in the conservation of bronzes. In 1920, Breck consulted R. P. Bedford, curator in the V&A’s architecture department, about patinas. Thanking Bedford for sending “a recipe for refreshing the patina of old bronzes, which consisted of wax and benzoline,” Breck inquired as to the chemical formula of benzoline, which he was unable to find (benzoline is another name for benzene, and many bronzes were coated with a mixture of beeswax and benzene).⁹⁰ In 1934, having spent time studying bronze busts in the V&A, the dealer George Durlacher wrote to curator Preston Remington regarding the bronze bust of Innocent X he had sold the museum nearly three decades earlier: “I think the dull patina could be rendered less unattractive if rubbed up daily with a soft cloth quite free from dust.”⁹¹

Sculpture curators strengthened ties between the museum and academia, collaborating with local faculty to educate students and advance knowledge in the field of Italian bronzes. Phillips and Raggio, together with professor H. W. Janson, taught a class on Renaissance bronzes as part of a Museum Training Program in partnership with the Institute of Fine Arts. In addition to her eventual role as department head, Raggio became an adjunct faculty member of the IFA in 1964 and offered courses on many topics, including Italian bronzes, Alessandro Algardi, and the Renaissance *studiolo*.⁹²

Jack and Belle Linsky Collection (1982)

The 400 objects gifted by Jack and Belle Linsky in 1982 contained the last substantial group of Italian bronzes to enter The Met as of this writing. The Linskys were Ukrainian-born Jewish émigrés whose success one journalist described as Horatio Alger–like.⁹³ After starting a wholesale business on the Lower East Side at age seventeen, Mr. Linsky designed a streamlined stapler, eventually founding his own office supply company, Swingline. His invention and his company revolutionized the industry. The Linskys began collecting in the 1940s, intensifying their efforts after moving to a Fifth Avenue apartment in 1952. They bought French furniture, French and German porcelain, Renaissance and Baroque bronzes, medieval metalwork, goldsmith work, jewelry, and European paintings. The fine quality of the objects attracted many American museums.⁹⁴ Mrs. Linsky credited her buying instincts to her job as an efficiency expert in the family business—“If something was one thousandth of an inch off, I’d know it. I never bought a fake”⁹⁵—and the couple generally relied on their eyes, not expert opinion: “We were just two impulsive people who acquired things not with knowledge, but with heart. When we saw something we loved, we had to have it. We didn’t have

much time, because in the stationery business you don’t make easy money. You work. But when we went on trips, to Paris for example, instead of going to fancy restaurants like other people, we’d stop in at a dealer’s.”⁹⁶ The dealers included Cyril Humphris and Ruth Blumka, with whom the Linskys consulted on bronzes.

Douglas Dillon, chairman of The Met, agreed to the Linskys’ rather strict conditions around the gift, such as tailor-built galleries designed to look like a Fifth Avenue apartment. (Mrs. Linsky: “I got bored going through the Met and seeing picture after picture without respite. And I thought, after all, why shouldn’t they show a collection in a way that reflects as much as possible the way it looked in the collector’s home?”⁹⁷) The couple also forbade the deaccessioning of any of the objects: if one went, the entire collection would have to be offered to another museum.

The Linsky donation added some gems to the museum’s bronze holdings: Antico’s *Satyr*, formerly owned by Prince Nicholas of Romania (cat. 10); two seated satyrs distantly related to Riccio (cat. 17); and a high-quality cast after Giambologna’s *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* (cat. 128). In the Linsky collection catalogue published in 1984, Raggio noted the special quality of the bronzes assembled:

As one studies the Linskys’ collection, one is struck by the predominance of atypical and strongly expressive statuettes over the better-known classical models so often encountered in continental collections formed before World War II. The Linskys’ personal taste and their willingness to depart from popular trends in collecting allowed them to venture in the 1960s into the less-familiar field of Baroque bronzes, and especially of northern European ones. It is here that some of the most interesting objects in the collection are found.⁹⁸

Key Baroque works include the small portrait bust of Paolo Giordano II Orsini, duke of Bracciano, associated with a model by Bernini and now ascribed to Johann Jakob Kornmann (cat. 153), and a *David and Goliath* that has joined the growing corpus of works by Francesco Fanelli (cat. 93). Perhaps because of the restrictions placed on it, the Linsky gift occasioned a fine-tuning of the collection in the 1980s, and a group of bronzes—many acquired by Valentiner or given by Mills—were deaccessioned.

Italian Baroque bronzes

Valentiner had little interest in exploring Italian bronzes beyond the temporal parameters delineated in Bode’s studies, which privileged the Renaissance. Valentiner’s dismissive attitude toward the Baroque reflected a bias widespread in American cultural circles well into the twentieth century.⁹⁹ As he explained in 1913: “The seventeenth and the eighteenth century

sculptures in Italy are little appreciated now. They have not indeed the restraint and the purity of the early Renaissance works.”¹⁰⁰ Few of the Mills, Friedsam, Blumenthal, and Untermeyer donations could be considered Baroque. Moreover, the scholarly recognition that might have stimulated museum or market curiosity did not become firmly entrenched until after 1955, when Rudolf Wittkower published the English edition of his groundbreaking catalogue raisonné of Bernini’s sculpture.

Still, despite the indifference of Gilded Age collectors and American academics, The Met managed to be somewhat precocious in this area, forming a significant nucleus of Italian Baroque bronzes by the 1940s thanks to canny curatorial purchases going back to the 1908 acquisition of Algardi’s bust of Innocent X (cat. 151). As Baroque marbles were rare and difficult to obtain, bronzes offered an alternative way of fulfilling the institutional mandate to present a comprehensive history of art. And it is noteworthy that the museum collected Italian Baroque sculpture at an earlier moment and with greater commitment than it did paintings of the period. It was not until 1952 that The Met acquired Caravaggio’s *Musicians*, then the most significant Baroque addition to its paintings holdings, after turning down earlier opportunities to purchase other works by the artist.¹⁰¹ *Musicians* came on the advice of the British scholar Denis Mahon: “the representation of the Seicento [at The Met] is indeed pretty thin and I can of course well understand that you would like to fill it out a bit.”¹⁰² Sculpture curator Preston Remington had recommended closing the gap more than a decade earlier: “The Museum collection is extremely weak in the field of Italian baroque sculpture. Space for considerable expansion should therefore, be allowed for.”¹⁰³ In this instance, “sculpture” referred to works in marble; bronzes filled in where these were not feasible.

Acquired in 1934, the bronze *Baptism of Christ*, today attributed to Algardi, was a pivotal purchase (cat. 146). In the acquisition papers, Remington noted current developments in the field and teased the possibility that the work was by Bernini himself: “A terracotta of the same subject was recently found in the Chigi Palace in Rome and presented to the Vatican Library by Mussolini. It is interesting to note that Bernini is known to have worked in 1656 and 1657 for the Chigi family, and that terracotta sketches by him were simultaneously found in the Chigi Palace. Although it has as yet been impossible to definitely relate the above bronze to Bernini, it may eventually turn out to be by him.”¹⁰⁴

The direct connection to Bernini was, alas, mere wishful thinking, and the hunt for an autograph work continued. Writing to The Met director in 1946, Remington discussed the acquisition of the bronze *Neptune* based on Bernini’s model (cat. 159): “In recent years this department has been building up its collection of baroque bronzes, having from time to time acquired important works after designs by Algardi, Duquesnoy and Caffà. The new acquisition, our first baroque bronze by the leading

sculptor of the age, Bernini, greatly strengthens our representation in this category of sculpture.”¹⁰⁵

Later scholars have stressed Bernini’s apathy toward the form of the bronze statuette, thus the relationship between the model for the bronze and his larger marble *Neptune* now in the V&A remains unclear. Nevertheless, the purchase allowed the Baroque master to be presented to the public some three decades before the museum acquired his early marble *Faun* group.

A gallery devoted to bronzes circa 1940 stands out for the dense concentration of seventeenth-century works already in the museum’s collection by this early date (fig. 11). A 1940 guidebook underscored the range on view: “the visitor may follow without interruption the development of style, casting, and patination across a span of nearly five hundred years. Among the XVII century bronzes here shown the baroque style is perhaps best illustrated in the dramatic Baptism of Christ after a terracotta model attributed to Melchiorre Caffà. Highly mannered and theatrical, this beautiful bronze nevertheless conveys in a direct and appealing way the touching humility of this familiar scene.”¹⁰⁶ The installation featured the *Baptism*, the gilt *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 140), and reliefs after important compositions by Algardi: *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 148) and *Saint Ignatius Loyola with Saints and Martyrs of the Jesuit Order* (cat. 147). The last two entered The Met in 1938 along with twenty plaquettes, medals, and larger reliefs, nearly all seventeenth century, purchased from the collection of Herman Falkenberg.

Phillips was an ardent proponent of Baroque sculpture, penning a *Bulletin* article on the topic in 1947. Remarkably, by 1959, the museum considered itself to be in possession of two works by the Maltese sculptor Cafà, who died tragically young and whose production is exceedingly rare. For an artist with little extant scholarship before the 1950s, the frequent mention of Cafà in Met archival documents is notable and points to the close relationship between the museum and Wittkower, who introduced Roman Baroque sculpture to audiences outside Italy. In 1959, he published a *Bulletin* article on Cafà’s bust of Pope Alexander VII (cat. 152), acquired in 1957. The German-born and -educated scholar popularized the field of Italian Baroque painting, sculpture, and architecture in America from his post at Columbia University, which appointed him professor in 1956. In 1965, he oversaw the first major show devoted to Italian Baroque art in the United States, mounted at the Detroit Institute of Arts. Though the exhibition focused mostly on painting, one of his assistants, Olga Raggio, researched and wrote the entries on sculptors including Algardi, Bernini, and Ercole Ferrata.

Born in Rome, Raggio (1926–2009) came to The Met in 1954 as an assistant curator and headed the European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Department from 1971 to 2001. She established herself as a leading Algardi scholar and made important acquisitions of Italian bronzes as the field expanded. In 1985, she purchased Massimiliano Soldani’s *Sacrifice of*



Fig. 11. View of The Met's bronzes gallery, ca. 1940, with the Baroque case at left, containing the *Baptism of Christ* after Alessandro Algardi (cat. 146) and the gilt *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 140)

Jephthah's Daughter, then thought to be part of the original suite made for Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici (cat. 145). The acquisition was prescient at a time when Florentine Baroque sculpture was still a novelty in American collections.¹⁰⁷ Following Raggio's vision, the museum has continued to augment its Baroque bronze holdings, adding objects from Naples (cat. 166) and other centers. Two works by Camillo Mariani, for example, have provided the opportunity to showcase bronze casting in late sixteenth-century Rome (cats. 110, 111).

Conclusion

When James David Draper (1943–2019) joined the European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Department in 1969, he embarked on a long career of researching and building The Met's collection of Italian bronzes. Working alongside Raggio (and her successors Ian Wardropper and Luke Syson), Draper was involved

in both the Untermeyer and Linsky gifts, as well as the addition of singular bronzes. Along with many previously touched upon here (such as the quattrocento *Sprite* and the Mariani bronzes), Draper facilitated several critical acquisitions in recent decades. These include the bust of Francesco de' Medici (cat. 117), Agostino Zoppo's *Chronos* (cat. 32B), and the two Jesuit saints by Francesco Bertos (cat. 168). The 2009 purchase of Riccio's Rothschild Lamp (cat. 13), orchestrated by Draper and Wardropper, registered a seismic shift in collecting strategy. With the realization that precious, unique bronzes could garner the same esteem as the most vaunted European painting, it is special cases such as the Riccio lamp that the museum now pursues. In 2012, Mrs. Jayne Wrightsman gifted Antico's jewel-like *Spinario* (cat. 9). The Met now holds four works by this master. Most recently, The Quentin Foundation's loan of a dozen objects in 2017 completely transformed the presentation



Fig. 12. Giambologna, *Astrology*, mid-1570s. Red wax; $5\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. (14.6 × 4.8 × 4.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of The Quentin Foundation, in celebration of the Museum's 150th Anniversary, 2017 ([2017.725](#))

of Italian bronzes at the museum, accompanied by two extraordinary gifts: a wax model attributed to Giambologna (fig. 12) and Fanelli's *Mercury and Cupid* ([cat. 92](#)).

In his typically modest way, Draper's firsthand account of key moments from his career (see p. 1) doesn't foreground his own record of superlative acquisitions, diplomatic cultivation of collectors, and sensitive stewardship of the collection that characterized his half-century at The Met. In 1980, he took on the thankless task of updating Bode's *Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*. This work coincided with, and helped to

spur, a rebirth of interest in the genre. At the same time, conservator Richard E. Stone began publishing his pioneering technical studies of Italian bronzes. The joint expertise of Draper and Stone, combining decades of accumulated knowledge, provided the impetus behind this catalogue. From Valentiner's initial corpus of Bode bronzes, humble though it may be, The Met's collection has grown more than tenfold (fig. 13), its early ambitions fulfilled through the personalities and objects documented across these pages.



Fig. 13. View of The Met's bronzes collection in Gallery 536, ca. 2005, with Giambologna's *Triton* (cat. 116) at the entrance

NOTES

1. *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Museum for the Year Ending December 31, 1908*, p. 22. This report was likely drafted by W. R. Valentiner, who joined The Met in April 1908.
2. Gennari-Santori 2010, p. 312.
3. Technically, the earliest acquired bronze catalogued in this volume is the large medal of Pope Clement X ([cat. 154](#)).
4. “[We] next ascend the Grand Stairway, ornamented with marble busts, to the upper floor. The small Room 10, at the head of the staircase, contains a bust of Pope Innocent X, by *Algardi*, a bronze statue of Washington by *Houdon*, some reproductions of metal work, a modern French stained-glass window, designed by L. O. Merson, and the lacquered doors from the Palace of Ispahan.” Baedeker 1909, p. 61. The bust of Washington (08.165) is now considered a late nineteenth-century cast by Ferdinand Barbedienne after a 1788 model by Houdon; the stained-glass windows (06.292a–c) had been removed from an apartment in the Knickerbocker building.
5. Katharine Baetjer and Joan Mertens, “The Founding Decades,” in Bayer and Corey 2020, p. 41.
6. See Bayer and Corey 2020.
7. Valentiner et al. 1910, p. 25. The harpsichord (89.4.2929a–e) is now considered to be a design by Michele Todini and part of his famous Galleria Armonica—not owned by the pope, but rightfully placed in Baroque Rome.
8. In 1934, the Department of Decorative Arts was renamed the Department of Renaissance and Modern Art; in 1956, it became the Department of Renaissance and Post-Renaissance Arts; in 1961, the Department of Western European Arts; in 1977, the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, its present title. On the Hoentschel collection, see Kisluk-Grosheide et al. 2013; on Morgan, see Strouse 1999 and Gennari-Santori 2010.
9. Joachimides 2001, pp. 53–98; Gaehtgens and Schuster 1996.
10. Tilliette 2014, p. 193.
11. Strouse 1999, p. 606.
12. Robinson to Valentiner, October 2, 1907, MMA Archives, Valentiner Papers, 1907–1914, Box 3, Folder 13.
13. Valentiner 1905; Bode 1897–1905. For a thoroughly researched study of Valentiner’s life and work, see Mascolo 2017. See also Sterne 1980.
14. Sterne 1980, pp. 71–72, 75.
15. *Forty-second Annual Report of the Trustees of the Museum for the Year ended December 13, 1911*, p. 31.
16. Tilliette 2014, p. 195.
17. Andrea Bayer, Barbara Drake Boehm, and Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, “Princely Aspirations,” in Bayer and Corey 2020, pp. 78–79, with earlier references.
18. K. Curran 2016, p. 111; Amelia Peck and Thayer Tolles, “Creating a National Narrative,” in Bayer and Corey 2020, pp. 110–29.
19. Baker 1996, p. 143.
20. Raleigh 1959, p. 17.
21. Sterne 1980, p. 94.
22. Raleigh 1959, p. 15.
23. See Raleigh 1959; Mascolo 2017; Darr 2021.
24. See, for example, Gennari-Santori 2010.
25. See Bode 1895 (on Bertoldo), 1907–12, 1910, 1922, 1926, and 1930. For a recent study of his research on bronze statuettes, see Gabbert 2020. This is not to say earlier nineteenth-century scholars were uninterested in Renaissance bronzes. See, for example, the activities of Charles Drury Edward Fortnum, whose collection is today in the Ashmolean Museum, and who greatly influenced the V&A. See Gennari-Santori 2010, p. 310 and passim, for an overview of the dealers, scholars, and collectors involved in the early history of bronze collecting in not only the United States but also the United Kingdom; on Fortnum, see Warren 1996 and 1999b, pp. 10–27.
26. Bode 1910; see also Bode 1897, 1899, 1913.
27. See Baetjer and Mertens in Bayer and Corey 2020, p. 46.
28. Valentiner’s group is catalogued in Breck 1913c, pp. 8–92. The relevant bronzes are nos. 15, 18, 21, 35, 35A–B, 47, 51–53, 59, 67, 69, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83–85, 89–96, 97B.
29. Valentiner et al. 1910, pp. 9, 10.
30. These included a doorknocker, small oil lamp, and statuettes of a Crouching Venus, Hercules, Saint Mark, Adam, Mercury, two Madonna and Child bronzes, Triton, Marysas, a horse, a bull, and a warrior.
31. Tilliette 2014, p. 196. Valentiner and Bode maintained a transatlantic correspondence in which the former assistant apprised his mentor of the goings-on of American museums, collectors, galleries, and auctions. Tilliette reconstructs this correspondence through Valentiner’s letters housed in the Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.
32. Valentiner et al. 1910, p. 12.
33. Valentiner 1911.
34. Bode 1908–12, vol. 1, p. 38.
35. Valentiner to Mr. Kent, August 19, 1909, MMA Archives, Sculpture-Purchased, Grassi, 1907, 1908, 1929, Folder Scu 480, with a note of the cost being 2,700 francs, which was likely actually lira.
36. Valentiner 1910, p. 18.
37. The other bronzes were [cats. A6, A77](#); MMA Archives, Wilhelm R. Valentiner, Purchase Report, December 16, 1909.
38. The *Samson* (09.216.1) was assessed as “An indifferent replica of a composition better represented in the Linsky collection.” See MMA Archives, Olga Raggio, Deaccessioning Report, 1982, Scu 480.
39. See Haskell 1970.
40. Quoted in Quodbach 2007, p. 35.
41. A 1919 guide to the Met highlighted the *Triton* and named de Vries as its author. New York 1919, p. 49.
42. Gennari-Santori 2010, p. 312.
43. See *ibid.* On Huntington, see Wark 1969, p. 329: “In 1917 the Huntingtons did permit themselves to deviate from their established course and bought most of the magnificent group of small Renaissance bronzes . . . Why Mr. Huntington permitted himself to be tempted by these statuettes is impossible to say. They are delightful objects, but it must be admitted they have no relation to either the English or French focuses of his holdings around which he gathered everything else.”
44. On Breck, see Husband 2013.
45. Valentiner 1914, p. 55.
46. “Joseph Breck Dies on Mission for Art,” *The New York Times*, August 3, 1933.
47. Sterne 1980, pp. 134–35; Mascolo 2017, p. 109, esp. n. 3.
48. New York 1923, p. ix.
49. *Ibid.*, cats. 59–78. The lenders were J. P. Morgan Jr., Philip Lehman, Grenville Winthrop, Michael Friedsam, and George and Florence Blumenthal. Seven of the loans entered the collection through later bequests and gifts.
50. See the profile of Mills at Frick Center for the History of Collecting, <https://research.frick.org/directory/detail/1370>.
51. See, for example, Patterson 2000, p. 198.
52. One character notices “the dark flush on Trenor’s face, the unpleasant moisture of his intensely white forehead, the way his jewelled rings were wedged in the creases of his fat red fingers. Certainly the beast was predominating—the beast at the bottom of the glass.” Wharton 1905, p. 248.
53. “Ogden Mills Dies at His Home Here,” *The New York Times*, January 29, 1929.

- 54.** “Gladys Mills Weds Henry C. Phipps,” *The New York Times*, December 8, 1907.
- 55.** On the Manhattan residence (now destroyed), see Burnham 1952, pp. 11, 13–14.
- 56.** A *Nessus and Dejanira* (24.212.18) and a horse (24.212.21) are not included in this catalogue.
- 57.** Breck 1925, p. 256.
- 58.** See, for example, letter from Breck to Mills, December 22, 1925: “The Custom House inspectors have just opened and passed the boxes containing The Negress from the Castiglione Sale and the fourteen plaquettes and medals from the Lehmann Collection . . . I am sure you are going to be quite as much pleased as I am with the Castiglione bronze. It will be a wonderful addition to the collection.” MMA Archives, Joseph Breck Records, 1916–1951 (hereafter JBR), Box 18, Folder 30. The Castiglione bronze was bought by the dealer Stettiner on behalf of Mills for 17,600 florins and sent directly to New York. See letter from Stettiner to Mills, November 18, 1925, JBR, Box 18, Folder 30.
- 59.** French clocks and furniture came to The Met upon the death of Mills’s son in 1938. “Museum to Exhibit Art Gifts of Mills,” *The New York Times*, February 16, 1938. Several pieces of French decorative arts stayed in the Mills family as part of the Hôtel de Broglie and have come up for auction in recent years.
- 60.** Mills to Breck, July 23, 1925, JBR, Box 18, Folder 30. The sale of Henri Lehmann’s collection was held at Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4–5 and 8, 1925.
- 61.** Breck to Mills, September 12, 1925, JBR, Box 18, Folder 30.
- 62.** Breck to Mills, April 7, 1927, JBR, Box 18, Folder M–Mills, Ogden, 1925, 1927–1929.
- 63.** Breck to Mills, January 7, 1926, Mills, Ogden.
- 64.** “(1) Renaissance bronzes, (2) Limoges enamels, (3) the Renaissance crystals, (4) the Renaissance jewels, (5) the Renaissance maiolica” as well as “individual pieces of Mediaeval and Renaissance sculpture and tapestries.” Breck to Miss Howe, October 1, 1932, Friedsam, Michael–Bequest.
- 65.** Breck to William Sloane Coffin, May 16, 1931, MMA Archives, Friedsam, Michael–Bequest Curators’ Recommendations 1931–32.
- 66.** See Denise Allen’s discussion in [cat. 42](#), citing the relevant Duveen documents.
- 67.** Breck 1932, pp. 60–61.
- 68.** Blumenthal 1943, n.p.
- 69.** Taylor 1941, p. 198.
- 70.** MMA, 41.190.534.
- 71.** The deaccessioned objects were a bull and a horse, gifted along with the *Cleopatra* ([cat. 34A](#)).
- 72.** Blumenthal 1943, n.p.
- 73.** In 1975, a similar collection entered The Met through Robert Lehman. The bronzes in that collection are catalogued separately in Scholten 2011. By the 1950s, Lehman had ceased collecting in the field, as evidenced by his declaration: “I think I have enough bronzes of importance” (*ibid.*, p. xii).
- 74.** See Olga Raggio’s introduction in Untermyer 1977.
- 75.** Untermyer 1956, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1963, and 1977.
- 76.** Untermyer 1962.
- 77.** Untermyer 1977.
- 78.** Untermyer 1962, pp. vii–viii.
- 79.** Goldsmith left a detailed outline, three sample chapters, and the texts of two lectures, all of which his son, Anthony Phillips, assembled into a manuscript in 1993. A copy is in the Thomas J. Watson Library. Like many curators of the museum’s early years, Goldsmith was a Harvard graduate who trained under Paul Sachs. His reaction to being offered a job at The Met was “what the hell, I’ll try it” (Phillips 1993, p. 2).
- 80.** Hoving 1994, p. 47.
- 81.** Phillips 1993, p. 14.
- 82.** *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 83.** *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.
- 84.** *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 85.** *Ibid.*
- 86.** Breck to Seligmann, January 10, 1930, JBR, Box 27, Folder 5. For the work in the Wallace Collection (S124), see Warren 2016, vol. 2, no. 116.
- 87.** Breck to Mills, April 29, 1926, JBR, Box 18, Folder 30.
- 88.** Draper 1972.
- 89.** Breck to Planiscig, December 2, 1930, JBR, Box 20, Folder 20.
- 90.** Breck to Bedford, 1920, JBR, Box Breck 8, Folder B–HA–BJ Miscellaneous 1918–1933.
- 91.** Durlacher to Remington, June 27, 1934, Sculpture–Purchased Algardi [08.49] 1907–08, 1934, 1968.
- 92.** Wardropper 2009.
- 93.** Frederick M. Winship, “Art Collected by Horatio Alger-type Couple Goes on Permanent Display at Met Museum,” *United Press International*, June 30, 1984.
- 94.** The Getty and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, were reportedly also interested. See Grace Glueck, “Met Is Given \$60 Million Linsky Art Collection,” *The New York Times*, March 4, 1982.
- 95.** Winship, “Art Collected by Horatio Alger-type Couple.”
- 96.** Glueck, “Met Is Given \$60 Million Linsky Art Collection.”
- 97.** *Ibid.*
- 98.** Linsky 1984, p. 15.
- 99.** See Levy 2017, p. 357.
- 100.** Valentiner 1913, p. 248.
- 101.** Such as the *Saint John the Baptist* now at the Nelson-Atkins, Kansas City.
- 102.** Bayer 2017, p. 130.
- 103.** MMA Archives, Preston Remington Records, 1925–1970, Sheet no. 64, 1941, Box 5, Folder 1.
- 104.** Blanks (Purchase), October 2, 1934, JBR, Box 7, Folder 9.
- 105.** Remington to Director, December 16, 1946, MMA Archives, Preston Remington Records, 1925–1970, Box 1, Folder 22.
- 106.** New York 1940, p. 52.
- 107.** On this topic, see Schmidt et al. 2019, with earlier bibliography.



Italian Renaissance and Baroque Sculptors in Bronze

The Differentiation of Their Hands through the Study of Their Casting Techniques

Richard E. Stone

Why should anyone whose deepest interest in bronze sculpture derives from its visual allure and cultural resonance also be intrigued by the technical details of its manufacture? While many recent catalogues have included extensive technical investigations, many readers assume these are intended for historians of technology and steer clear of them. Such a reaction is not entirely unjustified. Without guidance through the thicket of technical evidence, much of it can seem abstract or irrelevant despite the unique insight it offers into how bronze sculptors materially realized their visions. This essay is pitched to the general reader. It provides an overview of the materials and methods of Renaissance bronze casting and explains why the technical process itself not only is a significant determinant of a sculptor's style, but can even reveal such social factors as the class of patron a sculptor aimed to please.

Not the least advantage of technical study is the aid it offers to connoisseurship. Bronzes are seldom signed and have usually passed through many hands, frequently leaving inadequate documentation. Their surfaces were often altered, by the effects of time or deliberate later intervention. Even when old inventories exist, it is difficult to know with absolute certainty whether an object described, often summarily, is the one in question. Previously unsuspected technical details can prove useful in identifying the sculptor or at least a product of his studio. An expanding number of analytical tools have been deployed

in the study of historical bronzes, including X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF), a nondestructive technique that does not require sampling.¹ Improved calibration methods for XRF have yielded increasingly reliable alloy analysis,² allowing us to make compositional comparisons between bronzes. But these analytical methods, while helpful, rarely answer all our questions.

Modern high-voltage radiography has revealed the hitherto unknown internal features of bronze sculpture.³ Through this technology, we have reconstructed the casting methods used for both direct and indirect casting, especially during the critical period of rapid technical innovation in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy. To take one striking example, that of Severo da Ravenna, a bronze from his extraordinarily prolific shop in Padua can be identified, almost infallibly, by simply examining its radiograph.⁴

There are, however, certain caveats to be observed. Connoisseurship by technical investigation is most useful when applied to works produced during periods of rapid change in bronze sculpture technology, for instance from the later fifteenth to the early seventeenth century in Italy, the focus of this catalogue. Differences persisted between schools throughout the sixteenth century, even when the exact sculptor remains unknown. Later casting technology became less idiosyncratic as founders adopted proven, more or less standardized methods.

Most of our technical knowledge derives from the study of what are conventionally known as “small bronzes,” which are far more common than monumental works in collections like The Met’s. While most are indeed small and light enough to be picked up and closely examined in one’s hands, this is not their truly defining characteristic. Rather, it is that most small bronzes were specifically intended for collectors, amateurs in the original sense of the word who wished to demonstrate their taste, discernment, affluence, and social status. These collectors formed a broad social spectrum, from great princes to simple scholars with humanist enthusiasms. Small bronzes thus range in quality and significance from splendid princely gifts to attractive yet utilitarian desk furniture such as inkwells and candleholders. The artistic inspiration for these objects frequently originated in ancient Roman prototypes, and certainly the whole notion of fashioning and collecting small bronzes was inspired by antiquity. It is helpful to recognize that most quattrocento sculptors received their initial training under goldsmiths. However, only their bronzes had a reasonable chance of surviving the melting pot, and this has given us a rather lopsided view of those sculptors who retained much of the goldsmith’s quest for exquisite delicacy of execution, while others, presumably the majority, took greater advantage of the robustness of execution and larger markets offered by bronze.

What follows is a survey of the technical development and dissemination of small bronze production in Renaissance and Baroque Italy, covering materials, casting processes, workshop practices, and patinas, using examples selected from The Met’s collection of nearly 300 small Italian bronzes. The two major modes of production are explored: direct casting, first practiced in Florence, and indirect casting, introduced in Mantua.⁵ The small bronze as a genre seems to have been “invented” in Florence in the later fifteenth century by Bertoldo di Giovanni⁶ and continued by Adriano Fiorentino. All Florentine bronzes of that time, monumental or small, appear to have been produced by direct casting. Even as we dutifully maintain Florentine origins for the small bronze, it is also clear that it had a very slow start there under the shadow of Michelangelo’s monumental marble *David*. Indeed, there seems to have been little interest in small bronzes in Italy until after 1532 with the establishment of the Medici dukedom in Florence. Regardless of who may have originated the small bronze as a genre, it can be categorically stated that it truly began to flourish, artistically and technically, in northern Italy, where cities like Milan, Padua, and Venice were major metalworking centers.

By the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Italian sculptors familiar with the work of the Mantuan artist Antico began to use new methods to cast bronzes that did not sacrifice their original model—so-called indirect casting.⁷ This technique allowed the casting of multiple replicas from reusable molds of the same model, a more or less mass production not unlike that of cast-metal printing type, another fifteenth-century

innovation. While we cannot as yet trace the exact path of dissemination that indirect casting took, it was strikingly rapid, no more than a generation, or possibly two in more conservative Italian centers. By the mid-sixteenth century, virtually every sculptor in Italy seems to have known how to cast indirectly, and the vast majority employed the method pioneered by Antico. Technical activity increasingly centered on methods of producing bronze sculpture with more varied and active poses, and greater spatial complexity. In the second half of the sixteenth century, exquisite surface finish, both in chasing and patination, became a major artistic preoccupation, especially in Florence.

In reality, the profoundest transformation during this later period was not technical but political. As republics fell to princely rule, the patronage of bronzes changed altogether. Private collectors, those who had patronized sculptors such as Andrea Riccio and Severo da Ravenna, diminished in significance in comparison to princely courts, both secular and ecclesiastic, including Antico’s patrons in Mantua, the Gonzaga. The chief example of the new order of court sculptor was Giambologna, who arrived from Flanders in 1550 and worked for Pope Pius IV in Rome until 1553. He moved to Florence for the support (actually virtual captivity, as he was not allowed to leave) of the Medici grand dukes of Tuscany. With the establishment of Giambologna in Florence, sculpture lost most traces of the scholarly collector’s intimacy and became part of the assertion of Medici rule. A large number of bronzes in The Met’s collection were produced in the Giambologna workshop or represent later variants. Technical studies can help untangle this thicket of thorny attribution and dating issues, although the answer must sometimes remain speculative.

Materials

Before we discuss how bronzes were cast, we must first consider the materials employed. In fact, what we loosely refer to as “bronzes” were not necessarily made of bronze, which is, properly, an alloy of copper with tin. Along with true bronze there was brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, and either alloy might also contain lead, a “ternary” alloy of leaded bronze or brass. Finally, tin, zinc, and lead might all be alloyed together with copper, yielding a “quaternary” alloy, a generic term for a wide range of compositions. In addition, a range of minor and trace elements such as arsenic, antimony, and bismuth were present by sheer chance as impurities in the metal. These minor and trace elements in copper depended not only on the source of the ore, but also on its roasting and smelting, thereby complicating our easy provenancing of copper sources and thus connoisseurship by composition. The Renaissance sculptor or founder only deliberately alloyed copper with tin to produce bronze, or copper with zinc for brass, and this deliberate alloying must be distinguished from the inevitably quite variable natural alloy of commercial Renaissance copper.

During the Renaissance, the most common use for bronze was in the manufacture of cannons and church bells, which exceeded all other uses, including statuary. It was the cannon casters—or, more pertinently, their political masters—who governed the prospecting, mining, refining, and distribution of non-ferrous metals, specifically copper and tin. The metallurgy of tin allows for a surprisingly easy production of a rather pure product by smelting tin oxide ore, which had been mined since antiquity from rich mineral deposits in Cornwall in southwest England.⁸ The mining and refining of copper was quite another matter. Copper was refined by cupellation, described by the Renaissance metallurgist Vannoccio Biringuccio in his *Pirotechnia* (1540), and the resulting metal contained impurities, including arsenic, antimony, and bismuth.⁹ Numerous sources of copper existed in northern Europe but very few in Italy, where every minor copper source was diligently sought out and exploited.¹⁰ Thus Italian founders were forced to shop around for the least expensive metal yet still of reasonable quality. As cannon production increased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so did copper importation from north of the Alps.¹¹ Knowledge of these economic transactions could help clarify our compositional data, especially when studying monumental bronzes.

Given the multiplicity of sources and chronic local scarcity, the copper supply was quite heterogeneous and possibly garbled with scrap. While major sculptors could afford high-grade virgin metal, lesser lights used whatever was most economical and available. Although sculptors frequently preferred particular alloy types, the differences between alloys seldom affected the actual appearance of the sculpture or even its ease of production. In fact, “bronzes” could be cast quite successfully in the broad range of alloys available in the Renaissance. A sculptor’s only concern would be the metal’s casting and subsequent working properties, and these could be determined by a trial cast. Exceptions might be made, such as avoiding alloys with more than trace amounts of lead for bronzes intended to be mercury-gilt. Historical and local precedents, availability, cost, and other non-metallurgical considerations probably influenced alloy choice as much as technical appropriateness to the casting and finishing of a sculpture.

Most influential sculptors of the Renaissance—Antico, Riccio, Giambologna and virtually all of his Florentine entourage—generally used true (copper and tin) bronzes, with or without additions of lead. Since no technical necessity prescribed tin bronze, why did it prove so popular? The answer probably lies in the ever-growing prestige of antiquity. For the Roman author of the *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder, statuary was cast in *aes*, which in classical Latin refers to both copper (*aes cyprium*) and tin bronze.¹² Brass (*orichalcum*), still a novelty in the first century A.D., was not used for statuary. Tin bronze was the ancients’ metal of choice for statuary, and by the end of the fifteenth century everyone with a smidgen of classical education knew it.

Ghiberti’s *Gates of Paradise* (1425–52) in Florence, although not “small bronzes” in our sense, were cast in brass imported from Antwerp, and without the least diminution in quality.¹³ Ghiberti was in the first generation of Renaissance sculptors, and he may have chosen brass over bronze because he was not yet entrained by the ancient literary tradition. Or perhaps, more prosaically, he simply knew the doors were to be gilt and that brass gilds well. In Padua, Severo da Ravenna seems to have also cast in brass, at least in the statuettes analyzed in The Met, all of which are bronzes of widely varying composition. Certainly none of the Severos examined show any evidence of the deliberate addition of tin.

It has been demonstrated that a certain compositional group of bronzes high in antimony are most probably by Giovanni Francesco Susini, as distinct from the many other Florentine successors to Giambologna.¹⁴ Susini (or his founder?) likely purchased a substantial lot of high-antimony copper that was produced from a class of copper ores known in German as *Fahlerz*.¹⁵ This probably occurred later in Susini’s career, when he was securely established and needed a more regular supply of metal. These later works by Susini constitute a *population* (see below) of bronzes of similar but not identical elemental composition. Absent a stylistic or documentary context, a newly discovered individual bronze that falls within this compositional group would not demonstrate *a priori* that it was by Susini. Nevertheless, such an analytical study could provide strong confirmatory evidence if it were consonant with our stylistic and historical judgments. Thus quantitative analysis of bronze sculpture remains a valuable tool as long as one realizes that it may not yield the useful results that it apparently does in the case of Susini.

Nondestructive analytical methods such as XRF have provided scholars with a broad pool of compositional data for comparison. While such information can add to our overall knowledge, it is mostly useful in studying *populations* of bronzes, in which case qualitative information far outweighs quantitative. When a sufficient number of analyses of a sculptor’s work is available, a compositional outlier may trigger suspicions of authenticity. For instance, a brass Antico or a tin bronze Severo would raise a red flag because it would contradict all previous analyses of the alloys these two sculptors used. Conversely, the mere fact that two works have a similar composition is not necessarily a guide to attribution. It is also interesting to note that analyses of composite objects known to be from the same workshop and produced at the same time sometimes show quite significant ranges of composition. It is doubtful that elemental composition of the metal *alone* will ever tell us precisely who cast an otherwise unknown bronze, although it may certainly narrow the range of possibilities. *Statistical* studies of composition offer only *relative* probabilities when applied to individual objects and therefore must be considered alongside art-historical evidence when trying to identify the author of a bronze.

Direct Casting

Having discussed what so-called bronzes were made of, let us consider how they were made. Almost all Italian Renaissance sculpture was cast in some version of the lost-wax technique (*cire perdue*), an expression justified more by its historic persistence than its descriptive value. In the simplest form of the technique, direct casting, the composition is first carefully modeled in beeswax, and then one or more wax rods are attached to convenient points such as the underside of the feet to provide channels, or sprues, through which the wax can exit and the molten metal can enter. The wax rod that forms the main pouring sprue often widens into a funnel-shaped wax element that will provide a larger opening for introducing the molten bronze into the mold. Next, in a procedure known as investment, the prepared wax model is completely coated with a refractory material, generally clay or plaster of Paris, which hardens to form the shell of the mold, leaving only the ends of the wax rods and the pouring cup exposed. The invested wax figure is then inverted and fired in a furnace, where the wax both melts and burns out—is “lost”—leaving a hollow mold pierced with holes from the protruding wax rods and a funnel-shaped opening provided by the wax cup. The mold is returned to its upright position, and the space formerly occupied by the wax model is filled with molten metal through the pouring cup, while the other sprue holes provide channels for excess bronze or vents for the release of gases produced during casting.

After the casting has cooled, the plaster or clay investment is broken away, exposing the model as well as the sprues, now transformed into metal. The bronze sprues and vents are removed by cutting or filing, casting flaws are repaired with metal plugs and patches, and the surface of the cast is mechanically cleaned of debris and worked with tools—chased—to the desired finish. These final steps are described as cold working. Chasing can range from the nominal all the way to a major time-consuming operation akin to silversmithing. Early Florentine bronzes, for example, were cast directly using a simple technique and then filed, chiseled, and burnished to perfection.¹⁶ While the direct lost-wax method is capable of casting models of great delicacy and complexity, it has two great disadvantages. First, the sculptor’s original work is lost forever if the casting fails, since both the model and the mold are destroyed in the process. Second, even if the casting is successful, only a single bronze can be produced from the artist’s unique, painstakingly finished wax model.

As simple as direct casting is, it is capable of producing bronzes of excellent quality, such as the *David with the Head of Goliath* (fig. 1) by Paduan sculptor Bartolomeo Bellano, considered one of the earliest small secular bronzes of the Renaissance. The Bellano is a typical directly cast bronze. Although small, the statuette is surprisingly heavy as it was essentially cast solid. There is no evidence of a hollow core, which would appear darker or less radiopaque than the solid metal in X-ray

images; however, some internal casting porosity (air bubbles trapped in the molten metal) is visible at the right arm. With a truly small bronze such as the Bellano, solid casting is no great inconvenience, but the larger the bronze, the heavier it becomes, increasing the cost of the casting metal and the risk of casting flaws, and finally rendering it too cumbersome to handle. The smaller the amount of molten metal that is needed to fill any mold, the smaller the amount of heated gas that needs to be systematically vented from the mold to avoid casting porosity or even total failure. Consequently, casting a bronze hollow, despite its technical complexity, has obvious advantages beyond saving metal.

In contrast to the more straightforward method of directly casting a solid bronze, there are many ways to cast a hollow bronze. A simple but labor-intensive method is to first model a core from a plastic yet potentially refractory material such as clay, generally with an internal armature of iron rods or wire to prevent the form from slumping. The core is allowed to dry hard, and the figure is modeled around it as a wax shell. If the sculpture is small, the core can be quite simple, just a roughly formed torso, leaving slender extremities such as limbs to be modeled in solid wax. For larger statuettes, the core is sometimes modeled over additional armature wires that extend into appendages.¹⁷ If this composite figure is then invested, fired, and cast, the refractory core can be evacuated after cooling, leaving the bronze hollow.

While this method is feasible for monumental bronzes, where tolerances are more generous, the smaller the bronze, the more tedious the job becomes. For truly fine work, the figure is essentially modeled twice, once for the clay core and again for the overlying wax layer. To save on the costs of the metal and reduce the weight of the finished cast, sculptors would aim for a wax shell a quarter of an inch or less in thickness. The process requires infinitely more skill than direct casting to ensure that the wax is thinly and evenly applied and the modeling is sculpturally expressive. Even with the greatest care, the wax model might still have numerous unsuspected thin spots that, after casting, can easily perforate during chasing. Furthermore, since unevenly thick walls lead to unequal rates of cooling, the mold might not entirely fill with molten metal before some parts start to solidify, producing “cold shuts,” areas left unfilled in the bronze walls. One could deliberately model the core schematically so as to make the wax walls thicker for safety’s sake, but this tends to defeat the purpose of casting the bronze hollow.

Clay cores of this period were sometimes mixed with fibrous organic materials such as horsehair, straw, or manure to strengthen the brittle clay before firing and to make the fired clay more porous and friable, thus easing removal of the core after casting. Impressions of this fibrous material can sometimes be seen on the interior surfaces of bronzes or imaged with radiography. This texture is unique to clay cores and can

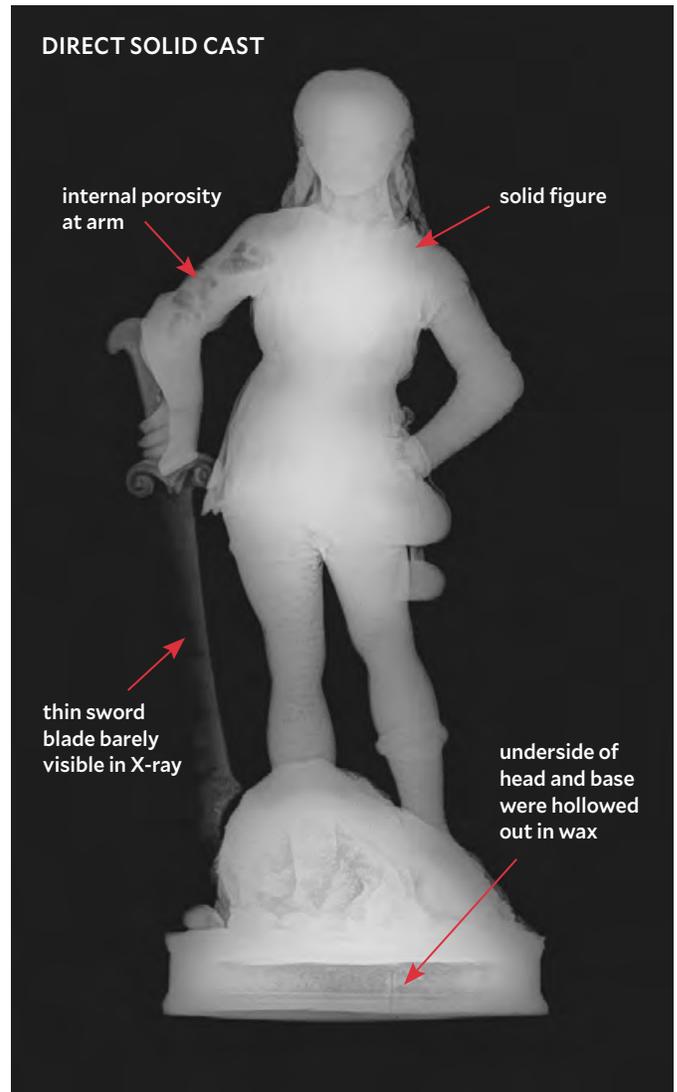


Fig. 1. Bartolomeo Bellano, *David with the Head of Goliath* (cat. 2), Padua, 1470–80, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

help distinguish them from plaster cores, which are never mixed with organic material since it reacts with plaster on heating.¹⁸ After the composite figure is invested, fired to melt out the wax, and cast in bronze, the refractory core can be either left inside the bronze or removed, leaving the bronze hollow. The process of removing the iron armature can assist in breaking up and removing the core, further reducing the weight of the sculpture.

Before the wax model of a bronze with a core is invested, special precautions are taken to keep the core in place. While the wax shell alone may bear the weight of the core before firing, the situation changes dramatically after the wax has been burned away. As the very dense molten metal flows into the mold, the core no longer needs to be supported from below but prevented from floating upward or being otherwise displaced by the molten stream, since the core material is much less dense than molten metal. The solution is to insert metal core

pins¹⁹—rods, nails, or wires, generally of refractory wrought iron—through the wax shell of the *intermodel* (see below), which press against or extend into the core and prevent it from shifting during casting. The exterior ends of the core pins protrude sufficiently from the wax so as to be securely embedded in the walls of the mold.

The core pins are usually removed after casting, leaving small holes in the bronze that are patched by hammering short lengths of copper rod of appropriate diameter into the holes and trimming these flush to the surface of the cast. Less commonly, the core pins are simply left in place and trimmed. Holes resulting from casting porosity are similarly plugged, and it is often difficult to visually distinguish these from repairs to core pin holes, even with the aid of radiography. Larger casting flaws are generally trimmed and repaired with copper alloy patches. The contrasting color of dissimilar metal plugs and patches is usually hidden under the typically dark, opaque

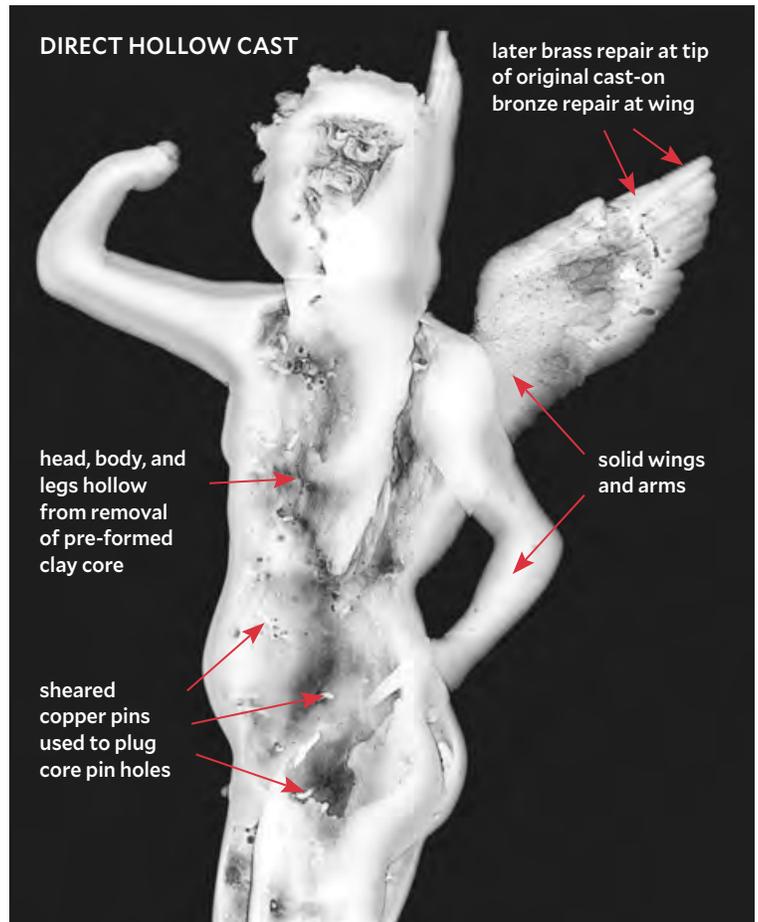


Fig. 2. Sculptor/metalsmith close to Donatello, *Sprite* (cat. 1), Florence, 1432, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

patinas of the period. However, after centuries of handling, the patinas on many bronzes are now worn thin enough to reveal some of these previously invisible repairs.

While Florence, with its great masters Donatello and Ghiberti, was certainly the artistic font of the Renaissance bronze, it was nevertheless surprisingly backward in terms of bronze-casting techniques, its wealth being based almost entirely on banking and the finishing of imported woolen cloth. In fact, all of the fifteenth-century Florentine bronzes that I have studied were cast directly. Those cast hollow were made using preformed cores and consequently often have irregular wall thicknesses regardless of their ultimate artistic quality. Even Ghiberti, an obviously extraordinary craftsman, used quite conservative casting technologies, especially for works in the round such as the directly cast *Saint Matthew* (Orsanmichele).²⁰ Many Florentine sculptors of this period required assistants to complete their work. In 1504, the Paduan humanist Pomponius Gauricus suggested that Donatello never cast his sculptures,²¹ which could explain the striking variety of casting techniques among his bronzes.²² One of Bertoldo's few attempts to directly cast a hollow bronze, the *Orpheus* (ca. 1471; Bargello), resulted in a cast so riddled with flaws that he eventually abandoned it.

Case Study: The *Sprite*

This is not to imply that all quattrocento Florentine hollow-cast bronzes were technically inept. The Met's gilt *Sprite* (fig. 2), which was intended as a fountain figure, may well be the most skillful example of bronze founding in fifteenth-century Florence. Radiographs show that while both arms, and obviously the wings, are cast solid, the rest of the figure is hollow, and the walls are of reasonably consistent thickness. No doubt the clay core was modeled directly onto a supporting iron armature, as there is a carefully plugged hole of the correct size for a sturdy armature rod on the underside of the raised left foot and a similar hole in the right foot where the water pipe would have entered. The modeling of both the core and its surface was carried out with great care and precision. The resulting interior surface of the bronze is quite smooth and regular, in fact more so than most indirectly cast bronzes with their bubbles, drip marks, and incidental textures. The wax was applied to the core with similar care to produce wall thicknesses of unexpected uniformity for a directly cast bronze. Of course, the *Sprite* is not by our definition a "small" bronze, but an undraped fountain figure over two feet tall and essentially simple in modeling, facts which certainly eased the problem of keeping the

walls relatively uniform. Despite the apparent inconveniences of direct hollow casting, the *Sprite* demonstrates what extremely fine work the technique could produce in properly skilled hands.

Radiographs of the *Sprite* show an original cast-on repair at the outer left wing, presumably to a casting flaw. This repair matches the tin bronze of the figure but differs from the conspicuously patched damages at the left eye, cheek, and right buttock that were executed in brass. These later repairs were almost certainly due to water that was trapped in the figure, rupturing the bronze when it expanded during a winter freeze. Radiographs show something else quite intriguing: what appear to be core pins still in place, square in section and tapered but, singularly, made of copper rather than iron. Furthermore, the shanks of many of the pins are curved or bent as if they were actually driven into the preformed clay core. These findings are problematic if we assume that the sculpture was cast directly. The copper pins should have cracked the preformed clay core, and these cracks would have at least partially filled with molten metal during casting. However, no evidence of such filled core cracks appears in the radiographs. A possible explanation is that an original set of typically iron core pins was inserted only as far as the surface of the core and thus avoided cracking it. These pins would have been extracted after casting and replaced with the present copper ones. This still does not explain the curved appearance of the copper pins, but perhaps some were curved to begin with as a result of being sheared from copper sheet, their most likely means of production.

The casters no doubt used copper pins to plug the core pin holes since the putto was made for a fountain, where iron would have quickly rusted. There is a second, less obvious reason. The figure was presumably always intended to be mercury-gilt, and it is impossible to gild iron directly using a gold/mercury amalgam, which will not adhere to iron. While a trick existed to make the gilding adhere to iron (with a thin coating of copper applied in an acid solution), the casters either did not know of it or chose not to use it. The latter reason is more likely since mercury-gilt iron pins are still especially susceptible to electrochemical corrosion, while gilt copper ones are not.

Indirect Casting

Given the drawbacks of direct casting, there was a great incentive during the Italian Renaissance to develop a casting technique by which the sculptor's model was preserved and could be reused to cast multiple bronze replicas. Although there is evidence that the Greeks practiced indirect casting as early as the seventh century B.C.,²³ there is no mention of the process in all of classical literature, even from the garrulous Pliny the Elder. Knowledge of the practice appears to have been lost at some point during the Middle Ages. The first statuettes in the round to be cast indirectly in Italy post-antiquity were apparently produced by the Mantuan sculptor and medalist Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, called Antico, as early as 1480–96. As

Antico's methods were quite similar to those that had been practiced in antiquity, we are left with the question of whether the reappearance of indirect casting after about a thousand years was a true invention or depended on an undiscovered route of transmission for the technology. Documentary evidence shows that Antico fully understood the indirect process and exploited its ability to produce multiples from the same model. We know he spent some earlier years in Rome. Did he learn bronze casting there and, if so, from whom? Or did he reinvent the method? Rather strikingly, despite Antico's profoundly influential innovation, Gauricus does not include him in his 1504 treatise, *De sculptura*, and the usually loquacious Giorgio Vasari, writing in Florence, does not so much as mention him in either edition of his *Lives* (1550 and 1568).²⁴ We do know that from the time of Antico, the technical history of bronze casting in Italy becomes, by and large, the development and spread of the indirect technique. Certainly by the mid-sixteenth century, all of Italy was practicing indirect casting more or less in the manner of Antico with only a handful of exceptions, chiefly makers of monumental sculpture.

Many masters of small bronzes soon took full advantage of replication, especially Antico's younger contemporary in Padua, Severo da Ravenna.²⁵ Severo's use of threaded tangs for joining was a major technical innovation that predates by about eighty years clockmakers' use of smaller threaded screws (or in Giambologna's Florentine shop, core pin hole and defect plugs). His bases came in standard geometric shapes and sizes, and functional accessories like inkwells and lamps—even their main figures (cat. 39A)—were supplied with threaded tangs of similar pitch and diameter that fit threaded holes in the bases. This meant that the various threaded parts were interchangeable whenever the sculptural composition or the quest for variety demanded it.

Indirect casting and the technical innovations introduced by Antico and Severo were not immediately adopted by other Italian sculptors. Andrea Riccio, arguably the greatest sculptor in bronze of the early sixteenth century, generally cast directly with clay cores, especially works from the early part of his career such as the monumental Paschal Candelabrum in the Santo, Padua (1507–16; p. 94, fig. 13c), which he produced in a carefully executed sequence of cast-on sections.²⁶ In Florence, Benvenuto Cellini directly cast his monumental *Perseus* (1545). In fact, direct casting never completely disappeared, particularly in northern Europe.

The indirect method involves casting a second hollow wax copy, the so-called *intermodel*, using a plaster mold of the original model. The intermodel is made solely to be sacrificed during the making of the mold for casting the bronze copy. Once finished, using the process described below, the intermodel can be cast in metal following the same steps as for direct lost-wax casting. Although artists' original models were generally made in wax at this time, they could also be modeled

or carved from any number of materials, including clay, wood, or stone. Most Renaissance sculptors worked in readily available beeswax, with the possible addition of a natural resin to provide a firmer surface capable of more precise modeling, especially in warmer weather. The wax was usually pigmented to avoid the visual ambiguities produced in trying to model a translucent surface, and was often modeled over some form of metal armature. The Met recently acquired a rare surviving example of a pigmented wax *bozzetto* (sketch) for a larger wax figure of Astrology (p. 20, fig. 12). A sculptor might model his wax into any conceivable shape, such as complex folded drapery, windblown locks of hair, or multiple entwined bodies. Such details present no particular problem in direct casting, since even the most intricate wax model can be invested in layers of liquid plaster or near-liquid clay slip, and the mold is easily broken away from the complex forms after casting. With indirect casting, the difficulty lies in removing the original wax model from a rigid plaster mold without destroying either.

Indirect casting of this period is characterized by so-called piece-molding, which involves building up the mold in many interlocking plaster sections. In the absence of flexible materials for making molds, the plaster piece-mold remained standard for nearly four centuries. Although Biringuccio mentions the use of gelled hide glue as a flexible molding material for reliefs in his *Pirotechnia*,²⁷ it was not until the early nineteenth century that glue was routinely used for molding sculpture in the round. Glue molds were later replaced first by latex rubber and then, in the twentieth century, by synthetic molding materials, which can be easily slit and peeled away from deep undercuts and complicated and delicate textures such as waxen locks of hair. It is not surprising that the introduction of indirect casting at the end of the fifteenth century closely parallels the rise of the nude as a popular subject, since a single nude figure standing in an open frontal pose (fig. 5) represents one of the easiest subjects to piece-mold, while deeply undercut drapery is one of the most challenging.

The indirect process requires careful planning and considerable ingenuity. The artist's original model is first coated with a separating agent such as oil or soap. The model is then embedded, section by section, within a carefully designed mantle of removable plaster pieces that fit together around the original model like a three-dimensional jigsaw puzzle. The finished plaster piece-mold is then disassembled, allowing the perfectly preserved wax model to be removed and saved for later use. The pieces of the plaster piece-mold (or molds) are then reassembled to form a mold for the wax intermodel. For complex forms, the artist often cuts the original model into several pieces—limbs, head, torso, drapery, etc.—prior to piece-molding. These sections are then piece-molded separately to produce multiple hollow waxes that are joined together later in the process. The reason for this is clear: one needed access to the hollow interior of the wax intermodel in order to

emplace the refractory core. Thus a simple figure standing on its own feet would have to be *slush-molded* in sections (see below), while a bust with an open neck and therefore access to the interior of the head might not.

This process would not be difficult if the model to be reproduced had no negative recesses to interlock with the plaster mold, but for all but the simplest forms and poses this would not be so. Due to these limitations, certain areas of the model—elaborate hair, curly beards, intricate drapery—might be left in summary form to make molding with a rigid material such as plaster feasible. After casting the wax intermodel, the sculptor could then deepen the undercuts by excavating them to the desired depths. Thus no two intermodels are actually identical, nor are the replica bronzes made from them, even before chasing. Another solution might have been to use fillets of dough to temporarily plug such difficult passages in the original model, which would permit easy piece-molding yet leave the master model intact. We have no direct evidence for this, but it would explain the numerous local differences, too conspicuous to be accounted for merely by subsequent chasing, found among otherwise identical bronze replicas. A more elegant solution might have been to use plaster fillets, or *tasselli*, a technique used for monumental bronzes that may have been less practical for small bronzes.²⁸ Any of these methods would still require retouching the suppressed undercuts in the wax intermodel before molding and casting.

In practice, the plaster piece-mold is reassembled and bound together in some fashion to form a hollow negative image of the original model (or section). Usually a mother mold—typically made of far fewer pieces than the inner mold and frequently a simple bivalve—is made to enclose and hold all the sections of the inner piece-mold together and in proper position for casting. The interior of the piece-mold assembly is moistened with water to chill it and prevent the wax from adhering, and the mold is lined with wax using one of several methods. For open molds such as reliefs, the interior is often lined with both melted wax and overlapping sheets of wax. For statuettes, a technique of *slush-molding*, described by Vasari in 1550, was often employed.²⁹ For this process, the dampened mold is inverted and filled with molten wax. When a layer of wax as thick as the desired bronze has solidified on the interior walls of the mold, the excess, still-molten wax is simply poured out. This process may be repeated several times. With practice, the thickness of the wax walls of the intermodel can be made quite uniform, but as the molten wax cools and becomes viscous, it frequently forms drips and sags on the interior surface of the intermodel. When the wax has hardened, the piece-mold is removed, leaving a hollow wax intermodel. Both the dribbles of melted wax and any seams or overlaps of wax sheets are reproduced in the metal and consequently can be seen in radiographs of the interiors of small bronzes produced using this technique. Most of us are familiar with the evidence of this

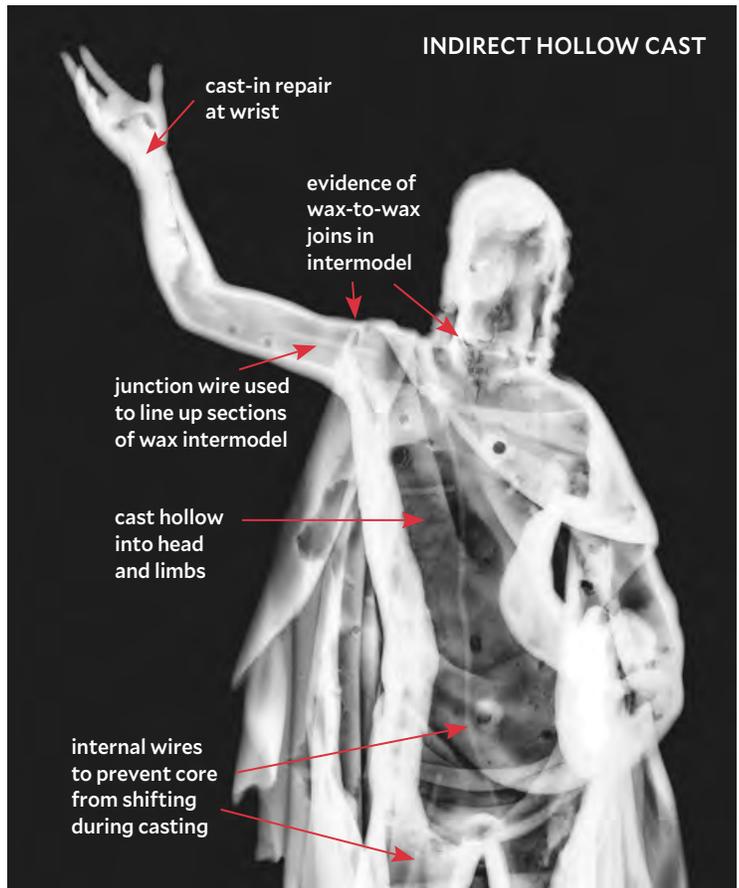


Fig. 3. Giambologna and Antonio Susini, *The Risen Christ* (cat. 134), Florence, 1596, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

process from observing the external molding seams and internal swirls in a similarly cast hollow chocolate.

Assembling the wax shell of the intermodel from hollow sections such as limbs and drapery requires considerable skill and a steady hand. Antico's method was to heat both edges to be joined—probably with a hot spatula—and press them together until the ring of molten wax cooled. In radiographs, one usually can see a ring of thicker metal that resulted from extruded wax in the interior where two hollow members were joined.³⁰ The exterior no doubt also had an extruded ring of wax, but it was obviously pared away before investment. Bronzes by many other masters never show an extruded internal ring even where there is clearly a join. Presumably their technique was merely to hold the wax edges closely together and apply a drop of molten wax to the seam, where it was drawn in by capillary action to seal the join. When multiple wax intermodels are produced from an individual model, slight variations in the wax-to-wax joins, such as the exact angle of attachment of the heads, limbs, or drapery, will result in variations among the related bronzes.

Cores for bronzes made by this process are composed of either clay or plaster of Paris, sometimes with the addition of a filler such as fine sand. Sculptors and their workshops tended to be loyal to one or the other core material. Paduan sculptors,

including Riccio and some of his followers, tended to use clay, while the Mantuan sculptor Antico preferred plaster. Monumental sculpture permits the manual insertion of a workable clay mixture into a hollow member of the wax intermodel, but this is far more difficult with smaller-scale sculpture. Even so, some small bronzes with core apertures seemingly too small to permit insertion of clay by hand still somehow include ceramic cores. Some sculptors possibly worked with a pourable mixture of clay slip and fine sand. Antonio Susini incorporated junction wires, short lengths of wire that were embedded in accessible areas of the core, to facilitate alignment of separately cast sections of the wax intermodel such as the limbs before they were waxed to the torso. He and other sculptors also included longer wires that acted as “leashes” to prevent the core from floating up in the mold during casting. Both technical features are well illustrated in radiographs of Susini's *Risen Christ* (fig. 3).

It is not surprising that Antico, Severo, and many other sculptors used plaster rather than clay cores. Plaster has the great advantage that, while liquid when poured into the wax shell, it sets to a durable solid within minutes. Plaster cores often leave an identifying mark even when all other traces of the core have been removed. Bubbles in the plaster are invariably trapped on the interior surface of the wax, leaving small, hemispherical

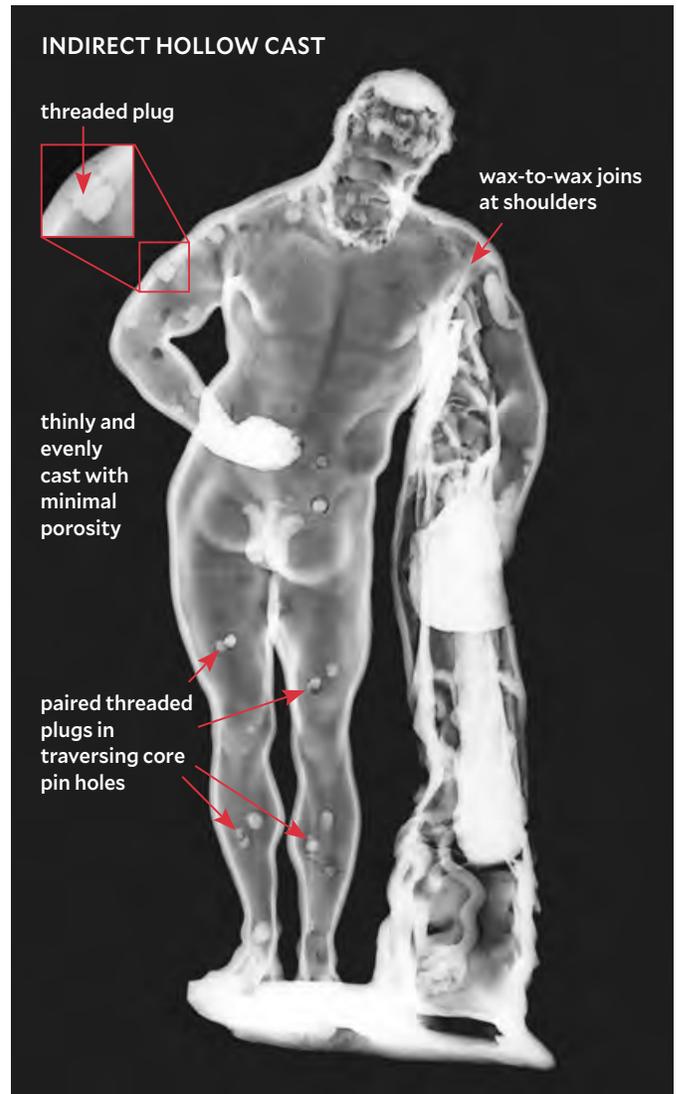


Fig. 4. After a model by Pietro da Barga, *Farnese Hercules* (cat. 102), Florence, modeled ca. 1576, cast 17th century, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

voids at the surface of the core. If large enough, these voids filled with molten metal on casting and produced a texture of solid bronze “bubbles” on the interior of the sculpture. This texture can sometimes be identified visually or in radiographs.

The next step in preparing the wax intermodel is to stabilize the core by pinning. Antico used many core pins of thinly drawn iron wire that were inserted into the walls of the intermodel after the plaster core had hardened; consequently, the pins did not penetrate the core. They also remained in place, and there are several methods for detecting them: visually (if the patina is worn) as small metallic spots; with a magnet; or sometimes through radiography.³¹ Riccio used iron wire, either drawn round or slit rectangularly from sheet iron. His pins are oriented radially like Antico’s and generally so small and hidden by patina and rust that they are best detected with the aid of a magnet. Riccio’s followers in Padua began incorporating

traversing core pins of heavier iron wire, which are later seen elsewhere in northern Italy. Two typical examples of such Riccioesque bronzes are the *Triton and Nereid* (cat. 14), and the *Seated Satyr* (cat. 16). Traversing core pins were inserted through the hollow wax limbs and torso of the intermodel before the plaster core was poured. Although the pins were usually removed after casting, evidence of their use is present as a series of small, paired core plugs located on opposite sides of the cast. This feature is well illustrated in radiographs of the *Farnese Hercules* (fig. 4). Severo evolved a quite different system of indirect casting, using iron nails in place of core pins to form a sort of discontinuous armature reinforcing the core. The nails were placed in standard positions: a pair in the small of the back with their shanks extended down into the thighs, another between the buttocks and penetrating upward into the torso, and another in the top of the head directed

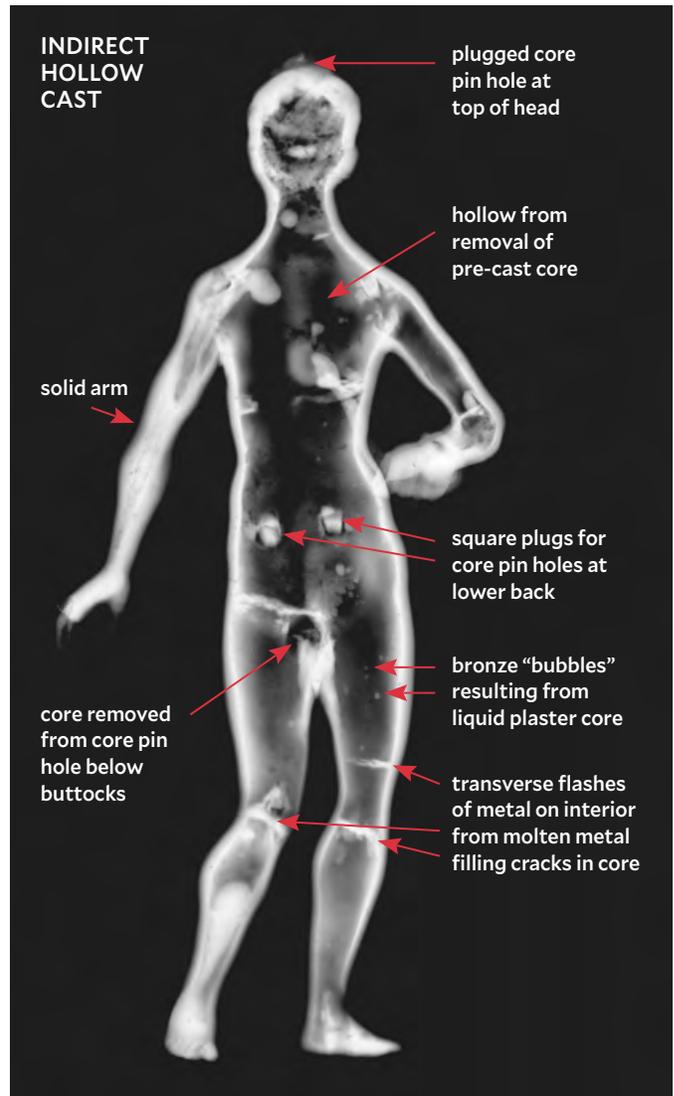


Fig. 5. Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, *Cleopatra* (cat. 34B), probably Ravenna, mid-16th century, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

downward.³² The iron nails were removed after casting, and the resulting square holes were closed with short bronze plugs. These signature details of Severo's workshop practice are easily identified by radiography, as can be seen in The Met's cast of the *Cleopatra* (fig. 5).

Technically distinguishing among the many talented members of Giambologna's entourage is beyond the scope of a preliminary discussion. However, one feature, their use of threaded plugs of varying sizes as a means of repairing small casting flaws and core pin holes, deserves mention. There is no question that Giambologna's plugs and holes were threaded by the use of steel taps and dies.³³ The last quarter of the sixteenth century is also the period when clocksmiths and instrument makers began routinely using precision screws in their mechanisms.³⁴ Giambologna's screw plugs are invariably made of metal of the same color and presumably the same composition

as the sculpture, and they blend invisibly with the finished bronze under his transparent patinas. Most are detectable only through radiography (fig. 8).

While it is difficult to say which pinning method or other casting or finishing procedure is more advantageous, we know through technical analysis that different schools of sculptors and their shops were surprisingly faithful to one method or the other. Florentine small bronzes of the early seventeenth century, for example, never to my knowledge include the plaster cores, traversing core pins, junction wires, or ubiquitous screw plugs that are distinguishing features of Giambologna's studio. This knowledge allows us to conclude that a Giambolognesque *Fortuna* (fig. 6), which shows uncharacteristic evidence of a poured plaster core, including bronze "bubbles" and traversing core pins, was likely cast using a Florentine bronze as a model, but in northern Italy, not in Florence.

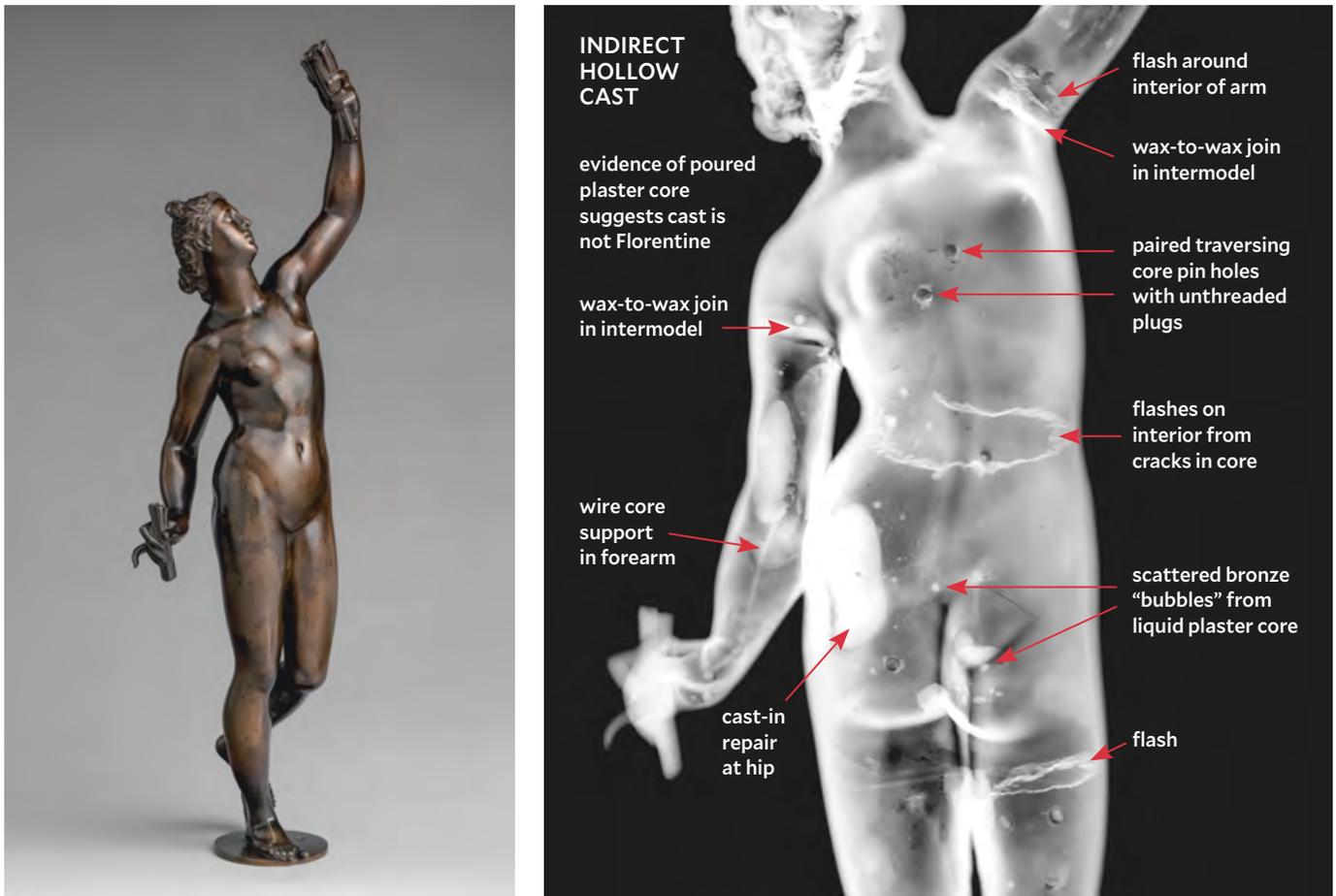


Fig. 6. Antonio Susini (?), after a model by Giambologna, *Fortuna* (cat. 122), early 17th century, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

There is one more step to consider before the wax intermodel with its refractory core could be invested, fired, and cast. This involves the fabrication of a system of wax conduits to carry the molten metal into the mold and, equally important, to allow the air entrained and heated by the molten metal to escape from the mold cavities. Why was such an elaborate distribution system necessary? The volume of metal to be poured into the mold was relatively small versus the mass of the mold and core, which would cause the molten metal to cool and solidify rapidly. Thus the complex distribution system would ensure that all parts of the mold would fill smoothly, evenly, and rapidly, before the metal congealed. Bronzes of any size or complexity generally require a more complex system than the aforementioned sprue, the primary entrance into the mold. In most cases, the sprue branches out into multiple wax runners that pass parallel to the major elements of the figure—arms, legs, torso, etc.—but do not directly connect to them.

The final entrances into the mold cavity are made through short lengths of wax rod called gates. These gates sprout along the lengths of the runners, and each gate is placed so as to connect to the intermodel's surface in as close to a right angle as possible to reduce the amount of cutting and finishing required

to remove them after casting. An additional system of vents (or risers) allows the free exit of heated gas through separate channels from the inflowing metal. These suppressed turbulence, the entrainment of air, and consequent porosity. Since virtually no unfinished Renaissance castings survive, we have little direct evidence for the actual design of these distribution systems before the eighteenth century. There are, however, later examples, as the method is still in use today. Despite the fact that a sophisticated distribution system is indispensable to casting fine bronzes, very little has been made of it, perhaps because the skill required to construct the system is really that of a founder, not a sculptor.

The introduction of indirect casting, like so many other technical innovations, had far-reaching repercussions. For instance, an indirectly cast bronze is never an “original”; it is always a more or less faithful reproduction of a model in a different medium, generally wax. Antico's contemporaries seem to have understood this far better than many of our own era. While it is likely that many small bronzes originated as individual private commissions, it is also clear that replicas were produced for other patrons apparently without qualms and seemingly without protest from the original patrons. While a

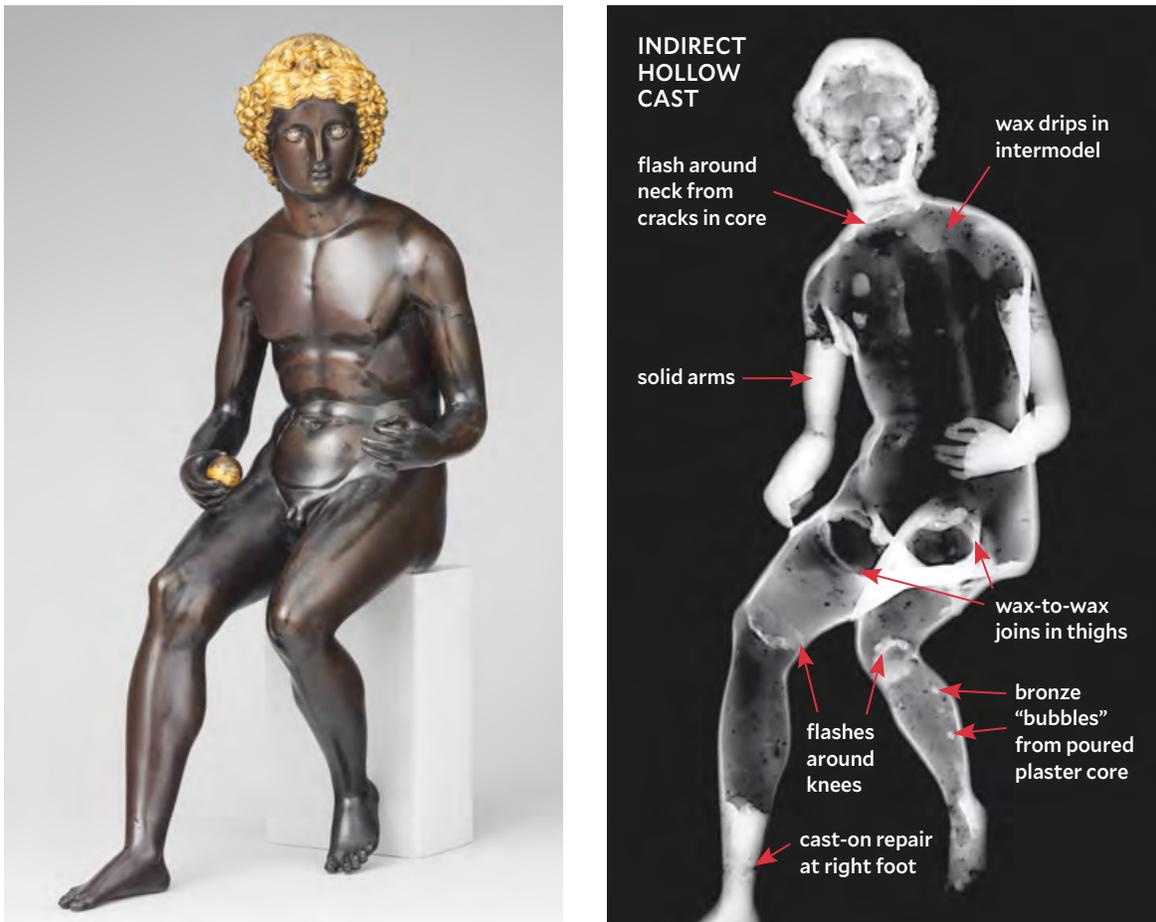


Fig. 7. Antico, *Paris* (cat. 11), Mantua, ca. 1518–24, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

patron may have demanded finer finishing, a different patina, or even gilding, no indirectly cast bronze can be considered “autograph” in the way, for example, a Raphael drawing can. Moreover, patrons did not suppose that their bronzes were unique. In fact, as small bronzes became ubiquitous, patrons’ driving motive seems to have been “I really must have one too.” Many sculptors were glad to oblige. Severo catered to a large market of persons wishing to advertise their humanist literacy at a reasonable price. He and his followers produced a vast corpus of human curios that still survive. On the other hand, Riccio’s relatively small output of beautifully finished, directly cast bronzes suggests he was never interested in exact replication, and replicas of bronzes by the court sculptors Antico and Giambologna were strictly controlled by their noble patrons, the Gonzaga of Mantua and the Medici grand dukes of Florence.

Case Study: Antico’s *Paris*

Antico has so far proved to be not only the earliest indirect caster of the Renaissance, but also one of the most informative. We know from a letter of 1518 to Isabella d’Este, marchesa of Mantua, that he kept finished wax models—“cere netiziate,”

in his words—of bronzes he had previously cast and was prepared to cast new bronze replicas of them for her.³⁵ The mere fact that he could cast replicas, not merely freehand copies, from his preserved wax models demonstrates that he fully understood the process. Evidence suggests that Antico was an expert at indirect casting early in his career. He had worked extensively in Rome, where he saw indirectly cast ancient small bronzes in many collections, including examples that were decorated with other metals.³⁶ For the *Paris*, he inlaid the eyes in silver and embellished the hair with mercury amalgam gilding, also known as fire gilding.

All of Antico’s bronzes were cast in an essentially identical fashion even as his modeling style evolved and varied. Radiographs of the *Paris* (fig. 7) show that he created the wax intermodel using five separate piece-molds: one for the main section, consisting of the head and torso, plus four for the limbs. The arms are solid and appear whiter or more radiopaque on the images. Wax drips on the interior of the intermodel, now cast in bronze, are visible in radiographs at the upper torso. Characteristic rings of thicker metal that correspond to wax-to-wax joins are apparent where the hollow legs were joined to the upper thighs in the intermodel. Bronze “bubbles” on the

interior walls, indicating his use of a poured plaster core, are also apparent.

Antico used many core supports of thin iron wire that were randomly spaced, but usually on convex surfaces to lessen the job of trimming them back after casting. These were always inserted into the wax so as to be perpendicular to the local surface to minimize the iron exposed to rusting. Antico invariably emplaced the core pins after the plaster core of the intermodel had hardened, so they do not protrude into the interior. Since all the pins are perpendicular to the surface, they tend to point toward the center of mass in the statuette. Their generally radial orientation seems to be almost universal in Antico bronzes. This was brought home in a stereographic pair of X-rays of the *Paris*, in which the core pins are visible despite their being a mere three or four millimeters in length and seemingly floating in space.

Radiographs of the *Paris* show that Antico made a repair to a major casting flaw in the extended right foot by following the complicated steps of casting on a new foot. Antico prepared the bronze by sawing off the damaged foot at the ankle. He then excavated the core up into the hollow calf to provide space for the molten metal to flow and thereby mechanically fuse into the calf. He reused his plaster piece-mold to cast a solid wax foot, added a wax sprue, vents, and a pouring cup, and then fixed the wax to the stump of the bronze ankle. He reinvested the area around the foot and calf, burnt off the wax in the furnace, and poured the bronze repair. After the foot had cooled, he broke away the investment, and sawed and filed off the casting hardware. He carefully chased and finished the join for the foot so that it would be invisible before applying his black patina. This process differed slightly from the direct method, in which case the sculptor would model his wax repairs freehand directly against the bronze.

The Workshop

The Romantic ideal of the artist as a solitary, unique creator persists in the study of small bronzes despite the medium offering frequent, even inevitable opportunities for significant intervention by others due to the complexity of the technology. Bronze sculpture could scarcely be cast in a garret. In reality, the making of bronze sculpture was seldom a solo activity, and a sculptor usually required the aid of a collection of people with a variety of talents and skills to produce anything more than a handful of pieces. Workshops varied from the small and controlled practices overseen by Antico and Riccio to the larger and more varied output of Severo and Giambologna. Indeed, the more prolific the sculptor, the more hands were required, including many workers with major talents of their own. As his fame and commissions grew, the master sculptor needed an able staff as well as considerable executive skills to run a flourishing studio and satisfy his patrons.

Bronze casting lends itself to an almost modern division of labor. As the knowledge of indirect casting spread, and

the sheer number of bronzes produced increased, the manufacture of bronzes tended to break up into a series of specialized crafts. In Padua, home of Riccio, high demand led to the development of independent foundries dedicated to the production of small bronzes.³⁷ In Mantua, the Gonzaga court sculptor Antico delegated the casting of his bronzes to independent goldsmith-sculptors such as Maestro Iohane and Gian Marco Cavalli.³⁸ The comprehensive bronze foundry—originally mostly engaged in the casting of cannons and bells—was already a well-established trade in cities with a great demand, such as Venice.³⁹ Towns in need of occasional services could rely on a small army of peripatetic founders. It was this population of journeymen who helped mightily in spreading the “Mantuan” method of indirect casting all over northern Italy in not much more than a generation. Vasari’s explicit description of indirect casting in his 1550 edition of the *Lives* can be taken as definitive proof of knowledge of the practice throughout Italy by this time.⁴⁰

How was a Renaissance shop organized to take full advantage of the efficient division of labor necessary for the indirect casting of bronzes given the technology then current? Each shop tended to take on very young apprentices and then let each one compete for more responsible positions. In a busy shop, the rise or fall of these assistants could be quite rapid. Of course, each shop had a master under whose name the work would be issued and, with the exception of a master as tolerant and uncritical as Severo, would be the primary talent and creator. The master’s time presumably was spent in the design of prototypes or at least advanced sketch models. The busier the shop, the more likely the summary models were completed by an aspiring subordinate. In any case, the final result would be the master model for piece-molding.

Piece-molding demands a great deal of skill and ingenuity but no profound sculptural talent; it could be done by a suitable shop specialist. The piece-mold would be used for making the wax intermodel. Obvious flaws in the intermodel, such as seam flashes in the wax from the piece-molding, would have to be mended. This is a simple procedure, but those details left summarily modeled or filled with dough to facilitate piece-molding had to be perfected in the wax at this stage. The details would require genuine sculptural skill but could well have been done by a younger sculptor in the shop, especially if he had the intact original master model in front of him. Various sculptors might retouch multiple intermodels from the same model, in which case replicas, say of a heavily draped or hirsute figure, could be very different from each other. Arguments as to which one was the “original” are basically fatuous since all indirectly cast bronzes, even if from the same model, are by definition replicas. Nevertheless, while equal in the technical sense, replicas certainly exhibit varying degrees of quality. Ironically, it is precisely those detailed areas of modeling with numerous undercuts—complex locks of hair, intricately twisted drapery,

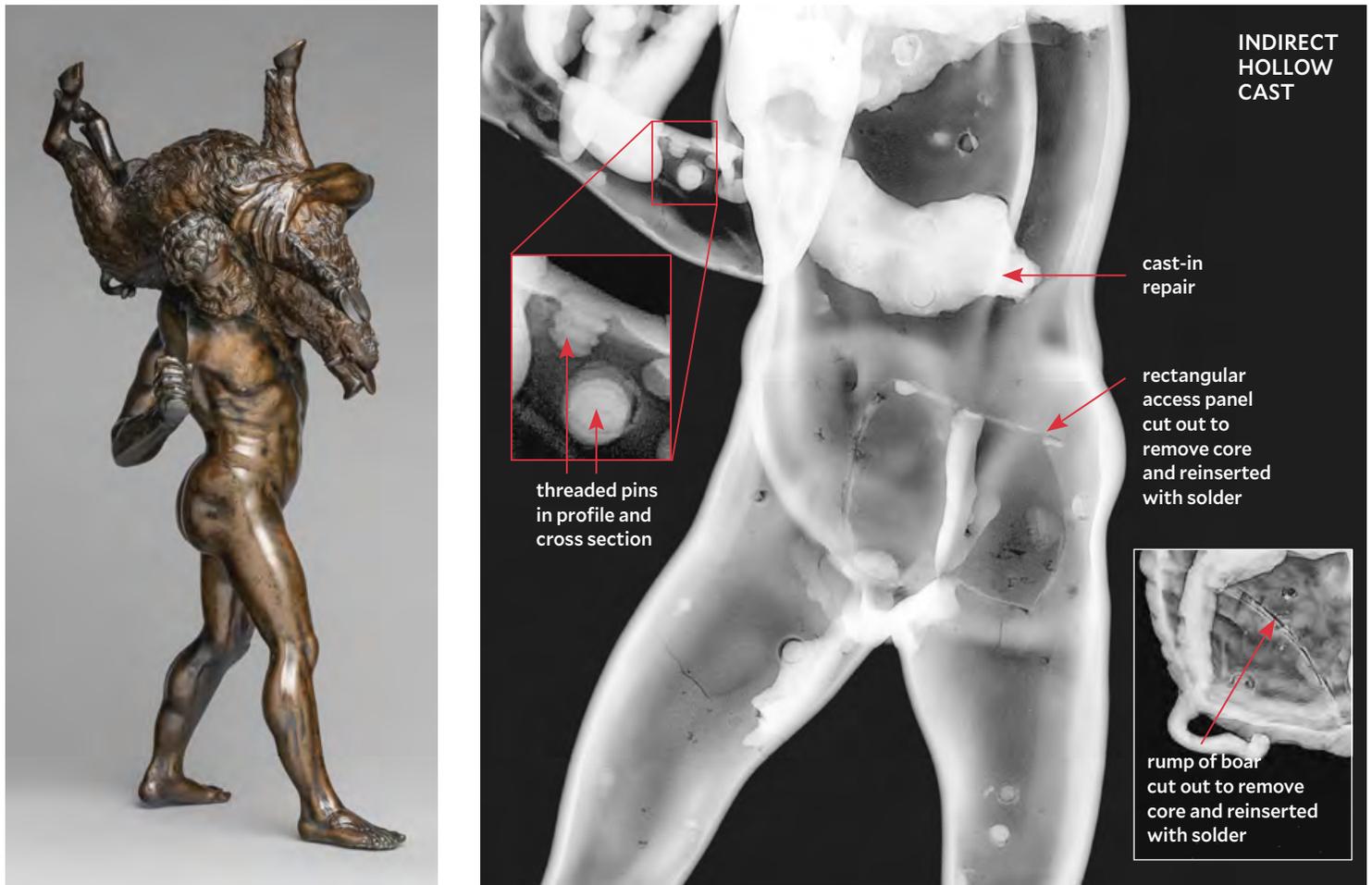


Fig. 8. After a model by Giambologna, *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* (cat. 128), probably Florence, late 17th or 18th century, and radiograph digitally enhanced by author

hands writhing in space—that often defy piece-molding. These require individual interventions to each wax intermodel and might also represent the areas most likely to strike the eye of the beholder if seemingly deficient or atypical.

Casting was the step rationally left to a professional founder. Casting is dirty, with constant danger of burns or worse. It requires investment in a major melting furnace for all but the smallest pieces. Yet many Renaissance sculptors managed to cast bronze in their own shops. They either had sufficient volume of production to make it worthwhile or may simply have lacked access to a trustworthy founder. After casting came the trimming and cleaning of the cast, so-called fettling, which involved removal of the extraneous conduits that were needed solely for the distribution of the molten bronze into the mold. The projecting sprues, runners, gates, and any casting blemishes were probably cleaned out by the foundry, as fettling was a necessity for all cast objects, hardware as well as sculpture.

Although bronzes were preferably cast in one piece, sculptors sometimes joined separately cast elements such as arms and legs mechanically using metal plugs or sleeve joints.⁴¹

Riccio was fond of riveted lap joints for his smaller bronzes, a feature unique to his shop that can sometimes be identified only through radiography.⁴² One occasionally finds evidence of the use of soft solder (lead/tin) or silver solder (silver/copper) for joining separately cast elements such as arms and drapery or to insert patches for large casting flaws. This type of joinery could reflect a sculptor's strong experience in goldsmithing. Although soldering produces conspicuous silver seams, these, like copper plugs and patches, are typically hidden under the dark patinas of the period. It is likely that many of these soldered joints on small bronzes have yet to be identified. Radiographs of *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* (fig. 8) show that sections of the cast were deliberately cut out from the figure's buttocks and the rump of the boar, most likely to provide access for removal of the heavy ceramic core. The panels were reinserted with solder, and the joints were disguised by meticulous chasing. Brazing, using a rather high-melting copper/zinc alloy for joining, seems not to have been in use in the Renaissance. In the seventeenth century, the Susinis began using flow welds to join separately cast elements.⁴³ Baroque sculptor Massimiliano Soldani created multifigure compositions such



Above and opposite: Fig. 9. After a model by Alessandro Algardi, *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 146), Rome, second half of the 17th century, and radiographs digitally enhanced by author

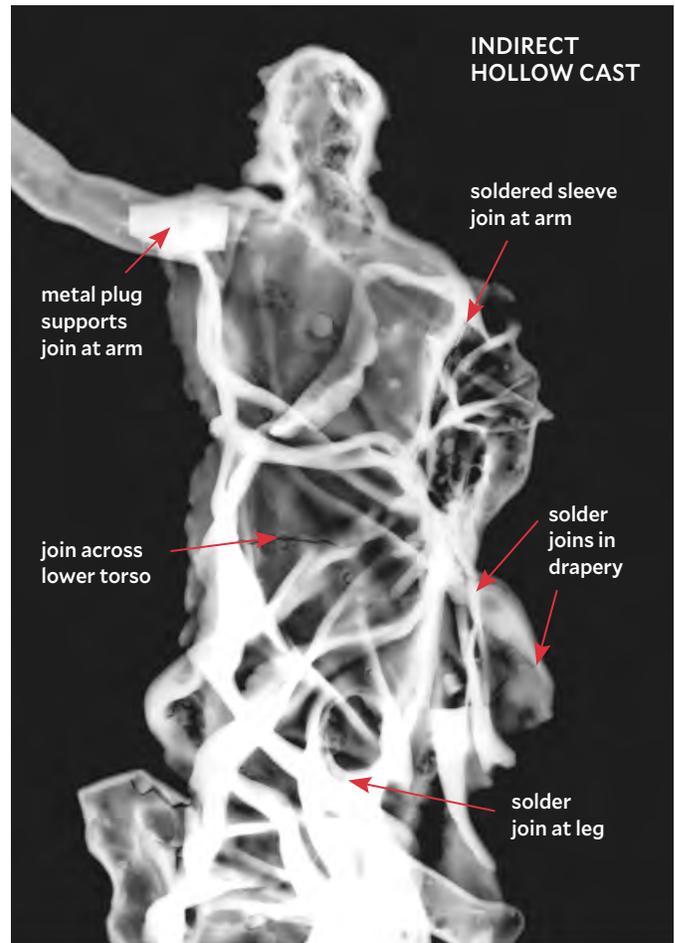
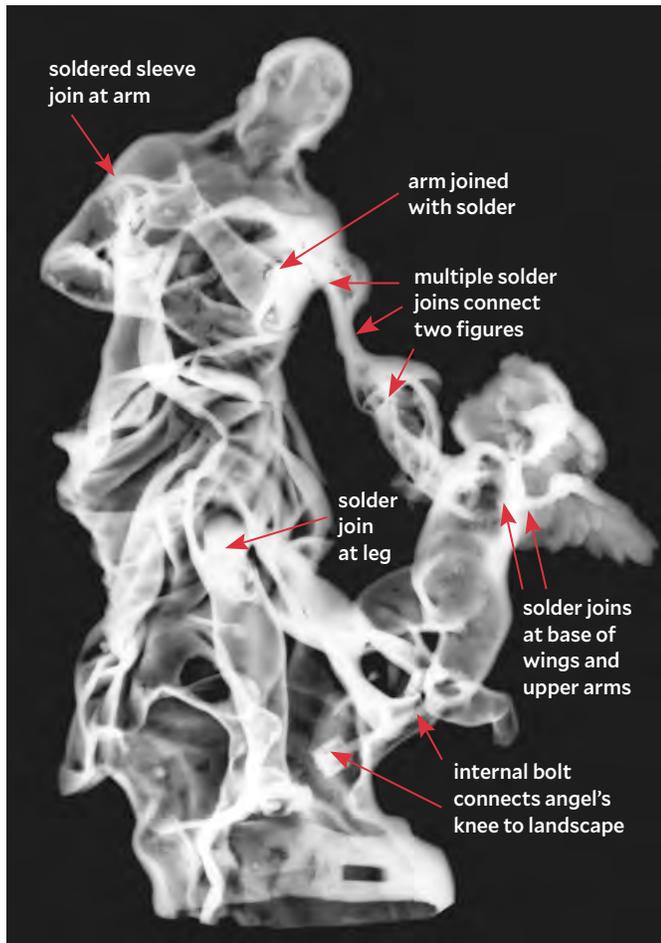
as *The Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter* (cat. 145) using a carefully planned series of flow welds.

Chasing, the final step in the finishing of a bronze, involves the sharpening of details already cast in, as well as the creation of entirely new surface details and textures. For sculptors who preferred modeling details in the wax—for example, Riccio and Severo—the cold-working might be minimal, but this was the exception. Although it is much easier to model wax than to work bronze, most sculptors mechanically chased the metallic surface in varying degrees.

Chasing is done with a variety of steel tools. Punches displace or indent metal rather than remove it. Linear details are created with a tracer, shaped somewhat like a blunted chisel. The tracer is moved along with gentle hammer taps, each producing a small indentation, which, if done precisely and evenly enough, can be difficult to distinguish from a continuous line drawn directly into the wax intermodel. Frequently, tracing is done directly over lines already cast into the surface to enhance their “metallic” quality, and it is often possible to see the small stepping mark produced by each of the chasing hammer blows.

If the line required is tightly curved, for instance in curly locks of hair, the tracer used is narrower, and the traverse indenting edge of the tool leaves an even smaller radius, virtually a semi-circle. Much chasing is ultimately invisible, done with shaped burnishers, very fine files, and various abrasives. This is characteristic of the work of sculptors who aimed for crisp, strictly metallic surfaces without the inevitable tiny smears and irregularities that revealed the bronze’s waxy prototype. The last stage in chasing is the burnishing and polishing of untextured surfaces. Examination of a bronze by Antico or Giambologna under suitable lighting conditions often reveals faint, longitudinal and essentially parallel burnishing marks, especially on naked limbs.

Our description of an anonymous sculptor’s shop is intended to demonstrate the wide variety of skills employed in bronze making and the numerous opportunities for successful intervention by specialists. The busiest and most successful shops had the greatest need for skilled labor. Occasionally an established major talent might be induced to join a shop, but most workers first had to learn a particular skill to demonstrate their usefulness. Nature distributes true ability with such notorious



parsimony that there would be an inevitable sorting of workers according to their talents versus the importance of an individual commission. In the course of our connoisseurship, we frequently forget the technical and hence social complexity of high-quality bronze production. We try to sort out attributions among the best-documented names, yet forget that many essentially unknown personalities have also intervened to some degree. This is especially true when judging between replicas, but it is also the case for all bronzes. In a large shop meeting a constant demand for production, there could be many different hands involved in what was nominally an autograph work, most of those hands making minor but still positive contributions.

Case Study: Algardi's *Baptism of Christ*

The rise of the multifigured sculptural group in the seventeenth century created special problems for the founder. As far as is known, no flexible molding material then in use in Italy could reproduce the multiple overlapping figures intertwined with voluminous drapery that the Baroque brought into fashion. The obvious solution was to cast the bronze in pieces, then

join the pieces mechanically using screws, bolts, or carefully tooled interlocking parts. The *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 9) after a model by Alessandro Algardi employs some of these methods but also extensive soldering.

The *Baptism* was made in three main parts: the Christ, the Baptist, and the river Jordan, a bridging intermediate section. All three were cast from a quaternary alloy with a distinctly coppery color and thus rather low in the alloying agents tin, zinc, and lead. The patina, which seems to be original, is a very dark brown varnish, subsequently tarnished and now considerably worn. The three parts join in a straightforward mechanical fashion with slotted tabs that extend from opposite edges of the river and insert into slots in the figural sections. When the three sections are bolted together, the joints are reasonably inconspicuous.

Close inspection reveals numerous thin seams of tarnished hard solder, initially confused with black paint, at locations typical for postcasting joints, for instance at the roots of the angel's wings. Unlike soft solder, which is usually quite conspicuous in radiographs, hard solder can be difficult to find unless you know where to look. But the blackish seams of the *Baptism* provided a



Fig. 10. Vittore Gabbello, *Seated Hercules in the Act of Shooting at the Stymphalian Birds* (detail, [cat. 51](#)), Venice, ca. 1515–20

road map to follow on the radiographs. The figure of John was cast in at least seven soldered sections: the extended right arm from just below the shoulder, the left arm from below the shoulder, the left leg from mid-thigh down to the foot, the right calf and foot, parts of the drapery, and, most striking of all, the entire head and torso, with the horizontal seam running entirely around the draped hips and abdomen. Christ and the angel were similarly soldered from multiple separately cast sections.

Initially surprised to discover so much hard soldering on a seventeenth-century object, I later concluded that the artist was not a *bronzista* but a silversmith accustomed to working in precious metal. Before the gas torch was introduced in the nineteenth century, the joins in a metal object were usually soldered simultaneously by evenly heating the whole work in a furnace. By the Renaissance, silversmiths had learned to use graded hard solders that allowed them to solder joins in multiple

furnace steps, progressing from high- to low-melting solders. This practice required great skill and dexterity, since there was no way to judge temperature except from the color of the furnace's glowing interior. The worker simply withdrew the piece when he saw the solder melt.

This brings us to another issue. How were the pieces being soldered held together tightly and accurately in the furnace? The *Baptism* has only two internal mechanical fasteners: a plug at the join holding the extended right arm of the Baptist, and a screw and nut that fasten the angel's left knee to the rock under Christ. Cellini explains that Renaissance silversmiths used wrappings of fine iron wire to temporarily join pieces during soldering, a practice still common today. After I had carefully mapped the shapes of the individual pieces, it became clear that the Christ and Baptist units were deliberately designed to be wire-bound for soldering, much like sections of a precious metal



Fig. 11. Cast by Pietro Tacca after a model by Giambologna, *Francesco I de' Medici* (detail, cat. 117), Florence, modeled 1585–87, cast ca. 1611

object. The Baptist's legs were cast with rocky extensions under the feet that fit into the larger rocky mass, which also helped to prevent the feet from shifting during soldering. The angel's arms and hands were cast as a part of the extended portions of Christ's drapery. Soldering on the remaining parts of the sculpture presented no special difficulties with the exception of the angel's wings. Why were they soldered on instead of being integrally cast with the figure? I still have no answer for this.

Patina

Despite the large role that patinas have played in the traditional connoisseurship of small Renaissance sculpture, until recently virtually nothing was known about their chemical composition. The Renaissance interest in patination was no doubt driven in part by the fact that ancient bronzes usually came out of the ground with green patinas, so that bronzes and patina were invariably linked. Vasari refers to some sculptors of the period using vinegar to produce green patinas.⁴⁴ The issue is that while Renaissance sculptors admired and adapted works from classical antiquity, and frequently patinated their small bronzes,

they rarely patinated them green.⁴⁵ The patina paradox reveals a certain ambiguity on the part of Renaissance sculptors toward their otherwise enthusiastic dependence on antiquity. They wished their archaeological erudition to be acknowledged but not to the point of losing their own modern identities. Apparently the battle of Ancients and Moderns began simultaneously with the Renaissance itself.

Curiously, we have no firm date for the earliest regular use of deliberately colored patinas on small bronzes, but they presumably began to appear mid-fifteenth century as the small bronze became an indispensable accoutrement to princely surroundings. None of the major sculptors previously discussed—Antico, Severo, or Riccio—was from Florence or even Central Italy, although Antico likely passed through Florence on his trips to and from Rome. Regardless of who “invented” the small bronze, these artists made it into a recognized and regularly collected genre. One feature shared across all of their bronzes is a more or less dark patina. Antico's chemical patinas, which are black and opaque yet quite elegant against their adjacent gilding, were made for the princely Gonzagas of Mantua and are thus an apt anticipation of the phenomenon. Chemical methods of patination were exceedingly rare in the Renaissance and apparently limited to early sixteenth-century Mantua.⁴⁶ In Padua, Riccio seems to have used no systematic patination for his bronzes, and the metal was simply allowed to tarnish to a dark brown. Even his monumental Paschal Candelabrum was originally a pristine, unpatinated metal. All the other Renaissance patinas were organic coatings of some sort. Severo used nothing more than paint: carbon black pigment⁴⁷ dispersed in a drying oil (presumably linseed or walnut).⁴⁸ A more glossy paint, found on *Seated Hercules in the Act of Shooting at the Stymphalian Birds* (fig. 10), was made by mixing pigment into varnish—an organic resin dissolved in a heated drying oil such as walnut or linseed—and also applied cold.⁴⁹ These painted patinas are common on small bronzes of the period, although they are susceptible to cracking and flaking and often exhibit wear from handling. The only other finish was gilding, either with mercury or applied as leaf with a mordant (a tacky oil/resin varnish).⁵⁰ Antico used both gilding methods as well as silver inlay. In any case, even though deliberately colored patinas are mentioned by Gauricus, the makers of early indirectly cast bronzes apparently never made use of them.

In the later sixteenth century, near-transparent patinas of varied colors, ranging from pale yellow to dark reddish brown, became popular, in fact the norm, for small bronzes in Florence. This was hardly universal, however. In certain centers, primarily Venice, the tradition of applying black patinas to bronzes essentially remained the rule. But Venice was, as ever, a coherent oligarchy under the nominal rule of an elected doge, and public sculpture functioned as a symbol of the absolute continuity and unshakable order of the Venetian republic. In many ways, that was in stark contrast to Florence, where sculpture, whether the monumental works in the Piazza della Signoria or

the resplendent small-bronze output of Giambologna's shop in the Borgo Pinti, ultimately had a single major purpose: to illustrate, not only to the Florentines but to other princes, the wealth of the Medicean grand dukes and their hard-won absolute control of the city.

During this period, colored patination of bronze was a moderately less ostentatious yet much less costly technique than enamel on gold. Indeed, the meticulously executed bronzes of Giambologna and his followers exude qualities previously associated only with goldsmithing: the exquisite finish of their surfaces reflects through the translucent patinas like gold through enamel. Giambologna and his school used stoving varnishes containing both oils and resins that were applied and allowed to dry until tacky, then heated in an oven—"stoved"—until they oxidized and cross-linked to form a hard, tough, insoluble film. Older stoving varnishes proved extremely durable and adherent but had their limitations. Stoving caused conspicuous darkening and discoloration of the varnish film, and earlier sculptors usually added sufficient carbon black to disguise the discoloration and opacify the coating.

Giambologna's mastery of translucent patinas is demonstrated in three well-documented bronzes from the Certosa del Galluzzo, *The Risen Christ*, the *Saint John*, and the *Saint Matthew* (fig. 3). These three statuettes were mounted in the Certosa in a way that protected them from casual handling, so their patinas remain splendidly preserved, albeit somewhat darkened. Similar translucent brown patinas can be found on a number of bronzes based on Giambologna models, including *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* (fig. 8) and the *Trotting Horse* (cat. 118). The portrait bust of Francesco I de' Medici, cast after Giambologna's death by his principal studio assistant Pietro Tacca, retains much of a less commonly found translucent reddish patina (fig. 11).

Giambologna's patinas are especially interesting in that no inorganic pigments were used, and a rich palette of warm autumnal colors was achieved simply by choosing the right resins for the varnishes and then controlling the length of time and temperature for stoving. Analysis indicates that he frequently added a tiny amount of carbon black as well as occasionally even a red madder lake. Although the colors range from essentially clear and nearly colorless to a deep reddish brown, my own experiments have shown that the full spectrum of colors exhibited by Giambologna's patinas can be reproduced by simply manipulating the aforementioned variables.⁵¹ Further, all the bronzes that I have examined and are generally accepted to be by Giambologna or made under his immediate supervision have patinas with striking mechanical properties. While they do show wear from abrasion, they exhibit virtually no spontaneous loss from flaking, pitting, or cracking. Their mechanical tenacity is impressive, as is their insolubility.

It is important to stress that the patina on a Renaissance bronze is seldom in its original condition. Organic coatings

tend to oxidize over time to a darker, more opaque color, and accumulated surface soiling has similarly altered their original appearance. Small bronzes were routinely waxed, oiled, or polished along with the household furniture, and have endured centuries of handling, not to mention deliberate alteration to hide wear and loss. Some bronzes were even completely repatinated, frequently with tinted shellac,⁵² if they appeared worn or shabby, or to suit collectors' changing tastes—with results that can be quite unobtrusive, even intentionally deceptive. For instance, Antico's *Paris* (fig. 7) and *Spinario* (cat. 9) no doubt were originally patinated a typical black like his other works. However, at some point in their history, the original patina was deliberately removed, leaving his mercury gilding and silver-inlaid eyes intact but supplied with a Giambolognesque transparent brown varnish that could not be further from the sculptor's intentions.

Conclusion

Every work of art begins deep in the mind of its creator. Translating an idea into an object that others can see and enjoy requires the skilled manipulation of an external physical medium. For scholars, the small bronze poses unique questions on that road from concept to object, questions that technical and scientific analysis can help to resolve. An object may have been executed entirely by a master sculptor, or it may have been subject to interventions large and small by many different workshop specialists, some of whom were sculptural talents in their own right, such as Giambologna's assistant Antonio Susini. Thus, the master's finished wax model may have been indirectly cast by various hands over quite different times, and we are left to puzzle out which best reflects the master's original intentions. Even more vexing are the innumerable undocumented bronzes that have never been indisputably attributed to any one master. While many of these are not of great artistic value, others may be orphaned masterpieces.

Technical and scientific analysis aided by X-ray imaging and XRF has opened up promising avenues of exploration for scholars. It has clarified the workshop practices of masters of bronze casting and helped bring others to light, thus enlarging the field of study. It has refined our understanding of production methods across geography and time. It has pointed up directions in which to look for related bronzes and helped to confirm or refute attributions previously proposed on purely stylistic grounds. As in all scholarly investigation, the wider the range of technical and art-historical information available and brought to bear on a problem, the greater the chances of success. However, we must never forget that works of art are studied primarily because they are fascinating objects of contemplation that enrich our inner lives, not hardware to be sorted into bins. To suppose that technical investigation is a unique key to connoisseurship ignores why we study art at all, because what matters is the profoundly moving experience with the art itself.

NOTES

1. X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) can provide basic qualitative information about alloy compositions; see D. Smith 2012. When possible, results should be compared with data collected through other quantitative analytical methods such as scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive spectroscopy and wavelength dispersive spectrometry (SEM-EDS/WDS).
2. Heginbotham et al. 2015.
3. Radiography for the images included in this paper was performed in the museum's Department of Objects Conservation using Philips MG321 X-ray and Carestream HPX-1 CR systems, equipped with a Philips MCN321 tungsten (W) target ceramic tube, operated with a 3-mm aluminum (Al) primary beam filter and collimator, at a distance of 90 cm from standard Kodak X-ray film (*Sprite*, fig. 2; *Paris*, fig. 7) or a CR imaging plate (figs. 1, 3–6, 8–9), using a Philips MGC30 control unit. Film and CR plates were sandwiched between lead filters (0.0127 cm in thickness above the film/plate and 0.0254 cm below). Exposure times ranged from 45 to 120 s, with voltage and current ranging from 225 kV and 4.2 mA to 320 kV and 3.0 mA. Digital images were processed using Kodak Industrex software, and both film and digital images were digitally enhanced by the author using Adobe Photoshop Lucis Pro software. Other imaging techniques that have been used for bronzes include 3D radiography, computed tomography (CT), and neutron tomography (NT).
4. Stone 2006; D. Smith 2008.
5. For visual guides to the following descriptions of direct and indirect casting, see the informative drawings in Dillon 2002 and Motture 2019, as well as online videos of direct and indirect methods: <https://smarthistory.org/bronze-casting-lost-wax/> and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4AR_KftDRs4.
6. Ng et al. 2019.
7. Stone 1981.
8. Tin has always been known as a metal with very few economically workable deposits. Cornish tin was a source first mentioned by Pytheas of Marseilles in the fourth century B.C. as coming from the "Cassiterites" (the Scilly Isles off southwest Britain, then the metal's commercial entrepôt), and for him, near the very edge of the World Ocean. Amazingly, the supply of Cornish tin was only finally exhausted in the early twentieth century.
9. Biringuccio 1942, pp. 136–41. These impurities are removed by the more efficient electrolytic process introduced in the late nineteenth century, providing one way to distinguish Renaissance bronzes from objects produced in the modern period.
10. At one point, Venice was reduced to offering a significant reward to anyone who could find a new deposit of copper within Venetian territory. V. Avery 2011, pp. 16–18.
11. Motture 2019, pp. 27–28.
12. For Pliny's influence on the Renaissance, see McHam 2013.
13. Bewer et al. 2007.
14. D. Smith 2013b.
15. *Fahlerz* ores were rich in antimony as the copper antimony sulfide mineral tetrahedrite, as well as arsenic from the copper arsenic sulfosalt mineral tennantite. Such ores had to be roasted before smelting, primarily to drive off the sulfur and, incidentally, much of the antimony and arsenic. Arsenic volatilizes rather easily on roasting, but antimony far less so. Thus copper from *Fahlerz* inevitably contained higher, if still quite variable, amounts of antimony and arsenic than copper produced from other ores.
16. Day 2019.
17. Excellent demonstrations of direct casting over a core and armature can be found in Francesca Bewer's study of Adriaen de Vries's *Juggling Man*. See Bewer 2001 and Bassett 2008.
18. Plaster of Paris cannot be mixed with natural fibers for cores because, upon firing, the organic material reduces the calcium sulfate of the plaster into calcium sulfide, and the core simply disintegrates.
19. Less properly called "chaplets," which are spacers used in sand casting, not lost wax.
20. Formigli 2012.
21. Gauricus 1969, pp. 218–19.
22. Stone 2001.
23. See, for example, the Greek bronze head of a griffin in The Met (1972.118.54). For a concise discussion of indirect lost-wax casting used by the ancient Greeks, see D. Haynes 1992, pp. 42–82.
24. Vasari 1966–87.
25. Stone 2006.
26. Sturman et al. 2009.
27. Biringuccio 1942, pp. 232–33.
28. The otherwise intractable undercuts in the model were individually filled with plaster while providing them with projecting elements, tenons, which could be engaged with the superincumbent section of the piece-mold. The finished piece-mold would then be disassembled, piece by piece, with the plaster fillets from the undercuts removed last of all. Using fillets allowed the production of identical replicas, but the size of the model decided whether fillets would be too small to be practical.
29. Vasari 1960, p. 160.
30. These wax fusion rings tend to be symmetrical in shape and extend around the entire circumference of the element being attached, distinguishing them from irregular fins or flashes of metal on the interior walls of a bronze that result from molten metal entering small drying cracks in the plaster or clay core.
31. Stone 1981, pp. 98–106.
32. Dylan Smith attempted to establish a relative chronology for Severo by considering how he placed the core support nails in growing numbers even into the extended limbs in order to eventually create the maximum volume of core feasible in a given figure using the least amount of metal. See D. Smith 2008. Certain questions remain, such as why Severo found it necessary to use such an awkward and inelegant method in order to cast small bronzes with hollow limbs indirectly. His contemporaries—such as Antico—cast bronzes with thin, even walls and conspicuously hollow limbs without any armatures in the cores at all.
33. While a screw can be cut laboriously by hand, threading a small hole requires a proper tap. The earliest surviving metal screws appear on early sixteenth-century arms and armor. See Rybczynski 2000, pp. 57–67.
34. See Vincent 1989 for a discussion of precision screws.
35. For the letter, see Stone 1981, p. 96 n. 29.
36. Allen 2011.
37. Motture 2008, pp. 64–67.
38. Luciano 2011, pp. 7–12.
39. V. Avery 2011.
40. Vasari 1960, pp. 158–65.
41. Since joins are often weak points, one must be careful when examining a bronze not to mistake the frequent later repairs for the original joining method.
42. The Rothschild Lamp (cat. 13) has a lap join buried in the foot under the patina. A similar hidden lap join attaches the horse's tail of Riccio's *Shouting Horseman* at the V&A (A.88:1,2-1910). Some openly visible ones are in the Bargello *Triton and Nereid* (353 B, at the join for the Triton's missing tail) and, quite conspicuously, the Frick lamp (p. 93, fig. 13b).
43. D. Smith 2013b, pp. 36–40.
44. Vasari 1966–87, vol. 1, p. 103: "Alcuni con olio lo fanno venire nero, altri con l'aceto lo fanno verde, et altri con la vernice li danno il colore di

nero.” Exposure to vinegar fumes produces verdigris (basic copper acetate), which is a rather saturated bluish green and also not very durable when handled unless varnished. It also differs visually from the malachite (basic copper carbonate) of naturally corroded copper, including those ancient bronzes that survived above ground until the Renaissance, for example, the *Spinario*, which had mellow green patinas that were both stable and durable.

45. There are exceptions, such as the pseudo-antique *Nude Female Figure* in the Frick (1916.2.14). One of the most intriguing figures is the mysterious Pietro da Barga, who *did* patinate his bronzes green, apparently with a sort of pigmented paint. He spent what we know of his career as sculptor to Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici in Rome and was documented from 1571 to 1588. Most of his bronzes are reductions from classical antiquity, carefully restored and given an archaeological-type opaque green patina, sometimes with touches of gilding.

46. Patinas such as Antico’s require chemical alteration of the bronze’s surface, in his case applications of copper dissolved in dilute nitric acid to a heated surface, which actually produces an attractive green patina (the mineral rouaite), but when more intensely heated produces a black deposit of copper oxides. See Stone 2011 and Allen 2011.

47. Carbon black here means any traditional pigment whose major colorant is carbon, in most cases lampblack (soot from burning oil or resin) or ivory black (finely ground charred bones).

48. Stone 2010, p. 108.

49. Stone et al. 1990, p. 570.

50. XRF can be useful in distinguishing between mordant and mercury gilding, since mercury can be detected on amalgam-gilt bronzes, even when the surface is so worn by handling that no visible traces of gilding remain.

51. In experiments using 8 percent tin bronze coupons, I found that varnishes containing linseed oil, mastic resin, and Burgundy (spruce) pitch, with additions of small amounts of carbon black and, when necessary, madder lake, reproduced all the typical translucent patinas of Giambologna and his shop most successfully. See Stone 2010 and Stone et al. 2011.

52. Shellac, an insect resin dissolved in alcohol, was not available in Italy during the Renaissance. These later coatings can be easily identified without sampling since they show a characteristic bright orange fluorescence under ultraviolet illumination.

CATALOGUE

NOTE TO THE READER

Objects are presented in roughly chronological order grouped by the various centers of sculptural production. A geographic area—city, region, country, or continent—is proposed along with dates. The works included are those that entered the museum as Italian or have otherwise been generally associated with the field of Italian bronzes. Those that changed to Northern or other designations over the course of writing have been included, with explanations for those relocations given.

The dimensions of works of art are given in inches and centimeters, with height preceding width preceding depth, except in cases where only height is given. Provenance and references have been supplied for each work. The use of brackets in provenance signals a period of ownership by an art dealer. Bibliographic sources are given in short form in both the reference lists and endnotes with the full corresponding citations in the bibliography. Life dates of artists mentioned in the texts are given in the index. Objects are cross-referenced between entries with their catalogue number (preceded by an “A” for bronzes in the Appendix). All the collection bronzes have been newly photographed, with additional views and details available on The Met’s collections website.

With some exceptions, “bronze” is used in the medium lines to generally describe various copper alloys that were used in the Renaissance. Technical information has been incorporated into the body or the endnotes of the entries, in consultation with Richard E. Stone. Radiography was performed in the museum’s Department of Objects Conservation using Philips MG321 X-ray and Carestream HPX-1 CR systems. Qualitative elemental XRF analysis was performed with the Bruker Tracer III-V and Tracer III-SD handheld spectrometers.

KEY

ESDA/OF	European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Object Files
F. Carò/AR	Federico Carò Analytical Report, Scientific Research
L. Borsch/TR	Linda Borsch Technical Report, Objects Conservation
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
R. Stone/TR	Richard E. Stone Technical Report, Objects Conservation

1

Central Italy,
15th Century



— 1 —

Sprite

Sculptor/metalsmith close to Donatello
(Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi)
(Florence ca. 1386–1466 Florence)

Florence, 1432

Bronze, fire-gilt

24¼ × 8⅞ × 11¼ in. (61.6 × 20.6 × 29.8 cm)

Purchase, Mrs. Samuel Reed Gift, Rogers Fund, by exchange,
and Louis V. Bell Fund, 1983 (1983.356)

This large statuette, with a physique bigger than that of any normal infant, has sparked intense scrutiny, not least as an iconological curiosity, ever since it reappeared at auction in 1983.¹ The breezy apparition, a crossbreed, boasts an extremely odd combination of attributes: the puffing cheeks and protuberant belly and buttocks of a baby; winged shoulders, with the feathers sharply chased in back and bizarrely clotted in the armpits; winged heels, with the feathers decorously crossed over the ankles, somewhat like sandals; and a broad, fleecy but matted tail in the small of the back.

The central point of reference is Donatello's gilt-bronze *Dancing Angel* on the font of the Baptistery in Siena, one of the "naked little boys" for which the master was paid in 1429 (fig. 1a).² Our modeler had direct experience of this potbellied angel, a precocious embodiment of the *figura serpentinata*, generally considered an achievement of the cinquecento, as in the sinuous compositions of Giambologna. H. W. Janson, followed by many, rightly called Donatello's Siena angels "the earliest harbingers of the *figura serpentinata*."³ With regard to our boy, the *Dancing Angel* specifically inspired the arrangement of the arms—one hand on hip, the other directed upward—and the dancing legs. He is, however, less svelte and more labored in form and articulation. Joints and creases of flesh, such as those in the throat, elbows, belly, and groin, are emphasized by engraved lines that were already present in the wax model and did not need retouching, for the execution is confident and adroit. The Donatello angels also show engraved lines, but they are integrated with the flesh to far greater plastic effect. Here, they rather limit transitions of movement. Angles are more important than curves, as in the sharp elbows and pointy feathers at the shoulders (those of the tip of the boy's left wing may have been exaggerated by the later repair in brass). His right leg kicks back freely, its heel tipped up in another manifestation of the *figura serpentinata*, but his left is planted fixedly when viewed in relation to the *Dancing Angel*.

Francesco Caglioti assigns the model to Donatello and the execution to a collaborator. However, that implicates Donatello too directly in the enterprise. By the time of the Siena angels, he channeled movements fluidly and would not have tolerated the obvious arcs that interrupt motion in the present work.

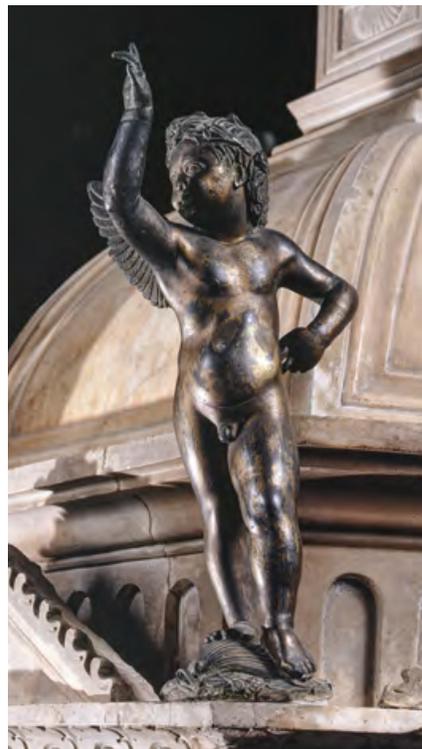


Fig. 1a. Donatello,
Dancing Angel,
ca. 1427–29. Bronze,
gilt; H. 14⅞ in. (36 cm).
Baptistry of San
Giovanni, Siena

Mario Scalini captions it "circle of Donatello (Goro di Nerocio?)." Goro, also employed on the font, would offer a possible Siense context, but in reality no bronze by a Siense artist exhibits anything like our metalsmith's zealous attack of surfaces. Siena can be ruled out.⁴

The lad presided over a fountain, spouting water in the direction of a missing object in his upraised right hand. We can surmise that he surmounted an orb, his right foot cupping and gripping it, as in Donatello's angels. The orb in turn rested atop the fountain. Lead tubing that remained in the unbent leg, removed in 1984, undoubtedly conducted water into his open mouth, through which he spat it. The penis is minutely drilled, but there is no evidence that it dribbled water in the manner familiar through examples of the *putto pissatore*. The cast, of a ruddy bronze alloy, is hollow except for the arms; there is virtually no porosity, and the walls are strikingly thin and conformal for a directly cast bronze (for a radiograph, see p. 30, fig. 2).⁵ It was no doubt hoped that it would withstand the elements, but several areas show passages of cast-in patching: repairs carried out later in brass, most noticeably in the lower half of the face, across the proper right buttock to the lower left corner of the tail, and on the proper left wing tip and the index finger of the proper right hand. The patching process resulted in the loss of gilding surrounding these areas, although their finishing was done with evident skill, as witnessed by the restored portion of the tail. The repairs were necessitated when moisture collected in cavities and froze in wintertime, causing the metal to expand and burst. But for all the wear it has



sustained, the gilding retains its handsome burnish and is in remarkably good state. Where rubbed down beneath the gilding, the bronze has a natural brown patina.

Several signs point to a specific fountain: that erected in the garden of the *casa vecchia*, the “old house” of the Medici family in via Larga, Florence, a relatively modest precursor of the grand palazzo that now dominates the block. An account book of Giovanni Becchi, begun January 21, 1432, on behalf of Cosimo de’ Medici, il Vecchio, and his brother Lorenzo, whose families shared the dwelling, details expenses for a garden retreat separated from the main courtyard by a high wall. The masons Bernardo di Giovanni and Stefano di Jacopo were to complete their work in two months.⁶ The spaces consisted of three *orticini*, small gardens or parterres. One featured orange trees, another roses, while the third was the “orticino del poz[z]o,”⁷ or the little garden of the well or fountain.

The precise position of this well is unstated, but it is said to have been an elaborate construction fashioned on two levels by the stonemason Betto d’Antonio. The fountain was topped by a *spiritello*, a beneficent sprite in the form of a winged infant; throughout the early Renaissance, the word often signified an infantile angelic being.⁸ A painter, Antonio, was paid on March 26, 1432, for the metal with which it was gilt.⁹ Bronze is not specified as the material, and the painter Antonio is probably untraceable, but the mason Betto d’Antonio collaborated

with Brunelleschi at both the Spedale degli Innocenti and San Lorenzo. One’s mind races ahead to the two-tiered basin and baluster “kylix” arrangements of Florentine fountains meant to be seen in the round, which proliferated in the later quattrocento. If the *casa vecchia* fountain was of this type, it preceded them by at least two decades. Certainly, our *Sprite*’s back and sides cry out to be appreciated in the round, but in fact the fountain’s later history infers placement against or near a wall.

After the division of family goods between Cosimo il Vecchio and his nephew Pierfrancesco de’ Medici in 1451, the garden and some adjacent spaces passed to the latter while Cosimo was immersed in plans for the new palazzo. Pierfrancesco died in 1476, leaving as heirs his sons Lorenzo and Giovanni. Inventories of the goods of Lorenzo and of the heirs of Giovanni, drawn up in 1503, and a list of 1516 record the share in the contents of the *casa vecchia* inherited by Giovanni’s namesake, the warlord known as Giovanni delle Bande Nere. They mention what is in all likelihood the same fountain figure. If the first is somewhat vague (“a gilt-bronze figure”), the second is much less so (“a marble basin and a bronze idol atop a ball”), with a variant description in a related text of “a walled basin of marble with a ball and idol of bronze above.”¹⁰ The second, 1516 description could mean that the fountain was set against a wall instead of in the round, but it is also possible that it had been relocated by then. Giovanni delle Bande Nere died in 1526. The



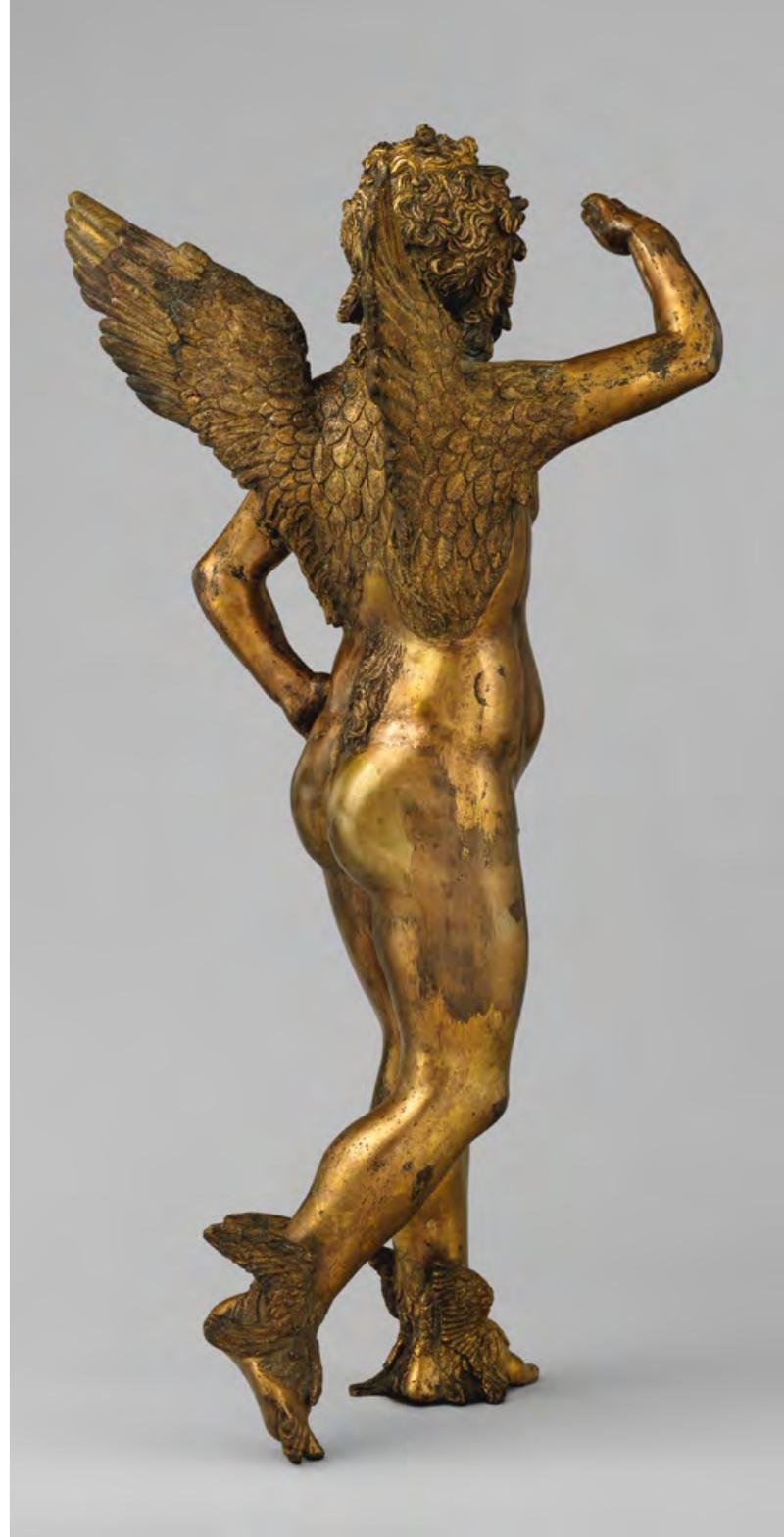
fountain and its figure do not reappear among the possessions of his son, Duke Cosimo, or of subsequent Medici rulers.

The ball upon which the idol stood alluded in abbreviated form to the *palle* (balls) of the Medici arms (in Cosimo il Vecchio's day, seven in number) and more subtly to the notion of the family's dominance over its political world. The concept was retained in Verrocchio's famous bronze *Putto with a Dolphin*, made for the Medici villa at Careggi.¹¹ Verrocchio's is a more fluid, naturalistic work, to be sure, but one that may sensibly be said to have evolved in part from the *Sprite*. Yet closer to the latter's pose is an unfired clay putto on a ball in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., figured to be a copy of a lost invention.¹²

Giovanni Francesco Rustici's well-known *Mercury Taking Flight*, now in the Fitzwilliam, retains the ball to make the same Medicean reference.¹³ Rustici reiterated the basic S-curves, but the putto, meant to be interpreted as a toddler, has evolved into a well-knit youth. Giorgio Vasari's account of the *Mercury* in 1568, the earliest, sheds the most light on the *Sprite*'s original operation:

Thus, when Pope Leo [Giovanni de' Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent] came to Florence in the year 1515, at the request of his friend Andrea del Sarto, he [Rustici] made some statues that were considered very beautiful. These, because they pleased Cardinal Giulio de' Medici [Leo's cousin, subsequently Pope Clement VII], were the cause of his having made, above the top of the fountain in the great courtyard of the Palazzo Medici, the Mercury of bronze, about one *braccio* high [ca. 58 cm], who is nude, in the act of flying above a ball: into whose hands he placed an instrument which is made to turn by the water which he spouts up. Because, one leg being perforated, a pipe passes through it and through the torso so that the water reaches the figure's mouth and strikes this instrument balanced by four thin blades joined [literally, soldered on] in the manner of a butterfly, and makes it spin. This thing, as I say, was much praised for a small thing.¹⁴

It was surely owing to the Medici family's reexamination and redistribution of their artistic holdings that the last record of the *casa vecchia*'s "idol," in 1515, was followed the next year by the installation of Rustici's *Mercury* in the main palazzo. In the *Sprite*'s weathered condition Rustici recognized the damage that could be caused by water collecting inside the bronze, and he fashioned a large oval opening in back through which the piping mechanism entered. Most interesting is the four-bladed "instrument," a pinwheel or whirligig, held by Mercury, described by Vasari as taking the form of a butterfly. This in turn must reflect the missing attribute against which our boy originally spat, causing it to rotate. A fair idea of the toy's appearance can be gained from a two-bladed device held by a putto in a print by the sixteenth-century Master of the Die.¹⁵



Anthony Radcliffe found that Rustici's deity retained "four small wings and a caduceus with a windmill" that were removed around 1904 when owned by the collector Wyndham Francis Cook in the mistaken belief that the figure, redubbed a "herald," had been "converted into a Mercury."¹⁶ A double pity: the caduceus-handled whirligig may well have been a gem of metalwork that would help reconstruct the object held by our boy. It was probably made of a lighter metal, such as gilt



Fig. 1b. *Sprite*.
Florence, 18th century
(?). Bronze; H. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.
(25 cm). Museo
Nazionale del Bargello,
Florence (425 B)

copper, that enabled it to twirl easily. My earlier speculations that Rustici produced the *Mercury* as a restitution for the damaged *Sprite* are accepted by Caglioti, Philippe S  n  chal, and Charles Avery, but are curiously unmentioned in Radcliffe’s otherwise exemplary entry on the Fitzwilliam bronze.¹⁷ The *Sprite*’s Florentinity is underscored by the existence of a free bronze reduction of the model in the Bargello, wingless but with open mouth, suggesting that it served as a table fountain (fig. 1b). Coming from the grand-ducal collections, it was first inventoried in 1780.¹⁸ A late reduction in gilt bronze is at the Ch  teau de Dampierre-sur-Boutonne (Charente-Maritime).

What, finally, is this funky child’s meaning? Until recently, encouraged by the Rustici connection, I had explained the subject as a child Mercury. Among other roles, Mercury was the god of commerce, under whose auspices the Medici flourished. Mercury’s winged sandals—the *talaria*—are well known, and he could on occasion sport outrageously long ones as well as a winged hat, as in a drawing by the antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona after an ancient relief that circulated in Florence by 1439. However, the shoulder wings and especially the fleecy tail remain difficult to account for. A strong possible alternative is that the child represents one of the wind gods of classical antiquity.¹⁹ The four winds descended in medieval and Renaissance art and literature with various forms and attributes, including winged feet and shoulders.²⁰ Two are rendered with trumpets, shoulder wings, skinny tails, and devilish talons for feet in a fresco in Strasbourg that is a free contemporaneous copy of the much-restored *Navicella* mosaic designed by

Giotto, now above the central opening into the portico of Saint Peter’s Basilica.²¹

The pertinent god is Zephyr, the west wind, known to the Latins as Favonius. His powers of germination in spring made him the most eagerly awaited and auspicious of his kind. Indeed, he held sway in May, the month of Mercury, then as now the month most cherished by the Florentines. Already in Carolingian times, in a commentary by Remigius of Auxerre on the influential late antique pagan writer Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, it is stated that Mercury and Favonius are to be considered one and the same.²² Our boy’s oddities, puzzling initially, must actually pronounce his dual nature, for he has been endowed with the grafted, layered meanings typical of the quattrocento, in much the same spirit as Donatello’s bronze boy in the Bargello, often referred to as “Amor-Atys.”²³

Old Cosimo de’ Medici and his humanist cronies would have grasped and no doubt savored many of these iconological niceties, but above all they would have been entertained by the *Sprite*’s sheer buoyant good humor. The great arbiter of taste Leon Battista Alberti might even have had it in the back of his mind when he wrote in *De re aedificatoria*, completed by 1452, “I don’t disapprove of a droll statue in a garden.”²⁴ JDD

PROVENANCE: evidently commissioned by Cosimo il Vecchio de’ Medici (1389–1464) (before March 1432); subsequent Medici owners (until at least 1516); Sir John William Ramsden (1831–1914), Muncaster Castle, Cumbria (by 1875); Sir John Ramsden, Bart., Bulstrode, Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire (his sale, Christie’s, London, July 8, 1930, lot 35, as *Aeolus*, school of Donatello; sold to one Samuel, presumably acting on behalf of Pennington-Ramsden); Sir William Pennington-Ramsden, Bart., Muncaster Castle; his daughter, Phyllida Gordon-Duff-Pennington (her sale, Christie’s, London, June 20, 1983, lot 109, as Tuscan, late 15th or early 16th century; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Leeds 1875, p. 288, cat. 27 (as “cinque cento” [*sic*]); James David Draper in MMA 1984, pp. 26–27 (to sculptor close to Donatello); Draper in Detroit 1985, cat. 24 (as before); Buddensieg 1986, p. 46 (to follower of Donatello); Draper in Florence 1986, cat. 28 (as before); Scalini 1988, pp. 74, 82 (to “circle of Donatello [Goro di Neroccio?]”); Draper in Florence 1999, pp. 254–55 (as before); Caglioti 2000, vol. 1, pp. 376–79 (to Donatello and a collaborator); Windt 2003, pp. 146–48 (unattributed); Caglioti 2005, pp. 52, 54, 69 (as before); Charles Avery in Ciaroni 2007, p. 92 (unattributed); S  n  chal 2007, pp. 100–102, fig. 116 (to circle of Donatello); Mozzati 2008, p. 118, no. 611; S  n  chal 2009, p. 190 (as before); Minning 2010, p. 0.153 (as Florentine, 16th century); Wardropper 2011, pp. 10–12, no. 1 (to sculptor close to Donatello); Draper in Paolozzi Strozzi and Bormand 2013, cat. IV.8 (as before); Ulrich Pfisterer in Kren 2018, pp. 154–55, cat. 42 (as “Circle of Donatello [Michelozzo di Bartolomeo Michelozzi?]”); Caglioti 2022, p. 329, fig. 1 (to “assistant of Donatello [after a model by the master]”)

NOTES

1. Charles Avery, then Christie’s sculpture specialist, wrote the catalogue entry. 2. Document for the “fanciullini ignudi” in Bacci 1929, p. 242. See Janson 1957, vol. 1, figs. 105a–b. 3. Janson 1957, vol. 2, p. 75.
4. For Goro’s *Fortitude* on the Baptistry, continuing in the stylistic



path of Jacopo della Quercia, and the relatively flaccid infantine types realized by Giovanni di Turino in his putto for the Baptistery as well as his *She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus* in the Palazzo Pubblico, see Del Bravo 1970, figs. 137, 142–47. Ulrich Pfisterer dates our *Sprite* to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, writing that it could not have preceded Donatello's *Amor-Atys*; his entry appeared too late to be fully discussed herein. **5.** R. Stone/TR, March 9, 2011. XRF identified the alloy as 90% copper, 9% tin, and 5% lead with traces of arsenic, silver, and antimony. F. Carò/AR, April 2, 2013. **6.** Carl 1990, p. 42. **7.** *Ibid.*, n. 43, citing Archivio di Stato, Florence, MAP 131, c. 2. **8.** Dempsey 2001, *passim*. **9.** As per Giovanni Becchi: “Adi 26 di marzo paghai Antonio dipintore per oro andò alo spiritello sopra il pozo . . .” (On March 26 I paid the painter Antonio for the gold that went toward the *spiritello* above the fountain). Carl 1990, p. 42. **10.** See Shearman 1975, pp. 20, 27, nos. 76, 80; Carl 1990, p. 42. Hearty thanks to Sheryl Reiss for pointing to this line of reasoning. **11.** Museo di Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; see Butterfield 1997, pp. 127–35, 222–23, dated to the early 1480s. For strong Medicean overtones in the making and installation of the *Putto with a Dolphin*, see Freiberg 2009. **12.** NGA, 1937.1.128; see Butterfield 1997, pp. 135, 240, as early 16th century. **13.** M.2-1997; see Anthony Radcliffe in V. Avery and Dillon 2002, pp. 56–69, cat. 2. **14.** Vasari 1906, vol. 6, p. 602, author's

translation. **15.** Boorsch 1982, no. 237. **16.** V. Avery and Dillon 2002, p. 59. **17.** *Ibid.*, pp. 56–69. **18.** For the Bargello bronze, see Charles Avery in Ciaroni 2007, p. 89, who calls it “probably by Pasquino di Matteo da Montepulciano (c. 1460).” The facture has none of the hardihood we have come to expect of the quattrocento and indeed shows no particular style at all, but the reiteration may hint at the *Sprite's* survival outside Medici ownership somewhere in Florence until at least the late eighteenth century. A second reduction, virtually identical except with closed mouth and placement on a ball, is in the collection of Alexis Gregory, New York; see C. Avery 1995, pp. 25–26, no. 1. Each holds what looks like a section of a fat cylinder, signaling that by this late date the figure's function eluded the imitator. **19.** For the wind gods, see Oakley 1997. I am greatly indebted to a visitor to The Met, David H. Cox, and a letter of 2009 in which he broached the wind gods, and his reasoning influenced my entry in Paolozzi Strozzi and Bormand 2013. **20.** Thus, Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 1:211–13. **21.** Raff 1978–79, pp. 121–22, 140. **22.** Dempsey 1992, pp. 38–40, for the texts and their relevance to Botticelli's *Primavera*, taken up by Nova 2007, pp. 89, 208 n. 187. **23.** Caglioti 2005. **24.** “Statuas ridiculas per ortum non reprobo” (Alberti 1966, vol. 2, p. 809), nicely invoked by Butterfield 1997, p. 128, in his discussion of Verrocchio's *Putto with a Dolphin*.

David with the Head of Goliath
Bartolomeo Bellano
(Padua 1437/38–1496/97 Padua)

Padua, 1470–80

Bronze, later oil gilding

11¼ × 5¼ × 4⅞ in. (28.6 × 13.3 × 12.4 cm)

Gift of C. Ruxton Love Jr., 1964 (64.304.1)

Despite his tremendous gift for narrative, Bellano's reputation has suffered from a dismissive phrase tossed by the Neapolitan humanist Pomponius Gauricus in his treatise *De Sculptura* (1504). Gauricus—who revered Donatello, knew and admired Tullio Lombardo, Andrea Riccio, and Severo da Ravenna, and was aware of Michelangelo, Andrea Sansovino, and Giovanni Francesco Rustici—called Bellano an “awkward craftsman” (*ineptus artifex*).¹ The spite wasn't personal because Bellano was dead before Gauricus resided in Padua (1501–2). The damage has been largely undone by the stirring aesthetic excitement of Bellano's inventions when seen in exhibitions and, not least, by the studies of Volker Krahn, whose first monographic treatment appeared in 1988.

Bellano, son of a goldsmith, Bellano di Giovanni, undoubtedly knew Donatello's works of the Paduan period (1443/44–54) and perhaps met and aided the master then. As a teen he certainly was with Donatello in Florence in 1456 and later assisted him on the dramatic reliefs of the Passion as well as decorative passages on the south pulpit in San Lorenzo, Florence, unfinished at Donatello's death in 1466.² In between, back in Padua, 1462–63, he was still considered a minor. He made a bronze statue of Pope Paul II for Perugia, cast in 1467 (destroyed).³ His first important work for Padua was the decoration of the sacristy in the Basilica di Sant'Antonio, the Santo, with its marble relief, the *Miracle of the Mule*, in which Bellano's packed, faceted drapery style and piquant facial types are already manifest (1469–72). He was more successful in the ten action-filled bronze Old Testament scenes carried out for the Santo between 1484 and 1488, where the figures are both individualized and integrated into wide, airy spaces. Not particularly learned in matters Greco-Roman, Bellano was largely a religious imagist. He was also, as far as can be determined, the father of the Paduan bronze statuette, and scores have been wrongly attributed to him over the years. The present writer once opined that he made only three: our *David* and another in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 2a), and the *Saint Jerome* in the Louvre, seated and



Fig. 2a. Here attributed to Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38), *David with the Head of Goliath*, 1490s. Bronze; 11¼ × 6⅞ × 5⅞ in. (28.5 × 15.6 × 13.5 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased with funds contributed by Mr. and Mrs. George D. Widener from the Edmond Foulc Collection, 1930 (1930-1-15)



Fig. 2b. Attributed to Bartolomeo Bellano, *Saint Jerome Seated with the Lion*, late 15th century. Bronze; 9⅞ × 7⅞ × 5½ in. (25 × 20 × 14 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Gift of Gustave Dreyfus, 1919 (OA 7250)



extracting a thorn from the lion's paw (fig. 2b).⁴ The writer now maintains, along with Krahn, that he made only two: our *David* and the *Saint Jerome*, but more of that later.⁵

Our statuette is a solid, directly cast bronze, with only the base and interior of Goliath's head roughly hollowed out in the wax (for a radiograph, see p. 29, fig. 1). Based on these technical features, Richard Stone surmises that it is one of Bellano's

earliest works and represents one of the first small secular bronze figures in Italy. The sculptor's obvious point of departure was Donatello's immortal nude youth in the Bargello. The younger artist perfectly grasped the master's serpentine formations and contrapposto, but he tightened and invigorated the pose in an enthralling recalibration of the boy's limbs, arms akimbo, and discarded the hat in order to reveal the deep



reverie in his features. Bellano probably took an image of the statue with him from Florence to Padua; Vasari relates that Donatello left him models and drawings.⁶

David's age when he slew his people's enemy to deliver them from tyranny is not given in the Bible, only that he was the youngest son of Jesse and a shepherd boy. In the Donatello, he is lissome and prepubescent, in the Bellano, a strong-limbed, precocious stripling around ten. The rest is just as described in I Samuel 17. In the Valley of Elah, David declined Saul's offer of armor to confront the over-armed Goliath, a behemoth standing six and a half cubits, or nine to ten feet tall. He selected five smooth stones from the brook and placed them in his satchel, a "scrip" in King James parlance, in which a shepherd or a pilgrim normally kept his lunch. In fact, the pouch of our hero is embellished with the scallop shell associated with a pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela. With his sling, here suspended from his left hand, David hurled the stone into Goliath's forehead, then took the giant's own huge sword, here a falchion, and beheaded him. There must be one stone left in the scrip; the lethal one has been returned to the sling as a tribute, three others have rolled to the rear of the base. The winged cherub's head on David's bib indicates the sacral nature of his mission, and the long sidelocks of his brilliantly braided hair discreetly hint at the payots of the chosen people. The accretion of details was meant to delight and prod the memory of an audience eager to reconstruct the deed. Bellano shows the same storytelling disposition in the *David* panel of the Santo, which relates the outset of the contest and the enormous gap between hero and villain.⁷

Indeed, the Old Testament reliefs in the Santo most fully demonstrate Bellano's peculiar genius. With little regard for perspective, he organized a pell-mell simultaneity of action in which the characters are nonetheless easily distinguishable. Take the *Samson Destroying the Temple of the Philistines*, in which that other giant brings down the temple on the heads of the Dagonites. Chaos replaces the calm of the *David*, but there are many stylistic links, foremost being the costumes, at the same time chunky and elegantly faceted. Samson's tunic offers a perfect counterpart to David's. The progression between the *David* and the Louvre's *Saint Jerome* is less obvious. The old robed saint is blockier than the strapping young patriarch, and his contours are more closed, but his grave features and well-tended beard find excellent parallels in the *Samson* panel, as for example in the Philistine lord to the left of the column. The present writer and Krahn have proposed various dates for the two statuettes, but in retrospect they now seem to find their best resonances in the Santo reliefs. Later, in the tomb of the philosopher Pietro Roccabonella in San Francesco, Padua (1491-94), Bellano would employ a broader style with truly extraterrestrial shieldbearers whose ropy tresses inescapably recall those of the *David* (fig. 2c). Above Roccabonella's effigy, Riccio, who must be considered Bellano's artistic heir, contributed three

little relief statuettes of the Theological Virtues in a mode only marginally more classicizing than the rest.

Nothing points decisively to a client for either bronze. Vasari tells us that he made “many small things of marble and bronze” for the Venetian pope Paul II (r. 1464–71)—not out of the question, but Vasari’s Life of the artist is not entirely reliable.⁸ A likelier patron might be Baldassare Olzignani, the Paduan who was instrumental in the awarding of the Old Testament reliefs for the Santo to Bellano and who in 1485 bequeathed the sculptor “all his figures, and those of bronze as well as stone and other materials.”⁹

As for the *David* statuette in Philadelphia, prolonged study convinces me it cannot have issued from the same mentality as ours. The accoutrements of tunic, short breeches, satchel, and the rest are inspired by our boy’s, but the pose is relatively inert and contradictory, his left elbow brought too far forward, and his right hand merely propped on the sword, which is shorter, instead of asserting it. This artist has not fully grasped the *figura serpentinata* precepts from Donatello, those interplaying curves and angles that inform our young hero and make his body “snap” into place. With his rounder and fleshier face, the Philadelphia lad seems passive, less conscious of his destiny. The underside of his base contains a very rare feature: a blurrily modeled image of a shepherd and his flock. As a practitioner of relief, Bellano would have been incapable of work this dim. Yet the overall modeling of the figure, even if less crinkly and subtle, shows conviction and considerable knowledge.

As we shall see, this formulation of the subject remained familiar to Severo da Ravenna and his studio (cat. 46). It is worth positing that the Philadelphia figure is by Severo himself while he still possessed the qualities admired by Gauricus. No good analogies exist with the vertically oriented, winding drapery system of Severo’s first known work, the marble *Saint John the Baptist* in the Santo (completed 1501), nor with the bronze reduction of it in the Ashmolean (figs. 2d–e), although the second simplifies the mannerisms of the first in a way not incompatible with the Philadelphia *David*’s raiment. It is to be borne in mind that the latter bronze was modeled so completely under Bellano’s sway as to evince little of what we would call independence.

One last point of interest: a good *David* by the Severo workshop, now in a private collection, preserves the feature of the winged cherub’s head on the bib.¹⁰ JDD

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray (1849–1919), London; [Duveen Brothers, New York; sold to Goldman]; Henry Goldman (1857–1937), New York (until 1948; his estate sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, February 28, 1948, lot 64, attributed to Bellano; sold to Love); C. Ruxton Love Jr., New York (1948–68; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Weihrauch 1967, pp. 97, 101 (to Bellano); Pope-Hennessy 1970, vol. 3, pp. 67–70; New York 1973, cat. 28; Pope-Hennessy 1980, p. 264; James David Draper in Detroit 1985, cat. 82 (to Bellano); C. Avery 1986, p. 18; Boucher 1986, p. 68 (to “Florentine sculptor around Verrocchio or Pollaiuolo” [!]); Krahn 1988, pp. 8, 95, 165, 170–75 (to Bellano); Draper 1992, pp. 35–36 (to Bellano); Krahn 1995, p. 136, cat. 4 (to



Left: Fig. 2c. Bartolomeo Bellano, *Shieldbearer*, from the Tomb of Pietro Roccabonella, 1491–94. Church of San Francesco, Padua

Right: Fig. 2d. Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, *Saint John the Baptist*, 1500–1502. Marble; almost lifesize. Basilica di Sant’Antonio, Padua

Far right: Fig. 2e. Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1500–1501. Copper alloy; H. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (26.2 cm). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Bequeathed by C. D. E. Fortnum, 1899 (WA1899.CDEF.B410)



Bellano); Krahn 1996; Volker Krahn in Padua 2001, pp. 88–89, cat. 9 (to Bellano); Krahn 2008, p. 6, fig. I.5; Luciano 2011, pp. 21, 23; Wardropper 2011, pp. 26–29, no. 6; Kim 2014, pp. 104–5, fig. 4.23; Bell 2019, pp. 62–65; Motture 2019, p. 158; Malgouyres 2020, pp. 207–10 (not Bellano); Caglioti 2022, p. 364, cat. 128 (to Bellano)

NOTES

1. “Sed et Donatelli discipulus Bellanus tuus Leonice inter hos quoque nomen habebit, quanquam ineptus artifex.” Gauricus 1999, p. 254.
 2. “Rimase a Bertoldo, suo creato, ogni suo lavoro, e massimamente i pergami di bronzo di San Lorenzo; che da lui furono poi rinetti la maggior parte, e condotti a quel termine che e’si veggono in detta chiesa” (To his pupil Bertoldo, [Donatello] left all his work, and especially the bronze pulpits of San Lorenzo, which were mostly completed by him, and brought to the state in which they are seen in the said church). Vasari 1906, vol. 2, p. 425.
 3. “Nel qual tempo che stette in Roma, il Vellano fece per il detto papa [Pope Paul II], e per altri, molte cose piccolo di marmo e di bronzo . . . Fece il medesimo in Perugia una statua di bronzo maggiore che il vivo, nella quale figurò di naturale di detto papa a sedere in pontificale . . .” (During his time in Rome, Bellano made for the pope, and for others, many small things of marble and bronze . . . In Perugia, he made a bronze statue larger than life in which he portrayed the pope from nature, seated in his pontifical robes). Ibid., p. 606.
 4. Draper 1992, pp. 35–36.
 5. Malgouyres 2020, pp. 207–10, in a discussion of other *David* casts (Louvre, OA 9112 and TH 60), considers ours the finest, but rejects the attribution to Bellano, seconding Boucher’s (1986) notion that it is a Florentine product.
 6. “Le cose dell’arte lasciò ai suoi discepoli: il quali furono Bertoldo, scultore fiorentino, che l’imitò assai, . . . Nanni d’Antonio di Banco, che morì innanzi a lui; il Rossellino, Desiderio, e Vellano da Padoa” ([Donatello] left his artworks to his disciples, namely, Bertoldo, a sculptor of Florence, who imitated him closely . . . ; Nanni d’Antonio di Banco, who died before him; Rossellino, Desiderio, and Bellano da Padua). Vasari 1906, vol. 2, pp. 423–24.
 7. Krahn 2008, p. 6.
 8. See note 3.
 9. Krahn 1996, p. 636.
 10. Beck and Bol 1985, pp. 309, 367–68, cat. 66 (to Bellano).

— 3 —

Cherub and Shell

Possibly a follower of Donatello
 (Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi)
 (Florence ca. 1386–1466 Florence)

Possibly 1470s

Bronze

15½ × 17½ in. (39.4 × 44.5 cm)

Gift of Alastair Bradley Martin, 1958 (58.115)

In the Catholic tradition, four-winged cherubim belong to the second order of the hierarchy of angels and attend closely to God in heaven. In this remarkable bronze, a single cherub is crowned with a fillet dotted with flowers. The tops of two arched wings flank its head; another pair gently enfolds beneath its chin. A large scallop-shaped shell fans outward below the wings like an expanding burst of radiance. With lowered head and wide-open eyes, the cherub looks downward, revealing its teeth in a broad smile. Its transfixed expression conveys the encompassing, beatific joy of beings who dwell in



Fig. 3a. Back of cat. 3

God’s presence as witnesses to divine glory. The shell is a symbol of baptism and pilgrimage that in its metaphorical sense alludes to the journey of the soul upward toward God.

James David Draper, the last to publish this bronze (1985–86), described its facture and probable architectural function: “the head of this *spiritello* is separately cast, attached to the wings and shell by an original pin at the throat and modern screws behind the ears. The projection[s] for support in the back [at the top and bottom, fig. 3a], the size of the object as a whole, and the cherub’s inclined head, indicate an architectural purpose, probably high on a column or pilaster, forming part of the capital of a tomb or altar.” Draper assigned the bronze to an unknown artist cognizant of the style of the Florentine master Donatello, dated the work to the mid-fifteenth century, and in a cautionary aside stated, “The hardy manufacture and pleasing red brown natural patina notwithstanding, the present work can only be considered generically Donatellesque until its relevant context is found.”¹¹

W. R. Valentiner first attributed the *Cherub and Shell* to the “workshop of Donatello” in 1938, and to this day the bronze has hovered in the orbit of the master. Firstly, the cherub aligns with Donatello’s stylistic vocabulary. Many scholars have noted the formal similarities between it and Donatello’s smiling terracotta putti surmounting the Cavalcanti altar in Santa Croce, Florence, as well as the kinship between the cherub’s physiognomy and that of Donatello’s bronze *Amor-Atys* (Bargello).² The facial features of the large-scale kneeling bronze *Putti* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, as well as those of the two wood *Spiritelli* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and an American private collection are also similar to the cherub’s.³



Secondly, the combination of the cherub head and shell is reminiscent of Donatello's inventive and characteristically eclectic approach to deploying antique motifs that, although often unclassical, is never without meaning. This exact juxtaposition, however, does not appear in Donatello's oeuvre or, as far as is known, any other fifteenth-century sculpture or painting. In architectural decoration, cherubim and shells are shown proximate to each other but are not combined. For example, in the Old Sacristy in the Basilica of San Lorenzo, Florence, designed by Filippo Brunelleschi and executed between 1421

and 1440, a series of winged cherubim decorates the string-course beneath the cornice that symbolically separates the earthly realm of the sacristy below from the large domed heavenly space above. The squinches supporting the small dome over the sacristy's altar are embellished with scallop shells symbolizing the soul's ascent. These sculptural and architectural elements are conflated in our bronze—the design of the scallop shell, for example, is a combination of fluting and reverse lozenges generally seen on columns and capitals. The artist responsible for the *Cherub and Shell* appears to have



Fig. 3b. Gregorio di Lorenzo (active ca. 1470–1500), *Base with Cherubim and Angels* (1 of 4), ca. 1470s. Marble; H. 61½ in. (156 cm). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (170–173)

condensed the language of architectural ornament given over to ecclesiastical spaces into a single sculptural symbol that powerfully signals the celestial realm.

Although the *Cherub and Shell* evokes Donatello's style and use of motifs, it does so from a distance. The modeling of the forms is hard, and details—the feathers on the cherub's wings, the concave fluted elements on the shell—are rendered and tooled in an aggressively precise, linear manner that is unlike works by the master. Donatello was above all a modeler, and as Draper perceptively noted, “the working of some details, such as the engraved wavelets for eyebrows, asserts traditions of metalworking more than those of sculpture considered in its freest plastic sense.”⁴ As the sole example of its kind known, *The Met bronze* remains a work in search of a context, architectural or otherwise. There is, however, good reason for dating it at the earliest to the 1470s—the period

following the master's death when his experimental style had permeated workshops throughout Italy.

Four marble pedestals recently attributed to Gregorio di Lorenzo, a student of Desiderio da Settignano, date to this time (fig. 3b). They are embellished with the same symbolically meaningful combination of four-winged cherubim and shells as our bronze, and the facial features of some of the cherub heads decorating the corners of the pedestals are formally similar to it. Thought to have served as bases for candelabra, the pedestals also have been associated with an uncompleted design for the tomb of Cosimo I in San Lorenzo, Florence.⁵

Like many sculptors of the generation following Donatello, and indeed like the master himself, Gregorio was peripatetic. In the early 1470s in Perugia, his path intersected with that of Mino da Fiesole, who ran concurrent workshops in Florence and Rome, and Urbano da Cortona, a sculptor who, as a member of Donatello's shop in the 1440s, was responsible for one of the angel reliefs for the bronze high altar of Saint Anthony in Padua.⁶ On the marble frame of Mino's Baglione altar in the Vibi Chapel in San Pietro, Perugia (1473), is found the peculiar separation between the cherub's head and wings that is intrinsic to the design of *The Met bronze*. The facial features of the standing putti on Urbano's marble tomb of Giovanni Andrea Baglione on the retro-facade of Perugia Cathedral are generically similar in style to our cherub. Although the specific architectural context and purpose of the *Cherub and Shell* might forever remain unknown, the approximate date and formal characteristics of the work seem to sit within the context of sculptures created by lesser-known artists who drew from and transformed Donatello's style as they carried out their commissions across Italy. DA

PROVENANCE: possibly Vatican collection;⁷ [Piero Tozzi, until September 17, 1928; sold to Brummer]; [Joseph Brummer, 1928–November 30, 1948; sold to Martin];⁸ Alastair Bradley Martin (1949–58; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1938, cat. 27; Ragghianti Collobi 1949, p. 46, cat. 8; Phillips 1959, pp. 221–22; James David Draper in Detroit 1985, p. 130, cat. 27; Draper in Darr and Bonsanti 1986, p. 169, cat. 52; Caglioti 2022, p. 208, cat. 58

NOTES

1. Detroit 1985, p. 130. I should like to thank Shelley Zuraw for her contributions to this entry.
2. See Caglioti 2005.
3. For the *Putti*, see Caglioti 2001; for the *Spiritelli*, see Caglioti et al. 2015.
4. Detroit 1985, p. 130.
5. For the pedestals and the career of Gregorio di Lorenzo, see Bellandi 2010, no. III.8.16; Barocchi 1985, pp. 286–97.
6. See Marco Pizzo in Padua 2001, pp. 56, 58–59.
7. Ragghianti Collobi 1949, p. 46, cat. 8.
8. Joseph Brummer's inventory records this object as a “15th century bronze representing head of a child on a shell.” Cloisters Archives, Brummer Gallery Records, no. P5598.

Boy on a Shell, Holding a Candlestick
 Possibly circle of Filarete
 (Antonio di Pietro Averlino)
 (Florence ca. 1400–ca. 1469 Rome)

Possibly Rome, mid-15th century

Bronze, partially oil-gilt

12½ × 5¼ × 4⅞ in. (30.8 × 13.3 × 12.4 cm)

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.100.74](#))

The naked boy stands on a scallop shell, clutching an unknown object or objects in his left hand and steadying the drip pan of a quatrefoil-shaped candlestick with his upraised right. A pad with a ropelike band cushions his head from the pan's weight. The statuette is a heavy direct cast with a small ovoid core still in place supported by two thin slit iron wires running front to back through the torso.¹ A blunt punch was used on the rim of the drip pan and a smaller ring punch in irregular abstract undulations on its underside. The shell's underside shows vigorous, squarish blows of the chisel. Close inspection reveals many traces of oil gilding, not easily detected at a glance, on both boy and shell.

This unique cast has not been studied in any depth.² In 1979, the present writer noted a general derivation of the putto on a shell from those made by Donatello and his Siense colleagues, Giovanni di Turino and, possibly, Lorenzo Vecchietta, for the font in the Baptistery of Siena (1429–31).³ The way in which the boy's toes grip the sloping shell is particularly reminiscent. Another Renaissance nude on a shell generically derived from Donatello is the winged girl holding a cornucopia, serving as a sconcelike fixture for a torch, in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., often assigned, untenably, to Vecchietta.⁴ Wilhelm von Bode claimed that a nude winged male supporting a pricket candlestand, then in a private collection, Paris, was a counterpart, but the functions and movements do not really complement each other.⁵

The pose, one arm up, one down, is ultimately adapted from that of architectural telamons. For all its charming stodginess, the figure evinces fair knowledge of classical contrapposto and a more literal approach than that of Donatello and the Florentines. It lacks, for example, the lithe naturalism of the children scrambling about the bronze grille of the Cappella della Sacra Cintola in Prato Cathedral by Maso di Bartolommeo, assisted by Pasquino da Montepulciano (ca. 1465).⁶

The artist could have been familiar with any number of ancient bronze models, among them a boy in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, that John Paoletti mentions as a type of source Donatello might have had in mind for the putti in Siena.⁷ Our sculptor seems to refer to bronzes with adult subjects that endow the nude figure with the telamonic function of support. H. W. Janson posited the figural handles of Etruscan pateras as



sources for the Siena putti, although our sculptor may not always have known how to interpret the evidence before him.⁸ In a patera with a Venus for a handle, for instance, the goddess holds a strigil in her lowered hand; another with a nude girl for a handle grasps an ampulla.⁹ The lowered hand of our lad clasps something less defined, perhaps clothlike.¹⁰ Parallels for his overall stance occur in a celebrated little ancient nude athlete scraping himself in the Glyptothek, Munich, and a Silenus in the British Museum.¹¹ Our man cannot have seen the latter, discovered only in the nineteenth century, but the pose in contrapposto, one hand lowered, the other raised to hold a cist, is suggestive, as is the padlike form atop the head. The quatrelobe stem of The Met's candlestick, on the other hand, is generically Gothic.

The boy's relatively rude stylistic bearings may trace to Antonio di Pietro Averlino, known as Filarete (from the Greek Philarete, he who loves virtue). Filarete made the central bronze doors for Saint Peter's Basilica (1433–45), the reliefs of which exhibit a highly experimental classicism and a hardy expressivity of design and chasing. As such, he must be ruled out as a collaborator of Lorenzo Ghiberti on the doors of the Baptistry in Florence (a role frequently claimed for Filarete), although he obviously brought some basic awareness of its north doors with him to the Vatican. A relief on the inside of the left door shows the master and six assistants dancing while wielding their sculpture tools. Their inscribed names include "Passquinus," presumably the same Pasquino da Montepulciano mentioned above.¹² The collaborative nature of the work on the doors makes it difficult to assign lesser projects to Filarete, apart from plaquettes, but happily the master signed two equestrian bronze statuettes. The first, the constantly discussed, firmly modeled reduction of the Capitoline *Marcus Aurelius* (Skulpturensammlung, Dresden) was dedicated by Filarete to Piero de' Medici in 1465 but dates from the Roman years of the doors. The second, a free-form, less successful *Hector on Horseback* (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid), is signed and dated 1456.¹³ They are the earliest firmly datable independent bronzes of the Italian Renaissance.

The *Hector* belongs to Filarete's Milanese period, when he worked as architect for Francesco Sforza. In his famous *Trattato di architettura* (1461–64), Filarete professed considerable pride in his calling, and it is perhaps unlikely that he would have given his attention to a mere candlestick (although he did draw an older candlestick-bearing boy in the margin of the *Trattato*).¹⁴ But this one has several aspects in common with his oeuvre. Most of the figures on the doors are also paunchy, and all have emphatically rimmed eyelids. Above all, marks of the ring punch proliferate throughout the doors and recur on the helmet under the horse of the *Marcus Aurelius* and, more broadly, along the saddle and bridle of the *Hector's* mount.¹⁵ Punchwork in itself is not proof of authorship. Donatello, for example, used it lavishly to articulate the saints' garments on the old sacristy doors of San Lorenzo in Florence, as well as the

belt of the *Amor-Atys* in the Bargello.¹⁶ The present bronze's punch patterns meander more randomly under the drip pan. If there are not enough similarities to warrant an attribution to Filarete, the bronze's sturdy character may yet result from the spread of Florentine influence to Rome at midcentury. JDD

PROVENANCE: John Edward Taylor, London (his sale, Christie's, London, July 1–9, 1912, lot 16, as "School of Donatello"); [Knoedler, New York]; George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. XLVIII (as Paduan, 15th century); James David Draper in Athens 1979, pp. 68–69, cat. 7 (as Tuscan, mid-15th century)

NOTES

1. The candlestick was cast in one piece from a quaternary alloy of copper, tin, zinc, and lead, with traces of iron, nickel, arsenic, silver, and antimony. The quatrefoil shape of the candle socket may indicate it was intended for a twisted bundle of wax tapers rather than a conventional single-wick light. R. Stone/TR, March 31, 2009. 2. Besides the ideas advanced above, it was catalogued by The Met in the 1950s as "attributed to Bartolomeo Bellano." 3. For Turino and Vecchietta, see Janson 1957, vol. 1, pls. 105–8, vol. 2, pp. 65–75; Paoletti 1979, pp. 110–14, 129–36, figs. 26–34. 4. See Luchs 2001. 5. Bode 1908–12, vol. 1, p. 10, fig. 5. 6. Martini 1995, figs. 195–215. 7. Paoletti 1979, p. 130, fig. 49e. 8. Janson 1968, pp. 92–93. 9. For the first, see S. Haynes 1985, no. 179, and for the second, Luchs 2001, p. 25, fig. 23. 10. Richard Stone has suggested that he holds a bundle of replacement tapers, similar to what may have been used for the quatrefoil candlestick (see note 1). 11. See Kotera-Feyer 1993, figs. 13a–b; Walters 1915, pl. 30. 12. See King 1990. 13. For both, see Krahn 1995, cats. 2, 3. 14. Filarete 1965, vol. 1, p. 121, vol. 2, fols. 69v–70r, fig. F. 15. For the doors, see Spencer 1978, pls. 3.1–15. 16. Janson 1957, vol. 1, pls. 217–31; Paolozzi Strozzi 2005, pl. 21.

— 5 —

Pair of Angels

Probably Florence, late 15th century

Bronze, fire-gilt

(.1) 5½ × 2½ × 6½ in. (13 × 5.4 × 15.6 cm);

(.2) 5½ × 1½ × 1½ in. (13 × 3.8 × 4.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.129.1, .2)

The angels, of a brassy metal, show well-preserved mercury gilding, burnishing, and some corrosion and rubbing. A faithful affirmation of quattrocento standards of modeling, as in the works of Antonio Pollaiuolo, Andrea del Verrocchio, Benedetto da Maiano, and their many emulators, is clear. The costumes, with ample peplums, rolled-back sleeves, and skirts curling up at the ankles, also exhibit a thorough understanding of current imagery. It is a favorable sign that the features and hairstyles do not match: the right-hand angel, with a longer, oval face, wears a finely faceted bandeau on his forehead. It may seem surprising in terms of the quattrocento that the two stand on rockery, not clouds, but then their original appearance and



function are unclear and had been forgotten by the time they came to The Met.

The self-bases have been filed off; the halos are crude disks, pinned on later. Upon arrival at the museum, the angels had wings resembling rectilinear clamps—nineteenth-century afterthoughts—and bore instruments of the Passion (spear and sponge, crucifix), no doubt of the same late vintage. These additions have long since been removed but are stored with the figures.

It is reasonable to suppose that the statuettes flanked a small reliquary or other shrine. Noble precedents are the two silver angels by Pollaiuolo adoring the cross now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence,¹ but judging by the positions of the hands, our pair performed a different duty. They probably

did not support an armorial shield—its field would be too narrow on top for the placement of their hands—and yet a related purpose might help explain their earthbound footing. Richard Stone's observation that the hands are slotted so as to suggest they held a tablet or banner may well be pertinent.² JDD

PROVENANCE: [F. W. Lippmann, London, 1912, as style of Benedetto da Maiano, late 15th century; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Breck 1912, pp. 191–92; Breck 1913c, p. 36, nos. 35A–B

NOTES

1. Wright 2005, pls. 26, 27. 2. R. Stone/TR, March 23, 2010. The tapped holes for the missing wings appear to be original, an early example of the use of threaded joins.



Cat. 6A

— 6 —

A. *Virgin and Saint John*

Siena, late 15th century

Bronze, partially fire-gilt

Virgin: 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (19.4 × 6.4 × 4 cm);

John: 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (19.2 × 6.7 × 4.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1960 (60.37.1, .2)

B. *Saint John*

Siena, late 15th century

Bronze, partially fire-gilt, on a later stone base

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.1 × 5.4 × 4.4 cm) (without base)

Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.28)

Despite exhibiting different styles and features, the likenesses of Saint John, one of which is paired with an image of the Virgin Mary, warrant discussion together, for they offer a rare opportunity to examine early Renaissance casts of the same composition. All three bronzes, acquired a few years apart, reflect the Late Gothic compositional habits of the fifteenth-century Siennese school of sculpture that began with Jacopo della Quercia and continued through Vecchietta and Neroccio di Bartolommeo de' Landi. The hallmarks of the school are firm, oblong silhouettes often enclosing quite agitated draperies and fervent facial expressions.

All were acquired as Siennese. The Virgin–Saint John pair was for a time thought to be from the workshop of Neroccio, and the single Saint John merely Siennese. The painter Neroccio, only rarely encountered with certainty as a sculptor, still

provides the best stylistic comparisons overall.¹ Outstanding productions are his polychrome wood *Saint Catherine of Siena* (1474), in the oratory of that saint, Siena, and a marble *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* in Siena Cathedral, apparently still unfinished at his death,² but the posthumous inventory of his estate registers the tools, materials, and models employed by sculptors. The important aspect of the two Neroccio sculptures in relation to our bronzes is their nervous falls of drapery within mellow contours, still in the tradition of the Late Gothic and della Quercia. But Neroccio remains a mere point of departure.

The *Virgin* and *Saint John* pair, by long-standing usage, undoubtedly flanked a crucifix, itself very likely of bronze, the Virgin to the right of Christ, John to his left. John, “the beloved disciple,” regularly rests his right cheek in his right hand in sorrowful contemplation.³ A cross by the Sieneese silversmith Goro di Ser Neroccio (unrelated to the painter-sculptor) in the Museo Diocesano, Pienza, signed and dated 1430, offers a suggestive arrangement.⁴ Curved stems below the cross support the Virgin to its right; a missing John was no doubt to Christ’s left.

Bronze chief mourners flanking corpora existed in many locales; the best known may be two, dismantled in the Ashmolean, convincingly attributed to Filarete.⁵ In this case, it is the Virgin who rests her cheek on one hand. Closer to home, a 1482 inventory of Siena Cathedral’s treasury lists “a cross in bronze [*attone*, i.e., *ottone*, or brass/bronze], with a Crucifix in relief, with two figures to the sides, gilt and enameled.”⁶

The paired and the single *Saint John* are of entirely different facture, the former more massively modeled and cast; it even exhibits differences from the Virgin with which it is paired. This *Saint John* has a more regular hexagonal base, and the fall of drapery in the back has been milled to imitate the weave of cloth. The *Virgin*’s base is smaller, its corners less defined. The rich fire gilding of the *Saint Johns* does not occur on faces and hands so as to offset these more expressive areas within the general glow of gold. Neither seems ever to have had a halo.

The single *Saint John* is slenderer in form and more linear in treatment. He is also more thinly cast and stands on a plain disk for a self-base. The outstanding difference between him and the pair is that all his hems and fringes are distinguished by punch marks and incised lines, emphasized further by touches of oil gilding (except on the top of his mantle in back), considerably worn. His hair and nails are more carefully indicated than those of his counterpart. The top of his head was flattened and has a hole for a halo.

None of these bronzes is of the highest quality,⁷ but it is more than likely that all look back to distinguished prototypes. The endearing plasticity of the pair results from an appreciation of the original models’ relatively broad effects and aspirations toward monumentality. The slenderer build and precious adumbration of detail in the singleton, on the other hand, suggest a silversmith’s wish to satisfy a viewer’s scrutiny at close range. JDD



Cat. 6B

PROVENANCE: (A) [J. J. Klejman, New York, 1960; sold to MMA]. (B) [French & Company, New York];⁸ [Ars Antiqua, New York, 1952; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1962, pp. 213–15 (as Sieneese, late 15th century); Weihrauch 1967, pp. 82, 470, 476, 498 n. 97 ([A] to Neroccio di Bartolomeo?; [B] as Sieneese, late 15th century)

NOTES

1. My conclusions are indebted to Gertrude M. Helms, “Three Sieneese Renaissance Bronzes in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” master’s thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1979. She does not decide on an author for any of the three, but her work repays close study for its deft analysis of Sieneese sculpture, wealth of comparisons, typological citations, and technical discussions. 2. Coor 1961, pp. 177–78, 182, nos. 41, 46, figs. 23–25, 48–50. 3. Vavalà 1929. 4. Elisabetta Cioni in Seidel 2010, pp. 470–71. 5. Spencer 1958. 6. Borghesi and Banchi 1898,



p. 265, doc. 164. **7.** The three statuettes are bronze alloys with low levels of lead and trace impurities, including silver. R. Stone/TR, November 3, 2008. **8.** Their inventory number 37553 appears in white paint on the back of the brown-and-black variegated black marble pedestal, and in ink on the bottom of the pedestal.

— 7 —

Doorknocker

Central Italy, late 15th–early 16th century

Bronze, iron (pin)

11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 in. (30.2 × 16.5 × 5.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1927 (27.14.13)

A knocker inserted through the wood of a door, when struck against a metal plate that was likewise affixed to the door, allowed visitors to announce their presence to those within. This bronze knocker was cast in the form of a ring, around which was forged the horizontal iron pin that held it in place; the narrow slot at the end of the pin helped secure it on the other side of the door with an iron wedge. The weight and thickness imply a door of considerable stoutness. The object shows plenty of age and use, evincing a rich natural patina, nicks, and a well-rubbed, slightly flattened area behind the lower back of the knocker, where it struck the now-missing plate. The ringlike composition incorporates acanthus and sea creatures somewhat resembling dolphins, the mouths of which form a bezel of sorts for the diamond in which it terminates. The most celebrated imagery to include a diamond belonged to the Medici family in Florence, but it lacked acanthus and dolphinlike sea life.¹ The ring could signify any marital alliance. The handsome forms and facture of this unstudied object do not, for that matter, appear particularly Florentine. JDD

PROVENANCE: Alphonse Kann, Paris (his sale, American Art Association, New York, January 6–8, 1927, lot 370, as Florentine, 16th century; sold to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTE

1. No such combinations appear in Langedijk 1981–87.

2

Mantua, Late
15th–Early 16th
Century





77.150.1452

Standing Boy

After a model by Andrea Mantegna
(Isola di Cartura 1430/31–1506 Mantua)

Probably Mantua, late 15th–early 16th century

Bronze, silver inlay (eyes), on a later porphyry and ormolu base

8⅞ × 3⅞ × 2 in. (20.6 × 9.8 × 5.1 cm) (without base)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 ([17.190.1402](#))

This standing youth is the best replica of a commanding statuette in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, that scholars increasingly, and rightly, see as a work intimately connected to the Renaissance giant Andrea Mantegna (fig. 8a). Shown as if shouting while standing in a virtuosic contrapposto, the boy has all the defiant verve of a child Hercules. The basic pose existed in a putto in Francesco del Cossa’s *May* fresco in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (ca. 1470),¹ but Mantegna and his school invested the figure with a great deal more force. An example of the bronze boy occurs twice in a workshop drawing after it in the Fondazione Horne, Florence, which has been attributed to the engraver Zoan Andrea.² He is reiterated in reverse at the left side of Mantegna’s engraving *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* (p. 78, fig. 10a),³ and echoes of him resound in the master’s Madonnas, notably the *Madonna of the Cherubim*



Fig. 8a. Circle of Andrea Mantegna, *Standing Boy*, ca. 1470–1500. Bronze with silvering; H. 8⅞ in. (20.7 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, The Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection (44.592)

(1485; Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). The joints and folds of the baby fat of the Houston boy, and his puckered features, are so brilliantly articulated as to suggest Mantegna modeled it himself and then had it cast to his demanding standards and for his own consultation, probably in Mantua in the 1480s. He is recorded as modeling bronze vessels at least once, in 1483.

At least six replicas of the Houston bronze exist. In descending order of quality and vitality, the Houston bronze, then The Met’s, were followed by indifferent casts in the V&A, the Kunsthistorisches Museum, two in the Capodimonte, and two that have passed through the trade.⁴ The indiscernible objects held by the boy in the Horne drawing and the bronze boys in Houston, New York, and Naples somewhat resemble folds of cloth. They were replaced by spoons in the hands of the London and Vienna children. The silvering of our boy’s eyes is well preserved, and his pupils are drilled, lending the figure some distinction, but those of the Houston boy were once silvered, too, and remains of gilding have been found, now only detectable by X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy. Further, the Houston and New York examples were cast indirectly and yield precisely the same dimensions.⁵ Richard Stone has suggested that, while not necessarily cast at precisely the same time or even by the same hand, these two statuettes are among the earliest, if not *the* earliest, indirectly cast bronzes of the Italian Renaissance.⁶ They were modeled and chased very differently, though, our bronze being far less taut and muscular and with a much sleeker surface.

The bronzes in Naples have the oldest provenance, from the Farnese collections. The Vienna bronze came from the imperial Antiken-Kabinett in 1880. The earliest known owner of



the Houston bronze was the marquis de Pompidon (d. 1784), in Paris, later passed to Arnold Seligmann, Rey & Co., also in Paris, and then to Percy and Edith Straus of New York (recommended by Leo Planiscig as by Verrocchio).⁷ John Pope-Hennessy continued to uphold Florentine origins for it,⁸ but any similarities are far outweighed by those with Mantua and Mantegna. Curiously, our statuette was not catalogued by Wilhelm von Bode in 1910 with the rest of J. Pierpont Morgan's bronzes; perhaps it occupied a place in a lesser Morgan residence.

A capricious aside of Planiscig's concerns the spoons held by some examples. He was reminded of *The Golden Legend* and its tale of the little boy on the shore observed by Saint Augustine as he tried to empty the sea of its contents.⁹ JDD

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan (until 1917; to MMA)

LITERATURE: New York 1973, cat. 20 (as "*Christ Child, Venetian or Mantuan*"); Christiansen 1993, p. 611; C. Wilson 2001, pp. 249–53, 267 n. 38; Giovanni Agosti and Jacopo Stoppa in Agosti and Thiébaud 2008, cat. 85

NOTES

1. Montagu 1966. 2. Byam Shaw 1937, p. 59. 3. See Martineau 1992, cats. 74, 75. 4. V&A, A89-1956; KHM, KK 5582; Capodimonte, AM 10656, 10658. The best account is by Agosti and Stoppa in Agosti and Thiébaud 2008, cat. 85. 5. Analysis conducted by Richard Stone and reported in C. Wilson 2001, p. 267 n. 38. 6. R. Stone/TR, January 16, 2011. 7. The sale to Seligmann, Rey was brokered by Drouot, April 19, 1929, lot 77; for Planiscig's attribution to Verrocchio, see C. Wilson 2001, pp. 249–52, citing Planiscig-Straus correspondence. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 267 n. 33. 9. The boy usually employs a seashell. Planiscig 1924, no. 111.

— 9 —

Spinario (Boy Pulling a Thorn from His Foot)

Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi)

(Mantua ca. 1460–1528 Gazzuolo)

Mantua, probably modeled by 1496, cast ca. 1501

Bronze, partially fire-gilt (hair), silvered (eyes)

Height 7¾ in. (19.7 cm); Width (of base) 2¹⁵/₁₆ in. (7.5 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 2012 (2012.157)

The *Spinario* by the Italian goldsmith-sculptor Antico came to The Met in 2012 as a gift from museum benefactor Mrs. Jayne Wrightsman. In a private collection known for its focus on French eighteenth-century furnishings, paintings, and above all decorative arts, the Renaissance bronze was an anomaly. Mrs. Wrightsman and her husband Charles collected to create environments that represented their cultural values—an aspiration they publicly expressed in The Met's Wrightsman period-room galleries and in their grand Fifth Avenue apartment.¹ Following her husband's death, Mrs. Wrightsman prominently placed the *Spinario* on a corner table in her salon where seated guests could enjoy it close up and at eye level. At

other times, she kept the work intimately near to her on a bedside table.² What prompted the Wrightsmans to acquire the *Spinario* is unknown. Perhaps the figure expressed their deep aesthetic engagement with the exquisite refinement and lavish materials characteristic of the French decorative arts. The statuette's marriage of gilt and silvered preciousness with the artistry of bronze transforms the simple figure of a seated boy into a sublime meditation on art that transcends the sum of its materials and craftsmanship.

The small bronze youth shown bending over to extract a thorn from the sole of his foot is a masterpiece of controlled artistry. From each viewpoint in the round, the sculptor maintained the figure's precisely delineated flowing rhythms. The curved silhouette of the boy's back is reiterated by the deep arch of the spine and echoed by the undulating profile of the rocky base on which he is seated. The exquisite syncopation between line and form closes in the graceful orchestration of gesture, gaze, and pose centered on the boy's fingers as they delicately hover over the point of the thorn embedded in his heel. Luke Syson, in whose recognition Mrs. Wrightsman gifted the *Spinario*, noted the statuette's beguiling power: "Antico subtly animates the figure, conveying the boy's tension as he performs his tricky—and potentially painful—task . . . We become witnesses to two acts of concentration (using both senses of the word): the youth and the artist's. The *Spinario* became thereby the perfect ornament for the study of the dedicated scholar-prince."³ Through ownership of this marvelous statuette, Mrs. Wrightsman revealed how her collecting ethos followed in the tradition of Renaissance patrons who believed that the contemplation of beautiful works of art could elevate the mind and foster the attainment of virtue.

Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi was named *l'Antico* ("one of the ancients") in recognition of his knowledge of classical sculpture. His career was spent in service to the Gonzaga, the ruling family of Mantua, a small marquisate in northern Italy. The family maintained their importance on the Italian stage through advantageous marriages, leadership in warfare, advancement in the church, and most of all by establishing themselves as among the most erudite and impassioned patrons of art and collectors of antiquities in Europe. Through the latter activity, the Gonzaga leveraged cultural prestige into political power.⁴ As their principal court sculptor, Antico gave substance to the Gonzaga's ambitions through his unprecedented ability to translate the most admired large-scale classical Roman statues, like the life-size *Spinario* (fig. 9a), into small, complete bronze statuettes, immaculately embellished with gilding and silvering.

Antico's *Spinario* is a sensitive rethinking of the ancient prototype. The sculptor tempered the anatomical anecdotalism of the skinny Capitoline youth, seated upright in a pose formed of bony angled limbs, into a series of elegantly resolved curves.⁵ The extreme idealization of Antico's statuette broaches the limits of antiquarian abstraction. Yet Antico managed to impart





Fig. 9a. *Spinario*,
1st century B.C.
Bronze; H. 28¾ in.
(73 cm). Musei
Capitolini, Rome

a compelling sense of lifelikeness to the figure by emphasizing points of human inflection such as the delicate balance of the forward foot that barely touches the ground, or the spreading toes on the raised foot that curl in physical anticipation of the thorn's painful removal. Through deftly rendered naturalistic observation, Antico translated the idealized conventions of classicism into a language of shared human experience that endows his art with enduring resonance.

Although Antico mastered the ancient technique of indirect bronze casting that allowed his models to be replicated in large numbers, very few were made as multiples. The Gonzaga jealously guarded their exclusive rights to the work of their favored sculptor.⁶ It is therefore significant that the *Spinario* existed in numerous versions documented as having been cast during the sculptor's lifetime.⁷ Antico created the *Spinario* before 1496 for his first patron Gianfrancesco Gonzaga.⁸ The bishop-elect Lodovico, Antico's subsequent Gonzaga master, likely owned the model and presumably also a version in bronze. In 1499, Lodovico sent a *Spinario* to the Venetian patrician Marcantonio Morosini. Probably intended as a diplomatic gift, this and another work were cast by the goldsmith-sculptor Gian Marco Cavalli.⁹ Around 1501, with Lodovico's permission, his sister-in-law Isabella d'Este, marquess of Mantua, received yet another *Spinario*, this one probably cast by Antico himself.¹⁰ Although the Wrightsman *Spinario*, which is the only gilded and silvered example among the surviving versions, has always been acknowledged the finest among them,¹¹ no document precisely indicates when and for whom it was made. Most agree that Isabella d'Este is the most reasonable possibility as the Wrightsman statuette consummately expresses her refined, demanding taste.¹²

The classical bronze sculpture of a boy pulling a thorn from his foot was one of the most highly regarded antiquities in Rome.¹³ In 1471, Pope Sixtus IV had the *Spinario* moved from its medieval location at San Giovanni in Laterano to the Capitoline Hill at the center of the city. Seated high on a pedestal, the bronze presided over the secular center of Roman government and faced across the urban landscape to the Vatican, the seat of papal power. Isabella likewise displayed her *Spinario* from a commanding vantage point that reflected her association with the artistic glory and political legacy of Rome. In January 1503, she asked Lodovico for a companion figure to the *Spinario*, stipulating that it could be of Antico's devising but must be the same size as the "boy with a thorn," for she meant to place the new work opposite it on a cornice over the exit of one of her rooms.¹⁴ Nine months later, the bishop sent the new bronze, joking that he sent the work willingly so that she would know he had women in the house.¹⁵ The female pendant has been identified with the *Seated Nymph* now in the Robert H. Smith collection (fig. 9b).¹⁶ Although contrary to Isabella's wishes, the discrepancy in figurative scale between the *Spinario* and the *Nymph* need not have obviated their function as companion sculptures. In Isabella's *studiolo* and *grotta*, Antico's sculptures were shown together with ancient bronze statuettes that differed widely from them in size and proportion.¹⁷ In this context, the differences in scale between the *Spinario* and *Nymph* might have reinforced the classical authenticity of a pair intended to rival and surpass ancient sculptures in completeness, perfection, and splendor.

To the princely collectors who owned them, Antico's small *Spinarios* not only conjured the splendor of ancient Rome, but also the pleasures of the countryside. During the Renaissance, the *Spinario* was also known as the *Pastorello* (Shepherd), a designation that metaphorically associates the statuette with the ancient pastoral world of Arcadia so brilliantly evoked in Jacopo Sannazaro's poem of that name.¹⁸ Because Antico's *Spinario* pulls the thorn from his heel as does Sannazaro's shepherd Battus (and not from his sole as in the Capitoline statue), he also could have been associated with this Arcadian character.¹⁹ As a shepherd, Antico's *Spinario* also would have fittingly presided over Isabella's *studiolo* magnificently decorated by Andrea Mantegna and others with a series of paintings of mythological allegories set in verdant landscapes.²⁰ Seated above the doorway, the shepherd pulling a thorn from his foot would have become a participant in the Arcadian poetic world of the imagination. DA

PROVENANCE: duc d'Arenberg, Brussels; [Stiebel Ltd., New York, until October 19, 1959; sold to Wrightsman]; Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, New York (1959–2012; to MMA)

LITERATURE: F. Watson 1969, pp. 214–15; Fahy and Watson 1973, pp. 359–61, no. 42; Allison 1993–94, pp. 212–16; Campbell 2004, pp. 102–4; Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, p. 204; Luciano 2011, pp. 4, 7, 148, 164, 170, 173; Luke Syson in MMA 2012, p. 23; Burlington 2021, p. 1094



Fig. 9b. Antico, *Seated Nymph*, model created and cast probably 1503. Bronze with gilding and silvering; H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.5 cm) (without base). The Robert H. Smith Collection

NOTES

1. Kisluk-Grosheide and Munger 2010, pp. 10–21. 2. Verbal communication with James David Draper. 3. Luke Syson, 2012, at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/238971?ft=2012.157&offset=0&pp=40&pos=1>. 4. For Antico and the Gonzaga, see Luciano 2011, pp. 1–14. The documents related to Antico are published in full in D. Ferrari 2008. 5. As observed in Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, p. 204. 6. Luciano 2011, p. 7. On the topic of replication as relates to Antico, see also Kryza-Gersch 2014. 7. Allison 1993–94 catalogues four extant casts, including the Wrightsman version: cat. 27B, Galleria Estense, Modena, 2249 (pp. 212–16); cat. 27C, private collection, London (pp. 217–18); cat. 27D, Milan, ex-Prince Trivulzio collection, 1907 (p. 218). 8. Luciano 2011, p. 192, “1496 inventory of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga’s possessions, probably, ‘a metal boy called Young Shepherd’ (*pastorello*)”; document published in full in the original Italian in D. Ferrari 2008, doc. 10, fol. 8v. 9. Luciano 2011, p. 192: “Letter of February 3 from Lodovico Gonzaga to Marcantonio Morosini” (D. Ferrari 2008, doc. 16); “Letter of March 16 from Lodovico Gonzaga to Gian Marco Cavalli, Mantua” (D. Ferrari 2008, doc. 18). 10. Luciano 2011, p. 192: “Letter of March 26 from Isabella d’Este to Antico, for the ‘boy with the thorn’ we believe ourselves indebted not only to the most reverend monsignor, our uncle, but also to you who have made it” (D. Ferrari 2008, doc. 38). 11. Based on facture, Allison 1993–94, p. 217, and Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, p. 204, date the Modena *Spinario* later than the Wrightsman cast. X-radiographs indicate that the Wrightsman bronze is a successful cast executed in Antico’s typical manner. 12. The 1542 inventory of Isabella d’Este’s *grotta* records that her *Spinario* was gilded; see Luciano 2011, p. 192, “a nude of the thorn with its base gilded” (D. Ferrari 2008, item 7297). 13. On the medieval and Renaissance history and reception of the *Spinario*, see Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 254–56, no. 203. 14. Allison 1993–94, pp. 57–58; Trevisani and

Gasparotto 2008, p. 204, citing D. Ferrari 2008, p. 310, doc. 43, “Letter of January 29, 1503 from Isabella d’Este to Bishop elect Lodovico”: “I wish to have a figure in bronze of the size of the boy with a thorn, and no other, which I intend to put on the cornice above an exit.” 15. Luciano 2011, pp. 8–9; D. Ferrari 2008, doc. 44, letter of September 9, 1503, from Lodovico Gonzaga to Isabella d’Este. 16. Allison 1993–94, pp. 57–58; Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, p. 204; Luciano 2011, pp. 8–9. 17. For Isabella d’Este’s collection and its display, see Bini 2001; Iotti 1995; C. Brown 1977–78. 18. On this topic, see Kidwell 1993. 19. As suggested by Allison 1993–94, pp. 57–58. For the relationship between bronze statuettes and the Renaissance world of the pastoral, see Cranston 2019, pp. 111–37. 20. For which, see Campbell 2004, pp. 117–44.

— 10 —

Satyr

Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi) (Mantua ca. 1460–1528 Gazzuolo)

Mantua, probably late 1510s–early 1520s

Bronze

Height 12 in. (30.5 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.91)

Half man and half goat, satyrs are hybrid creatures of Greco-Roman myth that often appear in Renaissance art as hoary, lustful denizens of the wild forests—fierce primordial beings symbolizing the raw forces of nature.¹ Yet satyrs could also personify humanity’s natural, instinctual state;² and in this guise they take on an aura of beauty that evokes an elegiac longing for lost innocence. Such is the mood conveyed by this remarkable statuette, in which a satyr crowned with grape vines is depicted as a handsome youthful creature utterly absorbed in playing a thin flute. The strong goatish legs firmly support the human torso, and the joining of thighs to loins and buttocks is left hairless to reveal the seamless muscular transition from goat to man. The hirsuteness common to satyrs is minimized: the face is beardless, the tail appears as a mere tuft at the small of the creature’s back, and the legs are lightly brushed at the front and back with short locks of curling hair. The satyr’s overt sexuality is likewise tempered: the genitals, although oversized, are not rampant; and the phallic horns that crown the head are small, almost delicate. The large eyes, aquiline nose, and full lips are relaxed in a rapturous inward expression. To convey walking, the hooves and sturdy thighs are turned out at a wide angle, the leg joints flexed, and the hunched muscular torso curled in torsion. Swinging out over the direction of advance, the outstretched left arm extends well beyond the polite confines of the figure’s original flat round base. Through action and gesture, the satyr transgresses the boundaries separating him from the viewers’ realm. Seeming to step forth from his mythical woodland home, he becomes a potent immanent presence. Tilting his head, cocking his pointed



ears, and gazing dreamily upward as if beguiled by the sound of his piping, he conjures the silvery sylvan music of an innocent classical world that would have resonated in the imagination of his viewers.³

First published in 1964 in the Stucker sale catalogue, the *Satyr* is a late addition to the corpus of Antico's statuettes. Although undocumented, its stylistic and technical consonance with the sculptor's works has led to universal acceptance of the attribution. A rare, unique cast within an oeuvre characterized by replication, the *Satyr* remained semihidden in private collections until it came to The Met in 1982 as part of the Jack and Belle Linsky bequest. Because the terms of the bequest prevent objects from traveling, the *Satyr* was neither shown nor catalogued in the two recent monographic exhibitions dedicated to Antico.⁴ The absence of other versions, underexposure, and lack of documentation have made it difficult to date the work. At present, suggested dates span from 1500 to 1528, years during which Antico served as court sculptor to a sequence of Gonzaga patrons: Bishop-Elect Ludovico Gonzaga (1496–1511); his brother Francesco II Gonzaga and Francesco's wife Isabella d'Este (1511–19); and their son Federico II Gonzaga (1519–28).⁵ The *Satyr* is one of Antico's few statuettes that are not interpretive reductions of a classical sculpture well known to his patrons.⁶ Instead, the figure appears to result from a creative synthesis of ancient and contemporary visual sources. Its character as an invention in the antique mode (*invenzione all'antica*)⁷ not only seems appropriate for a hybrid creature, but also suggests a mature artist at ease with this challenging manner of composing. On this basis alone, the *Satyr* could be considered a work of the late 1510s or perhaps 1520s, when Antico, although an old man, retained his full creative powers.⁸

At the Gonzaga court, the sculptor was equated with the classical masters and his works with their artistic achievements. His honorific nickname, *l'Antico*, means "one of the ancients," and Isabella d'Este herself memorably referred to his sculptures as antiquities (*antixi*).⁹ Not only was Antico the first Renaissance artist to revive the ancient practice of bronze casting using the indirect method, he also challenged its limits.¹⁰ By capturing the satyr in a pose perfectly balanced on two points, he daringly exploited bronze's tensile strength to rival the technical complexity of ancient sculptures. Although the *Satyr* lacks any specific ancient figurative prototype, it is nonetheless convincingly classical. Antico invented it by taking inspiration from the canon of ancient monumental figurative sculptures that he had studied in Rome in the latter decades of the 1400s and translated into exquisite bronze statuettes for his Gonzaga patrons. Creating this group of small-scale bronzes secured his status as a sculptor on par with the ancients. For Antico, referring to his own work in order to invent a new figure, like the *Satyr*, was equivalent to referencing the antique.

Isabella d'Este may have prompted Antico to rethink his own small-scale compositions after Roman statuary. In a document of



1519, she requested that he select some of his old models and have versions of them cast in bronze for her collection.¹¹ Antico also selectively reused parts of his models to generate novel figures. This groundbreaking application of the indirect casting method allowed for the creation of a full, completely fresh composition from parts of preexisting piece-molds. He almost certainly adapted the torso and arm from his model of the *Seated Satyr* to create the standing *Satyr*'s turning pose and upraised arm.¹² To convey the illusion of walking, Antico may have turned for visual inspiration to the *Apollo Belvedere*, one of the few ancient marble statues in the sculptor's repertoire of bronze reductions that is shown striding forward. In Antico's earliest version of the statuette (ca. 1490), Apollo holds a small cylinder in his extended left hand to indicate the placement of the bow lost from the marble statue.¹³ Our satyr also holds such a cylinder, and it too might have been intended to suggest that an attribute is missing from the bronze, implying that it is an ancient work. Did the satyr once hold a staff, or extend a thyrsus or a torch in procession? Then as now, it is impossible



Fig. 10a. Andrea Mantegna (1430/31–1506), *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat*, ca. 1470–90. Engraving and drypoint; $11\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{3}{16}$ in. (29.9 × 43.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Rogers Fund, The Charles Engelhard Foundation Gift, and The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1986 (1986.1159)



Fig. 10b. Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1430/35–1516) and Titian (ca. 1485/90?–1576), *The Feast of the Gods* (detail), 1514/29. Oil on canvas; 67 × 74 in. (170.2 × 188 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1942.9.1)

to know. The *Satyr*'s compelling guise of antiquity imparts the sense of mystery intrinsic to the work's fascination.

It is difficult to overestimate the ubiquity of satyrs in Italian art during the various phases of the Renaissance revival of antiquity. In the mid- to late fifteenth century, they populate the notebooks of Jacopo Bellini and other artists' drawings after ancient sarcophagi, scamper through the folios of manuscripts, appear in grand procession on fireplace mantelpieces, and carry out their rustic lives in Piero di Cosimo's magnificent paintings.¹⁴ Antico's much older contemporary, the Gonzaga court artist Andrea Mantegna, featured them in his engraving of a bacchanal, and the painter's sturdy figures certainly were a main source of inspiration for the sculptor (fig. 10a).¹⁵ But it is Isabella's patronage in the early decades of the sixteenth century that provided the most important context for Antico's invention. Lauded the "prima donna del mondo" for her cultural leadership, Isabella commissioned a series of complex

allegorical paintings in the antique mode to decorate the small room or study (*studiolo*) that housed her magnificent collection of classical sculpture, gems, and coins as well as contemporary works that included Antico's bronzes.¹⁶ The paintings are set in verdant landscapes, and in one, Lorenzo Costa's *Kingdom of Comus* (1506–11; Louvre), gentle satyrs appear in their mythical woodland world, some of them playing musical instruments.¹⁷ Isabella proudly noted that her *studiolo* inspired her brother Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara. In the first two decades of the 1500s, he commissioned a magnificent study decorated with pastoral landscapes by Giovanni Bellini, Titian, and others that brought ancient literary texts to visual life.¹⁸ Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* features a satyr seen from the back (fig. 10b). The hybrid creature's elegant naturalism and decorous deportment are so akin to Antico's *Satyr* that it is difficult to imagine the sculptor had not seen it. And while in Alfonso's so-called *camerino di alabastro*, Antico also might have taken note of



Fig. 10c. Antonio Lombardo (ca. 1458–1516) and Workshop, *Satyress between Two Tritons*, ca. 1508. Marble; $10\frac{1}{2} \times 39\frac{3}{8}$ in. (26.7 × 100.7 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (H.CK-1783)

Antonio Lombardo's immaculate marble reliefs carved in the ancient style. A central element of the room's marble frieze is a solemn seated satyress holding a lyre and framed by musical instruments hanging from ribbons (fig. 10c).¹⁹ Like our satyr, she evokes the poetic cadences intrinsic to the ancient art of music.

Entering Isabella's and Alfonso's *studioli* transported the visitor into an elevated *all'antica* realm offering the delights of painting, sculpture, poetry, and music that awakened the senses and inspired the mind.²⁰ The *Satyr* is not mentioned in Isabella's rich documentary record, and it is unlikely that the statuette was displayed in her *studiolo*. Yet Antico's ecstatic bronze figure surely captures that room's rarified environment, purpose, and mood. Through performance, the *Satyr* powerfully invokes an entire ancient procession in which Bacchus, the god of wine and poetic inspiration, is accompanied by acolytes playing music in his honor.²¹ Although our satyr has been identified as Pan, he cannot be the elderly, goatish, ithyphallic god who plays the rustic syrinx (panpipes).²² Crowned with grapes and leaves of the vine, the symbols of Bacchus, Antico's figure plays the flute (aulos) associated with Bacchic satyr processions.²³ Yet in comparison to the drunk, revelrous classical satyrs who celebrate their god, Antico's creature is subdued, his mood introspective, his imagined music delicate instead of raucous. Like the *studiolo* itself, he inspires the life-sustaining sensual and intellectual engagement intrinsic to the elevated use of leisure (*otium honestum*) celebrated by the ancients and revived at the splendid Gonzaga courts. DA

PROVENANCE: possibly Gonzaga collection, Mantua; Antal Marczibányi, Budapest (?); Maurice Kann (until 1910; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 5–8, 1910, lot 346; sold to Drey); Drey (from 1910); Queen Marie of Romania; Prince Nicholas of Romania (until 1964; sale, Galerie Jürg Stuker, Bern, May 21–30, 1964, lot 3389); [Cyril Humphris, London, 1965–before 1982]; Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: London 1965, p. 264; Salmann 1976, fig. 8; James David Draper in Linsky 1984, pp. 143–44, no. 56; Draper in MMA 1984, p. 36; Sutton 1985, pp. 8–10; Anthony Radcliffe in Radcliffe et al. 1992, p. 161, no. 26; Allison 1993–94, pp. 204–5

NOTES

1. On satyrs in the Renaissance, see McStay 2014, pp. 323–37, with earlier references. 2. Campbell 2004, p. 81. 3. For the role of bronze statuettes as performative stimuli for the imagination of Renaissance audiences, see Cranston 2019, pp. 119–25, with earlier references. 4. Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008; Luciano 2011. 5. For Antico's biography and patronage under the Gonzaga, see Luciano 2011, pp. 1–14. 6. On this topic, see Kryza-Gersch 2011, pp. 22–23. 7. For *invenzione all'antica* in the early sixteenth century and its relationship to the popularity of the satyr motif, see the foundational article, Rubinstein 1976, pp. 118–19. 8. Radiography shows evidence of typical Antico manufacture, including wax drips and plaster bubble marks on the interior. The limbs are solid. Fine wire core pins can be detected with a magnet. The alloy is a leaded tin bronze. R. Stone/TR, 2011. 9. For Antico and the Gonzaga, see Luciano 2011, pp. 1, 10–11. 10. For Antico's bronze-casting technique, see Stone 1981; D. Smith and Sturman 2011. 11. See Luciano 2011,

pp. 10–11. The 1519 document is published in full in D. Ferrari 2008, pp. 317–18, doc. 86. 12. Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5697; as noted in Allison 1993–94, p. 54. 13. Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt am Main, 1286; see Luciano 2011, pls. 14a–b, p. 191, Checklist no. 14. 14. On satyrs in the Renaissance, see McStay 2014 as cited in note 1. For the popularity of bronze satyr statuettes in the Renaissance, see Malgouyres 2020, pp. 213–30. For Piero di Cosimo (and with reference to satyr statuettes), see Geronimus 2018. 15. Campbell 2004, pp. 160–68. On the relationship between Antico and Mantegna at the Gonzaga court, see Campbell 2011. 16. For a bibliography on the *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este, see McStay 2014, p. 333 n. 184. Campbell 2004, pp. 72–82, is fundamental to this entry. 17. See Campbell 2004, pp. 205–19. 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 251–64. 19. Ceriana 2004, pp. 164–67, cat. 14. 20. Johnson 2012; Shephard 2014. 21. For Renaissance objects and music, see Shephard 2014, pp. 10–29. 22. On Pan in the Renaissance, see cat. 18. 23. On the interpretation of classical instruments in the early modern period, see Ghirardini 2008, pp. 174–82. On the distinction between high and low classical musical instruments, see Rubinstein 1976, pp. 136, 140–41.

— 11 —

Paris

Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi) (Mantua ca. 1460–1528 Gazzuolo)

Mantua, ca. 1518–24

Bronze, partially fire-gilt, silver inlay
14 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.1 × 18.7 × 19.7 cm)
Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1955 (55.93)

Discovered in 1955, the *Paris* is a recent addition to the fewer than twenty models for figurative bronze statuettes by Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, who was called *l'Antico* (“one of the ancients”) in recognition of his knowledge of classical art. Antico served as court sculptor, advisor on the purchase of antiquities, and restorer of ancient marble statuary to the Gonzaga, the ruling family of the small northern Italian marquisate of Mantua.¹ During the decades when emulating the achievements of the classical past drove Renaissance culture, the Gonzaga advanced their prestige by amassing splendid collections of small-scale ancient art and patronizing brilliant artists noted for rigorously antiquarian styles, such as the court painter Andrea Mantegna and his counterpart in sculpture, Antico.² Intended for display alongside the Gonzaga's ancient sculptures, gems, and coins, Antico's opulent statuettes, like the *Paris*, took on the aura of classical bronzes miraculously untouched by time that seemed tangibly to link the Renaissance present with its glorious heritage.³

To Renaissance viewers, the compelling ancient authenticity of Antico's bronzes depended in part on his ability to seamlessly integrate a variety of classical genres into perfectly calibrated figurative compositions. The features of our *Paris*, for example, might have recalled the idealized conventions and immaculate precision of images carved on small, highly prized



Fig. 11a. Attributed to Solon (active 70–20 B.C.), Engraved Gem with Apollo, 30–20 B.C. Amethyst in a modern gold mount; $\frac{15}{16} \times \frac{13}{16}$ in. (3.3 × 3 cm). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Gift of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman (96.AN.290)

gems (fig. 11a). The figure's heroically proportioned torso probably reflected contemporary esteem for the sort of classical marble fragment exemplified by the monumental *Belvedere Torso* (p. 177, fig. 51a).⁴ The *Paris*'s gilded hair, inlaid silver eyes, and dark patinated flesh—hallmarks of Antico's sculptures—were created to emulate the traces of sumptuous embellishment lingering on classical statuettes. These elegantly combined artistic sources probably elicited richly associative responses from Antico's sophisticated audience.⁵ Yet the re-creation of the antique, the essential subject of his statuettes, generally remained direct and consistent. The majority of Antico's bronze figures, no matter how evocative, derive from single ancient sculptures that often were located in Rome.⁶ Some, like the *Spinario* (cat. 9), are luxurious small-scale versions of surviving Roman statues that were emblems of the Eternal City. Many others are reconstructions of admired Roman classical marble fragments. The *Paris* is one of the few statuettes that does not fit easily within the pattern of Antico's habitual approach to subject matter.

The attribution of the *Paris* to Antico has never been doubted, because the statuette so clearly conforms to the sculptor's distinctive style and technique. However, scholars regularly note that almost everything else about it is puzzling. The *Paris* is by far among the largest of Antico's bronze figures. Only the *Venus* now in the Walters Art Museum equals it in size (fig. 11b).⁷ The statuette's subject, the Judgment of Paris, is unrelated to a famous Roman classical statue or fragment and derives instead from complex literary and artistic traditions that extended almost unbroken from antiquity through the Renaissance. Lack of documentation has encouraged scholars to date the *Paris* primarily based on Antico's formal development. For a sculptor whose style changed little, the range of proposed dates is predictably broad, spanning from 1500 to 1528, or over three-quarters of his active career.⁸ During these years, Antico served four principal patrons with different demands: from 1500 to 1511, Ludovico Gonzaga, bishop-elect of Mantua; from 1511 to 1519, Francesco II Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, and above all his consort, Isabella d'Este; and from 1519 to 1528, their son and successor, Federico II Gonzaga.⁹ Because the subject and theme of Paris closely relates to the cultural and artistic agenda of Federico II during his transition from heir presumptive to newly established marquis, a date for

Antico's statuette from the late teens to about 1524 will be suggested here.¹⁰

Central to Renaissance court culture through diverse retellings in classical myth, literature, and history as well as medieval chivalric legend, the Judgment of Paris was a pivotal episode in the history of the Trojan War.¹¹ To settle a dispute among three Olympian goddesses, Jupiter chose Paris, shepherd-prince of Troy, to judge who among them was the fairest. As Paris sat watching his flocks on Mount Ida, the goddesses appeared before him. Although offered wisdom by Athena and worldly power by Juno, Paris awarded the prize of a golden apple to Venus, who promised him the world's most beautiful woman. Her promise was fulfilled when Paris abducted Helen of Sparta. His action precipitated war with the Greeks, Troy's destruction, and the diaspora of its people. During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, the Judgment of Paris was depicted frequently, especially in replicative media such as prints and plaquettes. A small bronze roundel showing Paris nude, seated, and awarding the apple to Venus by the Master IO.F.F., for example, is often suggested as one source for Antico's statuette.¹² The episode's popularity in images evolved from its historical and symbolic import. The Judgment of Paris was primarily a foundation story. Renaissance elites associated themselves with the legacy of the Trojan refugees, who they believed had founded Rome and established the lineages of European royalty.¹³ They also regarded the story as an allegory of sovereignty. In the crucial moment when Paris sits in judgment contemplating equally the goddesses' gifts of wisdom,

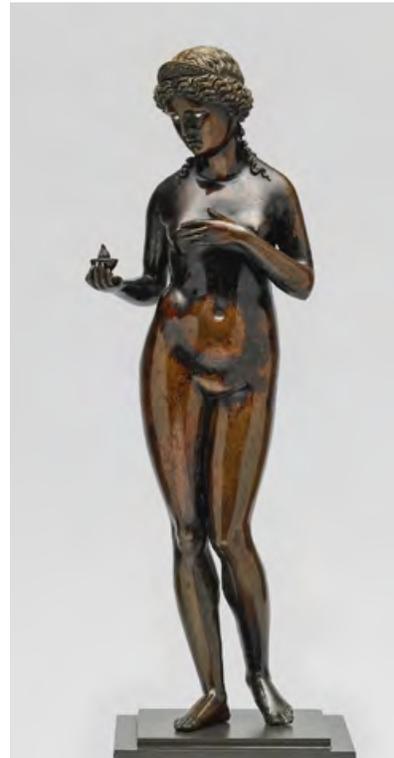


Fig. 11b. Antico, *Venus*, 1520–23. Bronze with traces of gilding and silver inlay; 18 × 6 × 3 $\frac{1}{6}$ in. (45.7 × 15.3 × 10 cm). Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (54.1027)





worldly power, and earthly pleasure, he embodies the three universal qualities demanded of a good ruler.¹⁴

Our *Paris* is not the draped, Phrygian-capped shepherd known from rare depictions on ancient sarcophagi.¹⁵ Instead, Antico drew from the popular vocabulary established by sixteenth-century *all'antica* imagery and his own knowledge of classical art to portray Paris unmistakably as a Trojan prince. The figure's heroic nudity and seated pose, resting one foot forward and drawing the other back, are those assumed by classical gods and mythological figures who judge.¹⁶ The ribbon fillet binding Paris's hair is a type of crown well known from Hellenistic imperial portraits on ancient coins.¹⁷ His topknot of springing curls was a recognized attribute of Apollo, divine protector of Troy and god of the elevating earthly pleasures of poetry, art, and music.¹⁸ The spherical golden apple in Paris's right hand would have called to mind the orb of worldly dominion held by sovereigns. Much less straightforward in meaning is the ring Paris delicately clasps between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand. Interpretations of the object range from an allusion to marriage to a symbolically abbreviated shepherd's flute.¹⁹ Dark and nearly invisible, the ring bears no trace of the gilding that would have brought attention to a small important attribute, and its purpose may have been functional.²⁰ Perhaps it served as a brace for a lost attachment or supported a slender shepherd's staff.

Paris holds such a staff, so evocative of a scepter, in a sublime presentation drawing by Francesco Francia (fig. 11c), who incidentally painted Federico II Gonzaga's childhood portrait.²¹ Although Francia's drawing likely was not a source for Antico's statuette, the two works are strikingly related. In each, the subject's narrative action is suppressed in order to emphasize the allegorical theme of judgment. Francia shows Paris so engrossed in contemplating the apple that he is oblivious to the three goddesses. He neither judges their beauty nor grants the golden prize, but rather evaluates equally the three gifts of wisdom, worldly power, and earthly pleasure that they personify.²² Without the goddesses, Antico's statuette embodies the solitary act of deliberation.²³ Paris sits as if poised in thought. The uncanny intensity of his fixed expression and silver gaze convey a state of absorbed introspection. His hands—lightly suspended above his lap as if he were weighing or balancing the objects he holds—adumbrate a subtle gesture suggesting the still compass of his thought. Captured in perpetual judgment, the statuette becomes a magnificent personification of ideal judgment. What better emblem for young Federico II Gonzaga than Antico's *Paris*?

Groomed from infancy in the princely arts, Federico II was inculcated by his parents with "the power of collecting not only as a cultural instrument, but as a diplomatic tool and political strategy."²⁴ He spent his late childhood and teenage years as a privileged diplomatic hostage and became one of the most cultivated, cosmopolitan rulers and groundbreaking artistic patrons of his generation. Federico's early life provides



Fig. 11c. Francesco Francia (ca. 1447–1517), *Judgment of Paris*, ca. 1505–6. Brush drawing on parchment; 12¼ × 10¼ in. (31 × 25.9 cm). Albertina, Vienna (4859)

several speculative jumping-off points that could elucidate the *Paris*'s commission and context. Between 1510 and 1513, at the court of Pope Julius II in Rome, he revealed his propensity for avant-garde patronage when he precociously commissioned a hat-badge depicting the recently discovered *Laocoön*.²⁵ As a member of King Francis I's glittering circle from 1515 to 1517, he was admired at the French court for his grace, chivalric prowess, and knowledge of art.²⁶ The *Paris* would have made the ideal Gonzaga diplomatic gift to the youthful Francis I, who, like all French monarchs, claimed descent from Trojan heroes.²⁷ Although the absence of documents related to the *Paris* consigns this suggestion to conjecture, Federico's French sojourn does offer a stylistic clue that could help situate the bronze's *terminus post quem*. The single related statuette, the Walters *Venus*, is similar in subject, figure type, and decorous eroticism to the standing *Venus* that was commissioned at Francis I's request with Federico's intervention, and executed between 1515 and 1518 by the Gonzaga's principal painter Lorenzo Costa.²⁸ All three works reflect the quattrocento-inflected style prevalent at the Gonzaga court in the latter teens.

When Federico assumed power in 1519, he initiated a strategic refashioning of the marquise's artistic program that celebrated Gonzaga dynastic continuity while at the same time announcing his own political-cultural agenda.²⁹ From the beginning, he thought grandly. The *Paris*, which preserves all

the stylistic hallmarks of Antico's statuettes but is much larger in size and conceptually more encompassing, accords so well with the twin ambitions of Federico's early rule that it might well reflect them. The ancient marble figurative sculptures owned by Federico's uncle Sigismondo probably influenced the younger man's taste for a broader range of antiquities than those in Isabella d'Este's collection and provided new classical sources of inspiration for Antico.³⁰ The *Paris* might have recalled the lost "ancient marble statue of a nude that sits on a hillock" recorded in Federico's collection in 1542.³¹ The statuette is also similar in conception to an under-lifesize seated marble *Apollo* that a sixteenth-century Venetian master created from a classical fragment of the lower half of a seated male nude.³² Both the *Paris* and *Apollo* are less reconstructions than they are inventions developed from the sculptors' imaginative engagement with ancient and contemporary art. Late in life, having gained artistic authority equal to the antique, Antico probably referenced his own art. It has been noted that the *Paris*'s large, heavy features most closely resemble and may derive from the sensuous face of Antico's *Bacchus*, a lifesize bronze bust generally dated to around 1520–22.³³

Antico's self-referencing might have encouraged his technical experiment and innovation. He was the first Renaissance bronze sculptor to revive the ancient technique of indirect bronze casting, a method that preserved the original wax model and allowed for its repeated replication in bronze. Most of Antico's statuettes exist in at least two casts.³⁴ The indirect casting method also allowed for an exchange of wax components from one figure to another, and this may have occurred during the making of our *Paris* and the Walters *Venus*. In the indirect process, sectional molds were taken from parts of the original wax model, such as a head or limb. Wax copies of these individual parts produced from the sectional molds generally were rejoined to form a second identical wax model that was used to cast the replicate bronze. But the wax parts could also be recombined to form different compositions. The *Paris* and *Venus* are commensurate in size. Their proper right legs, from knee to toes, are virtually identical, suggesting that these limbs were made using the same sectional mold.³⁵

Between 1519 and 1523, Federico began the first transitional phase of his rule by fashioning splendid new apartments in the Castello di San Giorgio that were lavishly decorated with landscapes, grotteschi, and robust figures by the Gonzaga court painter Lorenzo Leonbruno. At the suite's center was the Studio delle Antichità, the chamber containing Francesco's collection of antiquities.³⁶ Apollo, god of the arts, presided on the frescoed ceiling of the antecamera, providing a locus Parnassus as forecourt to Federico's magnificent gathering of ancient and modern works. One can imagine our *Paris* and the Walters *Venus* within these rooms. Only the absence of a document precludes their presence, but that does not negate how fully the statuettes express the intellectual aspirations of this

moment. It has been suggested, for example, that the *Paris* and *Venus* were conceived as a pair.³⁷ If so, it was in an associative and allegorical sense, not a narrative one. Locked in introspection, each statuette beguiles viewers with beauty and addresses them by manifesting an elevating idea. Diademed *Venus* represents the celestial aspect of the goddess who transforms earthly passions into the highest form of divine love. She seems the embodiment of the Neoplatonic concept fervently expressed in *The Book of the Courtier* that Baldassare Castiglione completed in 1518 before he took the position as Federico II's ambassador.

Beginning in 1524, the intimate northern Italian court culture evoked in *The Book of the Courtier* was dramatically transformed when Federico launched the second phase of his rule. Masters of the previous generation such as Leonbruno and Antico were superseded by Mantua's new principal court artist, Giulio Romano. The *Paris* thus sits poised between the golden age of collecting embodied by Isabella d'Este's patronage and the monumental *romanitas* of Federico's mature endeavors. The generational change is signaled by the Mantuan court's presentation of the legend of Troy. In 1490, to honor Isabella's entry into Mantua, Francesco II celebrated Gonzaga identification with the chivalric splendor of the Trojan War by borrowing the sumptuous *Troy* tapestries from the Montefeltro court of Urbino.³⁸ In 1530, their son eternalized that legend's classical origins by commissioning Giulio Romano's grandiose *all'antica* frescoes for the Appartamento di Troia in the Palazzo Te. Antico's *Paris* probably took its place at the crossroads of these vast formal, symbolic changes. This compelling statuette today reminds us of the heady, ambitious beginning of Federico's reign when the young marquis could be identified with Paris, whose legendary given name was Alexander. DA

PROVENANCE: [Piero Tozzi, New York, until 1955; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1957, pp. 150–51; Olga Raggio in New York 1967, cat. 45; Weihrauch 1967, p. 123; New York 1973, cat. 24; Salmann 1976, p. 104; Sheard 1979, cat. 89; Stone 1981, pp. 97, 102–6; Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 74; James David Draper in MMA 1987b, p. 102; Allison 1993–94, pp. 62–63; Davide Gasparotto in Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, pp. 196–97; Luciano 2011, p. 170; Wardropper 2011, pp. 44–46; Joaneath Spicer in Bormand 2020, p. 358

NOTES

1. For Antico's biography, see Luciano 2011, pp. 1–14; the documents related to Antico are published in full in D. Ferrari 2008. 2. For Mantegna and Antico, see Campbell 2011. 3. Allen 2011, pp. 139–45. 4. For the artistic reception of the *Belvedere Torso* (Vatican Museums) during the Renaissance, see Geese 1985, pp. 42–46. 5. For a discussion of how Renaissance viewers appreciated small-scale antiquities and *all'antica kleinkunst* and statuettes, see Syson and Thornton 2001, pp. 78–108. 6. C. Brown 2006, pp. 206–7; Allison 1993–94, p. 48. 7. See Spicer in Bormand 2020, pp. 358–59, cat. 108. 8. Phillips 1957, late 15th or early 16th century; New York 1967, 1498–1501; Sheard 1979, 1490–1500; Leithe-Jasper 1986, ca. 1500; MMA 1987b, ca. 1500; Allison

Emperor Antoninus Pius
Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi)
(Mantua ca. 1460–1528 Gazzuolo)

Mantua, 1519–24

Bronze, partially oil-gilt, silver inlay, on a serpentinite socle
 25¼ × 19¾ × 14¼ in. (64.1 × 50.2 × 36.2 cm) (without base)

Gift of Edward Fowles, 1965 (65.202)

1993–94, 1522–28; Wardropper 2011, ca. 1500–1505; Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, ca. 1500; Luciano 2011, probably after 1511; Bormand 2020, variously dated toward 1500, after 1511, and after 1522. **9.** For Antico's patrons, see Rebecchini 2008. **10.** Allison 1993–94, p. 209, notes Paris "would fit well into the thought of Federico II." **11.** For an overview of the subject's sources, artistic tradition, and allegorical interpretation, see Healy 1997, pp. 9–23, 163–69, 234–47. **12.** MMA, 1986.319.14. See Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, p. 196; Allison 1993–94, p. 209. **13.** Villing et al. 2019, pp. 184–96. **14.** "To compliment a prince on his universality by comparing his judgement to that of Paris became a fixed formula of Renaissance euphemism." Wind 2006, p. 41, as cited in Allison 1993–94, pp. 62–63, in her discussion of Federico II Gonzaga and the allegorical and Neoplatonic meaning of Antico's *Paris*. **15.** For the two ancient sarcophagi in Rome depicting the Judgment of Paris known to the Renaissance, today in the Villa Medici and the Villa Doria Pamphili, see Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 161–62, nos. 119 and 120, as cited in Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, p. 196, and Allison 1993–94, p. 208. **16.** See, for example, Ceriana 2004, pp. 134–37, cat. 1. **17.** Gasparotto 2011b, p. 55. **18.** As rendered by Antico on the three bronze reductions of the *Apollo Belvedere* (Vatican Museums) now in the Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt am Main (ca. 1490; inv. 1286), private collection (ca. 1498–99), and the Galleria Giorgio Franchetti, Ca' d'Oro, Venice (ca. 1502; br. 97); see Luciano 2011, p. 191, pls. 13–15. **19.** New York 1967, cat. 45; Allison 1993–94, p. 209. **20.** XRF analysis found no evidence that the ring was ever gilded and identified traces of lead-tin solder inside its cylindrical opening, supporting the theory that Paris originally held a staff or other element. The casting alloy was identified as a tin bronze with traces of lead, silver, arsenic, and antimony. The dark brown glossy patina, which does not resemble Antico's typical matte black surface, contains notable traces of platinum, indicating that the sculpture was likely repatinated at some point after the late eighteenth century, when platinum coatings were sometimes used on bronzes. F. Carò/AR, April 4, 2019. For a radiograph, see p. 37, fig. 7. **21.** For the drawing, see Achim Gnann in Schröder 2008, no. 37. For the portrait, see MMA, 14.40.638. **22.** Healy 1997, pp. 14–16. **23.** Allison 1993–94, p. 62. **24.** Hickson 2016, p. 40. **25.** Mattei 2016, p. 30. **26.** Hickson 2016. **27.** Campbell 2011, p. 38, notes that the *Paris* is strongly imprinted with the notion of gift-giving. For the Trojan origins of the kingdom of France, see Solomon 2007, pp. 510–11 n. 123. **28.** Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 1257; see Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, pp. 252–53. **29.** C. Brown 1988, pp. 315–16. **30.** For Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga's collection of antiquities and its relation to Antico's late sculpture, see Rebecchini 2003; Rebecchini 2008, pp. 36–38. **31.** C. Brown 1988, p. 336, appendix II, item 50, Federico's death inventory of 1542, "Una statua de marmore, nuda, che sede sopra uno monticello, anticha." The original base of the *Paris* is lost (see the essay by Richard Stone in this volume, pp. 37–38); the statuette probably was seated on a landscape knoll similar to that in Antico's *Spinario* (cat. 9). **32.** Sotheby's, London, June 12, 2017, lot 19, *A Fragmentary Roman Marble Figure of Apollo*, 1st/2nd century A.D., with Venetian restorations, first half of the 16th century. I would like to thank Shelley Zuraw for this reference. Campbell 2011, p. 35, refers to the *Paris* as a clever pastiche, an "adaptation of the *Apollo Belvedere* as the seated Trojan shepherd Paris." **33.** Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5987; see Luciano 2011, p. 194, pl. 48. **34.** For Antico's bronze-casting technique, see Stone 1981; D. Smith and Sturman 2011. **35.** Allison 1993–94, p. 54, suggests that Antico reused sectional molds to create The Met *Satyr* (cat. 10). **36.** C. Brown 1988, pp. 315–25. **37.** First suggested by Claudia Kryza-Gersch; see Spicer in Bormand 2020, p. 358. **38.** C. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 214–15.

Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi was principal court sculptor to the Gonzaga family, princely rulers of the northern Italian marquise of Mantua. When collecting Greek and Roman statuary, coins, and precious gems was an essential part of the Renaissance revival of antiquity, Pier Jacopo earned the name *l'Antico* ("one of the ancients") for his profound knowledge of classical sculpture.¹ His opulent bronzes, such as this stunning lifesize portrait of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius, were so convincingly classical in style that the Gonzaga displayed them as "surrogate antiques" among their magnificent collections of ancient art.² Antico's works also gave expressive form to the writings of classical authors esteemed by the Gonzaga. Our *Antoninus Pius*, for example, evocatively manifests Pliny the Elder's description of portraits of exemplary men "of gold or silver [or] at least of bronze" as "immortal spirits who speak to us."³ Perhaps most of all, within the politically charged antiquarian culture at the Mantuan court, it celebrated the Gonzaga's identification with Imperial Rome and its ruling traditions of virtue, splendor, and power.

Antico's immaculately executed classicizing bronzes have long excited the imagination of scholars. Today it is generally agreed that the master developed his groundbreaking art by harnessing an unusually diverse combination of technical and formal expertise. Through training as a goldsmith, he acquired the abilities to become the first sculptor since antiquity to employ the indirect method of bronze casting.⁴ His bronzes' colorful surface embellishments of burnished gold, brilliant silver, and velvet black reveal a goldsmith's wide-ranging technical inventiveness.⁵ By studying ancient statuary and restoring fragmentary marble figures in Rome, Antico developed the formal foundation for his revival of classical genres such as the bronze statuette and portrait bust.⁶ The Met's superb collection represents these types with three statuettes—the *Spinario*, *Satyr*, and *Paris* (cats. 9–11)—and the bust of Antoninus Pius. Although these works have played a key role in advancing our knowledge regarding the master's artistic development under the aegis of his Gonzaga patrons, fundamental questions about them remain. For example, we are still uncertain why, when, or for whom Antico made the bust.

The emperor (r. 138–161 A.D.) is depicted in Roman costume wearing a crown of gilded laurel leaves and a draped mantle clasped at the right shoulder. The refined features,

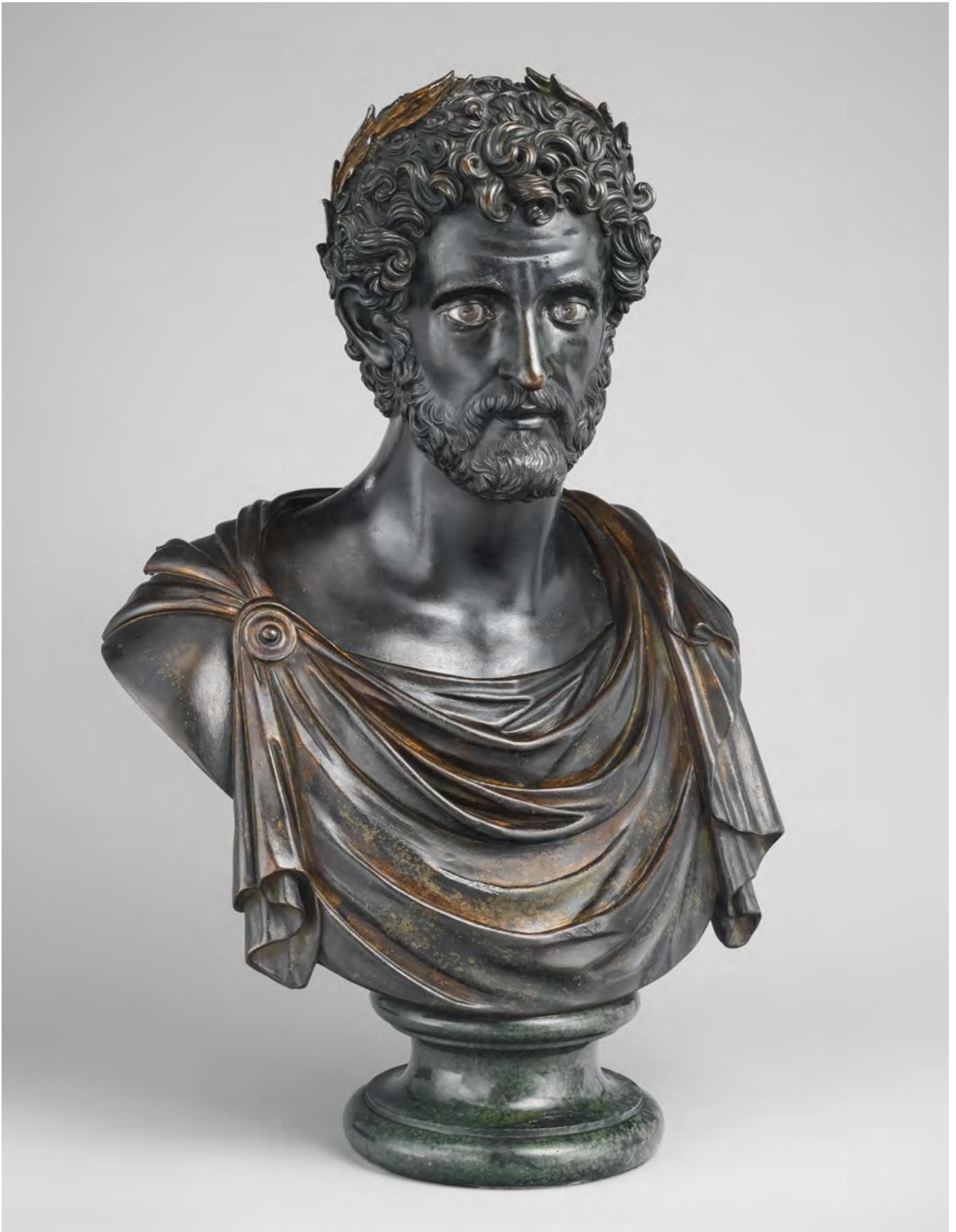






Fig. 12a. *Antoninus Pius*, ca. 138–161 A.D. Marble; H. 35 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (90 cm). Glyptothek, Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich (337)



Fig. 12b. Antico, *Emperor Antoninus Pius*, head possibly by 1496. Bronze with silvering; bust, plaster with traces of gilding; H. 25 in. (63.5 cm). Museo Diocesano “Francesco Gonzaga,” Mantua

framed by abundant curls and a full beard, reflect those found in his marble bust-length state portraits, such as the superlative example in Munich (fig. 12a). Antico unusually portrayed the emperor twice, and his interpretations of Antoninus’s official marble bust reveal a change in his development as a portraitist. His earliest bronze head of Antoninus (fig. 12b), completed by 1511 for Bishop-Elect Ludovico Gonzaga, is a straightforward record of the emperor’s physiognomy.⁷ By contrast, in our bust Antico focused on the emperor’s psychological state. Through the coloristic syncopation of bronze, silver, and gold, the sculptor heightened the portrait’s expressive power. The emperor’s searing gaze is amplified by shockingly large, light brown eyes that are set off with whites of inlaid silver. His concern is registered in the nuanced rendering of the raised brows and furrowed forehead that, combined with the slight turn of the head and shoulders, promise incipient action. In this remarkable work, Antico captured the physical likeness of Antoninus while at the same time projecting the alert intelligence of a man who was revered as one of Rome’s “Good Emperors.”

Antico’s emphasis on Antoninus’s transitory expression was an artistic choice that departs from the constant equanimity for which the emperor was praised. According to his sole surviving classical biography, in the *Historia Augusta*, Antoninus ruled serenely and was granted the exceptional title “Pius” for the filial devotion he showed to his predecessor.⁸

The discrepancy between Antoninus’s sovereign composure described in the classical text and Antico’s compelling bronze is notable because the Gonzaga owned a copy of the *Historia Augusta*.⁹ Moreover, Antico’s other portrait busts of historical and mythological figures are generally self-contained and calm in mood.¹⁰ Among them, *Antoninus Pius* is a dramatic outlier. Although such unusually vivid animation could have sprung from the sculptor’s close study of an exceptionally fine marble prototype, it also could suggest something more. Of the Gonzaga rulers whom Antico served, only the last, Federico II, demanded that the portrait busts of famous military leaders—which he sought to commission in 1526—be as “true to life as possible.”¹¹

In 1524, Antico received steel files and chisels from Federico’s munitions in order to finish or chase (*netar*) “the head of Antoninus Pius.”¹² But simply identifying The Met portrait as Federico’s commission is complicated by the existence of another cast now in the Louvre.¹³ Arguments regarding when and for whom each bust was made roughly divide into two camps. The extreme artistic refinement of our portrait has led some scholars to group it with similarly exquisite busts associated with the taste of Federico’s mother, Isabella d’Este, who was Antico’s principal patron during the late 1510s. They accordingly date it to around these years and connect the less refined Louvre version to the document of 1524 or place it

after Antico's death.¹⁴ Other scholars date The Met *Antoninus Pius* to 1524 because of its superlative display of techniques. Cast in one piece in a single bravura pour and exhibiting sublime tooling and finishing, it manifests the full range of the master's virtuosic skills.¹⁵ By contrast, the head and chest of the Louvre *Antoninus Pius* were cast separately. This cautious casting technique suggests a transitional work created sometime between Antico's earliest portrait heads, completed by 1511, and our bust, finished in 1524. On the other hand, based on facture, the Louvre version could be a posthumous variant.¹⁶ At present, documentary research, formal analysis, and the evidence presented in recent technical studies have not provided a definitive answer to the patronage/dating conundrum. Offered below are some further observations that might

strengthen the case for Federico as the patron of The Met *Antoninus Pius*.

The initial phase of Federico's reign (1519–24) challenged established artists at the Mantuan court to develop a new antiquarian style tailored to fit the sophisticated demands of an ambitious young ruler who had been schooled since childhood in the Gonzaga practice of targeting artistic commissions to advance political agendas.¹⁷ Seeking to commission lifelike portraits of exemplary military men in 1526, for example, probably was a means by which Federico conveyed his reinvigoration of Gonzaga rule. Antico's last documented work, the *Antoninus Pius* of 1524, could have been the first historical portrait made for Federico that communicated this animated message of renewal. Choosing Antoninus Pius as the portrait's subject also celebrates the revitalization of Gonzaga tradition. The bust simultaneously embodies the family's deep-rooted association with the heritage of Imperial Rome and identifies the young marquis with a newcomer to Mantua's traditional pantheon of emperors.¹⁸ One has to wait until 1511 for a portrait of Antoninus to appear among the eclectic selection of bronze and marble busts of famous men that Antico designed for display in the forecourt of Ludovico's palace.¹⁹ Moreover, unlike the portrait of 1511 or any of the Roman marble prototypes, The Met *Antoninus Pius* is crowned with laurel leaves. Probably added to signal the bust's association with Mantua's new princely ruler, the laurel crown also provides a clue to a significant, unnoticed ancient source for the portrait.

When viewed in profile, Antoninus's sharp features, elongated neck, and laurel-leaf crown unmistakably mirror the emperor's official numismatic portraits (fig. 12c).²⁰ The depiction would have been well known to the Gonzaga, who amassed huge collections of ancient coins.²¹ It was especially familiar to Antico, who had based the compositions of his four roundels depicting the labors of Hercules on the reverses of a rare Alexandrian series of sestertii bearing the portrait of Antoninus.²² In no other bust does Antico cleave so closely to a numismatic prototype. His faithful quotations add to the portrait another crucial dimension of classical authenticity, for Renaissance audiences believed that the images and inscriptions on ancient coins most accurately preserved the ancient historical record.²³ His extraordinary translation of a small-scale profile in relief



Fig. 12c. *Sestertius with Emperor Antoninus Pius*. Minted in Rome, 140–144 A.D. Copper alloy. British Museum, London (1872,0709.633)

into a lifesize bronze bust would have appeared to bring Antoninus powerfully and truthfully to life. The bust's martial accoutrements—laurel victory crown, clasped military cloak—balance the *Historia Augusta's* record of the emperor's remarkably peaceful reign. The portrait bust thus brilliantly evokes the full scope of imperial history as handed down in Antoninus's classical biography, numismatic imagery, and marble victory column in Rome.²⁴ By portraying an emperor who preserves peace through martial readiness, Antico created an ideal portrait of an exemplary ruler with whom Federico, a soldier-prince, could identify.

Federico probably exploited his physical similarity to Antoninus: both were famously vigorous, handsome, bearded men.²⁵ Federico's resemblance to Antoninus on the obverse of the first gold coin minted during his reign, the two-ducat *doppio d'oro*, is notable.²⁶ By choosing Antoninus as his imperial avatar in portrait busts and on Mantuan coinage, the young marquis associated the character and conduct of his rule with that of the emperor's. On the *doppio d'oro*, the intimate linkage between the two rulers' principles of governance is conveyed in numismatic language. The coin's reverse, above an image of Mount Olympus symbolizing the highest aspirations, is inscribed FIDES. This ancient Roman pledge of mutual devotion between a ruler and his people resonates with the filial devotion celebrated by the honorific title "Pius" awarded to one of Rome's greatest emperors.

Completed in 1524, The Met *Antoninus Pius* marks the watershed year that Federico turned away from the generation of court artists, Antico among them, who had served his parents and engaged Raphael's foremost pupil, Giulio Romano, to become Mantua's new artistic impresario. Against the grand backdrop of ancient Rome re-created through Giulio's hyperbolic artistic lens at Federico's new villa, the Palazzo Te, Antico's philologically accurate, antiquarian sculptures took on the aura of historical artifacts. Outdated in style, they gained validity as "antiquities" to become symbolic foundation stones of Gonzaga rule. The possible display of the Louvre version of Antico's *Antoninus Pius* and its companion portrait of the emperor's wife Faustina above the main entrances to Giulio's frescoed Sala di Troia (completed in the 1530s) testifies to the imperial couple's importance to the Gonzaga's self-fashioned role within a majestic historical narrative.²⁷ Antico's Louvre portraits presided over a room decorated with grandiloquent frescoes commemorating the Trojan War, the transformational conflict that led to the foundation of Imperial Rome and ultimately to the establishment of the Gonzaga dynasty and its triumph under Federico II.²⁸ DA

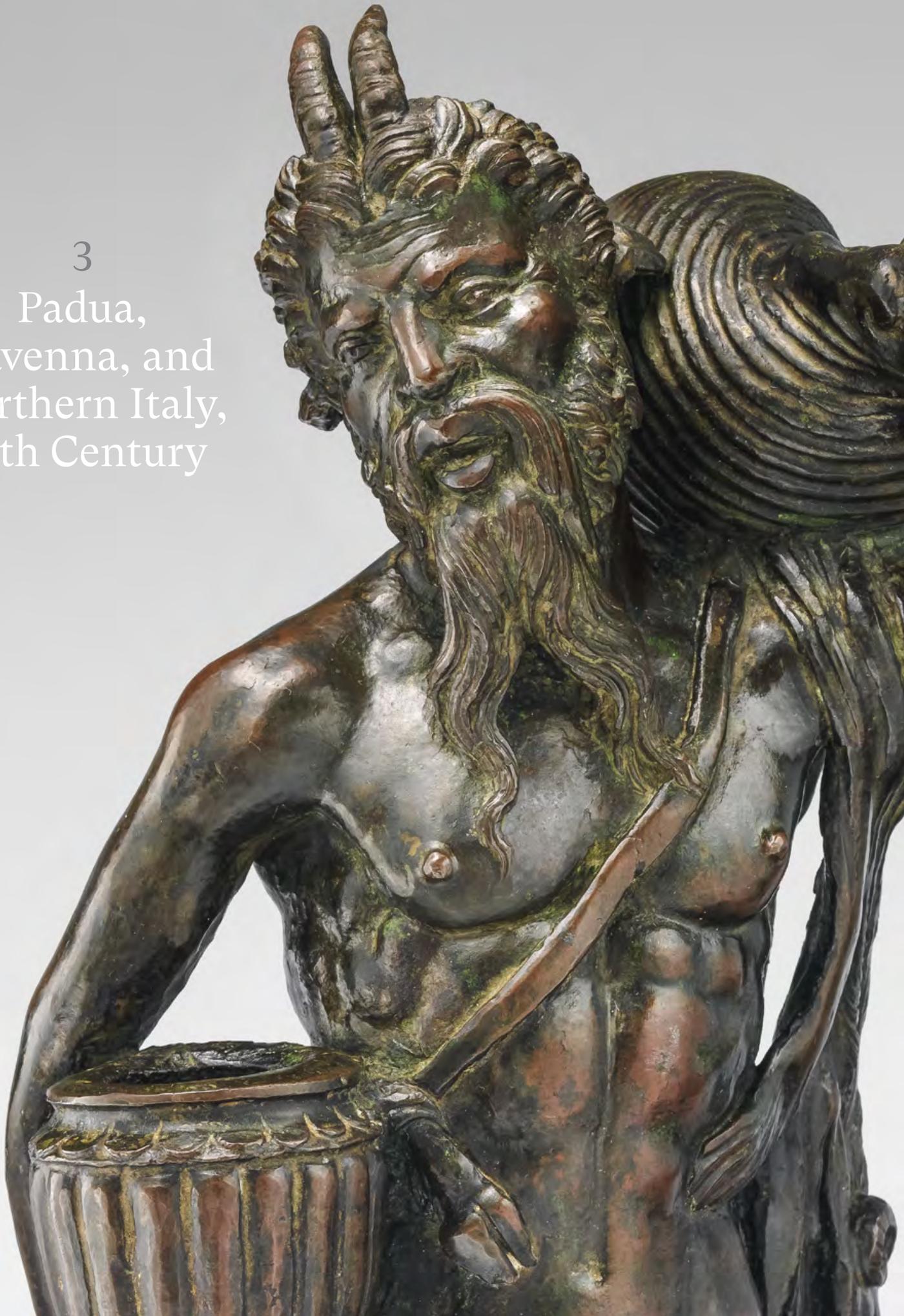
PROVENANCE: probably Federico II Gonzaga, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua (by 1524–d. 1539); Mme d'Yvon, Paris (until 1892; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1892, lot 257); [Duveen Brothers, before 1964; transferred that year to Fowles]; Edward Fowles, last surviving partner in the Duveen Brothers firm (1964–65; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Hirth 1895, p. XVIII, no. 185; Phillips 1966, p. 98; New York 1970, p. 224; New York 1973, cat. 25; James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 233; Allison 1976, pp. 213, 218; Sheard 1979, cat. 69; Fittschen 1985, pp. 397–98; Draper in Frankfurt 1986, cat. 260; T. Martin 1993, p. 73; Allison 1993–94, pp. 61, 251–54, 262, 264; Cohen 2002, p. 267; Bertrand Jestaz in Morselli 2002, pp. 353–54; Bresc-Bautier and Bormand 2006, p. 72; V. Avery 2007b, p. 90 n. 76; Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, pp. 22–23, 266–68; Luciano 2011, pp. 50–53, 161–62, 178; Wardropper 2011, pp. 56–59, no. 16

NOTES

1. For Antico's biography, see Luciano 2011, pp. 1–14. The documents related to Antico are published in full in D. Ferrari 2008, pp. 300–328.
2. V. Avery 2007b. 3. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 25.2.9–10, as cited in Cohen 2002, p. 268. 4. For Antico's bronze-casting technique, see Stone 1981; D. Smith and Sturman 2011. 5. For a technical study of Antico's distinctive black patination, see Stone 2011. 6. See Kryza-Gersch 2011; Gasparotto 2011b. 7. Ancient Roman portrait busts most often survived as fragmentary heads; for example, see MMA, 33.11.3. 8. *Historia Augusta*, trans. David Magie (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921), vol. 1, p. 74. 9. Wardropper 2011, p. 56. 10. All of the portrait busts currently attributed to Antico are illustrated in color in Luciano 2011. 11. As cited in and translated by V. Avery 2007b, pp. 90, 106–7, doc. 2. 12. As cited and translated by Luciano 2011, p. 194. The document of July 19, 1524, is published in full in D. Ferrari 2008, p. 320, doc. 99. 13. The Louvre bust (CAT 1922.849) was cleaned before its presentation in the Mantua 2008 exhibition, leading to a reassessment of its quality, which previously had been considered mediocre at best. Marc Bormand provides an excellent summary of the complicated issues of dating presented by The Met and Louvre busts in Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, pp. 266–69, cat. VII.5. 14. For this dating, see Wardropper 2011, pp. 56, 59. 15. For a casting diagram, see Luciano 2011, p. 183. 16. For the discussion outlined here of how the facture and finish of the Louvre and Met busts could suggest their dating, see D. Smith and Sturman 2011, pp. 158–63. 17. The importance of Federico's innovative artistic agenda during the early or so-called transitional phase of his rule is treated in Mattei 2016. 18. Antoninus Pius, for example, is conspicuously absent from the eight fictive marble busts of the Caesars, derived from Suetonius's *Lives*, that decorate the ceiling of the famous audience chamber (*camera picta*) in the Castello di San Giorgio, Mantua, that Andrea Mantegna frescoed between 1465 and 1474. 19. For this series, see Trevisani 2008. 20. Significantly, the emperor's iconic numismatic profile portrait was illustrated in Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* (Rome, ca. 1517), pl. LXXI, shortly before Antico designed the bust of Antoninus Pius. For the relationship between ancient numismatic portraits and Renaissance busts, see Marcello Calogero's forthcoming doctoral thesis, Scuola Normale di Pisa. 21. See Luciano 2011, p. 2. 22. Antico's reliance on the reverses of ancient coins to design two of the four labors of Hercules roundels was first noted in Luciano 2011, pp. 4–6. However, all four roundels derive from the rare labors of Hercules series bearing the emperor's portrait. For the series, see Toynbee 1925; Milne 1950. 23. See Scher 2019, pp. 15–17. 24. Until 1703, one of the most important surviving Imperial monuments in Rome, the marble victory column of Marcus Aurelius, was misidentified as the column of Antoninus Pius; see Ridley 2018, p. 240. 25. First noted by Allison 1993–94. See Wardropper 2011, pp. 56–59. 26. See Balbi de Caro 1995, p. 239, R20 and 21, p. 256, pl. 47. 27. Allison 1993–94 first suggested that the Louvre portraits were displayed in the Sala di Troia; see Bormand in Trevisani and Gasparotto 2008, pp. 266–69. 28. For an iconographic interpretation, see Talvacchia 1986.

3
Padua,
Ravenna, and
Northern Italy,
16th Century



— 13 —

Rothschild Lamp
Andrea Briosco, called Riccio
 (Trent 1470–1532 Padua)

Padua, ca. 1510–20

Bronze, on a later wood base

7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 9 × 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.4 × 22.9 × 7.3 cm)

European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Fund, 2009 (2009.58)

Elegantly lofted on four coiling tendrils, the body of the Rothschild Lamp balances in midair with a dynamism unrivaled in Renaissance bronze sculpture. The oblong vessel promises to hold a generous quantity of oil, tapering gently to present an opening for a wick. Presiding above this aperture is a pointy-eared satyr's head perched on a long neck that morphs into the lid of the lamp. The lid sprouts organic forms of vegetal and animal origin. Acanthus leaves lead back to a fluted visor that gives way to a scaly surface from which emerge two wings. At



the base of each wing is a long neck that twists backward and disappears under a shell-like ornament. The horror of such headless redoubling is countered by the mirth of two putti that grasp each neck for support. Behind the juncture of lid and hinge springs a handle of two diverging spirals, the higher terminating in a ram's head that drives attention back to the center of the lamp.

Perfectly fitted to its lid, the lamp receptacle is decorated on both sides with friezes of putti in Bacchic celebration. At the rear of the vessel is a siren bedecked with a pair of tiny wings, her appendages transforming into ornamental curls that frame putti playing with masks that flank her hips. Below emerges a triad of tendrils to support the lamp. The tendril formation widens in the center to feature a drooping, open-mouthed face with furrowed brows. The siren and face meet to form two oppositional curls, and alongside them protrudes a set of avian wings. As if nothing more could fit at this juncture, a pair of garlands is affixed beneath the wings, and their gentle arc returns the viewer's gaze to the center of the lamp. Each aspect of the bronze's design thereby competes for the viewer's attention but also redirects it to other decorations, the curvaceous forms reinforcing this inescapable circuit. Given that its maker, Andrea Riccio, was named for his celebrated curly hair, he announces his mastery of bronze through the lamp's signature excess of curling appendages.¹

Riccio's sculptural prowess is likewise evident in the technical features of the lamp's construction. Arriving at The Met in near perfect condition, the Rothschild Lamp was made of two separately cast parts: the lid and the container.² The lamp was cast directly, appropriate to its bespoke design and Riccio's working methods. Its intactness defies its apparent delicacy,



and there are two riveted lap joints on the lateral, proper left tendril among the triad, as well as on the central tendril. These appear to be original to the lamp's making. Examination using X-ray fluorescence indicated that the foot, body, and lid share the same metal composition. The interior of the lamp bears two separate chambers for a wick, as well as a rough texture commensurate with many of Riccio's other bronzes.³

Riccio arrived at the perfection of the Rothschild Lamp through the development of other bronze lamps across his career.⁴ He made several small oil lamps similar to surviving antique prototypes, but the two closest to ours are the Cadogan Lamp in the V&A and the Oil Lamp in the Frick (figs. 13a–b).⁵



Fig. 13a. Riccio, Cadogan Lamp, ca. 1507–10. Bronze; $5\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.3 × 20.9 × 6 cm). Victoria & Albert Museum, London (137-1865)



Fig. 13b. Riccio, Oil Lamp, ca. 1516–24. Bronze; H. $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. (16.8 cm). The Frick Collection, New York, Henry Clay Frick Bequest (1916.2.18)



Fig. 13c. Riccio, Paschal Candelabrum, 1507–16. Basilica di Sant'Antonio, Padua

The Cadogan Lamp, presumably the first of the three, is balanced on three curling tendrils, and its acanthus lid with a putto riding a porpoise clearly informed Riccio's later work. Similarly evocative of the Rothschild Lamp are the Cadogan Lamp's shiplike shape and the zoomorphic forms that ultimately overtake its structure.⁶ Indeed, the Cadogan Lamp seems to enact a metamorphosis into grotesque forms before the viewer's eyes, and it is this principle that Riccio carried forward to his subsequent projects.⁷ The Frick lamp is awash in ornate decorations on every outer surface, including its underside. Its design is closer to that of our lamp, a narrative frieze of putti stretching around the entire body of the vessel. While the Cadogan Lamp gives privileged space to medallions with powerful moral messages, the Frick lamp thrives on the interrelationships between ornamental motifs, the putti's uninterrupted Bacchic sacrifice, and the apotheosis promised by a lit flame.⁸ In the Frick lamp, as in his magisterial Paschal Candelabrum (fig. 13c), Riccio yoked form, function, and imagery in a manner that was especially instructive for the program of the Rothschild Lamp.

The Met's lamp combines and elaborates grotesque motifs to show Riccio's playful mastery of ancient ornaments. This is exemplified by the siren motif at the back of the receptacle adapted from the Cadogan Lamp.⁹ Riccio's association of the siren with scaled tendrils below finds a parallel in contemporaneous Paduan bronzes of a siren-shaped, eagle-footed candelabra type popularized in Severo da Ravenna's workshop.¹⁰ This motif may also have been inspired by a woodcut illustration of a hanging lamp in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499).¹¹ With its bilateral symmetry spanning a gradual curve, the back of the Rothschild Lamp echoes Riccio's Carrand Vessel (Bargello); both feature central grotesque masks that, while different in appearance, signal Riccio's facility with inventing such forms.¹² Members of Riccio's Paduan circle of humanist friends would have readily appreciated his grotesque innovations, among them Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, a professor of Greek philosophy who collected antiquities featuring hybrid beings.¹³

Among those best poised to discuss details of the Rothschild Lamp was the Neapolitan humanist Pomponius Gauricus. His treatise *De Sculptura* (1504) notes his friendship with Riccio, and its invective against modern sculptors who choose hybrid creatures, instead of the human body, as their subject matter is difficult to reconcile with the Rothschild Lamp's deployment of grotesque forms.¹⁴ This criticism echoes a range of ancient authors, notably Horace and Vitruvius.¹⁵ In an arena where Riccio and his friends readily discussed these ancient texts, the Rothschild Lamp was the ideal conduit for conversation and debate. While the lamp's use of grotesques could be seen to run counter to Gauricus's famous argument, it is rather the perfect artistic riposte to inspire further discourse around decorum and license.¹⁶ The bronze's status as a lamp made it



an apt vehicle for grotesque imagery, given the paucity of extant antiquities of this caliber and extensive descriptions of them in texts such as the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.¹⁷

Such discourses rooted in the language of antiquity connected to another area of interest in Renaissance Italy: the interpretation of hieroglyphs. The vogue for this nascent field at the turn of the sixteenth century furnished an interpretive mode for a pictographic language with embedded sacred wisdom.¹⁸ The enigmatic motifs across the Rothschild Lamp would have invited such a system of thinking; Riccio translated hieroglyphic elements from two to three dimensions in harmony with Gauricus's comment that the graphic art of the

Egyptians revealed how writing was synonymous with painting and sculpting.¹⁹ The Veneto was a key center of hieroglyphic studies: the first Greek edition of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* was published by Aldo Manuzio in 1505 and subsequently translated, expanded, and Christianized by Pierio Valeriano, a student of Tomeo in Padua. Ekphrastic descriptions of lavish vessels coupled with hieroglyphic illustrations and interpretations in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* further conditioned understandings of the Rothschild Lamp.²⁰

Viewers of the lamp would have brought a more linear mode of reading to the narrative reliefs of putti on its lateral sides, which are similar but not identical. Both scenes taper



gently as they approach the spout, the putti at the narrowest region seated in order to keep them all to equal scale. The proper left relief shows twelve putti, the three nearest the spout preparing a goat for sacrifice while eight adjacent link arms in dance. The lamp's only winged putto, that at the far right, plays a pipe.²¹ A similar scene unfolds on the other relief, with seven putti dancing as three at right prepare to sacrifice a goat. Here, an additional putto sits at the tip of the relief near the spout, gesticulating toward his comrades, and a wingless putto standing at the far extreme blows his pipe away from the group. These reliefs recall ancient sarcophagi with putti engaged in Bacchic rituals, but the complexity of their tapered format enables Riccio to outstrip antique sources.²²

The Rothschild Lamp's Bacchic reliefs compete not only with antiquity, but also with Riccio's sculptural forebears: Donatello was famous for reviving this ancient type in Christian contexts, where it served as the progenitor to his bronze angel reliefs on the altar of the Santo in Padua.²³ Riccio nodded to this through the Bacchic procession of putti atop his Paschal Candelabrum in the same basilica, the overlay of Christian imagery and pagan sacrificial altars a crucial feature of the candelabrum's program.²⁴ The Rothschild Lamp reinforces these associations by evoking a pagan altar through its ornamental motifs, its burning evocative of ritual sacrifice.²⁵

The putti in Riccio's lamp could thereby be read as a Neoplatonic metaphor for salvation of the soul through ecstasy toward the divine.²⁶ Renaissance associations of putti as *genii* and *spiritelli* also linked them to the Aristotelian concept of the spirit (*pneuma*), the putti's Bacchic ritual promising the lamp's owner a transformative ecstasy that would reach its acme in the apotheosis of the burning flame.²⁷

In their similarity and fundamental differences, the reliefs of putti on the Rothschild Lamp evoke and rupture symmetry. This aesthetic principle held particular interest among Riccio and his humanist friends in Padua, with Gauricus devoting the second book of *De Sculptura* to the topic.²⁸ He stressed that symmetry is applicable to all human bodies, with the caveat that it does not apply to monstrous and dwarfed beings, followed by the observation that symmetry is evident in musical harmony.²⁹ Riccio evidently took Gauricus's exclusion of monstrous beings from symmetry as a dare to deploy this precept across a symmetrical object laden with monstrosities. Gauricus's subsequent comparison of symmetry to music signals its transmedial applicability, including within the ancient liberal arts. By deploying bilateral symmetry coupled with sly asymmetries, the Rothschild Lamp prompts a visual meditation on this organizing system across disciplines such as music and rhetoric.³⁰ Riccio was well aware that symmetry was an operative feature of grotesques, as playful divergences from it are also found in contemporary prints by Nicoletto da Modena, among others. Renaissance viewers attuned to symmetry could have compared the lamp's two sides, whether by turning it or using a mirror, an implement common to scholars' private spaces.³¹

The Rothschild Lamp was also fully functional as a light source within the *studiolo*. Whether enlivened by a burning flame or light from a window, the lamp and its swarming grotesques manifest the generative powers of nature at the heart of this bronze, a concept with deep resonances in Aristotelian natural philosophy.³² In the university town of Padua, Aristotle was, to quote Dante, "the master of those who know,"³³ and his thought was synthesized with Christian theology and Florentine Neoplatonism by the likes of Tomeo.³⁴ Plato believed in a demiurgic God who created the four elements from chaos.³⁵ This cosmological understanding, further developed by Aristotle in *On Generation and Corruption*, was integrated with his notion of *pneuma* as the sustaining principle of the world, a vital heat that grants life to elemental matter.³⁶ This explains the preponderance of wings in the Rothschild Lamp, most notably the winged grotesque mask at its base, whose exhalation seems to spontaneously generate the surrounding foliage. The hinged lid of the lamp can be interpreted as a composite creature hewn from *pneuma* and all four elements: the shells and scales indicate water, the arabesque-like fronds emerge from an earthy substructure, and the satiric head at the tip seems to expel air from its open mouth, kindling the fire at the lamp's spout. Finally, this notion of the lamp's self-generation

mirrors the artist's inventive ability to give form to material, as analogized by Aristotle.³⁷ Illuminated by the flickering glow of the fire in the cloistered *studiolo*, Riccio and his humanist friends would have witnessed this static bronze transform into an animated zoomorphic being, redolent of antiquity, but ever-evolving in form and meaning. RC & AF

PROVENANCE: Baron James Mayer de Rothschild (by 1865–d. 1868); his son, Baron Gustave de Rothschild (until d. 1911); his son, Baron Robert de Rothschild (d. 1946); by descent through the Rothschild family (until 2009); [sold by private agreement through Christie's, London, to MMA]

LITERATURE: Paris 1867, pp. 114–15, cat. 1230; Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, p. 29, pl. LII; Ricci 1913b, pl. XVII; Bode 1922, pl. 60; Planiscig 1927, p. 273, fig. 313; Paris 1935, p. 349, cat. 1219; Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 76; Radcliffe 1972; Bode and Draper 1980, pl. LII; Allen 2008a, under cats. 13, 14, fig. 13.5; Draper 2010, pp. 132–33, no. 1; James David Draper in MMA 2010, p. 21; Wardropper 2011, pp. 50–53, no. 14; Motture 2019, p. 250 n. 147

NOTES

1. On Riccio's adoption of his nickname and visual commemoration of his curly locks in a small self-portrait bust, see Allen 2008b, p. 15. 2. The following technical details derive from R. Stone/TR, December 31, 2008. 3. On the interior texture of Riccio's bronzes as an indicator of his authorship, see Stone 2008. 4. The Rothschild Lamp's workmanship and combination of features from the other lamps discussed here suggest that it could have been the last made among them. For a proposal that it definitively predates the Riccio lamp in the Frick, see Radcliffe 1972, p. 49. The Frick lamp bears a greater amount of decorative elements, but the streamlined construction and unity of form of the Rothschild Lamp suggest a judicious application of a lifetime of experience. 5. The Rothschild Lamp is among six extant bronze lamps widely ascribed to Riccio. In addition to the Cadogan and Frick lamps, the others are: the Fortnum Lamp, Ashmolean, WA1888.CDEF.B1100; Oil Lamp, Bargello; and Three-wick Lamp with Bacchic Scenes, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1957.14.66. A number of other lamps very near to Riccio in style bear attributions such as "school of Andrea Riccio," on which see recently Malgouyres 2020, pp. 242–55. 6. The ship form nods to the dual significance of the Latin word *rostrum* for a ship's prow and lamp spout; see Radcliffe 1972, pp. 29–35, 44. On the hybrid, zoomorphic features of the lamps, see Frosien-Leinz 1985, p. 242. 7. Peta Motture in Allen 2008a, p. 181. 8. See Allen 2008a, pp. 174–89, cats. 13, 14. See also Motture 2019, pp. 182–83. 9. Radcliffe 1972, pp. 45–46. The chief difference between the female grotesques of the Cadogan and Rothschild lamps is the latter's incorporation of two boys dressed in sailcloth facing the masks. 10. For Severo's hybrid candelabrum, see Jeremy Warren in Padua 2001, p. 167, cat. 38. 11. Colonna 1999, pp. 206–7. It has been suggested that the siren signifies poetic eloquence, appropriate for an object that offered the light of knowledge in the scholar's study. See Luchs 2010, pp. 166–67, for further references on other positive aspects of the siren. 12. Radcliffe 1972, p. 47; Allen 2008a, pp. 194–99, cat. 16A. 13. Favaretto 1979, pp. 18–19, 21–27. 14. Gauricus 1999, p. 140. Gauricus refers to Riccio (p. 254) as "familiaris meus" (my friend). 15. *Ibid.*, p. 268. 16. On license and the grotesque, see Hansen 2019, pp. 64–65. 17. Colonna 1999, pp. 206–7. There are notable surviving examples of premodern bronze lamps that could serve as precedents for Riccio's design, such as the Byzantine Standing Lamp with Running Dogs, MMA, 62.185. 18. For a history of Renaissance hieroglyphic studies, see Volkmann 2018; Giehlow 2015; B. Curran 2007; Dempsey 2001 (all with bibliography). 19. Volkmann 2018, p. 59. The

two medallions on the Cadogan Lamp, for instance, can be read hieroglyphically; see Motture in Allen 2008a, pp. 177–79. 20. Colonna 1999, pp. 109–16; Frosien-Leinz 1985, pp. 226–41. 21. Riccio's inclusion of a single winged putto on the lamp could identify it as Genius or Eros, a figure endowed with gifts by Fame in plaquettes ascribed to Riccio (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1957.14.347, 1957.14.349). On this type of plaquette in relation to the broader traditions of putti, see Pfisterer 2002, p. 165. 22. For examples of ancient sarcophagi, see Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 101–2. 23. On Donatello and putti, see Struthers 1992; Dempsey 2001, pp. 1–61; Pfisterer 2002, pp. 111–83; Morel 2014, pp. 537–67. In the Veneto, the Lombardo workshop further appropriated this motif: Morel 2014, pp. 601–11. 24. On the imagery of sacrifice in the Paschal Candelabrum, see Morel 2014, pp. 712–15; Nagel 2011, pp. 166–94; Banzato 2008b; Blume 1985a, p. 105. On the broader joining of Bacchic and Christian imagery in the Renaissance, especially in relation to altar images, see Nagel 2000, pp. 87–99. 25. Denise Allen in Allen 2008a, p. 188. 26. On such Neoplatonic ideals in relation to the Paschal Candelabrum, see Blume 1985a, pp. 111–12. 27. This discussion draws from Denise Allen's analysis of the Frick lamp in Allen 2008a, pp. 185–88. 28. Gauricus's discourse on symmetry was informed by a host of classical texts by Plato, Vitruvius, Cicero, and others. See Gauricus 1999, pp. 152–69. 29. *Ibid.*, pp. 158–59. 30. On symmetry in Italian Renaissance art, see Summers 1977. 31. Thornton 1997, pp. 167–74. 32. In addition to the philosophical underpinnings of such metamorphoses, the lamp's transformative properties may also have engaged popular interest in magic and occult mutations of materials. See Battisti 1962, p. 170; Frosien-Leinz 1985, pp. 251–55. 33. "l maestro di color che sanno." *Inferno* IV:131. 34. See Banzato 2008b, pp. 43–47, for the key figures and intellectual ideas that rippled in Riccio's humanist circle in Padua. 35. Plato, *Timaeus*, 48A–C, 53A–B. This depiction of the four elements can also be found in the reliefs on the lowest register of the Paschal Candelabrum; Banzato 2008b, pp. 49–53, figs. III.7A–D. 36. Aristotle discusses *pneuma* and the spontaneous generation of plants and animals in *On the Generation of Animals* (762a18); see G. Lloyd 2007, pp. 140–41. 37. Allen in Allen 2008a, pp. 186–87.

— 14 —

Triton and Nereid

Probably after a model by Andrea Briosco, called Riccio (Trent 1470–1532 Padua)

Padua, after 1532–before ca. 1550

Bronze

8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (21.9 × 11.1 × 15.6 cm)

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.59a, b)

A delicately proportioned woman rides on the back of a muscular male creature that is human from the waist up with scroll-like front legs and a leafy-finned, serpentine body. The pair are Greco-Roman sea deities. The female is a Nereid, or ocean nymph. The male figure, often identified as a Triton, is more accurately a sea-centaur (ichthyocentaur), a mythological hybrid being with the upper body of a man, equine front legs, and the lower body of a serpent.¹ Frequently represented on classical reliefs, Triton and Nereid figures appear as a lone couple on ancient gems,² and on marble sarcophagi as boisterous



crowds fighting sea battles or accompanying triumphal sea processions (marine *thiasoi*).³ However, Triton and Nereid pairs are not the isolated subjects of classical statuettes. This bronze group is a Renaissance invention made in emulation of the antique while at the same time freely departing from it.

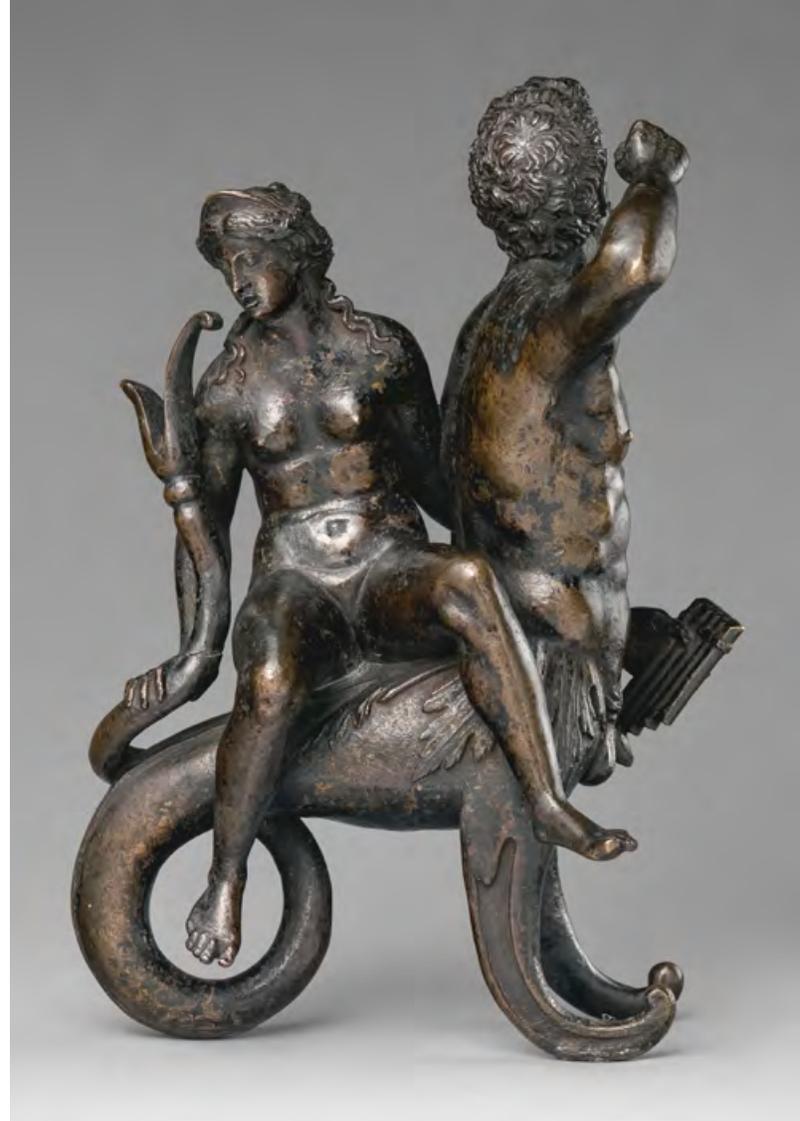
Creating independent statuettes that were inspired by classical and contemporary relief sculptures recalls the compositional approach of the Paduan bronze master Andrea Riccio.⁴ The formal similarities between the *Triton and Nereid* group and Riccio's other bronze figures have led scholars to credit the

conception of this model to the master. However, none of the surviving casts of the *Triton and Nereid* exhibits the highly distinctive hammering in the metal that is a hallmark of Riccio's bronzes, and only the example in the Bargello has been tentatively related to Riccio's shop.⁵ The Met *Triton and Nereid* is much more summarily modeled than its Bargello counterpart; it lacks the decorative pricking on the Triton's legs and the refined tooling on the figures' features and hair. An unknown, presumably Paduan sculptor who might have had access to Riccio's models probably fashioned our bronze after the master's death.⁶

Twelve versions of the *Triton and Nereid* statuette are known.⁷ The number of surviving bronzes suggests that the motif resonated with audiences in the Veneto, where marine *thiasoi* were emblematic of Venice's relationship to the sea.⁸ Triumphant sea processions adorn the monumental bronze flagpole bases erected in 1507 in Piazza San Marco.⁹ Cosmological sea-*thiasoi* reliefs are the foundational scenes at the foot of Riccio's towering bronze Paschal Candelabrum (p. 94, fig. 13c) in the Basilica of Saint Anthony, Padua.¹⁰ The central civic importance of such public imagery might have encouraged the development of the *Triton and Nereid* statuette for the private domestic sphere.

The distinctive figure types, poses, and gestures of the *Triton and Nereid* ultimately derive from a fragmentary sea-triumph sarcophagus in Rome that was well known during the Renaissance.¹¹ On it, as on most classical sarcophagi, the Nereid passengers are depicted as if in mirror image, one shown from the front, the other from the back. Both views are combined in this engaging statuette, which is composed to feature equally well from either side whether placed high on a shelf or low on a table (the most common domestic locations in which bronzes were displayed). The Triton's dramatic gestures and turn of the head—presumably toward the viewer—suggests the statuette was designed to be seen principally from the male side, affording a modest view of the Nereid's graceful back. When placed low on a table, its complementary play between the Nereid, seen from the front, and her much larger male companion is revealed. Her classically idealized sensuality contrasts with the Triton's monstrous hybrid muscularity. Her graceful, balanced pose and calm introspective expression temper the Triton's bellicose posturing and belligerent outward gaze.

The Triton looks up sharply to his left and opens his mouth, revealing his teeth. He originally held an object in his raised right hand; the fingers and thumb curl around the rather large insertion hole. The Triton's gesture is consistent with brandishing a weapon, as seen, for example, in Mantegna's famous late fifteenth-century engravings of the *Battle of the Sea Gods*.¹² In his lowered left hand, the Triton holds a syrinx (panpipes), an attribute of the deity Pan, and one common to the followers of Bacchus, the god of wine and ecstatic transport. During the Renaissance, sea triumphs and Bacchic processions symbolized physical, mental, and spiritual transitions, and thus are often represented together.¹³ In the *Triton and Nereid*, the relationship between these subjects is distilled with utmost refinement, granting the small bronze the capacity to be interpreted in a variety of ways depending on the needs and moods of its viewers. In a scholar's study or collector's cabinet, for example, the lively bronze figures might have been perceived to embody the inspired Bacchic energy so necessary to creative thinking. On the other hand, contemplation of the pair's journey might have evoked the classical sea processions on sarcophagi that symbolized the spirit's transit to eternity. DA



PROVENANCE: Jules Bache, New York (until d. 1944; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Frick 1954, p. 42, pl. XXV; Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 94; New York 1973, cat. 33; James David Draper in Athens 1979, p. 77, cat. 12; Motture 2019, p. 45

NOTES

1. Dimitrios Zikos and Denise Allen in Allen 2008a, p. 104, cat. 2, where it is also noted that the Triton's abstract, scroll-like forelegs were probably inspired by grotesque decorations in manuscript illuminations. For the relationship between Renaissance hybrid creatures and grotesque decoration, see Hammeken and Hansen 2019.
2. For example, MMA, 06.1205.
3. For marine *thiasoi* sarcophagi known to the Renaissance, see Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 142–47.
4. See Allen 2008b, pp. 23–24.
5. Bargello, 353 B; see Allen 2008a, pp. 108–9.
6. The alloy is a brass with some lead, tin, arsenic, silver, antimony, iron, and nickel. R. Stone/TR, 2012.
7. See Jestaz 2005, p. 153 n. 122.
8. For the importance of the Triton and Nereid motif in the Veneto, see Luchs 2010.
9. See Wolters 1996.
10. See Banzato 2008b.
11. For this sarcophagus and its numerous reflections in Renaissance art of the Veneto, see Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 144–45, no. 100, figs. 100i–ii, 100a–b.
12. MMA, 18.12 and 1984.1201.4.
13. For a discussion of the interrelationship between Bacchic and marine-*thiasoi* imagery with a particular focus on Mantegna's engravings of the *Battle of the Sea Gods*, see McStay 2014, pp. 443–59.

*Seated Youth with a Lamp in the
Form of a Snail Shell*

Possibly after a lost model by Andrea Briosco,
called Riccio (Trent 1470–1532 Padua)

Padua, possibly late 16th–early 17th century

Bronze

6⅞ × 4½ × 3¼ in. (16.2 × 11.4 × 7.8 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam,
1931 (32.100.171)

In 1899, the internationally renowned scholar and connoisseur Wilhelm von Bode first published the *Youth*, then in the Pfungst collection in London, assigning it to the school of the Paduan sculptor Andrea Riccio. Bode's association of the statuette with the highly esteemed Renaissance master underscored the importance—seemingly outsized today—that this composition and its variants enjoyed among nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collectors of small bronzes. Bode was a major figure among the circle of curators, collectors, and dealers who were passionate about the art form. In this intense, competitive environment, expert attributions enhanced a collection's reputation, endowing even modest bronzes like the *Youth* with glamorous desirability. Bode's designation of the *Youth* as "School of Riccio" reveals his recognition of the sculpture's lackluster quality relative to the finest known example, which he attributed to the master himself and acquired for the sculpture collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin (fig. 15a). Yet his attributional imprimatur was more than enough to entice the American financier J. Pierpont Morgan, who purchased the Pfungst collection en bloc in 1901. The exhibition of Morgan's vast holdings at The Met in 1914 introduced the collecting and study of Italian bronze statuettes to America. New York magnates, eager to emulate Morgan's



Fig. 15a. After a model by Riccio, *Seated Youth with an Inkwell in the Shape of a Shell*, ca. 1530–40. Bronze; 6⅞ × 4 × 3¼ in. (16.7 × 10 × 8.4 cm). Bode-Museum, Berlin (1830)

example, soon began to consider bronzes de rigueur in their collections. In 1916, Michael Friedsam, president of B. Altman & Company, purchased the *Youth* along with twenty-seven Morgan bronzes that he later bequeathed to The Met.¹

In 2003, Volker Krahn cogently analyzed the Berlin *Youth*'s attribution and relationship to the other eight known variants, including ours, and suggested that they all derive from a lost and perhaps incomplete figurative model by Riccio.² The Berlin and Met *Youths* represent the two types. Both share the same seated crouching pose and bear vessels on their left shoulders, elements that probably echo Riccio's lost model. However, in all the variants, the vessels are functional objects: the Berlin *Youth* and six others carry shell-shaped inkwells; our *Youth* and another in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, bear oil lamps in the form of snail shells. Riccio is not known to have combined figurative statuettes with functional objects, and it is likely that these are adaptations by later artists. Another later addition is the awkward Renaissance recorder clasped in the upraised hands of The Met and Hamburg *Youths*. The musical instrument is absent in the other variant figures, who lower their hands toward the ground.

Because the Berlin *Youth* is closest in style and facture to Riccio's work, Krahn dated it to the decade after the master's death (ca. 1530–40). The unknown sculptor was intimately familiar with Riccio's art. The Berlin *Youth* has the slender wasp-waist proportions, angular, slightly awkward disposition of limbs, and dreamily expressive features of Riccio's young male figures. As is characteristic of the master's bronzes, the Berlin cast is thick-walled. Details are left untooled in the metal to preserve the freshness of the modeling, and the bronze surface is delicately hammered to vibrantly scatter light across the figure.³ The Met *Youth* is much further removed from Riccio's world than the Berlin statuette. The modeling of the figure is generalized, and the almost caricatural facial features are perfunctorily tooled in the metal. Aggressive filing over the figure's surface imparts a dull, inarticulate evenness to the flesh. The cast, however, is an accomplished one, with very thin walls and no sign of porosity.⁴ The Met *Youth* likely was made by a later imitator—but how much later is difficult to determine. Nothing about the work's technique precludes a late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century date.

The design of our bronze appears to be a composite of loose references to earlier Renaissance statuettes. The figure echoes Riccio's poetic classical Arcadian shepherds, but instead of appropriately holding ancient reed pipes (*syrinx*), he grasps an anachronistic contemporary recorder. The fantastic snail-shell oil lamp lacks a wick pan and must have served a purely decorative purpose that is uncharacteristic of functional early Renaissance bronzes.⁵ Nonetheless, to collectors of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, this combination of figure and accoutrements may have been enough to endow the composition with the credible appearance of a Renaissance

bronze, or perhaps even an ancient one. In Padua, the production of bronze statuettes was a cottage industry serving different levels of buyers.⁶ The competence with which the *Youth* was cast hints at mass production; its poor artistic quality suggests a work aimed at the lower end of the market. Despite such swings in quality, the *Youth* was among the most frequently reproduced and interpreted of Riccio's models. Something about his invention clearly spoke over a long period to the bronze-collecting audience in Padua and its sister city, Venice.

All nine variants of the *Youth* carry shell-shaped containers. One might speculate that Riccio's original lost model was designed to represent a vessel- or water-bearer. Water-bearers were unofficial civic symbols in Venice, where fresh water was precious. They appear, for example, as standing figurative stone rainspouts on the facade of the Basilica of San Marco and as a bronze statuette above the doorway in Vittore Carpaccio's painting of the *Dream of Saint Ursula* of 1495 (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice). The Venetian patrician Marcantonio Michiel recorded Riccio's lost statuette of a striding vessel-bearer ("nuodo in bronzo che porta el vaso in spalla e camina") in the collection of Marco Mantova Benavides in Padua.⁷ Perhaps Riccio created the *Youth* to represent a seated version. If so, its complex, foreshortened, crouching pose would have meaningfully recalled an esteemed Roman civic emblem, the ancient bronze seated *Spinario* (thorn-puller) that had become a popular subject for statuettes created by the shop of Riccio's northern Italian contemporary Severo da Ravenna (see [cats. 39–41](#)). And perhaps it is no coincidence that one of the most famous antiquities in the Veneto, the monumental marble fountain figure of Hercules kneeling and crouching beneath the weight of a shell-shaped sundial, was given to the city of Ravenna by Riccio's patron Girolamo Donà in 1493.⁸ Popularly called *Conchicollo* ("he who bears a shell on his neck"), this civic centerpiece might also have provided an inspirational context for Riccio's invention. DA

PROVENANCE: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1899, p. 7, no. 44; Bode 1910, vol. 1, pp. xv, 12, no. 41; Breck 1932, p. 60; Krahn 2003, pp. 98 n. 5, 100

NOTES

1. For Michael Friedsam as collector and for a discussion of Bode's influence on British and American collectors of bronze statuettes, see [the essay by Jeffrey Fraiman in this volume](#) and [cat. 42](#). **2.** The following two paragraphs summarize Krahn's arguments. **3.** For Riccio's bronze-casting technique, see Stone 2008. **4.** The statuette was cast in a quaternary alloy of copper, tin, zinc, and lead. The lack of porosity, visible in radiographs, may be due to the alloy's generally superior casting qualities. The core pins have left both circular and near square holes in the bronze that were subsequently plugged, indicating that both drawn and slit wires were used, a curious combination that was



never employed by Riccio or his followers. The figure shows no evidence of a typical black patina, and the gray clay core also differs from the pink clay used by Riccio and his Paduan imitators. R. Stone/TR, September 6, 2001. **5.** Stone (*ibid.*) also points out the troublingly dissonant appearance of a Renaissance recorder and nonfunctional lamp on this bronze. **6.** For bronze production in Padua, see Motture 2008. **7.** Michiel 1888, p. 28. **8.** For the Hercules monument, see Zorzi 1988, pp. 23–24, fig. 7; Cirelli 2008, p. 39 n. 4. Severo da Ravenna adapted the marble Hercules into bronze inkwell groups; see C. Avery 1998b, pp. 92–93, no. 32.

Seated Satyr with Silvered Eyes
Follower of Andrea Briosco, called Riccio
(Trent 1470–1532 Padua)

Padua, second quarter of the 16th century

Bronze, silver inlay (eyes)

9 × 7½ × 6¾ in. (22.9 × 18.1 × 17.1 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1417)

Seated on the ground, a satyr raises a lamp with his right hand. Grasping a panpipe in his left, he rests his forearm on his knee for balance. His glinting silver eyes are offset by dark shadows beneath his knitted brow. The satyr's upward gaze and parted lips form an expectant acknowledgment of a viewer overhead, as if he has just been interrupted while serenading. With no base underneath, the satyr supports himself directly on his buttocks, his outstretched goat legs lending stability. While the implements in his hands proffer light and song, his lithe bearing beckons touch. A viewer accepting this invitation to turn or handle the sculpture would quickly discover its deliberate workmanship on all sides, a wisp of a tail punctuating the knotty muscles along his back.

When this hybrid creature meets human hand, its heaviness surprises any impulse to lift it. Such density results from the solid casting of the satyr's limbs (with the exception of the shaggy thighs), as X-radiographs confirm.¹ This is a singular sculpture, the making of which gives clues to its authorship. Numerous features such as the beard, ears, and hair were rendered in added wax, unique elements destroyed in the casting process. The head is large in relation to the body, the beard is schematically cropped in a sharp diagonal, and the neck is thick but serviceable. The hands and attributes are clumsy. The torso, by comparison, is sensitively rendered, with sinuous musculature and a nipped waist signaling strong anatomical knowledge. While the satyr maintained an attribution to the Paduan master Andrea Riccio for much of the twentieth century, it is worth developing the proposal of James David Draper that it was based on a model by Riccio but completed by another sculptor.² Draper rightly noted that the surface finish is too finely worked to match Riccio's distinctive hammering technique. Other features also negate Riccio's direct authorship. No independent figural sculpture widely attributed to him has silvered eyes.³ And whereas the syrinxes (panpipes) in Riccio's autograph sculptures bear properly smooth reeds, the syrinx in our satyr's hand is punctuated with apertures better suited to independent pipes.⁴ The superfluity of fingerholes matches this syrinx to others found in sixteenth-century bronzes, including several attributed to the workshop of Desiderio da Firenze.⁵

It seems probable that the *Seated Satyr* bears a torso and limbs derived from an original model by Riccio, but the head, hands, and attributes were original to the later sculptor who

cast it. Support for this possibility is found in the nearly identical rendering of the torso in a group of three drinking satyrs in Padua, Paris, and Vienna, all with strong claims to be autograph works by Riccio.⁶ It may well be that the sculpture was made by an associate of Riccio or member of his workshop with access to sculptural models after his death. The Met's *Seated Satyr* has a core that includes organic material in a manner similar to Riccio's working methods, suggesting its maker also shared knowledge with the famed sculptor. As with many Paduan bronzes in the wake of Riccio, the metal is not bronze but brass.⁷

Our bronze reveals the potential to profit from proximity to Riccio. There are four other documented versions of this figural type: in the Bargello (fig. 16a), Louvre, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, and formerly the Bardini collection.⁸ Each sports varying pairs of utilitarian attributes, including (respectively): a shell and vase, a shell and panpipe, a conch and panpipe, and a dish and candleholder. While the Bargello and ex-Bardini satyrs are especially similar to their Met counterpart, their horns are all different, and that in the Bargello has short ears.⁹ These bronzes bear a range of attributions, but some of them could be the work of one sculptor.¹⁰

The differences among these bronze satyrs are also representative of the high demand for such objects in the Veneto, where they were produced. Satyrs abounded in the *studioli* and private chambers of wealthy men in the Republic's reach.¹¹ Small adjustments to a satyr's attributes or the addition of silvered eyes could have enticed a different buyer at the right price, and there was precedent for collecting multiple bronzes of the same subject.¹² When Riccio first made such bronzes for intellectual friends in Padua, many linked to its renowned university, he was surely aware of the philosophical, literary, aesthetic, and mythological associations engendered by satyrs. This spoke to the local Paduan interest in natural philosophy, particularly through the study of Aristotle, and the close association of satyrs with the property of heat.¹³ While today one



Fig. 16a. *Seated Satyr*, 1520s. Bronze; H. 7½ in. (20 cm). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (212 C)



might find the ithyphallic satyr emblematic of overt sexuality, in an alchemical context the statuette carried a layered understanding of generation essential to natural production and human creativity.

Satyrs, however, bore many other literary associations. The humanist project made accessible a wide range of classical sources with satyrs and related characters, including Pan and Marsyas. Renaissance readers encountered such figures not only in the works of Virgil, Theocritus, and Euripides, for example, but also in new pastoral writings, the most famous among them Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, published in 1504.¹⁴ Such texts furnished a constellation of interpretations of satyrs, whether allegorical, comic, or melancholic. Unbridled in meaning, satyrs were broadly evocative of a pastoral world that Venetian upper classes cultivated intellectually and through the physical building of private gardens and villas.¹⁵

Collecting spurred further collecting. The popularity of bronze satyrs also owed to the voracious appetite for antiquities in the Veneto, with these objects enriching household collections of ancient and modern sculptures, not to mention natural wonders such as shells sometimes displayed nearby.¹⁶ And one cannot discount the fame of Riccio himself, whose Paschal Candelabrum in Padua's Basilica del Santo—an intellectually intricate masterpiece—constituted a public repository of secular motifs translatable into independent sculptures, its bound satyrs looking down from just above eye level (p. 94, fig. 13c).¹⁷ To the extent that many surviving bronze satyrs bear the modern designation of “style of Riccio,” this feature may have been prized by Renaissance collectors after the death of one of Padua's most talented sculptors.

Satyrs' multivalence supports their sculptural prevalence in the Veneto, but specific features of our *Seated Satyr* offered particular stimuli for socialization and cogitation. Carrying his panpipes, the satyr bespeaks accompaniment to music produced with the voice, lute, or other instruments. Sixteenth-century Venice's flourishing musical culture promoted genteel skills in performance (especially with the lute) and improvisation.¹⁸ When lit, the small oil lamp of the *Seated Satyr* provided fleeting illumination of an intimate space and enlivened the figure's silvered eyes. The lamp's form, however, is enigmatic. Viewed from an oblique angle or behind, subtle whorls are visible at the apex of the vessel, suggesting a shell motif common to other functional bronzes. Shells matched powerfully with bronze satyrs as containers for fluids for alchemical interaction with the satyr's innate heat, as well as completing a literary allusion to *Pan terrificus*, whose sounding of a shell frightened the Titans.¹⁹

But the satyr's lamp is less readily identifiable as a shell when viewed head-on or from the sculpture's proper right side. Its main aperture is not wide like a shell, but tapers narrowly to accommodate a runnel for the wick, and it has curved incisions, evocative of folds. When lit, the object reads most clearly as a lamp. But spent, it is a more ambiguous vessel that

could hold any liquid. An erudite viewer might recall famous visual examples of satyrs with wineskins.²⁰ He or she might also have been aware of ancient pottery vessels with one or two apertures used to carry wine or oil, the modern name of which (*askoi*) derives from the ancient term for wineskins. Indeed, when spent, the satyr's gesture could raise not the promise of light, but imagined wine for imbibing. Duty bound to Silenus, satyrs joined in Bacchic revelry that promoted ecstatic creation. Their propensity to fashion anything into a vessel with wine was celebrated in Angelo Poliziano's *Stanze* (1475), in which they accompany Bacchus: “and with him it appears that satyrs and bacchantes kick up the dust, and yell with raised voices: that one is seen swaying, those appear to stumble; that one drinks from a tambourine, those others laugh; that one fashions a cup from a horn and those from their hands; that one grabbed a nymph and that one spins.”²¹ Riccio's oil lamp in the Frick (p. 93, fig. 13b) features Bacchic friezes that celebrate poetic ecstasy and spiritual ascent, which the lamp in the *Seated Satyr* externalizes through the identity of its bearer.²²

The oil lamp borne aloft by the *Seated Satyr* would have functioned differently from other light sources around it. The minuscule lamp seems to fit the satyr's self-contained activities more than the protracted human endeavors of a *studiolo* or bedchamber. It guarantees stability; even when filled to the brim, the lofted lamp makes no threat of overturning the baseless sculpture. In its diminutiveness, the lamp demarcates limited time before the oil burns out. In an environment where individuals could measure increasingly fine units of time with hourglasses, clocks, and other tools, this scale helps to portion a brief activity.²³ The satyr could have illuminated singing, socializing, scribbling, or simple admiration of his own novelty before darkness returned. RC

PROVENANCE: Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin; Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Falke 1925, no. 4; Untermyer 1962, pp. 8–9, pls. 14, 15; James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 231; Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 159, no. 296; Draper 1978a, pp. 175–77; Athens 1979, pp. 76–77, cat. 11; Pierguidi 2006, p. 340; Malgouyres 2020, pp. 216–18, fig. 52

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, January 17, 2011.
2. Untermyer 1962, pp. xvi, 8–9, pls. 14, 15. The *Satyr* entered The Met's collection as an autograph work by Riccio, but Draper subsequently revised and expanded upon his attribution in MMA 1975, p. 231; Untermyer 1977, p. 159; Draper 1978a, pp. 176–77.
3. A seated Pan in the Ashmolean with silvered eyes was historically attributed to Riccio (with some doubts), but Warren 2001a has offered a compelling argument against his authorship, proposing instead an attribution to Desiderio da Firenze. See also Radcliffe 1986.
4. For Riccio's shepherds with syrinxes, see Louvre, OA 6311; Walters Art Museum, 54.234.
5. See, for example, cat. 19A, as well as a perfume burner in the Ashmolean, WA2004.1.
6. Musei Civici, Padua, 197; Louvre, TH 89; Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5539. See the respective entries by Claudia Kryza-Gersch, Franca Pellegrini, and Philippe



Malgouyres in Allen 2008a, pp. 158–73, cats. 10–12 (all with bibliography). See also Richard Stone on the technical features of the proximity of these sculptures in *ibid.*, pp. 92–93. The similarity of the body to these sculptures is based on an observation by Denise Allen in *ibid.*, pp. 148–49. **7.** R. Stone/TR, January 17, 2011. **8.** Louvre, OA 9962; Jacquemart-André, OA-2223. See Dimitrios Zikos in Bacchi and Giacomelli 2008, pp. 346–47; Malgouyres 2020, pp. 216–18, 451; Giannini 2007, p. 71, cat. 2.8; Christie, Manson & Woods, London, June 5, 1899, *Collection of Signor Stephano Bardini*, p. 64, pl. 2. See also Planiscig 1927, pp. 255, 354. **9.** Attributions of these bronzes to Riccio have shifted over the years, including strong endorsements for some. See, for example, Pope-Hennessy 1963, pp. 18–21. **10.** The proximity of Riccio and Desiderio da Firenze, for example, has received different assessments. See Warren 2001a; Jestaz 2005. **11.** See Malgouyres 2020, pp. 213–29; McStay 2014, pp. 323–37 (both with bibliography). **12.** Renaissance

inventories with definitive descriptions of small bronzes in a single collection are rare, but see Fletcher 1981, p. 467. **13.** Blume 1985b, pp. 178–85. See also McStay 2014, pp. 325–26. **14.** On the textual presence of satyrs in the Renaissance, see Lavocat 2005. **15.** Cranston 2019. **16.** Favaretto 1990; V. Mancini 1995; P. Brown 1996; Schmitter 1997. **17.** Banzato 2008b (with bibliography). **18.** Selfridge-Field 2018. **19.** For a discussion of this topic with reference to The Met's *Seated Satyr*, see Pierguidi 2006. **20.** See especially the Bacchic sarcophagus displayed before Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, during the Renaissance: British Museum, 1805,0703.130 (Rubinstein 1976). On satyrs and wineskins in ancient art, see Lissarrague 1990, pp. 68–76. A potent Renaissance example of a bronze oil lamp in the form of a wineskin with two apertures associated with Riccio is in the Walters Art Museum, 54.37. **21.** *Stanze* 111:3–8; see Poliziano 1997, vol. 1, p. 27. **22.** Allen in Allen 2008a, pp. 182–89. **23.** Crosby 1997, pp. 75–94.



Cat. 17A

— 17 —

**A. *Seated Satyr with an Inkwell
and a Candlestick***

Northern Italy, ca. 1530–40
Bronze

10 × 6¼ × 6½ in. (25.4 × 15.9 × 16.5 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.92](#))

B. *Seated Satyr with a Shell*

Italy, after 1600
Bronze

8¼ × 4¾ × 6½ in. (21 × 11.7 × 16.5 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.114](#))

These two satyrs are part of the growing corpus of bronzes, outfitted as both inkwells and candlesticks, once associated with Riccio or his workshop but now considered to be more distant echoes of the artist's influence. While there are three seated satyrs assigned to Riccio as autograph works, there are more than two dozen related bronzes that came out of different workshops operating at a remove from the master's death in 1532—sometimes years, decades, even centuries later.¹ These types were first attributed to Riccio and his workshop by Wilhelm von Bode, followed by Leo Planiscig, who published the *Seated Satyr with an Inkwell*, then in the Frey collection. In 1970, John Pope-Hennessy pointed to three distinct groupings for these seated satyrs, which were further delineated by Anthony Radcliffe in 1992 and discussed in depth by Alison



Cat. 17B

Luchs and Dylan Smith in 2007.² More recently, Jeremy Warren provided a detailed catalogue of twenty-four examples that he categorized into four types.³

Both of these bronzes entered the museum through the Linsky bequest in 1982. The *Seated Satyr with a Shell* belongs to group “c” of Warren’s typologies: seated satyrs placed relatively low to the ground, legs crossed, with a shell in the right hand and a candleholder in the left. In our bronze, the holder has broken off and has been replaced with what appears to be a moneybag of later facture. The satyr is ithyphallic, his left leg gracefully crossed over his right, and of an overall high quality, with locks of hair on both hinds and head delicately modeled in the wax. The bronze once belonged to the Marczibányi family, important Hungarian collectors. First recorded in the

collection of Antal Marczibányi (1793–1872), it was likely one of the forty-eight Italian bronzes, mostly cinquecento, owned by his father Imre (d. 1824) and said to have come from Canova’s pupil István Ferenczy.⁴

In his catalogue of the Linsky Collection, James David Draper considered it an “altogether superior product of the Riccio workshop” and compared it favorably to the seated satyr bearing the arms of the Capodivacca family in the Frick.⁵ The work instead might be considerably later than the sixteenth century, as suggested by Luchs and Smith.⁶ It is closest in appearance to a bronze in the Louvre, retaining its original candle socket and recently discussed by Philippe Malgouyres.⁷ According to him, the face on the Louvre cast, “more Rubens than Riccio,” together with its facture indicates that the pair



Fig. 17a. Attributed to Desiderio da Firenze (active Padua, 1532–45), *Seated Satyr*, mid-16th century. Bronze; 10 × 6½ in. (25.5 × 17.5 cm). Daniel Katz Gallery, London

may belong to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and possibly even later.

Formerly in the collection of Prince Nicholas of Romania, the *Seated Satyr with an Inkwell* belongs to Warren’s group “d”: a figure with long ears, seated on a tree stump, legs uncrossed. The Met’s has a pair of spiraling horns on his head and holds a gadrooned receptacle for ink (adorned with a grotesque face) in his right hand and a socket for a candle in his left. His eyes are open wide and teeth bared. The satyr sits on a hollow stump, with slots to hold quills. Draper, who posited a potential Venetian origin, noted the “laxity of tooling” evident in the “ropy channels chased into this satyr’s flanks”; the bronze was attributed to Severo da Ravenna during its acquisition process in 1982.⁸ According to a note from Cyril Humphris upon its purchase by Jack and Belle Linsky, it has lead fillings at the sites of two repairs: on the candleholder and from the base of the neck across the upper left of the chest.⁹

In his entry for the related cast in the Wallace Collection, Warren lists comparable examples in the Louvre and one formerly in the Bruno Kern collection, Vienna, as well as a similar

work in the Walters Art Museum.¹⁰ To these can be added a previously unknown cast recently with Daniel Katz Gallery and attributed to Desiderio da Firenze (fig. 17a). The Katz and Linsky bronzes share the feature of a small mouse cast onto the tree stump (in different positions), which suggests the pair were the output of the same workshop. Whether these are the product of a shop associated with Desiderio da Firenze, thought to be Riccio’s successor in Padua, remains a plausible hypothesis. JF

PROVENANCE: (A) Prince Nicholas of Romania (until 1964; sale, Galerie Jürg Stuker, Bern, May 21–30, 1964, lot 3388); [Cyril Humphris, Ltd., London]; Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA). (B) Antal Marczibányi (1793–1872), Budapest; Matild Justh, Budapest (until 1918); [S. Wendlinger, for 14,000 crowns]; [Alexander C. von Frey, Berlin and New York, acquired 1921]; Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: (A) London 1965, cat. 6; James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 145, no. 58; Radcliffe et al. 1992, pp. 216–17, no. 6. (B) Planiscig 1921, pp. 150–51; Planiscig 1927, pp. 350–51, 484, no. 119; Entz 1954–55, pp. 220, 231; Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 84; James David Draper in Linsky 1984, pp. 144–45, no. 57; MMA 1984, p. 37; Radcliffe et al. 1992, pp. 215–16, no. 5; Warren 2016, vol. 1, p. 305; Malgouyres 2020, p. 221

NOTES

1. For the three autograph works, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (KK 5539), the Musei Civici, Padua (197), and the Louvre (TH 89), see the respective entries by Claudia Kryza-Gersch, Franca Pellegrini, and Philippe Malgouyres in Allen 2008a, pp. 158–73, cats. 10–12. 2. Smith Collection 2007, pp. 20–26. 3. Warren 2016, vol. 1, pp. 304–5. 4. Entz 1954–55. 5. Linsky 1984, p. 144. 6. Smith Collection 2007, pp. 24, 26 n. 16: “A fine satyr in the Linsky Collection . . . may date from around 1600 or later, based on the fluffy treatment of the hair, the less grotesque face and the more sensuous anatomy.” 7. Malgouyres 2020, p. 221. 8. Linsky 1984, p. 145; 1982 appraisal list in ESDA/OF. 9. ESDA/OF. 10. Warren 2016, vol. 1, p. 305.

— 18 —

Striding Pan

Follower of Andrea Briosco, called Riccio (Trent 1470–1532 Padua)

Padua, ca. 1530s

Bronze

14¼ × 6¼ × 4¾ in. (35.9 × 15.9 × 12.1 cm)

Purchase, Gifts of Irwin Untermyer, Ogden Mills and George Blumenthal, Bequest of Julia H. Manges and Frederick C. Hewitt Fund, by exchange; and Rogers and Pfeiffer Funds, 1982 (1982.45)

Wilhelm von Bode introduced this unique work in 1907 in his foundational study of Italian bronze statuettes, attributing it to the Renaissance sculptor Andrea Riccio. Early ownership by Otto Gutkunst and Sir Robert Abdy—members of an elite circle of London connoisseur-collector-dealers—enhanced the bronze’s prestige. In his magisterial monograph on Riccio published in 1927, Leo Planiscig considered it a touchstone of the





master's art and established a category of "large satyr statuettes" around the singular sculpture.¹ After two decades in the limelight, the much-admired *Satyr*, as it was then called, disappeared from view for almost half a century. In 1982, shortly after completing the updated English edition of Bode's foundational book, James David Draper acquired the coveted statuette for The Met. In 2008, it was shown for the first time together with other works securely attributed to Riccio in the monographic exhibition at the Frick.² There, the many formal differences between the *Satyr* and the other sculptures on display became apparent to many experts in the field. Over subsequent years, Draper revised his opinion, assigning the statuette, now identified as Pan, to an anonymous master who was cognizant of Riccio's art.

Horned, ferociously bearded, and wearing a goatskin draped over his shoulder, Pan, the classical caprine-legged deity, strides forward carrying a large conch shell high on his left shoulder while supporting a tall vase with his lowered right arm. Unaffected by these heavy burdens, the god tilts his head as he trips along with wide steps, lightly resting his weight on his front hoof as he vaults off the delicate point of his rear hoof. The illusion of muscular power set in graceful motion belies the physical reality of this tour de force of composition and casting in which the sculptor has fully exploited the tensile strength of bronze to support the weight of a top-heavy figure on two tiny points. The conch shell is a fully functional oil lamp; the tall vase could have served as an inkwell. Probably commissioned by a grand Renaissance patrician and/or a wealthy intellectual, the *Pan* would have presided in a *studiolo*, the room housing collections of ancient and contemporary art where reading, writing, and erudite conversations took place.³ Although the lamp can be lit and the inkwell filled, the figure's large size and height must have made using these accessories unwieldy. The sculpture is intended as an artistic statement piece.

Dieter Blume first identified the subject of the statuette as Pan, shown in his aspect as universal god of the material world and fiery generative force of nature.⁴ Blume proposed that the commanding figure, designed to stand on the scholar's desk, carries the attributes of flaming lamp and ink-filled vase to reflect Pan's dominion over the four elements. The statuette thus provided the means as well as the symbolic inspiration for the scholar's studies. Pan strides forward as a god immanent in the world, because he is the world. As nature's motive force, he is ithyphallic, and he opens his mouth to breathe out the animating energy (*pneuma*) that inspires creation and fosters civilization. Because this concept of Pan reflects the principles of Aristotelian natural philosophy that were the bedrock of teaching at the University of Padua, Blume accepted the attribution of the statuette to the city's greatest master of bronze, Andrea Riccio.⁵

In subject, figure type, and mood, however, the *Pan* differs from the satyrs invented by Riccio.⁶ On the great Paschal Candelabrum (p. 94, fig. 13c), Riccio depicted these hybrid beings as



Fig. 18a. Copy after Giulio Romano (1499?–1546), *Gigantomachia: Triumph* (and detail). Pen and ink on paper; 16¾ × 17¼ in. (42.1 × 43.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (3475, recto)

bound captives to signal how their bestial nature constrains them.⁷ His independent statuettes of satyrs, such as the *Drinking Satyr* in Vienna, seem subdued and stilled by melancholic longing.⁸ The *Pan*'s overt, omnipresent sexuality is at odds with Riccio's introspective, decorous approach to his subjects. The difference is one of historical context. Around the time of Riccio's death in 1532, satyrs increasingly were shown as active, conspicuously sexual beings. Giulio Romano's muscular, unabashedly lusty satyrs attending the wedding of Cupid and Psyche in the Palazzo Te are a good example of this new type. In a tapestry design for the palazzo, Giulio depicts a majestic Pan sounding his great conch-shell horn to terrify and vanquish the Titans (fig. 18a).⁹ In his review of the Riccio exhibition, Nicholas Penny rejected the *Pan*'s attribution to the master and emphasized the statuette's formal kinship to Giulio's satyrs.¹⁰ Certainly, the artist who created the *Pan* was inspired by Giulio's robust inventions as seen through the lens of Riccio's earlier contributions. Pan expresses the monumental, often bombastic grandeur so characteristic of the generation of artists active in the 1530s and 1540s. And it can be no accident that this singular statuette was made during the heyday of Pietro Aretino, a writer who relished the wordplay between satyrs and his own famous satires.¹¹

In the 2008 Riccio exhibition, I suggested that the *Pan* probably was inspired by the Capitoline Satyrs, famous Roman antiquities that were reproduced in manuscript illuminations, and more importantly by Riccio's Paduan contemporary Bernardino da Parenzo.¹² Although these formal influences might still have played a role in the statuette's ideation, it is likely that the unknown sculptor consulted other works close to hand. Ancient bronze statuettes depicting satyrs carrying wineskins and holding torches are fairly common products of classical art (fig. 18b). So, too, are marble versions whose relatively small scale made them especially attractive to collectors in the Veneto.¹³ It is probable that the unknown sculptor inventively

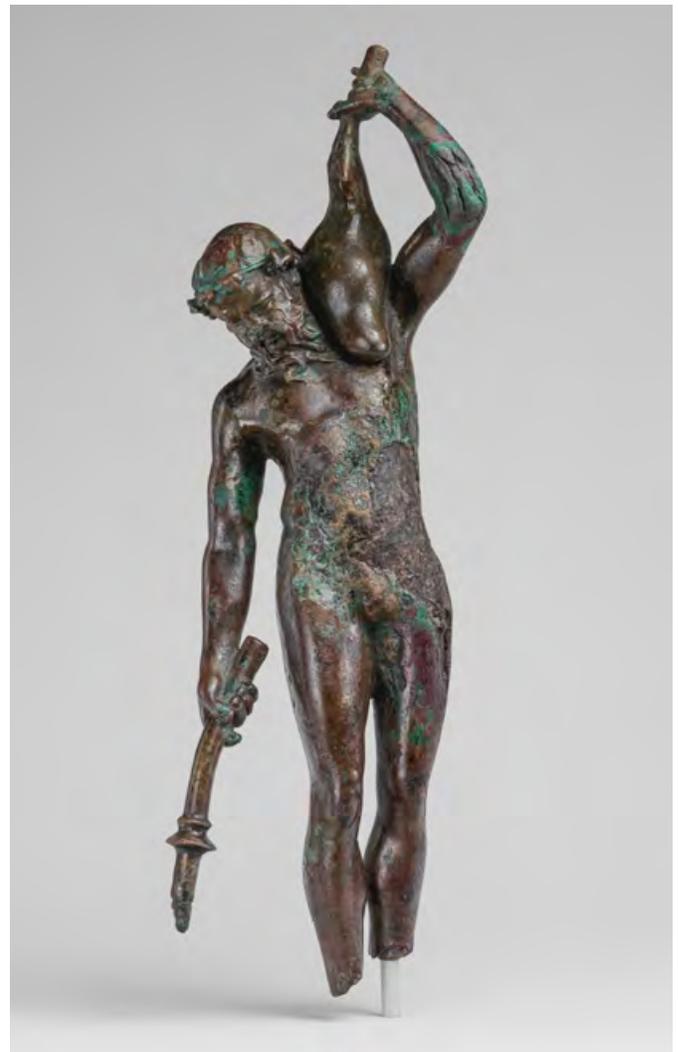


Fig. 18b. *Satyr with a Torch and Wineskin*, 3rd–2nd century B.C. Bronze; H. 9⁵/₁₆ in. (25.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1941 (41.11.6)

adapted these antique precedents to create a striding Pan that similarly carries a flame and a liquid-bearing vessel.

Although no longer attributed to Riccio, the *Pan* retains its status as one of the most magnificent, creative, and vital small bronzes of the Renaissance. Recognizing this statuette's outstanding quality, Bode, Planiscig, and their followers assigned it to Riccio, the sculptor they most highly esteemed. Today, we accept that many of the great masters of bronze, such as the creator of the *Pan*, are and probably will remain anonymous. DA

PROVENANCE: Otto Gutekunst, London (by 1912); Sir Robert Abdy, Switzerland; Sir Valentine Abdy, Switzerland (sold to Humphris); [Cyril Humphris, London]; [E. V. Thaw & Co., New York, until 1982; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, pp. 22, 29, pl. CCXLII; Bode 1922, pl. 51; Planiscig 1927, pp. 346–47, 484, no. 116, fig. 417; Bode and Draper 1980, pp. xiv, 82, 109, pl. CCXLIII; James David Draper in MMA 1982, pp. 28–29; Blume 1985b, pp. 184–85, fig. 117; Denise Allen in Allen 2008a, pp. 88–90, 144–51, fig. V.9 (radiograph); Penny 2009, p. 65; Draper 2010, p. 132; Wardropper 2011, pp. 54–55; McStay 2014, pp. 324–26, fig. 4.27; Cranston 2019, pp. 111, 112, fig. 59, p. 132

NOTES

1. Planiscig 1927, pp. 343–47. 2. Allen in Allen 2008a, pp. 144–51, cat. 8. 3. On the Renaissance *studiolo*, see Cranston 2019, pp. 119–25, with earlier sources. 4. Blume 1985b, pp. 184–85. 5. For the relationship between the University of Padua as a center of Aristotelian teaching and the popularity and large-scale production of satyr statuettes in that city, see Blume 1987, pp. 267–69. 6. Radiographs show that the statuette also differs technically. It was thickly cast with solid limbs, considerable porosity, and its roughly modeled core intact, in contrast to Riccio, who cast his works with minimal porosity and thin, even walls and generally removed his cores. R. Stone/TR, 2011. 7. See Banzato 2008b, pp. 52, 55. 8. Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5539; see Claudia Kryzagersch in Allen 2008a, pp. 158–63, cat. 10. 9. For a discussion of Giulio's designs, see Pierguidi 2004. 10. Penny 2009. 11. On this topic, see Waddington 2004, pp. 94–96. 12. Allen in Allen 2008a, pp. 144–51. 13. Cranston 2019, p. 118; see Sotheby's, New York, June 4, 2014, lot 11, *Marble figure of a Satyr carrying a wine skin*, 2nd century A.D.

— 19 —

A. *Satyr with Vase*

B. *Satyress with Vase*

Workshop of Desiderio da Firenze (active Padua, 1532–45)

Padua, ca. 1540–50

Bronze

Satyr: Height 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25.1 cm);

Satyress: Height 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (23.8 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1415, .1416)

Goat-legged satyrs of Greco-Roman myth were creatures of the woodland forests who often accompanied Bacchus, the god of wine, in unruly celebrations and processions.¹ As personifications

of basic human impulses, satyrs were frequent subjects of classical marble statuary, sarcophagi, and bronze statuettes that were admired by Renaissance collectors and artists.² The lithe proportions, curved horns, and long floppy goat ears of The Met's *Satyr* and *Satyress* ultimately derive from the rowdy, drunken satyrs carved in relief on an ancient Roman sarcophagus famous during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³ However, our figures are decorous rather than rude. They stand side by side, upright and still, his right leg and her left forward, and look up as they tilt their heads toward each other. The *Satyress* is slightly shorter and more physically delicate than her muscular male companion. Each steadies a tall vase, probably a wine amphora, with one hand and holds a musical instrument in the other. During the Renaissance, the *Satyress*'s lyre was associated with the high art of poetry; her companion's panpipes (syrinx), with the simple rustic music of the countryside.⁴ In keeping with the pair's complementary juxtaposition of the high and low arts, the *Satyress* is crowned with a garlanded diadem, and her amphora is decorated with swags. The *Satyr* and his vase lack these honorific embellishments. Displayed in a Renaissance scholar's study, the pair might have evoked distinct literary conventions such as lyric and pastoral poetry.

First published in 1914 without attribution, the bronzes next appear as works by the Paduan sculptor Andrea Riccio in the massive Berlin auction catalogue dedicated to the sale of Richard von Kaufmann's collection in 1917. Wilhelm von Bode, director of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, who worked closely with Kaufmann on the acquisition of bronzes for that institution, probably was responsible for assigning the statuettes to Riccio.⁵ In the auction catalogue, Otto von Falke noted that they were fashioned with the utmost care and are unique casts. These two characteristics so often stressed by Bode are to this day indicative of Riccio's artistic methods.⁶ The attribution to the master was sealed by Leo Planiscig's inclusion of the statuettes in his monograph on Riccio in 1927. Writing fifty years later in 1977, James David Draper maintained the attribution, noting that "the thin figures and taut facture are extremely impressive like the figures in the best of Riccio's reliefs." And he compared the bronzes to Riccio's *Descent into Limbo*,⁷ "where the elongated nudes and tightly organized, delicately hammered surfaces are virtually identical and produce similarly elegiac effects." Although our *Satyress* is a unique example, two other slightly larger versions of the *Satyr* (holding the syrinx but lacking the vase) are presently known.⁸

Richard Stone's technical analysis has shed doubt on our statuettes' longstanding attribution to the Paduan master. Riccio's small bronzes are generally thick-walled tin bronze casts that were usually executed with the direct method, which does not allow for replication. The *Satyr* and *Satyress*, on the other hand, are thin-walled casts composed of a brass alloy and were cast using the replicative indirect method.⁹ Although these differences in material and casting technique are not



Cat. 19B



Cat. 19A



Cat. 19B

enough evidence to change an attribution, they do challenge it. Riccio's magnificent bronze satyrs on the Paschal Candelabrum (p. 94, fig. 13c) and his independent statuettes of *Drinking Satyrs* helped to popularize this subject in the Veneto.¹⁰ His followers as well as numerous anonymous emulators produced ubiquitous, varied interpretations of satyr statuettes in the decades following the master's death. This sixteenth-century context invites the questioning of attributions to Riccio made during the early twentieth century, when admiration for his work was at its height. Today, it is easier to discern that the formal characteristics of the *Satyr* and *Satyress* are unlike any other bronze statuettes bearing credible attributions to Riccio. The pair's projecting curling horns, heavy brows, and pointed



Cat. 19A

features are, instead, formally similar to works currently assigned to Riccio's follower Desiderio da Firenze.¹¹ Moreover, the carefully hammered surface so characteristic of Riccio's bronzes is absent on the arms of the *Satyress*, which have been crudely filed to a smooth finish. The completely flat, disturbingly unarticulated back of her lyre presents a strange *lapsus* in a sculpture that was intended to be seen fully in the round. This figure also suffered extensive damage and repairs to the legs, and the identification and dating of these reconstructed elements await further study.

Independent bronze statuettes designed to be companion or pendant compositions are rare during the first half of the sixteenth century. In the later 1500s, separate bronze figures

most often appear as pairs on functional objects such as fire-dogs (see [cats. 79–81](#)), or are incorporated into grand decorative ensembles such as Willem van Tetrode's Pitigliano Cabinet of the 1570s.¹² The *Satyr* and *Satyress* conform to neither of these late Renaissance conventions. Although they might have been made as embellishments to a type of furnishing, such as a small wood cabinet or chair, their present character as independent statuettes is likely a nineteenth-century phenomenon. During this period of intense collecting interest, Renaissance bronze figures often were detached from functional objects and sold as independent sculptures by dealers eager to supply the demands of the market (see [cat. 42](#)). DA

PROVENANCE: Richard von Kaufmann, Berlin (until 1917; sale, Paul Cassirer and Hugo Helbing, Berlin, December 4, 1917, lots 213, 214); private collection, Budapest; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Berlin 1914, p. 59, [cats. 270, 271](#); Planiscig 1927, pp. 356–57, [figs. 435, 436](#); Untermyer 1962, p. xvi, [pls. 12, 13](#); Pope-Hennessy 1964b, [cat. 10](#); New York 1973, [cat. 34](#); James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 158–59, no. 295; Draper 1978a, p. 177, [figs. 10, 11](#); Beck and Bol 1985, pp. 462–63, [fig. 210](#)

NOTES

1. On satyrs in the Renaissance, see McStay 2014, pp. 323–37, with earlier references. **2.** For the popularity of bronze satyr statuettes in the Renaissance, see Malgouyres 2020, pp. 213–30. **3.** See the foundational article, Rubinstein 1976; see also Syson and Thornton 2001, pp. 96–100. **4.** On the distinction between high and low classical musical instruments, see Rubinstein 1976, pp. 136, 140–41; on the interpretation of classical instruments in the early modern period, see Ghirardini 2008, pp. 174–82. **5.** For the fundamental importance of Bode's contribution to the development of the study of Italian Renaissance bronzes and to the formation and display of the Berlin state museum's collections, see Krahn 2013. **6.** For a discussion of Riccio's preferred method of direct casting to produce a unique bronze example and his characteristic habit of hammering the finished bronze in the metal to create flickering light effects, see Motture 2008; see also Motture 2019, pp. 34–39, 167–71. **7.** Louvre, OA 9101. **8.** Workshop of Andrea Riccio, *Satyr with Syrinx*, Museo Correr, Venice: Beck and Bol 1985, pp. 462–63, [cat. 165](#); Workshop of Andrea Riccio, *Satyr*, sold Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1993, present location unknown. **9.** Evidence of transfixing core pins and a plaster core also distinguishes these bronzes from Riccio's typical facture. R. Stone/TR, January 17, 2011. For Riccio's casting technique, see Motture 2008; Stone 2008. **10.** For the Paschal Candelabrum, see Banzato 2008b, pp. 52, 55. For Riccio's *Drinking Satyrs*, see Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5539 (Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Allen 2008a, pp. 158–63, [cat. 10](#)); Musei Civici, Padua, 197, and the Louvre, TH 89 (*ibid.*, pp. 164–73, [cats. 11, 12](#)). **11.** For Desiderio da Firenze, see Warren 2001a. For an outstanding example of the satyr type currently associated with Desiderio da Firenze, see the satyr with pipes surmounting a bronze perfume burner, ca. 1540–50, Ashmolean, WA2004.1 (Warren 2014, pp. 196–206, no. 50). **12.** See Binnebeke 2003.

A. Incense Burner

Northern Italy, ca. 1550

Bronze

Height 14¾ in. (37.5 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.100.78a–d](#))

B. Incense Burner

Northern Italy, probably Padua, ca. 1530–50

Bronze

13½ × 8⅝ × 6⅞ in. (34.3 × 21.1 × 17.5 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.108](#))

These two incense burners are nearly identical save for their crowning elements, both of which are later substitutions.¹ The first entered The Met in 1941 as part of the collection of George Blumenthal. The latter joined as part of the bequest of Jack and Belle Linsky in 1982 and was once in the collection of the duke of Devonshire, where it was first noted in 1930.

Both are fine examples of a well-known composition, the best version of which is in the Rijksmuseum ([fig. 20a](#)).² A fourth, transformed into a pricket candlestick, is in the Robert H. Smith collection, formerly in the Pannwitz collection.³ The Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig has a reduced version,



Fig. 20a. Attributed to Desiderio da Firenze (active Padua, 1532–45), Incense Burner, ca. 1540. Bronze; 16 × 7½ × 6½ cm (40.6 × 19 × 16.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-1957-3)



Cat. 20A



Cat. 20B

topped by a Minerva figure, as well as a standalone base.⁴ Each object is comprised of a triangular base with feet in the form of satyr masks joined by swags of garlands surmounted by shells. The base has bound, hunched-over satyrs at each corner, framing rectangular reliefs. The middle registers feature sphinxes alternating with volutes around a central hollow column. Above is a gadrooned onion dome with pierced windows, with the garland shell motif repeated between openings. Where the Smith object has a pricket insert that transformed its original purpose, the Rijksmuseum's is crowned by a figure of Mars, the Blumenthal a drunken satyr, and the Linsky a finial, described by Anthony Radcliffe as a "flaming vase of a type frequently encountered on English early eighteenth-century clocks."⁵ The other major difference between the objects is found in the plaquettes that decorate the bases: The Met's burners both have nearly identical reliefs of satyr masks, while those in the Rijksmuseum and the Smith collection feature scenes from the labors of Hercules after designs by Moderno.

Perfume burners were popular domestic objects in fifteenth-century Padua, where they were used to freshen interiors and also as a putative means to ward off airborne disease.⁶ Heated pastilles, or resin, would waft through the burner and out the windows of the onion-shaped dome. There are small holes on each of the bound satyrs' heads, though the function of these openings, if any, is unclear. Related objects were attributed to Riccio by Wilhelm von Bode, though he did not publish any of the aforementioned specifically.⁷ Yet further examples were placed in Riccio's workshop by Leo Planiscig.⁸

These burners are certainly informed by the iconography and visual vocabulary of the artist's Paschal Candelabrum (p. 94, fig. 13c), but are later interpretations of his idiom rather than direct products of his shop. While a general thematic reading can be given to them, wherein the bestial nature of the bound satyr transforms into the intellectual state of the sphinx as the smoke ascends, the likely crowning element of a copulating pair (see below) argues against such a reading; one again tends to agree with Radcliffe: "these pieces have no symbolic programme. They are incoherent assemblages of borrowed motifs."⁹

Wendy Stedman Sheard proposed Moderno as a possible author of the reliefs, which James David Draper seconded as worthy of consideration.¹⁰ A majority of scholars, however, have put forth Desiderio da Firenze as the author, first Leeuwenberg in 1959, followed by Pope-Hennessy, Radcliffe, and Warren. Desiderio has become an attractive attribution for objects produced with Riccio's aesthetic but not directly emanating from the master's shop. Still, the only securely documented work by Desiderio, his Voting Urn (p. 120, figs. 21a–b), contains a vivacity in details absent from these largely utilitarian works (one might contrast them to the cylindrical burner in the Ashmolean, which is a likely candidate for Desiderio's authorship).¹¹ These incense burners should instead more safely be assigned

to an unknown Paduan workshop circa 1550. Two similar burners in The Met's Lehman Collection, cylindrical rather than pyramidal in shape, seem more likely candidates to have emerged from Desiderio's workshop, as they have been recently catalogued.¹²

In his 1724 *Supplement au livre de l'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Bernard de Montfaucon published an engraving of the Rijksmuseum burner, then in the collection of the earl of Oxford.¹³ He described it as an antique urn and explained that he was shielding his audience from the urn's crowning feature, a copulating satyr and satyress. It is undoubtedly for the same reason of decorum that each of the four known examples features a different, later element. As noted by Tilmann Buddensieg, a cover with such a satyr and satyress group is conserved in the Louvre, likely an extant example of this missing feature.¹⁴

The elements on each section of The Met burners are cast integrally, with the individual elements interlocking through the use of similar bayonet mounts. Though both are early, finely cast examples, the Linsky burner possesses an iota more of refinement in modeling.¹⁵ JF

PROVENANCE: **(A)** George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (until her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA). **(B)** Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth (by 1930–58; sale, Christie's, London, June 26, 1958, lot 106); Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: **(A)** John Pope-Hennessy in Amsterdam 1961, cat. 76; Pope-Hennessy in London 1961, cat. 79; Leeuwenberg 1973, no. 652; Berger and Krahn 1994, no. 18; Radcliffe 1994, pp. 36–40; Radcliffe 1997, p. 91; Malgouyres 2020, p. 225 n. 48. **(B)** London 1930, p. 443, G; J. Mann 1931, p. 28, under no. 66; John Pope-Hennessy in Amsterdam 1961, cat. 76; Pope-Hennessy in London 1961, cat. 79; Leeuwenberg 1973, no. 652; Bode and Draper 1980, pp. 93, 109, pls. LI, CCXLIV; James David Draper in Linsky 1984, pp. 148–49, no. 63; Berger and Krahn 1994, no. 18; Radcliffe 1994, pp. 36–40; Radcliffe 1997, p. 91; Warren 2001, pp. 93, 102 n. 54, fig. 19

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the research of Madison Clyburn, who studied the Blumenthal incense burner in a Bard Graduate Center seminar on bronzes held at The Met in Spring 2020 and taught by Denise Allen, Elyse Nelson, and myself. 2. Leeuwenberg 1973, no. 652. 3. Radcliffe 1994, pp. 34–40, no. 5. 4. Berger and Krahn 1994, no. 18. 5. Radcliffe 1994, p. 38. 6. For the context of these objects in Renaissance Padua and the use of incense in early modern domestic spaces, see the study by Madison Clyburn, ESDA/O.F. 7. Bode 1908–12, vol. 1, p. 28, fig. 49. 8. Planiscig 1927, p. 243. 9. Radcliffe 1997, p. 90. 10. Sheard 1979, cat. 124. 11. Ashmolean, WA2004.1; see Warren 2014, no. 50. 12. MMA, 1975.1.1396, .1397; see Scholten 2011, pp. 35–43, nos. 16, 17. 13. Montfaucon 1724, vol. 1, pp. 139–40, pl. 50. 14. Buddensieg 1963, p. 150. 15. I am grateful to Linda Borsch for examining the bronzes with the participants of the Bard Graduate Center seminar, Spring 2020. Neither incense burner has been analyzed by XRF. Visual examination suggests that the onion dome as well as the finials are later replacements, perhaps added sometime after the copulating satyrs were removed. The domes and finials could be nineteenth-century additions, which would have made the incense burners much more attractive to the market.



— 21 —

**Cylindrical Container with Cover
Attributed to Desiderio da Firenze
(active Padua, 1532–45)**

Padua, ca. 1535–45

Bronze

4½ × 6¼ × 6¼ in. (11.4 × 15.9 × 15.9 cm)

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.190.46a, b](#))

The unusual receptacle has the shape of a low, round cylinder with a gadrooned lid and a handle formed of three female heads attached to each other at their backs. The vessel's drum-like body has several moldings of different diameters on top and bottom and, between the moldings, a concave frieze decorated with three male masks alternating with three reclining putti. The latter, modeled almost in three dimensions, rest on their right sides supported by their arms, their tiny hands gripping the lower rim of the container, while their left hands are placed akimbo on their left hips. The little wings are fitted below the upper rim, and the heads look with a slightly troubled expression to their right. All three putti are rendered in the same pose

but seem to be modeled individually. The masks show a bearded male face with fleshy nose, heavy, contracted brows, leaflike ears, and twisted horns growing from the temples under a wild mane. Their mouths are open as if shouting, and one wonders if this is the reason the putti look at them, almost as if annoyed that they have been awakened from a restful sleep.

The modeling of the container is fresh, vibrant, and slightly sketchy. The bodies and heads of the putti have been enlivened by tiny hammer strokes, which are also seen on the salient parts of the masks. The background of the gorge is covered with small, circular punch marks, achieving a coarse texture as a contrast to the smoother flesh of the putti and masks. The moldings, which give the impression of having been created on a turning table, are slightly lopsided, lending the container a distinctly “handmade” appearance.

The lid, on the other hand, is more perfectly round, with sharply defined gadroons, which, however, differ somewhat in their width. While the lid could be original, the central handle seems to be of different workmanship and may be a later replacement or addition. Whether the three heads merging into one can be interpreted as the three natures of the cardinal virtue of Prudence (memory, intelligence, providence) is difficult to say.

They may simply be a response to the three putti and three masks on the container, and since all show the same face of a young woman, their purpose is probably mainly decorative.

The same type of putti and masks can be found on works associated with Desiderio da Firenze, a still rather mysterious artist about whom very little is known. His only documented work is the large Voting Urn made of bronze in the Museo Civico in Padua, which he executed between March 1532 and February 1533 for the Great Council of that city. In the documents concerning this piece, Desiderio is called “sculptor and founder”; however, he seems to have been primarily a caster, although a very gifted one. The quality of the Voting Urn, his only secure creation, has led to the reconstruction of a considerable oeuvre of sometimes hotly debated attributions,¹ which places him essentially in the artistic circle of the Paduan sculptor Riccio.

One category of objects that were first attributed to Riccio and now are considered works by Desiderio are cylindrical perfume burners topped by satyrs.² Some of these feature between the central drum and the top section a groove with three reclining putti that are very similar in pose, modeling, and placement to those on our container. Moreover, the masks on the Voting Urn, although placed in the middle section and slightly larger, are almost identical to those on the container, diverging only in the small curving bands growing out of the ears (fig. 21a). Further comparison of the Voting Urn and the container reveals not only a similarly vibrant but slightly rough modeling of the decorative details, but also that the putti, while varying in composition, display exactly the same kind of heads (fig. 21b). Thus, in terms of style and workmanship, there can be no doubt that the container is from the workshop of Desiderio da Firenze, as has been proposed by Jeremy Warren.

Desiderio’s oeuvre seems to consist mostly of utilitarian bronzes, and so a container such as ours would fit with his production. It is also known that he reused sections of one object

for another with a different function, a practice consistent with the workshop tradition of the Veneto during the Renaissance. The shape of The Met’s container is rather curious and looks a bit like a sugar bowl. It has sometimes been interpreted as an inkstand, although most of the known inkwells of that period are smaller and have a rectangular shape. Perhaps it was intended as a container for sand. While one is in general suspicious of functional bronzes that do not conform to a certain pattern, the overall quality of this object speaks for a genuine creation of the Renaissance. CKG

PROVENANCE: George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. XLVI; Warren 2014, pp. 201, 204

NOTES

1. Warren 2001a; Jestaz 2005. 2. See MMA, 1975.1.1396, .1397. For casts in the Ashmolean, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and on the art market (formerly Arenberg collection), see Warren 2014, pp. 200–201.

— 22 —

Oil Lamp in the Form of a Sphinx

Padua, mid-16th century

Bronze

4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (12.4 × 6 × 14.6 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.38.2)

This small oil lamp is in the form of a sphinx, an ancient Egyptian and Greek mythological creature prized for its intelligence and wisdom. The crouching hybrid figure wears a helmet adorned with ram’s horns and rests on three bear paws. Tastefully arrayed decorative patterns, largely modeled in the wax, include spiraling volutes at its shoulders and a foliate



Fig. 21a. Desiderio da Firenze, Voting Urn (detail), 1532–33. Bronze. Museo Civico, Padua



Fig. 21b. Desiderio da Firenze, Voting Urn (detail), 1532–33. Bronze. Museo Civico, Padua



pattern on its rear. On its back, flanked by two scrolls, is a hinged lid in the design of a shell that opens to hold oil. A smaller hole on the figure's head could have contained ink, sand, or a second wick.¹ Though the sphinx has prominent breasts, its face is genderless, with strong features and puffed cheeks in a state of perpetually attempting, however unsuccessfully, to extinguish (or fan) a flame, which would have emerged from the basin protruding below. Despite the absence of a wick pan, the lamp appears to be fully functional.

The Met's bronze is a cast of a popular model that has been associated with the Paduan sculptor Riccio and his workshop as well as unrelated subsequent production over the following centuries. Riccio had included sphinxes in his designs for the Paschal Candelabrum in the Basilica di Sant'Antonio, Padua (p. 94, fig. 13c), and on the Della Torre tomb in San Fermo Maggiore, Verona. It is thought that such motifs

migrated from these syncretistic religious monuments that combine pagan and Christian elements to the utilitarian objects in demand by Paduan collectors during this period, which included oil lamps, incense burners, and inkwells.

The present model was first published with an attribution to Riccio by Wilhelm von Bode, who illustrated the Bargello's version.² Leo Planiscig, in his monumental 1927 monograph on the artist, upheld the attribution and included images of two other examples.³ In his 1982 study clarifying various issues posed by Planiscig's expansive monograph, Anthony Radcliffe laid out three different groupings for the various lamps in the form of a sphinx.⁴ Our bronze falls into the first, and most prevalent group, of which Radcliffe considered finest an example formerly in the Adda collection. In 2007, Alison Luchs and Dylan Smith published a high-quality version in the Robert H. Smith collection and listed many of the more than two dozen



known casts.⁵ Other examples notable either for their provenance or quality include those in the Morgan Library & Museum in New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Landesmuseum Zurich, and the Louvre.⁶

Though these lamps have long been associated with Riccio, scholars have recognized that the sculptor was unlikely to have been involved directly with their design or production, and that their popularity meant they were produced over the next two centuries, long after his workshop had ceased being active. In one example of their eighteenth-century renown, the French monk Bernard de Montfaucon included illustrations of multiple versions of the lamps, considered antiquities, in his *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (fig. 22a). In its intricately modeled details and its closeness to the Adda and Smith examples, The Met's bronze should be considered one of the best iterations, though still unlikely to have been made in Riccio's workshop.⁷

Following the initial discussion by Radcliffe, Jeremy Warren has proposed a connection between these oil lamps and the still mysterious figure of Desiderio da Firenze, one of Riccio's successors in Padua.⁸ This connection is based largely on similarities between Desiderio's Voting Urn for the commune of Padua (p. 120, figs. 21a–b), work on which began in 1532, and two firedogs attributed to him in the V&A.⁹ This hypothesis helps extend the date of the production of these lamps beyond Riccio's immediate orbit but remains speculative.

It is important to note that our bronze is one of the first attributed to Riccio to enter an American museum collection. Curator W. R. Valentiner purchased it in 1911 from the Frankfurt-based dealers J. & S. Goldschmidt for the extremely high price of \$3,500, along with a second oil lamp for \$2,000 (the latter deaccessioned in 1986 after an identical cast entered through the Untermeyer bequest [see [cat. 23](#)]). Valentiner published

these two oil lamps in the museum's *Bulletin*, along with the *Boy with a Barrel* (cat. A6).¹⁰ One of the first presentations of Riccio for American audiences, Valentiner's short article was largely based on his mentor Bode's studies.

In fact, the entire acquisition process shows the influence of Bode on Valentiner and the formation of The Met's collection of bronzes. Both of the oil lamps that Valentiner acquired in 1911 had previously been in the Berlin collection of Adolf von Beckerath, for whom Bode had consulted. In pursuing these two bronzes, Valentiner explicitly rehearsed the same pairing that Bode illustrated in his study of Italian bronze statuettes (fig. 22b). This echoing is made clear in the curator's letter to The Met director justifying the purchase:

The two bronze lamps are by Riccio, the greatest bronze sculptor of Northern Italy. His importance as a sculptor is the same as that of Mantegna among the painters. They are two of his best pieces, as has been shown by Bode in his book on Italian Statuettes, in which he reproduces two similar ones in the Bargello in Florence. These bronzes which are offered to us are in no way inferior to those in the Bargello. They came from the collection of Beckerath, who is well known in Berlin as the great collector of works in the Renaissance. He sold all of his bronzes, and these have always been considered as the best in his collection.¹¹

JF

PROVENANCE: Adolf von Beckerath, Berlin; [J. & S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt, until 1911; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1911; Breck 1913c, pp. 54, 55, no. 53; New York 1973, cat. 37; Athens 1979, pp. 80–81, cat. 13; Sheard 1979, pp. 124–26; Smith Collection 2007, p. 18 n. 18



Fig. 22a. Three oil lamps illustrated in Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (1719–22), vol. 5.2, pl. CXLV

NOTES

1. As suggested by Alison Luchs and Dylan Smith in Smith Collection 2007, p. 16, for the example in the Robert H. Smith collection. 2. Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, p. 28, pl. XLVI. 3. Planiscig 1927, pp. 251, 252, 482. 4. Radcliffe 1982, pp. 418, 423–24. 5. Smith Collection 2007, p. 18 n. 18. 6. I am grateful to Jennifer Tonkovich and Daria Rose Foner of the Morgan for generously sharing research on the bronzes in their collection during a study day held at the Morgan in spring 2019 and subsequently in email correspondence. 7. Richard Stone suggests the piece is not closely connected to Riccio's immediate circle of imitators and most likely dates to a generation after his death, if not later. He identified the alloy as a brass and notes the use of transfixing core pins plugged with drawn wire. He also questions why there are two filling pots, one on the back and a smaller, "pseudo-functional" one on the top of the head. R. Stone/TR, November 9, 2011. 8. Warren 2001a, pp. 93–97. 9. V&A, A.89–1910, A.90–1910. 10. Valentiner 1911. 11. Letter from Valentiner to Robinson, dated February 17, 1911, MMA Archives.

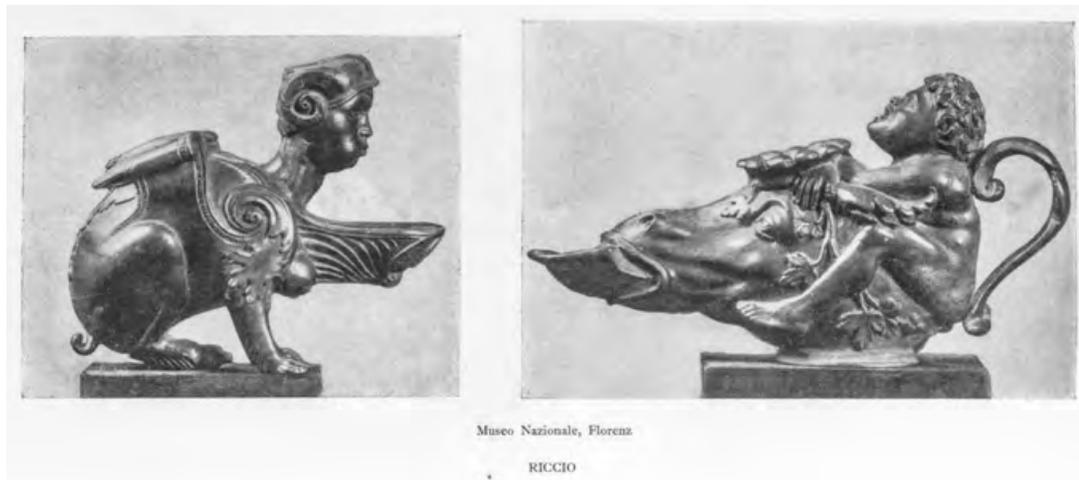


Fig. 22b. Two oil lamps reproduced in Wilhelm von Bode, *Die italienischen Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance* (1907–12), vol. 1, pl. XLVI



— 23 —

Oil Lamp in the Form of a Dwarf on a Donkey's Head

Northern Italy, mid-16th century
Bronze

Length 6¾ in. (17.1 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1421](#))

A small man astride the head of a donkey wears a crown of leaves in his hair. Vines and branches weave around the handle at the figure's back. The oil lamp has an opening at the top in the form of a lotus leaf whose sprawling vines spill out onto the donkey's head. The animal's ears provide for air circulation. A wick pan protrudes from its mouth like a tongue to hold a wick in place.

The bronze entered The Met's collection in 1964 as a gift from Judge Irwin Untermyer. It joined a cast of the same composition acquired by W. R. Valentiner in 1911.¹ The present cast was considered superior, and Valentiner's bronze was deaccessioned in 1986.² These are two of the nearly two dozen extant

versions of the model, the sheer number of which attests to its ubiquity in the Renaissance and thereafter.³ The various lamps feature several different figure types. Leo Planiscig delineated four: a bearded man, sometimes identified as Bacchus; a satyr-like grotesque; a man wearing a Phrygian cap; and a youth, as in the Untermyer cast.⁴ Other variations include the form of the aperture at top, with some having hinged lids, and the elaboration of the vines and leaves. The elevated quality of The Met's cast is evident in the fine modeling, the intricate rendering of the handle, and the sensitive description of the donkey's musculature.

Because several examples are decorated on the underside—ours with a rosette pattern (fig. 23a)—Jeremy Warren has suggested that these lamps were suspended.⁵ Our lamp lacks the means for hanging, however, and the fact that its form fits so snugly in the hand and that its bottom is flat and stable argues for its place on a desk or shelf in a scholar's study.

As a group, these oil lamps have a complicated attribution history. The earliest references go back to the seventeenth century, where already many were recorded as antiquities.⁶ One

appears in the frontispiece to Charles Patin's *Familiae Romanae*, published in 1666, in an engraving by François Chauveau that shows Father Time and Minerva unearthing ancient Roman artifacts.⁷ Several such oil lamps were catalogued as antiquities well into the late nineteenth century, and one in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, retained this status into at least the 1960s.⁸

These pseudo antiques were first recognized as products of the sixteenth century by C. D. E. Fortnum in the 1876 catalogue of the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A).⁹ Wilhelm von Bode attributed them to Riccio in 1907, illustrating the version in the Bargello.¹⁰ In 1924, Planiscig considered them Paduan, circa 1500, before ultimately assigning them to Riccio's workshop in his 1927 monograph on the artist.¹¹ John Pope-Hennessy, writing about the version now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., agreed that the attribution to Riccio's workshop was "probably correct."¹² Later scholars have assigned the model for these lamps more generally to a northern Italian workshop in the mid-sixteenth century, and indeed, the form and vocabulary is only distantly related to the motifs favored by Riccio in works like the Paschal Candelabrum (p. 94, fig. 13c).¹³ In cataloguing the example in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, Charles Avery proposed a link to Severo da Ravenna and his workshop, which in turn has been accepted by Pietro Cannata and rejected by Warren.¹⁴

The figure on The Met's lamp can be identified as a dwarf by his shortened limbs, round facial features, and disproportionately large head, which align with effects of the bone growth disorder achondroplasia. Dwarfs were common presences in the princely courts of Renaissance Italy, typically considered both symbols of a prince's elevated status and as avatars of immorality and even vulgarity.¹⁵ In his *History of Animals*, Aristotle had made a connection between dwarfs and donkeys on the presumed commonality of enlarged genitalia.¹⁶ With that in mind, one can read the shape of the oil lamp, with the donkey's head emerging from between the figure's legs, as a crude visual pun. The god Silenus, though typically portrayed as an older man, was sometimes depicted as a dwarf riding a donkey. JF

PROVENANCE: Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, p. 11, fig. 22; Pechstein 1968, under no. 77; C. Avery 1998b, p. 225

NOTES

1. See Valentiner 1911. Breck 1913c, pp. 54, 55, no. 52, mentions examples in Florence and Modena. 2. Object 11.38.1, deaccessioned at Sotheby's in 1986, is described in ESDA/OF as "Lamp in form of ass's head with a dwarf crouching behind the ears." 3. See the list compiled in C. Avery 1998b, p. 225, who incorrectly records The Met as having two at that date. 4. See Planiscig 1927, p. 178, discussed in Warren 2014, p. 113. 5. Warren 2014, pp. 113–14. 6. See Licetus 1652, cols. 823–26; Montfaucon 1719–22, vol. 5.2, pp. 203, 223, pls. CXXI, CXXIX. 7. First illustrated and discussed in Montagu 1963, pp. 30–31. 8. See Pressouyre 1966, pp. 261–62; Hellmann 1988. A bronze lamp of this same form was on sale with Artemis Gallery in 2019, lot 54a, as Roman, 2nd century B.C., vetted by Christie's. 9. Fortnum 1876, p. 164. 10. Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, p. 28, pl. XLVI. 11. Planiscig 1924, pp. 29–32; Planiscig 1927, p. 178. 12. Pope-Hennessy 1965, p. 130. 13. See Pechstein 1968, under no. 77; Berger and Krahn 1994, pp. 47–48. 14. C. Avery 1998b, pp. 225–26; Cannata 2011, no. 68. 15. See the important studies by Robin O'Bryan, including O'Bryan 2012. 16. As cited in *ibid.*, p. 286 n. 81.

— 24 —

Oil Lamp in the Form of a Bearded Athlete
Balanced on His Knees

Probably Padua, ca. 1520–30
Bronze, partially oil-gilt
Length 5¼ in. (13.3 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.93)

Small desk lamps of this type, in which the figure on top would seem, naughtily, to blow flames from his backside when the wick was lit, were fairly common in Renaissance households, to judge by the large numbers that survive. The earliest published examples of our model were considered ancient. That in Bologna's Museo Civico Archeologico was engraved when it belonged to the Bolognese nobleman Ferdinando Cospi in



Fig. 23a. Underside of cat. 23 showing the rosette pattern



1677.¹ Another, in the Louvre, inventoried in 1684, was called a “très bel antique romain.”² A third was illustrated in 1722 when owned by Dom Emmanuel Martí, an antiquarian of Alicante.³ The closest in composition to *The Met's*, in the Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, has an almost identical foliate stem flanked by animals' paws, but its hair and beard are rendered somewhat more crudely.⁴ The stem served to insert the figure into its base, which, as in some of the lamps, may have taken the form of a raptor's talons. The well-formed chased and gilt hair, crown of grapes and leaves, and beard distinguish the present bronze from all others, which since the early twentieth century have been assigned generically to Riccio.⁵ Wolfram Koeppel proposed an attribution to Agostino Zoppo on the basis of the river gods in the monument to Livy in Padua (p. 142, fig. 32a),⁶ but Zoppo's beards are curlier, not straight and stringy like our athlete's. JDD

PROVENANCE: Jack and Belle Linsky, New York (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 146, no. 59

NOTES

1. See Lugli 1983, figs. 132, 133. 2. Paris 1999, cat. 114; Malgouyres 2020, p. 252, cat. 16. 3. Montfaucon 1719–22, vol. 5.2, pl. CLII. 4. Beck and Bol 1985, cat. 220a. 5. Planiscig 1927, fig. 201. Planiscig also gave to Riccio another flame shooter in which the nude figure thrusts his head between upstretched legs. 6. ESDA/OF.

— 25 —

Seated Goddess Holding Flowers (Flora?)

Inspired by a model by Antico
(Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi)
(Mantua ca. 1460–1528 Gazzuolo)

Northern Italy (possibly Padua), mid-16th century
Bronze

9 7/8 × 4 5/8 × 3 1/8 in. (25.1 × 11.7 × 7.9 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Howard J. Sachs and Mr. Peter G. Sachs, in memory
of Miss Edith L. Sachs, 1978 (1978.516.4)

This partially draped female figure seated with her left leg slung over her knee represents a statuette type popular in northern Italy and the Veneto during the first half of the sixteenth century. The numerous bronze examples either derive from or were inspired by the model for the *Seated Nymph* that had been created almost two generations before by the sculptor to the Gonzaga court in Mantua, Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, known as Antico (p. 75, fig. 9b).¹ Stylistically, the *Seated Goddess* is many steps removed from Antico's *Nymph*, yet even this late variant unmistakably reflects the earlier figure's distinctive pose, disposition of drapery, and placement upon a massive, knotted tree trunk. Elements that diverge from Antico's statuette are limited to the bunch of flowers our goddess clasps on her lap and her lavishly tressed head, crowned with a diadem

and draped with strings of pearls. The Gonzaga prevented the distribution of Antico's sculptural models and kept the number of his bronzes small and exclusive to their courts.² Of all his compositions, only the *Seated Nymph* was widely disseminated. When, how, and who initially purloined Antico's invention likely will remain a mystery. Its frequent reflection in later bronzes such as the *Goddess* speaks to the existence of a broad network of artistic exchange among anonymous sculptors and founders, and to a substantial audience of collectors ready to acquire their works.

Richard Stone's technical examination of The Met bronze suggests that it was made in Padua.³ This location of origin is reinforced by the statuette's type of elaborately bejeweled head that was invented by the city's most important bronze sculptor, Andrea Riccio, and emulated by an expanding circle of minor masters.⁴ Padua's independent art foundries generated legions of statuettes.⁵ The *Goddess* represents the kind of average product expected from a cottage industry: the modeling of the figure, facial features, and drapery is generalized; and the smooth, minimally worked metal surface lacks the time-consuming hammering characteristic of bronzes executed by Riccio and his close followers. Far removed from the essence of Riccio's art, the *Goddess* likely dates toward the middle of the sixteenth century, some years after the master's death.

The *Goddess* may have been made as a cheaper alternative to the rare, costly ancient statuettes so prized by elite Renaissance collectors. The Venetian patrician Marcantonio Michiel, for example, recorded seeing seated bronze figures of classical Roman gods while visiting the important collections of Niccolò Leonico Tomeo and Pietro Bembo in Padua.⁶ During Antico's and Riccio's lifetimes, their statuettes enjoyed the same classical authority as genuine antiquities and in later decades were confused with them. These circumstances endowed a hybrid pastiche like the *Goddess* with a powerful aura of classical credibility. However, the anonymous sculptor of this bronze also proved to be surprisingly inventive in his efforts to convey his ancient subject. His figure, more frontal than Antico's, evokes the dignified posture of a deity; her outsized ornate diadem signifies she is a goddess; and the blossoms that she holds are probably attributes identifying her as Flora, goddess of flowers and springtime.

The unknown sculptor's emphasis on clarity, specificity, and ease of apprehension depart from the often poetic ambiguity of Antico and the recondite antiquarianism of Riccio. Our *Goddess* aligns instead with the developing impulse toward classifying classical imagery expressed, for example, in Vincenzo Cartari's groundbreaking mythological compendium, *Le imagini con la spositione de i dei de gli antichi* (Images Depicting the Gods of the Ancients), first published in 1556 in Venice. Intended for a general audience, the book was written in vernacular Italian rather than scholarly Latin, and even its earliest unillustrated editions were best-sellers.⁷ Modest bronzes like the *Goddess*,



which were produced in large numbers for the affordable end of the collecting market and designed in a novel colloquially classical mode, anticipated and may even have informed Cartari and later writers' popularization of the ancient visual world. DA

PROVENANCE: Mrs. Howard J. Sachs and Peter G. Sachs (until 1978; to MMA)

LITERATURE: St. Petersburg 1981, cat. 5; Allison 1993–94, pp. 181–200

NOTES

1. See Allison 1993–94, pp. 183–200, for the history of the replication of Antico's *Nymph* and catalogue entries on all known versions. 2. See Luciano 2011, p. 7. 3. The statuette is a brass alloy with round, symmetrically placed, heavy wire core pins, most of which were replaced with copper alloy pins of square section driven into round holes, and a core that appears to have been clay, all features generally consistent with Paduan facture. R. Stone/TR, September 23, 2011. 4. For the possible origins of this type of head in the *Seated Woman* of ca. 1480–90 in the Wallace Collection (S72) by Giovanni Fonduli da Crema, who may have been Riccio's teacher, see Warren 2016, vol. 1, pp. 190–201, no. 48. For the transmission of this head type through Riccio and his followers' workshops, see Wengraf 2018, pp. 8–15, cat. 1. 5. See Motture 2008, pp. 66–67. 6. Michiel 1888, p. 16: "in casa de M. Leonico Thomeo Phylosopho . . . Lo Giove piccolo di bronzo che siede, alla guisa del Giove del Bembo, ma minore, è opera antica"; pp. 20, 22: "In casa di Misser Pietro Bembo . . . Il Giove piccolo dibronzo che siede è opera antica." 7. For the publication history of Cartari's *Imagini*, see https://bivio.signum.sns.it/html/editions/it/EdInfoCartari_Imagini_Dei.xml.

— 26 —

Seated Faun

Manner of Andrea Briosco, called Riccio (Trent 1470–1532 Padua)

Possibly ca. 1540–50 or possibly late 19th–early 20th century

Bronze

11¼ × 7 × 7½ in. (28.6 × 17.8 × 19.1 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1418)

The stubby horns peeking through the locks of this youth's dense curls identify him as a faun, a Greco-Roman mythological being that was part man and part goat. Fauns inhabited the pastoral woodlands celebrated by classical poets and most notably during the Renaissance by Jacopo Sannazaro in the poem *Arcadia*.¹ Unlike hoary goat-legged satyrs, fauns often were depicted as almost fully human idealized nudes. Their physical beauty complemented the bucolic harmony of the country lands in which they dwelt and for which Sannazaro named his poem. Arcadia was not only a place but also a span of time encompassing the peaceful golden age that existed before civilization disrupted the perfect balance between humankind and nature. Ancient Roman and Renaissance elites drew solace and inspiration from this nostalgic view of the

countryside surrounding their villas. At home in the city, they recalled these pleasures by engaging with pastoral poems, paintings, and sculptures—such as perhaps the *Seated Faun*—that evoked the mythical Arcadian realm.²

The Met faun is depicted seated upright on a bell-shaped pedestal. Turning his head to the right and gazing upward with heavy-lidded eyes, he parts his lips as if to breathe or speak. The raised right arm is broken and reattached at the shoulder; the lost hand may have held a rustic musical instrument such as panpipes (syrinx).³ The loosely closed left hand rests empty on the thigh. A subdued sense of animation is conveyed through the opposing movements of the wide-set bent legs, slightly turning torso, and tilted head. The crown of grapevine and the goatskin draped over the pedestal are attributes that identify the faun as a follower of Bacchus, the god of wine, whose drunken, ecstatic rituals could ignite either madness or creative inspiration.⁴ At rest but with eyes and arm upraised, the faun seems to offer inspiration in gentler form. The idealized figure type, subject, and hushed introspective mood relate this statuette to the small group of seated shepherds and fauns created by the Paduan sculptor Andrea Riccio and his followers. The most significant of these include the two seated shepherds with panpipes in the Louvre (fig. 26a) and Walters Art Museum, as well as the two seated fauns with panpipes in the Ashmolean and The Quentin Foundation Collection.⁵



Fig. 26a. Riccio, *Shepherd with Syrinx*, 16th century. Bronze; H. 9 in. (22.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 6311)



Leo Planiscig, having completed his 1927 monograph on Andrea Riccio, in 1929/30 introduced the *Faun* (which he identified as the god Pan) as an exciting new addition to the master's oeuvre that perfectly conveyed the romanticism and refined style so brilliantly expressed in Riccio's Louvre *Shepherd*. Planiscig's attribution represents the high esteem in which Riccio and his works were held during the early twentieth century. The *Faun*'s frequent showing in exhibitions from the 1930s to the early 1960s attests to the sustained popularity of bronzes by the master and his followers among sophisticated audiences in Europe and America. Scholars and collectors

alike appreciated how Riccio's minimally tooled bronzes preserved the sculptor's creative modeling in the wax, thereby uniting artistic invention with technical prowess.⁶ The vast number of works attributed to Riccio and his followers during the early twentieth century has been greatly reduced in recent decades through the research of scholar-curators such as Anthony Radcliffe, advances in technical studies, and the bronzes' display in monographic exhibitions.⁷ The *Faun*'s diminishing glamour in the latter twentieth century demonstrates this process of reassessment. As early as 1977, James David Draper downgraded the *Faun*'s authorship from Riccio

to “Paduan or Venetian” and characterized the statuette as “a clever assimilation of the Riccio style.” A year later, he assigned the work to an anonymous “North Italian” sculptor. The *Faun*’s history of increasingly generalized attributions reveals the difficulty of securely placing the work within the context of Italian Renaissance bronze production.

The manner in which the *Faun* was made poses questions. In his technical analysis of 2011, Richard Stone identified its facture as sixteenth century. He noted, however, that X-ray images reveal the casting technique to be incompatible with any other work of the period that he had studied. The core is mixed with fibrous materials typical of Paduan bronzes, but the figure appears to have been assembled using wax-to-wax joins, a method that is inconsistent with direct casting. Stone suggested the possibility that the mixed casting technique evidenced the work of an inexperienced or foreign sculptor or founder. He very speculatively floated the idea that the *Faun* was made by a German artist familiar with Riccio’s shop practice, noting that Peter and Hans Vischer were in Padua in 1507 when the master was extremely active. Stone also observed that the *Faun*’s seated pose and rather rough-and-ready modeling are reminiscent of the seated Hercules on the Vischers’ bronze Shrine of Saint Sebaldus (1508–19) in the eponymously named church in Nuremberg.⁸ Whether or not one agrees with Stone, his trenchant speculations highlight the *Faun*’s anomalous status as a sixteenth-century Italian bronze.

Many aspects of the *Seated Faun* are puzzling. At a little over 28.6 cm in height, this single-figure statuette is large for one made during the first half of the sixteenth century. Riccio’s seated *Shepherd* in the Louvre, for example, is only about 22.7 cm tall. To put these height distinctions in perspective: the Vischers’ seated Hercules is the same height as the *Faun*, but its size reflects its function as a figurative support on an



imposing architectural monument. Also worth noting is the *Faun*’s upright pose, which is unlike any of those assumed by the elegantly slumped shepherds and fauns attributed to Riccio and his school. Instead, the *Faun*’s posture appears to be an inappropriate variation on the seated poses reserved in the Renaissance for depictions of sovereign classical gods and emperors.⁹ Upon close examination, other elements of our statuette appear to be similarly at odds with the formal and iconographic conventions of Renaissance Italian bronzes. For example, its leafy crown bears minuscule grapes modeled in proportion to the size of the figure rather than to the viewer’s ability to see them. The almost imperceptible, vestigial horns probably prompted a change in the work’s identification from “Pan” to the cautiously generalized “Seated Bacchic Figure,” a subject-type that does not exist in sixteenth-century art unless the figure is close to reeling drunk.¹⁰ The awkward bell-shaped pedestal is embellished on the back with a large, mysteriously blank, and ultimately meaningless inscription tablet. Neither the pedestal nor the tablet has a counterpart in sixteenth-century statuettes.

The *Faun*’s lack of figurative cohesion, gestural logic, and surface effect are noteworthy. The muscles on the torso, the facial features, and the goatskin give the impression of having been applied in random piecemeal fashion rather than modeled with attention to anatomical or internal structure. Although the *Faun* is thought to have held an attribute such as panpipes in his lost right hand, the bizarre 90-degree bend of the arm makes it impossible to fathom the intended purpose of the handless gesture. The break at the wrist is inexplicably fresh, as is the overall surface of the sculpture, which bears no traces of wear. The haphazard hammering of the metal also is completely unlike that found on Riccio’s bronzes, which are lightly struck overall with a ball-peen hammer so that the shallow surface depressions scatter light and create shadows that envelop the figures in a soft luminescent sfumato.¹¹ Overall, the design, modeling, and finishing of the *Faun* call to mind an assemblage of iconographically and artistically untethered citations.

Although students of Renaissance bronze statuettes have in recent years become increasingly mindful of the significant number of forgeries created to supply the voracious demands of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collecting market, identifying these works is still in its early stages. As Draper perceptively stated, the *Faun* is indeed a “clever assimilation of the Riccio style.” Whether the statuette is a modern simulation remains to be determined. DA

PROVENANCE: perhaps English private collection; Bruno Kern, Vienna and Prague (by 1932); probably Adalbert Wodianer, Vienna, by inheritance from his stepfather Bruno Kern; [Wildenstein & Co., New York, 1950s]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Planiscig 1929–30; Planiscig 1932b, p. 922; Born 1936; Fröhlich-Burne 1936, p. 287; Vienna 1936, p. 136; Grigaut 1958, cat. 245;

Houston 1960, cat. 113; Untermeyer 1962, pp. xvi–xvii, 9, pls. 16, 17; Pope-Hennessy 1968, p. 183; James David Draper in Untermeyer 1977, p. 161, no. 300; Draper 1978a, p. 178, fig. 12

NOTES

1. For Renaissance concepts of Arcadia and Sannazaro's poem, see Kidwell 1993. For Renaissance statuettes as expressions of Arcadian themes, see Blume 1985b. 2. On this topic in general, see Cranston 2019, pp. 119–25. For the *Seated Faun*, see Untermeyer 1962, pp. xvi–xvii. 3. First suggested in Planiscig 1929–30, p. 169. 4. On satyrs (and fauns) in the Renaissance, see McStay 2014, pp. 323–37, with earlier references. 5. Walters, 54.234; Ashmolean, WA1899.CDEF.B1077. All four bronze statuettes were shown together in the 2008 Riccio exhibition at the Frick; see Allen 2008a, pp. 228–51, cats. 21–24. For the Louvre *Shepherd*, see also Malgouyres 2020, pp. 177–79, 408, no. 374. 6. On this core aesthetic principle of Riccio's art, see Motture 2019, pp. 34–39, 167–71, with earlier references. 7. These topics are explored in Bacchi and Giacomelli 2008 and Allen 2008a. 8. R. Stone/TR, September 6, 2011. The sculpture was cast directly with extremely thin, slit iron core pins in the manner of Riccio but with uncharacteristically thick and uneven walls. 9. For example, MMA, 49.97.152 and 41.72(2.153). 10. In Untermeyer 1962, the statuette is identified as "Pan." It is titled "Seated Bacchic Figure" in department records beginning in 1964, when the Untermeyer collection entered The Met. 11. The surface effects of Riccio's hammering technique are eloquently described in Motture 2008.

— 27 —

Jupiter Ammon

Northern Italy, early to mid-16th century

Bronze

3 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (9.8 × 7.9 × 7.8 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.4)

The Romans considered the revered North African oracle Ammon an embodiment of Jupiter and referred to this syncretic dual divinity as Jupiter Ammon. Identifiable by its horns and prominent beard, this head representing Jupiter Ammon was likely made to evoke an ancient fragment, though the tightly coiled horns are smaller than in surviving antique examples.¹ Cast directly, the bronze now has a dark brown natural patina with traces of a presumably original black coating in recesses.² Most of the detail was worked into the wax, with little evidence of subsequent tooling.

Matters of dating and geography remain conjectural, though there are some clues. The unsophisticated casting technique, wherein the core was likely modeled directly on an armature removed through a rectangular opening on the top of the figure's head, point to an early date.³ The black coating is similar to other early northern Italian bronzes. The iconography resonates with Riccio's production, including his *Moses* with the horns of Ammon, and the four Jupiter Ammon heads on the base of the Paschal Candelabrum (p. 94, fig. 13c).⁴

The work entered The Met in 1924 as part of the first large group of bronzes given by Ogden Mills, who had purchased it



from the influential Cubist art historian, collector, and dealer Léonce Alexandre Rosenberg.⁵ For Rosenberg and his Cubist circle, the idiosyncratic deity with spiraling horns held special appeal. In his memoir, the painter Amédée Ozenfant designates August 26, 1931, "The Day of Spirals" and records Rosenberg's fascination with the shape. "I feel inclined to sing the praises of the spiral," Ozenfant declared. "Ammonites and horns of Jupiter Ammon; curls of women's and of children's hair."⁶ JF

PROVENANCE: Léonce Alexandre Rosenberg (until 1924; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 12, 1924, lot 190; sold to Mills); Ogden Mills (in 1924; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. See, for example, the Imperial marble bust dated ca. 120–160 A.D., MMA, 2012.22. 2. R. Stone/TR, December 7, 2007. 3. Ibid. 4. See the rich analysis by Alexander Nagel in Allen 2008a, pp. 134–43, cat. 7, with discussion of northern Italian antique and Renaissance examples at p. 137 n. 3. 5. Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 12–13, 1924, lot 109: "Petite tête en bronze patiné: Jupiter, les cheveux ceints d'une bandelette, avec corne de bélier. Italian, fin du XVI^e siècle. Base en marbre. Haut, 10 cent." 6. Ozenfant 1939, pp. 151–52.

Bust of a Roman

Northern Italy, possibly 16th century

Bronze, on a later wood socle

7⅞ × 4½ × 4 in. (19.4 × 11.4 × 10.2 cm) (without base)

Rogers Fund, 1927 (27.14.14)

The anxious expression, bulging eyes, and cropped hair suggest emulation of Roman portraiture of the Julio-Claudian age.¹ The bust, an unchased indirect cast, exhibits mold cracks and bubble marks from casting in plaster, which suggests a northern Italian origin. Northern Italy certainly produced classicizing busts, but here the imitation of Republican style is so sedulously archaeological as to suggest a much later date, and the extremely thin casting implies the hand of a silversmith regardless of date or place.² A distinctly superior version, with pronounced, high cheekbones, is in the Galleria Estense, Modena (fig. 28a).³ It is no doubt the original, its slightly larger size proving that ours is a shrunken after-cast of it. In Modena, it is paired with a bust of a woman in braids, apparently the one cited in the 1584 inventory of Alfonso II d'Este, duke of Ferrara. Currently, both are improbably assigned to Nicolò Roccatagliata.⁴

A charming feature of the present work, absent from the Modena bronze, is the integrally cast scrolling floral volute on the back (fig. 28b). It once formed the top of a prong or strap



Fig. 28b. Detail of cat. 28 showing floral volute on the back

that anchored the bust to the rear of its lost original base. The Modena bust has better-formed irises against the stained-bone whites of the eyes and a crisper rendering of the feathered locks, particularly noticeable at the crown of the head. In our bust, by contrast, these areas are mere blurs. JDD

PROVENANCE: Alphonse Kann, Paris (until 1927; sale, American Art Association, New York, January 6–8, 1927, lot 376, as Florentine, 15th century; sold to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Compare, for example, ancient portraits sometimes discussed in relation to Brutus, such as a male bust in *The Met*, 14.40.696; see Picón et al. 2007, no. 381. The Augustan age also produced miniature bronze busts that could have inspired ours, for example, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, VI 273. 2. R. Stone/TR, October 13, 2011. 3. Bode 1907–12, vol. 2, pl. CVII (as after the antique); Planiscig 1930, pl. 103 (as North Italian, 16th century, height mistakenly given as 12 cm); Salvini 1955, p. 41 (as North Italian, late 15th century); Franzoni 1982–83, p. 331, figs. 6, 7 (as Julius Caesar, discussed with a dissimilar self-portrait by Giulio della Torre [1481–ca. 1557], active in Verona and Padua, belonging to the *Fondazione Miniscalchi Erizzo*, Verona). 4. Information supplied by Annunziata Lanzetta. The female bust, with tiny shoulders, originally had glass eyes and a glass or enamel brooch and has a fifteenth-century appearance.



Fig. 28a. Attributed to Nicolò Roccatagliata (ca. 1560–1629), *Head of a Man*, 16th century. Bronze, bone inlay (eyes); H. 7⅞ in. (20 cm). Galleria Estense, Modena (2262)





Cat. 29A

— 29 —

A. *Head of an Infant*

Italy, 19th century

Bronze, eyes polished

4 × 3 × 3½ in. (10.2 × 7.6 × 8.9 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.16)

B. *Head of a Child with Hair*

Northern Italy, after an early 16th-century model

Bronze, eyes polished

4½ × 3 × 3½ in. (11.4 × 7.6 × 8.9 cm) (without base)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.17)

Ogden Mills acquired these two small busts at the sale of the Henri Lehmann collection in 1925, along with nearly twenty other bronzes, all given to The Met that same year. As Mills

explained to curator Joseph Breck, “During the past season in Paris there were two very good collections of 16th Century Italian Bronzes sold. This is the first time for a considerable number of years since any such objects came upon the market. I have purchased the more important bronzes in both collections, especially the Lehmen [*sic*] collection.”¹

The *Head of an Infant* is a low-quality cast likely dating to the nineteenth century with several features intended to evoke similar ancient busts of children. The artificial lacquering mimics a natural burial patina, with a thin black layer resting on a thick layer of purplish red opaque paint meant to imitate cuprite.² A square indentation on the proper left cheek has been cast into the head, a self-conscious fashioning on the sculptor’s part to simulate antique damage. Scraping around the eyes represents a feeble attempt to replicate traces of gilding. The head bears a superficial similarity to other Renaissance statuettes, but its material characteristics support a much later dating.³



Cat. 29B

Paired with the *Head of an Infant* even before entering Mills's collection, the *Head of a Child with Hair* may be an after-cast of an unknown Renaissance model. The hairstyle and facial features are related to the physiognomies of children by Andrea Mantegna, placing the prototype in northern Italy around 1500.⁴ Our bronze, however, displays many casting defects, blurriness in the articulation of the curls, and an overall worn surface with a thin black patina. Indications of a mold seam on the left side of the head and neck point to its origin as an after-cast. The eyes were scraped clean of patina, as in the other bust, giving an impoverished idea of gilding. The right shoulder is somewhat misshapen, perhaps the result of a heavy blow. Emerging from a distinguished French private collection, this pair of busts epitomizes the challenges faced by early collectors of bronzes in navigating issues of quality, origin, and dating. JF

PROVENANCE: Henri Lehmann (until 1925; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4–13, 1925, lots 371, 372; sold to Mills); Ogden Mills (in 1925; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Letter from Mills to Breck, dated July 23, 1925, MMA Archives. 2. R. Stone/TR, April 10, 2008. 3. See, for example, the bust of a child in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5591; Planiscig 1930, no. 208. A similar head was once in the Dreyfus collection and had a hole in the top. 4. Another example, superior to ours in casting, is in the Wallace Collection, S63. Both are related to the analogous marble head of a child in the Estensische Kunstsammlung, Vienna; see Planiscig 1921, p. 343, figs. 355, 356.



Pegasus

Northern Italy, late 16th century

Bronze, on a later marble base

4¾ × 3⅞ × 3 in. (12.1 × 7.9 × 7.6 cm) (without base)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.1)

The mythological winged horse Pegasus was companion to the muses on Mount Helicon. Rearing up and striking his hooves on the ground, he created the Hippocrene spring, a font of intellectual and poetic inspiration. Renaissance humanists appropriated this subject to symbolize the classical source of their creativity. The Venetian scholar Pietro Bembo, for example, famously chose rearing Pegasus as his personal emblem.¹ By the mid-sixteenth century, statuettes such as ours had become popular accoutrements of the scholar's study. Displayed on tables or shelves, they embodied their patrons' erudite aspirations.²

Two separate types of the rearing Pegasus are known. Both are associated with the ubiquitous workshops in Venice and especially Padua that produced small bronzes in large quantities for the educated middle-class market. The first type shows the rearing horse supported by a bronze strut modeled to emulate a landscape form; it dates to around the mid-sixteenth century and is about 30 cm in height.³ In the second type, represented by The Met example, the horse is supported only by the twin points of its rear hooves. Models of this type date to the late sixteenth century, are about 16 to 18 cm in height, and have been associated with the Venetian workshop of Nicolò Roccatagliata.⁴

Our *Pegasus* is an indirect hollow cast with solid limbs.⁵ Details such as the feathered wings, curling mane, large eyes, and tiny teeth were modeled and incised in the wax without subsequent tooling in the metal. By contrast, the horse's body, limbs, and head were filed overall in the bronze to create smooth surfaces that complement the lively, textured details. The cast gives the impression of the swift, competent execution characteristic of northern Italian workshops. The *Pegasus* is significant as an example of the Renaissance bronze industry rather than of individual creative artistry.

The author is unknown and likely to remain so. The invention of this composition probably resulted from the common workshop practice of adapting an existing model to new uses. The closest counterpart to this Pegasus type is a bridled, saddled, and shod *Rearing Horse* in the Bargello.⁶ A derivative of the model for the *Rearing Horse* probably was repurposed to create The Met bronze. The *Pegasus* retains the distinctive bronze attachment plate between the rear hooves and, most tellingly, the prominent nailed horseshoes typical of Renaissance battle chargers but not of mythological flying horses. DA

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1925; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Davide Gasparotto in Beltrami et al. 2013, pp. 378–79, cat. 6.13.
2. Warren 2006, p. 296, with earlier sources.
3. Warren 2014, nos. 65 and 66, with earlier sources.
4. See, for example, Finearte Casa d'Aste, Milan, April 17, 2007, *Asta 1370: Importanti sculture dalla Grecia classica al contemporaneo*, lot 24.
5. R. Stone/TR, 2011.
6. Bargello, 580; noted by Charles Avery in *Asta 1370*, lot 24 (see note 4).

A. Toad with a Young Toad on Its Back

Padua, possibly 16th century

Bronze

2½ × 4⅝ × 4¾ in. (6.4 × 11.7 × 12.1 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.24)

B. Toad

Padua, possibly 16th century

Bronze

2 × 3½ × 5 in. (5.1 × 8.9 × 12.7 cm)

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.47)

In Italy around 1500, the revival of small-scale bronze production dovetailed with a renewed interest in natural history, demonstrated by the large number of lifecasts of crabs, frogs, toads, snakes, salamanders, and other assorted flora and fauna. Nowhere was this truer than in the humanist center of Padua, where casts after zoological and botanical specimens reflected simultaneous scientific investigations into natural phenomena. These casts, not only in bronze but also lead, tin, silver, and gold, may have served practical functions, as paperweights or inkwells in a scholar's study; as taxonomical aids; or as components of larger sculptural ensembles. Since the publication of Leo Planiscig's influential monograph on Riccio in 1927, many of these small bronze casts have been assigned to him and his workshop, though there is little evidence to substantiate the connection.¹ Wherever its origins, the practice of lifecasting spread north to the Vischer and Jamnitzer workshops in Nuremberg, and Bernard Palissy's atelier in France.

An ancient practice, lifecasting is first mentioned in the Renaissance by Cennino Cennini in his *Il libro dell'arte*, likely written in Padua around 1400. Though Cennini devotes the lion's share of his attention to casting human faces and bodies, he also notes, "You may similarly cast any member separately, an arm, a hand, a foot, a leg, a bird, a beast, or any kind of animal or fish. But the animals must be dead, because they have



Cat. 31A

neither the sense nor firmness to stand still.”² The techniques and processes of early modern lifecasting have only recently begun to be reconstructed based on surviving instructional manuscripts and other technical evidence.³

Generally speaking, an animal would have to be recently deceased, perhaps stunned with ammonia or urine, so that it could be pliantly molded into the desired form but still hardy enough to withstand the process. After a mold was formed around the animal, its body was burned out and its calcined remains cleared. Then a wax model was formed from this negative impression. Absent evidence of organic materials, it is difficult to pronounce with certainty that an object was cast from life, though the chances are more likely the sharper and more detailed the features. The presence of mold lines, small seams along the bronze’s midsection, may also indicate the work was lifecast with a two-piece mold.⁴

Bronze frogs or toads with gaping maws were used as inkwells. Our two examples, mouths firmly clamped shut, probably served as paperweights. The toad with a smaller toad on its back displays a certain rubberiness and imprecision in its details that suggest much freehand sculpting in the wax, even if it was originally modeled after a dead animal. The walls are of inconsistent thickness; in some spots, like the underside, the intact core is visible. The pairing of a toad and its offspring adds an affective charge to the object, manifesting themes of familial bonds, of parent and child, and of the nature of regeneration and reproduction.⁵

In the Renaissance imagination, frogs and toads were thought to undergo a cycle of congelation and putrefaction, of solidifying into form each spring and fusing back into the mud each autumn. For example, the French naturalist Pierre Belon declared, “that which I find most admirable about the frog is that at the end of about six months it turns back into silt. And when spring arrives, they come together again: nonetheless they also breed and make eggs and little ones.”⁶ Similarly, the Italian physician and mathematician Girolamo Cardano observed that “frogs are born of impure water and sometimes of rain: it is believed, however, that a certain number of imperfect animals are born, without seed, from corruption.”⁷

The creatures’ enigmatic process of generation, in which liquids turned solid under extreme conditions, found parallels in the alchemical process of bronze casting itself, as molten metal was miraculously transformed into solidified specimens. Highlighting the theme of childrearing could invoke these associations. The subject of a toad carrying a smaller toad on its back is known in multiple, though far from identical, casts. But while solo bronze frogs and toads were produced widely, the parent-progeny conceit was notable enough for the dealer C. G. Copper to remark on its rarity when he sold a version now in the Fitzwilliam.⁸

Bronzes were frequently painted or otherwise patterned to simulate the effects of a naturalistic coloring, the purpose of the brown patination seen on our single toad. The stippling pattern was likely produced in the wax. The sharper features

A. *Sibyl*B. *Chronos*

Agostino Zoppo (ca. 1520–1572)

Padua, mid-16th century

Bronze

Sibyl: 19 × 9 × 4 in. (48.3 × 22.9 × 10.2 cm)*Chronos*: 18½ × 10 × 5 in. (47 × 25.4 × 12.7 cm)

Gift of Fred and Rita Richman, 1978 (1978.422)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1997 (1997.512)



Cat. 31B

suggest the toad was cast from an actual specimen and manipulated subsequently to produce a desired effect. While both bronze toads in The Met's collection can be generically linked to Riccio and the Paduan ambient of the early sixteenth century, there is little to date them with any precision to such an early period. JF

PROVENANCE: (A) Achille Fould (Minister of Finance to Napoleon III); Ogden Mills (until 1925; to MMA). (B) George and Florence Blumenthal, New York (until 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: (A) New York 1973, cat. 38; Sheard 1979, cat. 126; Beck and Bol 1985, p. 544, cat. 281 (with incorrect acc. no.); Kenseth 1991, pp. 275–76, cat. 55. (B) Tulsa 1980, p. 38, cat. 39

NOTES

1. Planiscig 1927, figs. 450–64. 2. Cennini 1899, p. 175. 3. See the important analysis of a late sixteenth-century French technical manuscript in P. Smith and Beentjes 2010. See also Lein 2006 and Bennekom 2018. For general discussions of casting after nature, see Leeds 2005, pp. 20–35 (Frits Scholten) and 64–65 (Martina Droth). 4. P. Smith and Beentjes 2010, pp. 143–60. 5. Beck and Bol 1985, cat. 281. 6. Belon 1555, pp. 48–49. 7. Cardano 1556, n.p. 8. Fitzwilliam, M.30-1997; see V. Avery and Dillon 2002, p. 317, cat. 53, p. 210 n. 2. See also the cast in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1957.14.88; Pope-Hennessy 1965, no. 509, fig. 513.

Although the *Sibyl* is inferior to the *Chronos*, there is no doubt that they are products of the same modeler and founder. Of the two, the *Sibyl* has been known longer, having circulated in the market as a work of Bertoldo di Giovanni, who certainly would have disowned it on grounds of quality.¹ Fashioned on semi-circular self-bases as high reliefs with open backs, the figures have rather stubby proportions, with deep Vs excavated in their draperies. They are identical in function and facture to paired relief statuettes of Eternity and Minerva on Agostino Zoppo's wall monument to the ancient historian Livy in the Salone of the Palazzo della Ragione, Padua (fig. 32a).² They are so alike that one can easily postulate their assuming similar positions on another Paduan monument, perhaps to one of the distinguished Renaissance humanists who abounded there. The meanings they transmitted would have been, for *Chronos*, the embodiment of Time in the form of a winged graybeard leaning on a crutch, and for *Sibyl*, an Oracle looking up from her book.³

When the *Chronos* was sold in 1997, it was attributed to the circle of Francesco Segala on the basis of its resemblance to Segala's large bronze statuette of Saint Catherine, documented to 1564, that crowns the holy-water basin in the Basilica di Sant'Antonio, Padua.⁴ She shares with the *Chronos* insubstantial shoulders, huge hands, and gently meandering cloth folds. Both Zoppo and Segala were in the entourage of Jacopo Sansovino, the Florentine who revolutionized sculpture in Venice. These men, with Tiziano Minio and Danese Cattaneo, collaborated with Sansovino in Venice, notably on the well-documented bronze sacristy door with its relief of the Resurrection in the Basilica of San Marco (1546–72).⁵ Zoppo's role was that of founder of figural passages in the doorframe. The Sansovino team dispersed before his death in 1570, all of them landing in Padua and overlapping in their work there. Zoppo and Segala reappear together in documents with some regularity; indeed, their stylistic differences have not all been clearly delineated.





*Opposite: Cat. 32A
Right: Cat. 32B*



Fig. 32a. Agostino Zoppo, Wall Monument to Livy, with bronze figures of Minerva and Eternity, 1547. Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua

As undeniable as a general connection with Segala's *Saint Catherine* may be, our relief statuettes are yet closer to those of Zoppo on the Livy monument of 1547. The hands are even bigger and the draperies even freer, revealing little of the anatomies beneath them. Moreover, the painterly surfaces exhibit plastic equivalents of impasto and even scumbling, creating an excitement of surface that is only augmented by a haphazard lost-wax technique. There seems to have been no chasing subsequent to the wax modeling. The top of the proper right wing of the *Chronos* is ragged and missing in places, which would not have been noticeable in the shadow of a niche. The backs of both are filled with remains of clay and plaster for mounting in said niche (fig. 32b).⁶

Zoppo's bronzes, like Segala's but to a lesser degree, show a wide range. Available evidence suggests that Zoppo improved within a few years between the Livy monument and exposure to Venice and Sansovino's perfectionism. Two telamons or slaves in the Stift Klosterneuburg, reductions of stone ones on the monument to Alessandro Contarini in Sant'Antonio, are

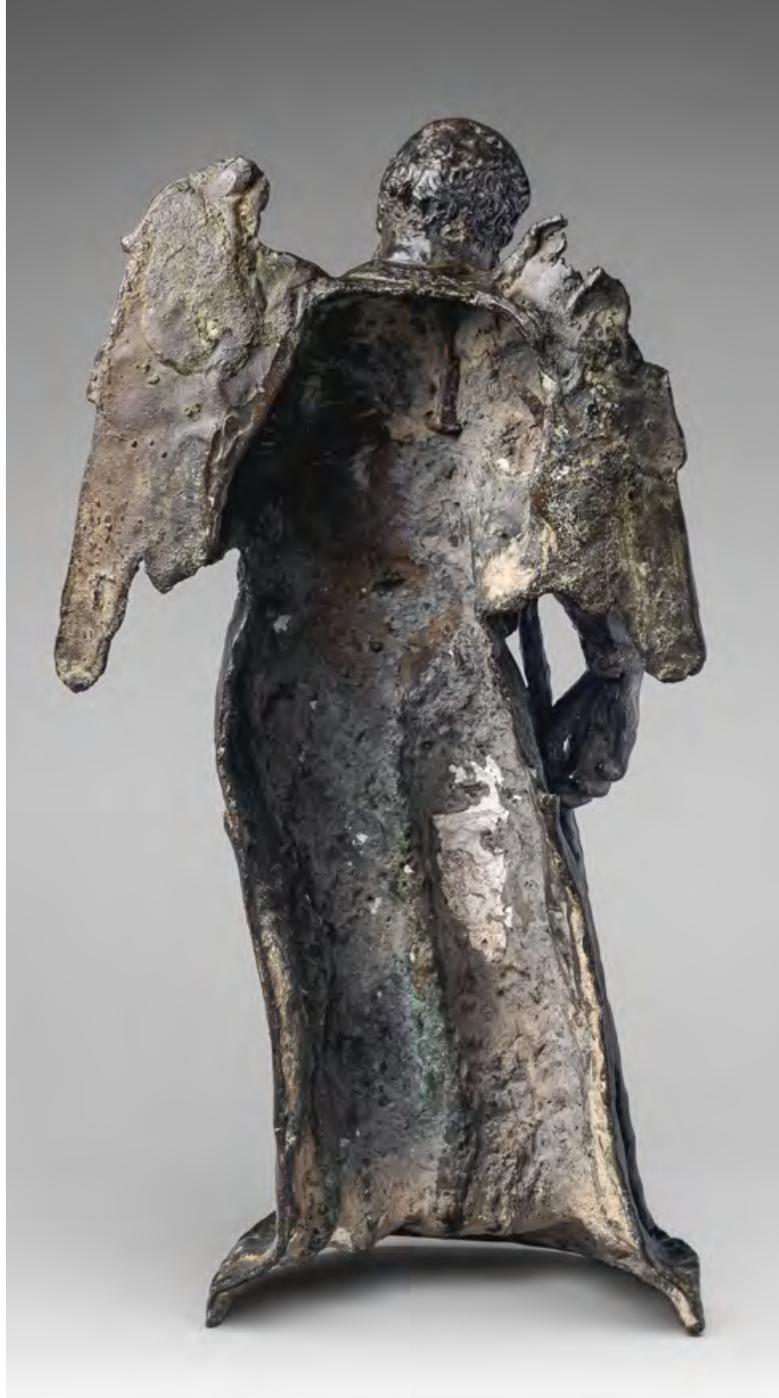


Fig. 32b. Back of the *Chronos*

considerably firmer than The Met and Livy sets, as are the statuettes of Saints Peter and Paul, also in Klosterneuburg, reliably given to Zoppo.⁷ The Met and Livy statuettes, as well as the reliefs of river gods still on the Livy monument,⁸ exhibiting gloomy expressions and shaggy, sprawling beards distinctly like those of the *Chronos*, are his loosest efforts, to the point of insouciance. JDD

PROVENANCE: (A) [Arnold Seligmann, Rey & Co., New York]; Joseph Brummer, New York (until 1949; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, May 11-14, 1949, part 2, lot 495, attributed to Giovanni di Bertoldo [sic]); Paula de Koenigsberg, Buenos Aires (by 1951); (sale, Sotheby's,

Saint Christopher
 Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
 (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)
 and Workshop

Probably Padua, early 16th century

Bronze

Height 10¼ in. (26 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1410](#))

The holy Christophoros (Christ Bearer) was venerated by countless voyagers, navigators, and athletes. Twelve cubits tall, according to *The Golden Legend*, he bore the Christ Child, “heavy as lead,” across a swollen river. The little boy with a globe and the giant’s pole for fording the stream are missing from the present example. Bertrand Jestaz, recognizing the model’s kinship with Severo’s *Neptune* statuettes ([cat. 37](#)), advanced considerably our understanding of the artist when he found that the hole in the flattened hand of a *Saint Christopher* in the Louvre originally stabilized a Christ Child now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., by means of the short pin in the child’s underside (they have since been regularly reunited; see [fig. 33a](#)). The Louvre figure lacks the circular fibula found on our saint’s left shoulder. Another lone *Saint Christopher* is in the Bode-Museum.¹ Despite the latter’s

London, March 2, 1966, lot 92, as figure of Poetry by Jacopo Sansovino workshop); [Jerry Eisenberg, Collector’s Cabinet, New York]; Fred and Rita Richman, King’s Point, N.Y. (until 1978; to MMA). **(B)** (sale, Bonhams, London, December 10, 1997, lot 172, attributed to circle of Francesco Segala; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: **(A)** Buenos Aires 1951, cat. 145 (as *Woman with Book* by Giovanni di Bertoldo [*sic*]); James David Draper in MMA 1998, p. 23 (to Agostino Zoppo); Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Padua 2001, p. 252, cat. 68 (as *Poetry*); Siracusano 2017a, p. 175, cat. 7, fig. 88 (as *Allegorical Figure [Wisdom?]*). **(B)** James David Draper in MMA 1998, p. 23 (to Agostino Zoppo); Siracusano 2017a, pp. 175–76, cat. 8, figs. 89–90 (as *Saturn in the Guise of Father Time*)

NOTES

1. For Bertoldo, see Draper 1992. **2.** See Siracusano 2017a, pp. 185–91, cat. 15. **3.** In a communication of June 8, 2001, Davide Banzato suggested Eloquence as a possible alternative. **4.** Bacchi et al. 1999, cat. 87. **5.** Boucher 1991, vol. 1, p. 147, pl. VII, vol. 2, pp. 331–32, figs. 151–56, 159–60. **6.** XRF of both bronzes identified a quaternary alloy of copper, tin, relatively low zinc, and high lead. R. Stone/TR, January 30, 2012. **7.** For the telamons and saints, see Leithe-Jasper 1975, pp. 109–16, 122–24, and Bacchi et al. 1999, cats. 16, 17. Manfred Leithe-Jasper’s most significant finding in his groundbreaking 1975 study was that two pairs of groups—one pair presently in the V&A, the other formerly in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin—famous among bronze fanciers as “Mountains of Hell,” with relatively miniaturist figural presentations, are by Zoppo, documented in the inventory of his possessions. See Leithe-Jasper 1975, figs. 51–59. For the inventory, see Rigoni 1970, pp. 301–17, and for further Zoppo documents, Sartori 1976, pp. 236–40. **8.** Leithe-Jasper 1975, figs. 49, 50.





noticeable flaw in front, all three specimens are of a quality that is high for Severo, who evidently took pains with the model, if not the execution. Jestaz and Patrick De Winter discuss how each was cast in three sections and soldered together horizontally, and Dylan Smith presents a radiograph of the Washington saint showing a fairly simple network of core pins, arguing that their systemization grew more complex as the workshop evolved, making this a fairly early work.²

The saint, with his zigzagging, well-rounded limbs and delicately gathered “Roman” tunic, is one of Severo’s largest serial creations, and one of his most energetic and appealing. It shares more with late medieval norms than with the budding Renaissance, another reason to date it fairly early in his output. For the garment, reasonable parallels are found in the mantle of the *Saint John the Baptist* in the Ashmolean,³ which in turn comes closest in Severo’s oeuvre to his finest creation, the signed marble of the Forerunner in the Basilica di Sant’Antonio in Padua, with its even more emphatic fish-hook patterns in the folds of the cloak (p. 59, figs. 2d–e). JDD

PROVENANCE: Alphonse Kann, Paris (until 1927; sale, American Art Association, New York, January 6–8, 1927, lot 360); [John Simon, New York]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, p. 21, fig. 13, pl. XXI (to Bellano); Planiscig 1927, p. 55, 58, fig. 44 (to Bellano); Grigaut 1958, cat. 228 (to Bellano); Untermyer 1962, pp. xiii, 6, pls. 6, 7 (to Bellano); Jestaz 1972, p. 67



Fig. 33a. Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, *Saint Christopher Carrying the Infant Jesus*, early 16th century. Bronze; H. 9½ in. (24.2 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 9552)

(to Severo); James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 160, no. 298 (to Severo); De Winter 1986, pp. 102–3 (to Severo); D. Smith 2008, p. 53 (to Severo); Stone 2010, p. 108, fig. 1 (to Severo)

NOTES

1. Planiscig 1930, pl. 39. 2. D. Smith 2008, p. 53, fig. 14. Our *Christopher* was cast in a brass alloy with a small amount of lead and trace impurities. R. Stone/TR, 2016. 3. Warren 2014, pp. 117–24, no. 34.

— 34 —

A. *Cleopatra*

Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Probably Ravenna, mid-16th century

Bronze

Height 10½ in. (27 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1910 (10.9.2)

B. *Cleopatra*

Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Probably Ravenna, mid-16th century

Bronze

Height 10½ in. (27 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1433)

The suicide of Cleopatra by pressing a poisonous asp to her breast is one of the great melodramatic moments in Western art. In the nineteenth century, this composition was probably seen as Greco-Roman. Baron Larrey presumably acquired the first bronze as a reminder of his heroic service as a physician in Napoleon Bonaparte’s Egyptian campaign (1798–1801).

Richard Stone’s radiographs show these two statuettes to have been similarly cast, with Severo’s telltale rectangular plugs in the smalls of their backs (see p. 35, fig. 5).¹ The second (B) better preserves his intentions, however, with a more detailed head and scaly skin for the serpent. On the other hand, the diadem of the first (A) is slightly more elegant. The only real differences are in their subsequent treatment: the first was stripped and given a coat of mock verdigris, which survives on much of its surface, while the second was almost entirely stripped of its dark, painted patination, then covered with wax.

Patrick De Winter saw unfathomable resemblances to a *Venus* in the Walters Art Museum, sometimes ascribed to Antico.² He also sensed a strong relationship to Severo’s *Queen Tomyris* in the Frick, which indeed has similarly sloping shoulders and a knock-kneed stance but is far more vibrant and engagingly theatrical.³ It is as yet unclear when Severo developed this un-anatomical female physiognomy, which sometimes works but more often fails. JDD



Cat. 34A, B

PROVENANCE: **(A)** Baron Larrey (probably Dominique-Jean Larrey [1766–1842], Surgeon General of the Grande Armée); Mme Edouard Warneck, Paris (until 1905; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 3–4, 1905, lot 137; sold to Blumenthal); George Blumenthal, Paris (until 1910; to MMA). **(B)** [Berlin art market, 1921]; [J. & S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt, by 1928]; Mrs. Benjamin Stern, Roslyn, N.Y. (until 1934; sale, American Art Association, New York, April 7, 1934, lot 815, as Paduan, late 15th century); Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: **(A)** Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 140 n. 6 (to Severo); Stone 2006, p. 813 (to Severo); D. Smith 2008, pp. 60, 64, figs. 27, 28 (to Severo); Spicer 2012, p. 11 n. 5. **(B)** Planiscig 1927, p. 86, fig. 75 (as Paduan, 15th century); Untermyer 1962, pp. xx, 13–14, fig. 35 (as Paduan, late 15th century); Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 136 (to Severo); James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 160–61, no. 299 (to Severo); De Winter 1986, p. 107, fig. 79 (to Severo); Stone 2006, p. 813, fig. 5 (to Severo)

NOTES

1. Stone 2006, p. 813. 2. Accepted as Antico in Luciano 2011, pls. 55A–B. 3. Introduced by Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 146–50. For it, see especially Stone 2006, p. 811, fig. 1.

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Rearing Horse
Probably workshop of
Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, early 16th century
Bronze

8⅞ × 9⅞ × 3⅞ in. (20.6 × 23.2 × 7.8 cm)
Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1413)

At least ten examples of this popular model are listed by Alison Luchs and Dylan Smith, writing on the example in the Robert H. Smith collection, which, along with that in the Ca' d'Oro, Venice, is one of the best.¹ Another, in a private collection, has been added by Davide Banzato, who attributes it to Bellano on the somewhat sympathetic basis that it is relieflike in its formulation, but it has none of the faceted quality we prize in that artist.²



Its chief distinction is the show of nails in the hooves. Ours rears higher than the others on legs with considerable tension, but it may be noted that the rear legs were broken and repaired at a later date, and the hooves are currently supported on the underside by means of a short metal plate.³

Luchs and Smith demonstrate that these steeds were worked up individually after a master model, thereby accounting for subtle differences among them, and that the casting was effected with Severo's characteristic transverse wires, square holes, and fills. Their idea that one of them inspired Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone's lost fresco *Marcus Curtius Leaping into the Void* is not compelling. More to the point is Jeremy Warren's thought that Severo may have been responding to his friend Pomponius Gauricus's advice to sculptors, in *De Sculptura* (1504), that in order to understand their equestrian subjects, they should practice riding themselves—not that this animal has a particularly convincing anatomy. By this date, very few had investigated compositions with horses balanced on hind legs. Another notion of Warren's, that our modeler could have been motivated by the masterpiece *Bellerophon Taming Pegasus* by the Florentines Bertoldo di Giovanni and Adriano Fiorentino, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, is also attractive.⁴ That bronze's first owner was probably the Paduan scholar and close Medicean ally Alessandro Cappella. It was documented as

belonging to him between 1521 and 1543 and was probably easily consultable in his house. The rearing Pegasus would be virtually revolutionary in its freedom were not his body anchored by that of the young hero Bellerophon. The amiable head of Bertoldo's steed was not very well understood by Severo, who gave our horse a sharp little tongue. Infants sometimes encountered astride horses of our model seldom seem to have belonged there originally.⁵ JDD

PROVENANCE: [Heilbronner Gallery, Lucerne, until 1960; sold to Untermyer]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, pp. xiii, 5, pl. 10 (to Bellano); Jestaz 1972, p. 76 n. 28 (to circle of Severo); James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 160, no. 297 (as "possibly Venice, ca. 1500"); Jeremy Warren in Padua 2001, cat. 30 (to Severo); Alison Luchs and Dylan Smith in Smith Collection 2007, no. 2 (to Severo)

NOTES

1. For the latter, see Warren in Padua 2001, cat. 30. 2. Banzato and Gastaldi 2015, cat. 26. 3. R. Stone/TR, November 12, 2020. XRF analysis identified the metal as a high copper alloy. F. Carò/AR, October 31, 2016. 4. KHM, KK 5596; see Draper 1992, pp. 176–85, no. 18. 5. Pace Jestaz 1972, pp. 75–77. An exception is his fig. 11, in the Museo Civico dell'Età Cristiana, Brescia, where a long prong extends from the boy's seat to slot him into the mount's back. See also Nicodemi 1933, p. 169.

A. Sea Monster

Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Ravenna, possibly first quarter of the 16th century

Bronze

Length 10 in. (25.4 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.95)

B. Sea Monster

Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, mid-16th century

Bronze

Length 8¾ in. (22.2 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.7)

Before Leo Planiscig’s discovery in 1935 of Severo da Ravenna’s signed *Sea-Monster*, the model for these hybrid creatures, and Severo’s oeuvre more generally, had been attributed to Bellano and Riccio.¹ Planiscig was the first to identify a series of bronze marine monsters, some independent and others with Neptune atop, designating them as the work of a third Paduan master, the anonymous “Master of the Dragons,”² until his fortuitous encounter with the signature O.SEVERI.RA a decade later in Robert Mayer’s collection in Vienna. Now at the Frick, the autograph *Sea-Monster* is widely considered to be the finest surviving example and the archetype for all subsequent models (fig. 36a).³ More than a dozen versions of this composition exist, varying in detail and quality of execution, but they conform to the basic formula of a serpentine body, froglike front limbs, and a human visage framed by a foliate beard.⁴ Apart from the Frick exemplar, John Pope-Hennessy identified the best versions of the standalone monster as those in the V&A and the Kunsthistorisches Museum.⁵

Of the two Met casts, the Linsky bronze is clearly of higher quality. With its furrowed brows, sorrowful eyes, and contorting grimace, it retains the anguish of the Frick prototype, in contrast to the Mills beast’s lack of expression. Its dense scales were mainly incised in the wax, then later sharpened through chasing to create a more vibrant surface, which scatters light at odd angles. Juxtaposed against this textural roughness is the smooth slickness of its tulip-shaped caudal fin. As the sinuous tail curls into a spiral, one gets a palpable sense of the powerful muscle beneath its writhing surface. A black patina, typical of most Paduan bronzes, was applied to the cast bronze and appears to have worn off in spots over time.⁶ The warm brown patina, most visible in the middle of its trunk, appears to be the result of natural oxidization. James David Draper first published this bronze when it entered The Met as part of the Linsky bequest, connecting the monster to its counterpart in a



Fig. 36a. Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, *Sea-Monster*, ca. 1510. Bronze; 4½ × 9¾ × 6¾ in. (11.4 × 24.8 × 17.1 cm). The Frick Collection, New York, Gift of Eugene and Clare Thaw in honor of Charles Ryskamp, Director of the Frick Collection, and in memory of Ruth Blumka, 1997 (1997.2.103)

Neptune group in the Bargello.⁷ Judging from its lively handling and close resemblance to the Frick *Sea-Monster*, the Linsky bronze should be considered one of the more accomplished workshop casts of this widespread composition. Lacking a screwed insert, it was probably a decorative object kept in a cabinet, or used as a paperweight.

On the other hand, the Mills bronze is a late workshop production, far removed from Severo’s direct involvement, that exemplifies how a celebrated model can become a conventional utilitarian object, debased in quality. Lacking the graphic animation of the Linsky bronze, it has an inert surface, is lazily tooled, and possesses less defined, shorter fins; its droopy tail appears disconnected from the main body. The cockleshell most likely held blotting sand rather than ink, which tended to be stored in a narrower receptacle to minimize evaporation.⁸ A tapered screw mount on the lower half of its back indicates a missing vessel, perhaps an inkpot. Severo and his workshop characteristically employed screws like these to affix functional elements on figures. However, the shell integrally cast with the monster’s front limbs suggests a departure from his working methods, and thus indicates a later date. A sea monster sold at Sotheby’s in 2016, similar to the Mills bronze in its modeling of the head and scales, comes with an inkwell and provides an image of what the Mills cast might have looked like originally.⁹ Based on its function and flattened pose, this beached marine monster would have sat within arm’s reach on a desk in a scholar’s study. The Mills bronze was exhibited and first published in a small exhibition on Severo da Ravenna at the Frick in 1978.¹⁰ The show was significant for being the first time radiographic examinations of Severo’s bronzes were conducted and discussed, which allowed scholars to further distinguish his works on a technical level.¹¹



Cat. 36A

Facing rising demand for such implements from the scholarly community in Padua and, as the century progressed, throughout Italy, Severo systematically employed piece-molds of his wax models and plaster cores to facilitate his designs' reproduction in bronze, which thus enabled his workshop to remain remarkably prolific decades after his death.¹² His shop generally cast in less costly brass, which was found in most of The Met examples, including our sea monsters. He was also well-known for using threaded screws to attach assorted pre-fabricated parts onto his *bronzetti*, which permitted figural sculpture to be adapted for different functions.¹³ As Richard Stone has observed, production of these squamate creatures is perhaps best understood by conceptualizing them as reliefs, rather than as three-dimensional sculptures, because they are open underneath.¹⁴ Consequently, Severo's marine monsters were much easier and quicker to produce than figures in the round. This composition was so well received that it spurred imitations and variants at other Paduan foundries, which might explain why, out of Severo's entire oeuvre, the *Sea Monster* survives in the greatest number.¹⁵

Severo's invention derives from the bridled beast on the far left in Andrea Mantegna's engraving of the *Battle of the Sea Gods*,¹⁶ but could also refer to the ketos or pistrix, the monster Perseus vanquished to rescue Andromeda.¹⁷ Severo's monster, however, is no leviathan: the agony on its face recalls the features of the suffering Trojan priest of the *Laocoön* marble group.¹⁸ For a Renaissance patron, the bronze would have embodied the conflict between the noble and the bestial in human nature.¹⁹ More a marvel than a menace, the *Sea Monster* and its immense popularity reflect the early modern fascination with fantastic beasts, recounted in the ancient tales of Apollodorus of Athens and in contemporary travel accounts.²⁰ The wide disparity in quality between The Met's two bronzes testifies to the longevity of Severo's creation. Together, they bespeak the enduring Renaissance interest in "the swarming monsters found beneath the surface of the marbled sea."²¹ AF

PROVENANCE: (A) (probably the example sold at Sotheby's, London, December 4, 1956, lot 117);²² Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA). (B) Ogden Mills (until 1925; to MMA)



Cat. 36B

LITERATURE: **(A)** James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 147, no. 61; De Winter 1986, p. 132 n. 43. **(B)** Munhall 1978, no. 8; De Winter 1986, p. 132 n. 43

NOTES

1. Planiscig 1935. For attributions to or after Bellano, see Morelli 1884, p. 71 (identifying the beast as a crocodile); Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, pl. XXIV; Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. xii, pls. XVI–XVIII; Bode 1922, p. 26. For attributions to Riccio, see Bode 1922, p. 25. See Warren 2001b, pp. 135–39, for a comprehensive examination of Severo da Ravenna’s critical fortune with additional references. **2.** Planiscig 1924, pp. 15–17; Planiscig 1927, pp. 105–13, figs. 106–16. **3.** Planiscig 1935, p. 79. Planiscig attributes all versions of the sea monster to the sculptor’s studio, but Pope-Hennessy 1965, p. 22 n. 43, demurs, given the difference in quality of the many variants vis-à-vis the Frick bronze. For a general overview, see Davidson 1997, p. 15. **4.** De Winter 1986, p. 132 n. 43, offers a preliminary but detailed list of about seventeen or so related examples of the sea monster, including both Met bronzes, but there are certainly more workshop copies in private collections. **5.** Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 130. V&A, A.15-1967 (Motture 2019, p. 160, pl. 5.27); KHM, KK 5901 (Leithe-Jasper 1976, p. 105, cat. 139). **6.** Stone 2010, pp. 107–8. **7.** Draper notes

that the Bargello group (inv. bronzi 1879 n. 106) is less vigorous than those in the Frick (1916.2.12) and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1942.9.104); Linsky 1984, p. 147. See Rago 2010–11, fig. 10, for the Bargello *Neptune on the Sea Monster*. **8.** Davidson 1997, p. 13. **9.** Sotheby’s, London, July 5, 2016, lot 66; see Scalini and Tartuferi 2001, p. 70, cat. 51, pl. 26. **10.** Munhall 1978, no. 8. **11.** Warren 2001b, p. 137. **12.** Stone 2006, p. 813. **13.** *Ibid.*, p. 818. **14.** *Ibid.*, p. 815. **15.** Motture 2019, pp. 159–61. For instance, see the sea monster with a female figure above (possibly Andromeda) in Planiscig 1935, p. 80, no. 42, and the reversed pose of the sea monster in the Civici Musei di Arte e Storia di Brescia (BR 40) in Beck and Bol 1985, pp. 519–20, cat. 234, and Motture 2012, pp. 284–85, no. VII/16. **16.** MMA, 18.12. **17.** Jacopo de’ Barbari’s woodcut *View of Venice* (1500) also features a Mantegnesque Neptune astride a watery creature. See Davidson 1997, pp. 16–18, and Luchs 2010, pp. 159–61, for specific examples of sea monsters with which Severo would have been familiar. **18.** De Winter 1986, p. 94. **19.** Luchs 2010, pp. 160–61. **20.** Davidson 1997, p. 24; De Winter 1986, pp. 92–98. **21.** *Aeneid* VI.729, as cited in Davidson 1997, p. 21. **22.** ESDA/OF contain correspondence between Denise Lenore Jones and Sotheby’s London to ascertain if the Linsky bronze was lot 117 sold in December 1956, but it remains uncertain as the auction house does not have photographs of the sold lot.

Neptune

Follower of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Possibly Ravenna, mid-16th century

Bronze

14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36.5 × 13.7 × 8.6 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1425](#))

This extremely porous cast is probably too crude for Severo's workshop, even at its worst, and yet the person responsible seems to have been familiar with its practices. The workshop's signature rectangular plugs are present above the buttocks; the metal emerged from the mold virtually unworked except for some taps of a hammer, visible on the arms and legs; the implications of chest hair came straight from the wax without being tooled later; and there is some vitality in the curly hair and beard. Otherwise, this is a deplorable takeoff of Severo's Neptunes standing above sea creatures, good examples of which are in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the Frick.¹ Patrick De Winter tagged a slightly beefier Neptune in Berlin, with altered arms and a less strenuously nipped-in belly, as by Marcantonio da Ravenna after Severo, but it is almost hopeless to assign names to products of such little merit.² Our sea god originally steadied himself with a lost trident and tethered his monstrous companion to a lost leash or chain held in his cupped hand. The mentioned examples are splashier versions of Severo's famous sea-monster inkwells (see [cat. 36](#)). JDD

PROVENANCE: Otto B. Schuster, Amsterdam; Ernst Rosenfeld, New York (not in his sale at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 7, 1941); Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Planiscig 1927, pp. 110, 112 (to "Master of the Dragon"); Planiscig 1935, pp. 75, 83 (to Severo); Untermyer 1962, pp. xviii, 11–12, pl. 26 (to Severo)

NOTES

1. NGA, 1942.9.104 (D. Smith 2013a); Frick, 1916.2.12 (Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 126–35). 2. De Winter 1986, p. 124, figs. 131, 132.



Tobias

Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Probably Ravenna, early to mid-16th century

Bronze

7¼ × 3½ × 2⅜ in. (18.4 × 8.9 × 6 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.94](#))



In the Book of Tobit, the blinded Israelite of that name has his eyesight restored after his son Tobias journeys with his dog to the river Tigris, his footsteps guided by the angel Raphael, who tells him to capture a fish, gut it, and use its gall to cure Tobit's affliction. Severo and/or his shop tells the story in terms of genre: the rustic boy suspends a knapsack from a stick over his back and a stringer from his right hand; originally, separately cast fish, perhaps of copper, probably dangled from it.¹ All these elements plus a cat, not a dog, are present in the only complete example of the composition, an inkwell in the Bargello.² In it, Tobias is barefoot and his hair is shaped in waves; ours sports booties and curlier hair. Bertrand Jestaz, who introduced the model as by Severo, also saw that a toddler in much the same tunic with a stick and a pouch, represented by a bronze in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,³ forms an infantile counterpart to lads of our type, who would be around eight years old. JDD

PROVENANCE: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 148, no. 62 (to Severo workshop); De Winter 1986, p. 107 (to Severo workshop)

NOTES

1. The alloy was identified as a brass with minor lead and tin and trace impurities. R. Stone/TR, 2016. 2. Jestaz 1972, pp. 76–77, fig. 15. For further discussion and a list of other casts, see De Winter 1986, pp. 104–5, 134 n. 57. 3. NGA, 1957.14.46.

A. *Spinario* (Boy Pulling a Thorn from His Foot)
 Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
 (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, first half of the 16th century (?)

Bronze, on a later stone base

7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (18.1 × 9.2 × 12.4 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.100.76a, b](#))

B. *Spinario* (Boy Pulling a Thorn from His Foot)
 Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
 (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, first half of the 16th century (?)

Bronze

9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (24.4 × 18.4 × 16.5 cm)

The Jules S. Bache Collection, 1949 ([49.7.75](#))

These two statuettes entered The Met in the 1940s thanks to a pair of important bequests, the first in 1941 from George Blumenthal and the second in 1949 from Jules S. Bache.¹ Both bronzes were inspired by the renowned classical model of the *Spinario* (p. 74, fig. 9a), an ancient sculpture that drew much attention and acclaim in the modern era due certainly to its continuous display, starting at least from the twelfth century, in prominent places in the center of Rome; it was recorded in 1165–67 next to the Palazzo del Laterano and the Archbasilica of Saint John Lateran, and then transferred at the behest of Pope Sixtus IV to the Capitoline, where he was assembling a group of important ancient Roman relics, including the *She-wolf* now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.²

However, compared with this well-known prototype, The Met sculptures present numerous variations. Beyond the obvious divergence in scale, there are stylistic differences such as the dry, almost coarse treatment of the hair and anatomy, as well as compositional changes. The figure’s pose itself differs, with the leg positions reversed (in the original, the right leg supports the left). The same reversal is documented in a print attributed to Marcantonio Raimondi usually dated to the years 1502–4;³ and although in this case the modification can be explained by technical reasons related to the engraving process, documents such as this can be deemed authoritative “precedents” in the engaging game of *variatio*.

It is these discrepancies that link our two objects to a wider corpus of bronze *Spinario* reductions, to which can be added another in The Met ([cat. 41](#)).⁴ The Bache bronze has an elaborate triangular base supported by lion’s paws and holding up a small pilaster decorated with a phytomorphic mask. A similar though not identical element can be seen on the version once owned by John Edward Taylor.⁵ The concordance between the mask on the Bache base and that on a lantern of a satyr in chains attributable to Severo da Ravenna, a cast of which can



Cat. 39A



be found in the Frick, prompted John Pope-Hennessy to connect our bronze to the artist's workshop.⁶ Moreover, a similar motif can be seen on lamps and metal boxes that have been traced back to the same production context.⁷ It is important to note, however, that recent technical analysis underlined modern alterations to the figure to accommodate its join to the base, suggesting that the two elements were not created together to form a single statuette.⁸

Nevertheless, scientific analysis carried out on various examples of *Spinarios* related to the above-mentioned group in, for instance, London, Oxford, and Washington, D.C.,⁹ shows fabrication methods consistent with the practices of Severo's workshop. Anthony Radcliffe places the prototype for this group in the early phase of the sculptor's output, while Dylan Smith has situated it in a more advanced stage of his career, understood as the second decade of the sixteenth century.¹⁰

The Bache bronze is distinguished by an uneven cast and an apparent absence of cold work. The boy's pupils are defined. His right hand holds the ankle, which rests on his left leg, and the thorn is stuck in his right heel. The Blumenthal *Spinario* is also the result of a technically defective casting and shows no evident traces of chiseling. Here, the boy's right palm rests higher up on the calf of his bent leg, while he pulls the thorn from the sole of his foot. The boy's hair has less volume, and his pupils are not delineated. These characteristics suggest slightly later, lesser-quality derivations of Severo's prototype. TM

PROVENANCE: **(A)** George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA). **(B)** Jules S. Bache, New York (until d. 1944; to MMA)

LITERATURE: **(A)** Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. L; Munhall 1978, no. 9; D. Smith 2008, p. 78 n. 91; Vout 2018, p. 280 n. 43. **(B)** Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 141, 146; St. Petersburg 1981, cat. 13; Radcliffe et al. 1992, pp. 206–9, no. 33; Radcliffe and Penny 2004, pp. 80–83, no. 12; Warren 2014, pp. 217–18

NOTES

1. Before Bache's bequest, his collection was on view at The Met from 1944; see https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028_coll12/id/335. 2. Haskell and Penny 1981, p. 308, no. 78. 3. One example is in the British Museum, 1973-U.83; see Laura Aldovini in Gregori 2003, vol. 1, p. 466, cat. XI.20. 4. The series of *Spinarios* includes examples in the Walters Art Museum, 54.71; formerly Bode-Museum, 1809 (now lost; see Bode and Knapp 1904, p. 15, no. 329); Bargello, 393 B; V&A, 4533&A-1858; Trivulzio collection, Milan (Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, pl. LXXXVIII); Ashmolean, WA1899.CDEF.B1078; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 976.156.1 (Keeble 1982, pp. 45–47, no. 20); Fondation Bemberg, Toulouse (Cros 1996, p. 39); Robert H. Smith collection, Washington, D.C. (Radcliffe and Penny 2004, pp. 80–83); Galleria Giorgio Franchetti, Ca' d'Oro, Venice, 61 (Candida 1981, pp. 19–23, no. 3); Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5441 and KK 5537 (incomplete works; see Planiscig 1924, pp. 15–17); ex-Beit collection (Richard 2007, pp. 33–35); ex-J. Pierpont Morgan collection (Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. 25, no. 87); ex-Thomas Gibson Carmichael collection, auctioned at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, May 12–13, 1902, lot 45; Christie's, London, June 23, 1982, lot 108.

This list is based on D. Smith 2008, p. 78 n. 91. The versions range in height from 16.9 to 20 cm. 5. The ex-Taylor is now lost but available in old photographs; see Christie, Manson & Woods, London, July 1–9, 1912, lot 7; Parke-Bernet, New York, October 28, 1967, lot 38. 6. Frick, 1916.2.20; see Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 145–46. 7. Radcliffe et al. 1992, pp. 206–9, no. 33. 8. R. Stone/TR, June 20, 2018. XRF indicates the figure was cast in a tin bronze and the base in a brass. Stone notes that the two elements appear to be of the same period. 9. See note 4. 10. Radcliffe and Penny 2004, pp. 80–83, no. 12; D. Smith 2008, pp. 65–66, 69; Warren 2014, pp. 124–29, no. 35.

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A. *Spinario (Boy Pulling a Thorn from His Foot)* After a model by Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, first half of the 16th century (?)

Bronze

6¼ × 3¾ × 4 in. (17.1 × 9.5 × 10.2 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.1)

B. *Spinario (Boy Pulling a Thorn from His Foot)* After a model by Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, first half of the 16th century (?)

Bronze

6¾ × 3¾ × 4¾ in. (16.2 × 8.6 × 11.7 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931
(32.100.170)

The two sculptures are miniatures of the renowned *Spinario* now in the Musei Capitolini in Rome, an ancient bronze that depicts a boy pulling a thorn from his left foot (p. 74, fig. 9a). Our bronzes reproduce its overall design while taking numerous liberties with the figure's anatomy and physiognomy. Of the seven bronze statuettes representing the same subject in The Met's collection, these two share an indisputable likeness in the rendering of the musculature and the somewhat caricatural appearance of the faces. The bronzes also exhibit a similar treatment of the hair—brushed forward around the forehead and temples, rippling in generous curls above the shoulders—and a common support in the form of a stylized tree stump, which, in its dry naturalism, recalls the rocky base of the antique model. The ancient *Spinario* was much studied in the medieval and Renaissance eras, when it was on constant public display (see cat. 39).

The first of these two works (A) entered The Met as a gift from Ogden Mills in 1924, while the other (B) was part of the Friedsam bequest in 1932. Curator Joseph Breck described the first as a Paduan work from around 1500; the second he assigned to the same geographic area dating to the sixteenth century. He did not establish a link between the two bronzes.



Cat. 40A

Following Anthony Radcliffe’s categorization of *Spinario* types,¹ our bronzes should be placed in a group of statuettes, all corresponding in overall design and dimensions to a common prototype, that includes one in the Louvre, another in the Frick (in which the figure was adapted to an inkwell), and one in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., as well as several examples that have circulated on the art market and are now in private collections.² A *Spinario* once in the Haviland collection and another in the Bargello can also be associated with this corpus, although the latter stands apart from the



Cat. 40B

others in its treatment of the physiognomy and hair.³ According to Radcliffe, closely related to this family of bronzes is one in the Stift Klosterneuburg.⁴

Building on the pioneering research of Leo Planiscig, Charles Avery, and Radcliffe, Dylan Smith has demonstrated that the casting technique employed in the Washington *Spinario* corresponds in part to practices followed by Severo Calzetta da Ravenna.⁵ According to Smith, this bronze has internal “nails at the top of the head and on the buttocks” as well as “hollowed . . . thighs,” in which “there was a core supported by a

nail inserted at knee-height directed toward the figure's bottom." In his opinion, it is exactly this detail that places the Washington statuette in an intermediary stage of Severo's career, that is, directly following the "experimental" phase of the artist's formative production in the early years of the sixteenth century, paving the way for later casts such as the little *David* also in Washington.⁶ Severo's later works in fact consistently display legs that are even more hollow than those of the Washington *Spinario*.⁷ Radcliffe claims, moreover, that this formulation of the antique subject postdates another sequence of bronzes that can also be traced back to a Severo model which diverges from the ancient sculpture in the reversed position of the limbs (cats. 39, 41).⁸

According to John Pope-Hennessy, the attribution to Severo of both prototypes is reinforced by the fact that in each group there is at least one figure attached to an analogous triangular base with a pilaster and similar decorative elements, for example cat. 39B and a bronze formerly in the collection of John Edward Taylor, now untraceable but documented in photographs.⁹ At the same time, the considerable formal disparities among the single works complicate the assignment of the present pair of bronzes to Severo's workshop, in particular if one considers their relationship to the classic prototype. In adapting the Capitoline exemplar, the two sculptures—like the other similar pieces inspired by the same model—undermine the grace and suspended timelessness of the original composition, yielding to an "expressionistic" tendency that often surpasses in intensity other works unanimously attributed to Severo, such as the *Neptune on a Sea-Monster* in the Frick (1916.2.12) or the *Saint John the Baptist* in the Ashmolean (p. 59, fig. 2e).

The great quantity of known examples suggests that the production of *Spinarios* continued over a long period.¹⁰ Their quality likely declined over time. The casting of The Met's pair is rather coarse, with minimal chasing, and while the Friedsam figure and trunk are integral, the Mills support is independent and attached with a forged iron rod that was inserted into the buttocks after the original Severo-type screw broke off.¹¹

The fame of this particular composition is attested to in a portrait of Cardinal Antonio Pucci by Pier Francesco Foschi dated 1540 (fig. 40a).¹² On the table next to the subject is a bronze statuette of the *Spinario*, adapted as an inkwell, which corresponds to the type from the present series. TM

PROVENANCE: (A) Baron Larrey (probably Dominique-Jean Larrey [1766–1842], Surgeon General of the Grande Armée); Mme Edouard Warneck, Paris (until 1905; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 3–4, 1905, lot 140); Rosenberg, Paris (until 1924; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 12–13, 1924, lot 113); Ogden Mills (in 1924; to MMA). (B) Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: (A) MMA 1924; Breck 1925, p. 3. (B) MMA 1932, p. 60; Vout 2018, p. 280 n. 43



Fig. 40a. Pier Francesco Foschi (1502–1567), *Portrait of Cardinal Antonio Pucci*, 1540. Oil on panel; 45¾ × 34¾ in. (116 × 88 cm). Galleria Corsini, Florence

NOTES

1. Radcliffe and Penny 2004, pp. 80–83, no. 12.
2. Louvre, OA 6129 (Migeon 1909); Frick, 1916.2.34 (Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. 25, no. 88; Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 145–47); NGA, 1957.14.14 (Ricci 1931, pp. 10–12, no. 5). For those now in private collections, see: ex-John Edward Taylor collection, auctioned at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, July 1–9, 1912, lot 7, and again at Parke-Bernet, New York, October 28, 1967, lot 38; ex-Hatvany collection (London 1988, pp. 28–29, cat. 24); Marc-Arthur Kohn, Paris, November 16, 2011, lot 13; and ex-Eugene V. Thaw collection, Christie's, New York, October 30, 2018, lot 358. This list is based in part on D. Smith 2008, p. 76 n. 43.
3. Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 14–15, 1922, lot 83 (according to which the Haviland bronze is 13 cm, smaller than our other examples); Bargello, 395 B.
4. Inv. KG 1; see Planiscig 1942, p. 7, no. 1. For other examples of this type, see Beck and Bol 1985, p. 352, cat. 51.
5. Planiscig 1935; C. Avery and Radcliffe 1983; Anthony Radcliffe in Martineau and Hope 1983, p. 386.
6. NGA, 1942.9.103; see Washington 1994, p. 27.
7. D. Smith 2008, pp. 54–55, 59; see also Stone 2006.
8. Radcliffe and Penny 2004, pp. 80–83, no. 12.
9. Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 145–46. For photographs of the ex-Taylor bronze, see Christie, Manson & Woods, London, July 1–9, 1912, lot 7, and Parke-Bernet, New York, October 28, 1967, lot 38. For new observations on the base element, see cat. 39.
10. D. Smith 2008, p. 73.
11. R. Stone/TR, June 25, 2008.
12. Warren 2014, p. 129.



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Spinario (Boy Pulling a Thorn from His Foot)
Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, first half of the 16th century (?)

Bronze

Height 7½ in. (19.1 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.9)

James David Draper assigned this *Spinario* a northern Italian provenance and dated it to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, reiterating the work's dependence on the illustrious

ancient prototype, the sculpture of a boy extracting a thorn from his foot in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Like the *Spinarios* discussed in [cat. 39](#), the present bronze differs from the ancient statue in the inverted position of the limbs. It is part of a series of casts of the same subject and with similar dimensions (16.9–20 cm) that, despite variations in surface treatment and details, stream from the same exemplar produced in Severo's workshop.¹ One point of scholarly contention is whether this model was created in the early or late phase of the artist's career.² The large number of replicas suggests that production of casts based on Severo's model continued well beyond his death, with a concomitant decline in quality.³ The present bronze displays no skilled cold work. The support

trunk—integral with the figure—has an unusual distinguishing feature, a rather summarily executed head of a ram mounted like a trophy. TM

PROVENANCE: Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Falke 1925, p. 2, no. 14; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 161, no. 301

NOTES

1. For the other casts, see [cat. 39](#), note 4. 2. Radcliffe and Penny 2004, pp. 80–83, no. 12; D. Smith 2008, pp. 65–66, 69; Warren 2014, pp. 124–29, no. 35. 3. D. Smith 2008, p. 73.

— 42 —

A. *Cupid Bearing a Quiver and a Candle Socket*

Possibly Padua, probably mid-16th century

Bronze

4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (11.7 × 6.4 × 4.4 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

([32.100.176](#))

B. *Cupid Holding a Shield and a Candle Socket*

Padua, late 16th century or later

Bronze, on a later marble base

4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 2 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (10.5 × 7 × 5.9 cm) (without base)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

([32.100.177](#))

Although the American collector Michael Friedsam probably purchased these diminutive winged *Cupids* in 1916 as a pair, they were not originally companion figures. Whether either was intended to be an independent statuette is also uncertain. What is sure is that each composition ultimately derives from figures decorating bronze functional objects that today are associated with the workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna.¹ Two rare complete works in the Ashmolean illustrate this point. The shield-bearing putto surmounting a boat-shaped oil lamp and stand (fig. 42a) is the formal prototype for The Met's *Cupid Holding a Shield and a Candle Socket*.² The pose of the candle-bearing putto on an inkstand (fig. 42b) is a precedent for that of *Cupid Bearing a Quiver and a Candle Socket*.³

By the mid-sixteenth century, elaborate bronze inkstands, oil lamps, perfume burners, and candlesticks had become popular statement pieces announcing their owners' wealth, erudition, and taste.⁴ Severo was instrumental in creating a market for such objects by exploiting the technology of bronze. To maximize production, he developed indirect casting techniques that simplified the replication of his works. He also invented an ingenious method for assembling complicated bronze objects,

like the Ashmolean oil lamp and inkstand, from small, separately cast parts that attached together.⁵ The Met *Cupids* could have begun as elements in such a functional ensemble. If so, at some later time, perhaps in the nineteenth century, their integrally cast screw or rod attachments were cut away and their bases filed down to adapt the figures for mounting on individual marble socles.⁶

Severo established his workshop around 1510 in the port city of Ravenna, a location that facilitated the export of his bronzes throughout Italy. After the master's death, the shop may have remained active for almost sixty years, producing bronzes in large numbers with little stylistic variation but in ever declining quality until around 1600. During these decades, other bronze sculptors copied popular compositions, changing and sometimes degrading them in the process.⁷ The productivity and longevity of Severo's workshop and the wide dissemination and imitation of his bronzes make attributing and dating figures like our *Cupids* exercises without definitive answers.

Based on its design, modeling, and tooling, *Cupid Holding a Shield* could be a very late variant far removed from Severo's shop, or it might even be a nineteenth-century fake. In comparison with the compact, robust shield-bearing putto on the Ashmolean oil lamp, our Cupid is ill-proportioned, with a head much too small for his long torso and limbs. Overall the modeling is weak, the musculature flaccid, and the shield reminiscent of a slab of chocolate. The wings are anomalous additions. No putto of this type associated with Severo's workshop has them. Although a candle-socket motif common to the shop is copied, its functional purpose is misunderstood. Cupid brandishes the socket sidewise as if it were a club instead of a usable upright fixture. Bronzes related to Severo's workshop are minimally tooled in the metal. The aggressive filing marks up and down Cupid's back and across his thighs are uncharacteristic of that master or of any other Renaissance master's method of tooling bronze.

By contrast, *Cupid Bearing a Quiver* displays an elegant Renaissance unity between concept and execution. Although tiny, the figure is instantly identified as the god of love through his attributes of wings, quiver, and perhaps a lost bow that he may have grasped around the attachment hole in his right hand. He strides energetically forward, arm swinging, turning his muscular body in the opposite direction to look up at the enormous candleholder he effortlessly balances in the crook of his left arm. The pint-sized dynamo's message is clear: *Amor vincit omnia* (Love conquers all), a proclamation that could have taken on different meanings according to the sculpture's location. When displayed in the Renaissance scholar's study, the work could have been a reminder that Eros has the power to overwhelm enlightened pursuits. In a communal domestic setting, the miniature herculean figure could have teasingly threatened to ignite the flames of passion. One can only imagine how the *Cupid's* meanings would have been amplified by



Cat. 42A

the function and decoration of the lost object, such as an inkwell or oil lamp, on which it may have stood.

Both Met *Cupids* are solid casts, but *Cupid Bearing a Quiver* is modeled adroitly. The unknown Renaissance master memorably distinguishes between the figure's sturdy muscularity and soft infant fleshiness, and captures its chubby-cheeked expression of mischievous delight. Linear details such as Cupid's upturned eyes, tight curls, and feathers were swiftly inscribed into the wax model. Left untooled in the metal, these incised strokes impart to the finished work the vibrancy of a quickly drawn sketch. Motifs such as the candle socket with its distinctive acanthus-leaf pattern also associate the *Cupid* with Severo's shop production. The figure's turning pose and additional attributes of quiver and wings suggest that the sculpture was modeled around the mid-sixteenth century, when the shop's compositions were notable for their complexity and elaborateness. At some point, perhaps in the nineteenth century, the *Cupid* was broken and heavily repaired with lead solder and repatinated with a translucent reddish varnish that is characteristic



Cat. 42B

of seventeenth-century Florentine bronzes rather than of the black paint finishes used in Severo's shop.⁸

Nothing is known about our *Cupids* prior to their appearance in publications by the scholar, connoisseur, curator, and director-general of the Prussian museums, Wilhelm von Bode. At the turn of the twentieth century, Bode commanded a preeminent role in the international network of experts, art dealers, museum professionals, and private collectors that promoted the bronze statuette as an important artistic genre.⁹ His lavishly illustrated *Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, published in German and English between 1907 and 1912, was the first comprehensive catalogue in which these works were systematically classified according to their region, period, maker, and type.¹⁰ The immense authority of this and of Bode's other catalogues shaped the way bronzes were understood and valued. For example, in 1899, when *Cupid Bearing a Quiver* was in the Pfungst collection, Bode catalogued the figure as "Florentine, c. 1450."¹¹ The designation associated the work with the groundbreaking and dynamic small bronze putti created by the Florentine sculptor

Donatello that Bode mistakenly thought were designed to be independent figures.¹² This faulty link encouraged the perception of the *Cupid* as a standalone sculpture in its own right, enhancing its prestige and its potential market worth.¹³

In 1901, the fabulously wealthy financier and prodigious collector J. Pierpont Morgan acquired both *Cupids* along with the entire Pfungst collection of bronzes.¹⁴ Both appear in Bode's catalogue of the Morgan collection, published in 1910, bearing new attributions to the workshop of the Paduan master Andrea Riccio, who had become Bode's catch-all for small-scale bronzes of this type until scholars identified Severo da Ravenna in the 1930s.¹⁵ Although Bode noted in the introduction that the *Cupids* probably had been detached from lost functional ensembles,¹⁶ his comment was belied by his cataloguing of them as independent figures and by the state-of-the-art plate of the shield-bearing Cupid that encouraged appreciation of each statuette on its own. In 1914, a year after Morgan's death, his varied, vast collections were placed on display at The Met in a special loan exhibition. Considered the "chief feature," of the "First Renaissance Room," the bronzes were shown in large free-standing glass cases in which they were arranged according to Bode's classifications in the Morgan catalogue.¹⁷ The author of the exhibition brochure praised the number, importance, and quality of the Morgan bronzes and lauded Bode's pioneering work in bringing this hitherto little-known art form to light through systematic study.¹⁸

The revelatory exhibition introduced Italian bronzes to American collectors and whetted their appetite for them. In 1916, the powerful dealer Joseph Duveen acquired Morgan's collection en bloc and offered first choice to a strategic selection of collecting magnates, including Henry Clay Frick, Henry Huntington, and Michael Friedsam.¹⁹ Duveen's ability to direct his clients' interests was legendary, his timing impeccable. Friedsam had begun collecting seriously after the death of his cousin, department-store magnate Benjamin Altman.²⁰ Although Altman had assembled a magnificent collection of European art, he had done so before Bode, Morgan, The Met, and Duveen had made owning Italian bronzes desirable. Embracing a novel opportunity, Friedsam acquired twenty-seven of Morgan's bronzes, among them the *Cupids*.²¹

Frick, who demanded "the finest," selected works individually from the Morgan catalogue.²² By contrast, Friedsam appears to have been satisfied with a comparatively modest representative group that he paid for in one lump sum.²³ In Duveen's itemized invoice of the sale, bronzes of similar subject and size, like the *Cupids*, are sometimes paired in sequence, suggesting that Friedsam purchased these as pendants. For the bronzes' display in Friedsam's mansion on East 68th Street, Duveen provided a custom-made glass cabinet that adapted the design of The Met's exhibition cases to a grand domestic setting.²⁴ The cabinet of bronzes stood as the centerpiece in a room hung with masterpieces of seventeenth-century Dutch



Fig. 42a. Probably workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38), Boat-shaped Oil Lamp and Stand, ca. 1510–30. Bronze; H. 12½ in. (31.6 cm). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Presented by C. D. E. Fortnum, 1888 (WA1888.CDEF.B1098)



Fig. 42b. Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, Inkstand with Figure of a Putto, second quarter of the 16th century. Bronze; H. 8¾ in. (21.3 cm). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Presented by C. D. E. Fortnum, 1888 (WA1888.CDEF.B1094)

painting.²⁵ Friedsam's acquisition and presentation of Italian Renaissance bronzes underscored their newly won recognition as an important artistic genre that demanded inclusion in collections aspiring to exceptionality. Following his bequest to The Met in 1931, the Friedsam bronzes became a cornerstone of the museum's growing holdings. Although today most of them rightly would be judged of middling to poor quality, and some as fakes, the fundamental role they played in the early development of bronze studies and in the history of American collecting should not be forgotten. DA

PROVENANCE: (A & B) Henry J. Pfunst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: (A) Bode 1899, no. 27; Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. 14, no. 48; Planiscig 1927, p. 201. (B) Bode 1910, vol. 1, pp. xvi, 15, no. 50, pl. XXXV

NOTES

1. For Severo and his workshop, see Warren 2001b. 2. Warren 2014, pp. 137–40, no. 38, with exploded diagram illustrating separate components and references to other versions of this figure type. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 141–43, no. 39, with exploded diagram illustrating separate components. 4. See Warren 2006, with earlier sources. 5. For Severo's casting and fabrication techniques, see Motture 2019, pp. 43, 158–62; D. Smith 2013a; Stone 2006. 6. *Cupid Holding a Shield and a Candle Socket* is still fixed to the marble socle on which it is illustrated in the Morgan collection catalogue (Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. 14, no. 48). *Cupid Bearing a Quiver and a Candle Socket* no longer retains the round porphyry socle on which it was mounted when in the Pfunst collection; see illustration in Bode 1899, no. 27. 7. For the late phase of Severo's workshop production, see Warren 2014, p. 140. 8. Based on visual examination undertaken with Linda Borsch, it appears that lead solder was used to reattach the upper portion of the candleholder and to fill flaws or damages to the left calf, the back half of the left foot, and the back of the left upper arm. For patinas, see Stone 2010. 9. For Bode, see Krahn 1995, pp. 34–55; for Bode's influence in the U.S., see Tilliette 2014 and Jeffrey Fraiman's essay in this volume. 10. See Bode and Draper 1980, p. vii. 11. For Bode's relationship with Henry Pfunst, see Warren 1996, pp. 128–30. 12. Motture 2019, pp. 145–47. 13. For Bode's influence on the rising price of bronze statuettes, see Warren 1996, p. 130. 14. The following paragraphs are indebted to the research and arguments in Gennari-Santori 2010. 15. For the identification and early attribution history of Severo da Ravenna, see Bode and Draper 1980, p. xi. 16. Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. xvi. 17. New York 1914, p. xi, no. 13; Gennari-Santori 2010, pp. 312–15, fig. 4. 18. New York 1914, p. 41. 19. Gennari-Santori 2010, pp. 318–19. 20. See Jeanne Abrams, "Benjamin Altman," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship, 1720 to the Present*, at <http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=90>. 21. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Duveen Brothers Records: Box 156 (folders 1–3) Morgan collection invoices, 1915–1919, Copy invoices of sales from Morgan collection of bronzes, June 1916–Nov. 1917: July 6 (1916) (image 0027), nos. 48 and 50. 22. Gennari-Santori 2010, pp. 319–20. 23. See note 21. 24. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Duveen Brothers Records: Correspondence Fri-FZ (Image 104), Duveen to Friedsam, August 25, 1916, "cabinet for bronzes ready in ten days time." 25. Pène du Bois 1917, p. 401.



Cat. 43

Atlas Supporting a Vessel

Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Probably Ravenna, mid-16th century

Bronze

7 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (18.7 × 6 × 7 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1971 (1971.171)

Patrick De Winter observed that in *L'antiquité expliquée* (1719–22), the antiquarian Bernard de Montfaucon included the engraving of an example similar to this one, although masquerading as Hercules with the addition of a lionskin.¹ The Met's vessel, with acanthus, now suggests an inkwell, but it would leak, the soldered join attaching it having loosened.² A marginally better *Atlas* in the Bargello shoulders an oil lamp, and a vigorously chased one recently on the market had an inkwell besides.³ Ours is distinguished by a rude gouging-out around the sex organs and the arbitrary shaping of the lumbar region, done with a sharp tool in the wax before casting.

The figure reappears on the top tier of the statuettes that embellish a little-discussed candle stand in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Whether that work is a product of the Severo shop is open to question. It is odd that the straining Titan would bear the smallest, topmost zone. Anthony Radcliffe pointed out that the Cleopatra on it, a different model from The Met ones (cat. 34), derives from an invention by Baccio Bandinelli first mentioned in 1544.⁴ JDD

PROVENANCE: [Mrs. William J. Robertson, Los Angeles]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1971; to MMA)

LITERATURE: De Winter 1986, p. 101 n. 52

NOTES

1. De Winter 1986, p. 87, fig. 26. 2. The alloy was identified as a leaded brass with some tin. R. Stone/TR, 2010. 3. De Winter 1986, p. 102, fig. 61; for the bronze with Julius Böhler of Munich, see Maastricht 2016, p. 202. 4. FAMSF, 61.35; see Radcliffe 1986, p. 185.

Atlas Supporting the Globe

Italy

Various assembled components, from 16th–19th century

Bronze

10 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 6 $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (27.6 × 17.9 × 16.4 cm)

Bequest of Annie C. Kane, 1926 (26.260.28)

In 1926, The Met received a bequest from the late Annie C. Kane of more than 100 objects, mostly European decorative arts, that had adorned her Italian Renaissance–style McKim, Mead & White home on Fifth Avenue. When curator Joseph Breck published the Kane bequest the next year, he singled out this bronze for praise. It was one of only a handful of objects to be illustrated, with Breck highlighting its attribution to Riccio. Since then, the bronze has been nearly forgotten.

The neglect may have to do with its inferior quality, its makeup a heterogeneous array of disparate parts cast in different centuries and likely assembled in the nineteenth to satisfy a market for a popular composition. Indeed, at least twenty examples of this or similar compositions are known: a kneeling Atlas supporting a globe, surmounted by a small child—a utilitarian object that in its most complete state (the exquisite bronze today in the Frick) functioned as an inkwell and oil lamp.¹

The early attribution of these bronzes to Riccio, proposed by Leo Planiscig, has since been abandoned in favor of an association with Severo da Ravenna and his workshop. The reasons for the link to Severo include the similarity between Atlas's pose and known kneeling figures by the artist, technical characteristics of the best versions, which align with his workshop practice, and the Veneto-friendly subject matter. Charles Avery has drawn a connection between the bronze figures of Atlas and the ancient marble *Ercole Orario*, since destroyed but the subject of intense antiquarian interest in Ravenna at the end of the quattrocento.²

According to Richard Stone, only the triangular base of The Met's bronze might have something to do, if distantly, with Severo's workshop, and is likely the only component that should be dated to the sixteenth century.³ The figure of Atlas is crudely modeled, with little detailing in the modeling or finishing. The inkpot that screws into the base, likely a nineteenth-century product, is of poor quality, with thin uneven walls yielding holes in certain areas; it could scarcely have held any actual ink. The globe atop Atlas's shoulders, rather schematic in its simplistic ornamentation, also appears nineteenth century in its manufacture, and is nonfunctional despite its putative purpose as an oil lamp (by contrast, the globe on the Frick bronze can be opened for refilling). Puzzlingly, the small child playfully posed on the globe was once gilded. JF



PROVENANCE: Annie C. Kane (until 1926; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Breck 1927, pp. 71–72

NOTES

1. See C. Avery 1998b, p. 92, no. 52, for a list of seventeen variants, to which should be added the present example and a superior version also in The Met (Lehman Collection, 1975.1399), for which see Scholten 2011, pp. 30–32, no. 14. For the Frick bronze (1915.2.24), see Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 106–11. 2. C. Avery 1998b, p. 92. 3. The alloy of the base is a lightly leaded brass that is typical of Severo's shop practice, and the hole for attachment of the inkpot has typical Severan threads. In contrast, the figure of Atlas is a leaded bronze, and the globe and its surmounting putto contain substantial amounts of tin. There are also distinct differences in the surface finish on separate elements, including traces of oil gilding on the putto. R. Stone/TR, May 15, 2008.

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Mercury

Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Ravenna, mid-16th century

Bronze, on an ancient bronze base

10 × 2½ × 2¼ in. (25.4 × 6.4 × 5.7 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.75)

Mercury, with open mouth and fairly expansive gesture (his left hand once held a caduceus), appears in his role as god of eloquence. A more energetic variation of the model has bulging thighs.¹ Squarish plugs, characteristic of Severo's workshop, are above the buttocks. The statuette was later mounted by two screws to a waisted bronze socle with a beaded molding and a green patina of uncertain date, which was probably supplied to make the piece look "Roman." JDD

PROVENANCE: Mme Edouard Warneck, Paris (until 1905; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 3–4, 1905, lot 132); George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal, New York (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. XLVII (as a Perseus, "by an artist between Bellano and Riccio")

NOTE

1. Private collection, Munich (as "Meister der Götterfiguren"), per Weihrauch 1967, fig. 125.



Cat. 45

David with the Head of Goliath
 Workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
 (active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua or Ravenna, mid-16th century

Bronze

10¾ × 4½ × 2¾ in. (27.3 × 11.4 × 7 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1411](#))



By the mid-sixteenth century, Severo's shop was already in decline, and the downturn in quality of its output is painfully obvious.¹ The modeler knew our Bellano *David* ([cat. 2](#)) as well as that in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which we attribute to Severo (see p. 56, fig. 2a), but apparently at some remove. An inscription, MARCO.ANTONIO.RAVENNA F.G.F., occurs on a slightly better example in the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, introduced into the literature by Patrick De Winter, who notes a Marcantonio at work in the cloister of Santa Maria in Porto, Ravenna, in 1506.² Severo's relations have otherwise gone unnamed, but Marcantonio may well have been among them.

The shop's takeoffs on the *Davids* of Bellano and Severo take two forms: a broad-browed youth of greater allure, represented by a good statuette in the V&A,³ and a more widespread type, including ours, where the hero reflects upon an absurdly small head of Goliath while feebly wielding a sword. Ours is a scimitar, but the weapons vary.⁴ Richard Stone notes that the positioning of plugs in the rear of the shoulders is characteristic of Severo's figures when clothed.⁵ JDD

PROVENANCE: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, pp. xii, 6–7, pl. 8 (to school of Bellano); De Winter 1986, p. 122, fig. 126 (to Severo workshop); Camins 1988, pp. 23–24, cat. 4 (to Severo); Stone 2006, pp. 813–14, fig. 7 (to Severo); D. Smith 2008, pp. 52–53, 56, figs. 11, 12 (to Severo workshop)

NOTES

1. For the late production of Severo's workshop, see Warren 2014, p. 140. 2. National Museum of Scotland, 1877.20.44; see De Winter 1986, p. 121, figs. 122, 123. Radcliffe 1986, p. 185, doubts the inscription is a signature but more likely records the name of an owner. The present writer's recollection is that the letters were cast-in and thus probably original. 3. V&A, 593-1865; see De Winter 1986, p. 106, fig. 74 (to Severo and workshop). A good one was in the Abbott Guggenheim collection (Camins 1988, cat. 4). 4. See De Winter 1986, p. 138 n. 79, for a list of casts. 5. Stone 2006, pp. 813–14, fig. 8.



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**Oil Lamp Based on the Form of
an African's Head**
Associated with workshop of
Severo Calzetta da Ravenna
(active Padua from 1496, Ravenna 1511–38)

Padua, mid-16th century or later

Bronze

8 × 6¾ × 6½ in. (20.3 × 17.1 × 16.5 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 ([68.141.24](#))

This lamp is a composite of multiple parts. A small vessel in the shape of a horned, open-mouthed bust sits atop a base, the protruding tongue serving as a runnel for the wick. Support comes from three cloven legs, which are wrapped in acanthus leaves and vines. These converge at a central stand, where three monstrous faces bedecked with festoons offer a chorus of silent screams. Despite the echoes between the faces' widened mouths and that of the lamp, the vessel and base were conceived separately, joined later with a screw.

The vessel represents a design widespread during the Renaissance, with numerous extant versions in museum collections.¹ It is a particular variant on a wider array of bronze lamps

styled on imagery of black Africans.² Such lamps derived from ancient prototypes and relate to a broader history of antique vessels shaped as heads of black Africans.³ Renaissance lamps of this type approached their subjects in a dehumanizing fashion, exaggerating facial features and adding horns and foliage, attributes typical of satyrs.⁴ Such lamps were rooted in the treatment of race in the Renaissance and speak to the extensive, vile stereotyping of black Africans during the period.⁵ The Veneto, where this bronze was produced, notably achieved wealth through the commerce and ownership of slaves, including from sub-Saharan Africa.⁶ RC

PROVENANCE: Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. See, for example, Bode-Museum, 7302; Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna, 1410; Louvre, OA 2800. 2. The Met's bronze is listed among a subset of such lamps grouped by shared design in De Winter 1986, p. 137 n. 74. 3. Boucher 1970, pp. 245–49; Spicer 2012, p. 11. For examples of such ancient vessels, see Snowden 1970, pp. 27–28. 4. See, e.g., Beck and Bol 1985, pp. 501–3. 5. Lowe 2005. 6. Lowe 2013 (with further bibliography); on the intersections of slavery and race in premodern Italy, see Epstein 2001.

*Neptune Seated on a Marine Monster
and Blowing a Conch Shell*

Italy, 17th century or later

Bronze, on a later stone base

7½ × 3 × 3 in. (18.1 × 7.6 × 7.6 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1926 (26.276.4)



This small bronze entered The Met in 1926 as part of a group of four objects given by Ogden Mills. The modest group was one of a series that Mills gifted to the museum from 1924 to his death in 1929. Acknowledging receipt of the group, curator Joseph Breck wrote to Mills, “I particularly like the box and the amusing little statuette of Neptune.”¹ The acquisition paperwork described it as a “Neptune seated on a marine monster and blowing a conch shell. Venetian, about 1500.”² By the 1940s, due to its rough-hewn aesthetic and marine imagery, the work had gained an attribution to Severo da Ravenna.³

Neptune’s posture—upright, with arm raised—shows a debt to not only Mannerist compositions like Giambologna’s *Triton* (cat. 116), but also later conceits like Bernini’s *Triton* in Piazza Barberini, Rome. Rather than being a product of Venice around 1500, the statuette likely dates no earlier than 1630. Richard Stone’s technical study of the object has yielded further information that clarifies its confusing facture and design. Stone uncovered a chemically induced original “friable layer of green which is clearly intended to look like an archaeological patina” underneath a later black varnish. Based on his findings, Stone considered this statuette “a diligent cinquecento or early seicento deception,” its face, hand, and horn finely modeled while the rest is “deliberately summarily modeled and heavily patinated to suggest the ravages of time.”⁴ JF

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1926; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Letter from Breck to Mills, dated November 12, 1926, MMA Archives. For the box, see cat. A28. 2. MMA Archives. 3. ESDA/OF. 4. R. Stone/TR, October 18, 2012.



4

Venice and
the Veneto,
16th-17th
Century

Horse and Rider Startled by a Snake

Venice and/or Padua, early 16th century

Bronze

9 × 8½ × 4 in. (22.9 × 21.6 × 10.2 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1419)

The subject is quite rare. A serpent occasionally threatens a horseman in intaglios believed to be ancient, and it is a safe bet that our modeler remembered one of them when fashioning this dramatic illustration of suspended motion (fig. 49a). The selection of the motif imposed a main profile view on the composition, but the artist lavished such attention on every contour and detail that the eye wants to explore all angles and is rewarded accordingly. The slant of the hole in the warrior's right hand shows that it originally lofted a spear diagonally. He gazes downward as if he had already spotted the menace lurking beyond the horse's hooves. The snake is smaller in relation to the whole than that in the intaglio but performs similarly, as a decorative arabesque. The hole in the top of the horse's head suggests that a feather, whether avian or metallic, could have been inserted for flourish. On its back at the bottom of its mane, an integrally cast strut pointed upward may have anchored the rider in the wax model but actually lets him slip to the side by a few degrees in the bronze. The design looks best when he tilts



Fig. 49a. *Horse and Rider Startled by a Snake*, after an ancient intaglio, from Salomon Reinach, *Pierres gravées* (Paris, 1895), pl. 61, 57, 3

slightly to his left and directs his eyes at the snake. In all likelihood the group was meant to be seen at eye level, where its perfect stasis and streamlined sophistication, lean and clean, are best apprehended.

The statuette consists of four separate elements: horse, rider, snake, and base. The condition is superb, with only minor scuffing where the rider's knees meet the horse's back. Technical examination by Richard Stone verified that the bronze was extraordinarily well cast with thin walls and no significant porosity.¹ To the naked eye, the surface finish is impeccable, achieved without any significant reworking of the metal after casting. The work is a brilliant demonstration of what we call a bronze "straight from the wax." Even the scale patterns along the leggings are unretouched, whereas practically any other finisher would have wanted to reinforce the ornament with some chasing. This one's top priority in both modeling and surfacing was delicacy. Whether modeler and founder were the same person remains to be determined.

The group is one of a mere handful of bronzes, all unique, by a northern Italian who was assumed in the twentieth century to be Riccio. The maker certainly knew and responded to Riccio's famous *Shouting Horseman* now in the V&A.² Riding bareback in a leather cuirass, our rider is a helmetless light cavalryman, generically Roman. As in the Riccio group, horse and rider, both baring their teeth, relate to each other with a powerful synergy. The Met's bronze occurs within the heroic phase of equestrian cogitations inaugurated by Leonardo da Vinci. There is considerable bravura in the horse's positioning on just two legs. The underside shows how the bronze tangs that support the rear hooves were inserted through holes in the base and brusquely but handsomely hammered into place like rivets, much like in bronzes by Antico. The warrior's left foot, curving upward, is not bent; rather, the toe pushes up naturally, helping the heel dig into the steed's flank.

Various aspects, namely the animal's taut grace and exquisite silhouette, and the warrior's fury and his rectilinear pteryges, place the bronze within an oeuvre that might be even more rarefied than Riccio's. In 1978, I proposed a tentative attribution to the Paduan silversmith Francesco da Sant'Agata on the basis of his signed boxwood statuette of Hercules swinging his club in the Wallace Collection, already known in the sixteenth century.³ Francesco is otherwise documented only as making liturgical silver. I no longer find the association tenable—the hardy musculature, sinuous curves, and monumentality of the boxwood find no counterparts in the bronzes about to be discussed, whose style still strikes me as inextricably related to that of our equestrian. In the probable order of their facture, they are the *Europa and the Bull* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (fig. 49b); a nude female figure, sometimes called Diana or Susanna, in the Frick; and the *Hecate*, also known, wrongly, as "Prudence," in the Skulpturensammlung, Berlin (fig. 49c).⁴





Fig. 49b. *Europa and the Bull*. Venice or Padua, late 15th–early 16th century. Bronze, lead inlay (eyes), later green patination; H. 7 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (18.2 cm). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (5363)



Fig. 49c. *Hecate or Prudentia*. Padua (?), early 16th century. Bronze, lead inlay (eyes); H. 10 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (27 cm). Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1942)

The members of this elite company wear grimacing Mantegnesque expressions on their small, shapely faces, their lips parted wide open to reveal teeth. The chunky folds of Europa's tunic remind us of another great Paduan, Bartolomeo Bellano (cat. 2), while the taut, minute calculation of the bovine's outline and its elegant neck wrinkles anticipate those of our *Horse and Rider*.⁵ As in the latter, the figure and the animal are cast separately. The goddess's legs struggle to keep her equilibrium, but her raised arm has the same conformation as our male's. Her left hand probably brandished a dagger not proper to Europa but to any number of ancient depictions of Mithras. Mithraic bulls are responsible especially for the pulled-back, swollen throat of the one she rides.⁶ The artificial green "archaeological" patination is to be ignored.

The Frick nude is based on an ancient Venus Pudica.⁷ Her head, directed sharply to her right, glares resentfully at an absent interloper, perhaps a pendant Actaeon. Technical examination suggests casting methods differing from those of the other bronzes under discussion—her arms, for instance, were solid-cast and finished before attachment—but it is hard not to see her small, slender feet and curled topknot as belonging to the rest of the group. Her eyes and nipples are inlaid with silver.

The Berlin *Hecate* proclaims masterful knowledge of Mantegna and antiquarianism.⁸ She obviously differs in having

a vertical orientation, but the concentrated features of all three of her heads and the corkscrew tendrils of her hair are quite like Europa's. The blocking out of her gown resembles that of Europa's tunic, and her gracefully frozen movements find counterparts in all the group. A curious feature is that her legs are incomplete, being cast-in channels above the hem. Her eyes, like Europa's, are inlaid with lead.

Jennifer Fletcher demonstrated that the *Hecate* and *Europa* were owned by the distinguished Venetian collector and man-about-the-arts Marcantonio Michiel (1484–1552): an undated inventory of Michiel properties, presumably those in the palace at Santa Marina and probably compiled for one of his sons, lists "a figure with three heads" and a "Europa carried off on a bull" valued at six and eight ducats, respectively.⁹ There is no question that Michiel understood the rare subject of Hecate (Latin: Trivia), for Pierio Valeriano dedicated a poem to him about that "three headed goddess."¹⁰ It is further within reason that his "female nude of bronze," valued at six ducats, was the Frick nude. Other Michiel bronzes, mostly of fauna, were "a Hercules," "a bull," "a little boy riding a goat," and "a satyr riding a ram." Fletcher points out that the scribe's terms can be inexact and posits that either of the last two might be the African youth on a billy goat in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham.¹¹ The boy has the sucked-in belly and lively

cadences of our horseman, but boy and goat are cast as one. However, the rough hide of the goat was realized in the wax and not chased afterward—i.e., like the finish of our equestrian.¹² The boy and goat very likely comprise the fourth valid statuette to be classed around our horseman, which is probably the last of them in date. No item with our subject occurs on the list, but Michiel had other residences. Alternatively, he might have given it to a friend, but it is of critical interest that our bronze's earliest known provenance was the Donà dalle Rose family, many of whose possessions, including Giovanni Bellini's immortal *Pietà* in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, had belonged to Michiel, a neighbor of Bellini and a known fan of Mantegna.¹³ The Michiel and the Donà dalle Rose were eminent dynasties, both giving the Republic doges.

So, who was this *petit maître* whose highly pictorial poetry was at its best every bit the equal of that of Bellini, Cima da Conegliano, or Vincenzo Catena? Michiel knew numerous artists, notably Riccio, a close friend who introduced him to the otherwise little-known Paduan founder Guido Lizzaro.¹⁴ Is it possible to detect a patrician amateur in our wondrously refined animalier? Making bronzes was a noble pursuit; we need only think of Antico and his august lineage. Is the man we seek Michiel himself? His peripatetic nature took him out of Venice for long stretches as he chronicled works of art all over the peninsula, but the development of style and the differing techniques in these bronzes suggest they could have been produced over a couple of decades by more than one hand. He was not fabulously wealthy but certainly well enough off to give time and attention to any hobby. He would have enjoyed maintaining a friendly rivalry with Riccio, to whom these bronzes pay such splendid homage. But there are no proofs whatsoever, and it remains only an attractive possibility.

Horse and Rider Startled by a Snake is the only bronze of the core group to preserve its original base. It is also the only one to have been imitated, in feebler riders of our type mounted on enlarged horses derived from those at the Basilica of San Marco.¹⁵ Decent replicas of the rider alone are in the Ca' d'Oro, Venice, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum. JDD

PROVENANCE: probably Marcantonio Michiel, Venice; Counts Donà dalle Rose, Venice (before 1926); [Raoul Heilbronner, Geneva]; [French & Company, New York, by 1929]; [John Simon, New York]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1926 (as Saint George by Andrea Riccio); Planiscig 1932b, pp. 914–17 (to Riccio); Planiscig 1942, no. 4 (to Riccio); Untermyer 1962, pp. xxvii–xxviii, 19–20 (to Riccio); Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 114–17 (as “model due to Riccio”); James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 161–62, no. 302 (as North Italian, probably Paduan); Draper 1978a, pp. 178–79 (as possibly by Francesco da Sant'Agata); Draper in Bordeaux 1981, cat. 127 (as before); Leithe-Jasper 1986, cat. 18 (as North Italian); Krahn 1995, cat. 31 (as Padua, ca. 1500); Wardropper 2011, no. 11 (as Northern Italy, perhaps Padua)

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, November 14, 2010.
2. V&A, A:88:1, 2-1910: see Peta Motture in Allen 2008a, cat. 19.
3. Inv. S273; see Warren 2016, vol. 1, pp. 242–57, no. 57.
4. The *Hercules and Antaeus* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1942.9.119, sometimes still assigned to Francesco da Sant'Agata, should now be extracted from this oeuvre. For it and an Antaeus by Francesco in Braunschweig, see Krahn 1995, cat. 34.
5. For the Budapest bronze, see Krahn 1995, cat. 33.
6. Joan R. Mertens, curator in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, volunteered this observation. Fletcher 1973, p. 384 n. 21, notes the similar coupling of bull and maiden in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*; see Colonna 1998, vol. 1, p. 162, plate labeled “Triumphus.”
7. Frick, 1916.2.14; see Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 98–105, who captions it “Riccio, attributed to” but suspects it is Mantuan.
8. See especially Krahn 1995, cat. 32.
9. Fletcher 1973, pp. 383–84; Fletcher 1981, p. 463.
10. Fletcher 1973, p. 383 n. 19. For the bronze, see Wenley 2012, pp. 96–97.
11. Inv. 43.2. The Barber's files indicate that, for a time, Anthony Radcliffe and others harbored doubts about its authenticity, but these were mitigated by a thermoluminescence reading consistent with the period of Riccio, to whom it was long ascribed. Thanks are due to Robert Wenley, Head of Collections, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, for this information.
12. Fletcher 1981, p. 466.
13. Ibid., p. 467.
14. For more on Lizzaro, son of Tiziano Minio, see Schulz 1998, pp. 23–24, 246–47, and fig. 1, the bronze relief of the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* in Padua Cathedral, cast by Lizzaro after a model by Giammaria Mosca, according to Michiel himself.
15. These are in The Met Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1391; Stift Klosterneuburg (Planiscig 1942, p. 8, no. 4); and the Frick, 1916.2.23. Leithe-Jasper 1986, cat. 18, suggests Desiderio da Firenze.

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Horse and Rider

Northern Italy, mid-16th century

Bronze

8⅜ × 8⅞ in. (21.3 × 22.5 cm)

Incised twice (on rear of horse's left buttock and on its left flank):

N° 146 (French royal inventory number)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

(32.100.167)

The most illustrious feature of this well-wrought, perky little group may be its “royal” provenance, from the Sun King, Louis XIV, to the so-called King of Tenors, Enrico Caruso. Rider and mount were cast separately and subsequently affixed by means of a metal tube fitted into the rider's body, screwed into the mount's belly, and soldered firmly in place.¹ The tail was also cast separately and inserted mechanically.

Wilhelm von Bode aptly captured the “momentary gestures” that describe the group's “transitory states” and was right to think of it as belonging to the mid-sixteenth century, even if connections he clarified with Leone Leoni and monumental equestrian traditions remain invisible. Motivated by the endearing flow of its design, I was no more successful in associating it with the master of plaquettes known as Moderno, who was not known otherwise as a sculptor.² In reality, the bronze is hard to place. The bareback horse owes its sturdy



charms, including its delicate topknot, to the famous ancient ones at the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, while the tightly knit commander is generically Roman, lacking insignia that might identify him as an historic leader. The fluidity of modeling in the masks on his breastplate and leggings is to be noted. The hole in his raised, clenched fist is oriented horizontally outward at a 45-degree angle, making it difficult to guess what action it might have performed. The hands could have held reins, but there is no bit in the horse's mouth.

A similar statuette, differing in that it bears traces of gilding, a late black patination, and an obvious patch of repair on the steed's right buttock, belonged to the earls of Rosebery at Mentmore, Buckinghamshire.³ An example of the commander alone, with traces of gilding, also exists.⁴ JDD

PROVENANCE: French royal collection, inventoried in the reign of Louis XIV (from 1684); Henry J. Pfunst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Enrico Caruso, New York (until 1923; sale, American Art Association, New York, March 5–6, 1923, lot 1015, as closely related to Leone Leoni); [Henry Symons, New York]; Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. 28, no. 99, pl. LXVI (as closely related to Leone Leoni); Breck 1932, pp. 58–59 (as North Italian, 16th century); Draper 1978a, p. 179 (as possibly *Moderno*); James David Draper in Athens 1979, p. 134, cat. 38 (to *Moderno*); Antoine Lefébure in Paris 1999, p. 117, cat. 146 (as Padua, first quarter of the 16th century, “difficult to attribute to *Moderno*”)

NOTES

1. The alloys of both horse and rider are a surprisingly high-zinc brass. R. Stone/TR, November 14, 2010. 2. For *Moderno*, now generally recognized as the Veronese goldsmith Galeazzo Mondella, see Lewis 1989. An old photograph of our bronze (Bode 1910, vol. 1, pl. LXVI) shows a pedestal embellished with a *Moderno* combat scene, but that alone does not warrant ascribing it to him. 3. Sotheby's, London, March 18, 1977, lot 322 (as Paduan, 16th century). 4. Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 18, 1997, lot 135 (as Paduan, first quarter of the 16th century).

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*Seated Hercules in the Act of Shooting
at the Stymphalian Birds*

Vittore Gambello (Venice 1455/60–1537 Venice)

Venice, ca. 1515–20

Bronze

11¾ × 8 × 5¼ in. (29.8 × 20.3 × 13.3 cm)

Gift of C. Ruxton Love Jr., 1964 (64.304.2)

Seated with controlled torsion in his upper body, Hercules holds his left arm taut to raise a bow. Such an implement may once have fit into the hole between his thumb and fingers, and the force of his grasp engages his forearm and wrist tendons. Training his eyes toward his target, Hercules furrows his brow in concentration. Lips agape, he might be inhaling slowly, a customary breathing technique while drawing the bow to gather strength and focus the aim. Or he may be exhaling, his breath escaping as he lowers his right arm after firing a shot. Schematic tufts of hair frame his mouth with a close beard, an attribute of the ancient hero. Atop his left thigh rests a lion-skin, the snout, ears, and eye sockets of the felled animal visible from above. Neglecting to hide Hercules's nudity, the garment hugs his hip, inviting the viewer to follow its route to his left buttock. It is there, seen from behind, that one can admire the topography of Hercules's flexed back muscles.

While this bronze and its subject telegraph fortitude, it has sustained significant damage. Over roughly half a millennium, it incurred breakages to both arms. The bent right arm was fractured below the elbow (which is itself original), and the existing forearm and hand are later replacements.¹ The left arm was broken at the bicep but subsequently reattached; the proper left index finger and big toe are missing. Both of the lower legs were filled with metal from cast-in repairs. Such vulnerabilities in the bronze were the result of its thin, even walls achieved through an indirect cast. The buttocks, which previously enabled the sculpture to nestle on a gently sloping stone base, were filed down.² Because of this filing, it is unknown what kind of base the figure may have originally had, or whether it had been kept balanced upright while seated on a flat surface, perhaps straddling the edge of a table or shelf.

With his powerful build, Hercules's body is far from ordinary. This small bronze is clearly recognizable as an elaboration of the *Belvedere Torso*, a first-century B.C. marble statue bearing the signature of Apollonius in the Vatican Museums (fig. 51a).³ Documented in Roman collections since around 1430, this 5¼-foot marble accrued particular fame in the early sixteenth century.⁴ Presumably entering the Vatican collection during the papacy of Clement VII (r. 1523–34), the sculpture was installed in the Belvedere courtyard, joining one of the most celebrated assemblages of antiquities in existence.⁵ Having spent part of its history in a sculptor's collection in Rome, the *Belvedere Torso* also had a profound impact on the visual arts, appearing in various iterations in prints and sketchbooks, as well as inspiring the figural designs of artists including Michelangelo.⁶ Unlike many other marble antiquities in the Renaissance, the *Belvedere Torso* was never restored, and the medium of small bronze offered an enduring means to elaborate its design in three dimensions beyond a fragmentary state.⁷

Renaissance collectors' desire to own a miniaturized *Belvedere Torso* is evident through a number of surviving bronze variants. Some versions are minimal in their intervention, adding no limbs or simply a lower leg, while a group of others "restore" the sculpture to show Hercules seated and leaning on his club.⁸ All such versions have an integrated base evocative of the original marble. The Met's bronze tilts the marble torso slightly backwards, endowing Hercules with a more upright posture to take aim. By showing him in the act of shooting a bow, it may be that our bronze links its famous prototype with a second marble in the same collection, the *Apollo Belvedere*. This sculpture of the shooting god was among the first antiquities reproduced in multiple small Renaissance bronzes, their maker the esteemed Gonzaga court artist Antico.⁹ A multiplicity of prints based on the *Apollo* could also have assisted Renaissance viewers in connecting the *Seated Hercules* to his divine half-brother.¹⁰

Who or what is Hercules shooting? The hero discharged his bow on various occasions, including against the Hydra and Nessus, but our sculpture has always been identified with one subject since its first publication by Wilhelm von Bode in 1907: Hercules shooting the Stymphalian birds, his sixth labor.¹¹ Hercules's defeat of the bronze-beaked, man-devouring fowl had precedent in programmatic representations of the labors in the Renaissance, but no other small bronzes of this subject are known to survive.¹² This was not for lack of available sources: the labor was found on ancient sarcophagi and coins, as well as in texts by writers ranging from Ovid, Seneca, and Statius to Renaissance humanists Cristoforo Landino and Angelo Poliziano. Other imagery of Hercules fueled greater artistic demand, such as his defeat of the giant Cacus, which gave rise to numerous small bronzes from the fifteenth century onward.¹³

The *Seated Hercules*'s unusual subject is best explained by associations between small bronzes and the pastoral in





Fig. 51a. *Belvedere Torso*, 1st century B.C. Marble. Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican Museums, Rome (1192)

the Veneto during the sixteenth century. As Jodi Cranston has argued, small bronzes responded to a vogue for this genre both in their subject and their connections to collections and cultural programs in Venetian *studioli*.¹⁴ While shepherds and nymphs were representative of the pastoral, the act of shooting the Stymphalian birds connected Hercules to this genre. In his *Description of Greece* (readily available to Renaissance audiences), Pausanias describes the territory of Stymphalus in the region of Arcadia on the Peloponnese peninsula, which contained a river of the same name:

There is a story current about the water of the Stymphalus, that at one time man-eating birds bred on it, which Heracles is said to have shot down. Peisander of Camira, however, says that Heracles did not kill the birds, but drove them away with the noise of rattles. The Arabian desert breeds among other wild creatures birds called Stymphalian, which are quite as savage against men as lions or leopards. . . . Whether the modern Arabian birds with the same name as the old Arcadian birds are also of the same breed, I do not know.¹⁵

Pausanias's passage signals how Hercules's sixth labor was continually linked to a specific region in Greece that was also associated with the setting of the pastoral.¹⁶ By shooting the

Stymphalian birds, the *Seated Hercules* invokes simultaneously the utopian and real region of Arcadia. While Arcadia loomed in the Venetian imaginary as a *locus amoenus* outside present concerns, it was also a physical place of immediate political interest for the Venetian empire as it challenged Ottoman expansion in Greece.¹⁷ A labile hero that many Italian cities deployed for local political ends and endowed with Christian allegories, Hercules was seen as a protective figure in Venice, with two stone reliefs of the hero amid his labors prominently adorning the west facade of San Marco.¹⁸ The owner of the *Seated Hercules* could have looked upon this bronze hero as a defender of the imagined Arcadian sanctuary in his private chambers, as well as the guardian of the Venetian Republic's empire that would soon reach Arcadia itself.

But why is Hercules sitting? Written descriptions and images of the sixth labor give no justification for this posture. It may be a simple exigency of the choice to use the *Belvedere Torso* as a model. It could also link the sculpture to an additional subject, namely Odysseus revealing his identity to Penelope by shooting an arrow through a dozen axes, his neglect to stand being proof of his singularly skillful marksmanship.¹⁹ These possibilities are not mutually exclusive, and a third seems especially likely. A vibrant praise of a small bronze occurs in ancient texts by Martial and Statius, who describe a *Hercules* by the Greek sculptor Lysippos.²⁰ Statius writes:

Such was the dignity of the work, the majesty confined in narrow limits. A god he was, a god! And he granted you, Lysippus, to behold him, small to the eye but huge to the sense. The marvelous measure was no more than a foot, yet if you let your vision travel you will be fain to cry: "this was the breast that crushed the ravager of Nemea, these are the arms that bore the deadly club and broke Argo's oars." So mighty the deception that makes a small figure large. . . . A rough seat supports him, a stone adorned with Nemean hide.²¹

Hercules's seated position in this famous passage may have guided the maker of our small bronze.²² The sculptor thereby honored himself through the parallel to Lysippos, as well as the bronze's owner, given Statius's praise of the collector Novius Vindex, who set the ancient sculpture within an extensive household collection that enabled him to exhibit his erudition.

The *Seated Hercules* must have been made by an artist with significant classical knowledge, or at least with ties to learned patrons. While Bode suggested the bronze derived from a work by Antico, at The Met it gained a more plausible attribution to the Venetian sculptor Vittore Gambello, since unchallenged in published scholarship.²³ This attribution was surely the result of John Pope-Hennessy's ascription of a substantial number of small bronzes to him.²⁴ Gambello held the important post of master of the dies at the Venice Mint, and while he is well

Hercules and Antaeus

Northern Italy, 17th century or later

Bronze, on a later marble base

15 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (38.4 × 21 × 21.3 cm) (without base)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1435)

known for his medals, his skill as a bronze sculptor is evident in his signed relief of the *Battle of Nude Men*.²⁵ The relief is most similar to our bronze in the figures' faces and hair, as well as the musculature of an archer seen from behind. Gambello's status and evident family wealth suggest he engaged with the type of informed patron desirous of a bespoke bronze like the *Seated Hercules*.²⁶ RC

PROVENANCE: Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin; C. Ruxton Love Jr. (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, pl. CCXXXVII; Falke 1925, p. 2, no. 15, pl. XXXVI; Langenskiöld 1930, pp. 125–26, 144–45, fig. 2; Salis 1947, pp. 165ff., 263, pl. 51c; New York 1973, cat. 22; Sheard 1979, cat. 57; Sheard 1985, pp. 427, 432, fig. 15; Schulz 1998, p. 64

NOTES

1. Comments regarding the sculpture's condition are guided by R. Stone/TR, April 28, 2008. 2. Seen in the earliest photos of the bronze, when it was in the collection of Walter von Pannwitz; Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, pl. CCXXXVII. 3. Langenskiöld 1930, p. 126; Andrén 1952. 4. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 311–14; Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 181–84. 5. Ackerman 1954; Brummer 1970; Geese 1985; Winner et al. 1998; Christian 2010, pp. 265–75. 6. Schwinn 1973; Barkan 1999, pp. 189–201; Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 182–84. 7. On the *Belvedere Torso*'s enduring state of fragmentation, see Schwarzenberg 2003. On small bronzes and the restoration of antiquities, see Parisi Presicce 2015. See also Sheard 1985, p. 432. 8. Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, 476; Bargello, Br. 342; Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, 52.72.9; Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Bro 46. See Beck and Bol 1985, pp. 44–45, 330–31. 9. Winner 1998; Kryza-Gersch 2011, p. 18. 10. For example, MMA, 49.97.114. 11. Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, p. 18. See further Langenskiöld 1930, p. 126; Schwinn 1973, pp. 50–51; Sheard 1979, cat. 57; Sheard 1985, p. 432; Beck and Bol 1985, p. 332. 12. Examples include Baldassare Peruzzi's cycle in the Villa Farnesina and Albrecht Dürer's surviving canvas in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, thought to be part of a series. 13. Wright 2005, pp. 334–48. 14. Cranston 2019, pp. 111–37. 15. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 8.22.4–6, trans. W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918), IV. 16. Arcadia was, no less, the title of one of the most important pastoral texts in the vernacular, Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, first printed in 1504. 17. P. Brown 1996, pp. 80–81, 204–6; Davies and Davis 2007. 18. P. Brown 1996, pp. 21–23. On the political and cultural malleability of Hercules in Italy, see Wright 1994. 19. I thank Denise Allen for this compelling observation from books 19 and 21 of the *Odyssey*. 20. On this passage in relation to small bronzes in the Renaissance, see Kenseth 1998, pp. 129–30. 21. Statius, *Silvae*, IV.6, vv. 32–42, 56–58, trans. D. R. Shackelton Bailey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 283–85. 22. The bronze identified as the *Herakles Epitrapezios* has been linked to the subject of the *Belvedere Torso*; see Zadoks-Jitta 1987. 23. Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, p. 18; New York 1973, cat. 22. Richard Stone, however, noted that the unusual core supports of the *Seated Hercules* are more akin to working processes in Padua following the work of Riccio, thereby casting some doubt on Gambello's authorship. See R. Stone/TR, April 28, 2008. 24. Pope-Hennessy 1963, pp. 22–23. 25. See, for example, Gambello's signed medal of Giovanni Bellini, MMA, 23.280.32, and Matzke 2018, pp. 299–306. For the relief, see V. Avery 2011, p. 246. 26. V. Avery 2011, pp. 65, 366–67.

In Greek mythology, Antaeus was the son of Poseidon and Gaia, and derived his strength from contact with the earth. In the Renaissance, the scene of Hercules wrestling Antaeus was popular across media, particularly in bronze, where the medium's specific properties allowed artists to conceive of elaborate figural groups (see also cat. 195). There are well-known bronze groups after models by Antonio Pollaiuolo and Antico, for example. By contrast, the artist responsible for the present composition, in which Antaeus's legs are flung out in an exaggerated fashion, is still a mystery.

Once owned by the British industrialist Leon Bagrit, the bronze subsequently entered the collection of Judge Irwin Untermyer before he gave it to The Met. Curator Yvonne Hackenbroch had published other bronzes from Bagrit's collection in the 1950s before she turned her attention to Untermyer's holdings, and one wonders if she had a hand in the judge's acquisition.¹ In the 1962 catalogue of Untermyer bronzes, she attributed the *Hercules and Antaeus* to Francesco da Sant'Agata, drawing supposed similarities between the bronze group and the signed boxwood *Hercules* in the Wallace Collection.²

The present group, in reality, has little to do with the Wallace *Hercules*, nor with a *Hercules and Antaeus* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., that had previously been attributed to Francesco (in opposition to Sergei Androsov's 1976 opinion that the Untermyer bronze is the only one that should be assigned to him).³ A nearly identical cast of the same composition, formerly in the Abbott Guggenheim collection, was once considered a product of Riccio's workshop but more recently placed in the circle of Vittore Gambello.⁴ This bronze is of the same dimensions but of higher quality than The Met's, which, taking into account the crudeness of the figures' faces and hair, the bulbous quality of their musculature, and the presence of an integrally cast rectangular base, should be dated no earlier than the seventeenth century. There is no reason to think, however, that it must date to as late as the nineteenth century, as previously catalogued by the museum. The bronze is cast in two parts, with Antaeus and the arms of Hercules comprising one section, Hercules and the base the other.⁵ The two parts were joined together by solder and likely mechanical means difficult to ascertain through X-radiographs. Our bronze and the existence of individual figures, including an *Antaeus* at Yale and a *Hercules* formerly in Berlin, suggest the original model possessed a popularity that endured well beyond the early sixteenth century.⁶ JF



PROVENANCE: Leon Bagrit (1902–1979), London; Irwin Untermyer (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, pp. xxi–xxii, 14; Androsov 1976, p. 161

NOTES

1. Hackenbroch 1959. 2. Inv. S273; see Warren 2016, vol. 1, pp. 242–57, no. 57. 3. NGA, 1942.9.119; see Washington 1994, p. 168. 4. Camins 1988, cat. 5; Christie's, New York, January 27, 2015, lot 27. 5. R. Stone/TR, October 26, 2011. Stone notes the lack of typical signs of nineteenth-century casting sophistication, such as thin, even walls, cores extending through the entire length of limbs, ingenious mechanical joins, or flexible molding materials. 6. Seymour 1962, pp. 5–16, figs. 1, 5, attributes the New Haven and Berlin bronzes to Riccio.

— 53 —

Young Saint John the Baptist
Circle of Antonio Lombardo
(Venice ca. 1458–1516)

Venice, early 16th century

Bronze

5½ × 5⅞ × 4¼ in. (14 × 13 × 10.8 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.10)

Identifiable by his fur-trimmed shirt, John the Baptist is envisaged as a cherubic infant with well-articulated curls, a high forehead, and a chubby neck. His head tilts toward his right, and his eyes peer off dreamily. His parted lips, revealing his upper teeth, suggest speech, presaging his role as preacher. The Met's bronze bust is one of five known casts after the same model. The others are in the Ashmolean, the Bargello, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.¹ The fifth was formerly in Berlin.² They have long been connected to a series of ideal female bronze busts dressed *all'antica* suggested to have derived from the same ambit: Venice around 1500, and specifically the Lombardo workshop.³

The prevailing consensus is that the models for both the young John and the busts of women can be attributed to the Venetian sculptor Antonio Lombardo. They were first published by Wilhelm von Bode in 1907, who attributed the bronze boys to the Florentine sculptor Vittorio Ghiberti, son of Lorenzo.⁴ In subsequent publications, Bode offered various opinions, putting forth the name Antico and, ultimately, a general Florentine milieu.⁵ It was Leo Planiscig in 1937 who identified the busts as John the Baptist and connected them to the Lombardo workshop, specifically as the work of Antonio on the basis of comparison to the Christ Child in the Zen Chapel of San Marco, Venice, executed in 1506–8.⁶ This ascription has been generally accepted, though later writers sometimes hedged by identifying them as in the “circle” or “manner” of.⁷

The link between the features of the young John and the Zen Chapel's Christ Child is persuasive, as are the similarities

between the bronze heads of the ideal women and female figures by Antonio in his marble reliefs.⁸ There are complications regarding the division of labor in terms of the casting of figures for the Zen Chapel; that and the paucity of evidence regarding Tullio's style in bronze make an incontrovertible connection to Antonio difficult.⁹ Still, the aforementioned stylistic evidence points strongly to the latter's role in modeling the figures, as does the proposal that at least two of the bronze female busts were either sent to or produced in northern Italy during Antonio's Ferrarese period.¹⁰

An open question regarding the bronzes concerns the role of Severo da Ravenna and his foundry, as first suggested by Manfred Leithe-Jasper in 1986.¹¹ Severo had trained with Pietro Lombardo in Venice and had close ties to the family. The finest casts of the young John—typically considered those in the Bargello and the Ashmolean—are generally dated to the sixteenth century and feature some hallmarks of bronzes that emerged from Severo's foundry.¹² The Ashmolean cast, for example, contains four rectangular iron core support pins that have been considered Severo's trademark. More caution must be exercised in regard to the present bronze, which has very thin, even walls, no evidence of typical Severan plugs, and details such as the hair worked up in the wax, all at odds with the Severo shop.¹³

It is worth underlining how inventive these bronzes were in Venetian circles around 1500. Busts of young children, including those in the guise of Saint John the Baptist, had gained popularity in marble and other materials in mid-quattrocento Florence.¹⁴ As that city's patron saint, the appeal of the “Giovannino” type is not surprising.¹⁵ In Venice, around 1500, the infant John began appearing with some frequency in paintings of the Virgin and Child, by Giovanni Bellini for instance. Brian Steele has explored the reasons for this, which include a new emphasis on domesticity and family life in Venice at the turn of the century.¹⁶ Additionally, the city boasted its own connections to the saint, having possessed a head relic in San Marco since the early thirteenth century.

The busts' truncation, diminutive size, and material also contributed to their novelty. They were likely intended for a private, domestic sphere, perhaps in conversation with the heads of beautiful women, though they may also have had a devotional purpose. The present bronze has been tentatively connected to one sold from the collection of Mme d'Yvon in 1892, though this remains uncertain.¹⁷ JF

PROVENANCE: Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin; Caroline von Pannwitz, Hartekamp, the Netherlands; [Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York, until 1964]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Falke 1925, no. 2, pl. VI; Bode 1930, p. 3, no. 9; New York 1973, cat. 19; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 163–64, no. 305; C. Wilson 2001, p. 269 n. 48; Luchs 2009, pp. 63, 89–90; Warren 2014, pp. 148, 152, 153 n. 5; Warren 2016, vol. 1, p. 223 n. 12c



NOTES

1. For the Ashmolean bust (WA1963.38), see Warren 2014, pp. 148–53, no. 41, with reference to the Bargello (35), MFAH (44.588), and Met busts at p. 153 nn. 3–5 (see also C. Wilson 2001). **2.** Now lost, before 1945 in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (7185), previously in Kassel; Warren 2014, p. 153 n. 6. **3.** For the busts of the ideal young women, see Warren 2016, vol. 1, pp. 218–23, no. 53, on the bronze in the Wallace Collection (S62), with reference to others in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (KK 9098), Galleria Estense, Modena (2260, 2261), and Staatliche Museen, Berlin (298) at p. 222 nn. 7–9. **4.** Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, p. 8. **5.** For the Antico attribution, partially on the basis of black patination (which the present bronze has as well), see Bode 1915, cols. 69–71, and the follow-up in Bode 1922, p. 5. **6.** Planiscig 1937. For the Zen Chapel, see Jestaz 1986. **7.** See, for example, Bode and Draper 1980, p. 89. **8.** See Planiscig 1937; Luchs 1995, pp. 100–102, 173–74, 288–90; Luchs 2009, pp. 63, 89–90, 113. **9.** As Alison Luchs wrote (1995, p. 99), “few works demonstrate more graphically than these bronzes the frequent difficulty of distinguishing Tullio’s work from Antonio’s . . .” **10.** Antonio

spent the last phase of his career working for Alfonso I d’Este in Ferrara, and the presence of the two bronze female busts in early Modenese inventories suggests these were sent there by the artist in advance of his move or modeled in Ferrara and cast in Padua. See the discussion in Warren 2014, p. 151. It was Luchs 1995, p. 173 n. 71, who suggested the Modena busts can be connected to a 1629 inventory. **11.** See Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 136. **12.** See discussion in Warren 2014, p. 151, with reference to Stone 2006. It is interesting to note that XRF identified the alloy as brass, which is typical of Severo’s production. R. Stone/TR, 2011. **13.** James David Draper (in Untermeyer 1977, p. 164) described it as by “a relatively heavy hand, and the features are as a result both hard and saccharine. However, the interior of the cast is briskly tooled in a way seen in good early bronzes.” One may more charitably describe the present bronze as possessing a refinement in the definition of features more characteristic of the later cinquecento. **14.** See Coonin 1995 for a summary. **15.** See the classic studies: Lavin 1955 and 1961. **16.** See Steele 1994. **17.** See Warren 2014, p. 153 n. 5, though a note in ESDA/OF suggests this may be the bronze formerly in



the Philippe Wiener collection and now in Houston. The collection of Mme d'Yvon was sold at Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1892. Lot 276 describes a “Buste de jeune enfant. La tête légèrement penchée vers la gauche, ses cheveux sont frisés. Une peau de bête est drapée sur son épaule droite. Bronze à patine brune. Italie. XVIIe siècle. Socle en marbre.—Haut., 13 cm.” A copy of the sales catalogue contains the handwritten annotation “1600 Picard” in the margin, indicating the price and buyer.

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Sleeping Cupid

Venice, early 16th century

Bronze, partially oil-gilt

8⅞ × 7¾ × 7½ in. (22.5 × 19.7 × 19.1 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1951 (51.175)

Leaning against the stump of a tree, his body cushioned by a lionskin, Cupid sits astride a hemispheric orb decorated with foliage. The figure is asleep, and his heavy head rests on his right arm, his closed eyelids dotting a peaceful mien. Still, an alertness belies Cupid's restful pose. His back is erect, and his left hand grasps a shell. He wears his quiver, and his wings appear at the ready. Gilding adorns several elements of the composition: the leaves, the undone bow, the tree stump, the quiver, and the shell.

The *Sleeping Cupid*, the mischievous god of desire at peace and disarmed, was a well-known subject in antiquity that gained renewed popularity in the Renaissance.¹ One catalyst for the reinvigorated interest was Michelangelo's now-lost marble *Sleeping Cupid*, begun in the late 1490s.² Acclaimed for having matched and even surpassed the ancients, the marble

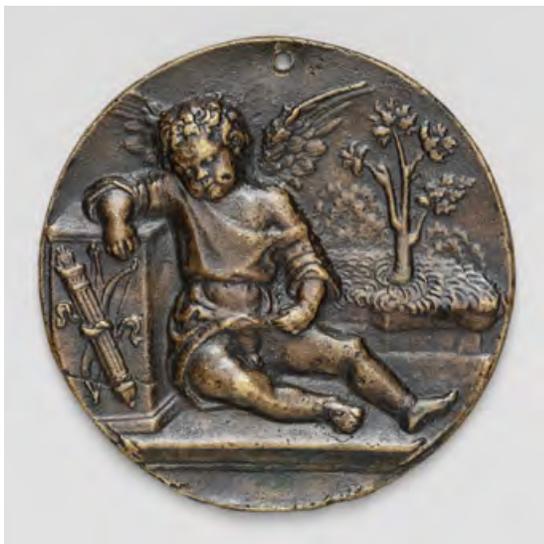


Fig. 54a. Pseudo Francesco Antonio da Brescia, *Sleeping Amor*, ca. 1500. Bronze; Diam. 2½ in. (6.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1929 (29.12.1)

entered the collection of Isabella d'Este by 1502 where it was shown alongside a version of the subject ascribed to Praxiteles.³ Like the present bronze, Michelangelo's marble and many of its derivatives presented Cupid resting on a lionskin, referencing his competition with Hercules.

In nearly all examples of the theme, in sculpture or painting, Cupid is shown lying on his back or side.⁴ The *Sleeping Cupid* resting upright is extremely unusual, and was likely conceived in relation to the bronze's function and placement. The nearest precedent for the pose is a well-known northern Italian medal of the *Sleeping Cupid* that circulated widely and exists in at least sixty copies (fig. 54a). The medal shows the figure draped against a chest containing his quivers.

No other versions of the present bronze are known. Since its publication by Leo Planiscig in 1932, the *Sleeping Cupid* has rightfully been considered Venetian in origin. Planiscig dated the work, then in the Bruno Kern collection in Vienna, to the end of the quattrocento and proposed an affinity between it and a bronze young Bacchus astride a medal in the Louvre.⁵ Hans



Fig. 54b. *Four Antique Statues*. England, ca. 1629. Red chalk on paper; 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28.8 × 16 cm). Royal Collection, London, RCIN 908914

Weihrauch confirmed a date of around 1500. Wendy Stedman Sheard pushed the dating into the early decades of the sixteenth century and linked the work to the circle of Antonio Lombardo by virtue of comparing the child's stylized curls to bronzes associated with that artist. Images of sleeping figures, including those of Venus or the Christ Child, began appearing with great frequency in Venice around 1500; this figure fits well within that milieu.⁶

Our Cupid likely formed part of a fountain apparatus, as first observed by Planiscig. Visible channels in the hemisphere's hollow underside indicate that a stream flowed from the shell, suggesting that the work was meant for a tabletop arrangement where it surmounted a basin that collected the water. Recent technical analysis confirms Planiscig's basic thesis as to the bronze's function, while also providing new insights.⁷ Evidence points to water emanating from at least two separate locations: the shell and Cupid's genitals. Both contain tiny cast-in tubes, likely composed of copper. Additionally, the tree stump, which has a large opening at the top and traces of lead solder, possibly connected to a now-lost bronze element, perhaps a tree, that may have included another jet (or jets) of water.

Thus the fountain would have presented an unusual iconography of a sleeping, peeing Cupid, a crude visual joke that references and subverts traditional representations of the Sleeping Cupid and the *putto mictans*.⁸ A seventeenth-century drawing in the Royal Collection, London, records four Cupid sculptures: three recline (at least one likely a record of the lost Michelangelo) and one sits atop a rocky formation, hand at his genitals (fig. 54b).⁹ This last Cupid is alert rather than sleeping, but suggests in spirit and pose the present bronze, whose conceit has few, if any, comparanda. The multiple, crisscrossing jets would surely have provided an amusing spectacle,

undercutting traditional associations of sleep with peace, disarmament, or even death. The creeping vines may even allude to Dionysian excess, and the cascading jet issuing from the genitals a sign of alcohol's disinhibiting effect even in slumber.

The weight of the bronze indicates that, rather than having been created for a tabletop, the work was probably part of a large freestanding fountain—perhaps one similar to that seen in Jan van Eyck's *Madonna at the Fountain* (1439)¹⁰—and intended for the courtyard of a Venetian palazzo. Horizontal scribe lines and traces of lead solder around the lower edge of the half sphere point toward its being originally joined to another half sphere. The *Sleeping Cupid* would not be unlike other bronzes that comprised elements in Renaissance fountains, including Verrocchio's *Putto with a Dolphin* for a fountain at the Villa Medici in Careggi.¹¹ Though our bronze exhibits fine detail work executed in the wax, particularly the lion pelt, the wings are far less precisely delineated, suggesting that the intended site or other elements of the fountain arrangement would have obstructed their view.

The bronze's ownership history before it appeared in the 1931 auction of objects from the Stroganov collection is unknown.¹² The Stroganovs, one of the richest and most powerful Russian dynasties, amassed an opulent collection of paintings, sculpture, and decorative art from around the globe, the bulk of which is today in the Hermitage. The *Sleeping Cupid* may have been acquired during any one of the family members' collecting trips to Italy throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. JF

PROVENANCE: Stroganov family, Saint Petersburg (until 1931; sale, Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, May 13, 1931, lot 243); [Stiebel Ltd., until 1932; sold to Kern]; Bruno Kern, Vienna; [Blumka Gallery, until 1951; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Planiscig 1932a, pp. 742–43, 746, 748–50; MMA 1952, p. 264; Weihrauch 1967, pp. 127–28; New York 1973, cat. 18; Sheard 1979, cat. 119

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Rebecca Arnheim for her research on the bronze, which has aided in the writing of this entry. For the *Sleeping Cupid*, see Campbell 2004, pp. 87–113.
2. See Bambach 2017, pp. 62, 321 n. 186, with previous references.
3. See Fusco and Corti 2006, pp. 41–52.
4. See, for example, the ancient Greek *Eros Sleeping*, MMA, 43.11.4. For examples in painting, see Tintoretto's *Vulcan Surprising Venus and Mars*, ca. 1555, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, which likely records Michelangelo's lost sculpture. The subject continued to enjoy popularity in the seventeenth century; see Caravaggio's *Sleeping Cupid*, 1608, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.
5. Planiscig 1932a, p. 745.
6. Meiss 1966.
7. I am grateful to Linda Borsch for her close study of the bronze (ESDA/OF, March 21, 2019) and the conclusions she shared with me.
8. On the type, see Simons 2009 and Coonin 2013.
9. For the drawing, see Fusco and Corti 2006, pp. 50–52.
10. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 411.
11. Museo di Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; see Butterfield 1997, p. 127.
12. The auction was held in Berlin under the direction of the Soviet government. For details of the auction, and for the Stroganov collection in general, see Hunter-Stiebel 2000.

Elijah in the Fiery Chariot

Circle of the Master of the Barbarigo Reliefs

Venice, ca. 1520

Bronze, partially oil-gilt

Diameter 9¼ in. (23.5 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1405)

Chariot aflame and pulled by two horses, the Hebrew prophet Elijah kneels and clasps his hands in prayer during his miraculous ascension to heaven. This elegant relief presents the climactic moment from the Book of Kings as the elderly Elijah and his disciple Elisha are parted: “A chariot of fire and horses of fire separated the two of them, and Elijah went up to heaven in a whirlwind” (2 Kings 2:11).

Artists—like Giotto at the Arena Chapel—typically included the figure of Elisha, earthbound and receiving the mantle of Elijah, the exchange symbolizing the continuity of the Church. Here, within the format of the roundel, the artist excised Elisha, focusing the drama on Elijah’s ascent. The relief’s designer cannily exploited any potential limitations within the roundel’s format to conceive a dynamic, balanced, and clarified composition. The protagonist’s severe features and placement in the upper left are counterpoised by the energetic and playful animals at lower right, an effective diagonal echoed by the rhythmic visual parallels between Elijah’s beard and the horses’ faces.

A variety of surface textures are employed, including a smooth modeling of the equine bodies, a sketchy quality to the clouds, pulsating curlicues of flames, and ornate patterning of the chariot’s decoration. The background punchwork creates a subtle matte effect that provides contrast for the scene’s disparate elements. Three-dimensionality and a sense of depth are evoked by deft foreshortening of the chariot and the undercutting of the horses’ heads to present them in the round. The sense of a narrative scene unfolding, frozen mid-action, is suggested by the different placements of the chariot’s wheel spokes, its off-kilter tilt, and the escaping wisp of flame in the scene’s upper center.

The relief is one of three extant versions, together with examples in the Mimara Museum, Zagreb, and the Ashmolean (fig. 55a). Jeremy Warren has recently catalogued the Ashmolean exemplar and discussed all three versions.¹ Both the Oxford and New York bronzes came from the collection of French journalist and photographer Eugène Piot, who acquired the present work in Italy in 1856.² It is listed on an inventory that same year as “Elie sur un char de feu” and valued at 200 francs.³ The relief eventually entered the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan and was posthumously gifted to The Met in 1917. An early twentieth-century mention of a similar relief in a Polish private collection is likely the bronze in Zagreb.⁴

Though all three reliefs were probably products of the same Venetian workshop at the beginning of the cinquecento,

there are variations among them. Chief among these, heretofore unknown, are the remains of oil gilding on the surface of The Met’s bronze, faintly visible upon close inspection and confirmed by XRF analysis.⁵ Now largely gone, the gilding would have covered many of the textural or decorative elements, including the foreground, the chariot embellishments, the horses’ manes, and, of course, the chariot’s fire. The New York cast is the most polished in modeling and compositional details. The presence of gilding confirms its production as a luxury object and the finest of the three casts. In addition to lacking traces of gilding, the Oxford version omits the background punchwork, and a casting flaw likely necessitated the separately cast large cloud at right. Warren suggests that the Oxford bronze was part of a larger altar arrangement, while the New York relief has four holes, though where it was originally affixed is unknown.

Each features unique ornamentation on Elijah’s chariot. In contrast to the floral patterning of the New York chariot and its wheels (what Warren calls “mannered”), the Ashmolean chariot is decorated with two small relief scenes set within classicizing pilasters. The Zagreb relief, the crudest of the three bronzes, features a simplified chariot bearing only an inscription: SIC PETI/TVR COE/LVM. While Warren posited that the Oxford cast was earliest, and that the New York cast “lacks the charming naivety which distinguishes [Oxford’s],” the high quality of the present version suggests instead that it was the exemplar and that the other two are later interpretations by lesser hands.



Fig. 55a. *Elijah Ascending in the Fiery Chariot*. Venice, ca. 1490–1500. Bronze; Diam. 9¼ in. (23.7 cm). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Presented by C. D. E. Fortnum, 1888 (WA1888.CDEF.B612)



To whom did these hands belong? Since the nineteenth century, the reliefs have been typically associated with the so-called Master of the Barbarigo Reliefs, the unknown artist or artists responsible for the now-destroyed monument to the Venetian doges Marco and Agostino Barbarigo. The three surviving bronze reliefs, depicting the Assumption, the Coronation of the Virgin, and three apostles, are today in the Ca' d'Oro, Venice.⁶ Charles F. Bell was the first to connect these reliefs to the Oxford *Elijah*, and Joseph Breck published the New York cast as by Alessandro Leopardi, whom he related to the unknown Master.⁷ Leopardi, along with the Lombardi, is within the ambit of the shop that produced the Barbarigo reliefs, which, like our *Elijah*, have punched backgrounds. They differ stylistically, however. Our relief was likely produced by a thus far anonymous sculptor working within the same circle. An alternative suggestion that ties the Oxford *Elijah* to a *Saint Jerome* in the Ashmolean now connected to Severo da Ravenna, and thus to a Paduan origin, is intriguing but must remain speculative.⁸

Though Warren suggests the Oxford cast may have formed part of a now-lost altarpiece, perhaps depicting the Transfiguration and paired with a Moses relief, the *Elijah* bronzes instead may have been intended as Carmelite commissions. While not a saint, *Elijah* was considered a protofounder of the Carmelites, the mendicant order established in the thirteenth century on Mount Carmel in Israel. The Venetian Carmelite church of Santa Maria dei Carmini received a raft of new decoration throughout the sixteenth century; attention was turned to the order and by extension Elian imagery contemporaneously with the bronzes' production.⁹ Might the *Elijah* roundels have been intended, if not expressly for the church's interior, then for members of the various *scuole* associated with the order? JF

PROVENANCE: Eugène Piot, Paris (by 1856–64; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 25–30, 1864, lot 35); M. le Mir; J. Pierpont Morgan (until 1917; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Breck 1913b; New York 1973, cat. 21; Jestaz 1975, p. 158; C. Lloyd 1983, p. 285; Warren 2014, pp. 154–58, no. 42

NOTES

1. Warren 2014, pp. 154–58, no. 42. 2. I am grateful to Hubert Goldschmidt for sharing his research on the Piot auction in a September 24, 2020, email correspondence: "According to the proces-verbal of the 1864 Piot auction, the buyer was Alfred Armand and the hammer price was 250 francs; however, this medallion is not included in the list of Armand's acquisitions at this sale found in his copy of the catalogue. Thus Armand bid on it on behalf of another collector . . . according to one of Piot's handwritten lists of acquisitions, Piot acquired it in Italy in 1856." 3. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, Ms. 2228, fol. 386, "Objets d'art et curiosités," as cited and discussed in Warren 2014, p. 154. By 1860, the work was listed again and valued at both 200 and 250 francs in different sections of the same inventory. See *ibid.*, pp. 154, 158 n. 3. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 158 n. 4. 5. XRF analysis identified the alloy as brass with traces of lead, antimony, tin, and silver, and confirmed the presence of gold-leaf gilding in two areas tested, on the clouds at bottom right and on the tail of the horse at left. F. Carò/AR, April 4, 2019. I am

also grateful to Linda Borsch for studying the relief with me. 6. See Augusti 2008. 7. For Bell's discussion, see Warren 2014, p. 158, who presents annotations from an 1889 manuscript catalogue. For the New York bronze, see Breck 1913b. 8. See Warren 2014, p. 158, for a discussion of this connection, which was first proposed by C. D. E. Fortnum in 1876. 9. See Hammond 2012.

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The Triumph of Neptune

Venice, ca. 1515–25

Bronze

Diameter 9¾ in. (24.8 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1426)

This roundel shows a beardless Neptune seated atop a vessel being pulled by a pair of hippocamps. Standing knee-deep in the sea's undulating waves, a Triton holds the reins of one of the creatures, while a Nereid, holding an orblike object in her left hand, glances back. The relief is solid-cast, with an overall dark brown patina applied later in its history. The smooth outer edge is pierced with four holes and was likely originally covered by a frame.

The bronze was a favorite of the curator Yvonne Hackenbroch, who first published it in the 1962 catalogue of the Untermyer collection and in a standalone article in *The Connoisseur* the same year. Placing it within the Venetian-Paduan orbit of the early sixteenth century, she noted the likely influence of Mantegna's *Battle of the Sea Gods*, in particular a preparatory drawing of Tritons and hippocamps.¹ She named the artist the Master of the Triumph of Neptune and noted similarities in its format and punched ground to bronzes by the so-called Master of the Barbarigo Reliefs (cat. 55).

The composition exists in at least four other known casts, including those in the Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; the Louvre (fig. 56a); the De Noailles collection; and a rectangular version in a private collection.² They exhibit slight variations. For example, the male figures in the Louvre relief have beards, and its background has a rayed effect. Though John Pope-Hennessy considered the Kress bronze superior to the present cast, James David Draper reversed this judgment, asserting its superiority over the Washington and Paris versions. Indeed, the smooth, assured modeling of the nude figures and the sensitivity of their expressions point to its refined production.

The bronzes were previously described as in the manner of a certain "Alvise of Padua," who is mentioned in the *Anonimo Morelliano* as a collector and artist known for reliefs in the round.³ This sculptor's identity remains cloudy, and there are at least three goldsmiths with that name documented in Padua during this period.⁴ The bronze can be more reasonably associated with the workshop of Antonio Lombardo in Venice





Fig. 56a. *The Triumph of Neptune*. Venice, 16th century. Bronze; Diam. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (22 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 9152)

during the second decade of the sixteenth century. The classicism of the figure types aligns closely with that of Antonio's marble reliefs executed around 1508 for Alfonso I d'Este.⁵ Neptune's pose in the bronze follows that of the seated pointing figure at the right in Antonio's *Athena and Poseidon* relief. Similarly, the raised hand of the Nereid echoes that of the

figure to the left in the *Forge of Vulcan* relief, itself a quotation of the recently unearthed *Laocoön*. More formal and iconographic concordances can be seen between the *Neptune* bronze and Antonio's *Triumph of Hercules* marble relief for Ferrara, as well as the reliefs on the bronze flagpoles in San Marco, signed by Alessandro Leopardi but convincingly proposed to be based on models by Antonio.⁶ It should be stressed that Neptune imagery was scarce during the early Renaissance, with no large-scale statues surviving from antiquity.⁷ These bronzes, like Antico's *Triumph of Neptune* relief on his urn for Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (ca. 1487; Galleria Estense, Modena), are important early representations of the deity before his iconography became more standardized through writings like Vincenzo Cartari's 1571 *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*.

As the god of the sea, Neptune was linked to Venice, which reinforces the likelihood of its place of origin for these bronzes. The city's fortunes depended on its maritime activities, as illustrated in Jacopo de' Barbari's large-scale map of around 1500, in which a muscular Neptune surveys Venice from the water.⁸ The relief's compositional source is unknown, though it likely derives from ancient sarcophagi, intaglios, or coins, or the widely circulated niello prints that depict a similar scene (fig. 56b). While the subject of the bronze is traditionally described as a Triumph of Neptune, the god is shown without his wife Amphitrite at his side. She may be the Nereid at left in the scene, whose expression of horror and the object in her left hand, sometimes described as an apple, point to a specific as-yet-unidentified narrative. JF



Fig. 56b. Peregrino da Cesena (active ca. 1490–1520), *The Triumph of Neptune*, ca. 1490–1520. Engraving, printed from a plate engraved in the niello manner; 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (2.9 × 6.1 cm). British Museum, London (1884,0726.32)



PROVENANCE: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Hackenbroch 1962; Untermyer 1962, fig. 28, pl. 20; Pope-Hennessy 1965, p. 95, no. 339; New York 1973, cat. 23; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 162–63, no. 303

NOTES

1. Untermyer 1962, p. xvii, fig. 4. 2. NGA, 1957.14.429. For the De Noailles bronze (ex-Bischoffsheim collection), see Giraud 1881, pl. XX. 3. For the attribution, see ESDA/O.F. For the goldsmith Alvise, see Michiel 1888, pp. 32–33; Motture 2008, p. 67. 4. Sartori 1976, pp. 247–48. 5. Now at the Hermitage, H.ck-1770, 1771, 1773. 6. Wolters 1996; Ishii 2008, who provides an overview of hippocamps in works by Antico and Antonio Lombardo. 7. Freedman 1995. 8. A print is in the Minneapolis Institute of Art, 2010.88.

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Medallion of Bernardo Soranzo
Andrea Spinelli (1508–1572)

Venice, 1540

Bronze

Diameter 12¼ in. (31.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1951 ([51.119](#))

This large bronze medallion depicts a high official of the Republic of Venice, Bernardo Soranzo, as attested by the inscription on the obverse: BERNARDVS SVPERANTIO. It was cast by Andrea Spinelli, whose signature appears below Soranzo's profile: ANDREAS SPINELLI F. / M. The last letters are not clearly

legible, but they are probably F.M.S., standing for *fecit manu sua*, namely “made with his hands.” This interpretation is corroborated by another version of the medallion in the Museo Correr, Venice, in which the “S” is visible.¹ A long inscription on the reverse provides more information about Soranzo: “1540. To Bernardo Soranzo, Prefect of the Island of Corfu, Duke of Crete for the third time, councilor of Venice for the sixth time, invested with the dignity of membership in the Council of Ten.”² The same inscription appears on the Correr version, which, however, is much less polished than ours.

Both may be said to be unique among Renaissance medals. Though medallic in form, ours is exceptional in size. So unusual is it that George Hill made specific reference to it in the introduction of his renowned book *Medals of the Renaissance* as “one of the things that a medal should not be.”³ A much smaller example—an actual medal—is recorded by Piero Voltolina but differs not only in size but also in Soranzo’s profile (his right side) and the date of the inscription (1542 instead of 1540).⁴

According to Emmanuele Cicogna, who probably knew the Correr version and who relied on the *Diaries* of historian Marino Sanuto for biographical information, Bernardo Soranzo was the son of Benedetto and married Chiara Sanuto in 1505.⁵ He served as prefect of Corfu from 1516 to 1521, as *provveditore al sal*, as duke of Candia from 1526 to 1528, and as a member of the Venetian Council of Ten in 1529. He died in 1540. During his tenure as prefect of Corfu, he was accused of negligence in the military protection of the island. The *provveditore* Domenico Cappello eventually filed a report in defense of Soranzo’s actions. Perhaps this controversy prompted the family to commemorate Bernardo’s virtuous administration with an unusually large medallion.

Andrea Spinelli worked mainly in Venice, where he was chief engraver at the Mint from 1540 until he was replaced by his son Marcantonio in 1572. Spinelli is well known for having coined the medal of Doge Andrea Gritti depicting Jacopo Sansovino’s project for the church of San Francesco della Vigna on the reverse.⁶ Spinelli’s oeuvre is characterized by a lively and vibrant treatment of surface. This specificity can be appreciated in both large and small format: in the humanized portrait of Soranzo, with his wrinkles and imperfections, and in the Gritti profile, in which each tuft of beard is vividly delineated.⁷ While critical of Spinelli’s “meagre, dry compositions,” Hill acknowledged that he nevertheless “distinguished himself . . . by the enormous cast medal of Bernardo Soranzo.”⁸ FL

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan, London (until d. 1913); Joseph Brummer, New York (until 1949; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, June 8–9, 1949, lot 149); [Blumka Gallery, New York, 1951; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Cicogna 1824–53, vol. 3, pp. 446–47, no. 35; Bode 1910, vol. 2, p. 2, no. 113, pl. LXXVIII; Maclagan 1913, p. 52, no. 65; New York 1914, p. 47; Hill 1920, pp. 10, 98; New York 1973, cat. 7

NOTES

1. *Medaglie* 2009, pp. 56–59, no. 98. 2. MDXL / BERNARDO / SVPERANTIO / CORCIRAE INSVLAE PREF. / CRETAE DVCI TERT. VENETIAR. CONSILIARIO / SEX X VIRALI / DIGNITATE / FVNCTO. The “N” in Bernardo is upside-down on both medallions. 3. Hill 1920, p. 98. We do not know if Hill was referring to the present bronze or the Correr version, but it is more likely to have been the latter. 4. Voltolina 1998, vol. 1, no. 335. 5. In tax documents of 1514, he is cited as “Bernardo Soranzo quondam Benedetto.” Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Dieci savi alle decime in Rialto, Deputazioni unite, Commisurazione delle imposte, Condizioni di decima, Redecima 1514, busta 52. 6. Hill and Pollard 1967, p. 77, no. 413; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 472, no. 470. There are two exemplars in The Met’s collection: 2010.417.2, .3. 7. See a particularly well preserved version of the Gritti medal in Voltolina 1998, vol. 1, p. 337, no. 288; Toderi and Vannel 2000, vol. 2, p. 234, no. 627, pl. 149. 8. Hill 1920, p. 98.

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Saint Sebastian

Alessandro Vittoria (Trent 1525–1608 Venice)

Venice, 1566

Bronze

21 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (54.3 × 16.2 × 16.2 cm)

Inscribed (on base): ALEXANDER VICTOR[IA]

T[RIDENTINUS] F[ECIT]

Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1940 (40.24)

Alessandro Vittoria, a pupil of Jacopo Sansovino, was the most important Venetian sculptor after his master’s death in 1570. He created monumental marble statues as well as sumptuous interior decorations in stucco and was an eminent portraitist. His rich oeuvre also includes bronze statuettes, which are usually a bit larger than the typical Renaissance *bronzetto*. Today, thirteen such bronzes, including The Met’s *Saint Sebastian*, all fully signed by the artist, are known, while another ten without signature are more or less convincingly attributed to him.¹ Seven of the signed bronzes depict pagan gods and were probably intended for private collectors, while six have religious subjects. Two of the latter, a *Saint John* and a *Saint Francis*, surmounted the holy water stoups in San Francesco della Vigna, Venice;² another two, the prophets Malachias and Melchizedek, once decorated the tabernacle of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.³ Our *Saint Sebastian*, as well as another cast of the same model in a private collection,⁴ never served a function⁵ but remained in Vittoria’s own possession and were given special attention in his several wills. The fact that Veronese’s portrait of Vittoria, also in The Met (fig. 58a), shows the sculptor tenderly holding a model of the statuette provides further evidence of the importance he assigned to this composition, which indeed represents one of his most ingenious and successful inventions.⁶

The striking pose of the tormented but beautiful nude youth, who leans against a truncated tree and bends his left arm back behind his head, was first formulated by Vittoria in a



Fig. 58a. Paolo Veronese (1528–1588), *Alessandro Vittoria*, ca. 1580. Oil on canvas; 43½ × 32¼ in. (110.5 × 81.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gwynne Andrews Fund, 1946 (46.31)



Fig. 58b. Alessandro Vittoria, *Saint Sebastian*, 1563–64. Marble. Montefeltro Altar, San Francesco della Vigna, Venice

lifesize statue of Istrian stone executed in 1563–64 for the Montefeltro Altar in San Francesco della Vigna (fig. 58b).⁷ On December 14, 1566, Vittoria made a final payment to Andrea di Alessandri, called Bresciano, for the casting of a *Saint Sebastian* in bronze.⁸ Some eight years later, on May 16, 1575, the son-in-law of the deceased Bresciano, Orazio, was paid for the casting of another *Saint Sebastian*.⁹

Thus documentation confirms the production of at least two casts of Vittoria's *Sebastian* during his lifetime, and until recently these statuettes were identified as the bronze in The Met and another, without signature but with a suspicious cache-sexe, in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.¹⁰ However, it is now agreed that the latter's slack modeling and thin walls indicate a later cast, probably from the eighteenth century.¹¹ The appearance of a *Sebastian* on the art market in 1998¹² spurred a thorough reevaluation of the known statuettes and their relationship to the documents. The Met's *Saint Sebastian* is now unanimously considered the cast executed in 1566 by Bresciano,¹³ a highly skilled bronze founder who created, among other works, the monumental Paschal Candelabrum in Santa Maria della Salute in Venice.¹⁴ Supporting this identification is the

exceptional quality of the cast, which preserves every detail of what must have been a consummate wax model—hardly any chasing was necessary. This corresponds perfectly with Vittoria's remark that he gave to Bresciano a "well-cleaned wax."¹⁵ The very fine cast now in a private collection appears to be the one executed in 1575 by Bresciano's son-in-law, who apparently had inherited Andrea's workshop. This replica was clearly made from the same mold as our *Sebastian* but is not as sophisticated in its filing and finishing.

The subtle but crucial difference between the two figures is the signature. As observed by Richard Stone, our statuette features a signature that had been engraved in the wax model and then carefully but sparingly accentuated in the cold work, creating the crisp effect of an inscription carved in marble.¹⁶ The signature on the privately owned *Sebastian*—ALEXANDER. VICTORIA. F[ECIT]—is less precise, almost sloppy, and omits the letter "T," a reference to Vittoria's native city of Trent. As pointed out by Manfred Leithe-Jasper,¹⁷ the denomination "tridentinus" and the abbreviated form of his surname were used by Vittoria only in his early works, further evidence that the present *Saint Sebastian* is indeed the cast documented in 1566.





If these assumptions are correct, it must have been these two figures that Vittoria mentioned in his fifth will of May 1586, in which he stated that only one of them was signed.¹⁸ According to his wording in this document, one of the two statuettes had the signature “cut” into the base. Since the signature of The Met’s *Sebastian* is cast-in as well as chased, this description presents no conflict. It might explain, however, the slight awkwardness of the signature on the privately owned *Sebastian*, which was probably added only after Vittoria’s fifth will. Given the artist’s obsession with signing his works,¹⁹ it would have been odd that a statuette he clearly valued very highly was left unsigned. It seems therefore conceivable that he rectified the oversight once he noticed it but by that point his collaborators could not achieve the same crispness in the lettering.

References to Vittoria’s *Saint Sebastian* turn up repeatedly in the seventeenth century. In 1615, Vincenzo Scamozzi reported that the Venetian collector Bartolomeo della Nave owned one of the casts, and according to an inventory of 1650 another was owned by the collector Girolamo Gualdo in Vicenza.²⁰ In addition to the two bronzes, plaster casts of Vittoria’s *Sebastian* must have been readily available and valued as workshop props. As such, they feature in paintings by Jan Steen, Gabriël Metsu, Evaristo Baschenis, and others.²¹

If one compares Vittoria’s bronze *Sebastian* with his stone sculpture for the Montefeltro Altar, it is quite remarkable how much the interpretation changed within two years. Although the pose remained the same, the proportions of the bronze are quite different. Legs and torso have been elongated considerably, as if the malleability of the material seduced Vittoria into stretching the figure to its limits. The bronze body is slenderer, smoother, and more fluidly modeled, emphasizing the grace of its dynamic twist. Even the stump is longer and thinner than the massive piece of tree behind the stone *Sebastian*. That such a device appears in the statuette at all may be considered strange, since bronze sculptures generally do not require such supports. But in this case, it is clear that the stump stabilizes the composition, allowing the complicated pose to play against it.

Several prototypes have been noted as inspiration for Vittoria’s *Saint Sebastian*: Michelangelo’s *Dying Slave*, the *Laocoön*, and the so-called *Dying Alexander*, the latter as the model for the *Sebastian*’s expressive head.²² It is not surprising, then, that Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi concluded that the *Sebastian* marks a turning point in Vittoria’s work, when the sculptor abandoned the style of his master Sansovino and fully embraced Michelangelo together with classical sculpture.²³ However, as observed with much insight by Hans Weihrauch, Vittoria’s affinity with Parmigianino was stronger than with Michelangelo, which is why he adapted the pose of the *Dying Slave* but not its powerfully modeled anatomy. In this regard, Victoria Avery has pointed to a drawing by Parmigianino of a nude man (fig. 58c), today in a private collection but once owned by Vittoria himself, that constitutes such an exact



representation of the *Saint Sebastian* that one probably should see in it the most pertinent foretype for the sculpture.²⁴

Vittoria's *Saint Sebastian* came into being as a lifesize sculpture in stone that was intended for an altar niche. It might well be that Vittoria felt that his twisting, *figura serpentinata*-like invention was struggling in this setting against the confinements of the surrounding architecture. This and the experience of having successfully turned his stone *Mercury* for the *finestrone* of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice into a bronze statuette may have inspired him to do the same with the *Sebastian*.²⁵ In this medium, the composition could be seen from different angles, and he could explore a more mannered, or "Parmigianesque," way of modeling the figure. Vittoria's contribution to Michelangelo's theme of the *Slaves*—basically exercises in displaying beautiful male bodies in distress—could thus be given a more personal interpretation.

Vittoria's profound identification with this sculpture is demonstrated by Veronese's portrait of the artist in which his right hand holds the model of *Sebastian* exactly where his signature appears on the bronze statuette. This hand—that of the artist and creator—is rendered very similarly to how Parmigianino had painted his own hand in the famous *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror*, which Vittoria had bought in 1561.²⁶ The Met's *Sebastian* can thus be considered the "signature piece" by and of Alessandro Vittoria. CKG

PROVENANCE: Federico Enrico Mylius, Genoa (until 1879; sale, Villa Mylius, November 11, 1879, lot 181); private collection, England (?); probably Gustav von Benda, Vienna;²⁷ [Arthur Goldschmidt (?); sold to Bayer]; Edwin Stanton Bayer, New York (by 1927–d. 1928);²⁸ his widow, Laura, later Comtesse Sala (1928–33; sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 19, 1933, lot 49); Clendenin J. Ryan, New York (after 1938–40; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, January 19–20, 1940, lot 274; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Temanza 1778, p. 495; Temanza 1827, p. 50; Predelli 1908, p. 132; Planiscig 1921, pp. 451–52; Gerola 1924–25, pp. 340, 348–49, 353–55; Phillips 1940, pp. 126–27; Valentiner 1942, p. 149; Cessi 1960, pp. 47–48, 62; Pope-Hennessy 1963, p. 61; Radcliffe 1966, p. 79; Olga Raggio in New York 1967, cat. 50; Weihrauch 1967, p. 146; New York 1970, p. 224; Davis 1976, p. 164; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Martineau and Hope 1983, p. 388, cat. 537; Cocke 1984, p. 205; Mason Rinaldi 1990, p. 202, cat. 86a; Steinberg 1990, p. 113; Boucher 1991, vol. 1, p. 174; Leithe-Jasper in Krahn 1995, p. 298, cat. 83; Finocchi Ghersi 1998, pp. 18, 97, 139; V. Avery 1999b, docs. 61, 77, 91, 121; Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 162, cat. 3; Leithe-Jasper in Bacchi et al. 1999, pp. 342–45, cat. 75; Puppi 2001, p. 15; V. Avery 2004; Bayer 2005, pp. 20, 23, fig. 20; V. Avery 2007a, pp. 17, 19; Stone 2010, p. 109; Wardropper 2011, pp. 80–82, no. 25; C. Avery 2020, pp. 167–68, no. 44; Finocchi Ghersi 2020, pp. 28–29, 75, no. 24

NOTES

1. See Leithe-Jasper in Bacchi et al. 1999, pp. 325–29. 2. They were stolen toward the end of the twentieth century. 3. The two prophets, once in the Feist collection in Berlin, were lost in World War II; see Leithe-Jasper in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 325, with further references. 4. Christie's, London, *European Sculpture*, July 7, 1998, lot 109. 5. At a height of

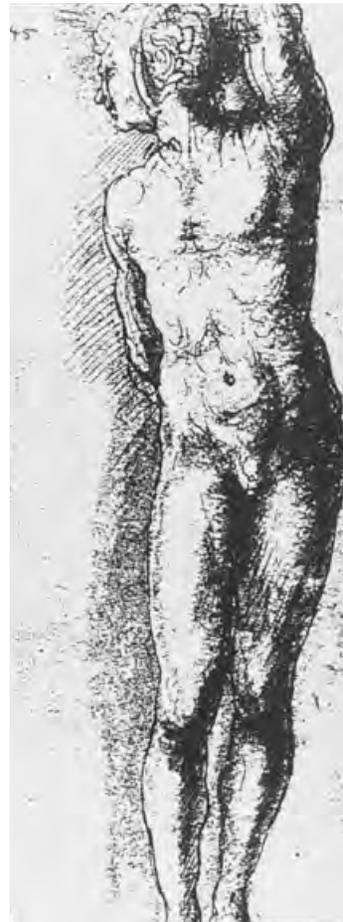


Fig. 58c. Parmigianino (1503–1540), *Study of a Male Nude*, 1524–30. Private collection

110 cm, the *Mourning Virgin and Saint John*, today in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, but originally made for an altar in the Oratory of the Assunta and San Jerome at San Fantin, are perhaps too large to be considered statuettes but are mentioned here for completeness and to underline that Vittoria's religious bronzes were usually intended for a specific function in a specific church. 6. Bayer 2005, pp. 20, 23. 7. See Sandro Sponza's entry on the altar in Bacchi et al. 1999, pp. 314–18, cat. 66. 8. V. Avery 1999b, doc. 61; see also Predelli 1908, p. 132. 9. V. Avery 1999b, doc. 91; see also Predelli 1908, pp. 135–36. 10. The confusion had mostly to do with Vittoria stating in his third will of November 7, 1570 (see Gerola 1924–25, pp. 348–49; V. Avery 1999b, doc. 77), that the bronze statuette—at this time there apparently existed only one cast—could be interpreted as either Sebastian or Marsyas. Given the cache-sexe of the figure in Los Angeles (M.51.12), one could argue that a saint should be depicted with a drapery covering his groin, while a satyr could be entirely nude (see, for instance, Leithe-Jasper in Krahn 1995, p. 298, cat. 83). However, Vittoria differentiates the two subjects not by the use of drapery, but by the suggestion of a wound below the left breast, which makes the entire argument moot. Like Giambologna in Florence, Vittoria showed thus the same indifference to subject matter that was made popular by Michelangelo. 11. Schaefer and Fusco 1987, p. 170. 12. See note 4. 13. Leithe-Jasper in Bacchi et al. 1999, pp. 342–45. 14. Davis 1976, p. 163. On Bresciano in general, see C. Avery 2020. 15. V. Avery 1999b, doc. 91; see also Predelli 1908, pp. 135–36. 16. R. Stone/TR, July 7, 2009. The statuette was thinly and evenly cast in a quaternary alloy of copper, zinc, lead, and tin, with trace impurities. 17. Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 344. 18. Gerola 1924–25, p. 353; V. Avery 1999b,

doc. 121. Again, Vittoria's comment in his third will that the bronze could be interpreted as depicting Sebastian or Marsyas (see note 10), explains why the mention of a "marsia" in his fifth will is likely to refer to his beloved *Saint Sebastian*. In the past, the distinction of one cast being signed and the other not has been seen as confirmation of the authenticity of the unsigned *Sebastian* in Los Angeles. **19.** See V. Avery 2007a, pp. 20, 23. **20.** Scamozzi 1615, vol. 1.3, p. 306; Gualdo 1972, p. 56. **21.** For a detailed list, see Leithe-Jasper in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 345. **22.** Planiscig 1921, p. 452; Venturi 1935–37, vol. 3, p. 93; Valentiner 1942, p. 149. **23.** Finocchi Ghersi 1998, p. 140; Finocchi Ghersi 2020, p. 29. **24.** V. Avery 1999a, p. 147. **25.** Getty, 85.SB.184. Peter Fusco (in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 336, cat. 72) suggested that the bronze *Mercury* might have derived from an unexecuted model for the *finestrone*—its genesis is not yet entirely clear. **26.** Kunsthistorisches Museum; V. Avery 1999a, p. 143. **27.** A photograph (ESDA/OF) shows Vittoria's *Saint Sebastian* (undoubtedly our cast) standing next to the equestrian statuette of Teodoro Trivulzio that belonged to Gustav von Benda in Vienna (see Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, pl. LXXII). While the latter was part of the "Legat Benda" and entered the Kunsthistorisches Museum in 1930, the *Saint Sebastian* did not, so it must have been sold before. **28.** New York 1927, pl. XLVI.

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Juno and the Peacock
After a model by Alessandro Vittoria
(Trent 1525–1608 Venice)

Venice, late 16th century

Bronze

13¼ × 4½ × 3¼ in. (33.7 × 11.4 × 9.5 cm)

The Erich Lederer Collection, Gift of Mrs. Erich Lederer, 1986

(1986.319.52)

The female figure, dressed in drapery that covers her torso and most of her legs but finishes below the breasts, stands in a relaxed contrapposto and leans slightly backward. Her head is turned gracefully to the side, while in her right hand she holds her left breast as if she were about to compress milk from it. The left arm reaches toward a peacock, positioned next to the woman's left leg so that she can delicately grip the tiny head of the trusting bird with two fingers. Her hair is parted in the middle and gathered in a loose chignon at the back of her head from where two curled strands fall down onto her shoulders. The presence of the peacock identifies the figure as Juno, Jupiter's wife and the goddess of marriage, which explains her almost fully dressed state, the motherly rather than flirtatious manner of touching her breast, and her demure expression.

The model of this *Juno* was cast frequently.¹ Among the many replicas, ours is certainly one of the best, although technically all known casts display imperfections.² The model was repeatedly combined with a *Jupiter*, placed atop firedogs; however, since our *Juno* is provided with an unusually large round base, it was probably made for another purpose. The different casts feature slight variations in the treatment of the peacock's



feathers and in the way the goddess touches the bird, depending on whether or not its head is crested.

The model was attributed to Vittoria in 1914 when a cast appeared at auction in Berlin.³ This attribution was repeated in 1916 by Leo Planiscig for The Met *Juno* when it was still in the Zatzka collection in Vienna. Since then, the model was either called a work by Vittoria himself or by his workshop,⁴ and indeed there can be no doubt that the composition was invented by that artist. The execution of the known casts was, however, done by one or more of the commercial foundries in Venice, a common practice for functional bronzes such as andirons, for which most of the *Juno* statuettes undoubtedly were made. There exists a marked difference between models that Vittoria had lovingly cast by experts like Bresciano, as in the case of his *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 58), and models he apparently provided—in which way, we do not know—for marketable products.

The small head and elongated proportions of the figure, with the emphasis on the prominent stomach, and the eloquent twist of the pose, with the inclined head and the elegant hand on the chest, are typical features of Vittoria's sculptures, as is the heavy drapery with small, sharp folds and large flat areas that cling to the body so that, for instance, the navel is clearly visible. Planiscig observed that the treatment of Juno's drapery is reminiscent of Vittoria's *Saint Daniel* on the altar of the Merciai in San Giuliano, Venice (ca. 1583–84), which features the characteristic diagonal sweep of the cloth that cleverly follows the twist of the figure's movement. Also the allegorical statue of Eloquence in the Sala delle Quattro Porte, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (ca. 1580), or the female caryatids framing the *Monument for Henry III of France* (1575) in the same palace are close sisters of our *Juno*, all of them stemming ultimately in their elongated proportions from Parmigianino, Vittoria's favorite painter. The model for the *Juno* was probably created in the 1580s or 1590s,⁵ but the casts were produced at least until the mid-seventeenth century. CKG

PROVENANCE: Ludwig Zatzka, Vienna; Erich Lederer, Geneva (d. 1985); his wife (until 1986; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Planiscig 1916b, p. 119; Planiscig 1921, pp. 492–93, fig. 517; Androsov et al. 1988, pp. 110–11

NOTES

1. Replicas, given in order of their first publication: Museo Civici, Padua (Moschetti 1938, p. 223; see also Davide Banzato in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 354, cat. 79); Stift Klosterneuburg, KG 15 (Planiscig 1942, pp. 11–12, no. 15); Capodimonte (Molajoli 1957, no. 10642; see also Ambrosio and Capobianco 1995, p. 36 [head of peacock missing]); ex-Charles C. Dent collection (Allentown 1967, cat. 83, paired with a *Jupiter* and mounted on andirons—very probably modern); Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (Varese 1975, p. 115, cat. 95); V&A, A.19-1961 (Burns et al. 1975, p. 60, cat. 110; see also Motture 2003, p. 297, no. 6); Hermitage, H.ck-82 (Androsov 1978, pp. 53–54, cat. 37); Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, 62-8. For a cast featuring a crown on Juno's head in a U.S. private collection, see Motture 2003, p. 297, no. 7. For another *Juno* in a private collection that

seems to be of later manufacture, see Banzato 2008a, p. 183. Casts of the *Juno* appear now and then on the art market: Dorotheum, Vienna, May 13–15, 1929, lot 23; Christie's, London, November 20, 1967, lot 166; Christie's, New York, July 10–11, 2002, lot 1099; Sotheby's, London, October 31, 2003, no. 101; Sotheby's, Paris, October 16, 2007, lot 6. 2. The metal is a quaternary alloy of copper, tin, zinc, and lead, with minor and trace elements. R. Stone/TR, July 24, 2009. 3. Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, March 11, 1914, *Kunstsammlung Schacky*, lot 272. 4. The only exception is the ex-Dent cast that was erroneously described as by Tiziano Aspetti (Allentown 1967, cat. 83). On the art market there has also been an equally mistaken attribution of casts of lesser quality to Nicolò Roccatagliata. 5. Compare Motture 2003, p. 297, and Banzato in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 354.

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Banquet of the Gods

Possibly Venice, 16th century or later

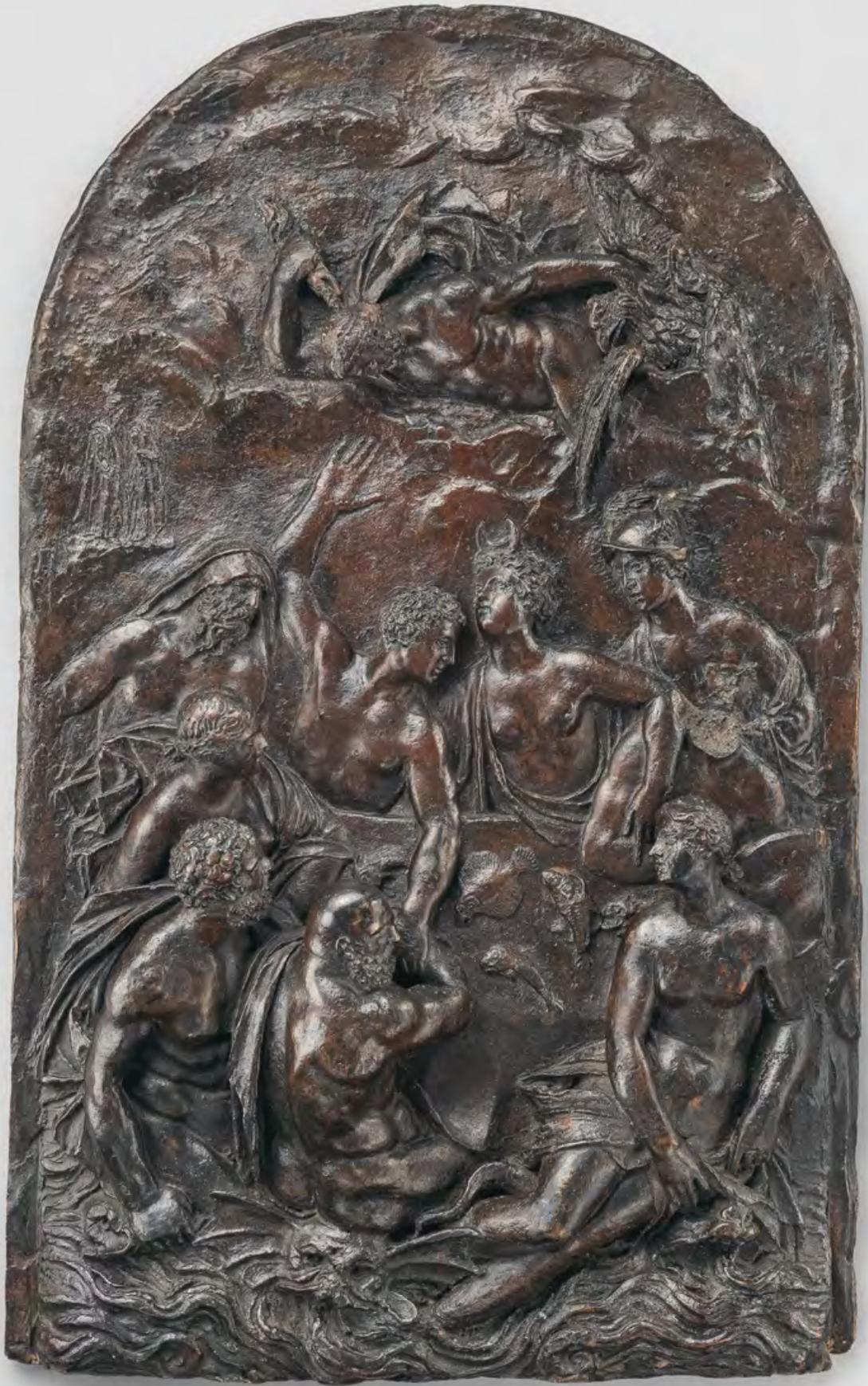
Bronze

15 × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (38.1 × 23.8 cm)

Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1939 (39.78)

For a “banquet of the gods,” the participants’ repast is rather desperately frugal, with just four small bony fish and no wine on their table. The characters have been variously identified. Two miniature men happening upon the scene at far upper left, seemingly topped by turbans, are usually called Turks. In the present iteration of the scene, the only certain characters are Jupiter with his thunderbolt flying on high and a duo of Diana and Mercury at right, behind the table. In other examples, discussed below, the male below Mercury is Mars in his helmet, but ours has lost his head altogether, broken off at an early stage. In fact, all principal heads were fashioned and joined separately in the wax. It is also odd that the species of sea life are different in each bronze and in the graphic and silver sources cited below. Another anomaly is the irregular grooving of the sides so as to suggest the slotting of the work into a frame, but the grooves are discontinuous and a frame would not have fit snugly. Conversely, the outer edges are carefully filed down as if to accept a frame.

It has long been recognized that the earliest illustration of the composition occurs in Bernard de Montfaucon’s *Antiquité expliquée* (1719–22), reproducing a bronze relief that was owned by the erudite Oratorian and royal librarian Abbé J.-Paul Bignon.¹ Two other bronzes with slenderer arch-topped formats comparable to that of ours exist in the Cleveland Museum of Art and the V&A.² The Cleveland example, identified by the museum as probably by Alessandro Vittoria, evidently has the earliest provenance, considered the Bignon relief, then owned by István Marczibányi (1752–1810) of Budapest. All are thick, weighty casts showing minimal differences. There is no chasing on the fronts. Given their heft, entailing the use, and waste, of a lot of metal, it hardly seems as if the London and New



A Prophet

Probably by Tiziano Minio (1517?–1552)

Venice, mid-16th century

Bronze

8⅞ × 2¾ × 2¼ in. (21.3 × 7 × 5.7 cm)

Gift of Duveen Brothers, 1918 (18.111)

York pieces can be said to be “trial casts” after a “final cast” in Cleveland, as has been claimed. Ours is likely a late sixteenth-century work, possibly by a Venetian artist, though it is difficult to hazard a guess with more precision. A fourth plaque of the type, whereabouts unknown, was in the William Salomon collection, sold in 1923,³ while the Klejman Gallery in New York once had a lead replica.

Hanne Honnens de Lichtenberg has suggested that a terracotta “Hercules with Other Gods, bas-relief, one and a half feet” in the 1616 inventory of Paul von Praun of Nuremberg, listing works by Johan Gregor van der Schardt—Praun was a chief patron of Schardt—refers to a clay example that has disappeared. Honnens de Lichtenberg tentatively suggested Schardt, who is far too svelte an artist to be the author we seek. The vague title and the measurement—a mere 34.3 cm in height—would not seem to favor him. Honnens de Lichtenberg pointed to later inventories to conclude that the subject is the Apotheosis of Hercules, as named in a Praun inventory of 1719, cited more specifically as *The Promotion of Hercules among the Gods* in a Praun inventory of 1732. In brief, Apollo would be the figure with raised hand, advocating the hero’s elevation to Jupiter, while Mars opposes it. This interpretation supposes that Hercules is the bald male seated below Apollo, who takes his arm.⁴ However, this figure appears as a supporting character, hardly the triumphant subject of an apotheosis.

Imposing silver-gilt sideboard dishes with centers based on the Montfaucon image were produced for the prince regent in 1810–12 by Rundell, Bridge and Rundell following a remarkably elegant Neo-Renaissance design of William Pitts.⁵ JDD

PROVENANCE: Ernst Rosenfeld, New York; [Arnold Seligmann, New York; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Planiscig 1936 (as *Banquet of the Gods* by Danese Cattaneo); Phillips 1939 (as *Apotheosis of Sebastiano Venier* by Cattaneo); Delmár 1945 (as *Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis* by Cattaneo); Pope-Hennessy 1963, p. 58 (as *Feast of Marine Deities* by Alessandro Vittoria); Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, pp. 530–31 (as *Banquet of the Gods* by Vittoria); Wixom 1975, under cat. 116 (as *Feast of the Gods* by Vittoria); Honnens de Lichtenberg 1991, pp. 59, 61, 69–70 (as *Apotheosis of Hercules* possibly by Johan Gregor van der Schardt)

NOTES

1. Montfaucon 1719–22, vol. 1, pl. CVII. 2. CMA, 1952.464 (Wixom 1975, cat. 116); V&A, A.18-1955 (Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, no. 567, and vol. 3, fig. 554). 3. American Art Association, New York, April 4–7, 1923, lot 153. 4. Honnens de Lichtenberg 1991, p. 59. The subject is rare in art, but see the painting *The Apotheosis of Hercules* by Benvenuto Tisi, il Garofalo, in the Princely Collections of Liechtenstein. 5. Christie’s, New York, October 19, 2004, lot 241; see Phillips and Sloane 1997, no. 5. Anthony Radcliffe had suggested to the organizers of the Carlton House exhibition at which one of the British royal chargers was displayed (London 1991, cat. 73) an untenable attribution of the bronzes to Guglielmo della Porta.

In his pioneering book on Venetian sculptors published in 1921, Leo Planiscig assigned this bronze to the Paduan Tiziano Aspetti, nicknamed Minio.¹ The attribution has never been contested, despite the lack of documentary evidence. On the basis of the hornlike protrusion on the figure’s head, Planiscig identified him as Moses. In 1976, however, Ian Wardropper observed that the figure holds a book rather than a tablet of the law, and that the head is topped by an unchased casting mass and not horns.² Thus, he should be considered simply a prophet, as Wardropper more fully explained in 2001. This shift in subject redirects attention to the statuette’s unfinished condition and its overall sketchiness. Claudia Kryza-Gersch observed that the bronze appears to be a “relict cast,” in which the plasticity of the wax or terracotta model is still visible.³ The forms are roughly delineated: massive hands grasp the book like claws; the robe cascades down the lower limbs as if it were liquid; the beard and facial features are impressionistically rendered. The result is an exquisite painterly and expressive cast.

The unworked back with two oval bulges might indicate that the statuette was intended for display in a small niche. A hole in the right hand suggests that something was meant to be inserted into it. In 1545, Minio was commissioned to execute a *serraglio* (grill) for the Santo in Padua that, according to Vasari, was left incomplete at the sculptor’s premature death.⁴ We know that the models for the grill survived, as they were requested by the Paduan sculptor Francesco Segala in 1564.⁵ Wardropper concludes that the *Prophet* is a later cast by Segala of one of Minio’s wax models for the unfinished Paduan grill. In this context, it is interesting to note that another cast of this figure paired with a *Sybil* has been circulating on the art market since the 1950s.⁶ Although the quality of these two statuettes is difficult to judge, their existence attests to the possibility of a larger series of which our *Prophet* would have been one component.

While we have no definitive proof that the *Prophet* is by Minio, the attribution is reasonable. The figure’s roughness hampers comparison with other bronzes by the artist, such as the reliefs for the cover of the baptismal font in the Basilica of San Marco, Venice. Given the similarity of the statuette’s proportions and pose to the work of Jacopo Sansovino and Alessandro Vittoria, it is most certainly Venetian.⁷ But even more striking is its kinship with Venetian painting of the 1550s, in



particular the works of Andrea Meldolla, called Schiavone. The *Prophet*, with its coarse forms, dialogues particularly well with Schiavone's *Jesus before Herod* (fig. 61a). FL

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan, London (until d. 1913); [Duveen Brothers, London and New York, until 1918; to MMA]

LITERATURE: Planiscig 1921, p. 405, fig. 430; Wardropper 2001, p. 114, fig. 19; Andrea Bacchi in Vezzosi 2002, pp. 35–36, fig. 4

NOTES

1. The nickname appears for the first time in Scardeone 1560, pp. 376–77. On Minio in general, see Rigoni 1953; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 227; Bacchi 2000, pp. 762–63; Leithe-Jasper in Padua 2001, p. 239–42; Siracusano 2011. 2. ESDA/OF. 3. Ibid. 4. Wardropper 2001, p. 114. Vasari 1912–15, vol. 9, p. 203: “He [Minio] had begun for the same chapel [of Saint Anthony in Padua] a grating [*serraglio*] of five arches in bronze, which were full of stories of that Saint, with other figures in half-relief and low-relief; but this, also, by reason of his death . . . remained unfinished. Many pieces of it had already been cast . . . and many others were made in wax, when he died . . .” For the documents related to this commission, see Rigoni 1970, pp. 201–15. The work was to be a collaboration between Minio and the Carrarese sculptor Danese Cattaneo; see M. Rossi 1995, pp. 39–40. See also Siracusano 2011. 5. The document is published in Gonzati 1852–53, vol. 1, p. CXXXI, doc. CXXII. On Segala, see Siracusano 2015. 6. With Edward Lubin, Inc., ca. 1959; it was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 14, 2001, lot 50, as “Cast after a model by Minio probably by Segala.” 7. See Bacchi in Vezzosi 2002, pp. 33–37.

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Pluto and Cerberus
Attributed to Tiziano Aspetti
(Padua 1557/59–1606 Pisa)

Venice, ca. 1588 (?)

Bronze

Height 20¾ in. (52.7 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.80)

The striking bronze depicts Pluto, revered in Greek mythology as the ruler of the underworld, while his brothers Zeus and Poseidon presided over the sky and sea, respectively. The nude figure stands upright in exaggerated *contrapposto*, resting his left leg on the hindquarters of a sketchily modeled Cerberus, the monstrous three-headed dog that guarded the gates to Hades. While Pluto's left arm is placed *akimbo* on his hip, he holds in his outstretched right a spear combined with a battle-ax. The sharp end of the weapon points upward, and the fingers grip the double blade rather casually. Pluto's head is turned sharply to the left as he boldly gazes into the distance. The twisting strands of the long beard emphasize the dynamic movement of the pose.

The statuette is modeled very roughly, giving the impression of a draft, or *bozzetto*, in which the sculptor wanted to define the general idea of the figure without devoting too much care to details. Body and head are outlined swiftly yet communicate



Fig. 61a. Andrea Schiavone (ca. 1510?–1563), *Jesus before Herod*, ca. 1558–62. Oil on canvas; 51¼ × 79½ in. (130 × 202 cm). Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte, Naples







Fig. 62a. Tiziano Aspetti, *Mars*, ca. 1590. Bronze; H. 22 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (57.6 cm). The Frick Collection, New York, Henry Clay Frick Bequest (1916.2.56)

the fierce expression of a powerful, fear-inducing god, while dog and drapery are little more than lumps of material. The sculpture looks as if a fragile wax model had been translated into bronze in order to preserve the composition. The term used for such objects is preservative or “relict” cast, however the *Pluto*, surprisingly, does not seem to be one.¹ The bronze was actually cast indirectly and seems to conserve an inter-model to which certain features were added in a freehand manner.² It appears that the sculptor had a rudimentary idea for a standing figure that he reproduced several times with the help of piece-molds. The results were replicas of a very basic shape in wax on which the artist could alter the position of head, limbs, and drapery. For some reason, one of these sketches ended up cast in bronze, a bronze that was even rasped smooth in some areas and patinated twice. In order to unravel this puzzle, one must consider the likely author and the possible context of the statuette.

In the past, the bronze has been attributed to Cellini, Giambologna, and Sansovino, suggestions that attest to the undeniable quality of the piece, evident despite its unfinished state.³ Most recently the *Pluto* was simply identified as “Venetian, mid-16th century,”⁴ and Venice is indeed a much more likely place of origin than Florence. Because there are so many similarities to the works of Tiziano Aspetti, it seems appropriate to suggest an attribution to him.

There is first of all the stance of the legs, which can be compared to Aspetti’s *Mars* in the Frick (fig. 62a).⁵ Both figures rest the weight on their right leg, while the left leg is placed on a relatively high support. The knees are set apart widely and open a broad gap between the legs. Although the *Pluto* is executed like a sketch, the well-defined leg muscles closely resemble the modeling of the lower body of the *Mars* in the long “edge” of the thigh, the pronounced groove between shin and calf, and the design of the “V-line” separating legs from torso. The shape of the feet and toes also correspond. Aspetti typically formed the second and third toes long and close together while separating them sharply from the big toe, which is more round than square. This disposition is recognizable in the *Pluto*’s right foot even though it is only roughly outlined.

Aspetti favored dynamic poses with a pronounced rendering of weight-bearing and relaxed legs, while balancing the shift of the center of gravity not with a counterpose of the shoulders, as in the classical contrapposto, but with a sharp turn of the head. There is usually a hint of instability in the stance of his figures that conveys liveliness and vigor. All these characteristics can be found in the *Pluto*. Elegant hands with long fingers are another typical feature. The almost playful way in which our *Pluto* grabs his spear is comparable to the manner in which Aspetti’s Saint Paul on the facade of San Francesco della Vigna, Venice, grasps his sword, or Hope on the balustrade of the choir of Sant’Antonio in Padua holds her anchor.

As stated above, The Met’s *Pluto* is not a bronze statuette in its own right, but a model for something else. As indicated by the drapery that the god holds in his left hand, from where it falls down behind his legs onto Cerberus, the composition was probably intended for translation into marble, a material that requires this type of support, especially in a large format. Difficult to capture in photographs is the fact that the bronze seems to be leaning slightly forward due to its lopsided square base, which suggests that the executed sculpture was designed to be seen from below. Given that *Pluto* is rarely depicted alone but usually in relation to other Olympian gods, there is only one major sculptural commission in Venice that comes to mind as a possible context for The Met’s piece, namely the statues for the balustrade of the Libreria Marciana on the Piazzetta.

The facade of the elegant two-storied building, erected by Jacopo Sansovino in 1537–53 and enlarged by Vincenzo Scamozzi in 1588, has a rich sculptural décor that culminates in a series of monumental statues of gods and heroes placed

upon the roof's balustrade. The idea for this panoply originated with Sansovino, but during his lifetime only one figure, a *Neptune* by Bartolomeo Ammannati, was placed on the corner next to the Campanile, and it soon fell victim to an accident.⁶ The embellishment of the balustrade was taken up again between 1586 and 1591, when twenty-three statues were executed by different Venetian sculptors, including Tiziano Aspetti.⁷ On April 24, 1589, he received final payment for delivery of his *Hercules*, which is still in situ and certainly one of the best of the entire ensemble.⁸ Girolamo Campagna's statues of Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Juno, and Pomona were also finished by that time, and he received the down payment for a figure depicting Pluto on April 28 of the same year.⁹ Given that in 1587–88, Aspetti and Campagna worked side by side on the fireplace in the Sala dell'Anticollégio of the Palazzo Ducale and would collaborate on the two *Giants* guarding the entrance of the Zecca in 1590–91, it would appear that the sculptors had a close professional relationship in these years. It is therefore permissible to speculate that Aspetti hoped he would be chosen to execute the *Pluto* and so began to prepare models for it. Since the assignment apparently went to Campagna instead, it would make sense that Aspetti would preserve his best model and have it cast in bronze for future use.

While this scenario is only conjecture, the provenance of our *Pluto* adds credibility to it. The statuette came from the collection of Colonel Edward Cheney of Badger Hall, Shropshire, who was "passionately attached to Italy and in particular Venice."¹⁰ Between 1846 and 1852, Cheney lived splendidly in the Ca' Soranzo in Venice and took advantage of his many connections to the impoverished nobility, such as Count Grimani, from whom he bought regularly.¹¹ The sale catalogue of Cheney's collection features, for instance, a doorknocker from the Palazzo Grimani near Santa Maria Formosa,¹² which happens to be the palace of Aspetti's great patron, Patriarch Giovanni Grimani. From 1577 to 1593, the sculptor lived in Grimani's palace and restored his famous collection of antiquities.¹³ It is therefore conceivable that Aspetti gave the *Pluto* to Grimani—as mentioned above, the statuette received a minimum of cold work and was patinated to make it more attractive—and that it was later bought by Cheney from the patriarch's descendant. Since the colonel admired in particular the work of Alessandro Vittoria, he may have thought the *Pluto* was a work by that sculptor and so did not mind its sketchy state. The bronze received its second patina perhaps when it entered the "Bronze Room" of Badger Hall.

Looking at Campagna's *Pluto* on the balustrade of the Libreria Marciana, one cannot help but lament that the figure was not executed by Aspetti, who was clearly the greater talent when it came to monumental marble sculpture, a fact that is obvious in the Zecca *Giants*. If it had been executed in stone, Aspetti's version of the god would have been a truly great work of art. CKG

PROVENANCE: Edward Cheney (1803–1884), Badger Hall, Shropshire; by descent to Francis Capel-Cure, Badger Hall, Shropshire (until 1905; sale, Christie's, London, May 5, 1905, lot 85); Sir George Donaldson, Hove, Sussex; George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: London 1879, cat. 549; Plon 1884, pp. 25–26; Ricci 1913a, p. 72; Ricci 1913b, cat. 61; Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. LIII; Buffalo 1937, cat. 137; Blumenthal 1943, cat. 12; Phillips 1954, p. 163; Peter Jonathan Bell in Baum et al. 2016, pp. 326–27

NOTES

1. On the difficulties of recognizing relict casts, see Stone 1981, pp. 89–90. 2. R. Stone/TR, June 10, 2009. 3. Cellini: London 1879, cat. 549; Plon 1884, pp. 25–26. Giambologna: Plon 1884, p. 26: "En résumé, il nous semble que le *Pluton*, qui appartient incontestablement à l'école de Michel-Ange, pourrait . . . être attribué à Benvenuto Cellini ou à Jean Bologne" (In summary, it seems that the *Pluto*, which undoubtedly belongs to the school of Michelangelo, could . . . be attributed to Benvenuto Cellini or Giambologna). Sansovino: Phillips 1954, p. 163. 4. Bell in Baum et al. 2016, pp. 326–27. 5. For the attribution of this piece to Aspetti, see Kryza-Gersch 2001. 6. Lorenzetti 1929, p. 31. 7. The other sculptors were Girolamo Campagna (*Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Juno, Pomona, Pluto*, and perhaps *Apollo* and *Minerva*), Virgilio and Agostino Rubini (*Saturn, Diana, Ceres, Ops, Pan*), Bernardino Quadri (*Mercury, Concordia, Plato*), Camillo Mariani (*Aeolus, Proserpina, Hymen*), Francesco Caracca (*Adonis*), Antonio Gazin (*Bacchus*), and Francesco Casella (*Endymion*). For the complicated history and identification of these sculptures, see Ivanoff 1964; for an interpretation of the iconographic program, see Ivanoff 1967, esp. pp. 54–57. 8. For the document, see Ivanoff 1964, p. 109. 9. Ibid. 10. Knox 2007, p. 6. 11. Ibid., pp. 8–9. 12. Christie, Manson & Woods, London, May 4–5, 1905, lot 56. 13. Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 417.

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Apollo with a Lyre

After a model by Tiziano Aspetti (Padua 1557/59 –1606 Pisa)

Venice, 17th century (?)

Bronze

13¼ × 4⅞ × 5¼ in. (33.7 × 10.5 × 13.3 cm)

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.63)

The small statuette represents Apollo, as can be deduced from his kithara, or lyre, and his distinctive coiffure. The deity is entirely nude but wears fancy sandals reminiscent—as is the hair gathered into a bow on the crown of the head—of the antique *Apollo Belvedere* in the Vatican Museums. Differently than in that famous statue, which depicts the god as an archer, the lyre identifies the bronze statuette as Apollo Musagetes, god of music and art and protector of the Muses.

The figure is given an elegant contrapposto, placing its weight on the left leg. The relaxed right leg is supported by a small, polygonal block, causing a slight twist in the upper body,



Fig. 63a. Tiziano Aspetti, *Peace*, 1592–93. Bronze. Grimani Chapel, San Francesco della Vigna, Venice

which is balanced by a dynamic turn of the head toward his left shoulder. Apollo has placed the lyre on his subtly elevated right thigh, while steadying it with his left hand. The right arm is extended on the side; its delicate fingers hold a short stick that can be identified as a plectrum, the tool used to pluck the strings of the kithara.¹ The youthful god, whose long tresses fall on his right shoulder, gazes into the distance and appears to be listening to the sound of a fading melody.

While the quality of the present cast is mediocre, it nevertheless conveys the grace of the original model, which can be attributed without doubt to Tiziano Aspetti. The pose of the figure (in reverse) can be compared to the large bronze statue of *Peace* in the Grimani chapel in San Francesco della Vigna, Venice, which Aspetti executed in 1592–93 (fig. 63a).² The face of the strangely androgynous personification is also very similar to that of the *Apollo*. The god's sandals seem to be the same model worn by Aspetti's bronze statues of *Fides* and *Spes*, which today adorn the balustrade in front of the high altar in Sant'Antonio, Padua. These two figures, as well as a *Caritas*



and a *Temperantia*, were created by Aspetti between 1593 and 1594 for the shrine of Saint Anthony in the same church. The elegant gestures with which these Virtues grip their respective attributes are very close to the hands of the *Apollo*. In particular, the flexed index finger of the *Apollo*'s left hand is so characteristic of Aspetti that it could be called one of the hallmarks of his style. One may therefore suggest that Aspetti created his model for the *Apollo* in the same years, that is to say in the first half of the 1590s.

The model was reproduced several times, and it appears, as was so often the case, that some of the casts were executed much later. The best replicas, which reflect the artist's direct involvement, are in the Robert H. Smith collection in Washington, D.C., and the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen.³ The latter has traces of gilding on the hair band, lyre, and sandals. While the heights of these two casts and of the one in The Met vary, all three feature the same circular, thin, integrally cast base. Another even smaller cast is in the Musée de Grenoble.⁴ The model is also occasionally encountered on the art market.⁵

The *Apollo* offered at the sale of the princely collection Thurn und Taxis (fig. 63b) was paired with *Venus* standing on a dolphin and holding a shell in her left hand. Since the composition of this figure complements that of the *Apollo* rather nicely, it has been plausibly proposed that her model was also invented by Aspetti.⁶ However, I tend to think that the two are products of a bronze foundry, certainly Venetian, that

wanted to market the *Apollo* model as a surmounting figure of a pair of andirons and was thus in need of a suitable companion. The model of this *Venus* seems to be a generic invention that does not show the recognizable hand of any specific sculptor. Interestingly, *Venus* is barefoot, and to accompany her, *Apollo*'s lovely sandals had to be removed.

Auction houses have offered another pair of similar *Apollo* and *Venus* statuettes that demonstrate how the old models were transformed according to a more "Baroque" taste (fig. 63c). The subtle changes in the modeling, evident especially in the voluptuous physique of the goddess, make these figures look almost Florentine rather than Venetian, and one wonders whether Aspetti's pupil Felice Palma, who came from Massa, might have used his master's models for reproduction. Since so little is known about Palma, the theory is hard to follow up.

In the case of our *Apollo*, the rough surface suggests it is a seventeenth-century cast; later versions look as though steps were taken to regularize and prettify them. The lyre also speaks for such a date: unlike the examples in Washington and Copenhagen, our *Apollo*'s instrument is not cast integrally with the figure, but is an addition. However, the clever lap joints affixing the lyre to *Apollo*'s left hand are seen more often in seventeenth- than in nineteenth-century casts. The Met's *Apollo* appears thus to be a typical product of the Venetian bronze-casting industry that continued to use models by the great sculptors working in Renaissance Venice throughout the seicento.⁷ CKG



Far left: Fig. 63b. *Apollo*. Venice. late 16th century. Bronze; H. 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (34 cm). Sotheby's, Regensburg, October 12, 1993, lot 1064 (a rough cast)

Left: Fig. 63c. *Apollo and Venus*. Venice. Bronze; H. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (33.3 cm). Christie's, London, December 11, 2003, lot 26

PROVENANCE: Jules S. Bache, New York (until 1949; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Auersperg 1996, p. 26, no. 10; Nicholas Penny and Dylan Smith in Smith Collection 2007, p. 42

NOTES

1. Penny and Smith in Smith Collection 2007, p. 40. 2. For this statue and the companion figure of Justice, see Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Bacchi et al. 1999, pp. 422–25, cat. 95. 3. Penny and Smith in Smith Collection 2007, pp. 40–43; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Seipel 1997, p. 60, cat. 18. 4. Beylié 1909, pl. 189. 5. Sotheby's, New York, June 1, 1991, lot 87; Sotheby's, New York, June 8, 2007, lot 437 (entirely gilded, good cast), sold again at Sotheby's, London, December 5, 2012, lot 45. Another good cast from the early seventeenth century with missing hair-bow is at Dario Mottola, Milan. 6. Penny and Smith in Smith Collection 2007, p. 42. 7. See V. Avery 2011.

— 64 —

Warrior (Musketeer)

Venice (?), 17th century

Bronze

21 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 6 in. (55.6 × 17.5 × 15.2 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1970 (1970.314)

The statuette depicts a male warrior standing upright and displaying a musket with a long stock in front of him. The butt of the rifle rests on the base next to his right foot, while he holds the muzzle with his left hand and pushes the ramrod with his right into the barrel. He wears sandal-like boots and a classicizing, muscle-defining cuirass with pteryges and tassels over a skirt. In contrast to this vaguely Roman attire, the weapon, helmet, and style of the beard with goatee and mustache have a distinctly contemporary—that is to say, late sixteenth-century—look. The outfit, which combines elements from different periods, evokes the impression of a man posing in costume rather than of a soldier fit for battle, an effect enhanced by the position of the legs, which perform a sort of cross-legged dance step that causes the skirt and tassels to swirl in a manner perhaps more coquettish than martial. Also his physique—fairly sturdy legs and broad shoulders but very delicate arms and hands—is not entirely convincing. One hesitates to call the figure “Mars,” as was sometimes done in the past.

The composition of The Met's *Warrior* is known in several editions that vary above all in the treatment of the surface of the cuirass. The piece closest to ours is in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, and features the same shirtlike cuirass that seems to be made of plaited basketwork or—and this would make more sense—interwoven leather straps.¹ That statuette lacks the gun, but it has a companion dressed in the same manner and rendered in a less dancelike contrapposto.² Another version of the New York *Warrior* is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum.³ While that soldier also loads a musket, his cuirass has no texture and is equipped with epaulette-like strips covering the shoulders, conveying a more classical demeanor.





Far left: Fig. 64a. Andiron. Venice, 17th century or later. Copper alloy; H. 49 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (125.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.1387a, b)

Left: Fig. 64b. Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), *Horatius Cocles*, from *The Roman Heroes*, 1586. Engraving; 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (36.9 × 23.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.97.690)

Leo Planiscig was the first to attribute this type of warrior to the Paduan sculptor Tiziano Aspetti, a suggestion (among other points of contention) that became the subject of a scholarly controversy between him and Adolfo Venturi, who called the statuettes in Vienna and Budapest “eighteenth-century Landsknechts . . . Mardi Gras gewgaws, would-be Mars puppets.”⁴ Venturi’s attack led to a riposte from Planiscig, in which he elaborated upon the reasons for his attributions of the *Warriors*, comparing them to Aspetti’s two reliefs with scenes of the martyrdom of Saint Daniel, executed in 1592–93 for the Duomo in Padua (see [cat. 169](#)).⁵ On these reliefs appear a variety of differently dressed soldiers, some of which also wear classical armor combined with plumed helmets and mustaches. However, that does not mean that every similarly attired military man must be by Aspetti. Without belittling Planiscig’s enormous achievements, one must admit that in this case Venturi’s critique, although delivered in a needlessly offensive manner, is essentially correct. In his entire oeuvre, Aspetti is never, not even slightly, playful. On the contrary, he usually strives for an almost heavy substantiality using classical poses and serious expressions. He also never displays any interest in superficial decoration. The vestments of his figures tend to be simple and aim at underscoring their sculptural gravitas. While a comparison with the *soldatesche* on Aspetti’s reliefs yielded

convincing and widely accepted attributions, such as the *Mars* in the Frick (p. 205, fig. 62a),⁶ one has to draw a careful line when it comes to the commercialization of a given type, which seems to be the case here.

For instance, a “Viennese” type with smooth cuirass and epaulettes together with a female figure extinguishing a torch and therefore representing Peace appeared on the art market in 1999.⁷ The same pairing exists also in a version in the Museo Correr, Venice; here, however, the soldier wields—again rather playfully—a sword in his right hand, causing a different position of the arms.⁸ A variation of the “Viennese” type can be found in a private collection in Europe, featuring a smooth cuirass with a skirt that is longer than those of the other casts and covered with tiny punched-in dots.⁹ The most elaborate version of the “Viennese” type belongs to the Lehman Collection in The Met (fig. 64a). This warrior has not only the musket but also a powder flask dangling at his left hip from a lovingly rendered strap running over his right shoulder. The cuirass has no tassels but is decorated with an interlaced ornament of plantlike scrolls on a dotted ground, which also covers the sumptuously plumed helmet. As observed by Frits Scholten, the figure is strongly reminiscent of prints by Hendrick Goltzius and embodies a type of “ideal and civilized Soldier.”¹⁰ If one compares the Lehman warrior, for instance, with Goltzius’s *Horatius Cocles*

(fig. 64b), the similarities in the concept, if not of the physical type, are so evident that one wonders if some of these statuettes were produced by a Dutch foundry.

As pointed out by Richard Stone, the present *Warrior* features a remarkable detail, namely a bayonet mount for attaching the statuette to its support, which was most likely an andiron.¹¹ Since Venetian andirons are virtually always assembled “on long threaded iron rods fastened with large square nuts under the base,” this technical peculiarity may be further inducement to look beyond Venice for the production locale of some of these problematic warrior figures. CKG

PROVENANCE: Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1970; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 169–70, no. 316; Raggio 1981, pp. 144–45; Kryza-Gersch 2001, p. 152; Banzato 2004, p. 82; Scholten 2011, p. 52

NOTES

1. Inv. 5306; see Planiscig 1921, p. 569; Balogh 1975, vol. 1, pp. 175–76, no. 232. 2. Balogh 1975, vol. 1, p. 176, no. 233. Another cast of this type was offered at Tajan, Paris, April 26, 2017, lot 106. 3. Planiscig 1921, pp. 566–68; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Feuchtmüller 1976, pp. 93–94, cat. 101; Kryza-Gersch 2001, p. 152. 4. Planiscig 1921, pp. 568–69; Venturi 1930, p. 191. 5. Planiscig 1930–31, pp. 25–26. 6. Kryza-Gersch 2001. 7. Christie’s, London, July 6, 1999, lot 83; resold Christie’s, London, December 12, 2000, lot 31. 8. Mariacher 1968, cats. 26, 27; Mariacher 1971, p. 37, nos. 139, 142. 9. Banzato 2004, pp. 82–84, cat. 28. 10. Scholten 2011, p. 52. 11. R. Stone/TR, November 22, 2010.

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Venus and Cupid

After a model by Tiziano Aspetti
(Padua 1557/59–1606 Pisa)

Venice, 19th century (?)

Bronze

16¼ × 5½ × 4⅞ in. (41.3 × 13 × 11.7 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1966 (66.111)

The nude woman stands on a dolphin. In front of her feet lies a small sleeping Cupid, identifying her as Venus, goddess of love, while the dolphin defines her as Venus Marina, an incarnation of the goddess as protectress of seafaring: as such, she was especially popular in Venice. She stands firmly on her left leg, while the right is placed in a relaxed pose on the dolphin’s head, whose twisting tail caresses the backs of her legs. With her upraised left hand she holds a shawl-like drapery that falls from her left shoulder across her back, in order to be caught in her right hand. The entire figure leans in a graceful curve toward the side of the relaxed leg, while the head is turned sharply opposite. The hair is gathered in an Apollo-like bow, and a long curl falls upon her right shoulder.



Virgin and Child

Nicolò Roccatagliata
(Genoa ca. 1560–1629 Venice)

Venice, early 17th century

Bronze

22¼ × 9½ × 9¾ in. (56.5 × 24.1 × 24.8 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.185)

This statuette is often found as the crowning figure of an andiron, usually paired with a *Mars*. Both figures were invented by Tiziano Aspetti, the best casts being in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, and the Frick, respectively (p. 205, fig. 62a).¹ In these superb examples, the figures are placed on elaborate, integrally cast socles consisting of a polygonal, curved architectural pedestal decorated with sea monsters and escutcheons. In both cases, figure and socle are conceived as a unit, ingeniously linked by the wavy water that flows from the mouth of the dolphin at Venus's feet and the overhanging cuirass on which Mars stands. The couple, together with their elaborate socles, survived in another good cast that nevertheless does not reach the quality of the originals.² In other known versions, the pedestals have been cut off, thus fragmenting the waves and the cuirass rather brutally. This was done because the two figures turned out to be ideal finials for andirons, while their pedestals made not only the reproduction but above all the mounting on such firedogs difficult.³ As an andiron figure, the graceful *Venus* (as much as her companion *Mars*) must have enjoyed great popularity, as is attested by the many existing casts, which are, however, mostly of very low quality.⁴ Our version lacks any subtlety in the surface treatment and, according to Richard Stone, appears to be “cast not from a wax model but from an earlier finished bronze.”⁵ It is likely a very late cast, probably from the nineteenth century. CKG

PROVENANCE: [Fritz Goldschmidt, London]; [John J. Klejman, New York, until 1966; sold to MMA]

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. See Kryza-Gersch 2001. 2. London 1961, cat. 164; auctioned at Sotheby's, New York, January 10, 1995, lot 25, then sold again at Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 2016, lot 14. See also Kryza-Gersch 2001, pp. 150–51. 3. For a photograph of andirons surmounted by Mars and Venus with their entire pedestal, see Kryza-Gersch 2001, fig. 19. While the current location of these curious andirons is unknown, the photograph demonstrates how unsuitable the pedestals are for such a context. 4. Bode-Museum (Krahn 2003, pp. 152–56, cat. 38); National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Pope-Hennessy 1965, pp. 125–26, no. 465); Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (Weihrauch 1967, pp. 158–59); Museo Correr and Ca' d'Oro, Venice (Kryza-Gersch 2001, p. 156 n. 33); C. S. Wadsworth Trust Collection, Parke-Bernet, New York, December 11, 1948, lot 33; Collection D. David-Weill, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 16, 1971, lot 99; Christie's, New York, January 14, 1992, lot 132; Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, June 25, 1993, lot 264; Sotheby's, London, July 9, 2004, lot 68; Sotheby's, New York, December 3, 2014, lot 62. 5. R. Stone/TR, July 15, 2009.

Initially ascribed to Jacopo Sansovino, this bronze group joined the corpus of works assigned to that ingratiating artist Nicolò Roccatagliata thanks to Hans Weihrauch and Bertrand Jestaz. Weihrauch recognized the correspondence between our statuette and an autograph standing bronze *Virgin and Child* (fig. 66a)—then in the Musée de Cluny, Paris—and attributed both to Roccatagliata. Jestaz verified the signature, NICOLLIN F., on the bronze in France as that of our artist.¹

Weihrauch further speculated that The Met *Virgin and Child*, which he considered one of Roccatagliata's mature creations, was the same work described in 1674 by the sculptor's biographer Raffaele Soprani as “a small figure of bronze representing the sitting Virgin with the infant Jesus on her lap . . . made by the artist with correct and harmonious proportions. And after having been dutifully cleaned by his son Simone, it was placed in a niche of marble over a door of a house in that



Fig. 66a. Nicolò Roccatagliata, *Virgin and Child*, early 17th century. Bronze; H. 36½ in. (93 cm). Musée National de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen, transferred from Musée de Cluny, Paris, in 1977 (ECL13272)





street [in Genoa] that leads from the new Piazza delle Erbe directly to the city gate of Sant'Andrea."² Soprani's book was republished in 1768 by Carlo Ratti, who noted that the *Virgin and Child* had by then disappeared.³

It is indeed likely that The Met *Virgin and Child* is the same bronze to which Soprani referred. Since he reported that Roccatagliata's work was placed above a door, such a position would necessitate a sculpture of a certain size and of a composition suited to be seen from below. Both requirements are met by our group: it is considerably bigger than a bronze destined for the private enjoyment of a collector, and both figures gaze

downward. The fact that it is not modeled fully in the round but has an open back further indicates that it was intended for installation against a wall. That this must have been an exterior wall is suggested by the condition of our statuette, which seems to be the result of several layers of protective coating, typical of bronzes that have been displayed outdoors. One may thus assume that The Met's *Virgin and Child* once graced the facade of a house in Genoa, which was, according to Soprani, situated in the historic city center, on today's Salita del Prione, a winding street connecting Piazza delle Erbe and Porta Sant'Andrea, also called Porta Soprana. The Madonna was

placed above the entrance door in a niche or aedicula. Such votive shrines were once very popular and could be found on practically every other corner of any European city. Very often they were devoted to the Virgin, which was particularly the case in Genoa, because the Genoese doge Ottavio Fregoso (r. 1513–15) had commanded that the insignia of foreign rule be removed from all houses and replaced with images of the Madonna, who in 1637 was solemnly ordained the official queen of the city.⁴ The original setting of our *Virgin and Child* can thus be reconstructed fairly accurately, but we do not know when and why it was removed from the house in Genoa.

Since Weihrauch's attribution of the *Virgin and Child* to Roccatagliata in 1967, knowledge about the artist has grown considerably.⁵ Nicolò was born in Genoa, where he entered the workshop of the goldsmith Agostino Groppo at the age of ten or eleven. Later he moved to Venice and, together with Agostino's son Cesare, operated a successful workshop that specialized in decorative bronzes for churches such as statuettes of saints, elaborate candelabra, and narrative reliefs. Cesare Groppo died in 1606. By 1615, Roccatagliata's son—who was called Sebastiano and not Simone, as stated by Soprani—was effectively running the business, faithfully continuing the shop style, while Nicolò disappears from the documents, although he lived until 1629. According to Soprani, he had become blind in one eye and returned to Genoa with a friend, the wood and ivory carver Domenico Bissone. The return was not permanent, however. Roccatagliata died in 1629 in Venice,⁶ where his name continued to be of good repute, as can be deduced from the fact that the so-called paliotto of San Moisè, dated 1633, is signed by Sebastiano and Nicolò together, although the latter had passed away four years earlier.⁷

Despite having trained in Genoa, Roccatagliata became a thoroughly Venetian sculptor. He transformed the classical style of Sansovino and the more vibrant, mannered idiom of Alessandro Vittoria into an easily accessible, almost airy language. His saints are utterly human, and his approach to their depiction is almost genre-like. His trademark putti, perhaps his most successful and charming creations, are not so much angels as adorable little boys with plump but still graceful bodies, chubby-cheeked faces, and masses of tightly coiled curls.⁸ The Christ Child sitting on our Madonna's lap is a perfect example of that endearing type. Another tiny representative of the breed peeks out from under the Virgin's veil in the shape of a cherub, one of those heavenly beings who consist only of a head and wings. Soprani observed that Roccatagliata was particularly adept at the quick modeling of wax and could render a perfect little head with a few strokes of his tool. This is apparent when looking at Christ's face, in which the delicate nose, mouth, and chin seem to have been formed by just gently pushing together the puffy cheeks.

In many depictions of the Madonna, the child rests awkwardly in her arms: she seems to present Christ rather than to

hold him. Our boy, who is old enough to sit by himself, is balanced on his mother's right thigh and tenderly secured with a natural gesture of familiarity. The Virgin herself appears relaxed and sits on the edge of a support that looks more like an architectural element or socle than a piece of furniture. She wears a simple dress and a cloak that drapes over her legs in deep, sharply defined folds. The garments spread out over the rectangular base in a manner typical of Roccatagliata, particularly the arrangement of the hem in omega-shaped pleats. The foot of the right leg on which she carries the child juts slightly forward for greater stability, so that part of it becomes visible. Its second toe is longer than the big toe, another hallmark of the sculptor's style.

The *Virgin and Child* exhibits considerably more sculptural gravitas than Roccatagliata's *Saint George* and *Saint Stephen*, two slightly larger seated bronze figures commissioned in 1594 for San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. This suggests that our group was made ten or twenty years later; since Roccatagliata's secure oeuvre is small and provides little evidence for establishing a reliable chronology, it is impossible to be more precise. Furthermore, the Madonna's appearance may be less the result of a stylistic development than of adapting a certain type that was defined in Venice by Sansovino's regal Virgins. Roccatagliata's Madonnas in New York and Ecouen are both more restrained and have a greater closeness to Sansovino than any of his other works. However, a comparison with Sansovino's bronze statuette of a standing Virgin with sleeping Child in the sacristy of the Redentore in Venice highlights the marked difference between the two sculptors.⁹ The head ornament on Sansovino's figure looks like a crown, while our Madonna wears a less tidily arranged headcloth from which a sweet cherub peeks out. It was Roccatagliata's essentially lighthearted spirit that enabled him to develop a style all his own which remained more or less consistent throughout his career. CKG

PROVENANCE: Genoa, likely installed in an outdoor niche, by 1674–before 1768; [Julius Böhler, Munich, 1910; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, p. 23, pl. CLXXXIV; Breck 1910a; Breck 1913c, p. 81, no. 83; Planiscig 1930, p. 32, fig. 251; Weihrauch 1935, pp. 97–98; Weihrauch 1967, p. 161; Jestaz 1969, pp. 80–81; Bode and Draper 1980, p. 104, pl. CLXXXVI.2; Bruce Boucher in Martineau and Hope 1983, p. 381; Kryza-Gersch 2004, p. 1437

NOTES

1. Jestaz 1969, p. 81, correctly interpreted the signature as "Nicollino fecit" (not "Nicolò invenit et fecit," as suggested by Weihrauch 1967, p. 161), and noted that Roccatagliata was called "Nicolino" in the contract for the candelabra for San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. 2. Soprani 1674, p. 89: "Questa dunque è certa figurina di bronzo rappresentante Maria Vergine Nostra Signora in atto di sedere col Bambino Giesù nel Grembo; qual'opera fù da quello Artefice fatta con molto giusta, & armonica proportione. E doppo d'esser stata diligentemente rinettata da Simone suo figliuolo fù collocata in una nicchia di marmo sopra la porta d'una casa posta nella strada, che dalla nuova Piazza dell'herbe



dirittamente conduce alla porta di Sant'Andrea." **3.** Soprani 1768–69, vol. 1, p. 355. **4.** See "Genova città di Maria," at http://www3.genova.chiesacattolica.it/home_page/itinerari/00363229_Genova_citta_di_Maria.html. According to Garnett and Rosser 2013, p. 112, in the mid-nineteenth century there were 890 aediculae devoted to the Virgin in Genoa. For further references, see Lanzi 1992. **5.** Kryza-Gersch 1998 and 2008. **6.** For the document on Roccatagliata's death, see Kryza-Gersch 2008, p. 272 n. 42. **7.** Until recently, the paliotto, depicting the *Allegory of the Redemption*, was installed as an antependium on the altar of the sacristy in San Moisè; however, as the exhibition after its restoration in the Ca' d'Oro in 2011 revealed, it must have been conceived originally as an altarpiece. The inscription on the paliotto reads: 1633 NICOL. ET SEBASTIANVS ROCCATAGLIATA NICOLINI INVENTORES IOANNES CHENET ET MARINVS FERON GALLI CVSORES ET PERFECTORES. Jean Chenet and Marin Feron were French chasers employed by the Roccatagliatas who also cleaned the two angels on the main altar of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, modeled by Sebastiano and cast by Pietro Boselli; see Kryza-Gersch 1998, p. 118, and Kryza-Gersch 2008, p. 262. **8.** Planiscig 1921, p. 595, subtitled his entry on Roccatagliata, "Der Meister des Putto." **9.** Boucher 1991, vol. 2, p. 346, no. 42, fig. 326.

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Annunciation

Workshop of Nicolò Roccatagliata
(Genoa ca. 1560–1629 Venice)

Venice, early 17th century

Bronze

4 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ × $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (11 × 15.9 × 2.2 cm)

The Erich Lederer Collection, Gift of Mrs. Erich Lederer, 1986
(1986.319.51)

Given its weight (2.3 pounds) and painterly roughness, this bronze *Annunciation* should not be considered a plaquette, but rather a small relief. Gabriel, accompanied by rays of light, greets the Virgin, who raises her hands in surprise. Between them, a table holding a book and flowers is rendered with an inaccurate

perspective, and incense wafts upward. A casting flaw is visible on the Virgin's cheek. The reverse of the relief is flat.

Charles Avery attributed this work to Nicolò Roccatagliata based on its stylistic similarities to the large, highly ambitious *Allegory of the Redemption*, a bronze relief in the church of San Moisè, Venice, signed and dated 1633 by the artist and his son Sebastiano Nicolini.¹ A native of Genoa, Roccatagliata likely moved to Venice in the early 1590s.² His first biographer, Raffaele Soprani, stated that he made models for Tintoretto.³ The sense of movement and the vibrant handling of the material in the *Annunciation* are indeed reminiscent of the late sixteenth-century Venetian painterly tradition. The relief's surface is characterized by a vivid plasticity. Some of the elements are delineated only by rapid scratches. On the one hand, what James David Draper called the composition's "dramatic pictorial language" is certainly appealing to the modern eye. On the other hand, the coarse approximation of anatomical proportions (in particular, the excessively large heads and hands) and the clumsy perspective cannot be ignored. Such primitive treatment would be unusual for Roccatagliata, who is among the indisputable masters of Venetian bronze sculpture.

In this respect, the comparison between the *Annunciation* and Roccatagliata's relief for San Moisè is problematic. More generally, the *Redemption*'s style and dating necessitate caution when used as a basis for attributions. Some similarities can indeed be noted between the present Virgin and the female figure in the bottom left corner of the *Redemption*. But the latter is a peripheral figure whose quality of execution places her at a remove from the brilliant central scene. In addition, the timeline of the *Redemption* is complex: the work is dated 1633, when Nicolò had been dead for four years. His son likely hoped to underline the continuity of the family workshop in the Latin signature, in which, exceptionally, the chasers are remembered, namely the Frenchmen Jean Chenet and Marin Feron.⁴ Considering all these matters, and that the *Redemption* involved a collaboration of four people, it does not seem to be solid ground for the ascription of the *Annunciation* relief to Roccatagliata himself, but possibly to his workshop. Regarding the composition, however, it is worth mentioning a mid-seventeenth-century ivory relief, clearly based on our bronze, albeit in mirror image with minor changes, formerly on the art market, which might indicate the existence of a series.⁵ FL

PROVENANCE: J. G. Rueff, Paris; Erich Lederer, Geneva (until d. 1985; to his wife); Mrs. Erich Lederer (1985–86; to MMA)

LITERATURE: C. Avery 1985, p. 104, no. 49; James David Draper in MMA 1987a, p. 25

NOTES

1. See Planiscig 1921, pp. 621–26. On the activity of both father and son, see also Kryza-Gersch 1998. 2. Siracusano 2017b, who found what is—as far as we know—the first documented work by Roccatagliata in Venice: a silver reliquary for San Giorgio Maggiore executed in 1593, according to Marco Valle's manuscript *De monasterio et abbazia S. Georgii maioris*, 1693, fol. 130v. 3. Soprani 1674, p. 88. 4. For the inscription, see [cat. 66](#), note 7. 5. Sotheby's, London, July 5, 1990, lot 240.

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A. *Hercules Carrying His Club* After a model by Nicolò Roccatagliata (Genoa ca. 1560–1629 Venice)

Venice, possibly 17th century or later cast

Bronze, on a later stone base

10½ × 3¾ × 2⅞ in. (26.7 × 9.5 × 7.3 cm) (without base)

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.190.55](#))

B. *Hercules Carrying His Club* After a model by Nicolò Roccatagliata (Genoa ca. 1560–1629 Venice)

Venice, possibly 17th century or later cast

Bronze

11⅞ × 3⅞ × 4⅞ in. (35.9 × 9.8 × 11.1 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1927 ([27.36.5](#))

These bronze statuettes of Hercules carrying his trademark club under his left arm are variants of a prototype that, according to Leo Planiscig, was designed and cast by Nicolò Roccatagliata in Venice in the early seventeenth century. The Blumenthal cast (A) is smaller than the Mills (B). They also differ considerably in the degree of finish (the Blumenthal is much rougher), in the anatomy (the Mills body is much more robust), and even in the balance of the contrapposto (more pronounced in the Mills). This model of *Hercules*, in which the club's weight is counterbalanced by the elegant movement of the muscular body, is known in many versions, among which the cast in the Kunsthistorisches Museum is unanimously considered the best.¹ Attesting to its fame, the model is included in Jacob de Wilde's *Signa antiqua* of 1700 (fig. 68a).

Such representations of Hercules seem to have been reproduced in Venice over several decades, perhaps centuries, and pinpointing the date of a single cast is near impossible. Both Met examples seem to be later serial casts, possibly made in Venice, but it is unlikely they issued from the workshops of Roccatagliata or his followers. Between the two, however, the Mills *Hercules*, which is the partner of our *Ceres* ([cat. 69](#)), is possibly closer to the original prototype, as becomes clear when comparing it with the version in Vienna, and also with the one at Yale.² They were most probably intended to crown firedogs. FL





Fig. 68a. *Hercules Carrying His Club*, from Jacob de Wilde, *Signa antiqua e museo Jacobi de Wilde veterum poetarum carminibus illustrata et per Mariam filiam aeri inscripta* (Amsterdam, 1700), pl. XXXVI

PROVENANCE: **(A)** George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA). **(B)** Ogden Mills (until 1927; to MMA)

LITERATURE: **(A)** Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. LX. **(B)** Unpublished

NOTES

1. On the Vienna cast (KK 5724), see Planiscig 1921, p. 623, fig. 697; Planiscig 1924, p. 124, fig. 123; Leithe-Jasper 1986, pp. 182–84, cat. 46. For a discussion of the several other known versions, see Pressouyre 1966, pp. 257–59, and C. Avery 1998b, pp. 180–81, no. 109. **2.** Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1958.73.

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Ceres

After a model by Nicolò Roccatagliata
(Genoa ca. 1560–1629 Venice)

Venice, possibly 17th century or later cast

Bronze

12¼ × 3¾ × 2⅝ in. (37.1 × 9.5 × 6.7 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1927 (27.36.6)

Ceres holds a sheaf of wheat in her outstretched arms and wears a helmet decorated with leaves. The bronze statuette entered The Met with its pair, *Hercules Carrying His Club* (cat. 68B). The figures have opposing contrappostos—she sways gently to her proper right, he to his left—and likely topped andirons, as they have long iron rods plugged into their bases. With their rough surfaces and minimal detail, both are probably serial casts





of models designed by Nicolò Roccatagliata.¹ Another *Ceres*, poorly executed but with more distinct facial features and a slightly different posture, can be found in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, where it is assigned to Roccatagliata.² A better version in the Galleria Estense, Modena, has been attributed to Girolamo Campagna.³ FL

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1927; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. See Planiscig 1921, p. 620, figs. 694, 696–98. 2. Inv. 5313; see Balogh 1975, vol. 1, p. 177, no. 236, with other examples. 3. See Salvini 1948; P. Rossi 1968, p. 47.

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Two Turkeys

Venice, late 16th–early 17th century

Bronze

Each 5¼ × 3½ × 2¾ in. (14.6 × 8.9 × 7 cm)

Gift of Alexis Gregory, 2004 (2004.562.1, .2)

Modeled from memory, not life, and virtually identically cast, with their wattles wobbling in the same direction, the birds were conceived as reliefs and so were not intended to be seen in the round as finials, as The Met previously suggested in a label. For that matter, what aspiring grandee would choose a New World creature for a crest? One's fingers fit rather comfortably in the spaces between feet and volutes. They probably

served as door pulls, perhaps even in a private aviary. The turkey, craved by the masses, became a status symbol, perhaps especially so in Venice: as noted by Charles Avery, a sumptuary law of 1557 banned its meat from all tables but those of patricians.¹ The subject alone recalls Giambologna's gloriously plumed *Turkey* in the Bargello, said to have been a portrait of the grand duke's favorite fowl.² But the dark, glinting, painterly surfaces of our trio are ultra-Venetian. JDD

PROVENANCE: Mr. and Mrs. Germain Seligman, New York (sale, Christie's, London, December 6, 1988, lot 180, as Venetian, late 16th century); [Cyril Humphris, London]; Alexis Gregory, New York (until 2004; to MMA)

LITERATURE: J. Richardson 1979, no. 114 (to school of Giambologna); C. Avery 1995, nos. 26, 27 (as style of Tiziano Aspetti)

NOTES

1. C. Avery 1995, p. 56. 2. C. Avery 1987, no. 123.

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Doorknocker with a Triton and a Nereid

Venice, late 16th century

Bronze, iron (hammer and suspension loop)

13 × 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (33 × 27 × 7.9 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 ([17.190.2096](#))

This lyre-shaped doorknocker was one of the bronzes from J. Pierpont Morgan's esteemed collection that entered The Met in 1917. It comprises a Triton and Nereid that surmount a bearded mask, their scaly bodies twisting and tapering upward. Coiled around the addorsed aquatic figures are two dragon-headed snakes who sink their teeth into their tails. A rooster with outstretched wings perches atop the term that stands between the marine couple. A visitor's fingers would fit snugly into the empty spaces above the mask to raise and rap the doorknocker.

The popular composition has been documented since at least the eighteenth century. In 1758, the Flemish artist Giovanni Grevembroch illustrated a version in his compilation of doorknockers *Battori, Batticoli e Battioli in Venezia*.¹ Located at the Palazzo Bragadin near Santa Maria Formosa in Venice, Grevembroch's doorknocker employs the same shape and figures, except the rooster is replaced by another satyr mask.

The finest cast of this type is the one sold from the Beit collection in 2007, dated to the first half of the sixteenth century and notable for its energetic modeling (fig. 71a).² Similar in height to the Morgan bronze, the Beit doorknocker was first published by Wilhelm von Bode, who associated it with Jacopo Sansovino.³ It is more likely that these doorknockers were mass-market products cast by an unidentified Venetian foundry. In the city's flourishing bronze industry, such foundries produced a wide array of functional objects from doorknockers to

handbells.⁴ Other versions of this composition are recorded in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Hermitage, the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum.⁵ While these other casts are crowned by a mascarón, the Morgan knocker seems to be unique in its depiction of a rooster. This might be a reference to the function of the implement, akin to an alerting cockcrow. Strike-resistant and durable, bronze was a suitable medium for these resonant street-facing accessories.

The vogue for bronze knockers on palace portals emerged in the sixteenth century, and merpeople became a popular subject matter.⁶ In the Morgan bronze, the fish-tailed lovers' inner arms connect behind the terminal figure. This alludes to a *dextrarum iunctio*, representing a romantic relationship displayed fittingly at the entrance of the domicile. Moreover, these aquatic dwellers and the bronze's anchor shape reflect Venice's long association with the sea and her naval prowess. Located at liminal thresholds separating exterior from interior, these hybrid marine creatures reminded visitors of the building's amphibious existence in the lagoon.⁷ AF

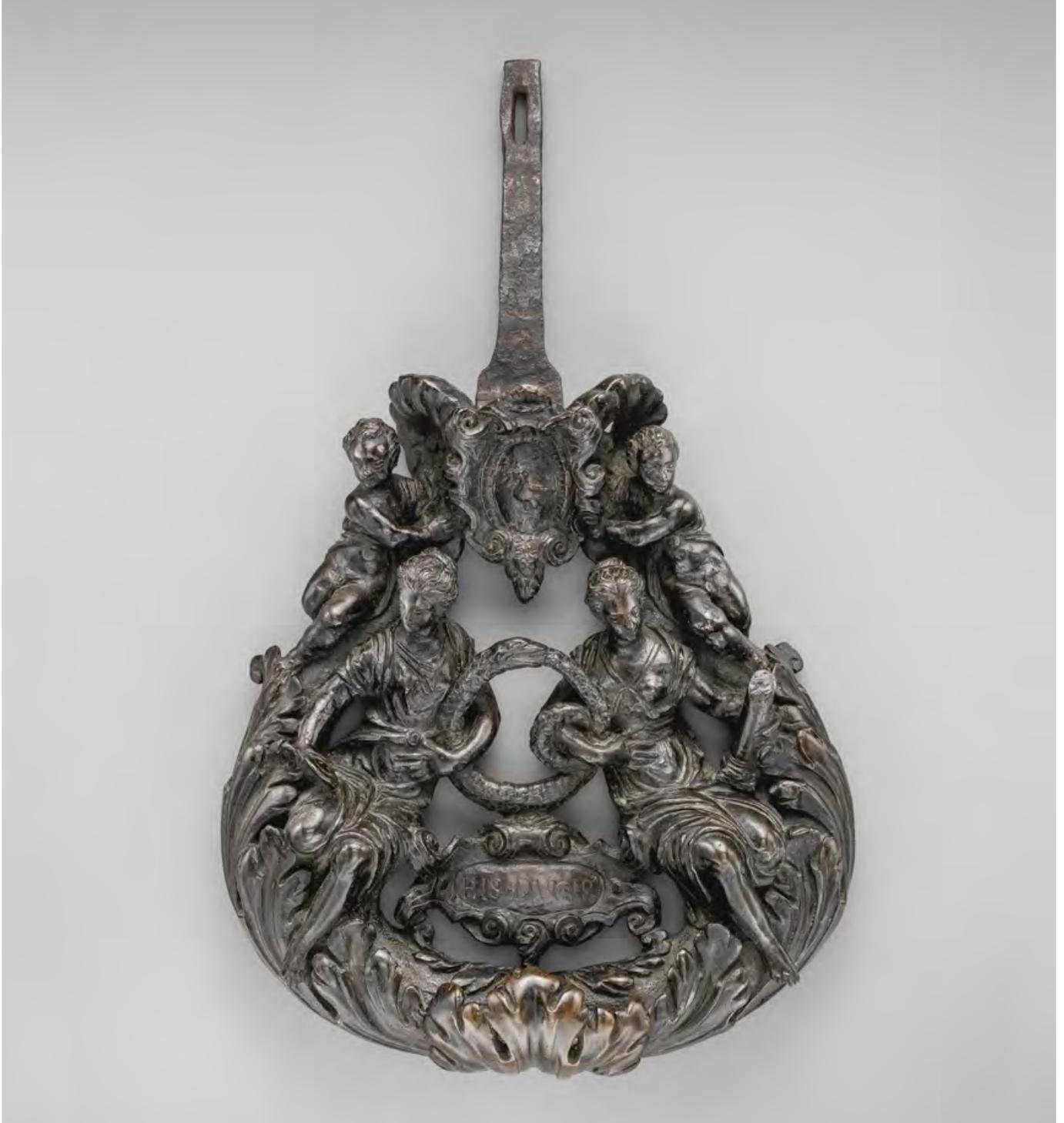
PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan (until 1917; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Wyshak 2000, pp. 126–27, no. 90



Fig. 71a. Doorknocker, first half of the 16th century. Bronze, with iron peg for attachment; H. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32.5 cm). Daniel Katz Gallery, London





Cat. 72

NOTES

1. Grevembroch 1879, fig. 8. For more on Giovanni Grevembroch (Jan II van Grevenbroeck), see Wyshak 2000, pp. 12–13. 2. Richard 2007, p. 6. 3. Bode 1913, p. 114, no. 261. 4. See, for instance, the probate inventory of Giacomo Calderari's foundry complex in V. Avery 2011, pp. 460–64, doc. 298. 5. LACMA, 54.51.2 (Schaefer and Fusco 1987, p. 185); Hermitage, 1783 (ibid., pp. 145–46, no. 119); Kunstgewerbemuseum, 01.224 (destroyed; Wyshak 2000, p. 84, no. 25, pl. 13, fig. 23); KHM, KK 5971 (Planiscig 1924, p. 116, fig. 198). 6. P. Brown 2004, pp. 54–56. 7. Luchs 2010, p. 181.

Opposite: Cat. 71

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Doorknocker with Prudence and Fortitude Joined Eternally

Venice, mid-16th century

Bronze, iron (pin)

13¼ × 12½ × 3⅝ in. (33.7 × 30.8 × 7.9 cm)

Gift of Eugene V. Thaw, 2004 (2004.83.1a, b)

The cardinal virtues Prudence and Fortitude sit on a base wrapped in acanthus leaves. Both figures can be identified by their iconographic attributes: Prudence gazes at herself in a

Doorknocker

Venice, late 16th century or later

Bronze, iron (hammer and suspension loop)

4¹³/₁₆ × 12½ × 3½ in. (12.2 × 31.8 × 8.9 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.112)

hand mirror, Fortitude holds a broken column. Their inner arms are encircled by an ouroboros symbolizing Eternity. Above the graceful maidens, two putti support a shield depicting Noah's dove with an olive branch in its beak (Genesis 8:8–11).

This solidly cast bronze is unusually heavy at 28 pounds. The narrow iron strap attached to an iron bar behind the shield functioned as a sort of cotter pin driven through the thickness of the door. A small iron wedge would have been inserted into its distal slot on the other side of the door to secure the knocker. Richard Stone proposed an earlier date for this bronze as it uses a slot and wedge, unlike most Venetian doorknockers and andirons, which are fastened with nuts and bolts.¹

Prudence and Fortitude were frequently paired together in Venice. See, for instance, the allegorical sculptures in the right niches of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon's *Porta della Carta* and Jacopo Tintoretto's paintings of Prudence and Fortitude that hang on the upper right side of the apse in the church of *Madonna dell'Orto*. There is perhaps an etymological reason for depicting the cardinal virtues on this hinged doorknocker, for the term "cardinal" derives from the Latin *cardine*, meaning "hinge." As Thomas Aquinas writes in his *Summa Theologiae*, "the cardinal virtues are about those things upon which human life is chiefly occupied, just as a door turns upon a hinge [*cardine*]."²

The Latin inscription in the strapwork cartouche beneath the self-devouring serpent reads *HIS DVCIB*, a likely abbreviation of *HIS DUCIBUS*, that is, "with these generals." This might be a citation of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (24:44), which furnishes an additional Roman context of political and martial leadership on top of the cardinal virtues' moral guidance.³ The message would be particularly resonant in Venice, a city that embraced the ideals of *romanitas*.⁴ Given the bronze's themes of virtue and governance, it is possible that this sophisticated piece of statecraft was installed on the door of the palazzo of a Venetian patrician. Certainly, the sheer weight of the Thaw doorknocker suggests a well-to-do client, as bronze was by no means a cheap material. To the owner and all passersby, this pendulous bronze serves as a reminder of the moral principles that guarantee perpetual peace. AF

PROVENANCE: Eugene Victor Thaw, New York (until 2004; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, November 14, 2010. 2. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* II–II, Q. 123, a. 11, ad. 3. 3. Venice was in fact where, in 1493, Joannes Rubeus published the first influential Italian edition of Livy's text. See Robbins 2004, p. 46. 4. P. Brown 1996, *passim*.

This doorknocker is comprised of a dog-headed creature with foliate wings riding a bull, its sinuous serpentine body culminating in an elegant knot. The bronze is one of at least eight extant similar knockers, though the sole example to feature a cynocephalic being, often considered barbaric figures in both Western and Eastern mythologies.¹ Other related bronzes, including well-known examples in the Rijksmuseum, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and one formerly in the Abbott Guggenheim collection, show devilish male faces lost amid leafy masses.²

The dating and authorship of these doorknockers remain largely unclear. Though the Cleveland bronze, published by Leo Planiscig as by Riccio when it was in the collection of Ernö Wittmann, has been considered one of the finest and perhaps the prototype for many related works, it is now dated by the museum to the nineteenth century.³ Indeed, many such doorknockers once considered sixteenth century in origin seem to have been produced in Italy during the 1800s, with a number exported to England and installed on the doors of pubs.⁴

The Linsky bronze was first exhibited and published by Wilhelm von Bode in 1898. Its modeling, manufacture, and provenance all sustain its Renaissance dating. Many of the details are delicately modeled in the wax, like the dog's mop of curls, the subtle scaling on the creature's body, and the fantastical floral ornament on its back. The wear on the two heads suggests centuries of use.

In 1984, James David Draper posited a Venetian origin for the doorknocker. Planiscig had cited an engraving from Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published in Venice in 1499, as a possible source for the type.⁵ The Linsky bronze was formerly in the collection of Count Friedrich von Pourtalès, German ambassador to the Russian Empire, who likely brought it to Saint Petersburg during his tenure there from 1907 to 1914. Though the bronze's earlier provenance is unknown, the count's father Wilhelm acquired Italian bronzes directly from Venetian palaces during his time in the city, and it is possible this doorknocker was purchased there.⁶ JF

PROVENANCE: Count Friedrich von Pourtalès, Berlin and Saint Petersburg; [Cyril Humphris, by 1967]; Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Wilhelm von Bode in Berlin 1898, cat. 459; Planiscig 1927, pp. 362–63; Bode and Draper 1980, pl. XXXVIII.1; James David Draper in Linsky 1984, pp. 146–47, no. 60



Cat. 73

NOTES

1. See Camins 1988, p. 29 n. 1, for a list (which includes [cat. A76](#)), divided into five variants. 2. Rijksmuseum, BK-16935 (Leeuwenberg 1973, p. 382, no. 645); CMA, 1948.487. The ex-Abbott Guggenheim doorknocker was sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 2011, lot 411, as 19th century; see Camins 1988, pp. 29–30, cat. 6. 3. Planiscig 1927, fig. 446. 4. See Camins 1988, p. 29 n. 1, citing communication from Anthony Radcliffe. 5. Planiscig 1927, p. 265, fig. 302. 6. Wilhelm von Pourtalès purchased the large bronze statuettes of Neptune and Mars, formerly attributed to Sansovino, from the Palazzo Rezzonico, Venice, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts; see E. Richardson 1949–50, p. 61.

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Onofrio Panvinio
Girolamo Campagna
(Verona 1549–1625 Venice)

Early 1570s

Bronze, iron (hook at back of neck)

12½ × 9¼ × 12¾ in. (30.8 × 23.5 × 31.4 cm)

Inscribed: F. ONVPHRIO

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1991 ([1991.89](#))

The bust, which James David Draper convincingly attributed to Girolamo Campagna, is in fact little more than a head with a bit of neck attached. It depicts a monk, as can be deduced from

his garment and tonsure. The inscription on the front of the cowl, below the hood, names the subject “Brother Onofrio.”¹ The head is thus a portrait of Onofrio Panvinio (1529–1568), librarian to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and eminent historian and antiquary.² Born Giacomo Panvino in Verona, he entered the order of Augustinian Hermits at the age of eleven and took as his monastic name that of his father, Onofrio, later changing his surname as well to the more euphonious Panvinio. Brother Onofrio studied theology in Rome and became fascinated by the city’s ancient and medieval history, which led to a great number of erudite publications and manuscripts, the best known being the *Fastorum libri V* (Venice, 1558), *Romanæ Urbis topographiæ e antiquitatibus* (Venice, 1565), and *De Ludis Circencibus* (Venice, 1600).³ Given Panvinio’s fame, it is no surprise that there exist several portraits of him, the most important being a painting of about 1555 attributed to Tintoretto in the Galleria Colonna, Rome (fig. 74a).⁴ It represents Panvinio in his twenties, while the bronze seems to portray a more mature man; however, the distinctive shape of the beard and the penetrating eyes set in deep sockets appear to be the same.

After Panvinio’s death at age thirty-nine in Palermo, friends erected a monument to him in Sant’Agostino, Rome. The original structure has disappeared, probably due to the extensive restoration of the convent and library overseen by Luigi Vanvitelli in the mid-eighteenth century.⁵ What can be seen in the church today is a memorial featuring a large bust in marble, executed by



Gaspare Sibilla in 1758,⁶ which must be a fairly accurate replacement of the older monument. Its inscription uses the same wording as the lost, earlier epitaph, which is recorded in Panvinio's *Antiquitates Veronenses* (fig. 74b), published in Padua in 1648. The older monument was apparently decorated with a portrait bust, which, according to Ossinger's 1768 book on famous writers of the Augustinian order, was made of bronze.⁷

It is remarkable that another excellent cast of this head without inscription recently appeared on the art market.⁸ Since Panvinio's monument included an elaborate dedication, it would have been strange to repeat his name on a bust in the very same space. It seems therefore likely that the bust on the art market is the one that once decorated Panvinio's memorial in Sant'Agostino, while The Met's head appears to be a second cast, whose inscription repeats the beginning words of the epitaph on the monument: F. ONVPHRIO.⁹ The facture of the two busts also supports this theory. The supple modeling of the head on the art market preserves even the most delicate details of the original wax, such as the soft curls of the beard. In our version, the eyes, beard, and hair are sharply defined due to the extensive cold work that was required when the second casting did not pick up the modeling as accurately as the first pour.

The Met's bust was presumably displayed in a less official context, perhaps a private library or study. The iron strap in back would have affixed it to a niche or other support. It is reasonable to assume that it was made for one of those friends of Panvinio who dedicated the monument in Rome.¹⁰ One such friend was Paolo Manuzio, who had known Panvinio since the monk's sojourn in Venice in 1557–59.¹¹ Paolo was a son of the famous Venetian printer and publisher Aldo Manuzio; after directing his father's Aldine Press, he became head of the papal press in Rome. His involvement in the making of the bust would offer a link to the Veneto that might explain why the bust was executed by a sculptor from Verona and not by a Roman artist. Given that Campagna, like Panvinio, was born in Verona, it is in any case fitting that he made the bust.¹² Panvinio's mother's name was Bartolomea Campagna, and one might speculate that the sculptor was a relative of the Augustinian scholar.

Panvinio died in 1568, so it is likely that his monument was erected in the early 1570s. This bust must thus be an early work by Campagna, executed perhaps while he was still with his teacher Danese Cattaneo, an excellent portraitist, or shortly afterward. Since it is improbable that Campagna ever saw his subject in the flesh, it is not surprising that he rendered Panvinio in a somewhat generalizing way, creating more an ideal image of an erudite monk than an accurate likeness. The slightly stiff treatment of the facial features seen here also occurs in his bust of Francesco Bassano (Museo Civico, Bassano). Considering that portraiture would never become Campagna's forte, this early and quite successful example is all the more impressive. CKG



Fig. 74a. Attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto (1518/19–1594), *Onofrio Panvinio*, ca. 1555. Oil on canvas; 44½ × 35½ in. (112 × 89 cm). Galleria Colonna, Rome



Fig. 74b. Portrait of Onofrio Panvinio in his *Antiquitates Veronenses*, Padua, 1648



PROVENANCE: (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1987, lot 78); [Blumka Gallery, New York, 1991; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: James David Draper in MMA 1991, p. 27 (to Girolamo Campagna)

NOTES

1. "F." being the abbreviation for *frater*, meaning brother. 2. Draper, although correct in his attribution to Campagna, erred in identifying the sitter with the theologian Girolamo Onofri, professor at the University of Bologna from 1612 to 1639, as the inscription "Brother Onofrio" must refer to the first name of the person in question and not to

his surname. **3.** For Panvinio, see Bauer 2014; Heenes 2012; Ferrary 1996. **4.** Šafařík 1981, pp. 135–36, no. 190. **5.** Schiavo 1974. **6.** For Sibilla's monument, see Guerrieri Borsoi 2002, pp. 153–54, fig. 6. Sibilla's is one of four memorials dedicated to famous Augustinians, whose large oval niches and elegant frames fit Vanvitelli's new design for the church interior. **7.** Ossinger 1768, p. 656: "Corpus ejus [Panvinius Onuprius] Romam translatum in nostra Ecclesia ad S. Augustinum tumulatum marmoreo sepulchro cum ejus imagine aenea [*sic*] condecoratum fuit, quod amici honoris causa posuere." The Latin word *aenea* means brass but is often used for works of bronze. One has to consider the possibility that Ossinger actually referred to the tomb executed by Sibilla and not to the earlier one, and was simply mistaken in regard to the material of the portrait bust. **8.** Dario Mottola; Milan; this head was shown at the Florence Biennale in 2015. **9.** The inscription on the print in Panvinio's *Antiquitates Veronenses* begins (after the usual "D.O.M.") with F. HONUPHRIO, while on Sibilla's monument it reads F. ONVPHRIO. However, more important than the use of the letter "H" is the use of the dative case, typically employed for dedications. Inscriptions on busts (and medals) that identify the sitter are usually given in the nominative case. **10.** The names of the dedicatees are included in the monument's inscription. **11.** Heenes 2012, col. 925. **12.** Verona's pride in her illustrious son is attested by Domenico Aglio's statue of him of ca. 1710, once in the Augustinian convent of Sant'Eufemia, today on the arch connecting the Torre Lamberti and the Palazzo della Comune on Piazza Dante, forming a sort of late counterpart to Danese Cattaneo's statue of Girolamo Fracastoro of 1559. There is also a bust of Panvinio in the Protomoteca of the Biblioteca Civica (once in the Loggia del Consiglio), for which see Gattoli 2014, p. 102, no. 51.

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Venus Marina

After a composition by Girolamo Campagna
(Verona 1549–1625 Venice)

Venice, late 16th–early 17th century
Bronze

17 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (44.1 × 15.2 × 13.3 cm)

Inscribed (around the rim of the base): the letters I and C
separated by incised circles and dots

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.19)

The woman, entirely nude, rests her left foot on the head of a fanciful dolphin, causing an elegant contrapposto stance of the legs that is answered in the upper body with a delicate twist. The scaly tail of the dolphin coils along the woman's left leg so that she can hold the fin with her left hand, while her right hand gracefully covers her left breast. Head slightly inclined, she looks to her right and displays an elaborate, up-done coiffure with a diadem. The nudity and beauty of the figure identify her as Venus. The dolphin—an allusion to the birth of Venus from the sea—defines her as Venus Marina, an incarnation of the goddess as protectress of seafaring. As such, she was especially popular in Venice, where this statuette surely was made.

The figure's composition derives from an over-lifesize statue made of Istrian stone on the balustrade of the Libreria





Fig. 75a. Girolamo Campagna, *Venus Marina*, 1588–90. Istrian stone. Libreria Marciana, Venice

Marciana in Venice, executed by Girolamo Campagna between 1588 and 1590 (fig. 75a).¹ This does not necessarily mean that Campagna was also the author of the statuette, for his sculptures were frequently used as models for small bronzes. His statues for the Sala delle Quattro Porte in the Palazzo Ducale, for instance, were very popular in reduced size, particularly as crowning figures for firedogs (see [cat. 79](#)).² The model of Campagna's *Venus Marina* was also used for such functional purposes (see [cat. 80](#)) and reproduced countless times.³ Although Campagna did execute quite spectacular monumental bronze sculpture, he seems not to have been interested in the production of small bronzes, and his involvement in the making of reductions is doubtful.

Not surprisingly, the many existing versions of the *Venus Marina* model vary greatly in quality (see [cat. 76](#)). They have been attributed not only to Campagna, but also to Tiziano Aspetti, reflecting the uncertainties concerning the production of small bronzes in Venice.⁴ The Met's *Venus Marina* stands out among these replicas not only for its quality, but also its peculiar "signature" on the base: little double circles and dots between which the letters "I" and "C" are punched (fig. 75b). The same letters can be found on six other bronze statuettes, namely an *Apollo* in the Bode-Museum, marked "OICF" (the additional "O" and "F" most likely stand for *opus* and *fecit*, or—since these words are an uncommon combination—*fusit*);⁵

another *Apollo* in the Museum August Kestner, Hanover, marked "ICF" (the additional "F" probably again meaning *fecit*);⁶ a so-called *Saturn* formerly in the Abbott Guggenheim collection, New York, marked "IC";⁷ a *Jupiter*, or rather *Pluto*, marked "IC," on the art market;⁸ and a pair of firedogs surmounted by Venus with Cupid and Adonis, both stamped "ICF" and also on the art market.⁹ In regard to the Berlin *Apollo*, Julius von Schlosser rather ingeniously read "IC" as the initials of the French founder Jean Chenet, who appears on the signature of the so-called paliotto in San Moisè as IOANNES CHENET.¹⁰ However, Chenet was apparently not a caster but a chaser, the technician who may be considered the least important in the production of Venetian bronzes, which are much rougher than Florentine ones.¹¹ This casts doubt on whether Chenet would have signed anything alone. Leo Planiscig interpreted "IC" as the abbreviated signature of Girolamo Campagna, whose first name could be spelled as IERONIMUS, although the scholar conceded that it might also stand for Campagna's younger brother and collaborator Giuseppe, whose Latinized name would be IOSEPHUS.¹² The notion that "IC" represents the initials of Girolamo Campagna was later endorsed by Hans Weihrauch, while other scholars preferred to see the initials as those of the caster.¹³

Peta Motture suggested that this caster might be identified as Giacomo (or Iacomo) Calderari, a bell maker and bronze caster who operated a foundry at the sign of San Francesco in Calle dei Fabbri from at least the early 1590s until 1622.¹⁴ A surviving inventory of Calderari's workshop shows that he produced bells, candlesticks, mortars, andirons, and bronze statuettes.¹⁵ Although he seems to offer the perfect solution to the "IC" mystery, Motture advised caution, since there may have been other casters with the same initials who could serve as candidates, a caveat on which Victoria Avery has elaborated with much insight.¹⁶ There is thus no proof that Calderari



Fig. 75b. Detail of *cat. 75* showing the "signature" on the base

made the “IC” bronzes, but the fascinating inventory of his workshop does demonstrate that private foundries such as his must have been responsible for many, if not most, of the small bronzes produced in Venice.

The meaning of the letters “IC” remains an unsolved riddle. To complicate the matter further, one has to consider that there exist many casts of the “IC” models without these initials, while the differences in the workmanship of the statuettes marked “IC” suggest that they were not all made by the same hand. The treatment of their draperies, hands, and feet is quite different, as are the type and placement of the punch marks. The *Apollo* in Berlin and the ex-Abbott Guggenheim “Saturn” share the same kind of alternating dots and tiny stars on the rim of their round bases as well as on their shoulder straps. The *Pluto* and *Adonis* are not only accompanied by the same type of dog, the closely placed dots on their shoulder straps appear to be identical as well. The punch marks on the *Apollo* in Hanover, on the other hand, are dots with large spaces between them, while those on our *Venus Marina* cannot be compared to any of the others.

As Avery has pointed out, the statuettes marked “IC” are all based on larger Venetian sculptures, above all on some of those on the balustrade of the Libreria Marciana.¹⁷ Although the bronzes are not always exact replicas, it is clear that the inspiration for their compositions derives from statues created by different sculptors, such as Jacopo Sansovino, Camillo Mariani, and Agostino Rubini, which means that “IC” cannot refer to Girolamo Campagna as original designer of the model, since his work was not the only one that was copied. It is thus merely a coincidence that The Met’s *Venus Marina* is based on a statue that was actually executed by Campagna. It is, however, the most exact rendering of the prototype and also—despite her poorly articulated hands and feet—the most attractive figure of the entire “IC” group. It was probably intended, like most of these statuettes, to be the surmounting figure on a firedog. In a time before modern copyright laws, inventions such as Campagna’s *Venus Marina* for the Libreria Marciana became common properties that apparently were reproduced by different private foundries in Venice for a long time. Our *Venus Marina* is certainly among the better products of this industry. CKG

PROVENANCE: [Arthur Goldschmidt, Berlin, 1925]; Ferdinando Adda, Cannes (until 1965; sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, November 30–December 1, 1965, lot 412; sold to Untermyer); Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Weihrauch 1967, pp. 156–57; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 168–69, no. 315; Andrea Bacchi in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 410, cat. 92; Motture 2003, p. 283; Cannata 2011, pp. 115–16; V. Avery 2013, p. 246

NOTES

1. The balustrade of the Libreria Marciana is decorated with thirty statues by different sculptors, including Campagna, Tiziano Aspetti, Agostino and Virgilio Rubini, Bernardino Quadri, Francesco Caracca, and Camillo Mariani (see Ivanoff 1964). Campagna produced seven statues for the balustrade; see Timofiewitsch 1972, pp. 252–53. The *Venus Marina* is placed on the right end of the side facing the Molo, next to the obelisk marking the corner. 2. For the Quattro Porte statues, see Timofiewitsch 1972, pp. 248–49. 3. For a list of known replicas, see Bacchi in Bacchi et al. 1999, p. 410. 4. For Campagna attributions, see Weihrauch 1967, pp. 157–58; Binnebeke 1994, pp. 64–65, no. 10; Krahn 2003, p. 26. For Aspetti, see Planiscig 1921, p. 581; John Pope-Hennessy in London 1961, cat. 166; Mariacher 1971, p. 38, no. 144; Banzato and Pellegrini 1989, p. 95, no. 72. 5. Krahn 2003, pp. 144–46, cat. 36. 6. Hentzen 1955, p. 186. 7. Camins 1988, pp. 54–56, cat. 16; Schwartz 2008, p. 111, no. 53; Christie’s, New York, January 27, 2015, lot 45, which was not sold. The identification of the figure, which has no defining attributes, is based on its “prototype” (in reverse), the *Saturn* by Agostino Rubini on the balustrade of the Libreria Marciana. 8. Christie’s, London, November 20, 1967, lot 167. The statuette, called in the auction catalogue Jupiter, is accompanied by a dog of the same type seen with Adonis paired with Venus, a couple that can be found on numerous firedogs. Although this friendly animal hardly looks like Cerberus, this is what it presumably must be, so the elderly man can be interpreted as Pluto. For a similar but not identical model that can be clearly identified as Jupiter because of the accompanying eagle and the thunderbolt in the figure’s right hand, see cat. 86. 9. These firedogs are mentioned in Camins 1988, p. 56 n. 8, as having been sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, June 27–28, 1962, lot 201, and are the same ones mentioned in Motture 2003, p. 284, fig. 14, as having once been in the collection of Kerin and Francis Stonor. Motture (p. 282) rightly pointed out the problem in identifying the male figure, which has been called both Adonis and Meleager. 10. Schlosser 1910, p. 8. 11. The inscription on the paliotto (see cat. 66, note 7) calls Chenet *cursor* (embosser) and *perfector* (finisher), two terms that describe the craftsman (usually a trained goldsmith) who does the cold work, that is, the chasing and cleaning of a cast. In 1642, Chenet appears in the same capacity, namely as chaser, who was commissioned together with his companion Marin Feron to clean the two angels on the high altar of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, modeled by Sebastiano Nicolini and cast by Pietro Boselli; see Kryza-Gersch 2008, p. 262, and V. Avery 2011, p. 468, doc. 31. 12. Planiscig 1921, pp. 542–43. Campagna signed the statues in the Sala delle Quattro Porte with “I.C.V.F.,” standing for “Ieronimus Campagna Veronensis fecit.” However, this signature is an exception because usually Campagna signed as Hieronimvs, as pointed out in Timofiewitsch 1972, pp. 23–24 n. 83. 13. Weihrauch 1967, p. 158; Timofiewitsch 1972, pp. 23–24 n. 83; Camins 1988, p. 54; Krahn 2003, p. 146. 14. Motture 2003, pp. 283–84. For Giacomo Calderari, see V. Avery 2011, pp. 38, 129, and V. Avery 2013. 15. For the complete inventory, see V. Avery 2011, pp. 460–64, doc. 298 (particularly the listing of the merchandise on pp. 461–62). 16. Motture 2003, p. 304 n. 40; V. Avery 2013, pp. 246–47. 17. V. Avery 2013, p. 246.



Venus Marina

After a composition by Girolamo Campagna
(Verona 1549–1625 Venice)

Venice, date uncertain

Bronze

16 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (41.6 × 14 × 11.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1940 (40.14.7)

The composition derives from an over-lifesize statue of Istrian stone on the balustrade of the Libreria Marciana in Venice, executed by Girolamo Campagna between 1588 and 1590 (p. 230, fig. 75a).¹ This statue and some of the other sculptures created by Campagna and his contemporaries for the library balustrade were obviously considered free-use models and were replicated as small bronzes in various sizes and with varying degrees of faithfulness by different private foundries in Venice over a long period. Since these bronzes are based on the designs of the leading sculptors of the sixteenth century, they can be very appealing even when the execution is not of high quality. They were rapidly produced mass commodities used mostly as the surmounting figures of firebricks and other utilitarian objects. To facilitate production, the statuettes were often cast from already existing bronzes, as in this case, which seems to be the after-cast of an after-cast.² The present bronze is technically more expert than *cat.* 75, but the rote appearance and the “cleaner” alloy speak for a later date of manufacture. As pointed out by Peta Motture, old models were reproduced in Venice during the nineteenth century at foundries such as those run by Angelo Giordani, Michelangelo Guggenheim, and Giuseppe Michieli.³ It is therefore virtually impossible to say when Venetian bronzes such as this *Venus Marina* were made. CKG

PROVENANCE: [Symons Galleries, New York, 1940; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1940, p. 129

NOTES

1. See *cat.* 75, note 1. 2. R. Stone/TR, June 17, 2009. 3. Motture 2003, p. 291.

Jupiter (?)

Venice, late 16th century

Bronze

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (27.3 × 10.8 × 11.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1940 (40.14.5)

The mature, bearded man with full hair holds his head proudly erect and gazes toward an invisible point in the far distance. He is nude, but his loins are covered with a small piece of cloth held in place by a shoulder strap. His left hand is placed elegantly on

his left breast, while the outstretched right arm points downward in an imperious gesture. There is no attribute that could help to identify the figure, which was called Neptune by John Goldsmith Phillips.¹ The quality of the cast is mediocre and the execution rough, with no discernible afterwork. Particularly disturbing are the cut-off toes of the proper left foot. The statuette was probably made as a crowning figure for an andiron, a domestic artifact that did not call for a very sophisticated appearance. Nevertheless, the bronze was considered by Phillips to be “probably by Campagna,” an attribution for which he gave no reasons.

The figure is known in two other versions, one in the Detroit Institute of Arts and one formerly in the Abbott Guggenheim collection. In regard to the latter, Laura Camins believed that it is based on a large sculpture of Istrian stone created by Agostino Rubini in 1588, which was placed among many others on the roof balustrade of the Libreria Marciana in Venice.² According to the documents, Rubini’s statue represents Saturn, an identification one would hardly guess since the entirely nude figure lacks any attributes.³ The similarity of the bronze statuette and the stone sculpture can only be discerned when one pictures Rubini’s *Saturn* mirror-inverted, but even then the positioning of the arms and head are quite different. The bronze depends thus only very loosely—if at all—on the large model, and neither the claim of Rubini’s involvement in its production nor the identification of its subject as Saturn is compelling.

The statuette in Detroit is the finest of the three bronzes, and its details, particularly the hands, face, and hair, are carefully rendered. The male is accompanied by an eagle behind his left leg, identifying him as Jupiter. His impressive head and commanding gesture are perfectly suited for representing the father of the gods and chief deity of the Roman state religion, and it may be that The Met’s bronze was also meant to depict Jupiter. In regard to the Detroit statuette, Alan Darr basically followed Camins’s claim that the model was created by Agostino Rubini, a thesis that, as argued above, remains inconclusive.⁴

Since the so-called *Saturn* in the Abbott Guggenheim collection is signed with the letters “IC,” it has been suggested that it was cast by Giuseppe Campagna, brother of Girolamo, a proposal that lacks proof and has rightly been challenged.⁵ Although Wladimir Timofiewitsch has demonstrated that Campagna was very probably not involved in the production of small bronzes,⁶ Darr nonetheless attributed the *Jupiter* in Detroit to the workshop of this master. To support the attribution, he referred to another model of Jupiter holding a thunderbolt in the right hand, known in many versions (compare *cat.* 86), which was given by some scholars to Campagna. However, although this *Jupiter with a Thunderbolt* has a head, loincloth, and shoulder strap that are similar to those of the Detroit *Jupiter*, it is otherwise of a totally different composition and style. The comparison demonstrates only that the Detroit



statuette is artistically a much more impressive invention than the *Jupiter with a Thunderbolt*. And indeed, Charles Avery has convincingly attributed the version of the latter in La Spezia to the workshop of Joseph de Levis, who was more a talented founder than a great sculptor.⁷

While the execution of our statuette is poor, its composition is striking. The elegant pose and expressive head are perhaps more reminiscent of Alessandro Vittoria than of Girolamo Campagna, whose work is seldom so powerful. That the creative spirit of such artists can be found even in the common output of local commercial foundries explains the attraction of Venetian bronzes, of which the present work is a perfect example. CKG

PROVENANCE: [Symons Galleries, New York, 1940; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1940, p. 129; Darr et al. 2002, pp. 254–55

NOTES

1. The statuette was also described as Vulcan in The Met's documentation. 2. Camins 1988, pp. 54–56, cat. 16; see also Schwartz 2008, p. 111, no. 53; Christie's, New York, January 27, 2015, lot 45, which was not sold and thus went back to Dr. John Abbott. I am grateful to William Russell for this information. 3. Agostino Rubini and his brother Virgilio were paid for the *Saturn* and *Diana* statues on Christmas 1588; see Ivanoff 1964, p. 107, according to whom (p. 106) these two statues are today substituted by copies. However, Ivanoff later maintained (1967, p. 57) that the *Saturn* in place on the balustrade is still the original. 4. DIA, 60.41; see Darr et al. 2002, p. 254. 5. For a discussion of this identification, see [cat. 75](#). 6. Timofiewitsch 1972, pp. 23–24 n. 83. 7. C. Avery 1998b, p. 174, no. 106.

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Ceres

Probably after Girolamo Campagna (Verona 1549–1625 Venice)

Venice, possibly 17th century

Bronze

14 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (35.9 × 12.1 × 8.9 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.7](#))

The statuette is traditionally considered a representation of the goddess Ceres, but it might also be a generic depiction of Summer, crowned with spikes of wheat and grasping a bunch of the same in her left hand, according to the description given in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* based on Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.¹ She may once have held a torch or mirror in her right hand, attributes also consistent with the allegorical type. The cast is heavy (the arms are solid), with some evident flaws, the most visible being under the neck and at the back of the right foot. The rendering of the drapery is quite coarse, though more attention was paid to the helmet of hair and intertwining leaves. Following an initial attribution to the workshop of Alessandro Vittoria, the figure has been ascribed to the manner



of Girolamo Campagna.² There are indeed similarities between the posture of our *Ceres* and that of a *Mercury* in the Bode-Museum, also possibly after a model by Campagna.³ The humble facture suggests that the present bronze is a serial work intended as a crowning element of an andiron produced in seventeenth-century Venice.⁴ FL

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Ripa 1593, p. 70 (see also Ripa 1618, pp. 499–500). 2. According to ESDA/OF, in June 1940 its attribution changed from “Probably atelier of Alessandro Vittoria” to “Probably after Girolamo Campagna” based on similarities with the bronze *Apollo* attributed to Campagna in the Bode-Museum (2800) and discussed in Planiscig 1921, p. 542, fig. 589 (on which see the updated entry in Krahn 2003, pp. 144–47, cat. 36). 3. Bode-Museum, 7301; see Krahn 2003, pp. 148–50, cat. 37. 4. For this type of production, see Motture 2003.

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Pair of Andirons with Figures of *Ceres*
(*Allegory of Peace*) and *Minerva*
(*Allegory of War*)
After models by Girolamo Campagna
(Verona 1549–1625 Venice)

Venice, possibly 17th century

Bronze, on a later stone base

Ceres andiron: Height 33 in. (83.8 cm);

Minerva andiron: Height 35 in. (88.9 cm)

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.692, .693)

These bronzes were formerly components of a larger pair of andirons subsequently turned into statuettes and mounted on marble plinths. Each andiron is comprised of two main pieces, the deity and the pedestal. The *Allegory of Peace* is a female figure standing on a shield and helmet and cradling a cornucopia of fruit in her right arm. In the companion *Allegory of War*, the figure, also female, wears a helmet and holds a spear and shield; a sphinx supports an escutcheon at her feet. Both pedestals are composed of a central urn-shaped stem decorated with four lion masks atop an octagonal base, with sides alternately straight and concave. Two *amorini* with outstretched arms flank the urn and support the base of the deity. Only the left arm of Peace was cast separately (a fragment of an unknown object remains in the left hand). The left leg of Peace is stamped with the number “1945,” an interesting detail that cannot refer to a date, since the bronze was acquired in 1914. It might be an inventory number of the sort that a nineteenth-century dealer would have used.¹

The models derive from Girolamo Campagna’s marble sculptures of Peace and War above the Porta al Senato in the

Sala delle Quattro Porte of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice.² The bronzes were formerly attributed to Jacopo Sansovino, then Alessandro Vittoria on the basis of their similarity to a pair of andirons in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan also attributed to him.³ Given their serial and highly finished quality, our statuettes should be considered casts inspired by Campagna’s well-known compositions, not direct products of his workshop but possibly of seventeenth-century manufacture, and typical of the refined decorative output of the robust Venetian bronze industry.⁴ FL

PROVENANCE: Oscar Hainauer, Berlin; Benjamin Altman (until 1913; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Altman 1914, pp. 125–26, nos. 64, 65

NOTES

1. See James David Draper, letter of November 2, 1987, ESDA/OF. 2. See notes by Johanna Hecht dated 1985 in ESDA/OF. For discussion and illustrations of the marbles, see P. Rossi 1968, pp. 19, 66, pl. 6 (dating the works ca. 1589–90); and Timofiewitsch 1972, pp. 248–49, no. 8, pls. 30–33 (dating them half a decade earlier). 3. Morgan Library & Museum, New York, AZ154.1–2. Planiscig 1921, p. 490, attributed the pair in the Morgan collection to Alessandro Vittoria, never citing The Met bronzes. It is not clear if Weihrauch 1956, p. 102 (“P. Morgan, jetzt Metro-po.-Mus., New York”), was referring to the Morgan pair or ours. The presence of both pairs in New York probably generated the confusion. 4. On the production of andirons in Renaissance Venice, see Motture 2003.

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Pair of Andirons with Figures of
Venus and *Vulcan*
Venus: After a composition by Girolamo
Campagna (Verona 1549–1625 Venice)
Vulcan: Possibly after a composition by
Tiziano Aspetti (Padua 1557/59–1606 Pisa)

Venice, possibly early 17th century

Bronze

Venus andiron: Height 44½ in. (113 cm);

Vulcan andiron: Height 44 in. (111.8 cm)

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.694, .695)

These firedogs are surmounted by figures of *Venus* and *Vulcan*. She grasps the tail of a dolphin with her left hand and covers her breast with her right; he swings a hammer (now missing). Each statuette is placed on a multitiered three-sided base. The lowest tier is composed of two seated lions looking over their shoulders with tails entwined. One paw of each lion is raised and rests on an escutcheon that was designed to enclose a coat of arms (now missing, but a plughole is still visible). On each side of the second tier, a ram’s head is flanked by drapery swags linking the scrolled corners of a triangular element that rests on the lions’ backs. On each triangle, a punched panel is





Pair of Andirons with Figures of Minerva and Mars

Venice, early 17th century (?)

Bronze

Each Height 36¼ in. (92.1 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

(32.100.187, .188)

ornamented with a winged female terminal figure. Above each lion, a seated putto teasingly holds a crown away from the animal. The third tier is composed of a round, punched, urnlike element with grotesque masks and harpies curving around its form. The fourth tier consists of another punched urn, smaller and squatter than the one below, gadrooned and channeled around the neck and decorated with grotesque winged masks linked by floral and drapery swags. Each andiron was cast in six separate sections. According to Richard Stone and Claudia Kryza-Gersch, the parts might have been prefabricated components not made specifically for these firedogs but subsequently assembled together.¹

The *Vulcan* is one of many replicas of a model that Leo Planiscig attributed to Tiziano Aspetti or his circle.² The *Venus* is similar to another statuette in The Met's collection (cat. 75), and both derive from Girolamo Campagna's stone statue of Venus Marina on the upper balustrade of the Libreria Marciana, Venice (p. 230, fig. 75a). This related bronze is signed "IC" on the base, and Planiscig linked the initials to Girolamo (Latin: Ieronimus) Campagna.³ Thus, the present andirons have also been connected to Campagna or his workshop, after having been unconvincingly ascribed to Jacopo Sansovino and then Aspetti.⁴ Doubts about the owner of the "IC" initials have been expressed by Andrea Bacchi.⁵ As an alternative, Peta Motture proposed the caster Giacomo Calderari, who produced firedogs on a large scale. In the postmortem inventory of his workshop, among the andirons are listed "two figures of Vulcan and Venus."⁶

The identification of the "IC" master remains a conundrum. The *Venus* of the present firedogs is, however, a coarse approximation of The Met's much more beautiful and finished *Venus Marina*. As Motture and Victoria Avery have shown, utilitarian objects based on prototypes such as Campagna's statues were mass-produced in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Venetian foundries like Calderari's, and professional casters continued to manufacture them for a long time.⁷ It is therefore reasonable to assume that our firedogs date to the early seventeenth century, or even later. FL

PROVENANCE: (.694) Mons Missac Effendi collection; Benjamin Altman (until 1913; to MMA). (.695) Benjamin Altman (until 1913; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Altman 1928, pp. 129–30, nos. 62, 63; Motture 2003, pp. 283–84

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, August 2001 and October 18, 2012; Kryza-Gersch, October 2001, ESDA/OF. 2. See Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Bacchi et al. 1999, cat. 95. 3. Planiscig 1921, pp. 542–43. 4. Altman 1928, pp. 129–30, nos. 62, 63. Previously, they were attributed to Sansovino, as stated in a typed booklet kept in ESDA/OF. 5. Bacchi et al. 1999, pp. 410–11. 6. Motture 2003, p. 284. 7. See V. Avery 2013.

The pair of andirons once belonged to Michael Friedsam, head of the B. Altman & Company department store in New York from 1913 until his death in 1931. Inspired perhaps by the example of his cousin, Benjamin Altman, founder of the company, Friedsam was a passionate collector, interested principally in Northern Renaissance and Baroque painting. Responding to the vogue for decorative objects in Gilded Age interiors, he also forayed into the field of Italian Renaissance bronzes, particularly those from Florence to Padua and Venice. His bequest to The Met, formalized in June 1930, included a large selection of bronze statuettes, from which curator Joseph Breck made a considered selection of accessions for the museum.¹

Described in the acquisition paperwork as "in the manner of Alessandro Vittoria," these firedogs would have been considered elegant specimens of a type popular on the *curiosités* market in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see also cat. 82). Judging by the number of surviving examples, even excluding later casts and modern forgeries, the production of firedogs in cinquecento Venice was a lucrative business that continued well into the next century, buoyed by the constant recycling of famous sculptural models and prototypes.²

The Friedsam bronzes follow the typical tripartite scheme for these functional objects: a triangular base (for stability), a central section more or less articulated, and a crowning small statuette of a mythological or allegorical subject. Technical analysis conducted in 2001 confirms that the bases and central sections are composed of the same alloy. The heraldic oval at the center of the stem features an eagle, a striding lion, and a grid motif. The surmounting figures, Minerva and Mars, are known through numerous replicas, for instance, casts of a pair in the Kunsthistorisches Museum.³ These versions are distinguished by variations in detail—the decoration of the breastplates, the helmets, surface finish—as well as production context, quality of execution, and dating. Taken together, they illuminate the dynamics of Venetian bronzeworking in the early modern period by clarifying how celebrated inventions could be copied and adapted to different objects, often in the same workshop, based on time-honored formal and iconographic conventions.

Unfortunately, these conditions also make it very difficult to determine the makers of specific objects. In 1919, Leo Planiscig attributed the composite formula adapted for the two deities of the Friedsam andirons to the workshop of Danese



Cattaneo.⁴ More recently, they were related to Tiziano Aspetti's shop.⁵ Claudia Kryza-Gersch has placed the pair within the circle of Nicolò Roccatagliata around 1600: she underlined their high quality, evident as well in a bronze *Mars* and *Minerva* published by Alan Gibbon in 1990, then on the London market but present location unknown.⁶ TM

PROVENANCE: Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: MMA 1932, p. 60; Bordeaux 1981, pp. 106–7, cat. 124; D'Apuzzo 2017, p. 219

NOTES

1. Friedsam Papers, MMA Archives. 2. Motture 2003. 3. Planiscig 1919, pp. 135–36, nos. 207, 208. Other casts of the pair can be found in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (Santangelo 1964, p. 19), and the Hermitage, H.ck-543, 547 (Androssov 2007, pp. 171–73, nos. 185, 186). Another pair came to auction twice: Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1985, lot 81, and Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1995, lot 84. A *Mars*, without a pendant, is in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 51.904 (Balogh 1975, vol. 1, p. 177), while a *Minerva*, missing an arm, is in the Offermann collection, Cologne (Brockhaus and Leinz 1994, p. 104, cat. 33). Two andirons of differing structure but topped by similar small figures are in the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna, 1492 (D'Apuzzo 2017, pp. 216–20, no. 69a/b). 4. Planiscig 1919, pp. 135–36. 5. Gibbon 1990, p. 283; Brockhaus and Leinz 1994, p. 104, cat. 33. 6. Kryza-Gersch, March 2001, ESDA/OF; Gibbon 1990, p. 283.

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Pair of Andirons with Figures of Mercury and Orpheus

France (?), 19th century (?)

Bronze

Each Height 35½ in. (90.2 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.91a, b, 41.100.90a, b)

The Paris home of Frédéric Spitzer, the Austrian collector and dealer who once owned these firedogs, was a veritable Aladdin's cave of *fin-de-siècle* curiosities. For a time, the firedogs were displayed in his so-called *cabinet de travail* (study), described in an 1890 guide to his collection as “an eclectic room where the amateur can find specimens of all the arts . . . the vestibule of the temple where the new gods do their internship while awaiting their final classification to the chapels.” Our bronzes can be seen in a photograph next to a monumental fireplace from Arnay-le Duc on the back wall of the room.¹

The nude figures of Mercury and Orpheus, the latter holding his lyre, each preside over two harpies bound to the base with a thin strap wound below the breasts. The harpies's wings join above a gold-plated shield embossed with heraldic emblems. A lion's head anchors each andiron. In the Spitzer collection catalogue, published between 1890 and 1893, the firedogs are generically assigned to sixteenth-century Venice and their artistic importance highlighted with a handsome illustration.



Fig. 82a. Interior of the Blumenthal mansion in New York, showing The Met's firedogs, from *The Home of George and Florence Blumenthal, Fifty East Seventieth Street, New York*, 1920s, pl. 34. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library, Rare Books, 106.1 B622 Folio

The same identification—“travail vénitien, XVIe siècle”—accompanied their sale in the auction of Spitzer's collection in 1893. According to Paola Cordera's reconstruction, the andirons were acquired by Henri Julius Stettiner, an antique dealer who operated in Paris and London. From there, they passed to John Edward Taylor, translator of the Brothers Grimm fairy tales and Giambattista Basile's *Pentamerone* and an avid collector with a penchant for Renaissance bronzes. From Taylor's estate sale in 1912, they were purchased by Jacques Seligmann.²

By this point, Wilhelm von Bode had attributed the objects to Alessandro Vittoria in his authoritative study of Italian bronze statuettes. His attribution came notwithstanding doubts regarding the pair's authenticity that had surfaced by the end of the nineteenth century.³ Despite this skepticism, Seligmann managed to sell the firedogs to George Blumenthal using Bode's imprimatur to justify the exorbitant price tag of \$48,000. The sale was newsworthy, making the front page of *The New York Times* on February 25, 1913, which explained that the bronzes would “adorn the new house” the wealthy banker was building at Park Avenue and 70th Street. The prestige associated with these pieces is also attested by their prominent display in Blumenthal's mansion: in a photo album produced in 1928 by Mattie Edwards Hewitt showcasing the millionaire's residence, the firedogs appear in an elegant salon—probably the first-floor drawing room—flanking a portrait by Jacopo Tintoretto

(fig. 82a). Elevated on cloth-covered pedestals, they were thus deprived of their functionality.⁴

The andirons entered The Met as part of Blumenthal's bequest in 1941, their attribution to Vittoria intact and maintained for many years.⁵ Upon closer examination, however, they appear to be late nineteenth-century objects deploying a pastiche of elements intended to mimic sixteenth-century Venetian bronzework. The style, surface treatment, and overall facture clearly denote a "Neo-Renaissance" exercise, the feckless embellishment of a framework of Venetian inspiration by way of banal, albeit immediately recognizable, references to other artists, such as the Michelangesque molding under the slim figure of Mercury, above a base decorated with a repertoire of Second Empire cartouches and grotesquerie. The approximate rendering of decorative details—for example, the imprecise grooves on the harpies' exaggerated talons—similarly betrays a modern manufacture. The fleshiness of the support figures—the turgid, sensual breasts, the carefully inscribed nipples—is incongruous with a sixteenth-century dating. Even Mercury's helmet, in its domesticated oddness, should be counted among the clues that point toward a nineteenth-century provenance.

It is difficult, moreover, not to see in these bronzes a deliberately fraudulent production given their direct link to Spitzer, whose commercial fabrication of forgeries employing a large network of artisans has been uncovered in recent studies.⁶ This is also suggested by the pair's derivation from works already known in the nineteenth century and only partially reinterpreted, in a sense using their familiarity among connoisseurs and patrons as a way of "proving" their bona fides. For example, our firedogs repeat the central tier of two Venetian exemplars signed by Joseph de Levis that entered the V&A in 1857 (fig. 82b). The heraldic shields inserted on the pedestals of our bronzes are deceptive as well. These are not gilded copper, but modern lead/tin pot metal casts, plated with gold.⁷ The shields combine emblems of the Anguissola-Tedesco-Secco family of Milan and the Grassi family of Verona.⁸ They are therefore realistic coats of arms that were meant to lend the objects an aura of authenticity.

For that matter, in terms of taste, it is interesting to note the remarks of Lucien Falize in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* on the bronzeworks displayed at the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris, an event for which Spitzer supplied a roomful of objects from his collection. Apropos of the contemporary "industrial" production of bronzes, Falize reported that "the bronze industry has taken over the furnishing of the fireplace, with specialists who make andirons and fireguards. . . . they lavish as much skill on these accessories as the sixteenth-century artists did, modeling the large andirons from the Soltykoff collection or those of M. Louis Fould."⁹ TM

PROVENANCE: Frédéric Spitzer, Paris (until d. 1890; sale, Paris, April 17–June 16, 1893, lots 1480, 1481; sold to Stettiner); [Henri Julius Stettiner, Paris]; John Edward Taylor, London (until d. 1905; sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, July 1 and 9, 1912, lot 46; sold to Seligmann);



Fig. 82b. Joseph de Levis (1522–1611/14), Firedog with the Figure of Jupiter, 1570–1600. Bronze; H. 42½ in. (107 cm). Victoria & Albert Museum, London (3012-1857)

[Jacques Seligmann, 1912–13; sold to Blumenthal]; George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (1913–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Spitzer 1892, p. 119, nos. 40, 41, pl. XLI; Bode 1907–12, vol. 2, p. 24, pl. CLXIV; New York 1920, p. 13; Planiscig 1921, p. 491, figs. 522, 523; New York 1923, p. 22, no. 71; Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. LVIII; Planiscig 1930, pl. XX; New York 1952, pp. 174, 235–36, no. 170; Bode and Draper 1980, p. 102; Motture 2003, pp. 290, 306 n. 62; Cordera 2014, p. 250, nos. 1893/1480–81; C. Avery 2020, no. 25

NOTES

1. "une pièce mixte, rendez-vous général où l'amateur veut trouver sous la main des spécimens de tous les arts . . . le vestibule du temple où les dieux nouveaux viennent faire un stage en attendant leur classement définitif dans les chapelles." Bonnaffé 1890, pp. 10–11. 2. A copy of the sale catalogue in the Thomas J. Watson Library (119.6 F 1912 June–July) records the price of \$9,660 paid by Seligmann. 3. For instance, in a copy of the Spitzer sale catalogue that entered the Bargello with the 1899 bequest of Costantino Resson, next to the firedogs entry is the handwritten note "douteux" (dubious). I thank Paola Cordera for pointing this out to me. 4. The Tintoretto portrait is in The Met, 41.100.12. 5. New York 1952, pp. 174, 235–36, no. 170. 6. See, for example, Cordera 2014. 7. R. Stone/TR, 2002. 8. See ESDA/OF for Rayanne Walter's research on the heraldic emblems (1960s), and Crollanza 1886–90, vol. 1, pp. 47, 312, 497, for the imagery. 9. "la fabrique de bronzes . . . s'est emparée . . . de la cheminée tout entière; . . . elle la meuble aussi et il est des spécialistes qui font des landiers, des chenets et des garde-feux une étude spéciale et ont . . . dépensé autant de talent qu'en mettaient à cet accessoire les artistes du XVI^e siècle à modeler les grand chenets de la collection Soltykoff ou ceux que possède m. Louis Fould." Falize 1878, p. 610.





Crucifix on a Golgotha Base
 Base by Joseph de Levis
 (Verona 1522–1611/14 Verona);
 corpus by a later unidentified artist,
 possibly from the Veneto

Verona, ca. 1590–1600 (base), later 17th century (corpus),
 19th century (cross)

Base and cross: bronze; corpus: bronze, fire-gilt
 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (60 × 28.3 × 18.1 cm)

Signed (inside base on back of sleeve for cross
 within a wreath): IOSEH DE·LEVIS VER·F.

Purchase, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, by exchange, 1981 (1981.76a–c)

The cross with a gilt corpus stands on a base representing Mount Golgotha. The base is decorated with molded Roman coins and images of fossils, shells, snails, and a hedgehog; each foot is modeled in the shape of a sphinx. The base is signed IOSEH DE·LEVIS VER·F. (fig. 83a), according to which it was cast by Joseph de Levis, a bronze founder and sculptor active in Verona in the late sixteenth century and most probably of Jewish origins. De Levis frequently signed his bronzes, and the signatures have been analyzed in depth by Charles Avery, who concluded that here it should be read as “Joseph de Levis made me in Verona.”¹ The mention of the city is thus a locative, not a reference to the sculptor’s hometown (that is, Joseph de Levis of Verona, Latin: *Veronensis*). Written in full, the signature in Latin could be “Joseph[us] de Levis Ver[ona] F[ecit].” This reading is in line with a family tradition: Joseph’s elder brother signed church bells in Italian, “Santo de Levis in Verona me fece.” The signature thus gives visibility to the place in which the bronze was physically cast and stresses the Jewish heritage of the family, as the italianized “Giuseppe” never appears in contemporaneous documents.²

The base is cast from a slush-molded wax model.³ The inserted skull, which Avery considers to be a later addition, refers to the tomb of Adam. The coin on the lower front with the winged lion of Saint Mark in relief signifies the Republic of



Fig. 83a. Detail of cat. 83 showing the signature of Joseph de Levis on one side of the inner sleeve that holds the cross

Venice. One of the Roman coins bears the profile portrait of Nero and the asymmetrical inscription IMP·NERO·CAESAR. The Roman coins denote the time of Christ, evoking the Passion and the betrayal of Judas. Avery has compared the sphinxlike feet to those of de Levis’s inkstand with Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well.⁴ Golgotha is characterized by a style typical of the Paduan bronze tradition, for instance in the detail work of the shells and fossils, probably taken directly from nature. Avery, in fact, recalls an old attribution of our Golgotha to the Paduan Bartolomeo Bellano in light of its stylistic similarity to the so-called *Mountains of Hell*, which were ascribed to Bellano by Wilhelm von Bode and then firmly documented to Agostino Zoppo by Manfred Leithe-Jasper and dated around 1540–50.⁵

The corpus and the Golgotha base are neither technically nor stylistically related. The Christ figure seen here is evidently not the original one and seems to be a much later product, possibly made by an artist of the Veneto.⁶ The work in its current state was sold from the collection of the Florentine art dealer Stefano Bardini in 1899, at which time the corpus was optimistically attributed to Brunelleschi. When it entered The Met in 1981, James David Draper designated the corpus a Milanese product roughly contemporaneous with the base. The elongated figure of Christ and his leonine hair, however, argue against such a dating. Moreover, the corpus is the result of a perfect cast, unlike the base. X-radiographs have revealed the exquisitely thin, even walls, suggesting to Richard Stone the hand of a silversmith accustomed to casting in precious metal. Another example of the corpus, though much less refined than ours, was recently offered on the art market as “ca. 1600, Italian (probably Roman).”⁷ FL

PROVENANCE: [Stefano Bardini, Florence, until 1899; sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, June 5, 1899, lot 469]; [T. Howard-Sneyd, ca. 1980]; [Blumka Gallery, New York, until 1981; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: C. Avery 1977, pp. 116–17, nos. 4–6; James David Draper in MMA 1981, pp. 34–35; C. Avery 1992, p. 50, nos. 24–26; C. Avery 2016, pp. 14–15, 24–26, 133–34, no. 43

NOTES

1. C. Avery 2016, pp. 12–16.
2. For an alternate reading of the signature, see cat. 84.
3. For slush-molding, see the essay by Richard Stone in this volume, pp. 32–33.
4. C. Avery 2016, p. 129, no. 34.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 133. On the *Mountains of Hell*, now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (7268, 7269), see Bode 1907–12, vol. 1, p. 22, pls. XXV, XXVI; Leithe-Jasper 1975, pp. 124–33; Siracusano 2017a, pp. 170–73, no. 5.
6. Radiographs highlight a curious technical combination in the corpus: a plaster core, more typical in northern Italian examples, with drilled-out core pins and carefully fitted screw plugs in the Florentine Giambologna/Susini tradition. Richard Stone has proposed that the corpus was cast in Rome in the later seventeenth century. He identified the skull as a high zinc brass, which supports Avery’s theory that it was inserted later. R. Stone/TR, October 29, 2010.
7. Michael Riddick, *Old World Wonders*, Leesburg, <https://www.oldworldwonders.com/product/an-important-gilt-bronze-corpus-ca-1600-italian>.



Bowl with Cover (Perfume Burner)
 Angelo de' Rossi (dates unknown) and
 Joseph de Levis (Verona 1552–1611/14 Verona)

Verona, 1599

Bronze

Height 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.4 cm)

Inscribed: (on inside bottom) MDIC / RUBEUS / JOSE[P]H DE LEVI
 VER[ONAE] F[ECIT]; (on outside bottom) JOSE[P]H DE LEVI
 VER[ONAE] F[ECIT]

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.84a, b)

Thanks to Charles Avery's extensive research, we have today a fairly clear picture of the foundry operated by Joseph de Levis in Verona.¹ Since he signed his creations quite regularly—an unfortunately rare custom in the field of small bronzes—it has been possible to assemble a secure oeuvre that comprises above all bells and mortars, different sorts of vessels, and the occasional andiron, inkstand, and doorknocker—in short, the typical range of small bronzes that carry the not very flattering adjective “utilitarian.” While it is true that these items were made for a specific practical use, they can nevertheless be very handsome, such as The Met's bowl with cover, which is in fact a magnificent and unique object.

The remarkably heavy, round, and shallow bowl is decorated with three sirens in low relief that alternate with three winged, griffinlike dragons. With their front legs, these fantastic beasts, modeled almost fully in the round, hold onto volutes that unite under the bowl in scrolls framing a shell on each of the three sides. The dragons and scrolls form a triangular mount or setting for the round bowl and provide it with stable feet, creating thus a sort of tripod. The cover is decorated with three nude female figures. They sit back to back on scroll-like ornaments with grimacing masks that form a central mound. These graceful creatures may be generic nymphs or, as

suggested by Avery, the Three Graces.² Perhaps their proper meaning was elucidated by the missing finial that was once positioned behind them in the center of the lid.³ Each of the figures is modeled individually, in varying poses, with one arm resting on a knee or against a breast while the other stretches backward for support. Two are positioned symmetrically as a corresponding pair, defining thus one main view for the entire object. Since the rest of the cover consists mostly of ornamented openings, one may assume that the vessel was designed as a perfume burner.⁴ Picturing how the odiferous smoke would rise suggestively from the perforated lid, one can imagine that the owner was reminded of the famous oracle of Delphi, where Pythia sat on a tripod over the vapors that inspired her prophesies.

The bowl is signed twice with de Levis's typical round “shop seal,” featuring within a circular wreath Roman capitals with serifs, informing us that Joseph de Levis from Verona made the piece.⁵ This “trademark” appears on the underside of the bowl as well as on the bottom of its interior (figs. 84a–b). Here it is accompanied by two inscriptional bands, one giving the date 1599 and the other the barely legible name RUBEUS (Latin = red). The latter most probably refers to the sculptor Angelo de' Rossi (Italian *rosso* = red), with whom de Levis executed a pair of large statuettes representing Saint John the Baptist and Saint George that crown the twin holy-water stoups in the church of San Giorgio in Braida, Verona. The wording of their inscriptions indicates that de' Rossi designed or modeled them while de Levis was their caster.⁶ The quality of the vividly modeled female figures on our bowl suggests, as Avery proposed, that de' Rossi was responsible for their composition as well as for the “sculptural compactness of the work.”⁷ Another possible collaboration between the elusive sculptor and the Veronese caster is an inkstand with Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well (formerly in the collection of Sir Leon Bagrit), which is, however, signed only with de Levis's shop seal.⁸ The beautiful figures on the inkstand are



Fig. 84a. Detail of cat. 84 showing the shop seal on the underside of the bowl



Fig. 84b. Detail of cat. 84 showing the inscriptions on the interior of the bowl

nevertheless stylistically remarkably close to the three female figures on The Met's bowl, or rather perfume burner, which is indeed, as Avery stated, "one of the finest decorative objects to have issued from the de Levis, or indeed any other northern Italian, foundry at the turn of the century."⁹ CKG

PROVENANCE: George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Gramberg 1937, p. 188; C. Avery 1973, pp. 93–95; Charles Avery in V. Mann 1989, p. 285, cat. 171; C. Avery 2016, pp. 128–29, no. 33

NOTES

1. A series of articles (C. Avery 1968, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1977, 1984, 1992, and 1996) have resulted in the publication of a monograph (C. Avery 2016). 2. C. Avery 1973, p. 93; C. Avery 2016, pp. 85, 128. 3. A hole with a bayonet fitting in the middle of the lid indicates the place where this finial or handle was once attached. 4. C. Avery 1973, p. 93; C. Avery in V. Mann 1989, p. 285. C. Avery 2016, p. 128, calls the vessel an inkstand, which in my view is not very likely, since the bowl is rather large and the lid with its openings would not protect the ink from drying out. For the working of a perfume burner, see Warren 2014, pp. 196–206, no. 50 (esp. pp. 199–200). 5. For an alternate interpretation of the signature, see [cat. 83](#). 6. C. Avery 1973, pp. 91–93; C. Avery 2016, pp. 84, 132, nos. 40, 41. 7. C. Avery 2016, p. 128. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 129, no. 34. 9. *Ibid.*





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Two Inkwells (?) Surmounted by Finial Figures Representing History and Vigilance

Possibly northern Italy, 17th century or later

Bronze

History: 10½ × 9½ × 9½ in. (26.7 × 24.1 × 24.1 cm);

Vigilance: 10½ × 9½ × 9¼ in. (26.7 × 24.1 × 24.8 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1458](#), [.1459](#))

No satisfactory stylistic or technical background has been suggested for these over-the-top vessels. They should rest firmly enough on their three clawed feet; why then is there a rather massive middle floral foot under the middle of each as well? The finials rise from their triangular stands above triangular basins whose bottoms are surrounded by thin copper plates soldered into place but not tightly enough to prevent leakage. One has hardly seen Renaissance basins of inkwells needing such big areas, and the casts are extremely porous. Finials and bowls are treated much alike, with small dot marks on the draperies of the former, broader ones on the lionskin-like wrappings

of the sphinxlike creatures at the basins' corners. All the female personifications have similarly flowing locks and heavily lidded eyes. History is identifiable by her scroll, Vigilance by her rooster, its head since lost. History's head, broken and loose, was recently restored. It is unclear why she should have a dog beside her, but nothing about these vessels makes perfect sense: perhaps least of all that the statuettes should float like small islands in their big containers. Hardly successful in any period, it is astonishing that either one should have inspired a mate. Cumbersome and in every way odd, they find no satisfactory equivalents in Venice or its outposts. Cautionary instincts and curiosity have prevented their being deaccessioned, as well as the thought that they might serve a purpose in an exhibition about fanciful nineteenth-century views of the Renaissance. JDD

PROVENANCE: Lord Andrew Cavendish, eleventh duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth (his sale, Christie's, London, June 26, 1958, lot 107, attributed to Leone Leoni); Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, p. xxx, pls. 69, 70 (to Tiziano Aspetti)

Jupiter with a Thunderbolt

Possibly from the workshop of Joseph de Levis
(Verona 1522–1611/14 Verona)

Verona (?), late 16th–early 17th century

Bronze

14½ × 5⅝ × 5⅝ in. (36.8 × 14.3 × 13 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.8)



Standing upright in classic contrapposto stance, with the weight resting on the proper left leg, this figure of a mature man with luxurious hair and beard is nude but for a small piece of loincloth held in place by a shoulder strap. He grasps a fluttering piece of the cloth in his left hand and a thunderbolt in his right. This attribute and a small eagle sitting next to his right leg identify him as Jupiter. The statuette is placed on a trapezoidal base with a steplike, lower edge running around the front and two sides into which a stylized egg-and-dart ornament is incised. The back side of this unusual base was cut off in the wax as if the statuette were to be fitted into a setting like a niche; however, the protruding eagle's tail would prevent such an installation. Since the crowning figures of andirons generally have round or triangular bases, it seems that this statuette was intended for another, unknown purpose.

The model exists in several versions, in the Hermitage,¹ the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.,² the Museo Correr in Venice,³ and the Museo Amedeo Lia in La Spezia.⁴ It was probably conceived as a figure for an andiron and appears as such, together with a nude Juno—having a peacock sitting next to her as pendant to Jupiter's eagle—on firedogs once in the Donà delle Rose collection.⁵ Giovanni Mariacher attributed the casts in Venice and Washington to Jacopo Sansovino, but this attribution can be rejected for obvious stylistic incompatibility.⁶ Sergei Androsov linked the model to Girolamo Campagna, referring to a similar statuette—*sans* thunderbolt and featuring a dog instead of an eagle—offered at Christie's in 1967 that is incised with the letters "IC" in the base.⁷ Appearing on a small group of bronze statuettes, the enigmatic "IC" signature has been analyzed repeatedly and variously assigned to Jean Chenet, Girolamo Campagna, his brother Giuseppe, and Giacomo Calderari, but today the initials are considered to be those of an unknown Venetian caster.⁸ Charles Avery's suggestion that the *Jupiter* in La Spezia may come from the workshop of Joseph de Levis offers a more promising lead.⁹

The Met's *Jupiter with a Thunderbolt*, while not an exceptional bronze, is a genuine late Renaissance piece. In spite of the careless modeling and rough chasing, it still constitutes the best example of the model. The composition is stylistically close to Alessandro Vittoria but certainly not by his hand,¹⁰ whereas it is difficult to see any convincing similarities to Girolamo Campagna. The workshop of de Levis, who was a clever caster

but not a great sculptor in his own right, and who was often inspired by Vittoria, appears thus indeed, as suggested by Avery for the version in La Spezia, to be the most likely candidate for its manufacture. CKG

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Androsov 1978, pp. 57–58, cat. 42; cast with a thick, triangular base.
2. C. Wilson 1983, p. 137. This cast (mounted on a firedog, its companion surmounted by a figure of Juno) was most probably made in the nineteenth century, for it has a suspiciously smooth surface, while the drapery features mechanical stippling. The eagle is of a different type and sits next to the figure's left rather than right leg. For a *Jupiter* just like it (e.g., smooth surface, same type of eagle) on a pair of firedogs in the Vok collection, see Banzato 2004, pp. 72–75, cat. 23. 3. Mariacher 1971, p. 36. The eagle is missing in this cast, which is paired with a *Juno* of the same type as on the firedogs formerly in the Donà delle Rose collection; see Planiscig 1930, pl. CLX. 4. C. Avery 1998b, p. 174, no. 106. 5. See note 3. 6. Mariacher 1966, p. 23; Mariacher 1968, cat. 22; Mariacher 1971, p. 36. 7. Androsov 1978, p. 58; Christie's, London, November 20, 1967, lot 167. Although the friendly animal represented here hardly looks like Cerberus, that is what it presumably must be, so the elderly man could be interpreted as Pluto. The cute dog is the same type that accompanies an *Adonis* paired with a *Venus*, a couple found on numerous firedogs. 8. For a fuller discussion, see [cat. 75](#). 9. C. Avery 1998b, p. 174. 10. Planiscig 1930, pl. CLX, attributed the firedogs then in the Donà delle Rose collection to Vittoria.

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Virgin and Child with Angels
Attributed to Sebastiano Nicolini
(active Venice, 1614–36)

Venice, ca. 1630

Bronze, on a later gilt base

8¼ × 3¾ × 2⅞ in. (21 × 9.2 × 7.3 cm) (without base)

Gift of Mrs. Howard J. Sachs and Mr. Peter G. Sachs,
in memory of Miss Edith L. Sachs, 1978 ([1978.516.5](#))

The small group represents the Virgin standing upright in a relaxed contrapposto, resting her weight on her left leg. She holds the Christ Child before her, supporting his bottom with her right hand and clutching him to her with her left hand at his chest. He is the size of a toddler, just like the two flanking angels. The angel to the left offers flowers to Jesus, while the one on the right has turned around so he can reach up and hold Christ's dangling foot. The four figures form a charming and intimate composition that depicts a carefree moment rather than the weighty presentation of the Savior for veneration. This lighthearted spirit as well as the type of putti speak for an attribution to the Venetian workshop of Nicolò Roccatagliata. Also the treatment of the drapery, especially the garment that



spreads out over the base with the hemline plaited in omega-shaped folds, and the feet with the overlong second toe, are characteristic elements of Roccatagliata's style seen, although on a larger scale, in The Met's *Virgin and Child* (cat. 66).

As the Madonna in the present group is very similar to a Virgin standing in the niche of a large bronze candelabrum by Roccatagliata's son Sebastiano Nicolini, it can reasonably be attributed to him.¹ The large candelabrum is one of a pair flanking the altar of the Cappella del Rosario in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.² Since the sculptural decoration of this chapel is largely the work of Alessandro Vittoria, the candelabra have been assigned to him in the past. However, documents reveal the maker to be Sebastiano Nicolini, who delivered them in 1633.³ The Scuola del Santissimo Rosario, responsible for the chapel's decoration, specified that it wanted candelabra similar to those Roccatagliata had made in 1596 for San Giorgio Maggiore—even four years after his death the father's name was apparently still considered to be a guarantee of quality. Although Sebastiano dutifully followed the design of his father, he introduced a new element to these candelabra, namely a sort of triangular aedicula with a scalloped niche on each side in which figures of saints and the Madonna are placed. The latter is comparable to our Virgin not only in her lively expression, but also in her very similar way of holding the Christ Child, who could be a twin of the New York infant. As the figures on the candelabra measure about 18 cm, they are only slightly smaller than The Met's Virgin, whose semicircular base suggests that she too was designed for display in a niche. However, the fact that our group is modeled perfectly all around and could thus stand free, as well as the much finer quality of the cast, point to a use within a more important context than that of a functional bronze.⁴ It may have been placed in the shrine of a domestic altar from where it could also be removed if one wanted to venerate the Virgin in a more intimate way.

Sebastiano received the commission for the Rosary chapel candelabra together with a certain Andrea Balbi, a founder and one of several experts with whom he collaborated. How closely sculptor and caster worked together is evident here in the way the putto seen from behind supports the left leg of the Christ

Child: what seems just an endearing detail is actually a cleverly disguised sprue, a path allowing the molten metal to move more quickly into the mold.

Sebastiano Nicolini had effectively run his father's workshop since 1615. They specialized in the production of candelabra and small devotional art but also occasionally fashioned pagan figures for private use. The founders with whom they collaborated came from powerful clans and continued to use the shop's models well into the seventeenth century.⁵ Such products appear every now and then on the art market, but they are rarely what they are claimed to be—from the Roccatagliata workshop before 1636.⁶

Leo Planiscig published the *Virgin and Child with Angels* in 1930, when it was in the collection of Harry Sachs, attributing it to Girolamo Campagna. Interestingly, he placed the illustration next to a small bronze *Three Graces* in the Galleria Estense, Modena, that he also declared to be by Campagna. The *Three Graces* has long since been ascribed to Roccatagliata,⁷ and so it seems about time that The Met's *Virgin and Child with Angels* also be reassigned to its maker, Sebastiano Nicolini, who, together with his father, must be classed among the most gifted producers of Venetian small bronzes. CKG

PROVENANCE: Harry Sachs collection, New York (until 1978; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Planiscig 1930, p. 37, pl. CLXVII, fig. 290

NOTES

1. Sebastiano was not called Roccatagliata but Nicolini, meaning the son of Nicolino, as the father was called in the documents. 2. Kryza-Gersch 1998, fig. 206. The chapel, devastated by a fire in 1867, was restored and reopened in 1959. Although the candelabra were damaged, they again flank the altar. 3. Kryza-Gersch 1998, p. 117. 4. The metal is a brass with low lead content, an incidental trace of tin, and low levels of the usual trace impurities, indicating the use of a high-quality copper. R. Stone/TR, November 8, 2010. 5. Kryza-Gersch 1998, pp. 120–21; Kryza-Gersch 2008, pp. 258–62. 6. It is not yet known when Sebastiano Nicolini died. He is last mentioned in 1636, when he received the commission for two statues of angels for the high altar of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice; see Kryza-Gersch 1998, p. 115. 7. London 1961, cat. 169; Pope-Hennessy 1963, p. 61.



5

Northern Italy
and England,
16th–17th Century



— 88 —

Sleeping Hercules

Bologna (?), ca. 1505 or later

Bronze

5⅜ × 8½ × 5⅜ in. (13.7 × 21.6 × 13.7 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.18)

This evocative sculpture of Hercules sleeping on a rocky outcropping defies easy categorization. Although its subject is rare in Renaissance iconography, the bronze exhibits compelling relationships to several early sixteenth-century artworks, and its unusual facture and unclear use pose questions about its authenticity.

The heavy, directly cast bronze first appeared in the 1945 posthumous sale of the British banker Ernest G. Raphael and was owned by the Egyptian textile trader Fernand Adda, before being acquired by Judge Untermyer a few years before he gave

a second tranche of his bronzes to the museum. Its surfaces appear heavily worked, with peening throughout the figure, attributes, and setting; broader shaping on the flat surfaces of the integral canted rectangular base; and broad chiseling to the uneven, hollowed underside. This and the obscure poetic subject, suggestive of humanist interest, have led it to be generally considered a work of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, of northern or central Italian origin.¹

Michael Mezzatesta and Yvonne Hackenbroch connected the subject with the classical theme of the Choice or Dream of Hercules and, tenuously, with a late fifteenth-century German print source. Otherwise it has been assumed to represent the Resting Hercules, despite the fully reclined pose diverging from that subject's main antique types, which are seated or standing. The bronze has a coincidental resonance with Andrea Verrocchio's extraordinary terracotta *Sleeping Youth* of the 1470s in the Skulpturensammlung, Berlin, and likewise does not seem



directly related to Baccio Bandinelli's marble *Sleeping Hercules* of the 1550s in the Hermitage.² In eighteenth-century Great Britain, the subject of *Sleeping Hercules* found favor as decoration for chimneypieces.³

Reclined, sleeping figures were usually known in the Renaissance in the form of the *Sleeping Nymph*, and often found in the context of a fountain. The earliest and most notable example, the Vatican marble *Cleopatra/Ariadne*, was excavated and installed in the Belvedere sculpture court in 1512.⁴ Another monumental marble *Sleeping Nymph* was installed in the large sculpture garden of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi on the northern edge of the Quirinal Hill, begun in the 1540s. Long known through prints, the fragmentary statue has been identified in the Musei Capitolini and confirmed to be the work of a sixteenth-century sculptor in response to antique prototypes.⁵ The composition was adapted to a small bronze now in the Vok collection catalogued as the work of an unknown artist in



Fig. 88a. Inkwell with *Sleeping Nymph*. Mantua, 1520s–30s. Bronze; 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (12.5 × 30 cm). Vok Collection

1520s–30s Mantua (fig. 88a).⁶ This bronze *Nymph* is disposed in a more linear, languid pose and in mirror orientation to our *Hercules*, but her hands are draped in relation to one another much like his.



Fig. 88b. Tiziano Minio (?) (1517?–1552), *Sleeping Youth*, second quarter of the 16th century. Bronze; L. 8¼ in. (21 cm). Galleria Giorgio Franchetti, Ca' d'Oro, Venice

The present sculpture exhibits its closest relationship in three dimensions to the bronze of a *Sleeping Youth* in the Ca' d'Oro, Venice (fig. 88b).⁷ That figure, nude except for shoes, is much younger and unaccompanied by attributes. James David Draper notes that the Ca' d'Oro bronze also appears hammered all over, but is a lighter cast than the *Hercules*.⁸ The *Sleeping Youth* can be traced back to the collection of Andrea Mantova Benavides, who, in 1695, described it as a work of Tiziano Aspetti. Malvina Benacchio argued in support of an attribution to the famous Paduan artist of that name, active in the later sixteenth century; however, she also pointed out that seventeenth-century authors regularly confused Aspetti's identity with an earlier sculptor of the same name, called "Minio," who was active in Jacopo Sansovino's workshop in the first half of the century.⁹ The idea of connecting the Ca' d'Oro bronze, and thus our sculpture, to Tiziano Minio becomes particularly intriguing in light of another reclined figure on an integral base of the same scale now in the Rijksmuseum, which exhibits the same surface and similarly conceived physiognomy as the *Sleeping Hercules*.¹⁰ However, Minio's independent output is not well documented and his corpus is not securely constructed, making attributions on stylistic grounds difficult.

The exact composition and subject of our *Hercules* are found together in only one other artwork known to this author, appearing as a fictive metal relief in the fresco cycle executed by Amico Aspertini and other artists on the walls of the

Oratorio di Santa Cecilia, Bologna, in 1505–6 (fig. 88c).¹¹ It is painted as a prominent decorative panel at the foot of the throne of Almachius, from which he orders the torture and execution of Saint Cecilia. The sleeping figure is shod with sandals and accompanied by a club, depicted in the monochrome red palette often used across Italy in this period to represent metallic relief sculpture, frequently in archaizing contexts like this.¹²

This Bolognese connection is most interesting in light of recent scholarship on small bronzes made in that city. Jeremy Warren identifies a *Sleeping Hercules* inscribed with praise to the collector Gaspare Fantuzzi as "one of very few Renaissance bronzes which can with some confidence be said to have been made in Bologna," and dates it to around 1500 (fig. 88d).¹³ The *Fortnum Venus*, which Warren has attributed to the Bolognese artist Francesco Francia and dated circa 1495–1505, has a similarly peened surface, which could suggest such texturing was a



Fig. 88c. Amico Aspertini (ca. 1474–1552) and others, *The Martyrdom of Saint Cecilia* (detail), 1505–6. Fresco. Oratorio di Santa Cecilia, Bologna

desirable feature of small bronzes in Bologna and Ferrara at that time.¹⁴

Comparisons pointing in multiple directions—to Florence, Bologna, Rome, and the Veneto—along with the appearance of a heavily worked surface, which could indicate a retardataire style, leave open the possibility that The Met's *Sleeping Hercules* was made in a much later era, to deceive, using the Ca' d'Oro relief or the Santa Cecilia fresco as a compositional point of departure. PJB

PROVENANCE: Ernest G. Raphael, London (until 1945; sale, Sotheby's, London, November 9, 1945, lot 86, as "16th century, school of Bertoldo"); Fernand C. A. Adda (until 1965; sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, November 30–December 1, 1965, lot 233, as "Padua, circle of Bellano"; sold to Frank Partridge & Sons, London, for 22,012.50 francs, for Untermyer); Irwin Untermyer, New York (1965–68; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 238; Hackenbroch 1976; Mezzatesta 1976, pl. IV; Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 157, no. 293

NOTES

1. In addition to the attributions to followers of Bertoldo and Bellano in the auction catalogues, James David Draper (MMA 1975, p. 238) first catalogued it as "about 1500, north Italian," and then Florentine, last quarter of the 15th century, noting "limited similarities" in facture and composition to a *Hercules with the Nemean Lion* in the V&A (A.77:0-1910), given to Giovanni Rustici (Untermyer 1977, p. 157). (The old attribution of the V&A bronze to Rustici would probably not stand up in light of recent scholarship on the artist.) Mezzatesta 1976 implicitly accepted Draper's earlier attribution, while Hackenbroch 1976 attributed it to Peter Vischer the Younger, 1520–25. 2. Skulpturensammlung, 112; Hermitage, H.ck-1669. 3. Several chimneypiece relief sculptures associated with Michael Rysbrack have appeared at auction: Sotheby's, New York, April 26, 2008, lot 134; Christie's King Street, London, July 9, 2009, lot 54; Sotheby's, London, December 8, 2009, lot 67. 4. See MacDougall 1975. 5. Mocci 1986. 6. Banzato 2004, pp. 64–67, cat. 21. 7. Further study—ideally direct comparison—is needed to determine whether a model-cast relationship exists between the bronzes. 8. Untermyer 1977, p. 157. 9. Benacchio 1934–39, pp. 92–97. 10. Rijksmuseum, BK-1954-44; see Scholten and Verber 2005, pp. 62–63, cat. 15. 11. Gadda and Stivani 2006, pp. 50–51. 12. See, for example, Sandro Botticelli's *Calumny of Apelles*, ca. 1497 (Uffizi), or the lower zones

of Raphael's Stanze in the Vatican, conceived in 1508–9. 13. Warren 2007, pp. 833–34. 14. Ashmolean, WA1899.CDEF.B411; see Warren 1999a, p. 220, Warren 1999b, pp. 56–57, cat. 14, Warren 2014, pp. 76–82, cat. 20.

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Altar Candlesticks with Busts in Relief of Saints Peter and Paul

Northern Italy, mid-16th century

Bronze, partially oil-gilt

(.1) 36½ × 12½ × 13 in. (92.7 × 31.8 × 33 cm); (.2) 36¼ × 12 × 13 in. (92.1 × 30.5 × 33 cm)

Ann and George Blumenthal Fund, 1973 (1973.287.1, .2)

All that remains of a once resplendent altar garniture are three pairs of candlesticks with reliefs on their triangular bases displaying attributes of saints: the present pair, Saint Peter with a key and Saint Paul with a sword; a second pair with the angel of Saint Matthew and the ox of Saint Luke, in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York; and a third pair with the lion of Saint Mark and the eagle of Saint John, in the V&A.¹ A crucifix with an equally decorative base would have occupied the center of the altar, flanked by the candelabra with the Four Evangelists.

The Roman Rite stipulates that candles be lit on or behind the altar during the celebration of Mass, flanking a crucifix. The humble beeswax of the candles symbolizes Christ's body, the wick his soul, and the flame his divinity. Up to six can be lit, always at Sunday Mass, and a seventh can be used by a bishop celebrating in his own diocese.² In the course of the Renaissance, candleholders grew in richness, their stems, knobs for handling, drip pans, and prickets offering a host of design options. (The prickets in all six candles discussed here are modern additions.) Our pair would have stood at the ends of the altar if aligned horizontally with the others, unless the altar was stepped, in which case they would have been placed somewhat lower than the rest.



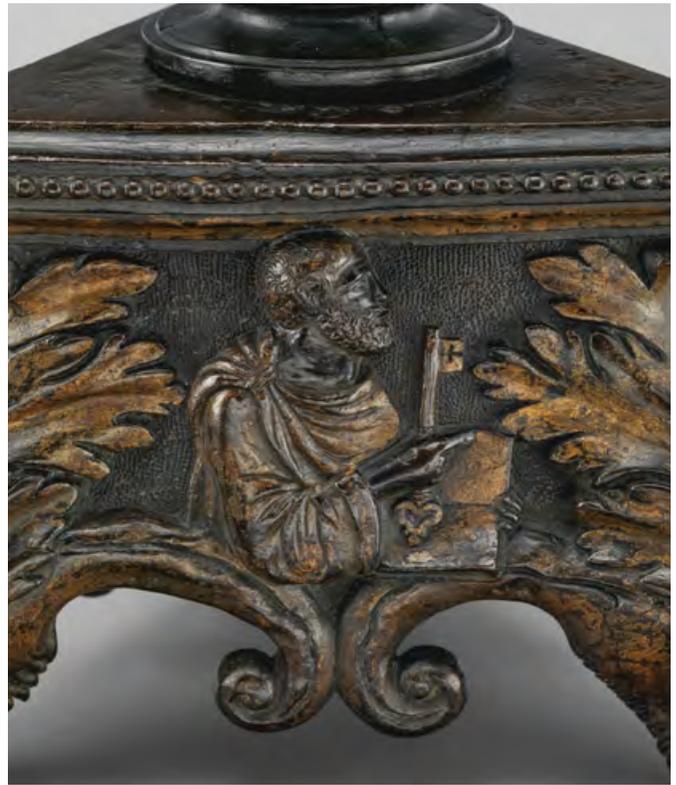
Fig. 88d. *Sleeping Hercules*. Probably Bologna, ca. 1500. Bronze; 4¾ × 14⅝ in. (12 × 37 cm). Wernher Collection, Ranger's House, London



The candlesticks are alike in their stately cadences and in their punched grounds and selective gilding, but their ornamentation has decided variations in all three cases, starting with their triangular bases. Those of our bronzes comprise acanthus resting on animals' paws; the Morgan candlesticks rise from sphinxes resting on smaller animals' paws; and the V&A's rest on horned dolphins. Otherwise they share classical motifs differently massed along their lengths: vertical arrangements of balusters in the shape of bundled acanthus leaves, knobby garlands, and gadroons. Both sets of New York candlesticks add masks and florets. It is uncommon to change the designs of candlesticks within a set, but the six must have achieved a fine visual balance in the distribution of their shapes and details, and in the application of their gilding. Having come on the market at roughly the same time, exhibiting identical features of casting (as in the flaws atop the triangular elements, barely retouched by chiseling), and illustrating as they do the Evangelists and the two Church Fathers, there can be little doubt that the group formed a coherent sextet.

It has not proven possible to trace their origins or establish their authorship. An assumption that they are Venetian rests on similarities between their rather blunt High Renaissance ornamental and figural styles and those of the friezes on the flagpole stands in Piazza San Marco by Alessandro Leopardi, with their vivid enactments of sea *thiasoi*. Curiously, smaller decorative sculptures by Leopardi or his workshop have not been solidly identified,³ and there is a general feeling among scholars that the candlesticks date to after Leopardi's death in 1522/23. The attribution to Vincenzo Grandi or his nephew Gian Gerolamo Grandi, active in Padua and especially well seen in Trent, proposed by Wolfram Koeppel and Michelangelo Lupo has not stood the test of time. Koeppel and Lupo have the merit, however, of identifying the style of the set with that of yet another pair of candlesticks, in Trent's Cathedral of San Vigilio, still in use in its Chapel of the Crucifix. Their sphinx-and-acanthus bases are virtually identical to those in the Morgan pair.⁴ Architectural images of the cathedral occur in the spaces occupied by saints on the six under discussion. The Grandi practiced in an altogether more original manner, with ornamentation that is far more svelte and crisply shaped than that of the candlesticks. Massimo Negri was wise to classify them simply as Venetian.

Koeppel and Lupo traced the classical inspiration of the candlesticks to the four Roman marble ones known throughout the Renaissance, restored in the time of Raphael, and now in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican Museums.⁵ The slenderer of the two ancient marble pairs particularly influenced the sphinxes on the feet of the Morgan bronzes and the elegant alternation of balusters and horizontal accents of all six bronze candlesticks under discussion. The ancient designs could have been disseminated all over Italy through eagerly consulted drawings. Saint Matthew's angel at the Morgan may



strike a specifically Paduan note, being highly reminiscent of Donatello's on the altar of Saint Anthony in the Basilica di Sant'Antonio, Padua.⁶ Nothing has emerged, alas, to support Wilhelm von Bode's claim that they came "from a church in Milan" via "Count Mocenigo."⁷ JDD

PROVENANCE: [Lowengard, London]; J. Pierpont Morgan, London (by 1907–d. 1913); his bequest to the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (until 1973; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, pl. CCLI (as Florentine, first half of the 16th century); Bode 1910, vol. 2, pp. 1–2, nos. 110, 111 (to Benedetto da Rovezzano); James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 247 (to workshop of Alessandro Leopardi); Wolfram Koeppel and Michelangelo Lupo in Dal Prà 1993, pp. 375–76 (to Vincenzo or Gian Gerolamo Grandi); Francesca de Gramatica in Padua 2001, cat. 76 (to Grandi); Negri 2014, pp. 151–53 (to Venetian school)

NOTES

1. Morgan, AZ035.1–2; V&A, M.700–1910. 2. "The Different Forms of Celebrating Mass: Mass with a Congregation," ch. IV.I of *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 2005). 3. See Jestaz 1982 for some well-considered attempts, as well as his photographic coverage of the flagpole's friezes. Leopardi is best known as the founder of Verrocchio's equestrian monument to Bartolomeo Colleoni in the Campo di Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. 4. Dal Prà 1993, p. 375; Negri 2014, p. 151. 5. See Vatican 1984, pp. 97–99, cats. 59–60. 6. Janson 1957, vol. 1, pl. 264. 7. Bode 1910, vol. 2, nos. 110, 111. He did not explain how he obtained the information. The V&A Metalwork Department's files say that it was supplied by Durlacher Brothers, presumably Salt- ing's dealer. Luigi Mocenigo was doge as Alvise I Mocenigo from 1570 to 1577. All the candelabra apparently predate his death.

Sagittarius and Capricorn

Annibale Fontana (Milan 1540–1587 Milan)

Milan, 1582

Bronze

Sagittarius: 7 × 8¾ × 2¼ in. (17.8 × 22.2 × 5.7 cm);

Capricorn: 6½ × 7¾ × 1⅞ in. (16.5 × 20 × 4.8 cm)

Sagittarius incised at upper left (now largely effaced):

F.CIT A° [. .] 2

Purchase, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Fund, 2004

(2004.440.2, .1)

The present writer, attracted by the finesse of their execution and curious about the remains of a signature and date, presented this pair of reliefs for acquisition as by a follower of the

Venetian Alessandro Leopardi, mainly on account of their ring-punched grounds, stamped into the wax before casting. However, it has since become clear that punchwork was not limited to Venice but potentially part of any sculptor/founder's arsenal. Szilvia Bodnár, curator of drawings at the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest, recognized that the reliefs occur among watercolor copies of works in the distinguished Fejérváry-Pulszky collection in mid-nineteenth-century Hungary.¹ Painting with a gray-green wash, the painstaking watercolorist otherwise studiously ignored the traces of signature and date at the upper left of the *Sagittarius*, for the collectors were convinced their reliefs were Greco-Roman: no Anno Domini for them! Bodnár immersed herself deeply in matters zodiacal. Normally a zodiac presents the signs on a band reading right to left, so that Capricorn follows Sagittarius. That is not the case



here, for the centaur's spear tip continues visibly below the sea-goat's curvaceous tail. Bodnár kindly assured us, in conversation, that the direction is not inevitable but leaves room for artistic license.

The irregular sides of both reliefs were later cut and sawn, not broken from a cylinder of metal. The impact on the figures when they were wrenched from the object they originally decorated was considerable, but they remain largely intact except for the centaur's right arm and foreleg. The *Capricorn's* horns may always have been slightly bent. Later modifications include the odd tapering holes, presumably performed with a spade bit.² Four were drilled into the *Sagittarius* and three, slightly smaller, into the *Capricorn*. Additionally, the *Sagittarius* shows two smaller plugs, visible only in back and expertly fitted and flattened. In view of the propinquity of the two signs—and if

all houses of the zodiac were represented in the design—a huge ring with a height of 16.5 cm, a diameter of 78.7 cm, and a circumference of 248.9 cm would have been required to accommodate all twelve.³ These and other considerations prompted Bodnár to project a belt encircling a celestial globe that would have been held aloft by a colossal standing bronze statue of Atlas or Hercules.⁴

Most of these speculations were dashed in the wake of the appearance at auction in 2000 of a bronze dragon, now in a private European collection (fig. 90a).⁵ Hideously slithery yet strangely ingratiating, it bears the incised signature and date “Ae. F.a F.cit A° 1582,” which the auction house interpreted as an abbreviated signature of the engaging Milanese Mannerist Annibale Fontana, of which there can be no doubt. As for the lettering, in spite of the near-obliteration of the inscription on





Fig. 90a. Annibale Fontana, *Dragon*, 1582. Bronze; L. 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (73.5 cm). Private collection

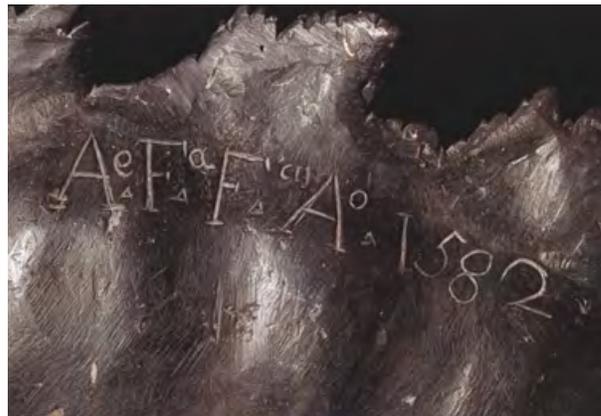
our *Sagittarius*, there seems a perfect congruity between what remains of it and that on the monster, down to the two top-heavy “2”s that close the dates of both (figs. 90b–c). The *Dragon* retains its warm, lustrous patina. Its interior is channeled for the passage of water, it has a red-painted metal apple in its mouth, and it arrived at Sotheby’s with a separately cast, wiggly little tail; it is thus a two-tailed monster, the proper right appendage remaining intact below its horny chin.

In 2008, Susanna Zanuso, in a scholarly tour de force, reconstructed the history and meaning of the astrological signs and the dragon. The latter is the armorial device of Pope

Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85) and in his case was always a benevolent creature, signifying the “vigilant custodian of religion.”⁶ This Christian allegorization was borrowed from the myth of the Garden of the Hesperides, which that dragon, called Ladon, guarded zealously and sleeplessly.⁷ Not incidentally, Gregory’s name in Greek signifies “alert.”⁸ Zanuso proceeded to inform us that the *Dragon*, *Sagittarius*, and *Capricorn* bronzes all ornamented a marble wall fountain that was still in situ in the courtyard of the old Palazzo di Brera, Milan, in 1765, long before it became the eminent picture gallery. Back then, it was the headquarters of the Jesuit order and its teaching establishments, patronized by Gregory XIII. Zanuso published an anonymous account from near that time that describes the fountain’s context and decoration:

The courtyard has a large staircase. On the ground floor in the middle of the staircase there is a large statue of the Blessed Virgin placed above the tall structure like a pedestal with side doors for entrance into the corridor of the college to the courtyard of the schools, and in front of this ostensible pedestal is a basin in a niche with a marble globe above, crossed over by a band representing signs of the Zodiac among which the Aquarius pours water powered by a pump, constructed particularly for the use of the scholars but agreeable in construction.⁹

By 1811, the marble Virgin, deemed bad (*cattiva*) and poorly executed (*mal condotta*), was removed from the ensemble.¹⁰ Its location is unknown. Only the marble basin remained. In 1841, the *Dragon* embellished a space at the villa of Monasterolo, near Vaprio d’Adda, belonging to the eclectic collector Count Cesare Castelbarco. It was called “the maritime room, with ornaments of sea subjects,” including a statue of Neptune, while “a bronze dragon of the sixteenth century by Annibale Fontana pours water,” and there was also a “superb Etruscan vase unearthed at Pompeii with rather praiseworthy low reliefs.”¹¹ The *Dragon*, presumably sold, had by then also parted company with the zodiac elements, which were next heard of in Hungary.



Far left: Fig. 90b. Detail of cat. 90 showing the signature

Left: Fig. 90c. Detail of fig. 90a, showing signature and date

Marble wall fountains with bronze trimmings were a Milanese specialty for a time. This one may be the earliest in a series. Cardinal Federico Borromeo hoped another would be provided for the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia by the selfsame Annibale Fontana, but by September 1587, the cardinal was saddened by the illness of “Master Annibale,” who died November 1 of that year and so cannot have made much progress on it.¹² Fountains dating from about 1610–11 by Bernardo Paranchino in the sacristy of Santa Maria presso San Celso, Milan, give an idea of the type inspired by Fontana.¹³ Both display dragons more upright and “normal” than the one under discussion, and no zodiac signs. Zanuso offers a drawn reconstruction of the Brera fountain that is reasonably convincing, perhaps even especially so because of its slightly ludicrous effect (the *Dragon* surmounts a ball instead of being placed below it and sports an extra little tail that pokes through it at bottom) but does not take into account an *Aquarius* as cited in the quotation above.¹⁴ Since that text says the orb with the zodiac was in a niche, it is more than possible that those responsible realized that a full band of signs would not be visible and hence provided only three. They would have had the correct zodiacal order, only in reverse: Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius. Without a visual record, it is impossible to say whether the design was symmetrical or asymmetrical.

Whatever the configuration, our *Capricorn* surely had pride of place, for Gregory XIII (born Ugo Boncompagni in Bologna on January 7, 1502, according to the Julian calendar, sixteen days later according to the Gregorian calendar, which corrected and replaced it) was himself a through-and-through Capricorn, born under that sign with both his sun and his moon in the same house. Most persuasively, Zanuso established that the Brera fountain formed a monument heralding the most significant achievement of Gregory’s reign in the eyes of his contemporaries: the promulgation in 1582, the same year as our reliefs, of the calendar that bears his name.¹⁵ JDD

PROVENANCE: fountain in the convent and schools of the Society of Jesus, Palazzo di Brera, Milan, first recorded in 1765 (until 1811); [Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1863), Vienna]; Gábor Fejérváry (1780–1851) and his nephew Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897), Hungary (from 1846; sale, Phillips, London and Paris, May 1868); Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890), Paris; (sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, January 9–12, 1929, lot 393, as by “Pietro Tacca, from the Spitzer legacies”); [Emmanuel Tiliakos, Boston]; [Michael Hall Fine Art, New York, by 2002; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: James David Draper in MMA 2005, p. 17; Bodnár 2007; Zanuso 2008a, pp. 115–16

NOTES

1. For the watercolors, see Szentesi and Szilágyi 2005. 2. According to Richard Stone, the modern twist drill only began to replace the spade bit in the second half of the nineteenth century. 3. These estimated measurements would allow for a width of around 20.3 cm for each of the twelve signs of the zodiac. R. Stone/TR, September 29, 2004. 4. Bodnár 2007, figs. 13, 14, illustrates two bronze statuettes of *Hercules*

Supporting the Heavens attributed to Ferdinando Tacca. 5. Sotheby’s, London, December 13, 2000, lot 44. 6. Zanuso 2008a, p. 113. 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 113–14. Virtually everybody knew the meaning of the armorial dragon of the Boncompagni family, that of Gregory XIII, propagated through endless engravings such as Zanuso’s figs. 142, 144, and 145. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 114. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 112, quoting an anonymous manuscript datable after 1765, *Dettaglio del fabbricato del Collegio di Brera*, Archivio di Stato Milano, *Culto* folder 1745, fasc. 30: “Il cortile delle scuole ha un grande scalone . . . A pianterreno in mezzo allo scalone c’è grande statua della B.Vergine collocata sopra la costruzione alta come di piedestallo con portine laterali d’ingresso dal corridore del collegio al cortile delle scuole, e avanti l’apparente piedestallo c’è vasca con sopra globo di marmo in nicchia [*sic*] attraversato con fascia di bronzo rappresentante segni del Zodiaco tra quali l’acquario versa acqua tratta con tromba costrutta particolarmente per uso delli scolari [*sic*] e però di costruzione agevole.” Pace Zanuso, the word “acquario” following upon “segni del Zodiaco tra quali” must signify Aquarius rather than fountain. 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113. 11. *Ibid.*, p. 110, quoting *Descrizione di Milano e de’ principali suoi contorni di città, ville, delizie e luoghi notevoli* (Milan, 1841), p. 221. 12. *Ibid.*, p. 108. 13. *Ibid.*, figs. 135–37. 14. *Ibid.*, fig. 147. 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–15.

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Male Term Figure

Italy or possibly France, late 17th century

Bronze

21½ × 8½ × 4½ in. (53.7 × 21.9 × 11.7 cm)

Bequest of Edward C. Post, 1930 (30.58.24)

At least three casts of this figure exist. That in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, known since 1806, was attributed by Leo Planiscig to the highly gifted Milanese Annibale Fontana (see [cat. 90](#)).¹ Notes in The Met’s object files reflect curator James Rorimer’s belief that the Vienna bronze was “probably an aftercast of [the museum’s], as it is somewhat smaller in size, and our piece has the original clay from the firing.” Our bronze came with Emilie Thorn Post’s recollection that, until her father-in-law bought it in 1854, it had been paired with a “female caryatid.” The latter, she said, was “acquired for the Demidoff collection in 1854.” It has left no trace. The two had embellished “a mantelpiece in a palace torn down immediately afterwards. Leonardo’s Cartoons were in this palace and I understood that the fireplace was in the Hall of his paintings.”²

For Hans Weihrauch, ours is a replica of the Vienna bronze, which he too attributed to Fontana while illustrating the third known example, then on the London market, subsequently with Patricia Wengraf, and now in a private collection. In a dossier she kindly shared in 2010, Wengraf opined that her bronze was by Alessandro Vittoria working with Agostino Rubini. The three are virtually identical in facture and in pose—all looking over their right shoulders.³ It is doubtful that they can be Italian. Certainly, they do not communicate Fontana’s elegance or Vittoria’s rich plasticity. Just two traits contradict the idea: the superficial, raised V-shaped veins on the hands and



the discontinued hem of the drapery. It is also queer that no corresponding pendant, leaning in the opposite direction, survives (unless we are to trust Mrs. Post). It is possible that these casts belong instead to the world of seventeenth-century furniture mounts. JDD

PROVENANCE: said to have been bought by Wright E. Post in Florence, 1854; his son, Edward C. Post, New York and Newport, R.I. (until d. 1915); his widow, Emilie Thorn Post, Newport (until 1930; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Kris 1930, p. 245 n. 1 (as “very likely by Annibale Fontana”); MMA 1930, p. 163, fig. 1 (as Italian, 16th century); Weihrauch 1967, p. 508 n. 293 (to Fontana)

NOTES

1. Planiscig 1919, p. 147, no. 232. 2. Letter from Emilie Thorn Post to Joseph Breck, May 15, 1930, MMA Archives (P842); MMA 1930, p. 163. 3. Ours was cast in a quaternary alloy of copper, zinc, tin, and lead with trace impurities. The wax appears to have been produced pressing into an open piece-mold and inserting the pinkish “Paduan” clay core. The right arm is hollow, and there is evidence of the use of square cut core pins. R. Stone/TR, 2012.

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Mercury and Cupid

Francesco Fanelli (Florence 1577–after 1657?)

Late 1630s

Bronze

Height 31 in. (78.7 cm)

Gift of The Quentin Foundation, 2021 (2021.76)

Born and trained in Florence, Francesco Fanelli established his family workshop in Genoa (1605–30). His wide-ranging talents as a designer, marble carver, and bronze founder caught the attention of a youthful English court eager to elevate its prestige with lavish artistic commissions in the novel Baroque style. In 1632, at the height of his career, Fanelli settled in London and was awarded a pension from Charles I, who appointed him royal sculptor three years later.¹ During his eight years of service (1632–39), Fanelli worked on a variety of sculptural projects large and small for the king and important noble patrons. George Vertue credited the sculptor for popularizing the Italian art of the bronze statuette in England, noting that he “had a particular genius for these works,” which were “sett on Tables cupboards [and] shelves by way of Ornament.”² The Met holds a number of the diminutive collector’s cabinet statuettes for which Fanelli is still best known, including the *Adonis* (cat. 94), *Venus* (p. 274, fig. 94a), *Galloping Horse* (cat. 95), and *Cupid on Horseback*.³ However, no other bronze figure group attributed to Fanelli approaches the compositional complexity, sheer invention, artistic quality, and imposing dimensions of the *Mercury and Cupid*.

Here, Fanelli theatrically animated an episode from Apuleius’s bawdy ancient Roman novel *The Golden Ass*.⁴ Mercury





is poised at the instant of flight, balancing one winged foot on a cloudbank and kicking outward with the other. As three puffy-cheeked wind gods gust Mercury skyward, a tiny infant Cupid squirming on the cloud grabs at his legs, desperately attempting to thwart the liftoff. The god of love's comically ineffectual struggle merely earns Mercury's amused backward glance. And with trumpet in hand, the messenger god inexorably rotates upward to make his fateful announcement: Cupid's beautiful mortal lover Psyche must return to his jealous mother Venus. Although Apuleius's novel of the star-crossed affair between Cupid and Psyche was popular in European Renaissance courts and the subject of major fresco cycles by Raphael (Villa Farnesina, Rome) and Giulio Romano (Palazzo Te, Mantua), it rarely occurs in sculpture.

The *Mercury and Cupid* is a relatively recent discovery. When introduced at auction in 1985, the group was identified generically as "17th century." In 1992, based on style and facture, Patricia Wengraf assigned the bronze to Fanelli and dated it to his English period. Its inclusion in internationally important scholarly exhibitions has secured general acceptance of Wengraf's attribution.⁵ Claudia Quentin acquired the group shortly after seeing it in the landmark show *Von allen Seiten schön* of 1995. It was the first important bronze that she purchased, and the work's rarity, quality, and sensuous beauty are the touchstones that inspired her decades-long acquisition of statuettes that today form a renowned collection.⁶ In 2021, The Quentin Foundation generously gifted the work to The Met. Only two other casts of the *Mercury and Cupid* are extant. One is a nineteenth-century bronze in the Hermitage.⁷ The other, a *Mercury* lacking the Cupid and base (present location unknown), was formerly in the collection of Edgard Stern, Paris, and restituted in 1946 to Edgard's wife Marguerite Fould.⁸

Exceptionally well preserved, the *Mercury and Cupid* has survived intact, retaining all of its original elements and most of its lustrous black surface patina. The figure group was cast in sections using the lost-wax method.⁹ Upon close inspection, casting flaws and repairs are visible, for example at the joins connecting Mercury's legs to the torso and the upper arms to the shoulders. The original black patina applied over the bright brass-colored metal was intended to hide these indications of facture. The combination of yellowish base metal with obscuring black varnish, or paint, is characteristic of the bronzes Fanelli created while he served at the court of Charles I. Abraham van der Doort's 1639 inventory of the king's goods, for example, records one of Fanelli's five statuettes in the royal collection as having been made "in brasse beeing wth vernish blackt over . . ."¹⁰ As is typical of Fanelli's English sculptures, the *Mercury and Cupid* is minimally tooled in the metal. The smooth silken forms of the nude figures, clouds, and winds, as well as sharply incised details such as the feathered wings, were highly finished in the wax and cast directly in the bronze.



The bronze's ambitious size and sweeping forms closely relate to Fanelli's large-scale sculptures. His designs of around 1639 for the statues ornamenting fountains in the *Varie architettura*, for example, share the same figure types, dynamic rotational energy, and elegant wit sublimely expressed in the *Mercury and Cupid*.¹¹ The distinctive wavelike crest on Mercury's ornate helmet occurs again ridging the armored shoulder pieces (pauldrons) on Fanelli's bronze bust of Charles I (ca. 1635–40).¹² The *Mercury and Cupid* also shares formal elements with Fanelli's small-scale statuettes. Cupid's round, squinting features are characteristic of Fanelli's lively putti. Mercury's heavy eyelids and pouty mouth recall those of the *David and Goliath* (cat. 93) and the *Adonis*.¹³ A version of the messenger god's masked helmet occurs on the numerous extant casts of *Saint George and the Dragon*. Fanelli likely reused his design for the face ornamenting the original wood base of one of these statuettes for the three wind gods embellishing the *Mercury and Cupid*.¹⁴

Van der Doort's inventory records a small "struggling mercurie standing upon one legg without streatched [with outstretched] armes like as if he were ready to fly . . ." ¹⁵ Wengraf associates this work with two bronze versions that are similar in subject but, according to the inventory dimensions, significantly smaller in size than The Met group.¹⁶ Two wax models of the small versions also survive.¹⁷ Significantly, near in height to these small examples is The Met's *David and Goliath*, which is a late cast of a lost Fanelli bronze recorded in the king's collection. Both royal cabinet sculptures expressed the king's preference for complex, elegantly rotating figure groups that are pleasing when viewed in the round. Because the large size of the *Mercury and Cupid* precludes its function as a cabinet sculpture, one must consider other possible contexts for which Fanelli might have made it.

The group's remarkable state of preservation indicates that it was always displayed indoors. The grand spiraling composition, exciting in sensuously luminous silhouette from every point of view, signals that Fanelli designed the *Mercury and Cupid* to be appreciated by viewers walking around it. These characteristics suggest it was intended for display in a large, imposing interior. It would have made an arresting centerpiece in one of the picture galleries that were coming into vogue at the Caroline court. The *Mercury and Cupid* might be related to a series of paintings depicting episodes from Apuleius's *Golden Ass* that Charles I commissioned for the Queen's House at Greenwich in 1630. *Cupid and Psyche* by Charles's court painter Anthony van Dyck is the only picture associated with the uncompleted series (fig. 92a).¹⁸ The resonance between Van Dyck's Cupid and Fanelli's Mercury is striking. Each artist memorably captures a divine winged, windblown youth with arms outstretched, poised on one foot at the liminal instants of landing and flight. In Genoa, Fanelli frequently collaborated with painters, and it is tempting to consider how he might have



Fig. 92a. Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), *Cupid and Psyche*, 1639–40. Oil on canvas; 78% × 75% in. (200.2 × 192.6 cm). Royal Collection, London (RCIN 405571)

done so in England. Van Dyck and Fanelli's vibrant treatment of their Apuleian subjects hints at a possible interchange between Charles I's premier sculptor and painter that contributed to the poetically charged artistic style developed over a brief decade (1630–41) during the king's reign. DA

PROVENANCE: (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 131);¹⁹ [Alex Wengraf Ltd]; The Quentin Foundation; to MMA

LITERATURE: Patricia Wengraf in Newcome-Schleier 1992, p. 238, cat. 129, fig. 129.1, pl. 128; Vertova 1993, pp. 52–53, fig. 25; Wengraf in Krahn 1995, pp. 410–11, cat. 133; Wengraf in Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, pp. 194–203, cat. 18; Penny 2004, p. 846; Wengraf 2004, pp. 36, 39; Burlington 2021, p. 1098

NOTES

1. For Fanelli's career in England, see Wengraf 2004; Stock 2004.
2. Vertova 1934, p. 110.
3. MMA, 1975.1.1400, modeled before 1639.
4. As cited in Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, pp. 202, 203 n. 25, the subject of *Mercury and Cupid* was first identified by Vertova 1993, pp. 52, 62.
5. Penny 2004, p. 846. For the exhibitions, see Krahn 1995; Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004.
6. Verbal communication from Mrs. Quentin.
7. Inv. 1187, H. 78 cm (Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 194).
8. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Datenbank zum "Central Collecting Point München," no. 11493, at https://www.dhm.de/datenbank/ccp/dhm_ccp.php?seite=6&is_fulltext=true&fulltext=merkur+bronze&suchen=Quick+search&modus=exakt.
9. The sculpture was produced from at least fifteen sections that were joined mechanically, by casting some sections on, or with soft solder. Radiographs show extensive porosity throughout, which was repaired with poured metal patches and numerous, carefully fitted threaded plugs that vary from a few mm to over

1 cm in diameter. L. Borsch/TR, February 11, 2021. **10.** Millar 1960, p. 93, item 14. **11.** Wengraf 2004, pp. 36, 39. **12.** V&A, A.3-1999. I should like to thank Simon Stock for this observation. **13.** Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, pp. 199–200, 202. **14.** Sotheby's, New York, June 1, 1991, lot 100; cited in *ibid.*, pp. 202, 203 n. 23. **15.** Millar 1960, p. 93, item 14. **16.** Galleria Giorgio Franchetti, Ca' d'Oro, Venice, CGF Br.255, H. 42 cm; *Mercury*, lacking the Cupid or base, formerly with Sotheby's, London, April 22, 1993, lot 54, H. 34.5 cm; see Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 194. **17.** Lankheit 1982, p. 156, no. 10, fig. 239. **18.** Lucy Whitaker in C. Lloyd 1998, pp. 34–35, cat. 2. **19.** The "Stern Collection, Frankfurt" provenance of a bronze *Mercury and Cupid* published in Lankheit 1982, p. 156, no. 10, was incorrectly associated by the cataloguer of the 1985 Sotheby's auction with The Met version and subsequently also in Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 194.

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David and Goliath
Workshop of Francesco Fanelli
(Florence 1577–after 1657?)

England, composition modeled in the 1630s,
17th-century cast
Bronze

17½ × 8¾ × 9¼ in. (44.5 × 22.2 × 23.5 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.117)

David surmounts Goliath and, bracing one knee on his shoulder, pulls the giant's head back by the hair as his sword arm stretches to its apogee for the death blow. Goliath is half-risen from the ground, mouth agape, eyes wide but unfocused, with the stone that felled him still "sunke into his forehead" (1 Samuel 17:49). The dynamic pyramidal group is known in only one comparable example, formerly in the Gustave de Rothschild collection, which was illustrated by Wilhelm von Bode and is sometimes confused with our bronze.¹ A smaller and more summary version in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, represents a later generation of the model.² The composition has been attributed to Baccio Bandinelli and Vincenzo de' Rossi, and more generally called Florentine from the decades around 1600.³ Anthony Radcliffe first raised the possibility of a connection to Francesco Fanelli in the late 1980s, when the artist's biography and oeuvre were coming into sharper focus, and Patricia Wengraf has since sustained the attribution and made persuasive comparisons with the *Mercury and Cupid* (cat. 92).⁴

In harsh judgment of the Rothschild version, which he employed as a foil to Giambologna's prowess, Bode described the *David and Goliath* as "little more than a meaningless tour de force, [whose] composition and treatment of form are devoid of taste, even of artistic feeling."⁵ We might mitigate such an assessment today and, in light of new knowledge of the artist, place the Linsky *David and Goliath* among the more inventive compositions and highly finished bronzes to have come from

the Fanelli workshop. Unlike most of the artist's single figures and groups,⁶ the *David and Goliath* successfully composes from more than one point of view. In this, it is similar only to the *Mercury and Cupid* and the most complex of his equestrian battle groups.

The model was probably made in England in the mid-1630s, after Fanelli had moved there from Genoa. He may have been summoned to execute bronze tomb sculptures for aristocratic patrons, and was retained by Charles I by 1632. In England, he seems to have found success quickly with his statuettes, which were collected widely among the upper tiers of society.⁷ David Howarth, citing Abraham van der Doort's 1639 inventory of the royal collection, observed that a *David and Goliath* was displayed on a windowsill in the Chair Room of Whitehall Palace along with some of Charles I's finest small bronzes and cabinet paintings.⁸ Considered in an English context, Fanelli's choice of composition gains in significance. The group acts out verbatim key passages from the King James translation of the Bible (1611), a recent publication at that time. "David ran and stood upon the Philistine, and tooke his sword, and drewe it out of the sheath, and slew him, and cut off his head therewith" (1 Samuel 17:51). Eschewing the victorious David more frequently represented by Italian artists (from Donatello and Mantegna to Caravaggio), Fanelli chose a moment at the height of action, after David had brought the giant to the ground with his stone and "stood upon" him, sword in hand, to deliver the death blow.⁹

Though the high quality of the cast likely indicates that our *David and Goliath* was made later than the works Fanelli himself produced in the 1630s, it is illustrative of an aesthetic of finish that unites the bronzes he was directly involved in making with those produced from his models subsequently in the workshop.¹⁰ It exhibits a Florentine innovation for making repairs and unifying the surface—threaded bronze plugs fill the holes left by casting flaws and the removal of core pins. Though it may have developed earlier, the "screw plug" was perfected in the years around 1600, probably by Antonio Susini, and is now considered a hallmark of the grand-ducal bronze workshops and of the refined surfaces of statuettes that issued from Giambologna's immediate followers (see, e.g., cat. 137). If the technique had been developed by the turn of the century, Fanelli could have learned it in the 1590s when he was in Florence apprenticed to Giovanni Bandini or shortly thereafter.¹¹ If the technique had not yet developed by the time Fanelli left Florence (by 1605), he might have studied the Giambologna bronzes in Charles I's collection, reverse-engineering the technique. A number of statuettes made in Giambologna's workshop a few years after his death were sent to Henry, prince of Wales, in 1612, and passed at his death later that year to his brother Charles.¹²

The screw plugs at first seem at odds with how Fanelli's facture is often characterized, that is, as deliberately lacking in





attention to surface detail. The statuettes almost never exhibit cold-working to strengthen lines or forms; surface details are all translated from the wax. On many casts, fissures and gaps in the surface—casting flaws—are not plugged with metal.¹³ While today’s response to this type of facture can be subdued, if not outright critical, in the seventeenth century, north of the Alps, Fanelli’s technique was praised precisely for the fact that he knew how to cast “metal images . . . so as to make them clean . . . so that it was not necessary to help the model further with carving or filing,” and his statuettes possessed qualities that made them desirable to a king and to fellow artists alike.¹⁴ Joachim von Sandrart, who himself owned “quite a few” of Fanelli’s statuettes, wrote some years after the artist’s death of the thinness of his casts and the absence of visible cold work, praising them as signs of virtuosity.¹⁵ In the *David and Goliath*, the lack of cold work, or the closeness of the finished bronze to its wax model, draws attention to itself. While the hair of both figures consists of massed bunches in deep relief, there are no indications of chasing. Perhaps most tellingly, rows of furrows made with a tool in the wax to delineate the separation of forms were left where Goliath’s thigh and buttocks meet the ground. The marks could have been easily smoothed with a hot knife before investing the model. Instead, they are left as a flourish to call attention to the origin of the bronze in its wax model. The screw plugs in the *David and Goliath*, though a significant intervention after the casting, serve to strengthen the appearance of an unchased—yet highly finished—cast; even today, the plugs remain almost invisible and the extent of their use only becomes apparent in radiographs. It could be that Fanelli’s waxy, “clean” surfaces, lacking in cold-working, were part of an aesthetic that he promoted during his lifetime, or at least that he was aware possessed a certain cachet. In his most important commissions, he took steps to preserve this quality, even while improving the finish of the cast (see [cat. 92](#)).

James David Draper, whose assessment of the group’s facture led him to look outside Italy for the origins of the bronze group, broached a Northern connection by tracing the composition in eighteenth-century England.¹⁶ That we now know Fanelli’s *David and Goliath* was a prized sculpture in England in the 1630s helps to explain its continued resonance there, alongside the more canonical compositions of Giambologna, into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. PJB

PROVENANCE: possibly Royal Collection, Whitehall Palace (by 1639);¹⁷ (possible sale, November 18, 1651; reserved by De Critz);¹⁸ Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1955, pp. 243, 259; Pope-Hennessy 1963, p. 63; James David Draper in Linsky 1984, pp. 156–57, no. 72; Michael Liebmann in Androsov et al. 1988, p. 66; Howarth 1989, p. 99; Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, pp. 200–202; Wengraf 2004, pp. 36–39

NOTES

1. Current location unknown; see Bode and Draper 1980, pl. 220. Liebmann (Androsov et al. 1988, p. 66) and Draper (Bode and Draper 1980, p. 107) mistakenly conflated the two bronzes, the latter correcting himself soon after our group came into the public eye (Linsky 1984, p. 157 n. 1). 2. Androsov et al. 1988, pp. 65–66, no. 30; the Moscow bronze is almost 10 cm shorter than our example and rests on a smooth rectangular bronze plinth, probably of later manufacture. 3. Valentiner 1955 (to Bandinelli); Pope-Hennessy 1963 (to de’ Rossi); Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, pl. CCXX (as “Italian Master, about 1570”); Bode and Draper 1980, p. 107 (as “possibly Florentine, 17th century”); Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 156 (as “16th-century Florentine”). 4. Correspondence in ESDA/OF; Howarth 1989, p. 112 n. 135; Wengraf 2004, pp. 36, 39. 5. Bode and Draper 1980, p. 72. 6. For example, *Venus, Adonis and Cupid*, V&A, A.96-1956 (Howarth 1989, p. 100); most of the *Saint George* groups; and even the ubiquitous *Galloping Horse* statuettes, for which see [cat. 95](#). 7. Stock 2004; Wengraf 2004; Schmidt 2004. 8. Howarth 1989, pp. 99, 112 n. 135. 9. The outstanding Renaissance depiction prefiguring Fanelli’s narrative choice is Michelangelo’s on the Sistine ceiling. 10. Radiographs indicate that the group was cast in one piece, with thin, even walls and very little porosity. A plaster core was held in place with multiple transfixing core pins, and wax-to-wax joins were limited to the joins between the figures. R. Stone/TR, June 22, 2011. 11. Wengraf 2004, p. 31. 12. K. Watson and Avery 1973. 13. See, for example, [cats. 95](#) and [96](#), although it is possible these were originally filled with a less durable material, like wax. 14. Sandrart 1925, p. 235. 15. *Ibid.* 16. Linsky 1984, pp. 156–57. 17. The dimensions of the bronze listed in Abraham van der Doort’s 1639 inventory, 45.7 × 25.4 cm, are essentially those of the present bronze. See the related entry in *The Lost Collection of Charles I*, at <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/david-and-goliath-little-full-length>. However, recent analysis of the facture of Fanelli’s *Mercury and Cupid* suggests that the present bronze is a later cast from the Whitehall Palace model; see [cat. 92](#). 18. See the internet resource cited in note 17 for information from the 1972 Walpole Society transcription of Charles I’s posthumous sale inventories.

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Adonis (or Meleager?) Seated on a Boar After a model by Francesco Fanelli (Florence 1577–after 1657?)

England, ca. 1650

Bronze

Height 8 in. (20.3 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.100.77](#))

Anthony Radcliffe first proposed Francesco Fanelli as the author of this composition, which shows a young man asleep, leaning on his left hand, resting on a dead boar and accompanied by a canine companion.¹ The attribution has been largely accepted since, though this seventeenth-century dating was a far cry from those of early twentieth-century writers like Wilhelm von Bode or Leo Planiscig, who suggested quattrocento, even Paduan origins.² An intermediary attribution to Giovanni Bandini, first expressed by Eric Maclagan and upheld by John Pope-Hennessy, proved appealing based on Borghini’s 1584



description of lost statues of *Venus* and *Adonis*.³ However, stylistic comparisons and the subsequent emergence of Bandini's signed *Adonis* marble showing an entirely different composition moved the discussion from the master to his pupil Fanelli.⁴ Though the latter's artistic personality has only come into view in the last few decades, similarities like those between the sensitively described face of this youth and Fanelli's *Mercury and Cupid* (cat. 92) have helped solidify his oeuvre.⁵

Fanelli's composition was clearly popular, with related casts in the V&A, the Frick, the Walters Art Museum, the Smart Art Museum, and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, among others.⁶ Pope-Hennessy called The Met's bronze the finest of this group. Indeed, its casting is lively, with visible sprues unfiled and vigorous, hands-on modeling apparent. The interior shows uneven walls and a messy casting, distinguishing it from the *David and Goliath* in terms of facture (cat. 93). Lacking the finesse of



Fig. 94a. After a model by Francesco Fanelli, *Venus and Cupid, Seated on Dolphins*, possibly England, 17th–18th century. Bronze; H. 8 7/8 in. (22.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.3)

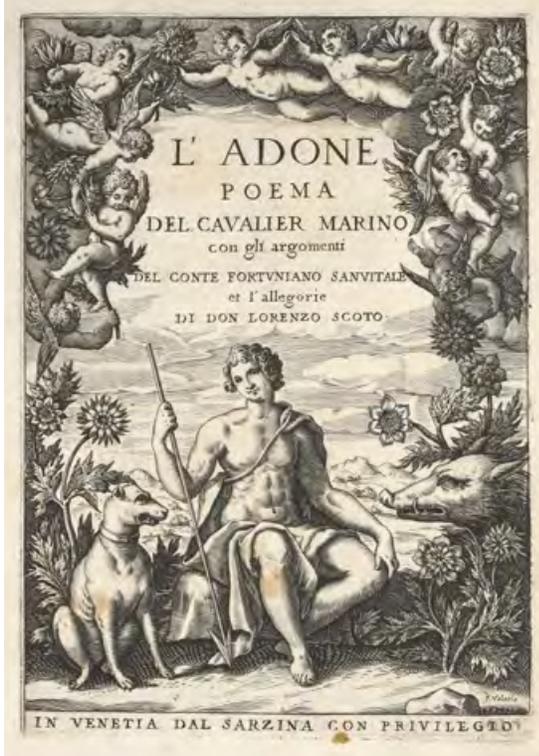


Fig. 94b. Title page of Giambattista Marino's *L'Adone*, 1623. Engraving; 8 1/4 × 5 1/4 in. (20.8 × 14.6 cm). British Museum, London (1901.1014.90)

Fanelli's best casts, our bronze should be dated closer to the mid-seventeenth century, after the sculptor had departed England.

Whether the figure is Meleager or Adonis has also been debated, as both were frequently shown with their boar and dog, and neither typically depicted in repose. For much of the twentieth century, these works were identified as representing Adonis and thought of as reductions of Bandini's then-lost marble. A small statuette of Venus, a version of which is in The Met (fig. 94a), has frequently been considered a pendant to this composition. With the rediscovery of Bandini's *Adonis*, so unlike in appearance to the bronzes, the proposal of Meleager as subject gained steam.⁷

In conjunction with the attribution to Fanelli and the sei-cento dating, it seems to me Adonis is indeed the likely subject. In 1623, Giambattista Marino published the influential *Adone*, an epic poem composed of more than 40,000 verses; the title page of the first edition shows Adonis in a similar pose (albeit awake), accompanied by his boar and dog (fig. 94b). Denise Allen has suggested a link between Fanelli's *Mercury and Cupid* and Anthony van Dyck's *Cupid and Psyche* for Charles I, the only extant painting for a cycle based on stories from Apuleius's *Golden Ass* (see cat. 92). The biographer Giovanni Pietro Bellori records an *Adonis and Venus Asleep* that Van Dyck painted for Charles I, and it is tempting to think Fanelli's statuette may have been in dialogue with this lost work.⁸ One can note the correspondence between our figure's garments, including his boots, and those in other paintings of Adonis by Van Dyck.⁹ The mystery of the figure's identity, however, may never be fully resolved, and its ambiguity was not lost on contemporary viewers. A previously unknown description from the 1703 inventory of the marchese Ottavio Maria Lancellotti, probably the earliest extant mention of this composition, records "a bronze statuette, representing Adonis or Meleager with his dog and a boar, above a tree trunk also of bronze."¹⁰ JF

PROVENANCE: George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (until her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. L; Blumenthal 1943, n.p.; Frick 1954, pp. 46–47; Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 212, 214, 216; Alan P. Darr in Darr et al. 2002, p. 222

NOTES

1. As conveyed by oral communication recorded in Larsson 1992, p. 38, who further substantiated the attribution. 2. Bode 1908–12, vol. 1, p. xxxvi, vol. 2, p. 9; Planiscig 1927, pp. 109–10. 3. Maclagan 1920, pp. 234, 239. 4. For Bandini's *Adonis*, see C. Avery 1994, p. 22. 5. See Patricia Wengraf in Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 202. 6. V&A, A.117-1910; Frick, 1916.2.29; Walters Art Museum, 54.444; Smart Art Museum, 2008.27; Nationalmuseum, NMSk 305. A finely modeled cast was with Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1991, lot 132. 7. See, for example, C. Avery 1994, pp. 22–23. 8. Bellori 1976 (1672), p. 281. 9. Jaffé 1990. 10. "... una statuette di bronzo, rappresenta Adone, o meleagro con il cane e il Porco sopra il tronco parimente di bronzo." Getty Provenance Index, Archival Inventory I-769, Item 0025b (Lancellotti).

Galloping Horse

After Francesco Fanelli
(Florence 1577–after 1657?)

Possibly England, second half of the 17th century

Bronze

5 × 7⁷/₈ × 2¹/₈ in. (12.7 × 20 × 7.3 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.113](#))

In 1984, James David Draper assigned this statuette of a galloping horse with raised forelegs to Francesco Fanelli, linking it to his output in the 1630s in England, where the Florentine sculptor and caster spent almost a decade as sculptor to the court of Charles I.¹ Draper argued that a “horse full gallop” mentioned in an inventory of Fanelli statuettes at Welbeck Abbey, compiled by antiquarian George Vertue in 1736, likely referred to a bronze of the same composition as *The Met*’s.² Indeed, the *Galloping Horse* bears a resemblance to the animal in Fanelli’s group *Cupid on a Horse* in the V&A, a version of which belonged to Charles I.³ Another example of the lone galloping horse, albeit sporting a more robust tail, is in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig.⁴ The latter is considered a cast after Fanelli’s model, a sensible attribution for our bronze as well.

Analysis by Richard Stone has revealed the excellent casting of the *Galloping Horse*, with its thin, even walls and minimal porosity.⁵ The tail was cast separately, and its unthreaded tang simply driven into a hole. FL

PROVENANCE: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 161, no. 75

NOTES

1. On Fanelli, see Stock 2004; Seitun 2018. 2. Draper also tentatively identified our bronze as the one sold at Sotheby’s, London, March 23, 1971, lot 81. The Welbeck statuette was in the collection of Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford; according to Vertue, it had originally belonged to William Cavendish (1592–1676), first duke of Newcastle and the great-grandfather of Henrietta, Harley’s wife. See Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 161; Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 204, cat. 19; Vertue 1934, p. 110. 3. V&A, A.37-1952; see Pope-Hennessy 1953; Howarth 1989, p. 94, no. 3, fig. 44. See also Warren 2016, vol. 2, p. 434, fig. 100.2. 4. Berger and Krahn 1994, p. 134, no. 96. An ivory *Galloping Horse* in Vienna, similar to the present one, has been tentatively ascribed to Leonhard Kern (Siebenmorgen 1988, p. 178, cat. 76). 5. R. Stone/TR, June 22, 2011.

Nessus and Dejanira

Possibly after a model by Francesco Fanelli
(Florence 1577–after 1657?)

Possibly Italy, possibly late 17th century or later cast

Bronze

10 × 7⁵/₈ × 3⁵/₈ in. (25.4 × 19.4 × 9.2 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.19](#))

In this dynamic composition, Dejanira, beloved of Hercules, is ravished by the galloping centaur Nessus. The subject is taken from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (9:101–33): the couple encounter Nessus the ferryman at the river Euenos; while carrying Dejanira across, the centaur attempts to rape her and is killed by Hercules. John Pope-Hennessy ascribed the prototype of this composition to Francesco Fanelli. A native of Florence, Fanelli worked in Genoa, then enjoyed a productive career as a sculptor and founder in England. According to Pope-Hennessy, a version in the V&A might be the “Centaur with a woman” listed in George Vertue’s 1736 inventory of Fanelli bronzes at Welbeck Abbey.¹ The model follows the example of Giambologna’s statuette of the same subject (see [cat. 131](#)). Here, however, the figures are much more acrobatic: the centaur simultaneously gallops in flight and struggles with his captive, who thrusts upward, creating both vertical and horizontal tension. Dejanira’s elongated body recalls Giambologna’s design for the *Abduction of a Sabine* (see [cats. 129, 135](#)). One might wonder if Antonio Tempesta’s 1606 print of the subject also influenced Fanelli’s conception.²

Apart from the V&A cast, several other versions of the model are known, all of which differ from ours in the position of the centaur’s tail: here it curls upward, in the others it turns sideways.³ This odd variation matches the position of the tail in a second group of *Nessus and Dejanira* statuettes whose exemplar is also attributed to Fanelli.⁴ The possible pastiche of two models, both ostensibly by the same sculptor, suggests that *The Met*’s bronze is a much later replica. In fact, the more energetic flick of the tail and its pronounced articulation are rather modern features.

Although Dejanira’s pinky finger is missing, and the overall craftsmanship is somewhat coarse, Richard Stone considers this group to be a “tour de force of ingenious casting.” It is composed of a zinc-rich brass, unlike the *David and Goliath* and *Galloping Horse* ([cats. 93, 95](#)), which are cast in similar tin bronzes.⁵ The dark brown patina is fairly opaque. The intertwining of the torsos complicated radiography, thus fabrication could not be precisely determined, but it would seem that the figures were worked up in the wax with separate cores, then joined together in the wax before casting in metal. The bronze base is likely a later cast. FL



Cat. 95

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. V&A, A.7-1953; see Vertue 1934, p. 110; Pope-Hennessy 1953; Wengraf 2004, p. 33. 2. MMA, 2012.136.425.4. 3. The other versions include Cleveland Museum of Art, 75.31 (Wixom 1975, cat. 151); Kunsthis-

torisches Museum, KK 9991 (Manfred Leithe Jasper in C. Avery et al. 1978, p. 160, cat. 67a); Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Bro 301 (Berger and Krahn 1994, pp. 135, 138-39, no. 99); and Sotheby's, New York, January 28, 2010, lot 293. 4. For example, V&A, A.6-1953; see Pope-Hennessy 1953, p. 161. 5. The zinc-rich composition (ca. 20% zinc) with only traces of tin could indicate that the sculpture was cast outside of Italy. R. Stone/TR, December 16, 2011.

Opposite: Cat. 96





Christ Bearing the Cross

Possibly by Francesco Fanelli
(Florence 1577–after 1657?)

Possibly Italy or England, mid-17th century

Bronze

6¾ × 9¾ × 1¾ in. (17.1 × 24.8 × 4.4 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.109](#))



This bronze relief represents Christ collapsing under the weight of the cross on the road to Golgotha, the place of his crucifixion, and specifically the moment when the Roman soldiers “seized a man, Simon of Cyrene, who was coming from the country, and they laid the cross on him, and made him carry it behind Jesus” (Luke 23:26). Along with the two protagonists at the center, twelve figures are arrayed across the packed rectangular space, including several armored soldiers in different poses, the weeping Virgin in the rear, and a male figure wearing a turban on the right. That the object was intended for private devotion is suggested by its small size and the dramatic composition designed to elicit empathy and compassion. The leftward thrust of the bodies leads the viewer’s eye to the central figures, inviting the devotee to identify with Simon as he assists Christ. Their faces are inclined at the same angle parallel to the diagonal of the crossbar. The forward motion is halted by the woman on the right whose back is turned to the scene as if it were too painful to witness, and our eyes circle back to the man at the left whose gaze again directs us to Christ’s suffering. Such a relief would have been perfectly suited to a mounting as a sort of predella under a precious cross (*croce da tavolo*), like the painted miniature of the same subject installed in the small altar donated by Pope Clement VIII to Vincenzo I Gonzaga in 1598 and now in the Museo Diocesano, Mantua.¹

At least three other versions of the relief are known, each of a slightly different size and shape: in the Minneapolis Institute of Art, the Spencer Museum of Art in Lawrence, Kansas, and the Wernher Collection at Luton Hoo.² The Met’s plaque is the finest, whereas those in Minneapolis and Lawrence exhibit a rougher finish. The model was first tentatively attributed to the Nuremberg sculptor Christoph Jamnitzer by Ulrich Middeldorf and Oswald Goetz, who noted, however, that “the proportions of the figures and the treatment of the detail point to a German familiar with Venetian art.”³ Anthony Radcliffe considered the model fully Florentine and ascribed it to Ferdinando Tacca, an attribution accepted by James David Draper, who published our bronze in 1984.⁴ Recent scholars have given the invention to Francesco Fanelli.⁵ The elongated figures and exoticizing touches such as the turban certainly can be related to other products by Fanelli and his workshop,⁶ though his style still eludes precise definition.⁷ Here, Christ’s dominating figure, wrapped in a large, flowing tunic, his

agonized face projecting from the surface into the viewer's space, might have been inspired by Alessandro Algardi's frequently copied rendition of the subject.⁸

Evidence in favor of the attribution of our plaque to Fanelli is the description of a bronze relief representing Christ carrying the cross as by "a sculptor of Genoa" in the inventory of the third duke of Alcalá (1583–1637). Fanelli, born in Florence, had indeed worked in Genoa. In the duke's inventory, the relief is paired with an *Adoration of the Magi* of the same size, several casts of which have been identified (and recently interpreted as an episode of the Flight into Egypt based on apocryphal gospels).⁹ Further support for Fanelli's authorship is provided in the 1689 inventory of the Genoan nobleman Vincenzo Spinola, which mentions "a bronze low relief by the Fiorentino [as Fanelli was nicknamed] representing Our Lord carrying the Cross to the Golgotha" that was mounted on a small wood altar decorated with wax figurines.¹⁰ This relief by "the Fiorentino" might be one of the versions of the present bronze.

According to Richard Stone, the reverse of our relief has numerous stubs of casting gates, indicating that it was likely cast face down.¹¹ The casting is of high quality, thin and quite

conformal. While virtually all Italian Renaissance bronzes contain traces of nickel, the conspicuously greater amount here suggests that the relief was not made in Italy. As is well known, Fanelli was active in both Flanders and England. FL

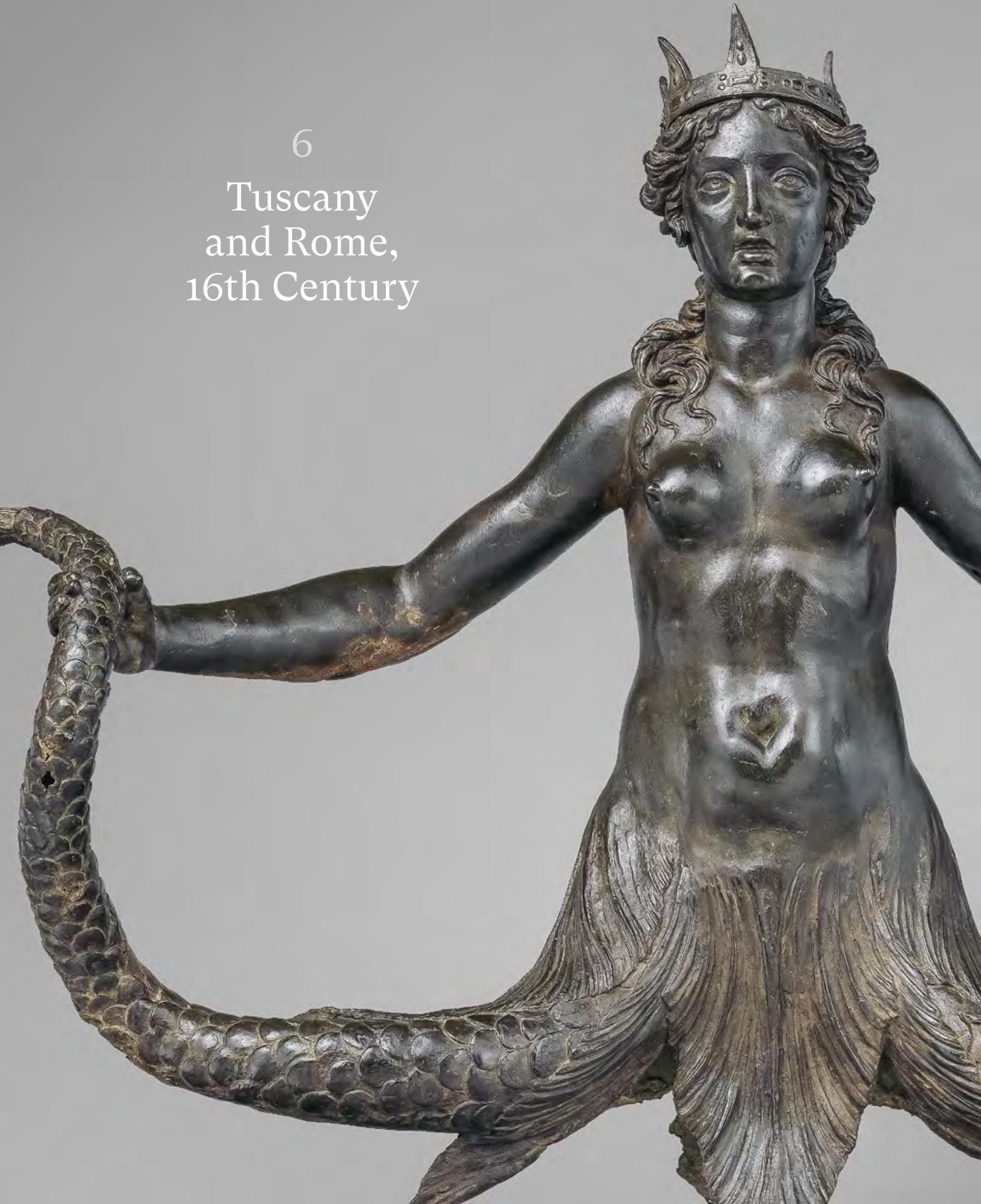
PROVENANCE: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, pp. 155–56, no. 71

NOTES

1. See Venturelli 2012, pp. 215–17, cat. 69. **2.** A fourth, less finished rectangular version was at Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2005, lot 65. **3.** Mid-deldorf and Goetz 1944, p. 53, no. 385. **4.** Radcliffe 1976, p. 23 n. 22. **5.** See Stock 2004, who mentions the version in Minneapolis. The other versions too are now attributed to Fanelli on the respective museum websites. Draper accepted the attribution in 2014 (ESDA/OF). **6.** I am thinking, for instance, of the elastic pose of the *Conversion of Saint Paul*, a small bronze attributed to Fanelli's workshop in Seitun 2018, p. 85. **7.** See Stock 2004; Sanguineti 2014; Seitun 2018. **8.** On Algardi's model, see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 322–24. **9.** See the pair of reliefs in the Minneapolis Institute of Art, 66.43.1, .2. Boccardo 2003, p. 318; Victoria Avery in V. Avery and Dillon 2002, pp. 172–75. **10.** Boccardo 2003, p. 319. **11.** R. Stone/TR, June 20, 2011. The relief was cast in a quaternary alloy of copper, zinc, tin, and lead.

6
Tuscany
and Rome,
16th Century



*Samson and the Philistines*After a model by Michelangelo Buonarroti
(Caprese 1475–1564 Rome)

Florence, ca. 1550

Bronze

14 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (37.8 × 18.1 × 15.9 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1444)

The statuette was acquired in 1957 by Irwin Untermyer, judge, attorney, and generous patron of The Met. A receipt for the purchase shows that Untermyer paid \$6,000 for a “very rare bronze” with an earlier provenance in the “collection of Baron Gustave de Rothschild.”¹ While not offering an attribution, the receipt refers to Wilhelm von Bode’s publication *Die italienischen Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance* (1907–12), which illustrates a similar cast in the Bargello believed to have been after a model by Michelangelo.

Yvonne Hackenbroch published the Untermyer bronze in 1958 and again in 1962 with an attribution to the Florentine sculptor Pierino da Vinci, informed by the judgments of Leo Planiscig and Adolfo Venturi on analogous bronzes.² Indeed, Giorgio Vasari wrote that Pierino studied “some sketches by Michelangelo of Samson slaying a Philistine with the jawbone of an ass.”³ Hackenbroch’s claim was refuted by John Pope-Hennessy and Anthony Radcliffe, who, avoiding an attribution to a single name, grouped our statuette with a corpus of technically and stylistically related bronzes.⁴ In this context, an alternative proposal linking this corpus to the work of Daniele da Volterra was also rejected, though the artist cites the composition in his *Massacre of the Innocents* painted for San Pietro in Selci, Volterra, and in a fresco of the same subject for Santissima Trinità dei Monti, Rome, both executed in the mid-1550s.⁵

In fact, our bronze is part of a group of thirteen sculptures of varying dates and authorship with similar themes, designs, and dimensions that engage closely with one of Michelangelo’s grand unrealized projects.⁶ A relationship has been established between this group of bronzes, which we will call the *Samson* corpus, and a terracotta model in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence.⁷ This model has usually been considered Michelangelo’s *primo pensiero* for a large-scale marble to be installed alongside his *David* in Piazza della Signoria. Beginning in 1506, he began exploring ideas for a group of wrestling figures. The concept grew more complex during the 1520s and in conjunction with the founding of the Second Florentine Republic, eventually including a tangle of three figures representing the biblical hero Samson with the two Philistines (according to Vasari).⁸ While the terracotta sketch comprises only a pair of adversaries, The Met’s inextricable knot of three fighters is based on a conceit of great formal audacity. The victorious

bearded man is Samson, identified by the jawbone of an ass held aloft in his right hand. A similar attribute appears in other works in the *Samson* corpus, for example those in the Frick and the Louvre, and one auctioned at Christie’s in 1990.⁹ This detail links the corpus to Michelangelo’s preparatory work for the large statue of Samson and the Philistines, and it is possible that the bronzes derive from a second model, now lost, developed by him during the long period of reflection around the monumental sculptural group destined for Piazza della Signoria.

Eike Schmidt compiled the evidence for this lineage by systematically collating all the derivations from Michelangelo’s project—graphic, painted, sculptural.¹⁰ In Schmidt’s analysis, the *Samson* corpus can be divided into two subgroups. The first, of which the exemplar is a statuette in the Bargello (286 B), is distinguished by a more sophisticated rendering of the figures and the dynamics of movement and countermovement. The second is marked by simplifications to the Bargello bronze’s design. Objects in this latter group are not variants per se, but rather reflect the type of modifications that are routinely made with the passing of time and in a chain of successive replicas.

The multiplication of copies attests to the fame of Michelangelo’s archetype, as do honorific references to it in works such as Federico Zuccari’s preparatory drawing for a portrait of Giambologna, depicting the sculptor holding the master’s model (1570s; National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh).¹¹ The model was copied in artists’ workshops, for instance in a well-known series of drawings by Tintoretto (or his studio) that analyze Michelangelo’s figures from multiple viewpoints. The presence of a support in some of these drawings suggests that the object of study was a plaster model and not a bronze.¹²

Schmidt rightly believes that The Met *Samson* was made in the sixteenth century and positions it close to the Bargello exemplar and another bronze from the corpus in the Bode-Museum.¹³ He thus implicitly endorses the high quality of our statuette claimed by Pope-Hennessy, who held it to be, together with the statuette in the Frick, one of the finest examples of the entire *Samson* group.

Richard Stone’s technical analysis of our bronze has shown the use of plaster for the core and investment, little evidence of wax-to-wax joins, and no signs of cold work on the surface.¹⁴ Its octagonal base contrasts with the rectangular one supporting the Frick bronze. For that matter, the variability of bases across the *Samson* corpus suggests that the model from which they originated did not have a support. TM

PROVENANCE: Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris; Irwin Untermyer, New York (1957–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Hackenbroch 1958, pp. 198, 201; Untermyer 1962, pp. xxv–xxvi, 16–17, figs. 51, 52; Pope-Hennessy 1963, p. 62; Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 186; Rosenberg 1981, p. 20; Binnebeke 1994, p. 162, no. 52; Schmidt 1996, pp. 84, 124 n. 32; Marciari 2018, pp. 102–3, 210 n. 35



NOTES

1. ESDA/OF. 2. For documentation, see Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 190, 194 nn. 11–13. 3. Vasari 1906, vol. 6, p. 128: “alcuni schizzi di Michelagnolo d’un Sansone che ammazzava un Filisteo con la mascella d’asino.” The importance of this passage in relationship to Michelangelo’s oeuvre is underlined in Schlosser 1913, pp. 108–10. 4. Pope-Hennessy 1963, p. 62; Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 190. See also Radcliffe 1966, pp. 73–74. 5. On this attribution, see Schmidt 1996, pp. 82, 120 n. 15. 6. The group includes the following: Bode-Museum, 2389 (Bode and Knapp 1904, p. 7, no. 260); Bargello, 99 B and 286 B; private collection, London (incomplete; see ESDA/OF); Frick, 1916.2.40 (Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 186–95); Louvre, Thiers 106; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, BEK 1132 (Binnebeke 1994, p. 162, no. 52); Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMSK 342 (Larsson 1992, pp. 48–49, no. 15); Woburn Abbey (C. Avery 1984, p. 99); ex-Alexandre de Frey collection, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 12–14, 1933, lot 137; Christie’s, London, May 15, 1984, lot 161; ex-Peter Gilbert collection, Christie’s East, New York, May 30, 1990, lot 144; Sotheby’s, London, July 4, 1991, lot 138 (already auctioned at Sotheby’s, London, July 14, 1977, lot 187). 7. Inv. 19; see <https://www.casabuonarroti.it/en/museum/collections/michelangelos-works/two-wrestlers/>. 8. Vasari 1906, vol. 6, p. 155. 9. See note 6. 10. Schmidt 1996. 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80, 104–9. 12. See, most recently, Marciari 2018, pp. 102–3, 210. 13. Schmidt 1996, p. 84. See note 6. 14. R. Stone/TR, May 24, 2011. Stone notes the presence of modern threading on screw plugs and considers the bronze a nineteenth-century cast of a damaged wax model.

— 99 —

Hercules and Cacus

Northern Europe (?), 19th century (?)

Bronze

19¼ × 8½ × 6½ in. (48.9 × 21.6 × 16.5 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931
([32.100.185](#))

Before entering the collection of Michael Friedsam, this *Hercules and Cacus* was sold at auction in April 1923 with the estate of William Salomon, a New York collector whose sumptuous home at 1020 Fifth Avenue was a treasure trove of important works such as Lorenzo di Credi’s *Portrait of a Young Man* today in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin. The statuette, attributed to Giambologna at the time, had once been owned by Jacques Seligmann, the well-known art dealer who worked between Europe and the United States. In his memoirs, Germain Seligman recalls Salomon as one of the collectors of bronzes, along with Henry Walters and Clarence Mackay, who frequented his father’s gallery at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹

Friedsam’s bequest to The Met of fifty or so bronzes included the present statuette; in 1932 it was installed in the museum’s galleries, assigned to a sixteenth-century Florentine artist, possibly Vincenzo Danti, inspired by ancient models.² Hans Weihrauch reevaluated the attribution in 1967, noting the bronze’s resemblance to “a preliminary design for Vincenzo de’ Rossi’s marble group of Hercules and Cacus, executed before

1568 for the Palazzo Vecchio,” a suggestion not met with particular favor in subsequent scholarship on de’ Rossi. The purported Florentine origin of the Friedsam *Hercules* was likely based on its compositional affinity with notable Tuscan precedents of figures in combat. These include the Michelangelesque *pensiero* for a Samson and the Philistines, replicated in a copious sequence of small-scale bronzes (see [cat. 98](#)); Giambologna’s monumental marble statue of the same subject executed between 1560 and 1562 (V&A); and Herculean figures from his workshop such as *Hercules Wielding His Club*—of which there is a fine example in the Bargello—and *Hercules Slaying the Hydra*, made in silver for the Tribuna degli Uffizi between 1578 and 1582, and to which is associated a wax model in the Palazzo Vecchio.³

Careful examination, however, challenges the notion of a Florentine provenance or even a sixteenth-century dating for our bronze. There is a peculiar slickness on the internal cavities visible from the underside. The support displays an atypical conformation to the figures’ bodies and poses. A grimacing *leontè* incongruously stretches out on the base, its claws hanging over the edge. The patina is inconsistent with those widely used in cinquecento Florence; indeed, the greenish brown “archaeological” coloring smacks of a deliberate attempt to mimic the effects of oxidation caused by long burial.

The complex zigzagging and intertwining of the figures of the demigod and his adversary in a chaotic struggle align the composition not with the aforementioned Tuscan groups but rather the centrifugal variations adopted by Northern artists on the theme of “victor and vanquished” produced from 1550 to 1650. Examples of these types include Willem van Tetrode’s *Hercules and Cacus* and Adriaen de Vries’s *Cain and Abel*, works clearly influenced by “Italianate” culture but nevertheless original in their formal solutions.⁴ Echoes of similar designs can be found in later casts, such as a *Hercules and Cacus* in the Fondation Bemberg, Toulouse, and another in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, as well as many more sculptures in various materials (from bronze to wood and ivory) on a timeline that would place them toward the end of the seventeenth century.⁵

The proliferation of kindred compositions, all attributed to German and Dutch artists,⁶ suggests that The Met’s bronze also comes from north of the Alps. And, given stylistic evidence such as the incongruous base and verdigris patina, one cannot rule out the possibility that it is a copy of a much older composition, perhaps lost or not yet identified. TM

PROVENANCE: [Jacques Seligmann, Paris; sold to Salomon]; William Salomon, New York (until 1923; sale, American Art Association, New York, April 4–7, 1923, lot 425; sold to Lewis & Simmons for \$2,600); [Lewis & Simmons, New York, from 1923]; Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: AAA 1923, p. 353, no. 425; MMA 1932, p. 60; Hackenbroch 1958, p. 201; Weihrauch 1967, p. 184



NOTES

1. Seligman 1961, p. 110. **2.** Friedsam Papers, MMA Archives. **3.** V&A, A.7-1954; Bargello, 362 B; Palazzo Vecchio, MCF-LOE 1933-4. For the latter two bronzes, see Serena Pini in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 182-85, cats. 13, 14. **4.** The Tetrode cast was auctioned at Sotheby's, New York, January 30, 2014, lot 116, and is now in the Hill collection;

versions of the de Vries bronze are in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (5492) and at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland (49). See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Scholten 1998, pp. 192-94, 230-31, cats. 29, 38. **5.** For the Bemberg bronze, see Cros 1996, pp. 137-40; for the one in Baltimore (54.248), see Spicer 1995, p. 27. **6.** Including Leonhard Kern and David Heschler; see Theuerkauff 1973, pp. 166-67.



Hercules and Cacus (?)
After Willem van Tetrode (?)
(Delft ca. 1525–1580 Westphalia)

Northern Europe, early 17th century or later copy

Bronze

14½ × 10 × 8 in. (35.9 × 25.4 × 20.3 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.310)

Though this bronze depicting a man brandishing a weapon (now lost) astride a defeated youth has been variously identified as Hercules and Cacus or Samson Slaying a Philistine, the absence of recognizable attributes precludes a precise iconographic reading. As with [cat. 99](#), one should more properly speak of a “victor and vanquished” pairing, a common compositional framework in early modern sculpture meant to convey a chain of actions and reactions between counterpoised figures. This conception was introduced during the first half of the sixteenth century by Florentine artists such as Michelangelo and Baccio Bandinelli in monumental creations like *The Genius of Victory* in the Palazzo Vecchio and the *Hercules and Cacus* in Piazza della Signoria, respectively.

The Blumenthal bronze entered The Met in 1941 described as a Hercules performing his tenth labor, which briefly served to sustain an attribution to Giambologna based on “thematic affinity.” His name was shortly replaced with a reference to an anonymous sixteenth-century artist from Central Italy. The object did not receive serious scholarly attention until 2004, when Dorothea Diemer embraced a hypothesis previously advanced by Hans Weihrauch for a similar cast in the Residenzmuseum, Munich, that he stated followed a prototype by Hubert Gerhard.¹ Weihrauch had included the Munich piece in a group of about forty bronzes held in the royal palace and made in the mid-seventeenth century that were likely cast from an earlier series now lost. Characterized by rough surfaces and awkward technique, the Munich bronzes were based on renowned models of ancient and modern statues. Diemer recognized the kinship between the New York and Munich statuettes, emphasizing the former’s superior casting and linking it to an unidentified invention ascribed to Gerhard.

A bronze of similar design and dimensions auctioned at Sotheby’s in 2014 can be added to this group. Once owned by Cyril Humphris, it was sold as a *Samson Slaying the Philistine* attributed to Willem van Tetrode, with no awareness of its correspondence to the New York and Munich sculptures.² In fact, this statuette, with its skillfully worked hair and veil covering the pudenda, might well be the earliest cast of the prototype known so far. If the absence of technical examination of the Munich bronze—described by Weihrauch as a “nachguss” (second cast)—does not permit a definitive conclusion, close study of our statuette indicates that it was likely a direct cast,

imprecisely executed with deficient knowledge of the casting process. Evidence of a pre-formed core built up from an irregular lump of plaster and numerous scraps of wire, over which the wax was modeled and cast directly,³ points to its function as a sketch of a composition that had wide appeal, perhaps due to a prestigious archetype. Frits Scholten believed the Sotheby’s bronze might derive from a *primo pensiero* produced in the late phase of Tetrode’s career, subsequent to his autograph models for *Hercules and the Centaur* (Robert H. Smith collection, Washington, D.C.) and *Hercules and Antaeus* (V&A), usually dated to the 1560s.⁴ In chronological terms, this anticipates the proposal by Diemer, who matched the Munich and New York works to Gerhard’s *Hercules, Nessus, and Dejanira* of around 1605 (Kunsthistorisches Museum). The sequence of the three casts remains speculative, however. TM

PROVENANCE: George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: New York 1923, p. 23, no. 74; Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. LV; Diemer 2004, vol. 1, p. 246, vol. 2, p. 163

NOTES

1. Residenzmuseum, ResMü.P.II.0014; see Weihrauch 1956, p. 231.
2. Sotheby’s, New York, January 30, 2014, lot 116.
3. The alloy is a leaded brass alloy with minor tin and the usual miscellaneous trace impurities. The use of brass as well as the pre-formed plaster core suggest the piece could be transalpine. R. Stone/TR, September 6, 2011.
4. Cited in the catalogue note for the Sotheby’s sale.

Christ and the Two Thieves Crucified
Followers of Michelangelo Buonarroti
(Caprese 1475–1564 Rome): *Christ* after a model
by Michelangelo; *Good Thief* after a model
possibly by Jacopo del Duca (Cefalù 1520–1604
Messina); *Bad Thief* after a model
probably by Michelangelo

Probably Rome, ca. 1560–70

Bronze

Christ: 10¾ × 8 × 1¾ in. (27.3 × 20.3 × 4.6 cm);

Good Thief: 9¾ × 7¼ × 2¾ in. (23.8 × 18.4 × 6 cm);

Bad Thief: 9½ × 8¾ × 2¾ in. (23.2 × 22.2 × 7.3 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1937 (37.28a–c)

The bronzes are unrecorded before 1899, by which time they were already mounted on modern metal crosses and stuck into a deplorable Golgotha base resting on couchant lions (fig. 101a).¹ Met curators Preston Remington and John Goldsmith Phillips had been sensitized to late Michelangelo: in the 1930s, the museum seriously contemplated acquiring first the *Palestrina Pietà*, the marble now in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence,







Fig. 101a. The figures with the Golgotha base with which they were acquired and into which they were sometimes inserted (MMA 37.28d)

no longer generally accepted as Michelangelo, and then his haunting *Rondanini Pietà*, the marble now in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan, but was stymied in both cases. Most writers have sensed Michelangelo's authority behind our bronzes despite their small size. Zaccaria Zacchi, a Tuscan hack proposed by Anderson Galleries in 1921, was a dead end.

According to scripture (Luke 23:33–43), Christ was crucified between two robbers. The wicked of the two cursed Jesus, but the other proclaimed Jesus's innocence and asked for his blessing. The latter thief, the "Good Thief," later known as Dysmas, is always positioned to Christ's right as a mark of favor. He is traditionally younger and beardless, his countenance directed toward Jesus. His counterpart, the impenitent

"Bad Thief," later styled Gesmas, is bearded, older, uglier, and often turns away from Christ, his body writhing. Christ is normally the tallest figure when just he and the thieves are shown together; an early occurrence is the celebrated wood panel on the doors of Santa Sabina, Rome, from about 430–35.² Popular imagery only rarely presents the three without witnesses, particularly as the scene expanded to include many participants, chief among them the Virgin Mary and Saint John.³ Some reenactments in painting, memorably the *Calvary* of Duccio's *Maestà* (Museo del Duomo, Siena) and Antonello da Messina's panel of 1475 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp), distinguish the three crucified ones by raising them on tall crosses and silhouetting them against the sky above the

rest of the company. Excerpting them from the busier narration, as here, seems to have been exceptional in sculpture and to have stemmed largely from Michelangelo's preoccupation with the subject of the Crucifixion in his last years. One painter who may have benefitted was Peter Paul Rubens, whose *Three Crosses* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam) is just that: the three figures alone, dramatically lit. Otherwise, it is untouched by the Michelangelesque statuettes, but the powerful arms and bulging proper left thigh of Dysmas may perhaps be sensed in Rubens's great *Crucifixion* painted for Antwerp in 1620 (now Musée des Augustins, Toulouse).⁴

The present trio differ from each other in physiological typology, style, and modeling. Christ is looser-limbed, relatively more svelte, and marginally taller than the thieves, and is more thinly and evenly cast.⁵ Totally nude, head sunk onto chest, his type is that of a *Cristo morto*. As seen in X-radiographs, for the *Christ* and the *Bad Thief*, the two halves of wax intermodels were joined at the waist; for the *Good Thief*, the joins are located between the arms and shoulders. All three bronzes contain extremely fine iron wire core pins, only about half a millimeter in diameter and locatable by magnet on the surface, where they have left rusty specks. The *Bad Thief* stands out from the others because of the allover stippling, apparently carried out with a small punch. The tin bronze alloy is the same in all three, as are the remains of dark paint. There is not enough rubbing on any figure to suggest a mode of attachment or display. None of the technical data helps determine the sequence of events that led to their assembly as a group or their original placement in relation to each other. Christ's arms stretch upward, his palms and feet pierced for suspension by nails. His body constitutes a *crux immissa* on a horizontal beam, as opposed to either of his companions' *crux commissa*, an upright cross to which each was bound rather than nailed. The thieves are portrayed as still alive, the one submissive, imploring; the other kicking angrily at his fate.

The pure, resigned character of the *Christ* recalls Michelangelo's early years, beginning with the wood corpus in Santo Spirito, Florence, and the dead Christ in his painted *Entombment* (National Gallery of Art, London).⁶ Their heads, tranquilly symmetrical, have descended little changed in the bronze. In his old age, Michelangelo was more than ever obsessed with the challenge of conveying the divine love expressed by the crucified. A sonnet of 1554 says it all: "There's no painting or sculpture now that quiets/The soul that's pointed toward that holy Love/That on the cross opened Its arms to take us."⁷ Equally Christocentric is a drawing of the nude Savior, armless and shown in cross section, in the Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille.⁸ In it, Michelangelo cogitates the same figure as our bronze, around which is shaped a study for a church portal. The musculature was elaborated in a famous drawing in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, which includes a profile cross section without a left arm.⁹ Among Michelangelo's more elaborate drawings of the dead Christ, one in the Royal Collection, Windsor, comes



Fig. 101b. Jacopo del Duca (1520–1604), *Crucifixion*, ca. 1564–68. Bronze. Certosa di San Lorenzo, Padula

closest to our model.¹⁰ The arms are at the same angle, and shading suggests momentary hesitation in moving the slightly sideward hips to a more frontal presentation. Michelangelo captured the same brilliant modeling of the statuette's taut abdominal cavity in a *Pietà* now in the Ashmolean.¹¹

The form of the corpus was literally transcribed in about the same scale, with an added perizonium, in the Golgotha relief installed on the large, complex tabernacle now in the Certosa di San Lorenzo at Padula, contracted from the Sicilian-born disciple of Michelangelo, Jacopo del Duca (fig. 101b).¹² He was at work with the master on the Porta Pia by 1562. The Padula tabernacle was ordered by Pius IV for the Roman church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Jacopo clearly had free



Fig. 101c. *The Bad Thief*. Rome, last quarter of the 16th century. Black chalk, pen, and brown ink; 10¼ × 4½ in. (26 × 11.6 cm). Teylers Museum, Haarlem (I 008)

access to the aged master's models and drawings for the tabernacle, which originally boasted lapis lazuli columns. Owing to expense, work on its bronzes stopped in 1565, to be resumed after 1568 with help from the little-known painter Jacopo Rocchetti.¹³ All eight of its reliefs have impoverished modeling as well as casting flaws, at variance with the technical mastery asserted by the cast elements of the tomb of Elena Savelli in San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, commissioned in 1570, in which Jacopo del Duca's role was that of architect, while his brother Ludovico, a known talent in bronze sculpture, modeled and cast the superlative bust and fittings.

The type of the corpus circulated chiefly in Spain in both bronze and silver, and whether ours was made in Rome or Spain is open to question.¹⁴ Its context is Roman, but the quality of modeling and casting, both crisp and fluid, brings it closer to numerous surviving silver copies in Spain. Each is about 22 cm in height and equipped with a perizonium, except for an entirely nude example that was in the collection of Manuel Gómez Moreno in 1930.¹⁵ Francisco Pacheco was the first to write about these copies in *Arte de la pintura*, published posthumously in 1649. According to Pacheco, it was an Italian goldsmith working in Seville, whom he called Juan Bautista Franconio, who brought a 30 cm bronze after Michelangelo's model from Rome in 1597. Pacheco polychromed the first of the casts in 1600 and gave it to Pablo de Céspedes, a prebendary of the Cathedral of Córdoba, who wore it around his neck.¹⁶ What interested Pacheco most was that the Michelangelo-Franconio corpus perpetuated a vision of Saint Bridget of Sweden, in which Jesus was nailed to the cross by four nails, his left ankle wrapped over his right, and that this devotional formation in turn influenced the great Sevillian sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés.¹⁷ Quite a few bronze corpora without attendant thieves survive, exhibiting varying degrees of Michelangelo influence, quality, and finish.¹⁸

In his rebellious attitude, our Gesmas, the Bad Thief, exhibits reasonably well-researched anatomy. His right arm is impossibly curved, though clearly in the interest of expression. He is balding, and the stippling gives him a more exciting surface than those of his companions. His twisted torso goes back to a quick sketch by Michelangelo in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence.¹⁹ In it, the arms are severed, raising the question of whether the master was already working from a wax or clay model. An unknown Michelangelo follower retained the pose of the two thieves while changing Christ's altogether in a drawing now in the Louvre.²⁰ Gesmas looks less wicked when youthful and beardless, as in an anonymous sixteenth-century drawing in the Teylers Museum (fig. 101c).²¹ The three-dimensional model, which we presume was by the master, was surely broken by this time, to judge by the severed arms. It circulated widely, probably in the form of armless plasters.²² Unimpressive torsos exist in bronze, in the Louvre, the Bode-Museum, the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, and elsewhere. Altogether lacking in detail, they increasingly have been relegated, rightly, to the nineteenth century.²³

One wonders whether late casts of Gesmas were authorized by the dealer Stefano Bardini when he owned our group. A poor cast is still in the Museo Bardini, Florence. Cataloguer Tommaso Rago errs in saying it is the same as ours, not realizing that the whole ex-Bardini group of three came to The Met together.²⁴ A chief difference is that the Museo Bardini figure retains cast-in ropes at the wrists and ankles.

There is no source in Michelangelo for our Dysmas. Instead, the weak modeling gives an impression of wax being

pinched like dough. The small head, heavily lidded eyes, stringy hair, inarticulate ribcage and limbs, and slovenly casting are met throughout the reliefs by Jacopo del Duca at Padula. Casts of this figure are not encountered apart from groups.

Plangent echoes of both thieves of our types, flanking a completely different Christ, are in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan (fig. 101d). The Milan *Christ*, more than a foot in height, again dominates, but the whole ensemble has more coherence and presence. This Savior is more massive, head slumped to the side, and wears a form-fitting perizonium, a type of “wet” drapery. His right foot now overlaps his left, both nailed through. The model of the Good Thief in Milan is now much clarified with a readable thorax and a yearning expression. Both thieves have integrally cast ropes.²⁵

The Milan group was exhibited with ours in Montreal in 1992, and both were well discussed in the 2011 Castello Sforzesco catalogue. Milan probably provided the entire context for the Castello Sforzesco bronzes. They are first recorded in the collection of the Milanese painter Giuseppe Bossi (d. 1815), who bequeathed them to the city’s Museo Patrio Archeologico.²⁶ It is highly likely that the casts as well as the compositions originated in Milan. A name to consider is Francesco Brambilla, or perhaps his immediate circle. Recent scholarship has increasingly clarified Brambilla’s oeuvre. If he did not cast small bronzes himself, he is the documented modeler of bronzes both large and small, all displaying much the same high center of gravity, the massive but clinging “wet” drapery of the Castello Sforzesco *Christ*, and the melodiously undulating hair. The *Risen Christ* on the tabernacle of the high altar in Milan Cathedral, cast according to Brambilla’s model in 1588, displays these traits.²⁷ They are even more pronounced in angels for the same altar, cast in 1598 by Giovanni Battista Busca based “on the model presented by Brambilla,” and in apparently posthumous statuettes of angels with instruments of the Passion on the tabernacle of the high altar of the Certosa di Pavia, cast by Annibale Busca in 1603–5.²⁸ In all these works, as in the Castello Sforzesco

Christ, the same delicacy of modeling and excellence of casting are in balance with Milanese Counter-Reformation corporeality and sobriety. The two thieves in Milan, while far less original, are to all appearances cast by the same founder as the *Christ*.

Volker Krahn published a previously unknown bronze group in the Hildesheim Cathedral Museum, in which thieves of the Milan type and close to the same size flank an altogether new, classically Baroque Christ, rising above the Virgin, the Magdalen, and Saint John, all on a modern Golgotha base reconstructed from an old photograph.²⁹ Krahn catalogues the ensemble as South German, second quarter of the seventeenth century. The main point of interest is that the figures are graduated in size, with the Virgin and Saint John the largest, the Magdalen and Christ smaller, and the thieves smaller still—raising the possibility that such groups received theatrical perspectival stagings.

The London firm of Tomasso Brothers in 2006–9 had thieves of the Milan types, but of indeterminate facture, with the *Bad Thief* showing a more heroic mien and fuller hair.³⁰ In 2006, Christie’s London had a set of three in stucco (not terracotta, as advertised).³¹ They are close in size to each other, but the thieves follow the Milan models, while the *Christ* has an agonized side-ward torsion and a fully fledged Baroque mien. JDD

PROVENANCE: [Stefano Bardini, Florence (sale, Christie’s, London, June 5, 1899, lot 442; sold to Williamson)]; [F. Schnittjer and Son, New York]; (sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, February 18, 1921, lot 95, attributed to “Zaccaria da Volterra” [Zaccaria Zacchi]); [F. Schnittjer and Son, New York, 1937; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Bode 1908–12, vol. 2, p. 16 (as free copies after Michelangelo); Phillips 1937; Weihrauch 1967, pp. 171–72; Tolnay 1969–71, vol. 5, pp. 172–73, figs. 327–30; Volker Krahn in Brandt 1991, pp. 108–10; Janice Shell in Montreal 1992, pp. 254–56; Joannides 2003, pp. 224–25; Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi in Rovetta 2011, pp. 228–30; Georg Satzinger in Satzinger and Schütze 2015, cat. 219a–c

NOTES

1. A photograph showing them in a case in the Galleria Bardini is dated about 1902 in Chini 2009, p. 200, fig. 99.
2. Merback 1999, p. 79, fig. 25.
3. For an exception, see the German woodcut in *ibid.*, p. 26, fig. 4.
4. Judson 2000, pp. 139–46, no. 37, fig. 118.
5. R. Stone/TR, October 21, 2010.
6. For the wood corpus, see Florence 1999, pp. 288–90. The subtle ideal-ity of its slim body, without the sideward turn, also continues to inform the bronze. For the *Entombment*, see Hirst 1994, pp. 56–81.
7. Michelangelo 1963, p. 159, no. 283.
8. Not, as Tolnay and others would have it, an idea for the *Rondanini Pietà* (Tolnay 1975–80, vol. 3, p. 94, no. 595v. 7). The drawing, like the statuette, activates the model much more than does the *Rondanini Pietà*, which is probably Michelangelo’s final word on the dead Christ.
9. Tolnay 1975–80, vol. 2, no. 250r.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 418r.
11. *Ibid.*, no. 433r. A Louvre pen drawing, attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo with a question mark in Joannides 2003, p. 224, no. 78, does not relate to our statuette, as claimed. Its Christ is stockier, his feet are reversed, and the abdominal cavity is treated as a diamond, not an oval.
12. For Jacopo’s biography, see Benedetti 1988. For the reliefs, formerly in the Capodimonte, see Venturi 1935–37, vol. 2,



Fig. 101d. *Christ and the Two Thieves Crucified*. Probably Milan, ca. 1590. Bronze; Christ: H. 12½ in. (32 cm), thieves: each H. 10¼ in. (27.5 cm). Raccolte d’Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (inv. bronzi 82–84)

*Farnese Hercules*After a model by Pietro da Barga
(active Florence 1574–88)

Florence, modeled ca. 1576, cast 17th century

Bronze

9 × 4¼ × 3¼ in. (22.9 × 10.8 × 8.3 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1462)

figs. 145–54; Schiavo 1973; Montagu 1996, pp. 20–30, 199–200; and, for the monument's vicissitudes, Tagliolini 1997. After the Padula tabernacle, Jacopo's brother Ludovico del Duca made another for Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, between 1587 and 1589, using some of the Michelangelesque models but a new composition for the *Crucifixion* panel (Montagu 1996, p. 29, fig. 40). Between the two, in 1574–78 “Jacomo del Duca” and “Jacomo Rocchetto” had proposed a tabernacle to Philip II, who turned it down (*ibid.*, pp. 199–200). **13.** For Rocchetti and his relationship to Michelangelo and Jacopo del Duca, see Sickel 2016; Parlato 2016; Bambach 2017, p. 261. **14.** For a partial idea of the Spanish corpora, see Gómez Moreno 1930, pp. 189–93 (painted bronze, ducal house of Benevente; silver examples, Palacio Real, Madrid, and that in Gómez Moreno's own collection); Gómez Moreno 1933 (an unpainted bronze); Lozoya 1971 (silver examples, Caja de Ahorros, Segovia, Museo del Catedral, Valladolid); Romero 1984; F. Martín 1987, p. 23, no. 3. **15.** Gómez Moreno 1930 and 1933. **16.** Pacheco 1990, pp. 497–98, 725. **17.** Prose 1967, p. 41. Saint Bridget's *Revelationes*, published in Rome in 1556, could very well have prompted Michelangelo's formulation. As Prose quotes the saint, after Jesus was nailed by his arms: “Then they crucified the right foot, and over this the left foot with two nails.” **18.** An exhaustive list is impossible. Two were recently on the market: Bonham's, London, April 15, 2008, lot 18 (nude, gilt); private collection (nude, detachable gilt loincloth), brought to our attention by Giancarlo Fenyo, 2010; electronic dossier prepared by Michael Riddick, 2015. **19.** Tolnay 1975–80, vol. 2, no. 251r. **20.** Joannides 2003, no. 79 (as possibly by Giulio Clovio). **21.** Tolnay 1943–60, vol. 5, p. 173, fig. 332. Inscribed “il ladrone di Micel l'Agnolo Bonaroti,” it is the earliest identification of the model with the master. **22.** One was drawn twice in the sixteenth century by Francis Cleyn (now University of Southampton). Howarth 2011, p. 465, fig. 58. **23.** See Rovetta 2011, pp. 232–33; Satzinger and Schütze 2015, cats. 223–25. **24.** Nesi 2009, pp. 150–52, no. 51. **25.** The Bad Thief's left leg kicking free of his rope reminded Ottolenghi (in Rovetta 2011, p. 238) of Bertoldo's *Crucifixion* relief in the Bargello, but there is no formal relationship. **26.** Nenci 2004, p. 167. **27.** Morandotti 2005, pl. 203. **28.** For the Milan angels, see *ibid.*, pl. 205; and Gentilini and Morandotti 1990, p. 154, fig. 26. For the Certosa di Pavia angels, see Susanna Zanuso in Beltrami 2006, pp. 240–41, 270; Zanuso 2008b, p. 289, fig. 21. **29.** Brandt 1991, cat. 23. **30.** London 2009, pp. 24–27, cat. 8. **31.** Christie's, London, July 6, 2006, lot 144.

This is a reduction of the first-century B.C. marble signed by Glykon of Athens, which in turn is a Roman copy of the Greek original by Lysippos, sometimes called the “Weary Hercules.” It was discovered in 1540 in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, entered the Farnese collections (hence is universally known as the *Farnese Hercules*), and is among the glories of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

The Bargello has a statuette by Pietro da Barga, identical in style and technique to ours, except that it is ungilt, one of a series of copies of famous works commissioned by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici to decorate a large cabinet. It appears in the inventory of his wardrobe, drawn up in Rome, as a Hercules said by Pietro “to be a portrait of the one belonging to Cardinal Farnese.”¹ Ours is distinguished by the gilding, which only coats the front, as the back was not meant to be seen.² It probably occupied a niche as part of an ensemble: likely a piece of furniture such as the cardinal's desk that incorporated several statuettes. JDD

PROVENANCE: possibly Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609), later grand duke of Tuscany (by 1562); Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, pp. xxxi, 22, pl. 73 (to Pietro da Barga); James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 165–66, no. 308 (to Pietro da Barga); Massinelli 1987, pp. 57, 58; Pietro Cannata in Moreno 1995, p. 448, cat. 8.4; Scholten 2011, p. 46; Gasparri 2015, pp. 174–75, 178 n. 40; Settis 2015, p. 233

NOTES

1. Untermyer 1977, pp. 165–66. **2.** For a radiograph, see p. 34, fig. 4. The use of threaded plugs indicates that this cast of Pietro's model dates to after the end of the sixteenth century. R. Stone/TR, November 14, 2010.





A. *Minerva*

Italy, second half of the 16th century

Bronze

10 × 3 × 3 in. (25.4 × 7.6 × 7.6 cm)

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.54)

B. *Minerva*

Italy, second half of the 16th century

Bronze

13¹/₁₆ × 3 × 4¹/₄ in. (33.2 × 7.6 × 10.8 cm)

Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.81)

The best version of this virginal goddess is arguably the one formerly in the John Postle Heseltine collection, London, which boasts more flowing hair and slightly ampler forms.¹ Another, damaged, in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, wears a bigger helmet and points rather incongruously with her right hand to her forehead. It is recorded in the collection of Giovanni Maria Nossen in Dresden in 1621.²

The scant literature on all four statuettes is contradictory. Some favor Florence—Benvenuto Cellini, no less³—while others prefer Venice, perhaps because of the gliding pose suggestive of the small bronzes of Alessandro Vittoria. In the absence of a superior example, it is difficult to take sides. The Met’s versions vary in quality but seem to have been cast with virtually identical alloys, suggesting they were produced in the same foundry.⁴ *Minerva* A, the better of the two, with a nicely wrought expression and lovely limbs but little in the way of surface refinement, exhibits flaws and patches and some pitting on the back, and it has traces of what appears to be original black patina. In terms of quality, it occupies a place between the ex-Heseltine and Dresden bronzes. *Minerva* B, with an apparently Baroque Medusa’s head on her later shield and remains of glossy black paint, adds nothing to the argument either way.⁵ The left hands of its three counterparts performed different functions; a strip remaining in that of the ex-Heseltine bronze does not suggest the edge of a shield. JDD

PROVENANCE: **(A)** George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA); **(B)** Mme Edouard Warneck, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 4, 1905, lot 174, as Venetian, 16th century; sold to H. Seligmann); George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. LIV (as after Benvenuto Cellini)

NOTES

1. Bode 1907–12, vol. 2, pl. CXLVI. 2. Holzhausen 1933, p. 86, fig. 10 (as Venetian, 16th century). It then bore a greenish “archaeological” patina. 3. Following Bode (see note 1) and London 1912, cat. 49, as well as Rubinstein-Bloch, who catalogued them in 1926 in the Blumenthal collection, both Met bronzes were formerly called “free variants of the *Minerva* on the base of the *Perseus* in the Loggia de’ Lanzi, Florence” (ESDA/OF), but the relationship is generic and hardly compelling. 4. The base for *Minerva* B is of a similar composition. R. Stone/TR, April 20, 2009. 5. *Minerva* B was broken at the left wrist and subsequently repaired with a later cast of the hand and then-missing shield (note the different angle of the hand in *Minerva* A). L. Borsch/TR, 2021.

Jupiter

**After a model by Benvenuto Cellini
(Florence 1500–1571 Florence)**

Probably Florence, late 16th century

Bronze

11⁵/₈ × 5⁵/₈ × 3³/₄ in. (29.5 × 14.3 × 8.3 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1446)

Benvenuto Cellini worked at the court of François I on a projected set of twelve silver statues of divinities to serve as candelabra. The *Jupiter* alone seems to have reached completion, and when he returned to Florence in 1544, he must have brought a wax or clay model with him. Cellini said the god’s right hand held a torch while in his left was “the globe of the world.”¹ At least four reductions similar to the present one survive, and none retains a globe. Ours, with the oldest provenance but only back to around 1863, holds instead an odd horizontal stretch of fabric, and that in the Detroit Institute of Arts a cloth bunched like a damp towel.² The others, all with variations, are in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid, and the former collection of Perry Rathbone, Boston and New York; another was stolen from a New York collection in 1975. It is generally agreed that ours is the best of them.

A previous ascription to Pietro da Barga, advanced by the current writer in 1977, rested on stylistic analogies to his documented bronzes. The beefy facial features, flaccid modeling including an indented arc to describe the spine, and a curious fleur-de-lis shape for pubic hair occur in The Met’s cast of Pietro’s *Farnese Hercules* (cat. 102). The facture, however, is different,³ leading us to abandon that attribution. JDD



PROVENANCE: John Watkins Brett (1805–1863), London (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, April 5–18, 1864, lot 1046); Jules Porgès (1839–1921), Paris (not in his estate sale at Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 17–18, 1924); Samuel Untermyer (1858–1940), Yonkers, N.Y. (sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 10–11, 1940, lot 162); Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1939 (to Benvenuto Cellini); Raleigh 1959, p. 23, cat. 16 (to Cellini); Untermyer 1962, pp. xxvi, 18, pls. 55, 56 (to Cellini); Weihrauch 1967, pp. 180, 505 n. 232 (to Cellini); Hayward 1974, pp. 157, 162 n. 5 (not Cellini); James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 164–65, no. 307 (to Pietro da Barga after Cellini); Pope-Hennessy 1985, p. 303 n. 18 (not Cellini); Darr et al. 2002, pp. 229–30 (after Cellini)

NOTES

1. Cellini 1910, p. 324. 2. DIA, 38.102; see Darr et al. 2002, cat. 107. 3. Radiographs show very thin, even walls with wax-to-wax joins in the shoulders and core pin holes plugged with driven wires; the absence of obvious bubble or drip marks suggests a clay core. R. Stone/TR, November 14, 2010.

— 105 —

Ganymede with Eagle and Eaglet
After a composition by Benvenuto Cellini
(Florence 1500–1571 Florence)

Florence, probably 18th century

Bronze, partially oil-gilt

11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28.3 × 12.7 × 8.6 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1933 (33.58)

To court Ganymede, a beautiful Trojan prince, Jupiter transformed himself into an eagle and flew the youth to Mount Olympus to serve him as cupbearer. This recurrent Renaissance theme was often interpreted as conferring divine sanction on homoerotic relations.¹

In 1546, Benvenuto Cellini entered the discussion when Cosimo I de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, showed him an ancient Parian marble torso of a youth. Cellini offered to restore it but wanted the subject to evolve into a Ganymede. He thus supplied it with a head, a lower right leg, both feet, a base, and the companion eagle, the neck feathers of which the boy caresses with one hand. The other hand rather teasingly lifts a smaller, downy eaglet (fig. 105a).² The eaglet's head and neck, missing in our copy, were once attached by a metal pin that remains on top.

The composition proved popular, and the Doccia porcelain works offered reductions in five sizes.³ It is rarer in bronze. Our version is a rudimentary solid cast, unretouched except for the gilding of hair and feathers. The whole, like the Doccia output, retains the proportions of Cellini's marble, which are remarkably normative for that Mannerist. Someone who wanted to recall the more familiar side of Cellini attenuated the legs of

a statuette in the Frick (1916.2.42). The Met's group has been called "much inferior" to the Frick's, but not so: if ours is no great shakes as a bronze, its eagle is articulately feathered, especially admirably in back. The plumes of the other are barely demarcated.⁴ JDD

PROVENANCE: "Pijoan," presumably the Spanish art historian José Pijoán (1881–1963) (until 1933; sold to MMA)

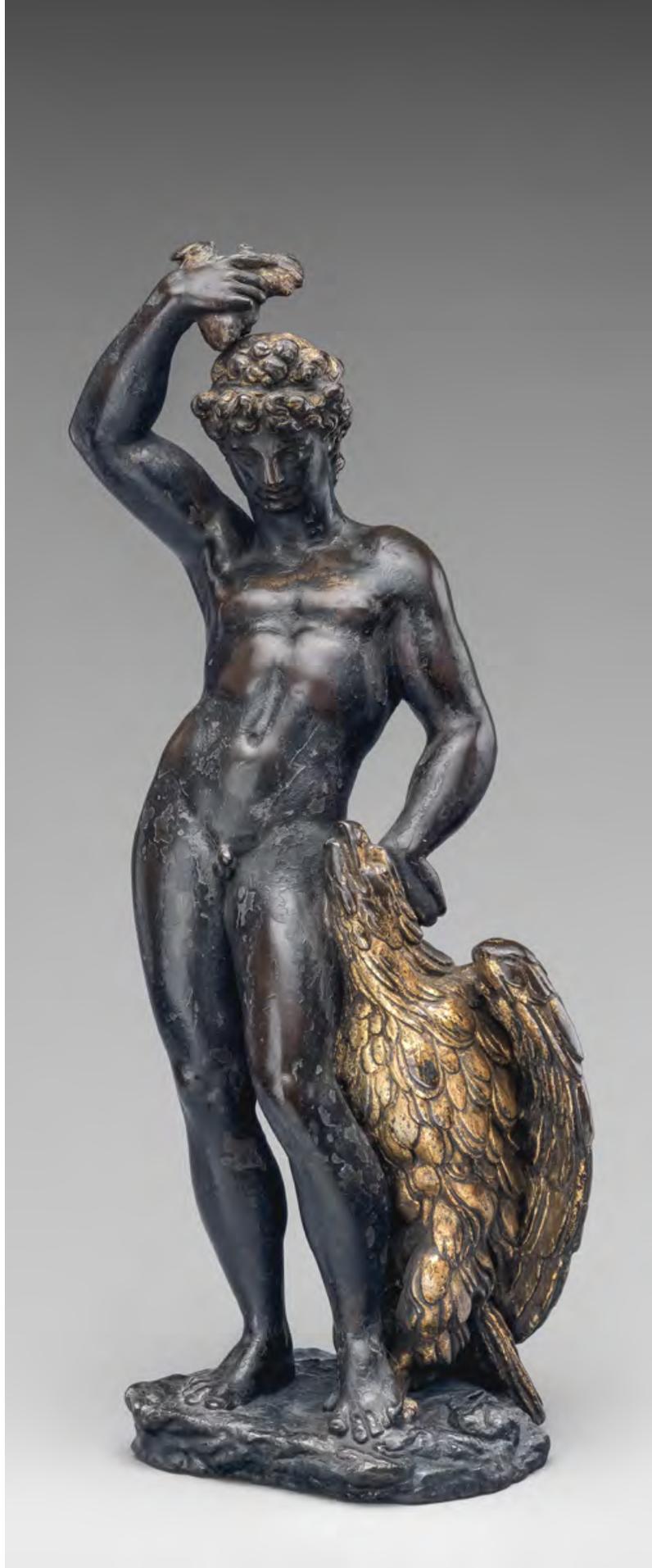
LITERATURE: Rorimer 1933; Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 200; St. Petersburg 1981, cat. 9

NOTES

1. Saslow 1986; Barkan 1991. 2. For a political interpretation of the marble's iconography, see Allen 2013. The subject—a boy offering Jupiter a baby raptor?—makes little sense unless the eaglet is seen as a play on the word *uccello* (bird), then as now an allusion to the male member. 3. Lankheit 1982, p. 116. The boy in the large porcelain group by Gaspero Bruschi in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (*ibid.*, fig. 51), has a swath of drapery around his hips. 4. Another, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (44.587), is less curvaceous, has an oddly twisted neck, and lacks the eagle, and so does not form part of the discussion. C. Wilson 2001, pp. 254–55, fig. 11, suspects it is nineteenth century.



Fig. 105a. Benvenuto Cellini, *Ganymede with Eagle and Eaglet*, 1540s. Marble; H. 41½ in. (105.3 cm). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (403)





A. *Bishop (Saint Augustine?)*

B. *Bishop (Saint Ambrose?)*

Florence (?), 1550–1600

Bronze

Bishop A: 6½ × 2 × 1⅝ in. (16.5 × 5.1 × 4.1 cm);

Bishop B: 6½ × 2 × 1¾ in. (16.5 × 5.1 × 4.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.175.10, .11)

In 1908, W. R. Valentiner purchased these two sculptures—among the first Renaissance bronzes to enter The Met—from the Munich art dealer Julius Böhler as part of a bulk acquisition that included a substantial and heterogeneous group of works, but primarily sixteenth-century Italian.¹ Valentiner had only recently been named the museum’s curator of decorative arts. The bronzes came with an attribution to Alessandro Vittoria and commanded the sum of 700 marcs, rather high compared to the price paid for other objects in the same transaction (for example, 140 marcs for a silver plaque ascribed to Jacopo Sansovino).²

Valentiner identified the figures as two “Fathers of the Church.” In a reconsideration of their authorship, he aligned them with the circle of Michelangelo, citing the opinion of Wilhelm von Bode, who favored the master’s pupil Giovanni Angelo da Montorsoli.³ In 1913, Joseph Breck catalogued the pair more broadly as “bishops,” maintained the association with Michelangelo’s orbit, and noted the analogous style and pose of a bronze *Moses* then in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan that later came to The Met (cat. 61).

In fact, the three statuettes are linked only by virtue of their rough appearance. The ex-Morgan bronze is dramatically sketchy, the bishops marked by unrefined casting and the absence of cold work.⁴ The latter have hollowed backs (one has a drillhole from front to back), indicating they were likely designed for installation in a larger structure. Their contrapposto poses suggest that they were conceived as pendants, to be placed side by side in silent dialogue. The obvious setting for such an ensemble would have been a religious one. With their long beards, miters, tightly clasped books, and venerable age, presumably they represent two Doctors of the Church, but the generic iconography prevents a more specific identification.

Regarding attribution, no decisive comparisons have surfaced. However, Valentiner’s theory of a Tuscan origin deserves a fresh look. Indeed, the figures’ expressive faces, the monumental construction of their heads, and their inordinately large hands point to an unmistakable Michelangelism. Even proposals in favor of Sansovino, which have arisen in curatorial discussions over the years, underline a “Florentine” and “Michelangel-esque” inspiration in the overall design while linking the bronzes to the production of this artist active in Venice from 1527 until his death in 1570. TM

PROVENANCE: [Julius Böhler, Munich, until 1908; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1908, p. 230; Breck 1913c, p. 77, nos. 76, 77

NOTES

1. For instance, a cassone (08.175.5) and three plaques, attributed to Moderno (08.175.14), Valerio Belli (08.175.15), and the circle of Jacopo Sansovino (08.175.13). 2. The documents relating to the sale were kindly made available by Richard Winkler at the Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, Munich. 3. Valentiner 1908, p. 230. 4. Both appear to be directly cast using the same leaded tin alloy and pinkish ceramic core, and both bear traces of black Veneto-style patina. R. Stone/TR, November 18, 2010.

Seated Male Figure

Bartolomeo Ammannati (?)
(Settignano 1511–1592 Florence)

Central Italy, mid-16th century

Bronze

15¾ × 12¾ × 19¼ in. (40 × 32.4 × 48.9 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1966 (66.177)

From an unknown date until the 1920s, our male figure resided in the Villa Garzoni in Pontecasale, south of Padua. As documented in a photograph published in 1909 (fig. 107a), the bronze was centered on the mantel of a monumental fireplace as part of a Neoclassical arrangement of obelisks, antique profiles, and reliefs. The sculpture was mounted on a “naturalistic”



Fig. 107a. Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570), Fireplace, Villa Garzoni, Pontecasale, 1547–50. From Laura Pittoni, *Jacopo Sansovino scultore* (Venice: Istituto di Arti Grafiche, 1909), fig. 92





base in a rocklike formation that, together with the leafy frame of the mantel backdrop, evoked a rustic environment.

According to Giorgio Vasari, the villa was designed by Jacopo Sansovino for the Venetian Garzoni family in the 1540s and 1550s.¹ The villa changed hands over the centuries, from the Garzoni to the Michiel, Martinengo, and Donà dalle Rose families.² In the 1935 sale of the Donà dalle Rose collection, the bronze was not among the pieces on offer, nor did it appear in the catalogue photograph showing the fireplace.³ However, in the years immediately preceding the auction, the bronze had achieved a degree of fame thanks to an article by Adolfo Callegari about the villa and its treasures, published in 1926, where the statuette was reproduced twice and possibly caught the eye of a connoisseur.⁴ An undated French & Company photograph shows the figure seated on the same rocky plinth as in the 1909 image (fig. 107b). Beyond confirming its placement with this well-known New York art dealer, the photo suggests that the piece had been introduced into the American market soon upon its removal from the Villa Garzoni.



Fig. 107b. Photo of the *Seated Male Figure* while held by French & Company, showing the rocky base. ESDA/OF

In any case, at some point the sculpture entered the collection of Sarah Mellon Scaife, niece of the banker and politician Andrew W. Mellon. Following her death in 1965, it was sold to The Met and lauded as an important creation by a sixteenth-century Florentine artist, probably Bartolomeo Ammannati, following Callegari and subsequent Italian studies dedicated to the Tuscan sculptor from Settignano.⁵ Ammannati had worked on Venetian projects overseen by Sansovino in the early 1540s, which is to say around the same years that the elder master designed the villa in Pontecasale.⁶ In fact, while the bronze was still in Scaife's possession, it was celebrated as a work by Sansovino,⁷ and despite its continued parallel association with Ammannati or his circle, scholars are still divided regarding its paternity.⁸ Moreover, its attribution is complicated by the fact that another version of the statuette in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, had been assigned to the Flemish sculptor Adriaen de Vries and only recently resituated in an Italian context.⁹

What is certain is that the figurative language that informs our bronze derives from Florentine inspirations, all of which can be found in the first half of the sixteenth century. The literature notes correspondences to Michelangelo's cartoon and preparatory drawings for the *Battle of Cascina*, in particular a study in the British Museum.¹⁰ Just as convincing are references to the corpus of drawings by Baccio Bandinelli (see, e.g., Louvre, INV 92r) and to the bronze satyrs seated on the rim of the basin of the Fountain of Neptune in Piazza della Signoria. With its muscular and serpentine pose, our male figure is an eloquent and exemplary synthesis of the culture emanating from Michelangelo's work. In a discussion of the Braunschweig bronze and a suggested attribution to Alessandro Vittoria, Charles Davis underlined the rapid dissemination of this Michelangelesque culture far beyond Florence in the first half of the century.¹¹ For that matter, Alan Darr had already pointed to certain formal affinities between The Met bronze and a *Mars* and *Neptune* at the Detroit Institute of Arts whose provenance is the Palazzo Rezzonico in Venice, in particular the pictorial quality of the beard and hair and the anatomical rendering of the chest and flanks.¹² Although it is difficult to attribute the three statues to the same hand (Darr gave them all to Danese Cattaneo), it is true nonetheless that the stylistic concordance among details might be traced to a common production locale.

All that being said, no documentary evidence places our statuette in the Villa Garzoni at the time of its construction. Given the figure's small size—which distinguishes it from Sansovino's imposing furnishings—we cannot exclude the possibility that it was made at a later date, perhaps as a commission to an artist not directly linked to the villa project. The "open" pose of the figure, as if caught in the act of moving backward or away from an opposing force, suggests that originally it could have been part of a more complex ensemble. TM

PROVENANCE: Count Donà dalle Rose, Villa Garzoni, Pontecasale, near Padua; [French & Company (?)]; Sarah Mellon Scaife, Pennsylvania (until d. 1965; estate sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, September 30–October 1, 1966, lot 319); [John J. Klejman, until 1966; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Pittoni 1909, fig. 92; Callegari 1925–26, pp. 582–83, 588–90; Gabrielli 1937, p. 90; Bettini 1940–41, p. 20; Ciardi Duprè 1962, pp. 58–59 n. 1; Weihrauch 1967, p. 189, fig. 232; Jacob 1972, pp. 15–16, no. 24; James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 235; Ciardi Duprè 1978, pp. 102, 106 n. 22; Jacob 1978, pp. 204–5; Ciardi Duprè 1986, p. 32 n. 19; Jacob 1986, p. 163; Schlegel 1992, p. 27; Berger and Krahn 1994, pp. 70–74, no. 36; Krahn 1995, pp. 278–79 n. 75; Darr 2003, p. 227; Falsitta 2009, pp. 72–82; Volker Krahn in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2011, pp. 430–31 n. 25; Satzinger and Schütze 2015, p. 160 n. 83

NOTES

1. Vasari 1912–15, vol. 9, pp. 218–19. For the history of the villa, see Puppi 1969. 2. Puppi 1969, p. 95. 3. Lorenzetti and Planiscig 1934, fig. 77. 4. Callegari 1925–26, pp. 582–83, 588–90. 5. Draper in MMA 1975, p. 235; Callegari 1925–26, pp. 582–83, 588–90; Gabrielli 1937, p. 90; Bettini 1940–41, p. 20. 6. Cherubini 2011, p. 60. 7. "Sarah Mellon Scaife Collection Will Be Sold by Parke-Bernet," *The New York Times*, September 25, 1966. 8. Krahn in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2011, pp. 430–31 n. 25. 9. The two versions are of similar dimensions but differ in the quality of casting, and the patina on our bronze is very damaged (ESDA/OF, April 28, 1967). For the Braunschweig cast (Bro 40), see Brinckmann 1919, vol. 2, p. 409; Jacob 1972, pp. 15–16, no. 24; Berger and Krahn 1994, pp. 70–74, no. 36. 10. For Michelangelo's cartoon, see Callegari 1925–26, p. 590; for the drawing in the British Museum (1887,0502.116), see Berger and Krahn 1994, p. 73. 11. Davis 2011, p. 558. 12. DIA, 49.417, .418; see Darr 2003, p. 227.

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Justice

Probably after a model by Bartolomeo Ammannati (Settignano 1511–1592 Florence)

Florence, possibly modeled ca. 1565, possibly cast late 16th century

Bronze, on a later porphyry base

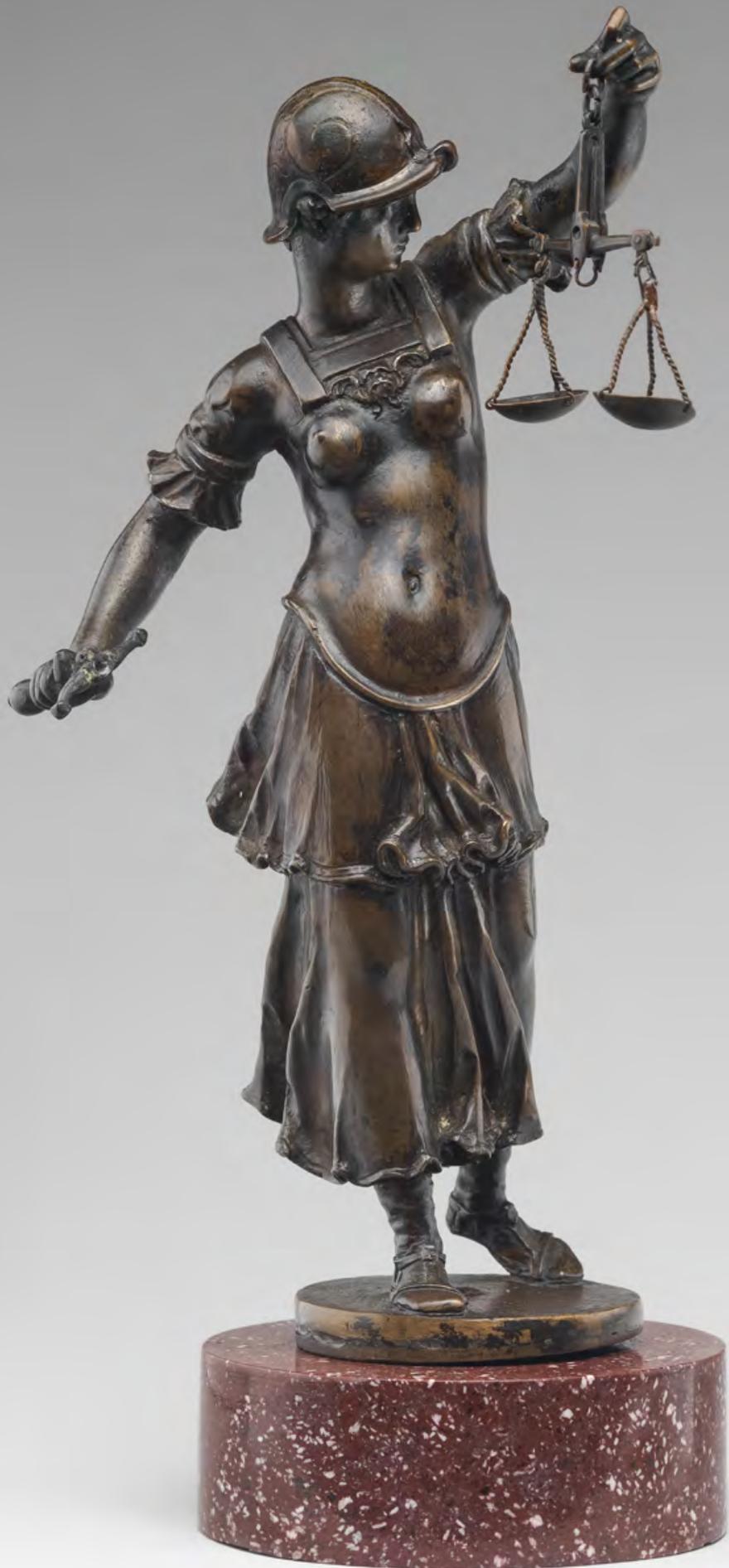
7¾ × 3¾ × 2½ in. (18.7 × 9.2 × 6.4 cm) (without base)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

(32.100.179)

In her left hand, Justice raises a scale (probably not the original). Her outstretched right hand once held a sword. Worthy of note are the elegantly balanced pose, the Michelangelesque mascarons on the chest, and the seemingly wind-tossed ripples of drapery on the back. Technical study by Richard Stone places the statuette's provenance in a sixteenth-century Florentine workshop.¹

Our *Justice* was first published by Wilhelm von Bode in 1910 with an attribution to Francesco del Tadda. Bode considered the bronze a study for the large porphyry statue carved by Francesco and his sons Giovanni and Romolo for the Column of Justice in Piazza Santa Trinita, Florence (fig. 108a). The story of this laborious project began in 1561, when Cosimo I





de' Medici commissioned from Bartolomeo Ammannati a decorative scheme for a gigantic granite column donated by Pope Pius IV.² The crowning statue of Justice was installed twenty years later, in 1581. In the interim, Ammannati modeled a provisional terracotta statue and a wood Corinthian capital in preparation for the triumphal entrance of Giovanna d'Austria into Florence on December 16, 1565, on the occasion of her marriage to Francesco de' Medici.³ Vincenzo Borghini, who



Fig. 108a. Francesco del Tadda (1497–1586), *Justice*, ca. 1581. Porphyry. Column of Justice, Piazza Santa Trinità, Florence

along with Giorgio Vasari supervised the event's decorative apparatus, described Ammannati's terracotta statue as a "Justice [with] a crinkled silver skirt with black silk ribbon. Above, the robe open in front. In one hand scales, in the other an unsheathed sword."⁴ The apparatus was dismantled in 1577. Meanwhile, Francesco del Tadda and his sons, specialists in porphyry carving, worked the final hardstone *Justice* over several years.⁵ We can assume that the statue was actually designed by Ammannati, who oversaw the project and in all likelihood made a *modellotto* for it, as attested by contemporary observers.⁶

The present bronze is certainly not identical to the porphyry *Justice* in Florence. It differs in many details, but particularly the position of the right arm, which is much more extended in the bronze, and—for obvious technical reasons—the absence of swirling drapery in the porphyry version. This latter point suggests that The Met statuette derives from a model that was meant to be seen from below, an ideal vantage from which to view the fluttering garments. There would otherwise have been no reason to make such a complex design for a routine *bronzetto*. This further implies that our bronze was cast after a model by Ammannati for the temporary terracotta *Justice*, a proposal supported by the concordance between Borghini's description of a "crinkled" skirt and that of our bronze. Moreover, we know that Ammannati envisioned such a device as a component of the final statue. According to Filippo Baldinucci, a month after the installation of the porphyry *Justice*, Ammannati demanded that it be embellished with a billowy fabric or a cloak of bronze because he thought the figure looked "rather thin."⁷ Similar fluttering skirts can be found in Ammannati's oeuvre, in particular the marble *Allegory of Justice* for the Ciochi Del Monte chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome.⁸

A. *Saint Catherine of Siena*B. *Saint Bernardino of Siena*

Fulvio Signorini (Siena 1563–after 1609 Siena)

Siena, ca. 1600

Bronze, partially oil-gilt

Catherine: Height 58 in. (147.3 cm);*Bernardino*: Height 58½ in. (148.6 cm)

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.153.2, .3)

Some of the models made by Ammannati do survive, such as the wax *modelletto* for the Genio Mediceo and the *stuccoforte* for the *Sapienza* on the Benavides Tomb in the church of the Eremitani, Padua.⁹ However, it must be said that—taking into account the different materials—they appear somewhat dissimilar in figure type and style to our *Justice*. James Holderbaum long ago expressed the opinion that the present bronze was possibly cast from a small model by Ammannati.¹⁰ Following his suggestion, James David Draper argued that the *Justice* resembles bronzes produced by Antonio Susini from Giambologna's models, but in this case, Susini was possibly working from a model by Ammannati. Indeed, it has the qualities of a Florentine cast, but not those of a bronze by Susini or his workshop. Only the widely opened eyes of our *Justice* vaguely resemble Giambologna's almond-shaped eyes. The *Justice* also does not resemble the series of bronze allegorical figures that have been attributed to Ammannati, one of which is in the Art Institute of Chicago.¹¹ We might therefore infer that our statuette is a late sixteenth-century Florentine cast after a *modelletto* made by Ammannati for the Column of Justice. FL

PROVENANCE: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. xxix, vol. 2, p. 6, no. 126, pl. LXXXVIII; Draper 1978b, p. 156

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, June 27, 2011. Radiographs show evidence of transfixing core pins and unthreaded plugs, which indicate it was not cast by Susini or his workshop after a Giambologna prototype, as has been suggested in the past (see Draper 1978b, p. 156). 2. On the Column of Justice in Piazza Santa Trinita, see Belli 2004 and 2011. 3. “La statua della Giustizia, ch'è sopra la colonna, e l'ordigno del rizzar della medesima colonna, e i suoi ornamenti, è stata opera di messer Bartolomeo Ammannati, scultore e architetto eccellentissimo, e di getter di bronzo ottimo maestro” (The statue of Justice, which is above the column, and the mechanism to lift up the column, and all its ornaments were the work of Messer Bartolomeo Ammannati, an excellent sculptor and architect, and a master bronze caster). Mellini 1566, cited in Belli 2004, p. 69. 4. “La Giustizia aveva la sottana d'argento arricciata con pelo di seta nera. Di sopra, la veste aperta dinanzi. . . . Nel'una mano le bilancie, nel'altra la spada nuda.” This description is contained in Borghini's manuscript “Discorso per i legnami,” a useful list of notes on the ephemeral apparatus, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, ms II.X.100, c. 39v, transcribed in Belli 2011, pp. 120–22. 5. On Francesco del Tadda as a sculptor of porphyry, see Butters 1996, vol. 1, pp. 327–32, vol. 2, pp. 425–26; see also Malgouyres 2016 and Waldman 2007. 6. For instance, the architect Alfonso Parigi; see Belli 2004, p. 72 n. 156. 7. “Perché all'Ammannato, che a quell'opera soprintendeva, parve che la figura apparisse alquanto sottile, fecevi aggiungere il panno o svolazzo di metallo” (Because to Ammannati, who supervised the work, the figure appeared rather thin, the cloth or metal flourish had to be added). Belli 2004, p. 72. 8. See Loffredo 2011, p. 118. 9. For the Genio, see Francesco Caglioti in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2011, pp. 404–7; for the Paduan model of the *Sapienza*, see Luca Siracusano in Beltrami et al. 2013, p. 375. 10. In oral conversation with James David Draper in the 1970s. 11. 1926.398; see Wardropper 2001.

In a letter of August 21, 1889, the painter-dealer Charles Fairfax Murray brought these saints to the attention of the South Kensington Museum (today's V&A): “The two bronze statues of which you have photos are offered for £600. They are 5 feet in height and were formerly in the Church of S. Francesco Siena. They are by Fulvio Signorini 16th century. The St. Catherine is almost like a work of the 15th and the extremities are very fine & highly finished.”¹ Twenty years later, in 1910, the Paris dealer Raoul Heilbronner sold them to the New York financier Thomas Fortune Ryan as “Saints Catherine and Bernardino of Siena, Italian School,” but by the time of their sale from Ryan's estate in 1933, they had become “‘St. Teresa d'Avila' and ‘St. Pedro d'Alcantara' by Alonso Cano, Spanish, 1601–1667.” Proposing their acquisition and suspecting their true Sieneese origin, Met curator Preston Remington conferred with V&A director Eric Maclagan. Unaware that his museum's files contained the correct assignment of subjects and authorship, Maclagan answered rather fuzzily:

You are of course right about the saints represented being Italians, & I think I might say that none of us see any definite reason against the bronzes being Italian; on the other hand, we cannot suggest any Italian figures which are at all close to them; and a friend of mine who is particularly familiar with Spanish sculpture admits that at a first glance they have something Spanish about them although here again he could not point to any at all convincing parallel. As far as I myself am concerned, I have no objection to “hedging” in labels and I think we should have described them as “Italian (or Spanish?).”²

Spanish authorities largely dismissed Iberian origins, while Leo Planiscig dated the figures to about 1600 and was inclined to attribute them to the Venetian Girolamo Campagna. Remington, observing parallels in the quattrocento and particularly the oeuvre of Lorenzo Vecchietta, settled on Siena in the late fifteenth century when reporting their purchase.³ It was Ulrich Middeldorf who finally demonstrated that the bronzes were made around 1600 by Fulvio Signorini, a little-known Sieneese master, for the chapel of the Immaculate Conception in the church of San Francesco.







Fig. 109a. Detail of cat. 109B, showing Saint Bernardino's eyeglass case

The cults of Saints Catherine and Bernardino, passionately venerated in Renaissance Siena, spread globally. Saint Catherine, born Caterina Benincasa in Siena in 1347, became a tertiary of the Dominican order and a skilled scholastic theologian. In about 1366, she experienced her alleged “mystical marriage” with Jesus Christ. She received the stigmata in 1375; the wounds in her hands, feet, and heart, corresponding to those of the crucified Christ, only became visible after her death. She died in Rome in 1380 and was canonized in 1461.

Signorini enlarged on the imagery of Catherine that Vecchietta had already perfected by 1460–61 in his fresco for the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.⁴ There, the saint appears as a fictive statue in a niche. In her white veil and habit under a black mantle, she stands in delicate contrapposto holding a branch of lilies and a book, doubtless her own *Dialogues on Divine Providence*, recorded by members of her circle in 1377–78 and present in The Met bronze. About 1835, the bronze saint's right hand still carried a crucifix (see below), and it may easily be imagined that a well-wrought metal branch of lilies had accompanied it earlier. In both the fresco and the bronze, the saint bears stigmata on her hands and slippers.

Bernardino Albizeschi was born in 1380 in Massa Maritima, a town then held by Siena and governed by Bernardino's father. In about 1404, he joined the strict branch of the Franciscan order known as the Observants. He was an enormously popular preacher, attracting huge crowds all over Italy and singling out for attack the usual medieval targets: witches, Jews, sodomites, and usurers. Audiences particularly responded to the sheer beauty of his voice. His main attribute is the IHS monogram of Christ surrounded by a sunburst on a blue ground, denounced by detractors as encouraging idolatry. He became vicar general of the Franciscans in 1438, died in 1444, and was canonized in 1450.

Bernardino is one of the most illustrated of saints, typically shown wearing his habit and with gaunt, ascetic features. Fifteenth-century sources already record the small leather purse that here dangles from the cincture at his right side. It is an eyeglass case, underscoring the saint's age and divinely inspired vision (fig. 109a). His spectacles were even venerated as a relic.⁵ Similar containers recur in his imagery, as in Vecchietta's

lean wood statue made in about 1464 for a chapel in Narni, which our sculptor cannot have known.⁶ Vecchietta was just one of many Siennese quattrocento artists who could easily have been eyewitnesses to this saint in action.

The chapel that contained our statues, like the colossal burned-out Romanesque hull of the basilica itself, experienced many vicissitudes. It had been the chapel of the Rossi family, then of the Palmieri, and in 1505 was endowed by the redoubtable Margherita Bichi, a widowed patrician who became a Franciscan tertiary, devoting herself to the poor and to advancing the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.⁷ In 1526, when Siena was confronted by the combined armies of Florence and the papacy, the local authorities turned to Bichi as a seer. She advised the populace to repent and to honor the Immaculate Conception with a procession into the cathedral behind a gonfalon embellished with its device. Bichi even laid out the strategy whereby, as if by miracle, Siena divided and routed the enemy. In 1535, the Franciscan chapter followed her will, directing her burial in the floor facing the chapel of the Immaculate Conception (the last chapel in the transept to the left of the high altar). The chapel contained the aforesaid gonfalon, which probably followed engravings of 1527 that showed the Immaculate Virgin in heaven above a cityscape.⁸

The first mention of Signorini's statues in the chapel dates to 1625, when a painted Madonna was still venerated in the space.⁹ As the elder, Saint Catherine probably had the place of honor to the right of the altar. Both heads are turned leftward, but the sweeping arrangement of Saint Bernardino's limbs is optimally viewed if the figure is placed to the left. The bronzes escaped the fire of 1655 that destroyed the church. The chapel's altar was relocated to the right of the crossing and remade in 1723–24. Signorini's authorship was correctly reported from 1723 to 1835, with the exception of an anonymous mid-eighteenth-century observer who claimed the statues were the work of Vecchietta. Ettore Romagnoli's description of the whole altar as it existed about 1835 suggests rich effects and signals shifts in the evolution of taste, praising Signorini to the detriment of Vecchietta, no less:

In S. Francesco on the altar of the right crossing in which is located the Blessed Virgin of the Conception are seen two bronze statues of Saint Catherine and Saint Bernardino cast by our Siennese sculptor [Signorini]. Two niches flanking a Tabernacle in the form of an altar contain two separate columns with, above, a cornice adorned with the heads of cherubim. Above the said two niches is a tribune all of marble, worked rather delicately in arabesques, and above this at the sides are seen two oval spaces, in one of which is the half-length angel Gabriel, and in the other the Annunciate Virgin Mary in low relief sculpted in the manner of the Resurrection of the altar of Sant'Agostino; thus reasonable in design but not too angular and with little

chasing. In other parts of the altar, and in the signorial arms situated on the pedestals of the columns are fine heads of cherubim, with foliage, and playful strokes, all finely carried out by the chisel of our Fulvio Signorini. The statue in the right niche represents Saint Catherine with the crucifix in her right hand. Graceful is the movement in the statue, fine the face and the hand, and apart from some gravity in the vestments it is well enough designed, and cast, just as the hand which holds the book is beautiful. The statue of Saint Bernardino in the other niche has a rather expressionless head; in the drapery it is grave, square in the thorax, long in the arm, which holds the Holy Name of Jesus, and cold overall, resembling rather more a cast by the unfortunate Vecchietta than that of an artist who lived, and trained in the century of the graceful Vanni and the lively Salimbeni.¹⁰

In 1859, the church was abandoned, reduced to a barracks, and an image of the Madonna was stolen. The latter information was repeated in 1863, and the statues by Signorini, “a little under lifesize,” were said to have been “conserved.” Restoration, underway by 1883, eradicated “all that the bad taste of the XVII and XVIII centuries had put there”—including not only the bronze saints but the rest of the chapel, much of whose decoration was probably by Signorini. By 1892, “the work of restoration was brought to completion with happy success.” In other words, the church had been stripped to its Romanesque essentials. By 1894, “everything in the church that was superfluous and unseemly was demolished.”¹¹

Fulvio Signorini did not leave a large oeuvre or imprint. He was born in 1563, the son of a Sienese goldsmith, Antonio di Signorino Signorini. Tradition situates Fulvio in Rome assisting Prospero Bresciano on the *Moses* of the fountain known as the Acqua Felice (1586–87).¹² As Sienese bronzes of the later sixteenth century are rare, there is reason to want to tie Signorini to Prospero, maker of the lifesize bronze crucifix in the oratory of Santissima Trinità, Siena, commissioned in 1576.¹³ But Prospero has no stylistic connection with our saints, and Signorini’s participation in the *Moses*, undocumented, has reasonably been called into question.¹⁴

The first dated work by Signorini with a meaningful bearing on the saints is the *Risen Christ* commissioned in 1592 by Giugurta Tommasi, historian and rector of Siena Cathedral, for display on its high altar during the weeks after Easter (now in the Museo dell’Opera della Metropolitana).¹⁵ About two-thirds lifesize, the *Risen Christ* is signed and dated 1594.¹⁶ Its lengthy gestation involved complex resonances. There are strong graphic accents and crinkly drapery reminiscent of Vecchietta, resemblances long noted, and more than a bow in the direction of Giambologna’s elegant marble on the Altar of Liberty in San Martino, Lucca (1577–79).¹⁷ A hybrid composition resulted, neither realist nor idealist, and rather superficial in relation to both Vecchietta and Giambologna. As Romagnoli put it: “it

resembles more a robust boy than the type of beauty which is that of the Nazarene.”¹⁸

These tensions are resolved and well orchestrated in The Met’s saints. They retain satiny surfaces and sweeping folds with undulations but are less crinkled, as befits their monastic habits. Much the same contrapposto is made both suave and urgent through greater elongation, and a certain sweetness is obtained through acquaintance with the work of local painters such as Francesco Vanni and Alessandro Casolani. Undeniable improvements lead us to conclude that the saints, by far Signorini’s best work, follow the *Risen Christ* by several years, perhaps a decade.

We lose track of Signorini after 1609. In 1608, the same Tommasi commissioned from him the seated marble statue of Pope Paul V, signed and dated 1609, now in the courtyard of Palazzo Chigi-Saracini, Siena, whose pedestal is lettered instead with the name of Julius III.¹⁹ The bronze saints have few if any traits in common with that stiff, forbidding pontiff. Signorini and the architect Flaminio del Turco were paid in common for the pope and his pedestal, and it could well be that some of the architectural sculpture in the San Francesco chapel had been their joint enterprise as well. JDD

PROVENANCE: church of San Francesco, Siena (ca. 1600–ca. 1883); private owner [represented by Raoul Heilbronner, 1889; sold to Ryan]; Thomas Fortune Ryan, New York (1910–d. 1928; estate sale, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, November 23–25, 1933, lots 420, 421; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Middeldorf 1938 (with earlier references); Sricchia Santoro 1980, pp. 260, 269–71; Bianchi and Giunta 1988, pp. 388–89, no. 368

NOTES

- Alluded to in Tucker 2002, p. 133 n. 67. Murray’s letter, kindly transcribed by Peta Motture, is in the archives of the V&A, C. F. Murray file, paper 6098.
- Letter from Maclagan to Remington, January 10, 1934, MMA Archives, Office of Secretary Records, “Purchases-Authorized-American Art Galleries, Ryan, Thos. Fortune,” sale, 1933–35.
- Remington 1934.
- The great Sienese painter and sculptor Lorenzo di Pietro, il Vecchietta, has yet to be studied in sufficient depth, but see Vigni 1937.
- Ilardi 2007, pp. 170–71; Israëls 2007, p. 105.
- Now in the Bargello; see Francesco Ortenzi in Garibaldi and Mancini 2009, cat. 26.
- Lusini 1894, p. 177. For Bichi, see Menchi 1968; King 1998, pp. 219–21.
- Matsubara 2004, p. 63, fig. 11.
- Unless otherwise noted, information about the history and contents of the chapel is from Middeldorf 1938.
- Romagnoli 1976, vol. 8, pp. 441–43.
- All quotes from Middeldorf 1938, p. 286.
- Starting with Ugurgieri Azzolini 1649, vol. 2, p. 382.
- Alessandro Bagnoli in Sricchia Santoro 1980, pp. 261–63, cat. 106a.
- Ostrow 2006, p. 272.
- Della Valle 1782–86, vol. 2, p. 430; Daniela Bruschetti in Sricchia Santoro 1980, pp. 272–73, cat. 108.
- Signorini here identified himself as “Pisan,” perhaps suggesting why works in Siena are otherwise unidentified during this stretch. The inscription reads: IVGVRTHA: AEDITVC: | FVLVIO : SIGNORINI : PESENIS : INVEVTOR : 1594. The disk of the self-base is sunk into a pedestal and partly covers the date, but the last digit is a high-pitched “4,” so a date of 1592 or 1593, reported elsewhere, is incorrect.
- C. Avery 1987, pp. 193–94.
- Romagnoli 1976, vol. 8, p. 434.
- Butzek 1980, p. 52, fig. 6.



Siren

Camillo Mariani (Vicenza 1565–1611 Rome)

Rome, ca. 1600

Bronze

32 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 44 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (81.6 × 113.7 × 34 cm)

Rogers and Edith Perry Chapman Funds, 2000 (2000.69)

Confidently modeled and roughly cast, our bronze possesses a visual allure consonant with its subject's storied song. The figure's youthful physique, parted lips, and assertive manipulation of her tails communicate the vivacity and disconcerting hybridity of the mythological subject. Smooth skin, ribbed fins, patterned scales, and especially the flicker of massed hair over the shoulders and down the back reveal an artist adept at arranging sculptural forms and manipulating the play of light across volume and a variety of surfaces. With the shock of familiar anatomies—human and piscine—in unexpected union, and with all the resplendence of large-scale, metal, light-reflecting sculpture, the *Siren* undoubtedly continues to fulfill much of its original promise in spite of the effects of time.¹

At the time of its acquisition in 2000, Olga Raggio dated the bronze circa 1570–90 and suggested Taddeo Landini as a possible author. Ian Wardropper accepted that dating, while the present author also entertained the possibility that it was made in the early seventeenth century, and both authors expanded the list of modelers and casters in Sistine Rome under consideration.² In a more recent study of Camillo Mariani's Roman period, Fernando Loffredo convincingly attributed our bronze to that Vicentine sculptor, circa 1600. His strongest argument is stylistic, soundly based on the *Siren*'s formal relationship to Mariani's large stucco statues of saints for the rotunda of San Bernardo alle Terme produced in 1598–1602 (p. 320, fig. 111c).³ He also pointed out that Mariani was praised during his Roman years for his ability in casting bronze, a skill already demonstrated before his arrival in Rome, in the *Mother Ape* group (cat. 111).⁴

It has yet to be determined when our bronze came into the Rothschild collection at the Château de Pregny, built by Adolphe de Rothschild in 1858 and remaining in that family. In an earlier publication, the present author collocated published inventories and a drawing to trace details of the sculpture's earlier history as follows. In Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte's posthumous inventory of 1627, the bronze was in his palace on via di Ripetta, Rome, in a room that, at least for the purposes of the notarial inventory, was called the Stantia or Sala della Sirena. By 1644, it was in the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane and the possession of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, in a room near the Sala Ovale at the heart of the *piano nobile* of the palace. In both of these circumstances, the *Siren* was installed with a strigilated marble sarcophagus, which can be identified with one that remains at the Palazzo Barberini (fig. 110a). The sculpture appears next in the other main Barberini residence in







Fig. 110a. Sarcophagus. Roman, 2nd century A.D. Marble; 23% × 86% × 38% in. (60 × 220 × 98 cm). Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome

Rome, the Palazzo ai Giubbonari, where it is listed in Cardinal Antonio's posthumous inventory of 1671. The third mention of the *Siren* in a Barberini inventory comes around 1680 in a list of Antonio's nephew Maffeo's possessions, by which time it had returned to the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. The sculpture likely remained at that palace, as it was there in the 1720s that Giovanni Domenico Campiglia noted it in a list of sculptures he sent to his English patron Richard Topham, who in turn ordered a drawing of it (fig. 110b).⁵

Campiglia's drawing provides the strongest evidence that our bronze is the same as that once owned by the Barberini and Cardinal del Monte. The left fin, missing in Campiglia's drawing, is of different facture and alloy than the body, apparently a

repair made subsequent to the drawing. Comparison of the drawn and sculpted crown, along with its misalliance with the bronze figure's head, suggests that what we see today is a replacement, but one made perhaps in consultation with the original.⁶

The crowned, frontally disposed piscine siren grasping her tails was a heraldic symbol of several branches of the powerful Colonna family.⁷ Naturally, attempts have been made to associate The Met's bronze with that family's patronage. Raggio proposed that it was made for the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, and Wardropper suggested a connection to the naval victory of Marcantonio Colonna at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.⁸ As with his attribution, Loffredo has offered the most specific suggestion for patronage to date, namely that it was made for a fountain in the garden of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna in Marino. That fountain is known through archival documents pertaining to its construction in 1598 and its relocation the following year, and a drawing that can be dated between 1598 and 1609.⁹

While it is certainly a possibility, and an intriguing one, Loffredo's arguments against this hypothesis seem more convincing than those for it.¹⁰ To the former should be added the drawing's purported rendering of our *Siren* with the same ink and washes as the two other sirens on the fountain, which it is proposed were made of stone (while the artist distinguished the fountain's architectural elements and the water with different colors); the careful arrangement of the sirens' hair in braids rather than the loose tresses of our bronze; and above all the looped tails present in the drawing, which are more typical of Colonna imagery than the simpler recurves described by those elements in the bronze.

Given our inability at this point to substantiate a connection to the Colonna family, it might be worthwhile to use



Fig. 110b. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (1692–1775), *Una Sirena di Metallo*, ca. 1720–30. Graphite and/or black chalk; 10% × 16 in. (27 × 40.5 cm). Eton College Library, Windsor, Topham Drawings (Bn. 2, no. 105)

Mother Ape

Camillo Mariani (Vicenza 1565–1611 Rome)

Urbino, 1595–96

Bronze

25½ × 13 × 20⅞ in. (63.8 × 33 × 52.4 cm)

European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Funds, 2006 (2006.35)

Ockham's razor to open the possibility that the *Siren* was made for Cardinal del Monte, in whose collection we first learn of it. The cardinal's deep interest in music theory and his patronage of musicians and composers have been well documented and reconstructed.¹¹ He also moved in a sector of Roman society that included Cesare Ripa, Torquato Tasso, and Giambattista Marino, each of whose literary efforts often invoked hybrid allegories and other marvels.¹² It is tempting to think of our *Siren* as a cousin of the speaking likenesses that populate Caravaggio's paintings of musician youths made for del Monte,¹³ but with the added hermetic depth of an emblem or an embodied riddle that would have stimulated the members of intellectual societies such as the academies of the *Insensati* or the *Unisoni* active in Rome around 1600.¹⁴

Her coarse tumult of hair makes it clear that the *Siren* was meant to be seen from both front and back. Nonetheless, it is a notably planar composition. Mariani or any other artist working at this level would have been able to generate a serpentine composition if directed and may well have relished curling or entwining the tails, if doing so did not conflict with other requirements of the design. The design decisions reached in the *Siren* could indicate that the marble sarcophagus, which also has two main viewpoints, was kept in mind from the time of the bronze's commission.¹⁵ That may help explain why the two objects remained closely associated for decades through different collections. PJB

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, via di Ripetta, Rome (before 1627); Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane (by 1644), and later Palazzo Barberini ai Giubbonari (before 1671); his nephew, Maffeo Barberini, Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane (by ca. 1680); probably descended in the Barberini family, Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane (until at least the 1720s); Rothschild family, Pregny, Switzerland; [Alain Moatti, by 1992–2000; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Olga Raggio in MMA 2000, p. 24; Bell 2011; Wardropper 2011, pp. 90–92, no. 28; Loffredo 2016

NOTES

1. The bronze was well cast in one piece with the exception of the crown, which does not appear to be original. The surface has been filed in some areas, apparently to remove corrosion pitting. R. Stone/TR, December 22, 1999. 2. Wardropper 2011, p. 92; Bell 2011, p. 161. 3. Loffredo 2016, pp. 198–99. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 196. 5. For a more detailed discussion of the *Siren's* ownership, see Bell 2011, pp. 161–66. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 166. See also note 1 above. 7. Wardropper 2011, p. 90, references examples pertaining to the Paliano and Palestrina branches. 8. MMA 2000, p. 24; Wardropper 2011, p. 92. 9. Loffredo 2016, pp. 200, 206 n. 47, 207 n. 49. 10. *Ibid.*, p. 201. 11. For example, Camiz 1991; Whitfield 2008; Ważbiński 1994, vol. 1, pp. 99–103. 12. Whitfield 2008, p. 4. 13. See Camiz 1991. 14. See Whitfield 2008. 15. *Pace* Loffredo 2016, p. 199.

On May 13, 1595, the architect Vincenzo Scamozzi recommended Camillo Mariani, like himself a native of Vicenza active throughout the Veneto, to the duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria II della Rovere. Scamozzi called his sometime collaborator a “worthy young man and the unique hope for sculpture.”¹¹ Within a month, Mariani was paid for the model of a crucifix, otherwise unaccounted for, and on November 8 of the following year, 240 scudi were paid to the “Venetian sculptor for the [models of] monkeys of the fountain of Miralfiore,” the duke's grand hunting lodge and guesthouse in Pesaro. An additional 182 scudi were allocated for “copper and other things to make said monkeys.”¹² It is generally accepted that Mariani was this “Venetian sculptor.” The second sum directly implicates him in the apes' casting, whereas he had previously made his mark chiefly as the author of refined stucco figures in the niches of Palladian villas, notably that of the Cornaro family at Piombino Dese (ca. 1592–94).³

The fragmentary group comprises a mother ape bereft of two children. A proposed reconstruction suggests that these offspring clung to their mother's back and flanks.⁴ Their heads are gone, but four strong, nimble legs are perfectly visible, especially in profile views. In two places, their footholds register as mere footprint-shaped indentations. They are Barbary apes, of the species *Macaca sylvanus*, today endangered but still encountered in Gibraltar. Recognizable by their (barely) vestigial tails, Barbary apes are further known for their exemplary parenting. Mariani undoubtedly chose his specimens from the della Rovere menagerie, probably at Miralfiore, where these pets may have enjoyed local celebrity.

A watercolor of 1626 records the layout of the fountain of the apes at Miralfiore: a central group—ours—with four separate creatures along the four lobate sides, all dimly visible inside the trellised garden (fig. 111a). In November of 1631, the year in which Duchess Vittoria della Rovere married Francesco de' Medici, grand duke of Florence, an account of her inheritance lists the “Fountain with statuettes of Bronze representing Monkeys in various acts.”¹⁵ In 1655, three of the lateral bronzes reached the Medici villa of Poggio Imperiale.⁶ Today they occupy a rather forlorn waterworks at the top of the Boboli Gardens in Florence (fig. 111b). Obviously weathered and quite worn in places, they still exhibit the same droll humor as our group, which they originally surrounded, as if kibitzing on the sidelines while the young clamber alongside their mother, seeking protection from the spraying water.



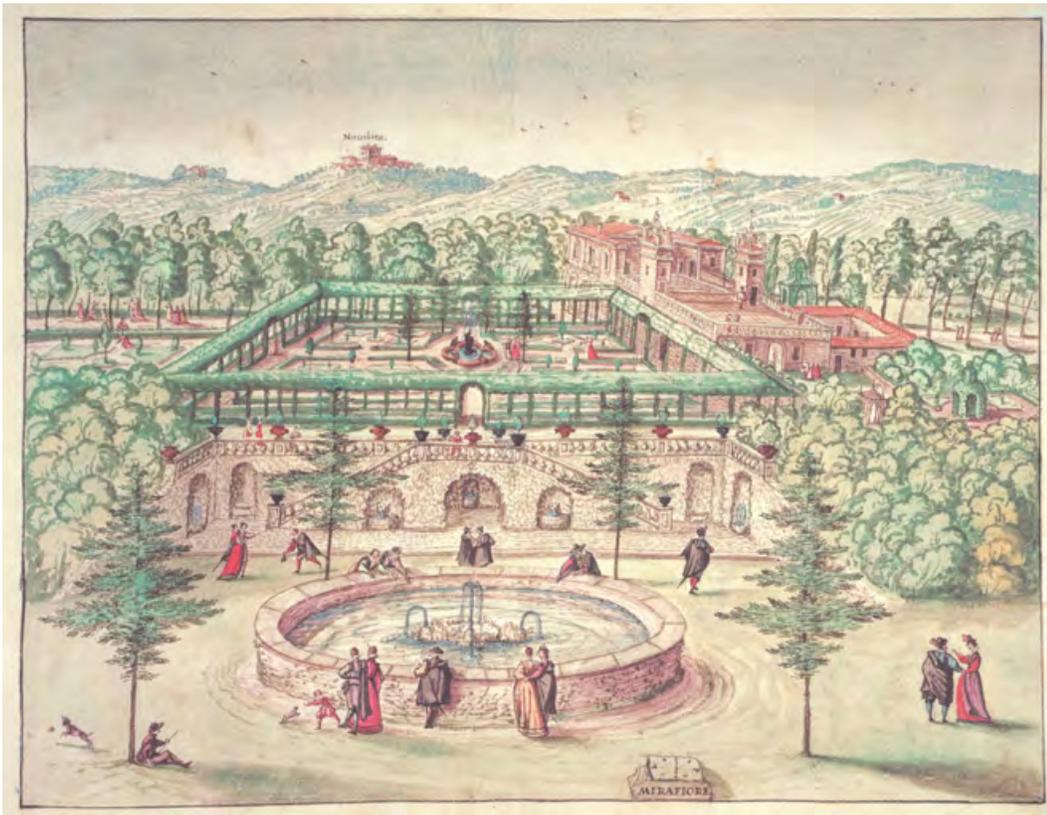


Fig. 111a. Giovanni Francesco Mingucci (d. 1675), *View of the Garden at Villa Miralfiore*, 1626. Watercolor and tempera. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (cod. Barberiniano 4434, fol. 12)

One seated ape and the fountain's centerpiece remained in Pesaro until at least November 27, 1777, when a survey of the grounds at Miralfiore by Antonio Bambozzi and Domenico Massi recorded "a small lobed basin of stone with its fountain in the middle, which falls into a small bowl of bronze, which is held up by four little monkeys likewise of bronze."⁷⁷ The total of four may reflect our group of three plus the member of the quartet that was left behind possibly because they were so firmly installed that they resisted being wrenched from the fountain. When they finally succumbed, the one left along the side must have been destroyed, while our group was badly maimed. As if by way of consolation, after the top of the mother's left shoulder was ripped open, it permitted glimpses into the methods involved in her making.

Despite its small size, the group weighs an astounding 192 pounds, owing to its essentially solid casting. The nominal core, comprising fired clay and some plaster, is a hollow cylinder a few inches in diameter that served simply as a conduit for the original water pipe, itself a nearly solid-cast bronze. At the upper end, in the recess that would have received an infant's shoulders, is the stub of a thin-walled iron tube mortared into the conduit. It is not the original pipe, which would have been copper or lead, but a souvenir of a later attempt to fasten the infant's head and shoulder to its mother's body.

The bronze is too thick to prove receptive to radiography, but X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis of the mother's head

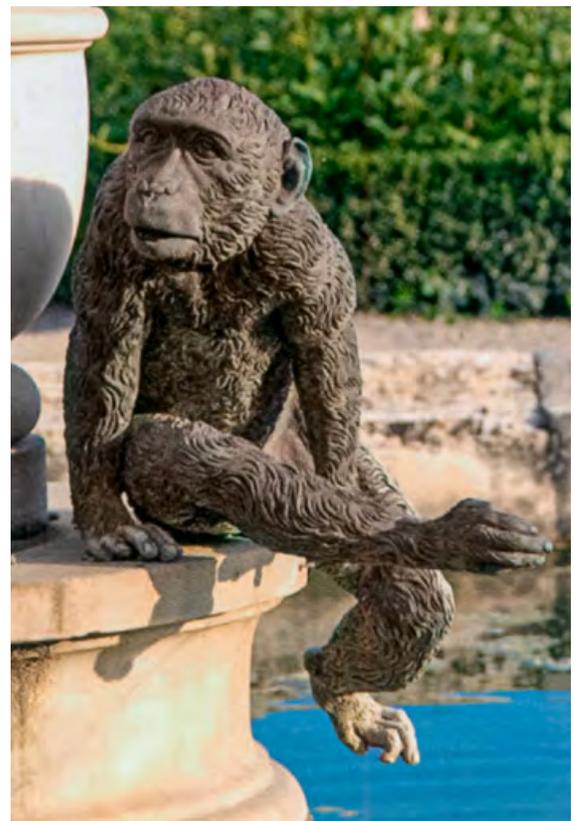


Fig. 111b. Camillo Mariani, *Barbary Ape*, 1595–96. Bronze. Boboli Gardens, Florence



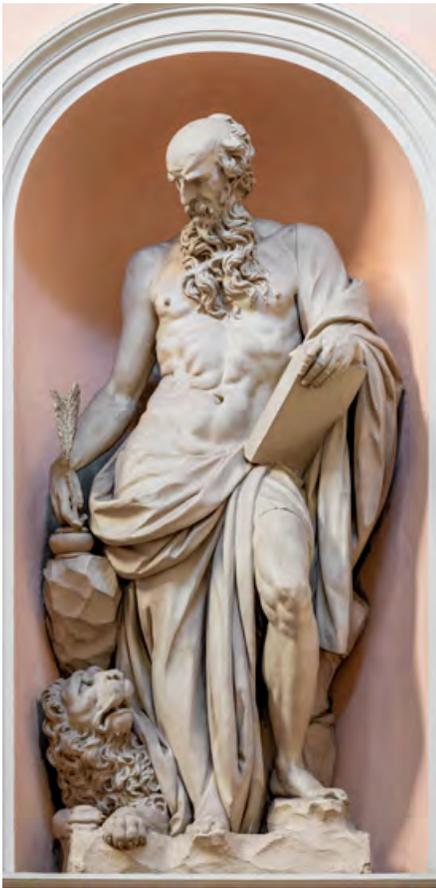


Fig. 111c. Camillo Mariani, *Saint Jerome*, 1598–1602. Stucco. San Bernardo alle Terme, Rome

was more informative. The metal is a simple tin bronze with minor impurities of nickel, lead, antimony, and—surprisingly—selenium, an element related to sulfur. While frequently present in copper from sulfide ores, selenium is unusual in quantities detectable by XRF. Even without the selenium, it is clear that the copper used in this alloy is not typical of most bronzes of the period, as there is no detectable silver and only traces of lead. Both the casting practice and the composition of the metal suggest a provincial foundry using local metal sources and unused to casting sculpture, all of which seems to fit with an origin in Urbino (or Pesaro).

Returning to the reconstruction, one baby ape was held with its back toward the viewer and its head over its mother's proper left shoulder. The lost head and shoulders would have fit like a stopper into the large aperture at the top of the group. Between this infant's left forearm and its mother's back are four well-manicured fingertips, almost certainly belonging to the second infant; they are all that remain of this third ape. It once grasped its sibling's left forearm and rested its right foot on the first infant's left shin, as indicated by an indent mark on the latter. Its right hand clutched its sibling's right upper arm, making for a rather precarious pose. It is possible that the otherwise unaccounted-for left foot stood on the ground, but it remains striking that all three apes were assembled from at

least three sections without relying on any fixed mechanical joins—the small bronze pin in the first infant's right upper arm is inadequate for anything but positioning—but depended entirely on gravity for its stability.

Between 1595 and 1597, Mariani executed statuary for the facade of the Basilica Palladiana in Vicenza, but by December 1597 he had settled permanently in Rome. His most memorable Roman works are eight colossal stucco saints in San Bernardo alle Terme, begun in 1598. In the statue of Saint Jerome (fig. 111c), we encounter the long, undulating draperies with splendid parallel diagonals that justify his authorship of *Mother Ape*, to say nothing of a predilection for ropy lengths of hair (or fur, as the case may be) that is evident in both works. The literature speaks of Mariani retaining memories of Alessandro Vittoria's style, but in reality, by the time of the Pesaro apes and San Bernardo, he appears to have developed a grave but dynamic manner all his own, without obvious Venetian traits and, curiously, without discernible reference to Michelangelo. The apes also show no knowledge of the best-known animalier sculptor of the day, Giambologna in Florence, to whom the *Mother Ape* once bore an untenable attribution.⁸ Giambologna, as in his famous bronze birds in the Bargello, sought out perfect specimens, whereas the completely independent Mariani, while equally true to nature, strove to invest his creatures with sympathetic souls. Alas, there are no other proofs of his investigations along these pre-Darwinian lines.⁹ JDD & RES

PROVENANCE: commissioned by Francesco Maria II della Rovere (1596–d. 1631), duke of Urbino, for Villa Miralfiore, Pesaro; his granddaughter, Vittoria della Rovere;¹⁰ Villa Miralfiore (until at least 1777); private collection, Belgium; [art market, Geneva, until 2001; sold to Katz]; [Daniel Katz Ltd., London, 2006; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Tarca 1997, pp. 6, 36, 60, nos. 6, 62, 70; Panzini 1998, p. 278; Schmidt 1998, pp. 72, 99; Schmidt and Tarca 2002 (to Camillo Mariani); James David Draper in MMA 2006, p. 34 (to Mariani); De Lotto 2008, pp. 123–25, fig. 82; Wardropper 2011, pp. 98–100, no. 31 (to Mariani)

NOTES

1. “. . . giovane di valore e di speranza singolare nella scultura.” Gronau 1936, p. 272.
2. “. . . per le scimie della Fonte di Mira[lfiore]”; “. . . per rame et altre cose per fare le sopradette scimie.” Schmidt 1998, p. 73.
3. Dickerson 2015 is a probing study of Mariani's *stucchi*. Later, in his Roman phase, he worked on projects involving bronze but only provided the models. See De Lotto 2008.
4. Reconstruction by Richard Stone, Objects Conservation, MMA.
5. “Fontana con statuette di bronzo rappresentanti scimmie in diversi atti . . .” Schmidt 1998, p. 99 n. 207.
6. Schmidt and Tarca 2002, pp. 71–72.
7. “Una vaschetta centinata di pietra con sua fontana in mezzo, che cade in un piccolo catinello di bronzo, che è sostenuto da quattro scimmioiti parimenti di bronzo.” Schmidt 1998, pp. 72, 99 n. 207.
8. Schmidt and Tarca 2002 clinched Mariani's responsibility for the mother ape and her former companions.
9. For the period's captivating simian investigations, see Janson 1952, a classic.
10. The statuette did not follow Vittoria to Florence with the rest of her possessions after she married Francesco de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, in 1633.



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Reclining Female Figure

Probably Rome, mid-16th century

Bronze, on a later wood base

4 × 5 × 1¼ in. (10.2 × 12.7 × 4.4 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

([32.100.180](#))

The generically Michelangelesque figure wears a turbanlike helmet with short flaps at the back of the neck, a leathern pepulum belted and gathered under the breasts and over the

abdomen, a long skirt gathered at the knees, and midcalf boots. An old hole for affixing is under the right foot, and a modern drill hole passes through the middle of the underside. Wilhelm von Bode thought the model reflected an intervention by Teodoro della Porta on the marble allegorical figure of Justice (or Equanimity, or Fidelity) by his father Guglielmo della Porta on the tomb of Paul III in Saint Peter's Basilica.¹ In 1594–95, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese had Teodoro fashion a *camicia di metallo*—a blouse or nightgown of metal—to mute the figure's sexuality.² Guglielmo's own drawing for the marble shows that he intended a tumbling coiffure and a drapery not all that



revealing except for light indications of nipples.³ The bronze figure is oriented in the opposite direction; there are no indications of the marble's attributes, a flame and consular fasces; the costume is not suggestive of any particular allegory; and there is nothing of the quirky elegance of Guglielmo. Teodoro's style is less easy to judge, but Bode's idea has to be jettisoned. JDD

PROVENANCE: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1907–12, vol. 2, pl. CXXXVI (as Florentine, mid-16th century); Bode 1910, vol. 2, p. 4, no. 119 (to Guglielmo or Teodoro della Porta)

NOTES

1. Bode 1910, vol. 2, p. 4, no. 119. 2. Cadier 1889, p. 80. Teodoro calls the figure Justice; its pair on the tomb is Prudence. 3. Gramberg 1964, vol. 1, pl. 196.

— 113 —

The Young Hadrian After Guglielmo della Porta (Porlezza ca. 1500–1577 Rome), after the antique

Possibly Rome, late 16th or 17th century

Bronze, on a later stone base

16¾ × 9¾ × 11⅞ in. (42.5 × 24.8 × 30.2 cm)

Gift of Eugene V. Thaw, 2004 (2004.83.4)

With densely curling hair, luxuriant sideburns, and a sideward movement, the bust is of an ancient type, that of the young Hadrian, initiated about A.D. 128. It is represented by marble heads in the Prado, from the collection of Philip II; the Villa Adriana, Tivoli, discovered in 1954; and elsewhere.¹ Renaissance bronze copies are in the Palazzo Reale, Naples, part of a large series of bronzes after the antique offered to Duke Ottavio Farnese by the Roman sculptor Guglielmo della Porta in 1575; the Louvre, from the collections of Louis XIV; the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; the Hermitage; and other collections.² A typically literal Imperial detail is present in the Roman marbles: Hadrian's earlobes were peculiarly creased, but there is only the barest suggestion of that trait in the later copies' right ears.

The Munich bust has dominated the discussion because of its quality and because Hans Weihrauch ascribed it, albeit unconvincingly, to Tullio Lombardo. The others have consequently generally been called northern Italian. Bertrand Jestaz's finding that the former Farnese properties survive and

are by Guglielmo della Porta cast everything in a new light. Guglielmo's involvement in these copies continues to surprise: we may sense some of his punctilio but nothing of his flairful linearity. On the other hand, his memo regarding the 1575 sale, quoted by Jestaz, suggests that this was purely a business arrangement, with little artistic involvement.³

The Met's bust is less crisp in modeling and execution than any of the above.⁴ It is not out of the question that Guglielmo and his shop issued replicas. The quality of ours seems truer to him than that of another copy, in the Palacio Real, Madrid, made under the direction of Diego Velázquez for Philip IV and attributed to Girolamo Ferrer, a Roman founder who executed the palace's series of seven busts together with the Spaniard Domingo de la Roja in 1652 and 1657.⁵ Their *Hadrian* wears a noticeable mustache. Ours has been deplorably treated. Three deep gouges across the nose were probably deliberate, suggesting, like the uneven splashes of "archaeological" green pigments, that an owner overstressed the design's antiquity. JDD

PROVENANCE: earl of Northampton; [Mallett, London]; Eugene Victor Thaw, New York (until 2004; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. For example, the marble in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia. For the Tivoli bust, see Opper 2008, pp. 58–60. 2. Jestaz 1993, working from the document in Gramberg 1964, was able to identify most of the casts. Coraggio 1999 added the *Hadrian* and the so-called *Servilius Ahala* in Palazzo Reale, Naples, to the rest of the Farnese group. For the Louvre example, see Paris 1999, cat. 294; for Munich, Weihrauch 1956, pp. 77–78, no. 102; for Saint Petersburg, Androsov 2007, pp. 148–49, no. 158; and for additional examples, London 1966, p. 9, cat. 17. 3. Jestaz 1993, pp. 47–48. 4. The alloy is a quaternary alloy of copper, zinc, tin, and lead, with trace impurities. R. Stone/TR, 2011. 5. See Maria Jesús Herrero Sanz in Coppel et al. 2009, pp. 141–43.

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Bust of a Roman

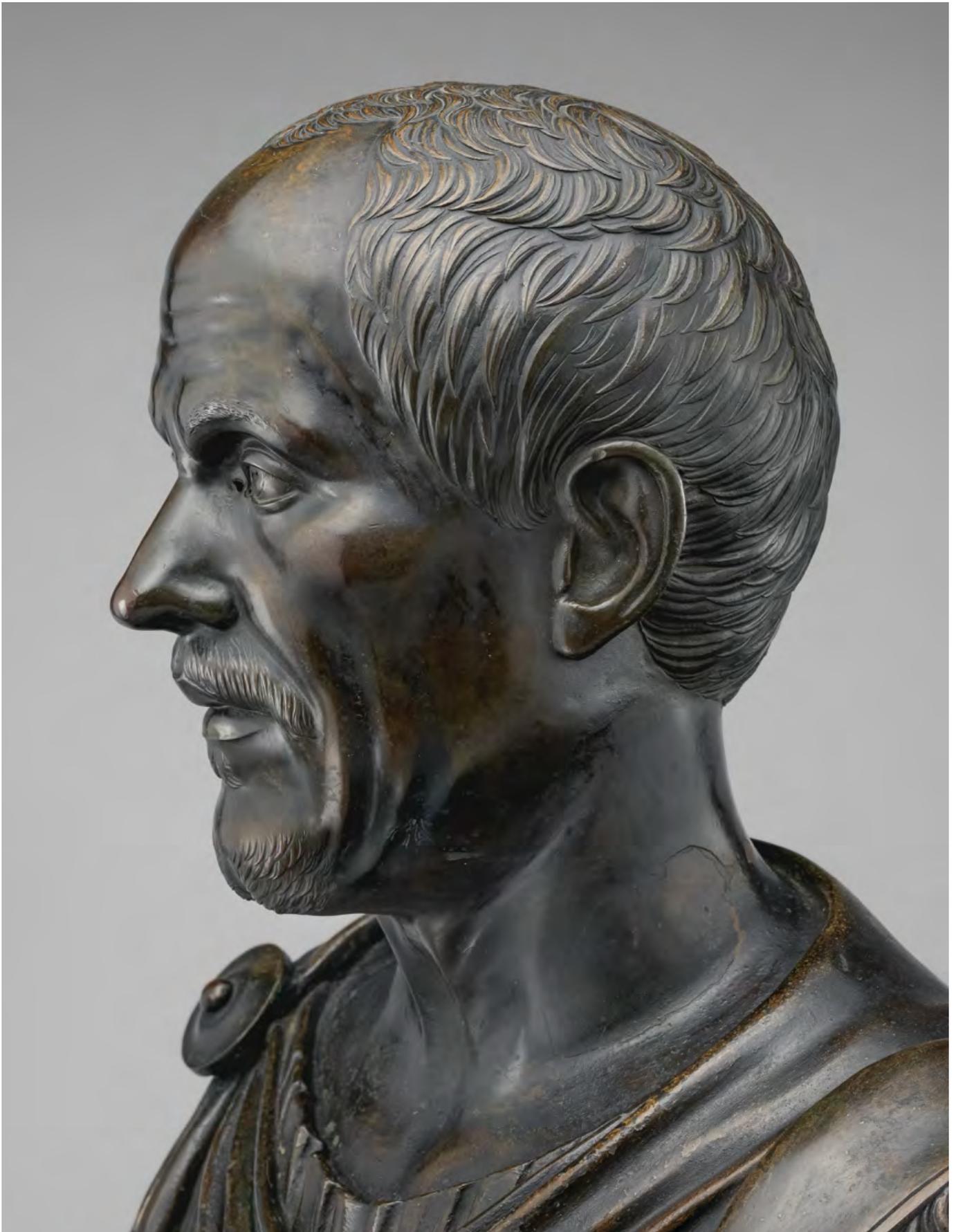
Italy, 17th century

Bronze, partially oil-gilt

22¼ × 18 × 9⅞ in. (56.5 × 45.7 × 25.1 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.22)

This mysterious bust, with furrowed brow, receding hairline, and smoothly, even uncannily polished curls and facial hair, was once in the collection of Mme d'Yvon, along with Antico's bust of Antoninus Pius (cat. 12). In the 1892 auction catalogue, the bust is described as portraying an old man, with gilding on the figure's mantle,¹ and identified as sixteenth-century Italian.





Bust of Christ

Rome, late 16th century

Bronze

14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (36.5 × 14 × 10.5 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1940 (40.14.2a, b)

The nearly identical language used to describe Antico's bust, as well as their consecutive placement in the sale listing, suggest the two busts were displayed together.²

Though the *Antoninus Pius* has since been elevated to a celebrated work by Antico, the author and dating of the present bust remain unclear. In the 1939 sale of the Berwind collection, it is described, implausibly, as by Pietro Tacca. Its origins were placed in northern Italy when it sold with the Heim Gallery in 1967 to Judge Untermyer, before entering The Met. Around the same time, Francesco Cessi put forth the medalist and sculptor Giovanni da Cavino as the author, and identified the subject as one of Cavino's patrons, the law professor Marco Mantova Benavides. Cavino's work as a sculptor remains unknown, and Cessi's proposal is ultimately unconvincing. James David Draper suggested it belonged to the generation of northern artists after Antico's death in 1528 and pointed to parallels between this bust and those by the sculptor Ludovico Lombardi, particularly a bust of an emperor in the Liechtenstein collection.

The range of potential authors and the lack of identifiable models lead to the conclusion that our bust is not a product of the mid-sixteenth century. Instead, it is likely a seventeenth-century pastiche meant to evoke ancient Roman portrait busts, particularly of the third century A.D., with which it bears certain affinities. Could it have been intended to be placed in dialogue with such ancient busts—or a work akin to the *Antoninus Pius*—in a Baroque palazzo? Our Roman was originally gilded and thus would have made a particularly resplendent pairing with Antico's emperor. JF

PROVENANCE: Mme d'Yvon, Paris (until 1892; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1892, lot 258, sold for 780 francs); Julia A. Berwind (until 1939; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, November 9–11, 1939, lot 325); [Heim Gallery, London, 1967; sold to Untermyer]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)

LITERATURE: London 1967, no. 14; Cessi 1969, p. 17, pl. 72; New York 1973, cat. 15; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 164, no. 306

NOTES

1. Currently obscured by later coatings that may have darkened over time. R. Stone/TR, 2011. 2. A photo of the gallery containing the bust is reproduced in the sale catalogue between pp. 68 and 69. The bust is shown in the corner, next to a reduction of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*. Only this one corner of the gallery is shown and it is unclear how the *Antoninus Pius* was installed.

Our *Christ* rests on a socle ornamented with a winged cherub's head and leaf and Greek fret moldings. The bust and the base were cast separately. The casting is very thin and flawless, and the finish on both front and back is outstanding. Apart from a few blemishes on the forehead, the work is in near-perfect condition. The fine-tuned, polished tresses cascading down the shoulders and back make this an object enjoyable from all angles.¹

Though our bust has been little published, other versions have attracted notice. These include one in the Skulpturensammlung, Berlin; one formerly in the collection of Oscar Bondy, Vienna; and one in the Ashmolean.² The last, studied by Nicholas Penny, is closest to our cast. Minor differences are evident across all four versions, particularly in the base moldings and the chasing of the hair. The Ashmolean *Christ* entered the collection with an attribution to Bastiano Torrigiani, following the judgment of Cyril Humphris.³ On the other hand, Ursula Schlegel assigned the Berlin version, which has a cartouche instead of a cherub, to Antonio Abondio based on purported similarities to his series of Christ medallions.⁴ Rudolf-Alexander Schütte was skeptical, opting instead for an unknown sculptor, late sixteenth century.⁵ Penny discarded Abondio altogether and, interestingly, regarding the Ashmolean bust, expressed doubts about the date, stating that he had never seen “this finish on any other bronze of the sixteenth or seventeenth century although it is a distinctive characteristic of the bronzes produced by the firm of Elkington in Birmingham in the mid-nineteenth century.”⁶ The finish of our *Christ* is also highly unusual. It was chased with meticulous attention to detail, exhibiting in the delicate curls of hair and beard an almost compulsive neatness and precision.⁷ The garment was worked with a roulette, just enough to suggest the woven texture of cloth, which in the Ashmolean version is rendered in cross-hatched lines. In our *Christ*, the pupils are concave, the irises traced with circles, and the eyebrows delineated with short oblique lines, while the Ashmolean bust lacks all these tricks.

At present, what seems most plausible is that this group of bronzes is a product of post-Tridentine Rome. Penny observed



a late sixteenth-century Florentine sensibility in Christ's "impassive" countenance. Though our bronze does not display the vibrancy of Torrigiani's oeuvre, the time period coincides with his output. The popularity of busts of Christ grew after the Council of Trent, and in particular under the pontificate of Pius V (1566–72), who showed a strong predilection for this type of religious artifact.⁸ It is also worth mentioning that the cherub's head, looking down and flanked by wings on the base, is similar to that above the emblem of the Society of Jesus designed by Bartolomeo Ammannati for the facade of the Gesù, Rome, in 1576.⁹ This may provide a direction for the dating and place of production of the base. FL

PROVENANCE: [Symons Galleries, until 1940; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Penny 1992, vol. 1, p. 191

NOTES

1. According to a note in ESDA/OF regarding the bust's function, it might have been used as a finial, perhaps for a ceremonial staff. The exceptional casting of both bust and base suggests the possibility that they were made by a silversmith rather than a bronze caster. The base was cast in brass with only a minor amount of tin, and was chased with a looser hand. The bust is a tin bronze. R. Stone/TR, October 21, 2010.
2. *Skulpturensammlung*, 10/62 (Schlegel 1966); ex-Bondy: Sotheby's, New York, November 25, 1986, lot 76; Ashmolean, WA1961.58 (Penny 1992, vol. 1, pp. 191–93, no. 134). Schlegel (p. 392) discusses a possible fourth bust at that time in New York (Germain Seligman) that lacked the original socle. Although similar to our bronze, it differs in the cutting of the chest (a more pronounced V shape), the garment folds, and the design of the hair on the shoulder.
3. See Penny 1992, vol. 1, p. 191.
4. Schlegel 1966, pp. 391–94.
5. Vienna 1988, vol. 1, pp. 593–94, cat. 491.
6. Penny 1992, vol. 1, p. 191.
7. R. Stone/TR, October 21, 2010.
8. See Natale 2002, pp. 85–87.
9. Pecchiai 1952, p. 72.



7

Florence,
Late 16th–
Early 18th
Century



Triton

Giambologna (Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, 1590s

Bronze

Height 36 in. (91.4 cm)

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 ([14.40.689](#))

For its superior quality, scale, and historical significance, this statue of a sea deity holds a preeminent position in The Met's collection of bronzes. It originally surmounted a freestanding fountain (now lost). Limbs akimbo, the Triton rests on a dolphin's tail behind him for purchase, thrusts out his chest, and puffs his cheeks to blow into an elongated, shell-like horn held straight above his upturned head. Water bursting from the horn would have cascaded over the figure and splashed into the basin below with a pleasing rush of sound and shimmers of light. Conceived to be viewed from all angles, the figure's implied rotation is amplified by limbs that extend outward in every direction like fans on a pinwheel. Repetitions in the design reinforce its in-the-round character: the Triton perches on a circular base formed of three dolphins with interlacing tails and heads resting on three inverted scallop shells. The pictorial quality of the modeling and the dazzling anatomy of the lithe, supple body bespeak a substantial creative investment. In the extraordinary head of hair, one can sense the fastidious rendering of each lock and curl done in the wax.

The statue's attribution to Giambologna is now well established, and in all probability it can be identified as one of several bronzes by the sculptor that Ferdinando I de' Medici gifted to Henry IV of France in 1598. Four smaller variants are known: in the Frick,¹ the Kunsthistorisches Museum,² and the Louvre;³ and one formerly in the Cyril Humphris collection.⁴ The Met's statue, the largest of the group, is undoubtedly the most complex, and there are subtle differences among the variants, factors that were carefully weighed when attempting to identify the *Triton*'s prototype—the *invenzione*—and its creator.⁵

The *fortuna critica* of the *Triton* is inextricably linked to a large marble in Palermo (Museo Archeologico Regionale Antonino Salinas) usually assigned to Battista Lorenzi, but recently revealed as a copy of Lorenzi's original, which was shipped to Madrid in the 1640s and is now lost.⁶ The bronze entered The Met in 1913 as part of the bequest of Benjamin Altman. It was initially attributed to Giambologna's prolific student Adriaen de Vries. Erich von Strohmer agreed and placed it at the end of the 1620s due to its similarity to de Vries's Tritons on the Fountain of Neptune in the Schloss Frederiksborg, Drottningholm, dated 1617. Lars Larsson, in his monograph on de Vries, rejected the attribution. Hans Weihrauch was the first to propose the name of Battista Lorenzi for our bronze, on the basis of his marble *Triton* in Palermo. John Pope-Hennessy agreed, with the caveat "inspired by Giovanni Bologna."



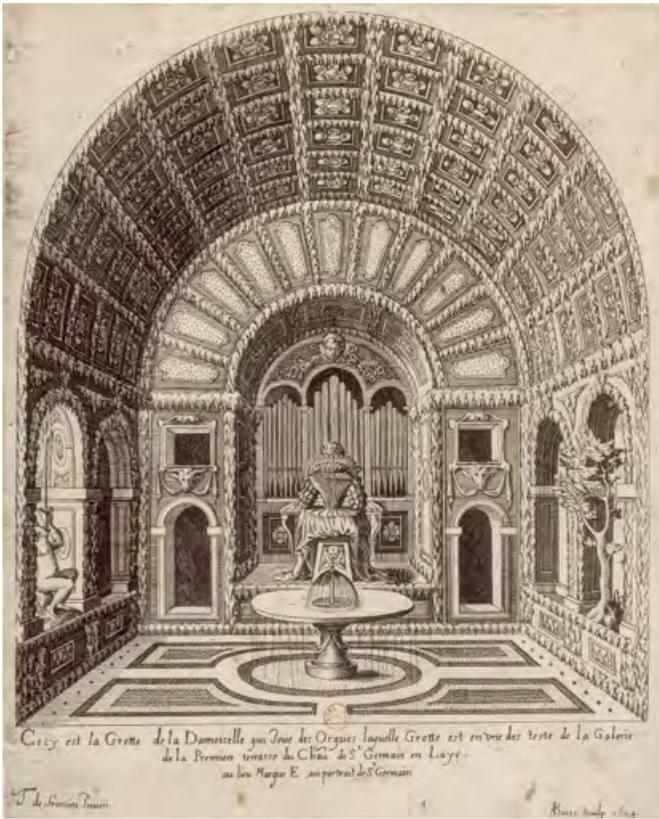


Fig. 116a. Abraham Bosse (1602/4–1676), *Grotte de la Demoiselle qui joue des orgues*, 1624. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Manfred Leithe-Jasper, also noting our statue's closeness to Giambologna's style, accepted the attribution to Lorenzi and suggested it was the model for the smaller bronzes.⁷

Meanwhile, in his doctoral dissertation of 1959, James Holderbaum had included the bronze in Giambologna's oeuvre.⁸ Twenty years later, the master's paternity was bolstered by Herbert Keutner, who considered the Altman *Triton* an autograph work from the late 1590s (although based on a 1560s model), given the formal affinities with the artist's *Angel* for the Duomo in Pisa and the *Flying Mercury* in the Louvre, "works which are comparable in their relatively summary modelling and chasing and in which the collaboration of Pietro Francavilla and Pietro Tacca has to be allowed for."⁹ Keutner's analysis is based on a 1598 inventory of Ferdinando I de' Medici's collection that mentions "items that His Highness sent to France . . . [including] a triton with dolphins that spurts water, from the hand of Gian Bologna. Pounds 110 [about 37 kilos]."¹⁰ James David Draper argued that the Altman *Triton* is "another case of an early masterpiece" by Giambologna, "perhaps as early as 1562," associating it with his *Samson* (V&A) and *Florence Triumphant over Pisa* (Bargello).¹¹ In light of these developments, Leithe-Jasper shifted his attribution from Lorenzi to Giambologna.¹² Finally, Charles Avery supported Giambologna's authorship in his 1987 monograph on the

artist.¹³ Notwithstanding disagreements over dating and the more or less strong contribution of the workshop, the assignment to Giambologna now appears settled.¹⁴

Provenance remains an open question, however. Confirmation that our *Triton* is indeed the bronze delivered to France by Ferdinando I before 1598, as Keutner believed, would of course solidify its dating. The bronzes were escorted to Paris by the goldsmith Jacques Bylivelt and the composer Emilio de' Cavalieri, superintendent of the Guardaroba Medicea.¹⁵ As corroborated in documents published by Blanca Truyols, the sculptures were installed in the gardens of Saint-Germain-en-Laye at the behest of Henry IV. Truyols also stressed the significance of the *Triton*'s presence on a list of bronzes, including a *Mercury*, cast by Domenico Portigiani for Giambologna and sent to France ("In France a figure of 3 braccia to Sig. Girolamo Gondi, and two of 2 braccia for the King's garden, and a Mercury and Triton").¹⁶

Alexander Rudigier proposed that a sketchy seated figure blowing a horn visible in Abraham Bosse's 1624 print depicting the so-called Grotto of the Young Lady Who Plays the Organ in the gardens of Saint-Germain-en-Laye might be the Altman *Triton* (fig. 116a).¹⁷ The statue's location in a niche, per the engraving, would not have favored an in-the-round statue, but its scale—medium-sized, like ours—supports the identification.¹⁸ Further evidence of the *Triton*'s presence in the grotto is provided in André Duchesne's description from 1609. Recall that a large bronze *Mercury* was sent to France along with a *Triton*. Based on Giambologna's more famous rendition today in the Bargello, the *Mercury* was cast for Ferdinando when he was still a cardinal in Rome.¹⁹ According to Duchesne, in the grotto was "a Mercury near the window, which has one foot up in the air and the other [foot] planted on a support, loudly sounding a trumpet."²⁰ Clearly, Duchesne conflated the two bronzes, as the first half of the description corresponds to the *Mercury* and the second half to the *Triton*.

Though there is a marked discrepancy between the current weight of our bronze (53.9 pounds) and that of the one sent to Henry IV noted in the 1598 document (110 pounds), a number of factors might account for this, which on its own cannot be considered a binding reason for accepting or rejecting the identification. Rudigier and Truyols provide a plausible explanation: the statue would likely have been fitted with a lead hydraulic mechanism before its transport to France.²¹ Many other factors have no doubt altered the weight of the *Triton* through the centuries. Recent technical analysis carried out by Richard Stone revealed a thick-walled cast with a continuous layer of copper corrosion on the surface—largely explained by the *Triton*'s function as a fountain.²²

All of these factors lead to the conclusion that the Altman *Triton* and the Giambologna bronze that Ferdinando I presented to Henry IV are one and the same.²³

How and when Giambologna arrived at the original *invenzione*, whose influence can be seen in Bernini's *Triton* and



beyond, is another point of contention. Keutner located the original model for the bronzes in the *Triumph of Neptune* relief on the Fountain of the Ocean in the Boboli Gardens.²⁴ The figures on the fountain, a mature masterpiece by Giambologna, were sculpted between 1571 and 1576.²⁵ Does this detail help us in dating the Altman *Triton*? If we subscribe to the supposition that Lorenzi's *Triton* in Palermo was inspired by Giambologna, we must then date his *invenzione* before 1577, when Lorenzi's work was documented in Sicily.²⁶ On the other hand, Giambologna's prototype may not be the Altman *Triton*. Instead, our bronze could be based on a previous model by the master that he revisited in the 1590s. This is supported by technical characteristics that indicate the Altman bronze is an indirect cast, pointing to the existence of a preserved model.²⁷ In this regard, Truyols claimed that an earlier version of our *Triton* had been cast for Emilio de' Cavalieri, probably in 1591.²⁸ Truyols's theory is based on two pieces of documentation. The first records a payment to Portigiani for casting an unspecified bronze figure for Cavalieri in 1591.²⁹ The second, a letter of July 3, 1599, from Francesco Bonciani, Ferdinando I's agent in Paris, reports the French king's satisfaction with the gift of bronzes, adding: "Let me also tell your Lordship that, for a fountain [Tommaso] Francino would like to do, it would be perfect [to have] a Triton that spurts water upward similar to the one of Signor Emilio dei Cavalieri, which was sent here for the King."³⁰ Bonciani is clearly requesting a pendant to the *Triton* already in France, but Truyols misread this sentence as a reference to another cast of the *Triton* ostensibly made for Cavalieri *before* he delivered the one gifted to Henry IV, and mistakenly concluded that Portigiani cast two *Triton* bronzes in the 1590s. It is not by chance that Portigiani, in his list of bronzes cast for Giambologna, mentions only one *Triton*, that sent to France.³¹

On a second level of analysis, does Bonciani's letter tell us that the *Triton* presented to Henry IV was previously in the possession of and/or commissioned by Cavalieri? It's a possibility. This opens up an exciting avenue of investigation: the connection between the *Triton* and the world of music, which might corroborate an intuition that Michael Cole had well before a possible link between Cavalieri and the bronze surfaced. Cole argued that "a catalogue of Giambologna's exhaling sculptures would have to include his *Bagpiper* [the Altman *Triton*], which not only fills a container with breath, but connects that breath to a notional tune. It would also have to note that Giambologna was one of many sculptors to turn his exhalation into music, materializing in water the sonorous waves of a wind instrument."³² What if Giambologna created the *Triton* under the intellectual stimulus of the influential Florentine musician? Cavalieri may well be the key figure in this story. All signs point to the *Triton* retaining such musical connotations in its translation to a French context. The Grotto of the Young Lady Who Plays the Organ, if that was indeed the *Triton*'s landing place,

was a recreational space obviously linked to music, but also an environment in which the relationship between sound and water was celebrated and performatively explored, as is made evident in Duchesne's description of the grotto.

Returning to the question of the *invenzione*: Giambologna likely formulated his design for a freestanding male figure blowing a horn in the late 1560s or early 1570s, the years in which he worked on the Fountain of the Ocean. This dating is compatible with the chronology of several other Florentine statues with the same musical characteristics sculpted in the 1570s: Battista Lorenzi's marble *Triton* (before 1577); the marble *Misenus* and the now-lost stone *Triton* carved by Stoldo Lorenzi for the Villa Corsi (1571–73); and a lost marble *Mercury* by Vincenzo de' Rossi.³³ We do not know the nature, materiality, and use of this hypothetical first model created by Giambologna, but it might have been instrumental in the making of the Altman *Triton*, whose casting can be reasonably dated to the 1590s.

In regard to the *invenzione*, the relationship between our *Triton* and a drawing in the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, New York, should be clarified.³⁴ Attributed to an anonymous seventeenth-century Flemish artist, the drawing depicts a Triton very similar to ours and the one in Palermo, surmounting a basin identical to the figure designed by Giambologna for his Fountain of Samson and a Philistine. More recent investigations reveal that the Cooper-Hewitt sheet is not a design by Giambologna, but rather depicts a fountain in the Jardín de la Reina in the Buen Retiro, Madrid, that was created by assembling Lorenzi's marble *Triton* (transported from Palermo) and the original basin of Giambologna's Samson fountain.³⁵ The drawing thus does not provide any useful information for the history of the Altman *Triton*'s conception.

Giambologna's composition remained popular well into the modern era. During the eighteenth century, the model was studied in England with the same reverence accorded an ancient sculpture. A drawing by Edward Francis Burney shows the *Triton* at the rear of a classroom set on a pedestal inside a large niche (fig. 116b). It corresponds to the Altman *Triton* in its features, scale, and even the shell-shaped base, and may very well illustrate a plaster copy of it. We do not know how or where the Royal Academy would have acquired such a copy (it would be a stretch to think that the bronze was ever in England), but the work was deemed essential to education in the British Academy. A modern reproduction was displayed at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, a testament to the enduring fame of Giambologna's *invenzione*. The exhibition catalogue illustrates it with the caption, "This fine statuette and pedestal, in bronze, are contributed by De Amici Angelo, the work of the sculptor Franzosi Giuseppe, both in Milan" (fig. 116c). This Milanese reproduction looks very much like the Frick variant, suggesting that the latter is indeed a late nineteenth-century cast. FL

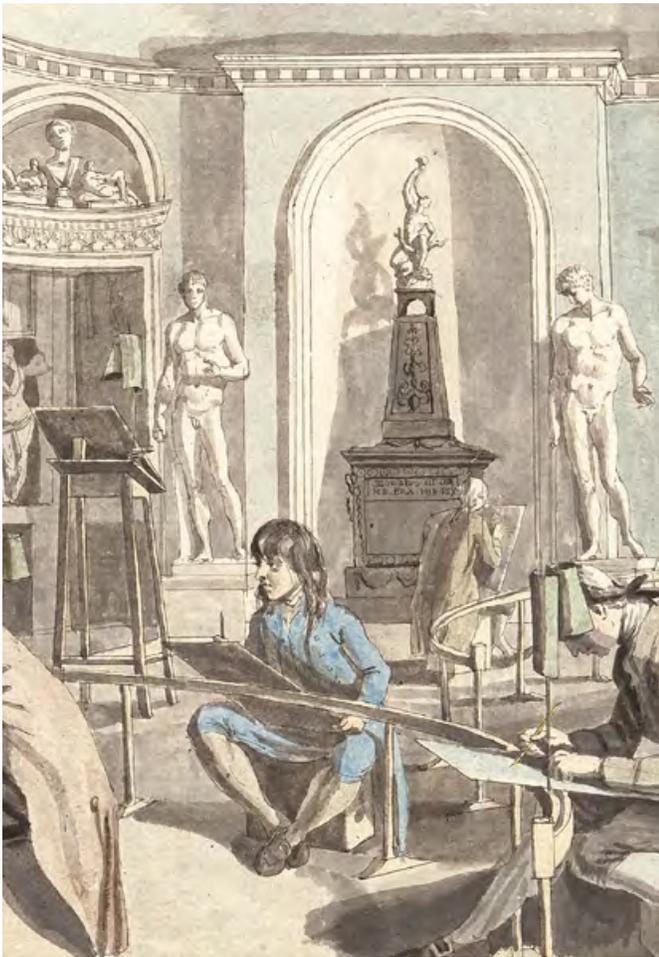


Fig. 116b. Edward Francis Burney (1760–1848), *The Antique School at New Somerset House* (detail), ca. 1780. Pen and ink with watercolor wash on laid paper; 13¼ × 19½ in. (33.5 × 48.5 cm). Royal Academy of Arts, London (03/7484)

PROVENANCE: probably Henry IV (1553–1610), Saint-Germain-en-Laye; Graf Albert János Esterházy de Galántha (1813–1845), Paris; Benjamin Altman, New York (until 1913; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Altman 1914, p. 132, no. 72; Strohmer 1947–48, p. 120, no. 63; Larsson 1967, p. 127, no. 26; Weihrauch 1967, p. 188, fig. 231; Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 203–6; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Tokyo 1973, cat. 90; Leithe-Jasper in Feuchtmüller 1976, pp. 88–89, cat. 88; Herbert Keutner in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 92–93, cat. 41; Draper 1978b, p. 155; Holderbaum 1983 [1959], pp. 112, 334, fig. 103; Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 220, cat. 56; C. Avery 1987, p. 210; Negri Arnoldi 1997, pp. 292–93; Schallert 2001, p. 505, fig. 2; Cole 2003, pp. 144–45; C. Avery 2006, p. 145; Cole 2011, pp. 113–15; Loffredo 2012, pp. 57–62, fig. 8; Rudigier and Truysols 2016, pp. 255–56, 263 n. 14, 293–96

NOTES

1. The very nimble Frick *Triton* (1916.2.44; 44.1 cm) entered the literature thanks to Wilhelm von Bode (1907–12, vol. 2, pl. CXLIX; and 1910, vol. 1, pp. xxviii–xxix, vol. 2, p. 5, no. 121, fig. LXXXIV) with an unpromising attribution to Cellini. Wiles 1933, p. 89, cited Bode’s opinion but pointed up affinities with Giambologna’s *Mercury* and *Samson*. Weihrauch 1967, p. 188, with little reasoning, named Battista Lorenzi, accepted



Fig. 116c. *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Universal Exhibition [Paris 1867]* Published with the *Art-Journal*, London, 1868, p. 137

by Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 203–6, even though the latter acknowledged significant differences in finish and details and concludes that The Met and Frick pieces could “hardly have been produced in the same studio.” Lastly, Keutner (in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 92, cat. 41) linked everything back to Giambologna but, leery of a full attribution, considered the Frick bronze to be a “later cast.” 2. Wiles 1933, pp. 88–89, brought the Vienna *Triton* (KK 9115; 44.8 cm) closer to Giambologna. Leithe-Jasper (in Tokyo 1973, cat. 90, and Feuchtmüller 1976, pp. 88–89, cat. 88) assigned it to Battista Lorenzi, in accord with Weihrauch 1967, p. 188. Keutner (in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 92, no. 41) thought it “Possibly a cast by Pietro Tacca.” Leithe-Jasper 1986, pp. 220–22, cat. 56, embraced Keutner’s theory with an attribution “after Giambologna.” 3. Wiles 1933, pp. 88–89, 131, tentatively put forward Giambologna’s name for the Louvre *Triton* (TH 95; 42.5 cm), together with the Frick and Vienna statuettes. Following Weihrauch 1967, p. 188 (who, however, had not explicitly cited the Louvre *Triton*), Jestaz 1969, p. 81, labeled it “d’après Battista Lorenzi?,” considering it closer to the manner of Giambologna. Keutner (in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 91–92, no. 41) was committed to the Louvre *Triton* as a Giambologna invention, with which Jestaz 1979, p. 78, immediately agreed. Jestaz also noted the existence of a silver *Triton* in the collection of Louis XIV (“Une figure de jeune homme qui joue du corps assis

sur un groupe de trois dauphins, un ligne et un corps d'argent vermeil doré d'Allemagne, haut de 18 pouces"; cited in Guiffrey 1885–86, vol. 1, p. 62, no. 426). **4.** "A rare bronze figure of a Triton blowing a horn. Early 17th Century, after a model by Giambologna" (42 cm), Sotheby's, New York, January 10–11, 1995, lot 216; see also Schallert 2001, p. 514 n. 6. **5.** As if playing the game *Spot the Difference*, we find that in fact none of the small bronzes corresponds perfectly to the Altman *Triton*. Apart from the inevitable deviations that occur during casting, the chief variables are, first, the position of the legs: bent and spread apart in the Louvre and Frick bronzes; in the others, the left leg bent and the other lowered, almost kneeling. Second, the horn: a thin aperture in the Louvre, Vienna, and Frick casts; a wide trumpetlike blowhole on the Altman statue. Finally, on the Vienna statuette, the left arm does not rest on the rock base but extends away from the body and holds in the hand a pierced half-shell, which one infers was designed as a nozzle. **6.** For the Lorenzi attribution, see Borghini 1584, p. 598; Wiles 1933, pp. 88–89, 131, 137–38. For the fate of Lorenzi's original marble, see Loffredo 2012, pp. 84–86. **7.** Altman 1914, p. 132, no. 72; Strohmer 1947–48, p. 120; Larsson 1967, p. 127, no. 26; Weihrauch 1967, p. 188; Pope-Hennessy 1970, pp. 203–6; Leithe-Jasper in Tokyo 1973, cat. 90, and Feuchtmüller 1976, pp. 88–89, cat. 88 (both on the Vienna *Triton*). **8.** Holderbaum 1983, pp. 112, 334, fig. 103. **9.** Keutner in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 92–93, cat. 41 (on the Louvre *Triton*). **10.** "Copia di un inventario di robe che Sua Altezza à mandato in Francia . . . un tritone con dalfini che getta aqua di mano di gian bologna. libbre 110" (Keutner in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 91). The inventory is published in full in Barocchi and Bertelà 2002–11, vol. 2.2, pp. 527–29. A new transcription is provided in Rudigier and Truyols 2016, pp. 268–69, and, with several corrections, in Lurin 2018, pp. 123–24. **11.** Draper 1978b. **12.** Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 220, cat. 56. **13.** C. Avery 1987, p. 210; see also C. Avery 2006, p. 145. **14.** For more recent scholarship, see Negri Arnoldi 1997, pp. 292–93; Schallert 2001; Cole 2003, pp. 144–45; Loffredo 2012, pp. 60, 97 n. 8; Rudigier and Truyols 2016, pp. 255–56, 263, 293–96. **15.** Rudigier and Truyols 2016, pp. 251–85. On Emilio de' Cavalieri, see Kirkendale 2001. **16.** This list is an undated autograph document, written by Domenico Portigiani most probably between the end of 1600 and the beginning of 1601, listing the bronzes cast for Giambologna and their whereabouts: "In Francia, una figura di 3 braccia al sig. Girolamo Gondi, et 2 di braccia 2 per il giardino del Re, et un Mercurio et Tritone." Rudigier and Truyols 2016, p. 266. The list was first published in Francqueville 1968, pp. 149–50. **17.** Rudigier and Truyols 2016, pp. 293–94; followed by Lurin 2018, p. 117. The caption on the bottom of the print reads: "Cecy est la Grotte de la Damoiselle qui Joue des Orgues laquelle Grotte est en une des teste de la Galerie de la Première terrasse du Châ[tea]u de S[aint] Germain en Laye au lieu Marqué E au portrait de S[aint] Germain. T[ommaso] de Francini inven[it], A[braham] Bosse sculp[sit] 1624." **18.** This issue is noted by Rudigier and Truyols 2016, p. 294. **19.** On the contested claim that the *Mercury* sent to Henry IV is the Louvre's *Flying Mercury*, see Rudigier and Truyols 2016, pp. 289–93. For an opposing (and more convincing) argument, see Bresc-Bautier 2018. **20.** Duchesne 1609, p. 277: "Il y a un Mercure près la fenestre, qui a un pied en l'air, & l'autre planté sur un apuy, sonnante & entonnant hautement une Trompette." Ernstinger 1877, pp. 226–27, in his description of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, mentions only a "bronze statue of a Mercury on a column." **21.** Rudigier and Truyols 2016, pp. 263 n. 14, 294. **22.** R. Stone/TR, April 15, 2011. **23.** Rudigier assumes that Count Esterházy, Austrian envoy to Paris, purchased the bronze there. Rudigier and Truyols 2016, p. 294. **24.** Specifically, two figures seen from the back; see Keutner in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 91–92, cat. 41. **25.** For the chronology of the Fountain of the Ocean, see Laschke 2000, pp. 70–74; Morét 2003, pp. 262–72; and the documentation in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006,

pp. 246–48, cat. 48. Rudigier and Truyols 2016, p. 347 n. 29, attribute the reliefs to Hans Mont, who collaborated with Giambologna, offering no stylistic or documentary rationale. **26.** See Loffredo 2012, p. 57. **27.** Conversations with conservators Richard Stone and Linda Borsch. **28.** Rudigier and Truyols 2016, pp. 255–56, 294. **29.** *Ibid.*, p. 263 n. 13: "per havere ricotto et gittato una forma d'una figura al sig. Emilio Cavalieri." **30.** "né lascerò di dire a V. S. che per una fontana che li vorrebbe fare [Tommaso] Francino, sarebbe molto a proposito un Tritone che gittasse l'acqua in alto simile a quella del s.r Emilio dei Cavalieri venuto qua per il Re." *Ibid.*, pp. 275–76. **31.** In *ibid.*, p. 282 n. 3, Truyols chalks up this absence to an incomplete list. **32.** Cole 2003, p. 144. **33.** On the origins and popularity of the subject of a male figure playing a horn, see Loffredo 2012, pp. 60–61. **34.** Cooper-Hewitt, 1911–28–459; published in Wiles 1935, pp. 31–32, and Maser 1957, p. 23 n. 27, as by "Artist unknown, Netherlands, about 1650–1675." **35.** Loffredo 2012, p. 85. Another drawing of the same fountain can be found in the diplomatic diary of the admiral Edward Montagu, first earl of Sandwich, who in 1666 was sent to Spain by Charles II; see *ibid.*, pp. 62–65. On Montagu at the Buen Retiro, see also J. Brown and Elliott 2003, p. 78, fig. 48.

— 117 —

Francesco I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany
 After a model by Giambologna
 (Douai 1529–1608 Florence), cast by
 Pietro Tacca (Carrara 1577–1640 Florence)

Florence, modeled 1585–87, cast ca. 1611

Bronze

30 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 13 $\frac{11}{16}$ in. (77.2 × 62.2 × 34.7 cm)

Inscribed (on the base): FR[ANCISCUS] M[EDICI] M[AGNUS]
 D[UX] E[TRURIAE] II [SECUNDUS] (Francesco de' Medici,
 Second Grand Duke of Tuscany)

Purchase, Gift of Irwin Untermyer and Bequest of Ella Morris de Peyster, by exchange; Edith Perry Chapman Bequest; Robert Lehman Foundation Inc. Gift; Edward J. Gallagher Jr. Bequest, in memory of his father, Edward Joseph Gallagher, his mother, Ann Hay Gallagher, and his son, Edward Joseph Gallagher III; and Harris Brisbane Dick, Rogers, Pfeiffer, Louis V. Bell and Dodge Funds, 1983 (1983.450)

The grand duke, head turned slightly to his left, wears a sixteenth-century breastplate of the so-called German or Maximilian armor. A folded sash stretches diagonally across his chest, and the badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which he received in 1585, hangs from an elaborate chain around his neck. The bronze retains what has been described by Richard Stone as a "magnificent organic patina of a striking color like that of a very old burgundy wine."¹ The great portraitist of the Medici family at the time was Giambologna, and this bust perfectly aligns with his models and the late bronze production of his workshop.

Commissioned by Francesco I's daughter, Marie de Médicis, queen of France, the bust arrived in Paris together with a



magnificent bronze equestrian statue of Henri IV, begun by Giambologna and finished after his death by his pupil and artistic heir Pietro Tacca.² According to Filippo Baldinucci, the queen expressed her pleasure with both in correspondence dated October 10, 1614: “Sir Pietro Tacca. In response to your letter given to me on your behalf by Antonio Guidi, engineer of my cousin the Grand Duke of Tuscany [Cosimo II], I would like to let you know how happy my lord the King, my son [Louis XIII], and I were for the bronze statue you sent us, which is truly worthy of what it represents. Sir Guidi also gave me the bronze bust you sent me, and he will tell you how much it pleased me and the sum of money that I have ordered for you . . . as a sign of satisfaction.”³ (Antonio Guidi was Tacca’s brother-in-law.) A few days prior, Matteo Bartolini, grand-ducal emissary in Paris, had notified Florence that Tacca would receive 300 scudi “as a gift of her Majesty for the bust in bronze of her father.”⁴ It has not yet been possible to trace the work’s subsequent history in the French royal collection, and it was considered lost until its reappearance on the art market in 1983, when it was recognized as the bust sent to Marie de Médicis in 1611.⁵

Sorting out the contributions of Giambologna and Tacca has proved rather more complex. The modeling has been dated between 1585, when Francesco I received the Order of the Golden Fleece, and 1587, when he died. Although 1585 is certainly the *terminus post quem*, the portrait may well have been modeled after the grand duke’s death. The prototype for our bust clearly owes more to Giambologna than to Tacca, evident in a comparison with a marble portrait of Francesco I once installed above a portal in the former Teatro Mediceo (fig. 117a). Carved before the grand duke received the Golden Fleece, the marble is now correctly assigned to the master rather than his workshop.⁶ It is also useful to compare The Met bust to that of Ferdinando I in the Bargello. The latter is an autonomous work by Tacca, probably cast around 1609, in which the modeling



Fig. 117a. Giambologna, *Bust of Francesco I*, ca. 1585. Marble. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (formerly Teatro Mediceo)

and treatment of the surface are not as soft as in our bust.⁷ Since it is likely that Giambologna received the equestrian and bust commissions at the same time, it is reasonable to assume that he worked at both until his death in 1608. When the bust was cast is an open question. If Tacca did so after Giambologna’s death, as the written documentation seems to bear out, he loyally respected the model of his master.

Richard Stone’s technical analysis complicates and enriches our understanding of the bust. The casting seems to have been convoluted and difficult. X-radiography shows a defective cast with extensive porosity and repairs, and a head filled with different materials such as brick, none of which mars the surface of the astonishingly sleek final product, with its crisp chasing, sharply rendered drapery folds, and translucent reddish lacquer patina.⁸ The enormous effort expended to repair the cast rather than simply cast a new one suggests that the bust was cast directly. These peculiar material conditions reveal the unparalleled capabilities of Giambologna’s workshop and tell the story of a sculpture that is indeed unique, reinforcing its identification with the bust once in the French royal collection. FL

PROVENANCE: probably Queen Marie de Médicis, Paris (by 1611); [Alain Moatti, Paris, until 1983; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Baldinucci 1681–1728, vol. 5 (1702), p. 357; Gaye 1840, p. 539, no. CCCCXXXV; Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 4, p. 82; Lo Vullo Bianchi 1931, p. 188 (as lost); Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2, p. 887, no. 42,83 (as lost), vol. 3, pp. 1550–51, no. 42,83; K. Watson 1983, pp. 94–95, 187–96 (as lost); Olga Raggio in MMA 1984, pp. 29–30; Torriti 1984, p. 97, no. 10 (as lost); C. Avery 1987, pp. 169, 256, no. 36, pl. 176; Ian Wardropper in Acidini Luchinat 2002, pp. 213–14, cat. 77; Chiarini et al. 2002, pp. 217–18, cat. 77; Stone 2010, p. 109; Wardropper 2011, pp. 96–97, no. 30; Tommaso Mozzati in Christiansen and Falciani 2021, pp. 156–59, cat. 33

NOTES

1. Stone 2010, p. 109. 2. Raggio in MMA 1984, pp. 29–30. For a recent account of the commissions, see Dimitrios Zikos in Falletti 2007, pp. 62–63, 150–63, cats. 13–17. See also Bresc-Bautier et al. 2008, pp. 164–69, cats. 40, 41. 3. Baldinucci 1681–1728, vol. 5, p. 357: “Sig. Pietro Tacca. In risposta di vostra lettera resami da parte vostra da Antonio Guidi, ingegnere di mio cugino il Gran Duca di Toscana [Cosimo II], vi fo noto il contento che il re mio sig., mio figliuolo [Louis XIII] ed io abbiamo ricevuto della statua di bronzo inviataci, degna veramente di quello che rappresenta. Il sig. Guidi m’ha ancora reso il busto di bronzo che m’avete inviato, e ve ne dirà mio gradimento, e la somma di danaro che ho ordinata qua per voi a quest’effetto in segno di gradimento; e prego il Signore che vi conservi.” 4. Gaye 1840, p. 539, no. CCCCXXXV *nota*, document dated October 7, 1614: “Il cavaliere Pesciolini . . . si mette in ordine per partirsi fra 8 o 10 giorni, et porta un bel regalo di 2000 scudi contanti, fattili dare dalla Maestà della Regina, et il Guidi un altro di quattrocento scudi, che ne porterà anche un altro per Pietro Tacca di 300 [scudi], ché la Maestà sua li dona per la testa di bronzo ch’egli ha mandato del Granduca Francesco suo padre.” 5. See Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 3, no. 42,83; C. Avery 1987, no. 36; Wardropper in Acidini Luchinat 2002, cat. 77; and Wardropper 2011, no. 30. 6. See Mozzati in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, p. 220, cat. 29. 7. See Vanessa Montigiani in *ibid.*, p. 271, cat. 58. 8. R. Stone/TR, 2011.



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Trotting Horse

Workshop of Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, probably 1580–90

Bronze

9¾ × 10⅞ × 3¾ in. (24.8 × 27.6 × 9.5 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.23](#))

Once part of the collection of English aristocrat Charles Bowyer, the *Trotting Horse* entered The Met in 1924 with the Ogden Mills bequest of twenty-five Italian Renaissance bronzes that included four pacing or rearing steeds.¹ Noting the high

quality of the horses, curator Joseph Breck otherwise offered no specific attribution. It is thanks to the work of Katharine Watson and Charles Avery, beginning in 1978, that the present bronze eventually received greater critical focus, tracing its production to Giambologna's workshop. In its pose, dimensions, and treatment of details, The Met horse can be linked to an important lineage of bronzes associated with the Flemish master. This group includes an autograph statuette in the Bargello (fig. 118a) that was recorded in the Medici collections (Casino di San Marco) from 1588.² However, unlike our horse, whose sleek anatomy is free of adornment, the Florentine statuette has a saddle cloth on its back, a sheath on its tail, and in its mouth a simple bit with thin shanks.³ Other Giambologna horses, inserted into more complex narrative compositions,



present the same harness: for example, the chargers in the reliefs of *Christ on the Road to Calvary* (Palazzo dell Università, Genoa) and *Cosimo I's Entrance into Siena* (Piazza della Signoria, Florence), the former made in 1585–87 for the Grimaldi chapel in San Francesco di Casteletto, the latter in 1598 for the base of the large equestrian statue of Cosimo I.⁴

Giambologna's dedication to meeting (or creating) market demand for his small equestrian bronzes is well documented, going back to at least 1563. That year, in a letter of January 15, the sculptor informed Francesco I of a new horse model, height "due braccia" (ca. 116 cm), that he wished to bring to the attention of the Medici family. In 1568, Cosimo Bartoli wrote to Giorgio Vasari from Venice that he had received "a horse of the Flemish artist and then another smaller one," both of which were cast in bronze on his demand. Between February 1573 and April 1579, the account books of the Salviati family show payments to Girolamo di Zanobi Portigiani and Battista Lorenzi

for making "the core . . . of the little horse of Giambologna," and for casting and cleaning it per the order of Jacopo Salviati.⁵ There is evidence to suggest that in September 1582, the same Portigiani sent Antonio Susini two horses for Giambologna, perhaps for finishing after they came back from the foundry.⁶ Later, in the winter of 1587 and summer of 1588, Susini may have been paid for seven small models of horses in yellow wax at the same time that Giambologna's workshop—in which Susini was a constant presence—was busy with the design for the monument of Cosimo I.⁷

One bronze horse appears in the posthumous inventory of the estate of Lorenzo Salviati, as the work of Susini; another one was cast by Pietro Tacca as part of a gift sent by Cosimo II to Henry, prince of Wales, in 1612.⁸ Similar statuettes are documented in the Low Countries during the seventeenth century in the collections of Nicolaas C. Cheeus, Cornelis van der Geest, and Jan van Meurs.⁹ Moreover, in the list of Giambologna's



Fig. 118a. Giambologna, *Horse*, 16th century. Bronze; H. 9¼ in. (23.5 cm). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (348 B)



Fig. 118b. Copy of Santi di Tito's *Portrait of Bernardo Vecchietti*. Private collection

creations in bronze compiled in 1688 by Filippo Baldinucci, there is mention of “the little horse standing on two feet” and “the other walking horse,” confirming the fine-tuning of two different *pensieri* that found fortune in replicas and variants.¹⁰

These generic annotations do not permit precise identification with specific works or prototypes. For this reason, some weight can be accorded visual evidence such as a portrait of Bernardo Vecchietti, recently brought to light by Francesca Carrara, in which the generous patron of the young Giambologna is depicted with a small gilt bronze horse (fig. 118b).¹¹ This painting may well be a copy of a much older portrait executed at Vecchietti's behest. Indeed, the *Serie degli uomini più illustri di Firenze*, a compilation of biographies written in the eighteenth century, tells us that Giambologna made a bronze horse for Vecchietti, who in turn commissioned a portrait of himself from Santi di Tito that included this same horse displayed on a table. According to the *Serie*, the horse was subsequently acquired by English aristocrat William Lock of Norbury Park.¹² The critical point here is that the animal as depicted by the painter is bareback, has a neatly trimmed mane, and stands on an oval base, a combination of features shared with The Met bronze. Although it is not possible to draw a continuous line of ownership between our sculpture and Vecchietti's,¹³ it is nonetheless significant that the painting demonstrates the existence of a Giambolognesque *invenzione* in the second half of the sixteenth century that we find today only in our statuette.

Richard Stone's technical analysis of the casting technique adopted for the *Trotting Horse* places its provenance firmly in

the sixteenth century in Giambologna's workshop. The metal alloy, consisting of a moderately leaded tin bronze, corresponds to that found in other Giambologna bronzes, along with the wax-to-wax join at the base of the neck, with a short length of wire traversing the join, visible in radiographs. Even the translucent warm brown patina is “absolutely typical.”¹⁴ Radiographs identify an unusual feature: an iron armature that extends up from the belly and makes a sudden bend to horizontal, terminating over the horse's forelegs. The sheared-off square-sectioned end of the bar is just visible under the patina on the horse's belly. Core pin holes were plugged with bronze wires, as opposed to the threaded screw plugs that are typically found on later Giambologna bronzes, supporting an early date for the cast.¹⁵

The thin oval base is also consistent with Giambologna's workshop practices. Such a base is found, for example, on the *Bull* and *Lion* recorded at the Casino di San Marco from 1588 as works of the master (now in the Bargello); likewise the signed *Nessus and Dejanira* in Dresden.¹⁶ Walking horses with an analogous base include the Bargello bronze illustrated here and one in the Hill collection.¹⁷ The anchorage on the underside of our horse's base (fig. 118c) is the same as that used in other Giambologna bronzes. Visible on the flat support are thicker areas in which two holes were made to hold the casting sprues that extended from the soles of the horse's hooves. Once inserted into these cavities, the sprues' protruding rods were shaved off and hammered, to flatten the metal across the top.¹⁸

Despite some wear, the sensitive anatomical treatment can be seen in the legs (shanks and hocks), pectoral muscles, and



Fig. 118c. Detail of cat. 118 showing the underside of the base

chin furrow. The less skillfully worked parts—the tail attachment, the forehead between forelock and muzzle—correspond to those areas of the composition where tack would be added. We can thus surmise a sequence of *invenzioni* that begins with the prototype for The Met horse and progresses to that of the Bargello cast. In fact, the first *pensiero* behind our bronze might be considered a study of form on which to successively build—perhaps in another model—the riding equipment. The notion of such a development is supported by the fact that here the only element of the bit depicted is the mullen held between the horse’s jaw and tongue.

Michael Bury, in a study dedicated to Vecchietti, proposed that the patron’s bronze horse be dated “before the late 1570s,” like the model in wood of Julius Caesar brought to light in 1978.¹⁹ Both Avery and Carrara argue that the bronze must date to around 1563.²⁰ An early dating for the prototype thus appears nearly unanimous and points to The Met bronze being the fruit of a quite early cast, which can be placed in the last decades of the sixteenth century. This early dating would explain the use of an oval base and the statuette’s exceptional quality.

An echo of this *invenzione*—several variants removed from the model—can be found in the pacing stallion formerly in the Robert H. Smith collection and attributed to Barthélemy Prieur.²¹ TM

PROVENANCE: Charles Bowyer Adderley, England (until 1906; sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, February 15, 1906, lot 44); Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)

LITERATURE: MMA 1924; Breck 1925, p. 4; Katharine Watson in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, cat. 154; Watson in C. Avery et al. 1978, pp. 236–37, cat. 154; James David Draper in Athens 1979, p. 136, cat. 39; New York 1980, cat. 92; Springfield 1981, p. 106, cat. 52; C. Avery 1987, p. 268, no. 134; Stone 2010, pp. 112–14; Patricia Wengraf and Dimitrios Zikos in Wengraf 2014, p. 126, cat. 7; C. Avery 2017a, pp. 33–34

NOTES

1. Bowyer loaned a “Cinquecento Italian Bronze Horse” to the *National Exhibition of Works of Art* in Leeds in 1868 (Leeds 1868, p. 204, cat. 799). However, given the generic catalogue description, it is impossible to establish which of the bronze horses in his collection was displayed (see

also cat. 119B). 2. Dimitrios Zikos in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, p. 275, cat. 60. 3. These details also appear on other bronze horses attributed to Giambologna’s workshop: Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5839; Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., 1955.1004; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMSk 346; Ashmolean, WA1899.CDEF.B445; Hill collection (Wengraf 2014, pp. 126–35, cat. 7). 4. Wengraf 2014, p. 132. 5. “il cavallo del Fiamingo et poi un altro minore”; “haver fatto l’anima . . . al Cavallino di Giambologna”; “messer Iacopo.” Utz 1973, pp. 40, 68–69, docs. 2, 3, 6–8, 13, 14. 6. Zikos 2013, pp. 198, 208 n. 27. 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 208 n. 29. 8. K. Watson and Avery 1973, pp. 504–5, docs. I, VII. 9. Wengraf 2014, p. 132. 10. “il cavallino che sta in su due piedi”; “l’altro cavallo camminante.” Baldinucci 1681–1728, vol. 2, p. 136. 11. Carrara 2006, pp. 308–9. 12. *Serie* 1769–75, vol. 7, p. 30 n. 3: “Il medesimo cavaliere inglese possiede un elegantissimo Cavallino di bronzo, che Giovan Bologna condusse all’ultima perfezione per farne dono al detto Bernardo Vecchietti, quale per segno della stima, che egli aveva ve lo fece dipingere appresso sopra il suo tavolino da Santi di Tito in occasione di farsi fare il Ritratto” (The same English gentleman [Lock] owns a very elegant little horse in bronze that Giambologna made perfectly to give as a gift to Bernardo Vecchietti, who, as a sign of his admiration, had it painted on a little table in his portrait by Santi di Tito). Lock’s horse and Santi’s portrait are also mentioned in Vasari 1767–72, vol. 7, p. 171 n. 1. For the collection history of Lock’s horse, see C. Avery 2000, p. 15. 13. Proposed by C. Avery 2017a, p. 34. 14. Stone 2010, p. 112. 15. R. Stone/TR, November 16, 2010. 16. For the *Bull and Lion*, see Wengraf 2014, pp. 122–23, 125 n. 52; for the *Nessus and Dejanira* (Staatliche Museen, Dresden, H2 3/95), see C. Avery 2017a, p. 33, fig. 22. 17. See note 3. 18. Wengraf 2014, pp. 122–23. 19. Bury 1985, p. 26; C. Avery 2017a. 20. C. Avery 2000, p. 15; Carrara 2006, p. 308; C. Avery 2017a, p. 33. 21. Fabio Barry in Radcliffe and Penny 2004, pp. 226–29, no. 40.

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A. Trotting Horse

After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Italy, 18th–19th century (?)

Bronze

9½ × 10½ × 3¼ in. (24.1 × 26.7 × 8.3 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.102)

B. Horse

After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Italy, 18th–19th century (?)

Bronze

8¾ × 10⅞ × 2⅝ in. (22.2 × 25.7 × 6.7 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.22)

The *Trotting Horse* (A) arrived at the Met in 1982 as part of the Jack and Belle Linsky bequest and was published in 1984 as after a model by Giambologna. The Linskys had demonstrated a particular interest in the work of this sculptor over their years of collecting, including the *Hercules with the Erymanthian Boar* and *The Crucified Christ* (cats. 128, 133), both also presumed to derive from Giambologna models.



Indeed, the Linsky horse can be grouped with a series of bronzes traditionally associated with Giambologna and his workshop. This corpus was systematically discussed for the first time in the catalogue published for the Giambologna exhibition held in 1978. The catalogue included two pacing stallions “similar in composition to the horse of the equestrian monument of Cosimo I” (made for Piazza della Signoria, Florence, between 1587 and 1593), but different from the confirmed “type” of another group of horses likewise attributed to Giambologna.¹ Of this latter group, the best example is the autograph bronze in the Bargello recorded in 1588 among the Medici possessions held at the Casino di San Marco (p. 341, fig. 118a).² The two types of composition vary in the shape and length of the mane, the position of the ears, and the presence or absence of horse tack.

In 1987, Charles Avery, noting that a Giambologna autograph of the model adopted in the Linsky horse had never been found, argued that the large production of similar casts should be attributed to Antonio Susini, who would therefore be the one responsible for the widespread diffusion of the popular prototype. The composition’s fame is attested in striking visual evidence such as the oil painting by Willem van Haecht depicting the gallery of Cornelis van der Geest (Rubenshuis, Antwerp), in which a pacing horse is prominently displayed among a group of bronzes on a table in the center foreground.³ The list of replicas recently updated by Patricia Wengraf includes the Linsky horse.⁴

However, Richard Stone’s technical analysis of our horse challenges the presumption of a Renaissance provenance.⁵ A number of aspects of the facture point to a much later date. The alloy is an unusual amalgam of brass with a high percentage of zinc. The core is plaster. The tail was cast separately and attached by means of an internal threaded lug, inserted into two threaded holes. Both holes end in neat cones, and both cones have identical apical angles, which suggests the use of a modern twist drill. The imprecise surface treatment—particularly of the tail, mane, and head—and the almost complete absence of cold work support a later dating as well.

Similarly, the small *Horse* (B) entered the museum in 1924 as a Renaissance bronze, but casting peculiarities say otherwise.⁶ Inspired by the same typology that influenced the *Trotting Horse*, the statuette is made of a low-alloy leaded brass and the core is plaster, features that set it apart from Florentine production. Two screw plugs, one on the horse’s chest and the other on its abdomen, have a broad, short shape, very fine threads, and—most unusual for the seventeenth century—tips that have been neatly turned to a shallow cone. It is therefore likely that we find ourselves with another late casting of a celebrated model by Giambologna. TM

PROVENANCE: (A) Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA). (B) Charles Bowyer Adderley, England (until 1906; sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, February 15, 1906, lot 43); Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)

LITERATURE: (A) James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 155, no. 70; Wengraf 2014, pp. 134, 137 n. 49. (B) MMA 1924; Breck 1925, p. 4

NOTES

1. C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, cats. 151 (V&A, A.148-1910), 152 (Royal Collection, RCIN 35467).
2. Dimitrios Zikos in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, p. 275, cat. 60.
3. C. Avery 1987, p. 268, no. 132; see also C. Avery 2000, p. 12.
4. Wengraf 2014, pp. 134–35.
5. R. Stone/TR, March 29, 2011.
6. *Ibid.*

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Crouching Venus
After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, 17th century

Bronze

9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (25.1 × 10.8 × 13.7 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.15)

Our statuette, which depicts a crouching woman drying herself after a bath, reproduces a celebrated invention by Giambologna (who was no doubt aware of the classical typology of the Doidalses Venus). Along with several other bronzes in the Mills bequest of 1924, it entered The Met with an attribution to the master himself. This same composition is embodied in a bronze statuette long favored in the specialist literature on Giambologna and now in the Bargello,¹ notable for the initials “I.B.F.” inscribed on the figure’s armband that might stand for “Iohannes Bologna Fecit,” as Dimitrios Zikos has proposed.² The Bargello *Venus* has been linked (without definitive documentation) to a statuette mentioned in the earliest inventory of Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici. Dated April 7, 1584, it records a female figure by “Gio. Bologna . . . with her knee on the ground, a hand at her head, and the other [hand] on her left breast with a cloth under her feet,” and notes its recent addition to the prelate’s garderobe in the Villa Medici, Rome.³ Another “bronze statuette of a kneeling woman” that may refer to the same model is listed in the estate inventory of Lorenzo Salviati in 1609, notably as by Giambologna, with a height of “braccia 0/3 [19.3 cm].”⁴

Evidence such as the signature on the Bargello cast and the composition’s presence in a prestigious Roman collection attests to the popularity of this Giambolognesque *pensiero*, appreciated for its “classical” theme and pleasing formal design. The Mills *Venus* belongs to the considerable corpus of bronzes derived from Giambologna’s invention and produced well into the nineteenth century. Curiously, our statuette displays damage to the left pinky finger, an anomaly shared with versions of the same composition in the Huntington (fig. 120a); the Holburne Museum, Bath; and the Robert H. Smith collection. With regard to the Smith bronze, it is thought that the



break occurred in the original wax model.⁵ The Huntington statuette has been considered by some to be an autograph work by Giambologna directly related to the Bargello bronze.⁶ Both the Smith and Holburne casts are attributed to Antonio Susini, longtime collaborator of Giambologna, after the original model by the Flemish master.⁷ This *stemma codicum* could point to a specific series directly cast from an authoritative archetype—perhaps autograph—missing the fifth digit (presumably raised

in a charming gesture), though it has not been possible to identify its provenance.

The Huntington, Holburne, and Smith bronzes have a thick, circular base integrally cast with the figure. The same type of base is found in the Bargello bronze and other signed works by Giambologna like the *Venus Urania* (p. 356, fig. 126a). In this respect, our *Venus* is an outlier: its thinner, more roughly modeled base contrasts poorly with the complex play of



Fig. 120a. Attributed to Giambologna, *Crouching Venus*, late 16th century. Bronze; H. 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (25.8 cm). The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California (27.174)

drapery at the feet, forming instead a less precise arrangement and an altogether inadequate functionality. This combined with the merely passing quality of cold work (e.g., in the left hand awkwardly tightening the turban at the nape of the neck, and in the drapery along the back) situates the Mills *Venus* “downstream” chronologically in the sequence of replicas discussed here. In terms of attribution, these factors also place it outside of Giambologna’s immediate circle. On the other hand, in the supple fleshiness of the bronze and the use of wax-to-wax joins, the casting is faithful to that of the Bargello and Huntington statuettes (whose technical characteristics were brought to light by Shelley Sturman).⁸ TM

PROVENANCE: Emily Ridgway, marquise de Ganay (until 1922; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 8–10, 1922, lot 108; sold to Mills); Ogden Mills (1922–24; to MMA)

LITERATURE: MMA 1924; Breck 1925, p. 3; Schlotterback 1976, p. 71, cat. 47; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 166, no. 309; Draper in New York 1985, p. 69, cat. 38; Frankfurt 1986, p. 168, cat. 12; Wengraf 2006, pp. 106, 135 n. 12

NOTES

1. Bargello, 62 B; Desjardins 1883, pp. 134–35. 2. Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 199–200, cat. 18. 3. “da m. Gio. Bologna . . . che sta con un

Ginocchio in terra una mano alla testa e l'altra alla poppa manca con un panno sotto piè.” Cited in *ibid.*, p. 199. 4. “femminina di bronzo che sta ginocchioni.” Cited in *ibid.* 5. Radcliffe and Penny 2004, p. 190. 6. Wark 1959, p. 63. 7. Manfred Leithe-Jasper and Anthony Radcliffe in C. Avery et al. 1978, p. 102, cat. 20; Radcliffe in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 75, cat. 20. 8. Sturman 2001, pp. 126–27. Richard Stone has suggested that the use of tapered, driven plugs, instead of the more typical threaded ones, in our *Venus* indicates that the cast dates to the sixteenth century. R. Stone/TR, February 23, 2011.

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Crouching Venus After a model by Giambologna (Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, 17th century

Bronze

Height 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.25)

Like the Mills *Crouching Venus* (cat. 120), this bronze is another of the many derivations from an invention by Giambologna, the earliest record of which dates to a Medici inventory of 1584 and identified by some as the autograph statuette of a kneeling woman after her bath now in the Bargello. The present *Venus* and the Bargello bronze are equivalent in size (ca. 26 cm), an important point as most versions of the composition are smaller. Both have a base cast integrally with the figure, a feature shared with the highest quality replicas, including those in the Huntington, Holburne, and Robert H. Smith collection (see cat. 120). The unevenly modeled base of our *Venus*, however, suffers by comparison with the elegant geometric abstraction of the Bargello pedestal. Moreover, the surface finish of our bronze is middling. If passages like the anatomical rendering of the legs, the reserved physiognomy of the face, the “impressionistic” rendering of the locks of hair, and the smooth definition of musculature accord with the Bargello bronze, less coherent is the dull and simplistic treatment of the drapery at the back and around the feet, which does not convey sinuous movement: the cold work is, in fact, *too* meticulous and exudes a frozen elegance.

These characteristics suggest a knowledge of examples based on Giambologna’s model and produced by Antonio Susini, who collaborated with the master beginning in the 1580s.¹ The Holburne *Venus*, formerly in the French royal collection and assigned to Susini by virtue of its precious finish, is one such version.² On the other hand, the ambiguities and misapprehensions visible in The Met cast suggest a later dating, further removed from Giambologna’s archetype.³ The likely provenance is the seventeenth century, when many casts of the popular subject still featured a proximity in details to the master’s *invenzione*. TM



PROVENANCE: Prince Nicholas of Romania (until 1964; his sale, Galerie Jürg Stuker, Bern, May 21–30, 1964, lot 3395; sold to Untermeyer); Irwin Untermeyer, New York (1964–68; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Untermeyer 1977, p. 166, no. 309; Bordeaux 1981, p. 106, cat. 123; Draper in New York 1985, p. 69, cat. 38; Frankfurt 1986, p. 168, cat. 12; Wengraf 2006, pp. 104–6, 134 n. 9

NOTES

1. Zikos 2013. **2.** Paris 1999, p. 81, cat. 35. **3.** The cast is very thin and even, and entirely hollow, with wax-to-wax joins at the neck, arms, thighs, and right calf. Core pins are transfixing, which is atypical of Giambologna's studio. R. Stone/TR, 2010.

Fortuna

Antonio Susini (?) (1558–1624 Florence),
after a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, early 17th century

Bronze

18½ × 5¼ × 4 in. (47 × 14.6 × 10.2 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.5)



When this statuette came to The Met in 1924 as part of the Mills bequest, curator Joseph Breck described it as a “beautiful bronze of about 1550, representing Venus Marina,” and assigned it to Danese Cattaneo. Breck’s opinion would have rested on precedents set by German scholars Wilhelm von Bode and Leo Planiscig. The latter, for example, associated Cattaneo with a similar composition in Vienna: a graceful figure holding in her hands the ends of a billowing sail, her feet poised on a sphere carried on the foamy waves of a choppy sea (fig. 122a).¹ For a number of bronzes adopting this scheme or elements of it, including the present statuette, subsequent scholarship shifted both attribution and subject, from Cattaneo and Venus Marina to Giambologna’s followers and Fortuna.

Archival discoveries published in the 1970s confirm the existence of a now-lost *Fortuna* model in Giambologna’s repertoire.² The chain of evidence begins in 1609 in the collection inventory of Giambologna’s executor Benedetto Gondi, which records a bronze *Fortuna* by the master’s hand.³ Then, in 1612,

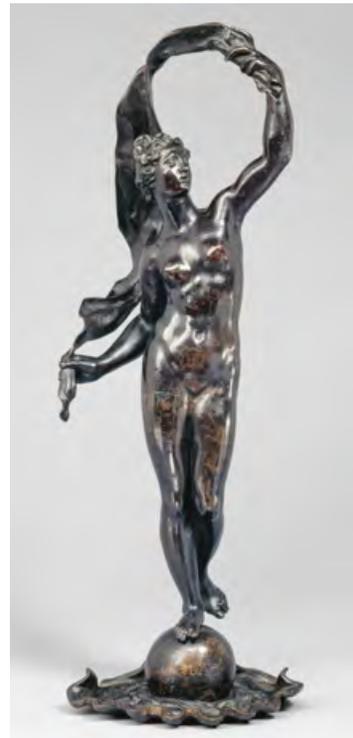


Fig. 122a. After Giambologna, *Fortuna* (formerly *Venus Marina* ascribed to Danese Cattaneo), ca. 1600. Bronze; H. 21¼ in. (55.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK 5885)

a *Fortuna* was among the fifteen bronzes comprising a diplomatic gift to Henry, prince of Wales, from Cosimo II de' Medici. Correspondence exchanged throughout 1611 specifying the terms of this commission indicates that Pietro Tacca was assigned the task of casting copies of Giambologna's most celebrated models, among these "La fortuna." Seven of the models, including the *Fortuna*, were borrowed from the Salviati family and designated as "by the hand of [Antonio] Susini" after Giambologna's prototypes. Both Tacca and Susini had collaborated with Giambologna, and it is reasonable to assume that Susini adopted the older sculptor's *primo pensiero* for his own version of the *Fortuna*. All the casts in the diplomatic gift can be traced through the 1639 inventory of Charles I's collection, which provides a fuller description of the *Fortuna* as "a standing woeman wth her left hand over her head, and the other [hand] downe to hould a fortune vale [veil]" and "A Woeman houlding upp her left hand, and her right hand downe, in them, The Vaile of Fortune rent."⁴

The Renaissance iconography of Fortuna would have been known to Giambologna through sources such as Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (1551), in which Fortuna appears with Mercury in a woodcut pitting human inventiveness (in the guise of Mercury) against the hazards of chance (Fortuna).⁵ In that image, her lithe body is posed in a slight S-curve, both arms raised, with fingers clutching a wind-blown sail and one foot balanced on a sphere set on a rocky outcrop next to a storm-tossed sea.⁶ Charles Avery noted that among the corpus of *Fortuna* bronzes, the full complement of iconographic elements is rare; in particular, the fluttering sail or veil is "torn away," reduced to truncated rolls of cloth held in the figure's hands.⁷ These abbreviated casts include the present statuette, another in The Met (cat. 123), one at Stanford, one in the Louvre, and two offered at auction in the 2010s.⁸ The carefully finished nubs of cloth in all of these works are clearly original to the composition. Avery inferred the existence of a complete model during Giambologna's lifetime that included the arching veil. Perhaps we should also infer, based on the 1639 inventory, which describes Fortuna's veil as "rent" (torn), that Susini created the abbreviated variant. Or, alternatively, that Tacca dispensed with the veil in his copy of Susini's version.

Among the many replicas, Watson and Avery considered The Met and Stanford bronzes the closest examples to Giambologna's workshop production, assigning both to Susini; Bertrand Jestaz made the same case for the Louvre statuette.⁹ Of particular note in style and treatment are the lustrous finish and the exquisite rendering of details such as the curly hair and definition of the irises. These three casts, plus the two sold at Sotheby's, have similar dimensions (ca. 46–47 cm) that exceed by several centimeters the two-thirds of a *braccio* (ca. 39 cm) recorded in documents for the Salviati/Susini *Fortuna* (and thus for Tacca's copy sent to Prince Henry), suggesting the possibility of a separate series executed on a larger scale. The



use of a thin disk as a base is unknown in Giambologna's autograph works, but can be found in compositions subsequent to his signed creations.

Certain technical irregularities, discovered through radiography (see p. 36, fig. 6), raise questions about the attribution of our bronze to Susini. The use of drawn-wire transfixing core pins and a pourable plaster core are not features of Giambologna's workshop practice, and the transparent brown patina, although more typical of Florentine bronzes, appears to have been applied later.¹⁰ Nonetheless, for stylistic reasons—in particular the lucid polish and the meticulous rendering of decorative details—Susini's authorship can be sustained, without ruling out the possibility that our *Fortuna* is a later derivation of the Tuscan sculptor's model, as is the case for the cast made by Tacca and sent to England. TM

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)

LITERATURE: MMA 1924; Breck 1925, p. 4; K. Watson and Avery 1973, p. 502, fig. 17; Charles Avery in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 70, cat. 14; Jestaz 1978, pp. 50, 52 n. 9; C. Avery 1987, p. 260; Stanford Museum 1991, p. 67; Bewer 1996, vol. 1, pp. 289–94; Avery in C. Avery and Hall 1998, p. 27, cat. 8; C. Avery 2008, pp. 59–60; T. Wilson 2016, p. 357 n. 4

NOTES

1. Planiscig 1921, p. 412, figs. 432, 433. 2. The following discussion is indebted to K. Watson and Avery 1973. 3. "Una Fortuna di bronzo"; "opere . . . di mano . . . del Cavalier Giovanni Bologna." Corti 1976, p. 633. 4. Millar 1960, pp. 92, 211. 5. K. Watson and Avery 1973, fig. 15. 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 502–3, suggest that Giambologna created the *Fortuna* as a companion to his *Mercury*, the earliest of which dates to about 1563–65. In the 1609 Gondi inventory, the entry for a *Fortuna* directly follows that for a *Mercury*; see Corti 1976, p. 633. 7. C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 70, cat. 16. 8. Cantor Arts Center, Stanford University, 1962.235; Louvre, OA 10598; ex-Michael Hall collection, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2010, lot 63; ex-French royal collection (inventory no. 236), Sotheby's, Paris, December 11, 2019, lot 15. 9. K. Watson and Avery 1973, pp. 502–3; Jestaz 1978. 10. R. Stone/TR, March 11, 2011. Stone believes the bronze was cast in northern Italy; see his essay in this volume, p. 35.

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Fortuna

After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Italy or northern Europe (?), 17th–18th century (?)

Bronze

21¼ × 6¼ × 4¾ in. (54 × 15.9 × 11.7 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1970 (1970.57)

Like the previous *Fortuna*, this statuette was once attributed to Venetian artist Danese Cattaneo and assumed to depict a Venus Marina based on a resemblance to a figure in Vienna (p. 348, fig. 122a). During purchase negotiations, however, curator John





Fig. 123a. After Giambologna, *Fortuna*. Probably Venice, 16th century. Bronze; H. 21¼ in. (54 cm). Stift Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum (KG 13)

Goldsmith Phillips communicated to the dealers his opinion that its origin was Florentine, not Venetian, and that the figure represented Fortuna.¹ Accordingly, it entered The Met as a Florentine *Fortuna*, dated around 1560–70, and closely associated with Giambologna. Phillips’s assessment was soon confirmed with the discovery of archival documents revealing Giambologna’s authorship of a lost *Fortuna* prototype, prompting a reevaluation of a large group of bronzes, including ours, linked by subject and style.² Several of these works have been assigned to Giambologna’s assistant Antonio Susini after the master’s model.

Although the present *Fortuna* is of the same compositional type—balanced on a sphere, like the Vienna statuette and another in the Bargello, and holding fragments of her torn veil/sail in either hand—in facture it is remote from the practices of Giambologna and his entourage, as Charles Avery has pointed out.³ Its lack of cold work and unusually heavy-walled cast, evidently resulting from an “amateurish” process, in fact suggest a non-Florentine origin.⁴ Among the many casts of the *Fortuna*, it is perhaps telling that ours is comparable to one in the Stift Klosterneuburg (fig. 123a), a collection that contains many

copies of well-known works by Giambologna. The Klosterneuberg and Met *Fortunas* differ in the treatment of the hair but otherwise are identical in dimensions, construction of the spherical base, and inert modeling of the hands and breasts. In particular, there is a striking discontinuity between the overall anatomical construction and the breasts, as if they had been affixed to the torso, and a clear misunderstanding of the function of the cloth fragments as remnants of Fortuna’s iconic attribute, the sail or veil.

These features suggest that both casts are late variants on Giambologna’s invention, explained by chronological distance from the original model. The distance may also be geographical, and production north of the Alps is a reasonable assumption. TM

PROVENANCE: Colonel Norman Colville (1893–1974), Penheale Manor, Launceston (Cornwall); Sir Henry Price (1877–1963), Wakehurst Place, Ardingly (Sussex); [Frank Partridge & Sons, London, until 1969; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1970, p. 104; MMA 1975, p. 241; Charles Avery in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 70, cat. 15; Montagu 1978, p. 693; Bewer 1996, vol. 1, pp. 294–97; Charles Truman in Koeppel et al. 2012, p. 122–23, under no. 43

NOTES

1. ESDA/O.F. Goldsmith’s assessment surely took into consideration an analogous bronze in the collection of Michael Hall that was catalogued as by Giambologna; see Notre Dame 1970, p. 168, cat. S10. 2. For a discussion of the documentation and of Fortuna’s iconography, see cat. 122. 3. C. Avery and Radcliffe, p. 70, cat. 15; see also Montagu 1978, p. 693. For the Bargello *Fortuna*, see Weihrauch 1967, pp. 142–45. 4. The metal is a ternary alloy of copper, lead, and tin, with trace impurities. The surface of the cast is exceptionally poor, with deep pitting that has been smoothed away at highpoints. R. Stone/TR, 2010.

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Bathing Venus

After a model by Giambologna (Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, early 17th century

Bronze

Height 13¼ in. (33.7 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.16)

Given its obvious quality, this statuette of a female nude must have stood out among the large group of bronzes in the bequest of Ogden Mills, whose collecting habits leaned consistently toward to the works of Giambologna. But although the *Bathing Venus* was celebrated as a work by the master in a number of Met publications,¹ it made little impression within Giambologna scholarship or bronze studies for most of the twentieth century. It is only in the last thirty years that our *Venus* has been





Fig. 124a. Giambologna, *Venus after the Bath*, ca. 1580/85 (?). Bronze; H. 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (31.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK 5874)

reinserted into the discussion, thanks to the work of Anthony Radcliffe and Manfred Leithe-Jasper, who have reconstructed the *stemma codicum* of numerous variations in marble and bronze that were formulated in Giambologna's workshop around the theme of a standing Venus bathing, with particular attention to the watershed constituted by his *Cesarini Venus* (U.S. Embassy, Rome).² The latter, commissioned by the marquis Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini with the intercession of Francesco I, grand duke of Tuscany, and executed in 1583, is the large-scale marble rendering of the compositional scheme reprised in our *Venus*. Giambologna had introduced the same formal design in a bronze now in Vienna (fig. 124a), recognized as the statuette that was sent in 1564–65 to Emperor Maximilian II together with a *Mercury* poised to take flight.

The Vienna bronze, which is signed IOANNES/BOLOGNA. BELGA, has a thin rectangular base, whereas the Cesarini marble currently stands on a round, stepped pedestal. Seriously damaged in the early seventeenth century, the marble was restored in 1616, when it was repositioned on a new round base that replaced the original square one.³ This feature led Leithe-Jasper to conclude that round-based variants such as The Met's should be placed chronologically after the Cesarini restoration. This group includes a *Venus* in The Quentin Foundation Collection; one documented in a German private collection and sold by art dealer Daniel Katz, London, in 1998; a recent addition to the Robert H. Smith collection; and a bronze whose previous owners include Cardinal Richelieu and the sculptor François Girardon.⁴ Antonio Susini, Giambologna's longtime collaborator, has been suggested as the maker of the higher-quality statuettes among the variants (Leithe-Jasper, for example, believes that Susini made the Quentin bronze).⁵ It has therefore been surmised that such a variant was produced within Giambologna's circle, albeit probably after his death.

While from a technical standpoint The Met's *Bathing Venus* is in perfect harmony with the Vienna bronze, it suffers from a somewhat inert rendering of the figure's flesh and a careless treatment of details—the hair, the draping of the fabric over the breasts and down the legs—that are usually the object of an expert finish. The alloy, core, and facture are typical for Giambologna's studio, however radiographs indicate significant internal porosity from off-gassing of the core, with scattered threaded plugs of various sizes and some surface pitting (e.g., in the locks of hair).⁶ Although enhanced by a patina congruent with those used in Giambologna's shop, the surface does not have the polished magnificence characteristic of works by his closest followers. All things considered, our *Venus* was probably made in the years immediately following the master's death by someone in his circle, but Susini is an unlikely candidate. TM

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)

LITERATURE: MMA 1924; Breck 1925, p. 3; Phillips 1941, figs. 15, 16; Bowlin and Farwell 1950, p. 28; Wixom 1975, cat. 148; Charles Avery in C. Avery and Hall 1998, p. 21; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, pp. 146, 156 n. 6; Leithe-Jasper 2006b, p. 190; Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Seipel 2006, p. 198, cat. 4; Smith Collection 2007, pp. 28–29, 32 n. 12

NOTES

1. Breck 1925, pp. 3–4; Phillips 1941, figs. 15, 16; Bowlin and Farwell 1950, p. 28.
2. Radcliffe 1993; Radcliffe 1996; Leithe-Jasper 2006b.
3. Radcliffe 1993, pp. 4–5.
4. Leithe-Jasper 2006b; Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2010, lot 60; Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2011, lot 57; Sotheby's, Paris, November 4, 2015, lot 270.
5. Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 146.
6. R. Stone/TR, March 11, 2011.

Bathing Venus

Northern imitator of Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Germany (?), 17th–18th century

Bronze

13 × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 4 in. (33 × 9.2 × 10.2 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.17](#))



The nude figure stands in a “hipshot” pose, her left foot resting on a high molded pilaster. This and our other *Bathing Venus* ([cat. 124](#)) came to The Met in 1924 with the Mills bequest. At the time, curator Joseph Breck called the latter “a superb example” of Giambologna’s style; the present bronze was characterized less favorably as “a school variant of the same subject.” Both derive from Giambologna’s design for a bathing Venus that was translated as a large marble statue, the *Cesarini Venus*, in 1583 (U.S. Embassy, Rome), and in numerous bronze reductions, the first of which is thought to be the signed statuette that was sent to Emperor Maximilian II in 1564–65 and is now in Vienna (p. 353, fig. 124a). The composition enjoyed extraordinary success long after Giambologna’s death in 1608.

The present cast has received little scholarly attention. With its thin square base, it differs from a stream of round-based derivations that Manfred Leithe-Jasper has linked to the Cesarini marble, which was adapted to a circular pedestal when

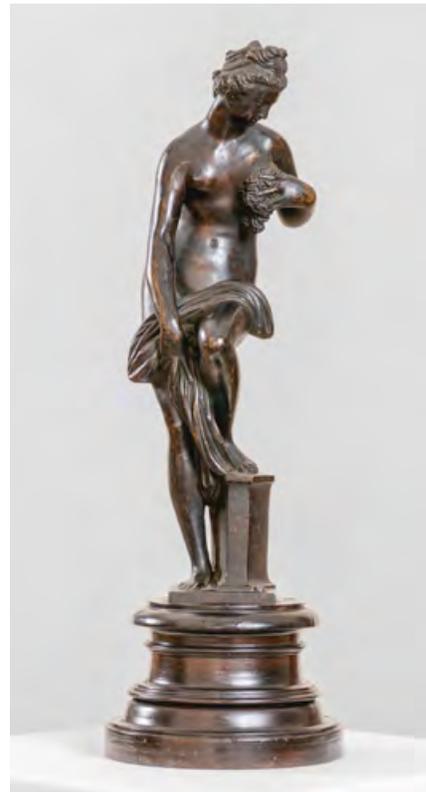


Fig. 125a. After Giambologna, *Woman after the Bath*. Bronze; H. 13 in. (33 cm). Stift Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum (KG 32)

it was restored in 1616.¹ He has tied square-based versions, such as a statuette in the Stift Klosterneuburg (fig. 125a), to Giambologna's autograph bronze in Vienna. The square base along with certain stylistic features may point to a Northern origin for our *Bathing Venus*. Close in style and size to the Klosterneuburg cast, it invites a similar reading. Though faithful to Giambologna's original conception, certain details have been altered or misinterpreted, such as the twists in the hair, the draping of fabric around the legs, and the ruffled, disjointed cloth tightly held over the left breast. Such revisions classify these works as distant meditations on the master's *primo pensiero*. Leithe-Jasper assigned the Klosterneuburg statuette to a South German sculptor and underlined its formal weaknesses in the treatment of the hair and drapery.² Compared to that of our bronze, however, the rendering of the hair on the Klosterneuburg cast is more sophisticated, suggesting that it represents an intermediate phase in the replication sequence that separates The Met's *Bathing Venus* from Giambologna's original model in Vienna. TM

PROVENANCE: Emily Ridgway, marquise de Ganay (until 1922; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 8–10, 1922, lot 107; sold to Mills); Ogdon Mills (1922–24; to MMA)

LITERATURE: MMA 1924; Breck 1925, p. 3; Leithe-Jasper 2006b, p. 191

NOTES

1. Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, pp. 146–47, cat. 12; Leithe-Jasper 2006b. 2. C. Avery et al. 1978, p. 86, cat. 4a.

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Astronomy

After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, 17th century

Bronze

15¾ × 4¾ × 6 in. (40 × 12.1 × 15.2 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1450)

The *Astronomy* was published in 1962 and illustrated alongside a bronze *Architecture*, both in the collection of Irwin Untermyer and both attributed to Giambologna. In photographs of Untermyer's residence at 960 Fifth Avenue, the lovely twisting silhouette of the *Astronomy* dialogues with the contrapposto of the *Architecture* as they frame a display of bronzes placed on a long table, an installation that remained unaltered in spite of the changing interior decoration around them.¹ As is the case with many of Untermyer's acquisitions, the *Astronomy*'s earlier provenance is unknown. It entered The Met in 1964. In 1977, James David Draper placed it among the "many replicas" of an invention by Giambologna, inserting it into a lineage



that the scholar traced back to the signed cast today in Vienna (fig. 126a).

The statuette in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, in addition to having GIO BOLONGE inscribed on the strap running down its back, boasts an illustrious provenance: it appears continuously in the records of the imperial collection from the 1750 Inventar der Schatzkammer through 1891, the year it entered the Vienna museum. Beyond that, a variant of Giambologna's invention, reprised in our *Astronomy*, is recorded in the 1609 inventory of the Salviati collection with an attribution to Antonio Susini. It was this cast that Pietro Tacca copied for a diplomatic gift of bronzes sent by Cosimo II to Henry, prince of Wales, in 1612.² Additionally, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Markus Zäch counted among his possessions a version of the same subject, which was probably acquired by his father Sebastian during his stays in Florence in 1590 and 1592.³

Thus, when evaluating the bronze in Vienna and its compositional type, the *figura serpentinata*, most scholars have concluded that it was produced in an early phase of Giambologna's career, during the mid-1570s, when he executed similar works. These include the *Apollo* for Francesco I's *studiolo* in the Palazzo Vecchio, cast in 1573, and the *Venus of the Grotticella* in the Boboli Gardens, realized around 1575. However, recently Patricia Wengraf and Claudia Kryza-Gersch identified a statuette in the Hill collection as an autograph example of the same composition that may predate the Vienna bronze. Characterized by limited cold work, unusually fresh modeling of details (for example, the treatment of the refined coiffure), and superb surface definition, the Hill lost-wax cast is consonant with works such as Giambologna's striding *Mars* (Quentin Foundation Collection), the model for which he created before the mid-1570s, perhaps even in the late 1560s.⁴

Our *Astronomy* reproduces several details of the Hill prototype—the undulating braids of hair; the folds of fabric, a strip of which falls onto the support, under the figure's feet—but simplifies the original into a much less vibrant whole. Radiographs reveal a thick-walled cast with longitudinal core wires running up through the legs and into the torso and head, features atypical of Giambologna and his followers.⁵ Moreover, the molded base, cast integrally with the figure, is inconsistent with the master's autograph works.

Kryza-Gersch has shed light on the iconographic identification of the composition. Early inventories record different names for analogous figures, ranging from “Venere Urania” in the Austrian records to the more generic “femmina della palla [ball]” for the Salviati bronze and its derivations by Tacca in the documents related to the Medici gift. More recent scholars have opted for “Astronomy,” thus modernizing the earliest reference to this compositional type as “Astrology” in the Zäch inventory.⁶ TM

PROVENANCE: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)



Fig. 126a. Giambologna, *Venus Urania or Allegory of Astronomy*, ca. 1575. Bronze, gilt; H. 15¼ in. (38.8 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK 5893)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, pp. xxix, 19, fig. 60; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 166, no. 310; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, p. 204, cat. 22; Patricia Wengraf in Seipel 2006, p. 240, cat. 17; Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Wengraf 2014, pp. 108, 116 n. 11

NOTES

1. MMA Archives, Irwin Untermyer Papers. For the Untermyer *Architecture*, likely a nineteenth-century cast, see [cat. A37](#).
2. K. Watson and Avery 1973, p. 502.
3. Zikos 2006a, pp. 24–25.
4. Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 130; Wengraf in Seipel 2006, p. 240, cat. 17; Kryza-Gersch in Wengraf 2014, pp. 108, 116 n. 11.
5. R. Stone/TR, March 2, 2011.
6. Kryza-Gersch in Wengraf 2014, pp. 108, 116 n. 11.

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Venus Urania

After a model by Giambologna (Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Northern Europe (?), 17th–18th century

Bronze, fire-gilt

5 × 2½ × 2 in. (12.7 × 6.7 × 5.1 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931
([32.100.181](#))

Formerly in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, this gilded figure was published in Wilhelm von Bode's 1910 catalogue of the American financier's bronzes. Judging it an “early copy of a figure of larger dimensions by Gian Bologna,” Bode assigned



it to one of the master's followers without specifying a precise model, instead giving it the generic title of "Girl Bathing." The statuette, which entered The Met in 1932, is a reduction of a celebrated bronze in Vienna (p. 356, fig. 126a), signed GIO BOLONGE and listed in imperial inventories from the mid-eighteenth century as a *Venus Urania*, surely for the presence of the armillary sphere, an astronomical instrument, at her feet. The composition is documented through several copies and variants in different materials, from bronze to ivory and wood.¹ Our statuette faithfully repeats several elements of the model, including the sphere at the base of the supporting pillar, the neatly truncated drapery at the back, and the decorative tooling of the fabric. Of particular note is the complex entwining of the right index finger with the strap that winds around the nude woman's back and shoulder.

Stylistically, however, The Met bronze cannot be directly linked to either Giambologna's workshop or to his followers. In fact, the use of brass in the casting points to a non-Italian origin.² Manfred Leithe-Jasper assigned a Northern provenance to another reduction of Giambologna's invention (albeit more

freely adapted from the Vienna model) now in the Stift Klosterneuburg, pointing to the possibility of a larger production of the type north of the Alps.³

The disharmony between the thin disk on which our figure stands and the bulky molded base suggests that the two elements were not created contemporaneously. The remains of a pin in the support might indicate that the figure served an ornamental purpose and was adapted to a larger structure such as a piece of furniture or a program of interior decoration. TM

PROVENANCE: Charles Mannheim, Paris (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. xxxiii, vol. 2, p. 14, no. 155; MMA 1932, p. 60; Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Wengraf 2014, pp. 108, 117 n. 21

NOTES

1. For a list of copies and variants, see Manfred Leithe-Jasper in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, p. 204, cat. 22.
2. R. Stone/TR, March 28, 2011.
3. C. Avery et al. 1978, p. 93, cat. 12b.



Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar
After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Probably Florence, late 17th or 18th century

Bronze

Height 17½ in. (44.5 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.100)

This bronze represents the fourth of the labors of Hercules, in which he kills a monstrous boar that terrified the people living around Mount Erymanthus. The original composition by Giambologna was part of a series of six groups in silver depicting the labors commissioned by Francesco I de' Medici for the Tribuna of the Uffizi before 1576, the year of the first documentary record. Giambologna's model for the fourth labor was cast in silver more than a decade later, in 1589, by Michele Mazzafirri. The original silver version is lost, but several bronze casts exist. One, commissioned for Rudolf II and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, is unanimously considered the finest example and the earliest according to the documents, since it appears in the inventory of the imperial collections compiled between 1607 and 1611.¹

Giambologna's small bronzes were very popular from the end of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jeremy Warren compiled a list of twenty-two casts of *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar*.² Nicholas Penny argued that many of the surviving versions are likely to be nineteenth-century sand casts because they are almost identical in their modeling.³ Warren, however, pointed out that at least three are recorded before the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴ According to Richard Stone, our statuette was cast in an excellent Florentine lightly leaded tin bronze using the indirect lost-wax method, which excludes the possibility that it is one of those nineteenth-century sand casts to which Penny referred. The alloy is quite "clean," and the cast is extremely thin and even, with little evidence of wax-to-wax joins, supporting a later dating. Extremely light in weight, it has a warm brown patina and richly variegated tooling, such as the punch marks that articulate the club. Radiographs show that the figure was cast in one piece, with evidence of screw plugs and cast-in repairs at Hercules's waist and shoulders and at one of the boar's hind legs (see p. 39, fig. 8). There are large patches on the figure's buttocks and the boar's rump that appear to have been cut out of the bronze to access removal of the heavy ceramic core and then reinserted with solder. The joins were carefully finished by chasing, and the patches are invisible through the translucent patina.⁵

A recent visual examination confirms that our bronze lacks the finesse of an early seventeenth-century Florentine workshop. It most certainly is not a product of Giambologna's shop, nor can it be assigned without difficulty to followers of his

tradition such as Giovanni Francesco Susini or Ferdinando Tacca. The details are mechanical—for instance, the club's pin marks and the locks of hair—and the rendering of the anatomy quite flat. Our *Hercules* is comparable to the version in the Wallace Collection (S125): in both, hair and fur are repetitive and superficial (with tufts following the same design); the left hand, despite the well-delineated veins, is limp and does not dig deeply into the fur. These deficiencies are apparent when set beside the vividly chiseled surface of the bronze in Vienna. Warren places the Wallace cast in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century, a reasonable dating for the present bronze. At any rate, many questions about our *Hercules* and several other replicas remain stubbornly open. FL

PROVENANCE: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 154, no. 69; Penny 1992, vol. 1, p. 53; Warren 2016, vol. 2, p. 487

NOTES

1. KHM, KK 5846. For insightful discussions of Giambologna's series of the labors of Hercules, see Anthony Radcliffe in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 122–23, cats. 78, 79; Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 180–81, cat. 12; Warren 2016, vol. 2, pp. 476–77, 484–87. 2. Warren 2016, vol. 2, p. 487. 3. Penny 1992, vol. 1, pp. 53–54. 4. Warren 2016, vol. 2, p. 484: the one in the Bargello is recorded in 1715; Capodimonte, 1829; Prado, 1834. 5. R. Stone/TR, June 29, 2011.

Abduction of a Sabine
After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Possibly Florence, 18th century

Bronze

23¼ × 9⅞ × 10⅞ in. (59.1 × 23.2 × 26.4 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1970 (1970.315)

This bronze group is a reduction of Giambologna's marble *Abduction of a Sabine*, installed in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Piazza della Signoria, Florence, in August 1582 and officially unveiled in January 1583. The bronze entered The Met in 1970 as a gift from Irwin Untermyer, who had acquired it in 1969 for the sum of \$16,000.¹ James David Draper published the group in 1977 as "after Giovanni Bologna" and compared it favorably to other, better reductions of the marble. In reality, our *Abduction* deviates in significant respects from the large sculpture. For example, it features a different rocky base and the addition of an elaborate diadem in the woman's hair, and the eyes of all three figures are incised with pupils and irises (only the woman's eyes are articulated in the marble).

There are many known reductions of Giambologna's acclaimed marble group, each adapted to varying dimensions



and ranging in date from the late sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century.² Claudia Kryza-Gersch and Dimitrios Zikos have identified a number that share a golden tawny patina corresponding to the practices of Giambologna's workshop and his direct followers (first and foremost, Antonio Susini).³ Copies began to be collected during the artist's lifetime and in the years immediately following his death in 1608. Already in 1609, Henry, prince of Wales, communicated his desire to receive a miniature version in stucco.⁴ The earliest record of a bronze cast is found in the 1607–11 inventories of Emperor Rudolf II's *Kunstammer*. Another is listed among the possessions of Markus Zäch in 1610, together with a substantial series of the master's works (see, e.g., [cat. 126](#)). Zikos identified the Zäch bronze as the one auctioned at Christie's in 2014.⁵ That *Abduction*, a cast of exceptional quality with exquisite modeling, is an autograph work.⁶ As for dating, a *terminus post quem* of 1587 is provided by the articulation of the eyes, a treatment common to bronzes produced in Giambologna's workshop after that date. Zikos further suggests that the Christie's bronze derives from preparatory studies for the marble group, a genesis that would explain the differences between them. Significantly, these differences—base, eyes, diadem—are also found in The Met's bronze.

Both the Christie's and Met groups measure 59 cm in height, which roughly corresponds to the "braccio fiorentino" (ca. 58 cm). In his 1688 biography of Giambologna, Filippo Baldinucci lists among his models "il gruppo delle Sabine alto circa un braccio fiorentino" (the group of the Sabines a *braccio* tall); he also mentions the *Abduction* group among the Giambolognesque models cast by Giovanni Francesco Susini, attesting to the durability of the master's original design well into the seventeenth century.⁷ The less brilliant finish (as discussed by Draper), the blackish patina, and the simplification of details such as the woman's braid point to our *Abduction* being a later cast derived from the illustrious *stemma codicum* that probably originated in the autograph Christie's bronze.⁸ Even its facture, determined by examining the underside and through radiography, suggests that it dates to the eighteenth century. The three figures appear to have been cast and finished separately before joining with additional pours of molten metal, a technique not common until the work of Massimiliano Soldani (see [cat. 145](#)).⁹ TM

PROVENANCE: [possibly Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York, by 1969; sold to Untermyer]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (February 1969–70; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 167–68, no. 312; New York 1981, p. 39, [cat. 37](#); Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Wengraf 2014, p. 148; Takahatake 2018, [cat. 98](#)

NOTES

1. Invoice to Irwin Untermyer, February 26, 1969, ESDA/OF. The fact that Untermyer bought another Giambolognesque bronze ([cat. 138](#)) the same day suggests that this acquisition was made through the

same dealer. 2. The consistency of this body of work is demonstrated abundantly in auction catalogues in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 3. These include: Bayerische Nationalmuseum, Munich, 52/118; Hill collection (Wengraf 2014, pp. 148–57); Princely Collections of Liechtenstein, SK115 (Kugel 2008, p. 90, no. 8); ex-Hearn collection, auctioned at Koller, Zurich, June 21, 2007, lot 1008. 4. K. Watson and Avery 1973, p. 498. 5. Christie's, London, July 10, 2014, lot 30 (with an essay by Zikos). 6. The signature, GIO BOLONGE (inscribed in the wax), is consistent with those found on other Giambologna bronzes, for example, the *Astronomy* in Vienna (p. 356, fig. 126a) and the *Architecture*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 40.23. 7. Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 2, p. 583, and vol. 4, p. 118. 8. This date would also be appropriate for the cast in the Cincinnati Art Museum (1975.47), which has a similar patina as well as the dimensions and distinctive features (diadem, incised irises) of our bronze. 9. R. Stone/TR, June 30, 2011.

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The Dwarf Morgante as Bacchus After a model by Giambologna (Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, probably 17th–18th century

Bronze, on a later marble base

5 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 2 in. (13.5 × 8.3 × 5.1 cm) (without base)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1452](#))

Morgante was the favorite dwarf of Cosimo I de' Medici and his successors Francesco I and Ferdinando I. Ironically named after the mythological giant Morgante of Luigi Pulci's epic poem, first published in Florence in 1482, he is an iconic figure of the later Renaissance in Florence, frequently portrayed in painting and sculpture.¹ In 1582, Giambologna cast the bronze fountain group *Morgante Riding a Tortoise* for the hanging garden of the Loggia dei Lanzi.² This is the main reason the model for our statuette has been linked to Giambologna. Here, Morgante is represented as a standing Bacchus, proffering a goblet in his outstretched right hand and toting a bunch of grapes at his left hip. A variant of the standing Morgante shows him leaning on a stick and holding a cornetto (a long, thin, tapered Renaissance woodwind instrument). Discussing the two variants (but not our bronze specifically), Anthony Radcliffe states that both models are generally held to be by Giambologna and not by Valerio Cioli, who sculpted a marble *Morgante on a Turtle* for the Boboli Gardens.³ We do not know the original prototype of Morgante as Bacchus, and it could have been made by either Giambologna or one of his followers (for instance, Antonio Susini). The earliest recorded example is the gilt version in the 1673–74 inventories of the Danish Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in Copenhagen.⁴ The model for the standing Morgante may well have been Bronzino's double-sided nude portrait in the Uffizi.

The Met statuette is mounted on a later marble plinth. It is possibly identifiable with the bronze illustrated in the early



twentieth-century sale catalogues of Stefano Bardini (1918), Enrico Caruso (1923), and Ercole Canessa (1930), though in these the figure stands on a different base and is mounted on a bronze pedestal.⁵ The base might have been reshaped slightly in transferring the figure to a new pedestal. Despite the delineated facial features such as the almond-shaped eyes, our *Morgante* is quite coarse, with little artistic merit, indicative of its status as a serial Florentine product.⁶ The existence of many examples of this composition (with varying attributes) attests to its popularity. FL

PROVENANCE: possibly Enrico Caruso (sale, American Art Galleries, New York, March 5–8, 1923, lot 1007); Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 167, no. 311

NOTES

1. For recent discussions of *Morgante*, see O'Bryan 2018; Hendler 2016; Heikamp 2016. 2. See Detlef Heikamp in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 253, 286–301. 3. Six versions of the *Morgante* are discussed in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, cats. 50–55. A third standing variant has appeared on the art market, again as Bacchus but holding a goblet and a vase. 4. Olsen 1961, p. 103. 5. American Art Galleries, New York, April 23–27, 1918, lot 96; American Art Galleries, New York, March 5–8, 1923, lot 1007; American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, March 29, 1930, lot 37. 6. The cast seems to be a typical Florentine example in tin bronze with a minor amount of lead, with screw plugs and a junction wire at the wax join at the neck. It also exhibits some features more typical of northern Italian practice, including a plaster core and a peculiar kinked wire running from the back to the front of the torso in the manner of a transfixing core pin. R. Stone/TR, March 29, 2011.

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Nessus and Dejanira

After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Modern cast, probably late 19th century

Bronze, on a later stone base

16¼ × 14⅝ × 7⅞ in. (41.3 × 37.1 × 18.7 cm)

Gift of Robert F. Hogue, 1955 (55.113)

This group is a replica of Giambologna's most famous version of his composition *Nessus Abducting Dejanira*. Three distinct types produced after his 1577 model have been categorized. Our bronze is a late, reduced variant of Type A.¹ In this type, Dejanira, arms flung out, stretches along the centaur's back, his right arm forcibly wrapped around her upper body, his left hand cinching the drapery tightly across her torso. The lower part of the drapery flies out on both sides of the centaur's body. Type A examples are usually around 42 cm in height.

With the exception of Dejanira's arms and the base, our group appears to have been well cast in one piece. The patina



Florence, Late 16th–Early 18th Century

is brown and fairly opaque, the chasing minimal. The bronze base is unusually long to compensate for the statuette's weight. Nothing about the group's formal characteristics suggests that it is a product of Giambologna's workshop or that of his followers, or even an early modern cast. In his analysis of its facture, Richard Stone bluntly concludes: "this bronze is a good example of a cleverly deceptive Giambologna forgery of rather recent date."² His conclusion is based on, first, radiographs that reveal a system of core support without precedent in the Giambologna tradition. Second, Dejanira's arms were joined using threaded holes created with modern twist drills, which places the statuette no earlier than the mid-nineteenth century. Third, the alloy is a brass with a minor amount of lead and tin; trace elements that would normally be present in a Renaissance bronze—nickel, arsenic, silver, antimony—are low or undetectable. The purity of the metal is thus consonant with a late modern vintage. FL

PROVENANCE: Robert F. Hogue (until 1955; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Franzoni 1970, pp. 128–29

NOTES

1. C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 109–12. Three examples of Type A are ascribed to Giambologna: cats. 60 (Louvre), 61 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Dresden), and another in the Huntington, San Marino, California. Further examples of Type A are cats. 62–66 (Kunsthistorisches Museum; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; Musée Municipale de la Chartreuse, Douai). See also Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 170–71, cats. 6, 7. 2. R. Stone/TR, March 31, 2011.

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Anointment of the Dead Christ
After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, 17th century (?)

Bronze

10⁷/₁₆ × 11¹/₄ in. (26.5 × 28.6 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1955 (55.72)

This relief entered The Met in the spring of 1955, a fortunate outcome following negotiations begun the previous fall. That November, the work had been brought to the attention of curators Preston Remington and John Goldsmith Phillips by Ernst Günter Troche, former director of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, and a transplant to the West Coast following World War II.¹ At the time of its purchase, the bronze was in the collection of Barbara Herbert, a sculptor based in San Francisco.² Traveling to Paris around 1930, Herbert met the sculptor Alfred Boucher, a contemporary of Rodin and mentor to many younger artists. Boucher was a generous collector (if not an infallible connoisseur); in the late 1920s, he

gifted to the Louvre a painting that then was believed to be an autograph Rembrandt self-portrait.³ Herbert acquired a number of works from Boucher, including the *Anointment*, which Troche judged to be the most precious object in her collection.⁴

Initially skeptical, The Met's curators were perhaps swayed by the expertise of Ulrich Middeldorf, who situated the relief in its proper historical context.⁵ In 1596, Ferdinando I de' Medici sent a "bronze ornament in relief" to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem to serve as a precious encasement for the Stone of Unction. The commission was executed between 1588 and 1592. The encasement, comprised of six plaques depicting the Passion of Christ (from the Raising of the Savior's Cross to the Resurrection), was cast in bronze by Domenico Portigiani after models by Pietro Francavilla and his master Giambologna. The latter's contributions to the series are traditionally recognized as the *Anointment* and the *Entombment*, an attribution based entirely on stylistic considerations. Not only are these reliefs dramatically different from Francavilla's in their compositional clarity and sculpted details, but their rhythmic designs correspond—in reduced form—to the general schemes employed in the waxes of the *Acts of Francesco I*, modeled by Giambologna around 1585–87 in preparation for their translation in gold for a *stipo* designed by Bernardo Buontalenti.⁶

Despite a fire that seriously damaged the church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1808, the Passion bronzes survived and are now installed—following an incorrect narrative sequence—on the altar of the Calvary Chapel (fig. 132a).⁷ Based on Friedrich Kriegbaum's photographic documentation, Middeldorf concluded that the relief in Herbert's collection replicated a scene from the altar plaques. In addition, the Bode-Museum holds another complete Passion series, and individual scenes are held in the V&A and the Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center.⁸



Fig. 132a. Altar of the Crucifixion, Calvary Chapel, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem



The Crucified Christ
After a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Later cast, 18th or 19th century

Bronze

Height 14 in. (35.6 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.101](https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00086354))

The dimensions of all of these works roughly align with the Jerusalem reliefs (about a half *braccio* [ca. 29 cm] square).

A comparison of the Jerusalem and Met *Anointments* shows the same configuration of figures arrayed against barren hills with a town in the background, and a similar restrained modeling of garments. Discrepancies in details may be useful in constructing a *stemma codicum* for the known replicas. In the Jerusalem and Berlin plaques, the last figure on the right is bare-foot, while in ours he wears misshapen shoes. In our bronze again, the hat of the last figure at left is simplified and flattened, and the square format and frame is more summary. Perhaps the founder depended upon an overused model (or another cast), one that translated details or a peripheral element like the surround less precisely. This would suggest a much later dating for our plaque than the Holy Sepulchre series or even the Bode reliefs, themselves considered rather rough derivations.⁹ The identification of our *Anointment* with one formerly belonging to the Salviati family in Florence, based on the testimony of Francesco Bocchi, remains speculative.¹⁰ We cannot rule out the possibility that The Met relief was once part of a larger series: an example of an *Entombment* in the collection of Michael Hall was published in 1998.¹¹ TM

PROVENANCE: Alfred Boucher; Barbara Herbert, San Francisco (until 1955); [John Howell Books, San Francisco, 1955; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Dhanens 1956, p. 270; Phillips 1957, pp. 150, 153; Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, p. 476; Pope-Hennessy 1965, p. 24; Notre Dame 1970, p. 169; Ronen 1970, p. 441, no. 2; C. Avery and Hall 1998, p. 106

NOTES

1. Letter from Troche to Remington, dated November 30, 1954, ESDA/OF. 2. For Herbert's biography, see the *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00086354>. 3. Louvre, R.F. 2667 bis; see Coppier 1927 and Foucart 1982, p. 12. 4. Letter from Troche to Phillips, dated April 14, 1955, ESDA/OF. 5. Middeldorf tapped the research of Friedrich Kriegbaum (1927) on cinquecento Florentine sculpture. Letter from Troche to Phillips, dated March 28, 1955, ESDA/OF. 6. For a discussion of the Medici commission and the entire series of plaques, see Ronen 1970. For Francavilla's reliefs, see Donatella Pegazzano in Fumagalli et al. 2001, pp. 144–46, cat. 23. For the attribution to Giambologna, see Kriegbaum 1927; Dhanens 1956, pp. 269–70; and C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 159, cat. 28 (rejected by Waźbiński 1984). For Giambologna's *Acts*, see Barbara Bertelli in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 226–31, cats. 33–35. 7. Bange 1932, p. 23. 8. Bode-Museum, 7247–7250; V&A, 67-1866 (*Entombment*); Loeb Art Center, 1963.9 (*Resurrection*; see Vassar College 1982, p. 38). 9. C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 159, 215–16; see also Pegazzano in Fumagalli et al. 2001, pp. 144–46. 10. Bocchi 1591, p. 185; Bocchi and Cinelli 1677, p. 37; Dhanens 1956, p. 270. 11. C. Avery and Hall 1998, p. 106, cat. 36.

The statuette is a variation of the *Cristo morto* (Dead Christ) composition invented by Giambologna. At least two exemplars were cast by the master around 1588 in Florence, one as a gift to the convent of Santa Maria degli Angiolini, the other for the Salviati Chapel in the Dominican church of San Marco.¹ Both are larger than our replica (respectively, 46.8 and 45.8 cm). Antonio Susini and his workshop produced several bronze reductions based on Giambologna's autograph works.² James David Draper assigned our crucifix to Susini's shop.³

According to Richard Stone, the bronze seems to be a direct cast and, with solid legs and arms, is quite heavy.⁴ Most of its patina has worn away, with many visible copper plugs scattered over the darker bronze body of Christ. It is not easily comparable to Giambologna's crucifixes or Susini's reductions. Skepticism about its chronology derives from several factors: the highly detailed muscling of the anatomy and chiseling of the hair, its considerable weight, and the style, which is far removed from Giambologna, Susini, or any other seventeenth-century Florentine sculptor. All of these elements point to a much later date for our cast, perhaps the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Compositionally and stylistically, it has more in common with a gilded nude corpus (40.6 cm) that has the prestigious provenance of the Viennese Geistliche Schatzkammer but whose origins await clarification, and with a larger bronze crucifix (46.4 cm) problematically attributed to Pietro Tacca.⁵ However, the similarities are not robust enough to assume the three works came from the same workshop. FL

PROVENANCE: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 153, no. 68

NOTES

1. See C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 143–46. 2. See Denise Allen in Wengraf 2014, pp. 158–63, cat. 10; Gasparotto 2011a. On the relationship between Giambologna and Susini, see Zikos 2013. 3. Linsky 1984, p. 153. 4. Radiographs also show other features that differ from the Giambologna workshop, including transfixing core pins and unthreaded plugs of a different colored alloy than the cast, which were presumably originally hidden by an opaque, dark patina. R. Stone/TR, 2011. 5. Kunst-historisches Museum, SK GS E 19; see Manfred Leithe-Jasper in C. Avery et al. 1978, p. 195, cat. 107a. For the crucifix attributed to Tacca, see Michael Hall in C. Avery and Hall 1999, pp. 107–9, cat. 23.



Florence, Late 16th–Early 18th Century

A. *The Risen Christ*

B. *Saint John and Saint Matthew*

Modeled by Giambologna

(Douai 1529–1608 Florence), cast and finished
by Antonio Susini (1558–1624 Florence)

Florence, 1596

Bronze

Christ: 11¾ × 5½ × 3⅜ in. (29.8 × 14 × 7.9 cm);

John: 10¹⁵/₁₆ × 4⁷/₈ × 3⁵/₈ in. (27.8 × 12.4 × 9.2 cm);

Matthew: 10⁵/₈ × 5½ × 3½ in. (27 × 14 × 8.9 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1963 (63.39)

Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1957 (57.136.1, .2)

The three bronzes belong to a highly spirited and refined set of eleven statuettes—*The Risen Christ*, four evangelists, and six angels—that adorned a tabernacle on the high altar of the Church of San Lorenzo at the Carthusian monastery (Certosa) of Galluzzo, near Florence. As rare documented examples of the prodigious production of small bronzes in Giambologna's workshop, they are a touchstone within the sculptor's oeuvre. Three entries in an account book of the church, dated April–July 1596, record payment of 215 ducati (1,505 scudi) for the bronze figures and name both Giambologna and Antonio Susini, then a leading member of his workshop.¹ Writing in the 1680s, Filippo Baldinucci discussed what could only be this commission in his *Life of Susini*, although he dated it five years later and did not associate it with the Certosa, nor did he mention *The Risen Christ* as part of the group.² In 1792, Domenico Moreni extolled the ciborium and bronze statuettes in situ,³ but by the mid-nineteenth century the bronzes are listed among Giambologna's lost works,⁴ having been taken from the church at the time of the Napoleonic suppression, around 1799.⁵ The group seems to have remained together into the early twentieth century, only to be sifted repeatedly through the European and American art markets, with individual statuettes scattering to public and private collections. The Met's *Christ* and two evangelists comprise the largest group to remain together. Another evangelist (Mark/Luke) is in the Spencer Museum of Art in Lawrence, Kansas. One angel is in the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra; two are in a private collection in New York; another is in an Italian private collection. The two remaining angels and fourth evangelist are untraced.

The altar ensemble at San Lorenzo was the capstone of a half-century of major renovation to the east end of the church. The floor was repaved in marbles in the 1560s, elaborate wood choir stalls were added beginning in the 1570s, and a complete redecoration of the apse in the 1590s included the hardstone revetment of the lower walls below a fresco cycle of the life of Saint Bruno by Bernardino Poccetti, in addition to the new high altar.⁶ Though the altar was replaced in the late eighteenth







Fig. 134a. Tabernacle, Church of San Lorenzo, Certosa del Galluzzo near Florence

century and the bronzes removed shortly thereafter, the hexagonal tabernacle remains in situ (fig. 134a).⁷ *The Risen Christ* would have stood in the niche facing the nave, with evangelists in the four flanking niches;⁸ the angels stood on round socles, still visible above the cornice, in line with the ribs of the cupola and the columns below (fig. 134b).⁹

Christ's head is thrown back and his chest pushed out, in contrast to the evangelists' lowered heads and raised knees, which describe concave shapes. There is a carefully calibrated play of symmetry and variety among the four evangelists. Compositional motifs tie the figures together in overlapping pairs—Matthew and Luke look to their right, while Mark and John look to their left;¹⁰ Matthew and Mark put weight on their left leg, while Luke and John rest on their right; Mark and Luke have closed compositions, with their arms coming across the front of their bodies, while Matthew and John are open, right arms stretching out to the side. Volker Krahn observed that the angels are likewise composed as complementary pairs.¹¹

Our statuettes are cast integrally with thin polygonal baseplates of irregular dimensions. Christ stands in a restrained contrapposto, with his weight on his left foot. His upraised right hand has been broken at the wrist and repaired. His

drapery, tied in a knot on his chest, has a tooled fringe, while those of his companions have simpler borders and fastenings. Matthew is accompanied by a stooped angel supporting an open book on his back, John by an eagle, to each figure's right. The button at Matthew's chest is a decorative element typical of the workshop's small bronzes and is also used to fasten drapery on the angels in the group.¹² The two evangelists exhibit the squared fingers and noses and blocky planes of drapery characteristic of Giambologna's modeling. Suppler modeling of the largely nude Christ describes rounded forms of muscle and flesh. All three bronzes were chased extensively, and by the same hand. The tracer was used to strengthen lines in the depths of folds, to delineate feathers on John's eagle and the wings of Matthew's angel, and to indicate the pages of their books. Peening is particularly visible on the stumps at the saints' feet, on John's fingers, and Christ's perizonium. Broader strokes smooth the planes of the saints' drapery. The angels are smaller and more summarily modeled than Christ and the evangelists.¹³ Their exposed physique exhibits none of the definition of, for example, the bones and muscles of Christ's legs.

Other small bronzes were made after the Certosa evangelists, some within Susini's workshop after he established himself



independently.¹⁴ Gilt examples of the *Saint John* and *Saint Mark/Luke*, now in the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, are two of the four evangelists documented leaving Susini's workshop in 1603 and arriving in Spain as a diplomatic gift from Ferdinando de' Medici to the countess of Lemos.¹⁵ A set of all four evangelists in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, documented earliest in a 1753 inventory, was probably made in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and is close in detail and finish to the Madrid bronzes.¹⁶ The evangelists were adapted for use on the doors of Pisa Cathedral in 1599 and for the church of Santissima Concezione di Maria Vergine in Livorno.¹⁷ Four evangelists from Schloss Babelsberg, Potsdam, are probably much later interpretations of the models.¹⁸

Formal precedents for the Certosa figures in Giambologna's oeuvre and contemporaneous and subsequent resonances within his workshop's production describe a culture of reuse and adaptation of models that must have been as desirable to patrons as it was efficacious for the workshop. This practice constituted an enduring stylistic identity and enabled the large output that by the mid-1590s had long since grown beyond the abilities of an individual, but nonetheless retained and enhanced his name. *The Risen Christ* derives from the lifesize marble figure in Giambologna's first major religious commission, the great Altar of Liberty in San Martino, Lucca, almost twenty years earlier. The *Saint Peter* on that altar provided a schema of ponderation and torsion often used in later statues of saints, including the present evangelists.¹⁹ The large bronze angel made in the 1580s,



Fig. 134b. Reconstruction of the original arrangement of bronze figures on the tabernacle, Church of San Lorenzo, Certosa del Galluzzo near Florence

Top row, left to right: Two Angels, 1596. Bronze; H. 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ and 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.8 and 19.4 cm), respectively. Private collection, New York; *Angel*, 1596. Bronze; H. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.6 cm). National Gallery of Australia, Canberra (84.1520); *Angel*, 1596. Bronze; H. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (20.8 cm). D. Altmani & Sons, Milan and Pesaro

Bottom row, left to right: Saint Mark (or Saint Luke), 1596. Bronze; 11 in. (27.9 cm). Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence (1955.0072); *Saint John* (MMA 57.136.1); *The Risen Christ* (MMA 63.39); *Saint Matthew* (MMA 57.136.2); *Saint Luke (or Saint Mark)* (location unknown)

the crowning element for the Salviati Chapel in San Marco, Florence, provided a model for one of the Certosa tabernacle angels and inspired the others in dress and proportions.²⁰

In the 1590s, Giambologna used the same model for four sculptures representing at least three of the evangelists: the marble *Saint Matthew* carved by Pietro Francavilla for Orvieto Cathedral (1595–99),²¹ the monumental bronze *Saint Luke* for Orsanmichele (1597–1602),²² the *Saint Mark* on the doors of Pisa Cathedral (1599), and the untraced small bronze evangelist for the Certosa group, which consequently has equal claim to

the identity of Saint Luke and Saint Mark. This ambiguity exemplifies Giambologna's indifference to fixed subjects in his sculpture, famously demonstrated in a letter to Ottavio Farnese describing various possible identities of a two-figure abduction group (see [cat. 135](#)).²³ That composition would later evolve into perhaps his most famous sculpture, the marble *Abduction of a Sabine*, which in Raffaello Borghini's account was also unlabeled, thus open to interpretation, until shortly before its unveiling.²⁴

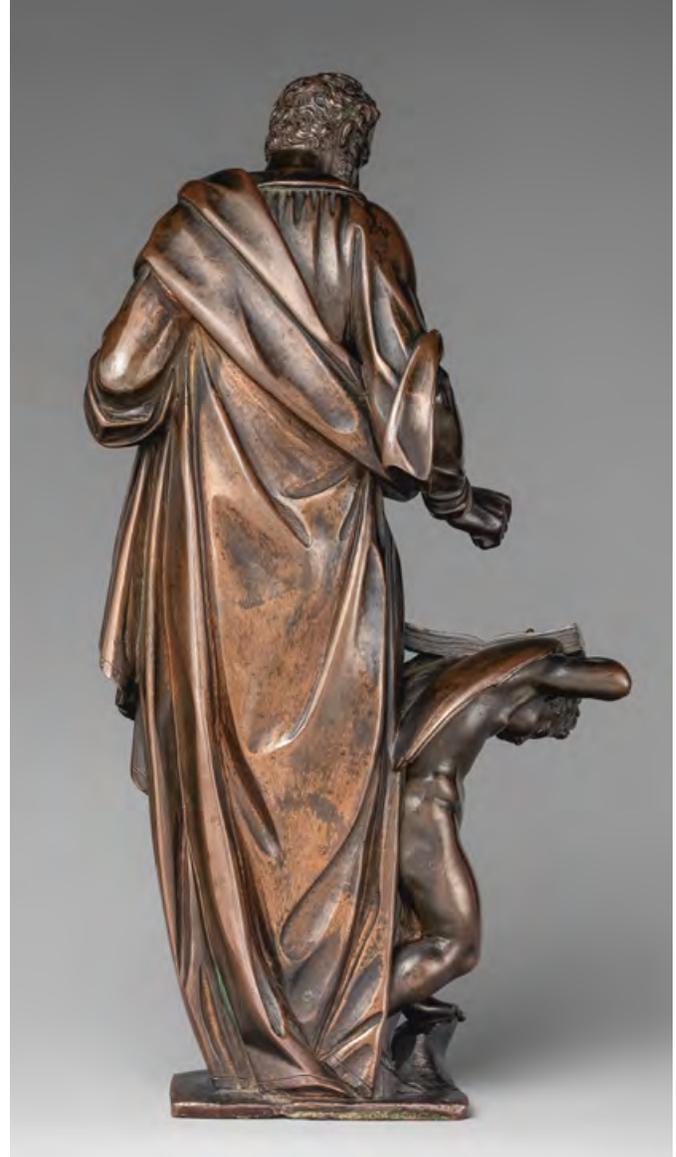
As with many small bronzes associated with Giambologna, attribution of the Certosa group has been controversial. It is an

issue of special significance here, given the existence of a documented payment. Since Herbert Keutner's reconstruction of the group in 1955, scholars have argued for many variants and combinations of authorship.²⁵ However, the nature of bronze production in general—and Giambologna's workshop practice in particular—renders narrow questions of autography moot. It is important to recognize the division between ideation and execution that was often standard workshop practice, while acknowledging the possibility of skilled individuals' movement between the roles of designer and fabricator. In addition to praising his virtuosity in many aspects of his art, the early sources impart a sense of Giambologna as a master organizer, someone who brought together specialists to create artistic ensembles that would bear—and be worthy of—his name. A drawing of the Salviati Chapel, completed by 1588, well before the Certosa commission, identifies Giambologna as the *maestrand* of the entire decorative scheme.²⁶

A related example deserves mention. In spite of a preponderance of documentation suggesting that Giambologna was solely responsible for the Orvieto *Saint Matthew*, Keutner showed that it was in fact made by a collaborator—the expert marble carver Pietro Francavilla—after the former's model.²⁷ If we relied solely on a literal reading of the contract, payments, and records surrounding the commission, it would be impossible to conclude that the *Saint Matthew* was anything but a work by the master himself, in idea and execution. However, an inscription on the statue (“Pietro Francavilla made [this], a work by Giambologna”)²⁸—not to mention the stylistic changes that Francavilla made in the marble—make it clear that the sculpture is best described, as Keutner says, as a joint effort by the artists.²⁹

The Certosa bronzes are almost certainly the same type of collaborative work. The distance that Giambologna kept from the cold-working of bronzes, and his relatively low valuation of small bronzes in general, emerge clearly in his own writings.³⁰ Particularly in this later phase of his career, after he moved his workshop to the Borgo Pinti, Giambologna's focus was on large public commissions. He must have delegated work on small bronzes to assistants and collaborators as a matter of course. The payment record and early sources suggest that Susini played a significant role in the Certosa commission, which is consistent with what we know of Giambologna's artistic philosophy and his workshop structure.

At the time of this commission, Susini was one of Giambologna's most important collaborators, and a few years later, around 1600, he would set up a shop of his own, where he continued to produce small bronzes after his former master's models, as well as his own.³¹ For rhetorical effect, Baldinucci elides this event with the Certosa commission, stating that Susini started his own atelier as a result of being delegated the large project. Baldinucci says that in addition to casting and finishing all the figures, Susini modeled the angels and evangelists,



except for the one resembling the Orsanmichele *Saint Luke*, the model for which Giambologna provided.³² The combination of starting his own workshop, modeling figures (not just casting them), and having his former master covet a bronze that he made sets Susini on his own footing early on in Baldinucci's account and provides the author with a secure identity from which to write the *Vita*, but it surely simplifies Susini's development and the division of labor within the workshop.

Giambologna almost certainly delegated the casting and chasing to Susini, just as he may have contracted a long-time colleague and friend, Jacopo Riccardi, for the *pietre dure* architecture of the tabernacle.³³ With models most likely supplied by Giambologna, the Certosa bronzes were molded, cast, and chased by Susini, expert bronzeworker.³⁴ Susini also collected the payments, as the account books divulge.

The precise dating of these bronzes opens a valuable window onto the technical aspects of bronze production in Giambologna's and related workshops (for a radiograph of *The Risen Christ*, see p. 33, fig. 3). Their excellent state of preservation has allowed study and analysis that have significantly advanced our knowledge of original Renaissance bronze

surfaces and helped Richard Stone reproduce the recipe and process of patination in the workshop, thereby providing a better understanding of what these objects looked like when they were made.³⁵ The fact that the bronzes, though carefully and thoroughly finished after casting, contain no screw plugs may provide a *terminus post quem* for a practice that soon thereafter, probably in the first decade or two of the seventeenth century, became standard for bronzeworkers in the Giambologna workshop and subsequent traditions.³⁶ PJB

PROVENANCE: (A) tabernacle of the main altar of the Church of San Lorenzo, Certosa di Firenze at Galluzzo (until 1799); [Partridge Fine Arts, London?]; [Julius Böhler, Munich]; Albert Keller, New York (1926); [Piero Tozzi?]; [Harold Weinstein, 1963; sold to MMA]. (B) tabernacle of the main altar of the Church of San Lorenzo, Certosa di Firenze at Galluzzo (until 1799); [Blumka Gallery, New York, 1957; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Baldinucci 1845–47 (1680s), vol. 4, p. 110; Moreni 1792, pp. 119–20; Keutner 1955b; Phillips 1959; Weihrauch 1967, p. 222; C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 147–49, cats. 112–14; C. Avery et al. 1978, pp. 199–203, cats. 112–14; Leoncini 1979, p. 204 n. 268; Chiarelli and Leoncini 1982, pp. 30, 47 n. 82, 255–56; C. Avery 1987, pp. 198, 265; Stone 2010, pp. 109, 112–16, fig. 6; C. Avery 2012, pp. 11, 13, figs. 2–4

NOTES

1. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Rel. Soppr. 51, Certosa di San Lorenzo, 87, p. 425v; partial transcriptions in Keutner 1955b, p. 142; Keutner 1957, p. 11 n. 6; Chiarelli and Leoncini 1982, p. 255; C. Avery 2012, p. 9, with facsimile on pp. 20–21. 2. Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 4, p. 110. 3. Moreni 1792, pp. 119–20 (Lettera decima). Caterina Chiarelli (in Chiarelli and Leoncini 1982, p. 255) noted that this is the only source to describe the bronzes in situ. 4. Desjardins 1883, p. 157. Foucques de Vagnonville, on whose notes Desjardins relied, began compiling his material as early as the 1850s; see Cotta 2002, p. 380 n. 10. 5. Keutner 1957, p. 2. 6. Leoncini 1979, pp. 202–4; Chiarelli and Leoncini 1982, pp. 250–51. 7. Chiarelli and Leoncini 1982, p. 255. 8. There is no reason to believe that the *Christ* was intended to crown the structure, as per C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 147. The hierarchy of a five-niche configuration also would demand that the *Christ* occupy the middle. The door giving access to the host chamber is on the sixth side, facing away from the nave. 9. Keutner 1955b, p. 142. 10. Here I refer to the Spencer Museum evangelist as Mark and the unlocated evangelist as Luke; their actual identities are unclear (see below). 11. Krahn 1995, p. 396. 12. See, for example, C. Avery 2012, frontis., figs. 1, 6. 13. At about 20.8 cm tall, the angels are roughly three-quarters the size of Christ and the evangelists. 14. Zikos 2010, p. 177. 15. Coppel 2001, pp. 64–68; Arbeteta 2002, pp. 176–77. 16. Berger and Krahn 1994, pp. 88–92. 17. C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 147. 18. Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1994, lot 63. 19. The figures were carved in 1577–79; C. Avery 1987, pp. 193–95. 20. C. Avery 2012, p. 16. 21. It is of note that by September of 1595, Giambologna's agent had a small-scale model of the *Saint Matthew* in Carrara to help with selecting a block of marble for Orvieto; Keutner 1955a, p. 18. This must have closely resembled the corresponding Certosa bronze. 22. C. Avery 1987, p. 198. 23. See C. Avery 1987, pp. 109–12; Berger and Krahn 1994, p. 91. 24. See Cole 2008, pp. 339, 341; Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 2, pp. 560–63. 25. Wilhelm von Bode, on an undated photograph of the *Christ*, called it “an excellent example of Gian Bologna's Christus” (ESDA/OF); Comstock (1926, p. 29) describes the *Christ* and two angels

as “by Gian Bologna”; Keutner (1955b, p. 143, and 1957, p. 2) gives the modeling of the evangelists to Giambologna, and the *Christ* and six angels to Susini (who cast all the figures), supporting his argument by saying that only the evangelists were reproduced; Phillips (1959, p. 222) accepts Keutner's opinion; Avery (C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 147–49, and C. Avery 1987, p. 265) labels the *Christ* as by Susini after Giambologna and equivocates on the modeling of the *Saint John* and *Saint Matthew*, citing possible models by Giambologna to challenge Baldinucci's ascription of the modeling to Susini; Weihrauch (1967, p. 222) describes all eleven statuettes as a joint work of Giambologna and Susini; Berger and Krahn (1994, pp. 91–92) give the modeling of the evangelists to Susini, reasonably asserting that after fifteen years in Giambologna's workshop, he had absorbed the master's style; Avery (2012, pp. 15–16) reverses his earlier more nuanced opinions, arguing that all of the statuettes in the series are “bronzes actually by Giambologna himself.” 26. C. Avery 1987, p. 28. 27. Keutner 1955a, pp. 18–19. 28. PETRI FRANCAVILLA † F † OPUS GIOANIS BOLOGNE; Keutner 1955a, p. 19. 29. Ibid. Baldinucci also refers to Francavilla for this commission. 30. For a summary of this evidence, see Zikos 2006b, pp. 38–39. 31. Zikos 2010, p. 177. 32. Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 4, p. 110. 33. For Riccardi's role, see Moreni 1792, pp. 119–20 (Lettera decima); Leoncini 1979, pp. 203–4. 34. It is possible that Susini had a hand in modeling some of the less important figures (especially the angels), so much had he assimilated Giambologna's style by this time. 35. Stone 2010. 36. Richard Stone first suggested this possibility; R. Stone/TR, October 21, 2010.

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Abduction of a Sabine

Antonio Susini (1558–1624 Florence),
after a model by Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Florence, cast probably 16th century

Bronze, on a later stone base

37½ × 16½ × 14 in. (96.2 × 41.9 × 35.6 cm) (without base)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William B. Jaffe, 1963 (63.197)

A woman struggles to free herself from the forcible grip of her abductor. Held suspended in a “balletic lift”¹ onto his shoulder, her body signals desperation. When the bronze entered The Met in 1963, curators hailed it as an important creation from the workshop of Giambologna, describing it as a genuine “masterpiece” of “unsurpassed vigor . . . in all details superlative.”² Prior to offering his gift, William B. Jaffe had gathered sterling assessments by experts including Edward Fowles, director of Duveen Brothers, and art dealer Edward R. Lubin, who agreed on the work's link to Giambologna.³ In subject, design, and dimensions, The Met's abduction group closely corresponds to two other works by the Flemish master, in the Capodimonte (fig. 135a) and the Kunsthistorisches Museum (KK 6029). Their size, about a *braccio* (ca. 58 cm) and a half in height using traditional Florentine measurements, is atypical in the context of his production of small bronzes. The





Fig. 135a. Giambologna, *Abduction of a Sabine Woman*, ca. 1579. Bronze; 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (99.5 cm). Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (AM 10524)

attribution to Giambologna was reinforced by documentation of the Naples bronze in the form of a letter written in the artist's hand and sent to Ottavio Farnese in June 1579.

The letter preceded the delivery of the bronze "group of two figures" from Florence to Parma that Giambologna states could represent "the abduction of Helen and perhaps of Proserpina or one of the Sabines," but that was specifically created "to provide an opportunity for the knowledge and study of art." Moreover, he assures the duke that the two figures, although not worthy of "the perfection" demanded by the "greatness, and courtesy of his Excellency," were carried out by the artist with as "much study" as possible "in making them . . . most of all in their finishing."⁴ Thus the letter provides unusual substantiation of Giambologna's responsibility for not only the design of the Naples bronze, but also its chasing. The letter's early date suggests that the Naples group should be considered a propulsive elaboration on the path to perfecting the composition realized a few years later in the renowned marble *Abduction of a Sabine*, comprising three figures—an old man, a young man, and a young woman—and unveiled in January 1583 under the Loggia dei Lanzi, Piazza della Signoria, Florence.

In 1978, Anthony Radcliffe assigned our bronze to Antonio Susini, devoted assistant to the maestro Giambologna. Radcliffe associated it with the Vienna group in a "spillover" attribution by virtue of their similarly smooth, chased surfaces and a certain dryness in the chiseling. In Radcliffe's opinion, the Vienna



and New York groups display, “in sharp distinction from the Naples bronze,” the “superbly professional execution and high quality of finishing” typical of Susini.⁵ For that matter, compared with the Vienna bronze, ours stands out for its more thorough cold tooling along the hem of the young man’s cloak, the definition of his grasp on the woman’s waist, and the meticulous rendering of the hair. Radcliffe’s judgment had a direct impact on future commentary about The Met group. It is often relegated to a secondary position vis-à-vis the Vienna bronze⁶ because of the latter’s illustrious provenance—it once belonged to Emperor Rudolf II⁷—while our group lacks documentation, although some sources reference it as having been in the collection of the Arenberg princes of Belgium.⁸ Manfred Leithe-Jasper, the only recent scholar to mention the Belgian connection (without, however, citing a source), suggested a possible identification of The Met group with one that entered the Gonzaga collections at the end of the sixteenth century.⁹ Like the Naples bronze, this was described by the artist in a letter dated July 1595 as a “group of two figures.”¹⁰ It remained in Mantua until at least 1627 (when it was inventoried with a value of “lire 300”). Some of the Gonzaga family works were sold in England, came into Charles I’s possession, and may have been bought by the Arenbergs some time after the king’s properties were auctioned during the Cromwell Interregnum.

The casting technique of our *Abduction*—consistent with the unusually large dimensions of the sculpture—matches the early practice of Giambologna and his direct collaborators. Radiographs show that, although quite porous, the cast is relatively thin and even, with wax-to-wax joins at the limbs and the Sabine’s neck, and junction wires across the joins.¹¹ Unusual features include a heavy vertical wire, wrapped in finer wire, in the torso of the male figure, which appears to have functioned as an armature, as well as exceptionally long and heavy drawn wire core plugs. The fact that the plugs are driven into holes, not threaded, might support an early dating for the cast. The original lacquer patina has largely worn away, but in the preserved areas it gleams with a transparent light brown tonality analogous to the patinas used in Giambologna’s workshop. Unlike the Naples bronze, the base of ours functions as a stable support for both feet of the man, and traces a wider ellipse than the Vienna group.¹² Despite minor variations in the three versions, which could be explained by delays between execution, it is the precious and expressive cold-working of the surfaces, shiny in details such as the fluttering drapery and sharp in the anatomy of the abductor’s arms and hands (fig. 135b), that returns us to an attribution to Susini. TM

PROVENANCE: Mr. and Mrs. William B. Jaffe (until 1963; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Phillips 1964, pp. 88–89; Notre Dame 1970, p. 167, cat. S2; James David Draper in Untermeyer 1977, p. 167, no. 312; Anthony Radcliffe in C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 106, cat. 56; Manfred Leithe-Jasper in C. Avery et al. 1978, p. 142, cat. 57a; Draper 1989, p. 232;

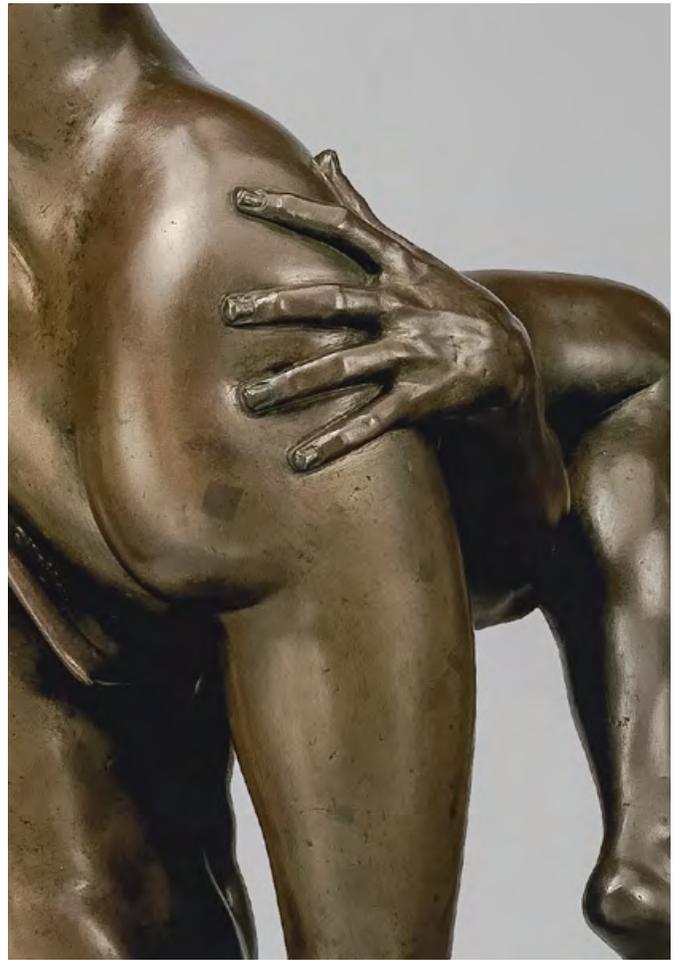


Fig. 135b. Detail of cat. 135 showing the left hand of the abductor

Fernanda Capobianco in Ambrosio and Capobianco 1995, p. 24, cat. 9; Charles Avery in C. Avery and Hall 1998, pp. 50–51; Chiarini et al. 2002, p. 211; Leithe-Jasper 2006a, pp. 64, 65 nn. 9, 10; Capobianco in Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 166–67, cat. 4; Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Seipel 2006, p. 270, cat. 31; Zikos 2006a, p. 34; C. Avery 2008, pp. 59–60; Wengraf 2014, p. 125 n. 52

NOTES

1. Draper 1989, p. 231. 2. Report perhaps by John Goldsmith Phillips, ESDA/OF. 3. For Jaffe, see his obituary in *The New York Times*, April 26, 1972. 4. “gropo delle due Figure”; “il rapto d’Elena, et forse di Proserpina o, d’una delle Sabine”; “per dar campo alla sageza, et studio dell’arte”; “Le quali se non saranno di quella perfezione che merita la grandezza, et cortesia dell’Ecc.mo Animo suo, saranno non di meno, quali ha saputo condurli il debile saper mio, condito certo di maggiore studio nel farle et di più diligenza che ho saputo (massime nel rinettare) . . .” Published in Filangieri di Candida 1897, pp. 20–21. 5. C. Avery et al. 1978, p. 141, cat. 56. 6. See, for instance, C. Avery and Hall 1998, pp. 50–51, and Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 166–67, cat. 4. 7. Leithe-Jasper 2006a, p. 65 n. 9. 8. See the internal report and Edward R. Lubin’s expert opinion, ESDA/OF, for references to the Arenberg collection in Brussels. Beginning in the 1950s, the Arenberg collection began to deaccession important works, including Johannes Vermeer’s *Study of a Young Woman* (today in The Met). Unfortunately, no printed



inventory exists for the sculptures that belonged to the Arenbergs between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the first volume dedicated to the collection, printed in Brussels in 1829, lists only the paintings (see Spruyt 1829). The catalogue entrusted to Théophile Thoré-Bürger in 1859 does mention the works present in the “salles consacrées à la sculpture.” However, these are limited to the casts of the Michelangelesque figures in the New Sacristy and those by Lorenzo Ghiberti from the *Gates of Paradise*. See Bürger 1859, pp. 118–20. For the Arenbergs’ interest in sculpture, see Verbrugge 2018. **9.** Leithe-Jasper 2006a, p. 65 n. 10. **10.** Dhanens 1956, pp. 358–59; C. Brown 1982, pp. 30–31, doc. 9. **11.** R. Stone/TR, March 30, 2011. The distortions in the Sabine’s index and middle fingers are a result of later damage. **12.** The alloys used for the sculptural composition and the base differ: the figures are a lightly leaded tin bronze; the base is a quaternary alloy of copper, tin, lead, and zinc (ca. 2.6%). F. Carò/AR, November 7, 2018.

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Bull

After a model by Antonio Susini
(1558–1624 Florence)

Italy (?) or possibly northern Europe, 18th–19th century

Bronze

7½ × 10 × 3½ in. (21.5 × 26.1 × 7.9 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1940 (40.14.1)

This unpublished bronze of a pacing bull is a later, possibly Northern cast of a model that ultimately derives from a Giambologna invention, which gave rise to a large corpus of variants and replicas. Documentation confirms the existence of multiple

bronze bulls produced by Giambologna and his studio as well as his collaborator Antonio Susini during the master's lifetime and in the years immediately following his death in 1608. These early bronze statuettes can be considered direct translations of Giambologna's first *pensiero*. The earliest evidence of his composition being cast in bronze likely dates to 1573, when Girolamo di Zanobi Portigiani produced a bull apparently upon the request of Giambologna's patron, the Florentine nobleman Jacopo di Alamanno Salviati, as recently shown by Dimitrios Zikos and Patricia Wengraf.¹ Another bull is recorded in the 1588 estate inventory of Francesco I de' Medici along with a Giambologna horse and lion. The Medici casts are now in the Bargello.² Based on style and facture, the Portigiani cast has been associated with the bull in the Hill collection.³

Our bronze, which entered The Met in 1940, diverges from the Bargello and Hill exemplars and, in fact, derives from a different bull model, categorized in the scholarship as "Type B."⁴ This variant can be traced back to a statuette, now in the Galleria Colonna, Rome, that was commissioned in 1628 by Jacopo di Lorenzo Salviati from Giovanni Francesco Susini, who based it on a model he inherited from his uncle Antonio.⁵ The Type B composition re-elaborates Giambologna's invention (the Type A Bargello and Hill statuettes), stylizing its massive girth into a sleeker anatomy. The more diminutive muzzle is held erect, the dewlap is lighter and less fleshy, the hide between the horns is given an exquisite graphic rendering as opposed to the Type A bull's more sculptural treatment. Moreover, while the Bargello and Hill statuettes stand on a metallic oval base, typical of Giambologna's early small sculptures, neither the Colonna nor The Met bronze has such a support.⁶

The quality of the beautiful Colonna bronze far surpasses that of ours, with its rather perfunctory definition of volume and musculature, particularly in the reticular pattern of the dewlap folds and the linear configuration of the legs and hooves. Richard Stone's technical analysis revealed peculiarities in the casting technique—the absence of wax-to-wax joins, the use of a single, heavy longitudinal wire running the entire length of the bull to support the core—compatible with a dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The core appears to have been pre-cast and inserted in the mold, a practice facilitating production in larger numbers.⁷ In addition, the alloy is a relatively clean leaded brass with only low levels of tin and antimony, pointing to a Northern provenance. Comparable bulls in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, attributed to a local workshop, and a non-Florentine cast auctioned in 2009 attest to the popularity of Susini's model north of the Alps.⁸ In this regard, it is useful to remember that a bronze likely based on this composition was recorded in the 1652 inventory of Jan van Meurs's collection in Antwerp.⁹ TM

PROVENANCE: [Symons Galleries, 1940; sold to MMA]

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Wengraf 2014, pp. 118–25, cat. 6; Utz 1973, p. 69, doc. V, item 12. This bronze is often confused with a bull statuette by Antonio Susini listed in the 1609 inventory of the collection of Jacopo's son Lorenzo Salviati. Since Giambologna and Susini did not begin collaborating until around 1581, this bull cannot be the 1573 statuette, but another early example. A copy of the Susini/Salviati bull was cast by Pietro Tacca in 1611–12 as part of a diplomatic gift from Cosimo II de' Medici to Henry, prince of Wales. See Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, p. 242, cat. 45; Zikos 2013; for the Tacca copy, K. Watson and Avery 1973, pp. 503, 506. 2. Inv. 287 B, 361 B, and 348 B; see Barocchi and Bertelà 2002–11, vol. 1, p. 330. The Medici bull may have passed into the property of Don Antonio, son of the grand duke; on his death in 1621, a bull is listed in his estate inventory with an attribution to Giambologna. See Wengraf 2014, p. 118.
3. Wengraf 2014, pp. 118–25, cat. 6. 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–22. 5. Inv. 1848 n. 32; see Herbert Keutner in Carinci 1990, p. 301, no. XVI. 6. Wengraf 2014, pp. 121–22. 7. The core is intact and the tail appears to be soldered on, another nod toward mass production. R. Stone/TR, October 13, 2011.
8. For the Braunschweig bulls (Bro 158, 159), see Berger and Krahn 1994, p. 103, nos. 63, 64. The other cast was auctioned at Néret-Minet Scp., Paris, June 19, 2009, lot 201. 9. See Kugel 2008, p. 94 n. 13.

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Hermaphrodite

Giovanni Francesco Susini
(Florence 1585–ca. 1653)

Florence, 1639

Bronze

4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 17 × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (11.7 × 43.2 × 18.4 cm)

Inscriptions: (front of base) DUPLEX COR UNO IN PECTORE / SAEPE INVENIES. / CAVE INVIDIAS. [Often you will find a double heart in one breast; beware of treachery.]; (back of base) DUPLICEM FORMAM UNO IN CORPORE VIDES. / MIRARE PULCHRITUDINEM.

[You see a double form in one body; marvel at the beauty.]

(inside figure) IO.FR.SUSINI.FLO.F/1639

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow, 1977 (1977.339)

Giovanni Francesco Susini's artistic personality has taken shape only in recent years with studies of his formal influences, intellectual training, and technical development.¹ An artist of considerable originality, he carved lifesize marble figures and groups² and made highly successful statuettes of his own design.³ In addition, he adapted more large-scale antiquities to bronze statuettes than had any sculptor since Antico, a century earlier,⁴ and continued his uncle Antonio's practice of casting statuettes after Giambologna's models. According to his biographer Filippo Baldinucci, Susini's statuettes after antiquities were by far the highest valued of his small bronzes, selling for up to ten times the price of those after Giambologna's models.⁵ Within his oeuvre, the *Hermaphrodite* stands out as a masterpiece, fusing Susini's creative and antiquarian impulses.

The nude lies chest down on a tufted mattress, limbs tangled in a sheet and arms cradling the head. Full hips and breast

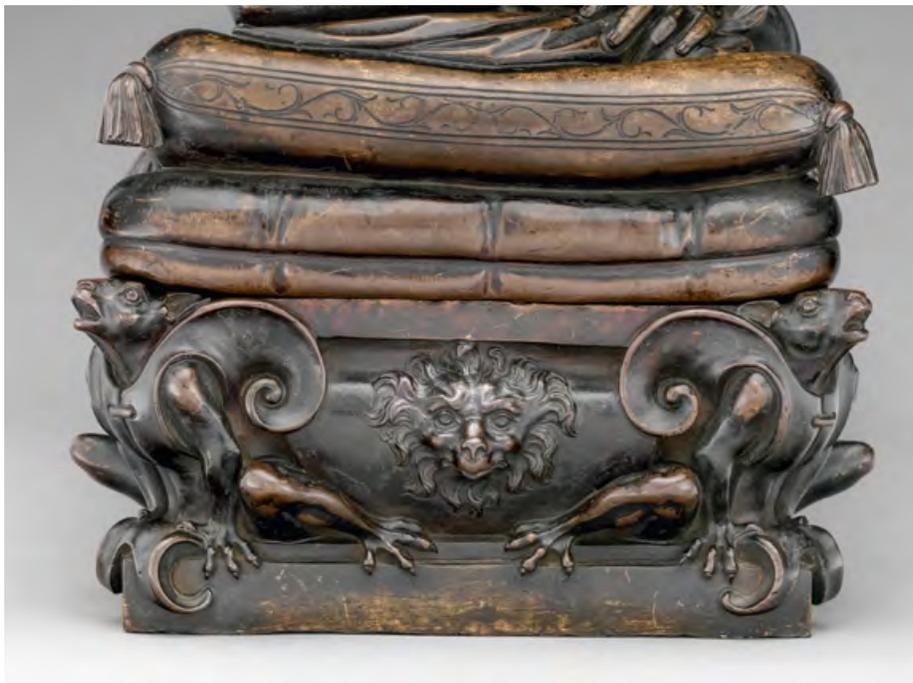


Fig. 137a. Detail of cat. 137 showing the decoration on the end of the base



characterize the frontal view; from the opposite side, the raised left hip reveals male organs. A large tasseled pillow supports the stilled upper body. A pacific face suggests sleep but is belied by flexed, restless legs. The left calf is raised, pulling up a loop of the sheet, while the right foot extends off the mattress, toes hooking the sheet's edge. A host of contradictions, the figure seems both asleep and in motion, covered and exposed, in a private setting and on display, male and female.⁶ Further, the most piquant anatomical attribute is visible only when the face is not.

The mattress sits atop an independently cast rectangular base with convex walls suggestive as much of a sarcophagus as a bedframe.⁷ Hybrid creatures crouch at each corner, and masks enliven the head and foot of the bed (fig. 137a). Cartouches bearing Latin epigrams on each long side recapitulate and allegorize the figure above, instructing the viewer both to beware of and admire duplicity.

The hermaphrodite was known to the Renaissance from ancient literary and archaeological sources. Ovid's tale of the libidinous nymph Salmacis joining with Hermaphroditus, the beautiful son of Hermes and Aphrodite, to form this intersexed

prototype was well known to Renaissance mythographers, as was Pliny's account of the biological "marvel" among mortals.⁸ Our composition was known perhaps as early as 1425, when Ghiberti reported on an ancient sculpture matching its description, recently unearthed in Rome.⁹ By then, the idea of the mythical hermaphrodite was already multivalent; it was a creature susceptible to mystical readings, as well as having associations with alchemy and, as in antiquity, entertainment.¹⁰ The humanist Antonio Beccadelli's controversial book of extravagantly obscene and satiric epigrams, titled *The Hermaphrodite*, was published in 1425 with a dedication to Cosimo de' Medici.¹¹

Two centuries later, the subject was again a locus of attention, as two lifesize ancient marble sculptures of a sleeping hermaphrodite were unearthed, restored, and installed in the most important princely collections of antiquities in Rome. The first of these was discovered in Rome in 1619 and quickly acquired by Cardinal Scipione Borghese. By early 1620, David Larique had restored the ancient sculpture, and the young Bernini had carved and fitted to it a mattress that in its verisimilitude seems to defy the properties of marble (fig. 137b).¹² The other ancient marble entered the collection of Cardinal



Fig. 137b. *Sleeping Hermaphrodite*. Roman copy after Greek original, mid-2nd century B.C. Mattress sculpted by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1620. Marble; L. 58¼ in. (148 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MA 231)

Ludovico Ludovisi and was restored between 1621 and 1623 by Ippolito Buzzi in an effort surely prompted by the success of the Borghese restoration.¹³ Matthias Winner has suggested that the Ludovisi restoration sought to re-create the rustic Ovidian hermaphrodite, while the Borghese display aimed at the refined “Hermaphroditus nobilis” that Pliny ascribed to Polykles.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the Polyklian sculpture was made of bronze and is Pliny’s only mention of a sculpted Hermaphroditus.¹⁵ It could well have been appreciated that Susini’s reduction of the sculpture returned the subject to its original material.

The sculptures seem to have been particularly evocative of antiquity and remained a node of taste for some time.¹⁶ In the seventeenth century, they were reproduced in drawings and prints by Rubens, among others.¹⁷ In 1638, the year before Susini dated our small bronze, François Perrier published the first bound collection of prints of the most famous sculptures in Rome, the *Segmenta nobilium*.¹⁸ Plate 90 shows a reclining hermaphrodite, with a landscape behind, as a combination of the two ancient versions: the figure is disposed on the ground, like the Ludovisi sculpture and Ovidian description, but with a pillow supporting the head, as in the Borghese version and Pliny (fig. 137c).

Susini almost certainly knew the Ludovisi *Hermaphrodite*, as he made bronze reductions of a number of the cardinal’s antiquities.¹⁹ However, his primary source was the Borghese sculpture. The mattress and pillow of our bronze are derived from Bernini’s celebrated restoration rather than from the spaded earth, panther hide, and sheet on which the Ludovisi version lies. Susini’s response to Bernini’s early work is also apparent in the composition of his small bronze *Abduction of Helen by Paris*, which Peggy Fogelman has connected to Bernini’s *Rape of Proserpina* (1622).²⁰ Susini made at least two trips to Rome, first in the early 1620s, in the years that both marble *Hermaphrodites* were restored, and again in 1638, the year before our bronze is dated.²¹

The original base for the Borghese *Hermaphrodite*, described at length in a recorded payment to the woodworker G. B. Soria, was an elaborate walnut chest, decorated with friezes, pilasters, vegetal motifs, grotesques, and putti carved in the round.²² A matching cover fitted over the sculpture to conceal it, to be opened only for the delectation of select company. The Ludovisi base, shaped like a bed and decorated with masks and scrolls and niches for statuettes, survives and is not dissimilar to the description of the lost Borghese base.²³ Susini’s base resembles neither of the marbles’ wood bases. Bernini’s tour-de-force mattress immediately made the reclining figure’s support a focal point. Susini adapted it, scaling down its fifty tufts to twenty-one, and added an elaborate base comprising over a third of the sculpture’s total height. Figured and inscribed, it vies with the figure above for visual attention.

Already in his earliest known public commission of 1613–15, a pair of bronze holy-water stoups now in the Santissima Annunziata, Susini displayed a flair for scroll ornament.²⁴ At the corners of the sarcophagus-like base, scrolls wrap around the chests of batlike creatures like a carapace and produce spiraling wings to each side that seem to support the sculpture above. These beasts also have frog- and catlike qualities, while the masks on the short sides of the base suggest other metamorphosing animals—ape and lion, perhaps—all fitting imagery for staging the ambiguous figure. The corner elements are akin to the fantastical creatures that were regularly conceived in the Giambologna workshop, such as a set of monstrous fountain figures,²⁵ or the “Diavolino” flag holder of 1579 for the Palazzo Vecchietti, now in the Museo Bardini, Florence. In both cases, as with Susini’s creations, the creatures are essentially subservient to the surrounding architecture. The grotesque fountain figures in Piazza Santissima Annunziata, cast by Pietro Tacca in 1633, and whose ornament parallels work by Bernardo Buontalenti,²⁶ and Raffaele Curradi’s grotesque figures (ca. 1634) that flank the portal of the Palazzo Fenzi-Marucelli offer other points of comparison. Open-mouthed, the latter seem to strain to hold up the architrave.²⁷



Fig. 137c. François Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium* (Paris, 1638), pl. 90

For the pillow, Susini turned to the *Sleeping Venus*, a model from Giambologna's early statuette production that Susini inherited through his uncle and best known today through the documented 1587 version with a satyr in Dresden.²⁸ Our *Hermaphrodite*'s pillow is overstuffed, tasseled at each corner, with symmetrical, curling vine motifs incised on the side panels, the same as those that support the *Venus*'s legs and shoulders and bearing no resemblance to the simple pillow that Bernini conceived for the Borghese marble.

Though their source has yet to be identified, the inscriptions on the base situate the sculpture in the highest echelon of literary culture in early seventeenth-century Rome. The epigram was a popular and versatile poetic form in the Renaissance, when it became closely allied with descriptions of artworks, following classical precedent. Martial's collections of epigrams in particular, some of which describe paintings and sculptures, inspired writer-collectors in these years.²⁹ Epigram 174 from his *Apophoreta*, in fact, treats a sculpted marble Hermaphroditus: "*Hermaphroditus marmoreus* / He entered the fountain a male. He came out both sexes. One part of him is his father's; the rest he has is his mother's."³⁰ Throughout the sixteenth century, the association between epigram and epigraph was close; by the early seventeenth century, the *Pasquino* had become a bulletin board of Latin and vernacular moralizing and political poetry. The taste for epigrams was particularly pronounced in the decades around 1600, with the publication of Giambattista Marino's *Galleria* in 1620 marking an apogee in the connection between *pictura* and *poesis* as they were cultivated in the epigrammatic tradition.³¹

At least two of Bernini's sculptures in the Borghese collection, *Apollo and Daphne* and *The Rape of Proserpina*, had bases inscribed with epigrams composed by Maffeo Barberini, perhaps in the same years as Susini's first visit to Rome.³² Barberini's poetry was well regarded even before he became Pope Urban VIII.³³ Susini's base owes much to these installations, and it should not be discounted that even though his bronze sarcophagus does not reflect the base for the Borghese *Hermaphrodite*, Barberini or someone in his literary circle may have authored the inscription.³⁴ That on the *Proserpina* is a reduced version of a double distich recorded in Barberini's own hand in a manuscript now in the Vatican archives.³⁵ Susini's inscriptions take this same poetic form.

Susini's *Hermaphrodite* survives in at least four versions.³⁶ The Met's cast is the most important, not least because of the elaborate base, a unicum, which within the realm of small-scale sculpture has no precedent in works by Giambologna or his followers. It is the only signed version and stands out for the exceptional amount of work after casting, which gave it a high and varied finish. Susini employed an unusually large number of screw plugs (fig. 137d) and polygonal patches to repair the cast and used an unorthodox method for the base, modeled and cast in two j-shaped sections and then fused together.³⁷

The ancient *Hermaphrodite* continued to be reproduced as a bronze statuette in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A version by François Duquesnoy was paired with a reclining Venus in François Girardon's collection of sculpture, which was famously documented in a series of engravings in the early 1700s.³⁸ The idea of such a pairing existed as early as 1638; the *Hermaphrodite* was similarly displayed near a reclining Cleopatra in Perrier's *Segmenta nobilium*. Susini's composition is to be distinguished from another model, exemplified by bronzes in Vienna and Stockholm, that is slightly smaller than Susini's version and exhibits more pat surfaces.³⁹ Its composition follows the restored Borghese ensemble much more closely, to the point of replicating the number of mattress tufts and the location of creases in the pillow. They are reductions from the eighteenth-century workshop of Giacomo and Giovanni Zoffoli and perhaps that of Francesco Righetti, leading founders in Rome, both of which listed the *Hermaphrodite* in their sales catalogues.⁴⁰ The cast in Stockholm bears a Zoffoli signature on the mattress. PJB

PROVENANCE: [William Redford, London]; [Frederick Victoria, New York]; [Harry Bailey, New York]; [Eugene V. Thaw, New York]; Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow (until 1977; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Hunter and Stiebel 1974, p. 188, cat. 183; C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, pp. 196–97, cat. 189; C. Avery et al. 1978, pp. 267–68; MMA 1979, p. 31; C. Avery 1982, p. 429; Anthea Brook in Florence 1986, vol. 2, p. 447, cat. 4.29; Matthias Winner in Coliva and Schütze 1998, pp. 126–27, cat. 10; Warwick 2004, p. 363, fig. 1.7

NOTES

1. Lombardi 1979; Brook in Florence 1986, vol. 3, pp. 166–67; Brook 2003, pp. 52–56; Cole 2007; Stone 2010; D. Smith 2011. Susini is referred to almost exclusively as "Francesco" in seventeenth-century texts (e.g., Baldinucci 1845–47 [1680s], Bocchi and Cinelli 1677) and archival documents (see Lombardi 1979, appendix), while most of his signed sculptures indicate both given names (e.g., IO. FR. SVSINI), and modern scholars often use Gianfrancesco or Giovan Francesco. 2. See Brook



Fig. 137d. Detail of cat. 137 showing the interior signature and screw plugs

*Mercury*After Giambologna
(Douai 1529–1608 Florence)

Italy, 17th–18th century (?)

Bronze

13¼ × 4¾ × 6¾ in. (33.7 × 11.1 × 17.1 cm)

Bequest of Irwin Untermyer, 1973 (1974.28.145)

2003; Lombardi 1979, pp. 766–72. **3.** For example, *The Abduction of Helen by Paris* (Getty, 90.SB.32), *Venus Chastening Cupid* (cat. 139), *David with the Head of Goliath* (Princely Collections of Liechtenstein, SK565). **4.** For example, *The Ludovisi Mars* (Ashmolean, WA1953.110), the *Dying Gladiator* and *Porcellino* (both Bargello). **5.** Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 4, p. 118. **6.** Warwick 2004, esp. p. 364, addresses some of the dialogic possibilities of the subject. **7.** C. Avery 1982, p. 429. **8.** *Metamorphoses* IV:285–389; Silberman 1988. Pliny, *Natural History* VII:III.34. **9.** Schlosser 1912, vol. 1, pp. 61–62. The lengthy description leaves little doubt that the sculpture was of this type, but the marble itself cannot be identified with a surviving example. For the much disputed dating in Ghiberti's account, see Bober and Rubinstein 1986, p. 98. **10.** Wind 1958, pp. 164–65. See DeVun 2008 for the hermaphrodite in relation to medieval alchemy. Pliny describes hermaphrodites in his day “considered . . . now as entertainments” (*Natural History*, VII:III.34). **11.** Beccadelli 2010. **12.** Winner in Coliva and Schütze 1998, p. 130; Kalveram 1995, pp. 119–22, 231–33; Coliva 2002, p. 134. See Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 234–35, for early praise of the mattress. **13.** Haskell and Penny 1981, p. 235. **14.** Coliva and Schütze 1998, p. 131. **15.** Pliny, *Natural History* XXXIV:XIX.80. However, he does not describe the sculpture, and there are other ancient compositions that include the hermaphrodite; see Ajoatian 1999. **16.** Krems 2002, p. 141. **17.** See, e.g., MMA, 1972.118.286; British Museum, 1946.0713.1005. **18.** See also Laveissière 2011. **19.** For example, the aforementioned *Ludovisi Mars* (see note 4); Penny 1992, vol. 1, pp. 137–38. **20.** Signed and dated examples of Susini's statuette are in Dresden (1626) and at the Getty (1627); Fogelman et al. 2002, p. 197. **21.** Brook in Florence 1986, vol. 3, pp. 166–67. **22.** Coliva 2002, pp. 136–38, doc. 9. **23.** Montagu 1989, p. 161; it was brought to Florence in 1669 and is now in the Uffizi. **24.** Some of the organic forms of the stoups, in turn, draw directly on the ornamental vocabulary of Giambologna from the late 1560s; Freddolini 2005, p. 819. **25.** Now in the Bargello, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, and on loan to the V&A; C. Avery and Radcliffe 1978, p. 201. **26.** Brook in Florence 1986, vol. 2, p. 447, cat. 4.29. **27.** Bigazzi and Ciuffoletti 2002, pp. 116–17; also illustrated in Eiche 2000, p. 126. **28.** Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 4, p. 118; Ebert-Schiffner 2007, p. 301, with further bibliography in n. 1. **29.** See Sullivan 1991, esp. pp. 262–70. **30.** “*Hermaphroditus marmoreus / masculus intravit fontis: emersit utrumque: / pars est una patris, cetera matris habet.*” Translated in Martial 1996, p. 235. **31.** Fumaroli 1995, pp. 61–80. **32.** For the *Apollo and Daphne*, base and inscription still in situ, and that for *The Rape of Proserpina*, which was documented when it was in the Ludovisi collection, see O. Ferrari 2004, p. 59. **33.** *Poemata*, a compilation of his poems first published in Paris in 1621, went through many editions in the author's lifetime; D'Onofrio 1967, p. 36. **34.** D'Onofrio 1967, p. 277, suggests that a poem by Maffeo also inspired Bernini's *Saint Lawrence*, now in the Uffizi. **35.** Ibid., pp. 274–77. **36.** Christie's, Paris, February 25, 2009, lot 626; Bargello, 373 B; Louvre, MV 7778 (see Paris 1999, pp. 79–80). Untraced documented versions include a bronze *Hermaphrodite*, matching Susini's in description and size, that Don Lorenzo de' Medici owned at the time of his death in 1649 (Lombardi 1979, p. 779 n. 85), and a version with Cyril Humphris from at least 1977 to at least 1988, described in relation to The Met's bronze as “very well cast, the main difference being in the mattress—stippled all over—and the pillow, textured so like linen that it must have been cast from the cloth.” ESDA/OF. **37.** R. Stone/TR, February 23, 2011. **38.** Now in the Hill collection; see Wengraf 2014, cat. 32. **39.** Lombardi 1979, p. 779 n. 85. Another example is illustrated in Castiglioni 1923, p. 45, pl. 87. For the Vienna version, see Planiscig 1924, pp. 169–71. See also Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMSk 332. **40.** Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 342–43 for the sales lists, p. 235 for other versions in early collections.

The statuette of *Mercury* entered The Met in 1974 as part of the bequest of Irwin Untermyer, who had acquired it from Michael Hall Fine Arts in 1969 for the considerable sum of \$7,875. The price was justified by the fact that, at the time of sale, the bronze was attributed to the Flemish sculptor Adriaen de Vries.¹ This attribution acknowledged a dependence on Giambologna's prototype, faithfully cited in the overall composition though altered in certain idiosyncratic elements, for example the chubby face on which the youthful deity is poised. The attribution to de Vries, which situated the bronze in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the Italian apprenticeship of a foreign artist, accounted for its “up-to-date” but nonetheless eccentric character with a proclivity for extravagant license compared to the Florentine canon of the time.

Museum curators seem very soon to have had second thoughts, for in the years following its acquisition, the *Mercury* was not included in publications or exhibitions that showcased works after Giambologna no less serial—for instance, the *Astronomy* and the *Abduction of a Sabine* (cats. 126, 129). The *Mercury* is a miniature version of Giambologna exemplars with illustrious provenances in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (perhaps made for Maximilian II around 1564–65); the Capodimonte (sent to Ottavio Farnese in 1575–78); and the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden (sent to Christian I in 1587).² Our statuette shares their arabesque pose, slim anatomy, and details such as the convex brim of the helmet. Its distinguishing feature is the “sculpted” base, which is in fact a misreading of the support element that appears on Giambologna's own variant of his invention, a *Mercury* mounted as a fountain figure and installed in the gardens of the Villa Medici in Rome in 1580 (today in the Bargello).³ The child's head at the base of this sculpture represents a wind god, probably Zephyr (and was understood as such at the time per the villa's 1588 inventory). With its wide-open mouth and puffed-out cheeks, it blows a stream of air—rendered in stylized ascending shafts—that propel the upward movement of the celestial messenger. This narrative function is completely abolished in our *Mercury*: absent the column of air, the base is reduced to a decorative grotesquerie.⁴ Add to this the clumsily incised racemes on the helmet, another incongruity that sets our bronze outside the copious sequence of replicas and derivations that can be traced to the direct involvement of Giambologna's workshop.



These and similar oddities associated with an inferior casting suggest a later date for the Untermyer *Mercury*, which can be read as a pastiche of various Giambolognesque inspirations.⁵ A bronze that shares this composite peculiarity is in the Fondation Bemberg, but cannot be assigned to the same hand.⁶ TM

PROVENANCE: [Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York, 1969; sold to Untermyer]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (February 1969–73; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Invoice on Michael Hall Fine Arts letterhead, February 26, 1969, ESDA/OF. 2. KHM, KK 5898; Capodimonte, AM 10748; Grünes Gewölbe, N. IX 94; see Paolozzi Strozzi and Zikos 2006, pp. 259, cat. 53 (Antje Scherner), pp. 261–63, cat. 54 (Manfred Leithe-Jasper), pp. 264–65, cat. 55 (Fernanda Capobianco). 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 268–69, cat. 57 (Maria Grazia Vaccari). 4. The column of air does appear on other copies; see Louvre, MR 3271. 5. Radiographs reveal that the core was supported on an internal armature of wires that extend from the largely hollow legs into the open chest and head and across the chest into the solid arms, a technical feature that differs from typical Florentine practice. R. Stone/TR, 2011. 6. Cros 1996, pp. 109–11.

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Venus Chastening Cupid
After Giovanni Francesco Susini
(Florence 1585–ca. 1653)

Late 19th century

Bronze

22½ × 12⅝ × 8⅞ in. (57.2 × 32.1 × 21.9 cm)

Bequest of Annie C. Kane, 1926 (26.260.90)

The bronze represents the scene of Venus Chastening Cupid, in which the god of love is bound to a tree and scourged. It has been convincingly argued that the subject was inspired by a passage from Giambattista Marino's famous *Adone* (published in Paris in 1623; p. 274, fig. 94b), although the mythological story goes back to a fourth-century eclogue by Ausonius, *In qua Cupido cruciatur*.¹ Our group is a replica of a composition by the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Francesco Susini.² He executed two signed and dated versions: the first in 1638 for Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein; the second in 1639, bequeathed to Louis XIV by André Le Nôtre and now in the Louvre (fig. 139a).³ Both are 58.2 cm in height, and each recurs as a pendant with a bronze *Venus Burning Cupid's Arrows*. Although the themes of the disarming and punishment of Cupid are complementary, the two groups were not necessarily modeled together. A number of copies have circulated on the art market.⁴ The Met's cast might be the one published in the 1919 catalogue of the Canessa collection, but no evidence has surfaced to confirm this.⁵



Fig. 139a. Giovanni Francesco Susini, *Venus Chastening Cupid*, 1639. Bronze; H. 22⅞ in. (H. 58.2 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 8276)

Given its dimensions, our *Venus Chastening Cupid* appears to be a very late replica of the signed Liechtenstein and Louvre bronzes. Conspicuous variations point to a nineteenth-century production, particularly the unhappy addition of a *cache-sexe*, a sop to the moralizing temperament of later bourgeois buyers. This device is also present on the *Venus Chastening Cupid* formerly in the collection of Prince Nicholas of Romania, a cast inscribed “Firenze MDLXXXIII.”⁶ This inscription was either misread or forged, as 1583 would be too early for the invention of this model.⁷ Like many versions on the market, ours has a rather ponderous base, a reelaboration of Susini's model probably intended to provide more stability. The two figures and the base were all cast separately and are of considerable weight.⁸ FL

PROVENANCE: Annie C. Kane (until 1926; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Maclagan 1920, p. 240. 2. The model was attributed to Alessandro Vittoria in Canessa 1919, no. 284. 3. Princely Collections of Liechtenstein, Vienna, SK542; see Montagu 1963, p. 89; James David Draper in New York 1985, pp. 74–75, cat. 43. For the Louvre bronze, see Paris 1999, p. 133, cat. 190. 4. Sotheby's, London, December 12, 1996, lot 93; Christie's, Paris, November 17, 2009, lot 457 (ca. 1700–1799; perhaps the same bronze auctioned in 1996); Christie's, New York, October 22, 2010, lot 589 (with *Venus Burning Cupid's Arrows*; ca. 1875–99); Christie's, South Kensington, January 29, 2013, lot 71 (pair; 19th century); Thierry de Maigrait, June 5, 2013, lot 58 (ca. 1800–1825; the same pair auctioned on January 29). 5. See note 2. 6. Galerie Stuker, Bern, May 21–30, 1964, lot 3402; see Lombardi 1979, p. 763 n. 14. 7. Draper in New York 1985, p. 75. 8. R. Stone/TR, February 1, 2011.



Florence, Late 16th–Early 18th Century

Saint Sebastian

Possibly after a model by Pietro Tacca
(Carrara 1577–1640 Florence)

Possibly Italy, 17th century (trunk, bronze, 19th century or later)

Bronze, fire-gilt

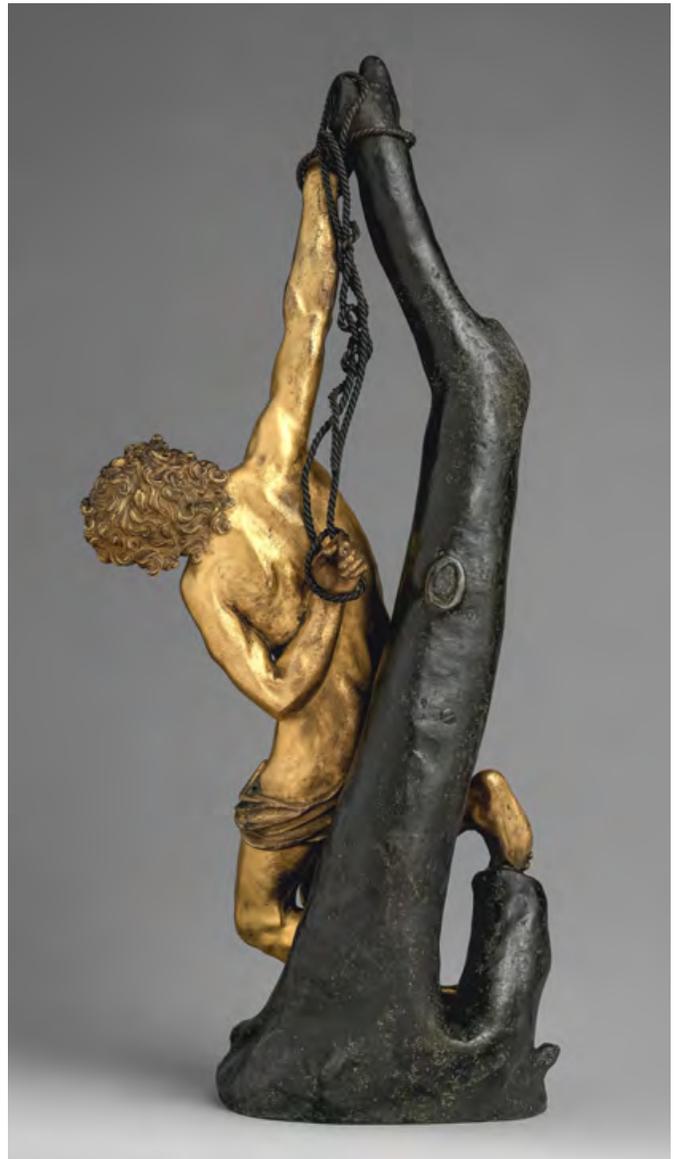
20 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (53 × 24.8 × 14.3 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1927 (27.224.2)

This dramatic composition of a naked Saint Sebastian hanging from a gnarled tree trunk by his bound wrist follows an extraordinarily successful model that is known through numerous versions and has been the subject of much art-historical debate.¹ The earliest documented extant casts are in the Liechtenstein and Este collections and the Louvre, but the inventories do not solve the problem of authorship.² The roster of candidates has included Georg Petel, François Duquesnoy, and Giovanni Francesco Susini. Scholarly consensus now falls on Pietro Tacca, Giambologna's principal studio assistant and his successor as court sculptor to the Medici. The attribution is based on stylistic similarities to Tacca's work as well as a link to Giambologna in the documentation. The first mention of the *Saint Sebastian* occurs in the inventory of merchant Paul von Praun's collection, part of which was sent to his native Nuremberg from Bologna, where he died in 1616. Among the bronzes, we find: "6. A gladiator by Giambologna . . . 7. Saint Sebastian tied to a tree, 1½ feet tall, by the same master."³ Another "Saint Sebastian" by Giambologna, along with a "mold of Saint Sebastian with the tree by J. Bellony [Giambologna]," is cited in the 1624 inventory of the Delft silversmith Thomas Cruse.⁴ The fate of the Praun and Cruse statuettes is unknown, but it is likely they replicated the same model as our bronze, reinforcing the proposition that the prototype issued from Giambologna's workshop, and more specifically from the hand of Pietro Tacca, his leading disciple. The most plausible explanation is that Tacca created the original model but did not make all the known casts and variants.⁵

The presence of a small bronze and its mold in Cruse's workshop testifies to the active circulation of copies well before 1624. The model's popularity is confirmed by the existence of a terracotta version in the Stift Heiligenkreuz;⁶ a model in the Doccia collection for reproduction in porcelain;⁷ and its appearance in a painting by Adam de Coster titled *Two Sculptors at Night in Rome* from around 1620.⁸ Interestingly, a number of early seventeenth-century paintings representing Saint Sebastian seem to follow the bronze composition, but their relationship to the sculptural model remains a conundrum.⁹

The Met's *Saint Sebastian*, while finely cast, is not the best of the versions. The generalized features suggest a derivative late cast. The left hand seems to be solid, probably a result of a casting repair. A join is visible on the left ankle. The assemblage of figure, trunk, and rope is modern. The trunk is



sand cast, thus not a Baroque piece but nineteenth century or later. In all probability it was copied from other versions that retained the original element. FL

PROVENANCE: Dr. John Edwin Stillwell, New York (until 1927; his sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, December 1–3, 1927, lot 517; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Breck 1928; Bregenz 1967, p. 45, cat. 57a; Scholten and Verber 2005, p. 81 n. 1

NOTES

1. For an overview, see Scholten and Verber 2005, pp. 78–81, with a list of some twenty known casts. 2. The Liechtenstein version (SK557) was described in the 1658 inventory of Karl Eusebius; see Johanna Hecht in New York 1985, pp. 77–79, cat. 48. The Este statuette was recorded in 1684; see *Musei d'Italia* 1878–80, vol. 3, p. 27. The example in the French royal collection (Louvre, MR 3274) must have been acquired by Louis XIV (*Bion* 1791, vol. 2, p. 261, no. 208; p. 251, no. 27, might be a second



copy of the same bronze), but previously belonged to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi and was recorded in his 1623 inventory, as Gordon Balderston demonstrated (Scholten and Verber 2005, p. 78). **3.** Murr 1797, p. 232: “6. Un gladiateur de Jean Bologne, 1½ pied de hauteur, sur un piédestal garni de pierre précieuse; 7. St. Sébastien attaché à un arbre, 1½ pied de hauteur, du même maître.” See Frankfurt 1986, p. 156. **4.** Bredius 1915–22, vol. 4, p. 1457 (92): “[18] Noch een St. Bastiaan van J.B.”; and among the listed molds: “[23] De form van S. Sabasttjan mit de boom van J. Bellony.” See Scholten and Verber 2005, p. 78. **5.** For comparisons with Tacca’s work, see Torriti 1984, pp. 80, 82, as well as the entry by Vanessa Montigiani in Falletti 2007, p. 176, cat. 24 (on a version owned by the Cassa di Risparmio di Carrara). **6.** See Frey 1926, p. 233, no. 98, pl. 202. The monastery museum houses a collection of models by the sculptor Giovanni Giuliani, which has led some scholars to assign the *Saint Sebastian* to him, but the terracotta is clearly a copy of the bronze. **7.** Lankheit 1982, p. 129, no. 29:35. **8.** Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, KMSp810; see Middeldorf 1978, fig. 9. In the painting, the figure holding the cast of *Saint Sebastian* is thought to be Georg Petel, prompting the disputed attribution of the original model to him. But Petel was still an adolescent in 1616, when Praun’s statuette was inventoried. Petel still might have cast a version based on that of another sculptor, possibly Tacca. His interest in Tacca is evident in his 1623 drawing of the latter’s *Quattro Mori* in Livorno. See Montigiani in Falletti 2007, p. 176. **9.** Middeldorf 1978, p. 58, records examples in Santa Maria in Aquiro, Rome, and the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich. See also Cropper and Panofsky-Soergel 1984 and Scholten and Verber 2005, pp. 78–81.

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The Flagellation of Christ

After Antonio Novelli (Castelfranco di Sotto,
Pisa 1600–1662 Florence)

Florence, mid-17th century

Bronze, fire-gilt

Christ: Height 5⅞ in. (14.9 cm); left *Flagellator*: Height 9 in. (22.9 cm); right *Flagellator*: Height 7¼ in. (18.4 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931
([32.100.196a-c](#))

These three little reliefs were originally fitted against stone, occupying the drum of a towering ciborium made of hardstones and gilt bronze that was once with French & Company, New York (fig. 141a). It perhaps collapsed and was certainly dismembered; the firm’s photograph bears a note saying that it still had some of the columns.

Florence provides the stylistic context for our figures, if not for the ciborium. The Christ and the flagellator at right recur in a *pietre dure* plaque of the Flagellation that is paired with another plaque of the Crowning with Thorns in a private Florentine collection.¹ The hardstone *Flagellation* has an altogether more dynamic composition than our trio of figures. Its rightward flagellator is seen from behind and oriented in complementary rotating fashion. Oddly, our leftward flagellator, with a pole, is an interpollation of the figure on the right of the



Fig. 141a. Drum of a ciborium made of hardstones and gilt bronze, formerly with French & Company, New York, that housed the *Flagellation* figures

Crowning with Thorns panel. The *pietre dure* pair, then, must be considered later versions of the scene (a bronze *Crowning with Thorns* seems not to survive). The models for the pair have been attributed to the great Roman sculptor Francesco Mochi, and the execution of the hardstones to the Florentine specialist Giuseppe Antonio Torricelli.² However, the figures are mellow, with nothing of Mochi’s striking nervousness. The scalloped garment edges are Florentine, as in the marble athletes and tricksters that populate the Boboli Gardens. An alternative is Antonio Novelli, a worthy extender of the cinquecento norms established among the followers of Giambologna, but quite solid in his modeling, offering few nods to the Baroque. He is not well known for work in relief, but Filippo Baldinucci, his biographer, relates that “Novelli wanted to turn to casting, and made two little narratives [*storiette*] with small figures in



bronze: in one of which he represented the Flagellation, in the other the Lord's Crowning with thorns: and likewise carried out a Christ Crucified, two-thirds of a *braccio* high (ca. 39 cm), and two Angels of similar size."³ This is a sure sign that other bronzes preceded the *pietre dure* reliefs.

The organization of the ciborium looks as if it could have been made in Rome rather than Florence, close to 1700. Novelli went to Rome at least once, in 1645, in the train of Giovan Carlo de' Medici, newly elevated cardinal of Florence,⁴ but his designs could have reached beyond Florence in any number of ways. JDD

PROVENANCE: [French & Company, New York]; Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Wardropper 2008, pp. 75–76, fig. 79

NOTES

1. González-Palacios 2003, no. 15, figs. 1, 2. 2. Ibid. 3. Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 5, p. 66. 4. Caterina Caneva in Florence 1986, vol. 3, pp. 132–34.



*Equestrian Statuette, Possibly of Philip IV,
King of Spain*
Possibly after a 17th-century Italian model,
cast possibly 19th century

Bronze

16½ × 7 × 12½ in. (41 × 17.8 × 32.1 cm)

Bequest of Mary Cushing Fosburgh, 1978 (1979.135.19)

The rider wears the fashionable costume, coiffure, and *golilla* (stiff collar) of a seventeenth-century Spanish nobleman. The horse, with its restive demeanor and luxuriant cascading mane, is a parade specimen. They were cast separately, intended to be joined with two screws located on the saddle. The rider's head seems also to have been cast separately from the *golilla* and body, which suggests that the equestrian statuette was part of a series with interchangeable heads.¹ The cast is extremely thin and even, which provides further proof that the sculpture dates to a later serial production.² The present bronze was believed to be French, nineteenth century.³

At least two other examples of the composition are known: one in the Detroit Institute of Arts, the other formerly in the Cyril Humphris collection.⁴ The Detroit and Met statuettes reflect the same model, including such defects as the missing index finger on the right hand. W. R. Valentiner assigned the Detroit bronze to Pietro Tacca, as possibly a cast from a preliminary study for the equestrian bronze monument of Philip IV (r. 1621–65), originally commissioned for the Buen Retiro in Madrid.⁵ More recently, Alan Darr has argued for an attribution to Francesco Fanelli (with which Patricia Wengraf agrees), while noting the inferiority of the “less sharply cast and finished” Met version.⁶ While the subject has traditionally been recognized as the Spanish Habsburg king Philip IV, Darr and Wengraf propose that the rider represents the monarch's prime minister Gaspar de Guzmán, conde-duque de Olivares. Given what we know of Olivares's very specific features, immortalized in Velázquez's portraits, this identification is not persuasive.⁷

The analysis of our bronze is made more complicated by the existence of several versions of the same equestrian model but with different riders. Darr has broadly discussed all of them, and Charles Avery has published one that seems to represent King Charles I of England, attributing it to Fanelli.⁸ Fanelli did, indeed, cast his bronzes in several parts,⁹ but this technical practice alone is not compelling enough to support an attribution to him of the casts or the model. The seriality of these casts, and the possible interchangeability of the rider, suggest that they are nineteenth-century products. FL

PROVENANCE: Mary Cushing Fosburgh (until 1978; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Springfield 1981, p. 111; Darr et al. 2002, pp. 20–24, cat. 134; Patricia Wengraf in Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 208

NOTES

1. Darr et al. 2002, p. 21. 2. R. Stone/TR, 2012. 3. Springfield 1981, p. 111. 4. DIA, 29.348; see Darr et al. 2002, pp. 21–24 (with earlier bibliography). The Humphris bronze was auctioned at Sotheby's, New York, January 10, 1995, lot 62. See also Torriti 1984, pp. 76–78, fig. 53. 5. Valentiner 1935. 6. Darr et al. 2002, pp. 21–22; Leithe-Jasper and Wengraf 2004, p. 208. 7. On Olivares, see Elliott 1986. 8. Darr et al. 2002, p. 23; C. Avery 2011. 9. See Seitun 2018, pp. 82–83.

Torch-bearing Arm

Italy (?), late 16th century (?)

Bronze, with traces of gilding

Length 16½ in. (41.9 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1487)

This bronze sconce in the form of a human arm extends from a circlet of drapery, the hand gripping a vertical cylinder. The piece is hollow-cast with a light brown patina and traces of an overall transparent reddish brown lacquer and gilding. In 1977, two elements not original to the composition were removed: a pan fitted to the cylinder for holding a candle, and an inverted bulblike ornament at the cylinder's base. Wilhelm von Bode published the object as “Venice, about 1550.” While in Untermyer's possession, it was catalogued as Venetian and dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, but James David Draper thought it more likely a product of “an earlier moment under Florentine influence,” alluding to the manner of Giambologna and his followers. By 1985, it had acquired the more generic designation of Italian, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

The object's rarity hinders analysis.¹ Sconces in the form of an arm appear in depictions of early modern interiors, for example, Vittore Carpaccio's *Saint Augustine in His Study* (1502; Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice), though in this case it takes the form of a hairy animal limb with paw. Human arm sconces can be seen in a view of Fontainebleau Castle engraved by Abraham Bosse (fig. 143a). The question is whether our object was originally made to serve a lighting function as seen in these images. Its material condition provides some clues. Close visual examination reveals that different types of bronze were used in the fabrication of the drapery circlet and the arm. Their surface treatments differ as well, and two cracks are visible in the arm. In other words, the object's current configuration does not seem to reflect its original state. It may be an *accrochage* of a previously cast arm and a wall fixture. The discarded pan and ornament were perhaps added when the arm was transformed into a sconce, a pastiche that might have been created in the nineteenth century. The taut, well-designed anatomy of the arm is consistent with Draper's suggestion of a late Renaissance Florentine context. In fact, in its dramatic gesture, the arm recalls the forcefully outstretched



limb of the *Melchisedech* molded in *terracruda* by Francesco Camilliani in 1569–70 for the Cappella di San Luca in Santissima Annunziata, Florence.² FL

PROVENANCE: Oscar Hainauer, Berlin (by 1897); Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1897, no. 441; Untermyer 1962, fig. 91, pl. 88; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 168, no. 314; Cincinnati 1985, cat. 38

NOTES

1. Richard Stone noted that the arm was cast using a very rare method, namely with straps presumably of iron bent together to form a sort of cage or basket, which was then filled with a refractory to form the core. R. Stone/TR, July 7, 2011. 2. See Summers 1969, pp. 78–79.

Fig. 143a. Abraham Bosse (1602/4–1676), *Ceremony of the Contract of Marriage between Władysław IV, King of Poland, and Marie Louise Gonzaga, Princess of Mantua, at Fontainebleau* (detail), 1645. Etching; 10³/₁₆ × 13¹/₈ in. (27.4 × 33.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1930 (30.54.32)



The Suicide of Ajax
 Giovanni Battista Foggini
 (Florence 1652–1725 Florence)

Florence, ca. early 1690s

Bronze

Height 18¾ in. (47.6 cm)

Purchase, Edith Perry Chapman Fund and Bequest of
 Bernard M. Baruch, by exchange, 1987 (1987.13)

Anguished face turned up to the skies, the man seems to run toward the dagger he is about to plunge into his heart. Balanced on his left leg, the instrument of death aimed at the middle of his chest, our heavily bearded hero wears an extravagantly plumed helmet, a cuirass, leggings, elaborate sandals, and a theatrically billowing cloak. The subject is Ajax committing suicide. Despite the elegant accoutrements, the focus of the composition is his pained expression, clearly inspired by the agonized grimace of Laocoön, protagonist of the most famous ancient marble group. Larger than a typical *bronzetto*, the beautifully cast figure should be considered a small statue, exquisitely chased and meant to be observed from different angles in spite of the privileged frontal view. The translucent warm brown patina, typically Florentine, is worn at highpoints and obscured by later opaque coatings in the shadowed areas.

The *Ajax* was unpublished until 1985, when it was recognized as an original bronze by the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini.¹ The precedent had been set by another example of the composition, auctioned in 1970 as a *Suicide of Cato* possibly by Pierre Le Pautre, and now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.² Andrew Ciechanowiecki attributed the Toronto version to Foggini, and it was published as such by Charles Avery in 1975.³ Its subject was revised at the same time thanks to the enterprising research of Jennifer Montagu,⁴ who discovered a “compelling graphic source” for the bronze: Antonio Tempesta’s etching of the death of Ajax based on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and published in Antwerp in 1606 with the inscription: “Aiax mortem sibi consciscens, in florem abit.”⁵ In Ovid’s account (XIII:382–98), the Greek hero Ajax, having lost to Ulysses in a verbal contest over who should receive the divine armor of the dead Achilles, stabs himself. Montagu also located a closely related wax model, formerly in the Museo Ginori di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino, that was among the pieces purchased from Foggini’s heirs by the Ginori family to make figurines in porcelain (fig. 144a).⁶ The inventory of the Doccia piece-molds lists “a statue representing Cato committing suicide, of wax, by Giovan Battista Foggini, with its mold.”⁷ The payment to Vincenzo Foggini, dated April 28, 1750, however, records the subject as “Ajax killing himself.”⁸ It is well to remember in this context that the Roman senator Marcus Cato the Younger is usually represented committing suicide in bed.⁹

The Doccia inventory confirms the attribution to Foggini intuited by experts based on style and quality of execution. A drawing of a bearded man with a helmet in Foggini’s recently rediscovered sketchbook along with another sheet of helmet designs kept in The Met might have been preliminary studies for the *Ajax*.¹⁰ The Doccia wax model differs in the right hand, but this was probably a later addition. In the bronze, the right arm guiding the sword to the chest is to be considered Foggini’s original conception.

The work likely dates to his most productive period as a bronze founder, between 1687, after his appointment as court sculptor, and 1694, when he became court architect and was kept busy with larger projects. The *Ajax* is stylistically consonant with Foggini’s groups *Hippomenes and Atalanta* (fig. 144b), *Pluto and Proserpina*, and *Boreas and Orithyia* (the latter two in the Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Rome). All three works date to the early 1690s.¹¹ Richard Stone’s technical analysis of our *Ajax* supports the chronology.¹² Around 1689, Foggini completed *The Miraculous Appearance of Saint Andrew Corsini during the Battle of Anghiari*, a marble relief for the Corsini Chapel in the Florentine church of Santa Maria del Carmine, which features a running male figure very similar to the *Ajax* (fig. 144c).¹³

With regard to the history of our bronze, it is important to note that, years later, the sculptor Massimiliano Soldani Benzi proposed to make an *Ajax* for Henry Grey, first duke of Kent, as indicated in a letter dated July 31, 1716, from Mr. J. Gerrard to the duke: “I send your Grace his [Soldani’s] account of [a



Fig. 144a. Giovanni Battista Foggini, Wax model of *Ajax*, 1690s. Museo Richard-Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino



The Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter
 Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (Montevarchi)
 1656–1740 Montevarchi

Florence, modeled 1722, probably cast 1730–35

Bronze

18 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (46 × 43.8 × 27.6 cm)

Wrightsman Fund, 1985 (1985.238)

clay model of the Judgment of Paris] and of another subject, which of several others he proposed, seemed to Mr. Harrold the best, Ajax's killing himself upon the decision of his dispute with Ulisses. The model is about 18 inches, but I shall take the just measures before we go from here which I believe will be on Tuesday next."¹⁴ Gerrard tutored the duke's son Anthony, earl of Harold, while on the Grand Tour.¹⁵ Grey declined Soldani's offer, but one wonders whether the model that he was prepared to cast was related to our *Ajax*, as the dimensions and subject perfectly coincide. FL

PROVENANCE: [W. Agnew and Company, Ltd., London, 1987; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Moog-Grünwald 2008, p. 36; d'Albuquerque 2016, p. 38

NOTES

1. Christie's, London, December 13, 1985, lot 158. 2. ROM, 989.28.14. Christie, Manson & Woods, London, May 12, 1970, lot 132. 3. C. Avery and Keeble 1975, p. 26. 4. See *ibid.*, where Avery credits Montagu; see also Keeble 1982, pp. 144–45, no. 66. 5. MMA, 51.501.3970; Buffa 1983, p. 69. 6. See also González-Palacios 2017. 7. Lankheit 1982, p. 128, no. 27: "Una statua rappresentante Catone in atto di ammazzarsi, di cera, di Giovan Battista Foggini, con forma." 8. *Ibid.*: "Aiace che si ammazza." 9. See also Moog-Grünwald 2008, p. 36. 10. See d'Albuquerque 2016, p. 38; MMA, 52.570.226. 11. Lankheit 1962, pp. 48, 82; Montagu in Detroit 1974, p. 62, cats. 25, 26, which confirms Lankheit's dating by providing a *terminus ante quem* of 1702 for the Rome groups. 12. According to R. Stone/TR, April 6, 2011, it is clearly "a late example of the Florentine grand tradition." 13. On the marble relief and the documents related to it, see Monaci Moran 1990, pp. 157–58; Fabbri 1992, p. 310. 14. The passage is transcribed here for the first time. The letter (from the Lucas family papers, Bedfordshire Archives & Records Service, Bedford) is discussed in Friedman 1988, p. 844, with a mention of the "Ajax killing himself," but none to our bronze. 15. See also C. Avery 2005, in which, however, the *Ajax* is not mentioned.

The superb group representing the Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter was cast by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, the master of Florentine Baroque bronze sculpture. A bearded figure in armor and cloak raises his right hand to strike a dagger (the blade is missing) into the breast of a young woman reclining on a rough altar of stratified rock. She leans against a female attendant, who pulls back the woman's garment, exposing her breast to receive the blow. On top of the altar are a pile of faggots and a blazing ritual urn. Behind is a gnarled leafless tree on which hangs a military trophy comprised of a shield, helmet, and sword. The overall effect is melodramatic: the true focal point of the composition is the tear rolling down the attendant's cheek. The dialogue between her gaze and the other woman's terrified expression creates a vertical line that is diagonally crossed by the soldier's violent gesture as he madly seeks the best spot to land his deadly blow.

The story of Jephthah and his daughter, one of the most tragic in the Old Testament, is rarely represented in sculpture.¹ Jephthah, a Gileadite warrior, led the Israelites into battle against Ammon with a vow that, if victorious, "whatever comes out of the door of my house to meet me when I return in triumph from the Ammonites will be the Lord's, and I will sacrifice it as a burnt



Fig. 144b. Giovanni Battista Foggini, *Hippomenes and Atalanta*, ca. 1690. Bronze; H. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (41.2 cm). Albertinum, Dresden (H4 153/004)



Fig. 144c. Giovanni Battista Foggini, *The Miraculous Appearance of Saint Andrew Corsini during the Battle of Anghiari* (detail), 1680s. Marble. Corsini Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence

offering” (Judges 11:31). Upon his return, his only daughter—unnamed in the text—was the first to emerge from the house, singing and dancing in celebration of her father’s military victory. She heroically urged Jephthah to carry out his vow, making one final request: “Give me two months to roam the hills and weep with my [female] friends, because I will never marry” (Judges 11:37). The attendant in Soldani’s bronze can be interpreted as one of those friends. Unlike Abraham’s near-sacrifice of Isaac, Jephthah apparently honored his pledge.²

In the early 1720s, Anna Maria Luisa de’ Medici, electress Palatine and widow of Johann Wilhelm II, commissioned the most significant series of bronze figure groups of the Florentine Baroque. The last lineal descendant of the main branch of the House of Medici, she returned to Florence after the death of her husband in 1716. The commission encompassed twelve narrative religious subjects, and the groups were modeled and cast by the city’s finest bronze masters: Soldani, Giuseppe Piamontini, Agostino Cornacchini, Giovanni Battista Foggini, Giovacchino Fortini, Antonio Montauti, Giovan Camillo Cateni, and Girolamo Ticciati. According to the estate inventory of the electress, the groups were exhibited in various rooms of the apartments in the Palazzo Pitti.³

As Dimitrios Zikos has demonstrated, *The Sacrifice of Jephthah’s Daughter* was the first in the series to be commissioned. In a letter of February 12, 1722, Soldani informed Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni, his business contact in London, that he was working on a group for the electress. On April 1, 1722, he complained that he was overwhelmed by two projects: the group for the electress and a Malta commission (the tomb of Marcantonio Zondadari, Saint John’s Co-Cathedral, Valletta). Finally, on September 17, 1722, he mentioned the group again while explaining that he had no time for other work.⁴ Soldani was paid for the group on December 29, 1722.⁵ Soldani was thus working on the *Sacrifice* from early 1722 into autumn of that year. Along with the *Sacrifice*, the initial nucleus of the series included Piamontini’s *Sacrifice of Isaac*, Foggini’s *David and Goliath*, and Cornacchini’s *Judith and Holofernes*. (Zikos has argued that the electress probably intended the commission to stop at these four groups but then expanded the series.) The four bronzes were displayed in the Camera dell’Udienza, a room decorated with silver furnishings.⁶ They were paired thematically: two scenes of sacrifice and two of decapitation.⁷

After the death of the electress in 1743, Soldani’s bronze probably went to Carlo Rinuccini, one of her heirs and an important diplomat at the courts of Cosimo III and Gian Gastone de’ Medici. The last known reference to the group is in the catalogue of the Rinuccini gallery published in 1845.⁸ For this reason, Zikos expressed doubts about Jennifer Montagu’s statement that the group was to be found in the collection of the Royal Palace of Madrid in 1822.⁹ Olga Raggio had already concluded that Montagu’s reference was erroneous.¹⁰ In fact, Montagu herself clarified this in an unpublished letter in which

she acknowledged her confusion of Soldani’s *Sacrifice* with his *Feast in the House of Simon*, which is indeed recorded in the 1822 Madrid inventory.¹¹

When the *Sacrifice* was acquired by The Met in 1985, it was believed to be the bronze commissioned by the electress. However, documents discovered by Zikos raise doubts that our group can be identified with Soldani’s prototype. Communications between Soldani and Zamboni indicate that the sculptor cast at least one other *Sacrifice*. In a letter dated March 22, 1725, he informed Zamboni that he had asked a Florentine merchant in England to sell bronze casts after his two groups made for the electress (the *Sacrifice* and the *Mary Magdalene in the House of the Pharisees*). On June 19, 1730, he told Zamboni that he was working on a *Sacrifice* made of three figures, the price of which he promised to specify as soon as it was completed. And on July 24, 1732, he announced that the *Sacrifice* was finished and ready for shipment to England should Zamboni know of a buyer there.¹²

The last mention (as far as we know) is dated December 23, 1735. This letter is especially interesting because Soldani declares the *Sacrifice* to be among his finest works and sets quite a high price for it: “You [Zamboni] should know that this English Minister would consider acquiring the bronze group mentioned in my last letter, which represents the Sacrifice of Jeft [*sic*], composed of three figures a half *braccio* high [ca. 29 cm] and more adornments that beautifully arrange and enrich the aforementioned group; and I give you my word of honor that this is one of the best works I ever made . . . The final price would be a hundred *doppie di Spagna*, or equivalent value.”¹³ Zikos concludes that The Met bronze is the later cast that Soldani sold through Zamboni. Further support for his argument is that our version was discovered in Bath, England, and lacks the cartouche with the artist’s signature and date that appears on the eleven other groups made for the electress.

A plaster version of the *Sacrifice* in the collection of the Ginori Manufactory confirms that Soldani preserved a wax model of it (fig. 145a).¹⁴ A list of the sculptor’s works in his



Fig. 145a. After a model by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, Plaster cast of the *Sacrifice of Jephthah’s Daughter*, 18th century. Museo Richard-Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino







Fig. 145b. Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ca. 1714. Bronze; 34 × 32¼ × 22½ in. (86.4 × 83.2 × 57.2 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Samuel H. Kress Collection (61.178)

house at Borgo Santa Croce acquired by Carlo Ginori shows “Un Gruppo del Sacrificio d’Ieffet,” and a late eighteenth-century inventory of Doccia models includes a wax “Gruppo del sacrificio di Effet, del Soldani.”¹⁵

In its conception, *The Sacrifice of Jephthah’s Daughter* is a technical tour de force. The group was cast using the indirect method from multiple models and is composed of at least twelve separate cast elements, most of which appear to have been joined together by welding sections with additional pours of metal.¹⁶ Evidently conceived for a frontal view, it is nonetheless rich in details on all sides. The back is a virtuoso orchestration of coarse and smooth surfaces, from the stacks of wood to the twisting tree trunk and the weeping woman’s veil flowing down to the altar. Soldani’s equally elaborate *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, bought by Anton Maria Salviati from Soldani in 1714 and today in the Seattle Art Museum (fig. 145b), is an excellent touchstone for analyzing the *Sacrifice*.¹⁷ In both groups, the protagonists are arranged in a pyramidal composition on a rocky base, the central female figure creating a diagonal line ascending from bottom right to top left. The complexity of both designs is a testament to Soldani’s ambitions at this stage of his career, pushing his skills to the limit and setting an immensely high bar for Florentine bronze casting.

Soldani must have wanted to show his singular skills in the context of the electress’ collective hence challenging commission, thanks to which he demonstrated he had no rival in the field. Quoting Montagu, “never in the long history of Florentine bronze had a master drawn such a variety of effects from metal with files and punches. Softly, delicately he worked it into the resemblance of hair and fur, feather and clouds, bark



and leaves, and over this intricately and precisely worked surface he applied a transparent patina, varying in tone from reddish copper to a pinky gold of gentle luminosity.”¹⁸ Even though the present bronze cannot be identified as the prototype for the electress, it is a superb work and the only surviving cast of Soldani’s *Sacrifice*. Its uniqueness resides as well in the iconographic subject, extremely rare and seemingly without precedent in Florentine sculpture. FL

PROVENANCE: probably the cast sent about 1735 by Soldani to Giacomo Zamboni in London to sell on his behalf; [art market, Paris, 1920s; sold to Bayntun]; George Bayntun, Bath, England (until 1985; sale, Aldridges of Bath, March 26, 1985, lot 98, as French, 19th century); [Alex Wengraf Ltd, 1985; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Montagu 1976, pp. 126, 135, doc. 1 (as lost); Casciù 1986, pp. 86, 97, no. 5 (as lost); Olga Raggio in MMA 1986, pp. 22–23; Pratesi 1993, vol. 3, pls. 539, 540; Maffioli 2005, p. 204; Zikos 2005, pp. 14–15, 24–25, fig. 3; Dimitrios Zikos in Casciù 2006, p. 299, fig. 42; Wardropper 2011, pp. 159–61, no. 54; C. Avery 2017b, pp. 22–23

NOTES

1. See Drewer 2002. Interestingly, the sacrifice is painted as a sculptural element, a capital, in Hans Memling's so-called *Small Triptych of Saint John the Baptist* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (GG 939); see Roberts 1998. Previous to the discovery of the present bronze, when only the Doccia plaster cast was known (fig. 145a), Montagu 1976, p. 134 n. 7, doubted that the latter represented the Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter—a subject “generally regarded in an unfavorable light”—and suggested the Sacrifice of Polyxena instead. 2. Taking advantage of the fact that the text does not explicitly state that the daughter was killed—“he did to her as he had vowed” (Judges 11:39)—some commentators interpret the sacrifice as a symbolic dedication of her life to God; see Drewer 2002. 3. Montagu 1976. 4. “ho fra mano un gruppo per la Serenissima Elettrice”; “carico di occupazione per Malta e per la Serenissima Elettrice.” Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Rawlinson, Letters, 132, fols. 158r, 186v, 195v; see Zikos 2005, p. 14 n. 19; Dimitrios Zikos in Casciù 2006, p. 298, cat. 164. 5. Casciù 1986, p. 86, quotes the receipt (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Depositeria generale 457, no. 5): “A' di 29 dicembre 1722, io Massimiliano Soldani Benzi ho rice[v]uto dalla Ser[enissi]ma Elettrice Palatina, per mano del Sig[no]r Jacopo Niccolo Guiducci, ducati dugento cinquantasette e lire una in taleri, e sono per valuta d'un gruppo di bronzo rappresentante il Sacrificio di Jefte fatto da me per servizio di S.A.E., a me detto contanti, mano propria ducati 257 lire l.” 6. See Montagu 1976, pp. 126, 135, doc. 1; Zikos in Casciù 2006, p. 299, cat. 164. 7. It is worth mentioning that Christian biblical commentators regularly compare Jephthah and Abraham, while Jewish commentators barely note the parallel between the two. See Baumgarten 2007, p. 183. 8. “Il gruppo in bronzo con base di lapislazzuli rappresentante il Sacrificio di Jefte, che qui si vede, fu lasciato con più altri oggetti, preziosi e per la materia e pel lavoro, al marchese Carlo Rinuccini con legato testamentario dalla Elettrice vedova palatina Anna

Luisa, ultimo rampollo della famiglia Medicea.” Florence 1845, p. 30; see Zikos 2005, p. 25 n. 56. Zikos (in Casciù 2006, p. 302–3) has demonstrated that Neri Guadagni actually inherited *The Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter* from the electress, but he declined the bronze. See also Valentini 2006, p. 43 n. 7. 9. Montagu 1976. 10. MMA 1986, p. 23. 11. ESDA/OF. 12. “due ultimi gruppi fatti da me per la Serenissima Elettrice”; “Il Sacrificio di Jefte, pure con tre figure, questo più avanzato, e quando sarà condotto le dirò il prezzo preciso”; “Mi parve d'accennarli che avrei un Gruppo di tre figure che rappresenta il Sacrificio d'Jef; quando vi fussi riscontro, lo manderei costi.” Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Rawlinson, Letters, 132, fols. 243v–244r, 307v, 332r; see Zikos 2005, p. 25 n. 56; Zikos in Casciù 2006, p. 299, cat. 164. 13. “Ella deve sapere che questo signore ministro d'Inghilterra applicherebbe a pigliare questo mio gruppo di bronzo, accennatovi nell'ultima mia, che rappresenta il Sacrificio d'Jefte, composto di tre figure di mezzo braccio d'altezza, e più, con altri odornamenti che concertino ed arichiscono il detto gruppo, e questo in parola d'onore mi piace delle migliori opere da me fatte . . . Il suo prezzo per ultimo sarebbe cento doppie di Spagna o sua valuta.” Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Rawlinson, Letters, 132, fol. 335r–v; see Zikos 2005, p. 25 n. 56; and Zikos in Casciù 2006, p. 299, cat. 164. 14. On this plaster, see Zikos in Casciù 2006, p. 298, cat. 164. 15. Lankheit 1962, p. 284, doc. 351; Lankheit 1982, p. 120, no. 21:11. 16. The urn was attached mechanically. R. Stone/TR, October 17, 2012. 17. For discussions of the *Lamentation* and its model, see Montanari and Zikos 2017, p. 124, cat. 7 (Daniele Lauri); p. 126, cat. 8 (Maria Persona), pp. 128–33, cat. 9 (Zikos). On the relationship between Soldani and the Salvatis, see Keutner 1976. We thank Geneva Griswold of the Seattle Art Museum for generously providing Ludovica Nicolai's restoration report and Francesca Briani's scientific report on the *Lamentation*. 18. Montagu 1981, p. 37 (English translation in C. Avery 2017b, p. 23).

8

Rome,
17th–18th
Century



*Baptism of Christ*After a model of 1646 by Alessandro Algardi
(Bologna 1598–1654 Rome)

Rome, second half of the 17th century

Bronze

17½ × 10¼ × 18 in. (44.5 × 26 × 45.7 cm)

Dodge Fund, 1934 (34.111)

The chief alternative to Gian Lorenzo Bernini in seventeenth-century Rome, Alessandro Algardi had a sizeable impact on the arts of the Eternal City. He executed several large-scale public commissions, supervised a busy workshop, and was well known for his small-scale designs translated and disseminated across mediums. In his native Bologna, he trained in the Accademia degli Incamminati, founded in the 1580s by the Carracci family of artists. Following time in Mantua and Venice, he arrived in Rome in 1625 steeped in the study of the antique and the practice of drawing from life. With Bernini both omnipresent and omnipotent under the reign of his ambitious patron Pope Urban VIII Barberini, Algardi accrued success slowly. Initially backed by the patronage of the powerful Bolognese Ludovisi family, he worked as a restorer of antique sculptures, a practice he would continue throughout his career. One of the earliest public commissions for the unheralded artist was the bronze relief for the urn of Ignatius Loyola in the church of the Gesù (see [cat. 147](#)). By the 1630s, Algardi had secured several important projects, including the marble *Saint Filippo Neri with an Angel* in Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (completed 1638), the tomb of Pope Leo XI in Saint Peter's Basilica (completed 1644), and the *Beheading of Saint Paul* marble group in San Paolo Maggiore, Bologna (completed 1644).

Algardi's small-scale designs, based on his terracotta models, were widely disseminated, though unlike Francesco Mochi, his most prominent contemporary in Baroque Rome, or Algardi's pupil Domenico Guidi (see [cat. 151](#)), he did not cast his bronze sculptures himself. The *Baptism of Christ* group is one of his most famous compositions, with many extant versions in terracotta and at least fifteen in bronze, as catalogued by Jennifer Montagu.¹

The *Baptism* project was formulated at a pivotal moment in Algardi's career. In 1644, Giovanni Battista Pamphilj assumed the papacy as Innocent X, bringing the reign of Urban VIII to an end. The Barberini's preferred sculptor Bernini temporarily fell into disfavor, opening the field for Algardi. According to his biographer Giovanni Pietro Bellori, he produced two works in silver for the new pope, both now lost: a *Crucifix* and a *Baptism of Christ*.² Bellori emphasized the canny nature of Algardi's *Baptism* group, which played not only on Innocent X's name—Giovanni Battista—but also his patron saint. Montagu offers the intriguing hypothesis that the *Baptism* group was connected to a 1646

commission for a new bronze baptismal font for Saint Peter's, a project that never came to fruition.³ Algardi's closest protector at the papal court was Innocent X's majordomo Cristoforo Segni, to whom the sculptor willed a model of the *Baptism*.

The group's popularity, in Algardi's lifetime and beyond, rests on the deceptively simple composition of the seminal moment when Christ is revealed to Saint John the Baptist as the son of God. John, who had been preaching of the coming Messiah, is approached by Christ, whom he initially turns away. He then hears God's voice decreeing: "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matthew 3:17). The encounter marks the turn in Christ's life from private to public figure. The poles of extremes represented by this story—public/private, terrestrial/heavenly, water/earth, human/divine—are encapsulated in Algardi's design. The gaunt saint, elongated arm outstretched, counterbalances the muscular Christ genuflecting before him. The figures are posed on rocks whose craggy surfaces contrast with the streams of the river Jordan at the base. Draperies flutter, and an interloping putto seems to pull Christ down to earth while also signaling his divine nature.

In the early twentieth century, the group was attributed to Antonio Raggi by Brinckmann, before Ozzòla and Wittkower assigned it to the young Maltese sculptor Melchiorre Cafà.⁴ The scholars linked it to Cafà's final project, a large group depicting the subject for the Co-Cathedral of Saint John in Valletta, left unfinished at his premature death. The attribution stood largely unchallenged until Olga Raggio's now-accepted proposal of Algardi based on stylistic comparisons, a preparatory drawing in the Uffizi, and a presumed connection to the lost silver group for Innocent X.⁵

A terracotta model of the *Baptism* now in the Museo Sacro, Vatican, was recorded in a 1666 inventory of Cardinal Flavio Chigi.⁶ A gilt terracotta group was acquired in 2004 by the Palazzo Venezia, Rome.⁷ It is unclear if either model was used for the lost silver group, itself listed in Camillo Pamphilj's 1666 inventory.⁸ A 1655 inventory recording a *Baptism* by the "Cavalier Algardi" in the collection of Giovan Carlo Vallone in Rome, described as "un battesimo di metallo," is likely the earliest mention of a cast of the composition.⁹

The finest bronze group based on Algardi's design is in the Cleveland Museum of Art, with the arms of Marchese Agostino di Tomaso Franzone on its base.¹⁰ There, the base and lower portion of the rocks were cast integrally, the figures separately in sections. Our bronze was cast in three parts: the two main figures, each with its base, and the river that flows between them. A gilt bronze in the Sackler collection appears to have been cast the same way.¹¹ Other versions, such as those in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome, and formerly in the Beuningen collection, Rotterdam, were cast in two main sections, with a visible join running through the water of the base.¹² The bronze acquired by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 2017 has a squared rectangular base like the Cleveland group.¹³





*Saint Ignatius Loyola with Saints and
Martyrs of the Jesuit Order*
After a design by Alessandro Algardi
(Bologna 1598–1654 Rome)

Rome, second half of the 17th century

Bronze

11⅞ × 18⅞ in. (28.9 × 47.3 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1938 (38.152.20)

The Met *Baptism* is sensitively modeled, with a range of subtle surface textures produced in the wax or after casting, including delicate coarseness on the rocks; understated patterning on John's garment, accented by the fur trim; and smooth, carefully rendered musculature. The work's unified effect belies its complicated, patched-together facture. Technical studies have revealed extensive use of silver soldering to join separately cast sections (for radiographs, see p. 41, fig. 9).¹⁴ The soldered seams include joins at Christ's upper right arm and the Baptist's upper left leg, across his torso, and on his outstretched right arm. The saint's feet were cast together with sections of rock and soldered to the base. The putto was cast separately and joined at Christ's drapery; its wings were also attached by solder. At least a dozen parts of the bronze were cast individually and joined together. Despite the number of patches and joins, the thin, high-quality cast, the complex facture, and the use of silver solder suggest an accomplished silversmith operating during the waning decades of the seventeenth century. JF

PROVENANCE: [Durlacher Inc., until 1934; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1935; Phillips 1947, p. 208; Wittkower 1959, pp. 198, 199, 204; Detroit 1965, p. 70, cat. 60; Weihrauch 1967, pp. 247–48; Raggio 1971; Montagu 1972, p. 75 n. 6; Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 312; J. Patrice Marandel in Lehmebeck 2019, vol. 1, p. 96, no. 14, n. 3

NOTES

1. Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 311–14. 2. Bellori 1976 (1672), p. 409: “fece Alessandro in questo tempo due picciole statue d'argento circa tre palmi, San Giovanni Battista che battezza Cristo, e furono donate al papa, il quale se ne compiacque molto per alludere al suo proprio nome e per essere il Santo protettore della sua famiglia . . .” 3. Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 82. 4. Brinckmann 1924, vol. 2, pp. 90–91; Ozzòla 1926–27; Wittkower 1928–29. 5. Raggio 1971; for the drawing (GDSU 17203 F), see fig. 24. For the attribution to Algardi, see also Montagu 1972, p. 75 n. 6. 6. Published in Brinckmann 1924, vol. 2, pp. 90–91; see also Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 311, no. 8.B.2. 7. Giometti 2011, p. 42, no. 15. 8. See Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 310, for the inventory description. The silver group is mentioned again in a ca. 1684 Pamphilj inventory. 9. Vallone was the *maestro di casa* for the Bolognese noblewoman Cristiana Duglioli Angelelli. His inventory was taken at the time of Angelelli's acquisition of a *palazzetto* on via del Corso and published in Curti 2007, pp. 109–12, here p. 111: “[163] Un battesimo di metallo S. Giovanni che battezza Nostro Signore con un Angelo del Cavalier Algardi, alto circa due palmi.” 10. CMA, 1965.471; see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 311–12, no. 8.C.1. 11. See *ibid.*, p. 312, no. 8.C.7; also C. Avery 1981, p. 68. 12. For the Corsini cast (inv. 686), see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 313, no. 8.C.10; for the Rotterdam cast, see *ibid.*, p. 314, no. 8.C.15 (auctioned Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2021, lot 58). 13. LACMA, M.2017.2. I am grateful to Patricia Wengraf for sharing her research on this bronze. 14. R. Stone/TR, January 22, 2011.

The design of this bronze, an imagined group portrait, was created roughly a century after the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1534 and its official recognition by the papacy in 1540. The relief references the Jesuits' origins, their global presence, and the order's promising if as yet undefined future. The scene presents Jesuit figures of various renown whose identities were first proposed by Carlo Bricarelli and either substantiated or clarified by subsequent writers.¹ They include, from left, Peter Canisius (1521–1597), and kneeling before him, Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1591); Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621); Francis Xavier (1506–1552); at center, Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), with right hand outstretched; Francis Borgia (1510–1572), holding a chalice, with left hand embracing the genuflecting Stanislas Kostka (1550–1568); Andrea Oviedo (1518–1577), with bishop's miter and crozier; and Ignazio de Azevedo (1526–1570), holding an icon of the Virgin and Child. The background contains three figures holding crosses—the Japanese martyrs John de Goto, Paul Miki, and James Kisai, all crucified—and groupings of other, less clearly individuated figures.

At a time when the Catholic Church heavily stressed the veneration of its saints, the Jesuits found themselves in what Gauvin Bailey has described as a “difficult bind”: the order's first official saints—Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier—were not canonized until 1622.² One must note, then, just how extraordinary, if not altogether impudent or presumptuous, the relief's scene is. At the date of its original design, a mere seven years after the 1622 canonizations, the relief presents several figures (Canisius, Bellarmine, Azevedo) who would not be beatified until the nineteenth or twentieth century, while several others (Kostka, Gonzaga, and Borgia) had only recently received that distinction in the early seventeenth century.

The Met's relief relates to that on the urn containing Ignatius Loyola's remains in the extravagant altar dedicated to him on the left transept of the church of the Gesù in Rome (fig. 147a). As part of the larger ensemble, the relatively small



Fig. 147a. Alessandro Algardi, Funerary Urn, 1629. Bronze. Altar of Ignatius Loyola, Church of the Gesù, Rome



Fig. 147b. Alessandro Algardi, *Saints and Blessed Members of the Jesuit Society*, ca. 1629. Terracotta, gilt; 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (29 × 51 cm). Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome (PV 10395)

plaque makes a potent statement on the Jesuit order's global mission and unites the martyrs with their venerated founder Loyola for posterity: an aspirational sacred conversation, casting some the Jesuit brethren as future blessed and saints. By featuring Azevedo, who died en route to Brazil clutching a copy of the *Salus Populi Romani* icon from the church of Santa Maria Maggiore; Oviedo, Spanish missionary and patriarch to Ethiopia; and the three martyrs killed during a mass crucifixion in Japan in 1597, the relief underlines the order's impact on the four corners of the world and furthermore connects this activity back to the highly localized site of Loyola's urn within his Roman chapel in the Jesuit mother church.

Though Alessandro Algardi's name is not mentioned in the documents related to the urn's 1629 commission, his authorship has been confirmed based on a preparatory drawing in the Hermitage.³ A terracotta attributed to Algardi in the Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome (fig. 147b) was the likely model for the urn, our relief, and another plaque—with







Fig. 147c. Alessandro Algardi, *Saints and Martyrs of the Jesuit Order*, ca. 1629–30. Black chalk, pen, and black wash; 7½ × 13¼ in. (19.1 × 33.5 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (OR-27)



Fig. 147d. Back of cat. 147

the background cut out—in the Muzeum Narodowe, Kraków.⁴ In the rapidly sketched Hermitage drawing (fig. 147c), Algardi first conceived the group as arrayed along a semicircular arc, with figures emanating outward from the central axis along which Ignatius stands. The sculptor's conception changed in his ultimate design for the urn, employing instead a more regularized, symmetrical group of figures condensed within an oval or rectangular format. There are small differences not only between the terracotta model and the subsequent bronze reliefs but between the reliefs themselves that suggest work done in the wax molds. For example, the urn relief shows a crown at Francis Borgia's feet, a detail missing in our bronze. Francis Xavier holds a chalice in our plaque and a monstrance in both the urn relief and the terracotta model.

The Met's relief is cast in two roughly equal parts, and a line separating the figures of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier is visible on the back (fig. 147d). The two sections are joined by laterally projecting tabs integrally cast on the reverse of the proper left section and connected to the right side with screws.⁵ The reason for this technique remains unclear,⁶ as do the relief's precise dating, authorship, and function. The looser quality of the afterwork dates it to post Algardi's lifetime.⁷ Harsher draperies than in the Gesù urn as well indicate a later hand. Jennifer Montagu has proposed Giovanni Andrea Lorenzani based on the presence of such a relief in the brassworker's posthumous inventory of 1712.⁸ Little is known of the relief's history before entering The Met, but it was likely produced during the second half of the seventeenth century to decorate an altar frontal in a church or private chapel dedicated to the increasingly popular Jesuit order. JF

PROVENANCE: Herman Falkenberg, New York; by descent to Kingsley Falkenberg (until 1938; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Phillips 1940, pp. 128–29; Phillips 1947; Northampton 1974, cat. 36; Neumann 1977; Spike 1984, pp. 31–32, 44, cat. 1; Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 388, no. 92.B.1.C.2; Neumann 1985, pp. 46–47, no. 3.11.1.1; J. Patrice Marandel in Goldsmith 1991, p. 46, cat. 11; Burke 1993, pp. 40–41, cat. 10; Pietro Cannata in Rome 2000, pp. 383–84, cat. 1; Montagu 2008, p. 284; Wolk-Simon 2018, pp. 482–83, cat. 34

NOTES

1. Bricarelli 1922, p. 113.
2. Bailey 2019, p. 241.
3. Neumann 1977.
4. For the terracotta model, see Giometti 2011, p. 39, with earlier bibliography. For the Kraków relief, see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 388–89, no. 92.B.1.C.1.
5. R. Stone/TR, January 28, 2011.
6. Richard Stone (ibid.) suggests that it facilitated molding.
7. Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 389, no. 92.B.1.C.2.
8. First suggested in ibid., p. 289, and more recently in Montagu 2008, p. 284.



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The Rest on the Flight into Egypt
After a composition by Alessandro Algardi
(Bologna 1598–1654 Rome)

Rome, late 17th century
Bronze

10½ × 13 in. (26.7 × 33 cm)
Rogers Fund, 1938 ([38.152.11](#))

This composition is one of Alessandro Algardi's most reproduced designs, versions of which were carved or cast in various materials and widely collected.¹ Although no early sources or documents confirm his authorship, scholarly consensus has

settled on Algardi based on stylistic comparisons and the existence of a late seventeenth-century French engraving that presents the composition in reverse with an inscription recording his name.² Citing "the gentle flow of the modelling across the plane with no deep contrasts of volume, and the nonchalant treatment of spatial relationships," Jennifer Montagu dates the design to the second half of the 1630s.³

The finest examples of the relief include octagonal bronzes in the Fitzwilliam and at Yale and oval bronzes in the Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia and the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, both in Rome. The Fitzwilliam and Palazzo Venezia plaques are gilt.⁴ All four include details missing in The Met relief: an angel holding up a curtain attached to a tree and the background landscape. Our reduced variant was also widely

*Flagellator*After a model by Alessandro Algardi
(Bologna 1598–1654 Rome)

Rome, second half of the 17th century

Bronze

10½ × 4¼ × 2½ in. (25.7 × 10.8 × 6.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1937 (37.194)

produced and exists in multiple versions. With the figures floating against a neutral background, the abstracted design presents the scene extratextually—unbound from narrative concerns—and delivers a timeless, elevated vision. The viscous, flowing drapery in our relief places its production at a remove from Algardi's Roman workshop; as per Montagu, it is "rather too smooth and slick."⁵ The bronze has a dark brown opaque patina that conceals the insertion of the Virgin's head, separately cast and soldered on.⁶ There are two small soldered bronze patches, one on the Virgin's lap and one between Saint Joseph's legs, both original.

The composition may be related to several drawings by Algardi, including *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the Royal Collection, Windsor, and The Met's *Holy Family*.⁷ None of the drawings exactly corresponds to the reliefs, but they do show an artist experimenting. Relief sculpture was sometimes displayed in seventeenth-century Roman palaces alongside framed drawings, inviting viewers to make comparisons between mediums.⁸ Such juxtapositions suggest a role for Algardi's Holy Family drawings that was not merely functional.

The relief entered The Met in 1938 along with another depicting Jesuit saints and martyrs (cat. 147) as part of a purchase from the New York-based Kingsley Falkenberg, whose father Herman, a member of the American Numismatic Society, had amassed a considerable collection of Renaissance and Baroque plaques. Twenty-two of these came to the museum. JF

PROVENANCE: Herman Falkenberg, New York; by descent to Kingsley Falkenberg (until 1938; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Phillips 1940, p. 129; Northampton 1974, cat. 17; Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 197, vol. 2, p. 308, no. 4.C.8

NOTES

1. For the various versions, see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 307–9. 2. See Pietro Cannata's summary in Montagu 1999a, pp. 122–23, cat. 13. The engraving, by Edward Le Davis, was produced in Paris. The inscription reads "Alexander Algardi inu—franc. Chauveau excudit C.P.R—Edwardus le Davis fecit." See Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 309, no. 4.E.1. 3. Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 307. 4. Fitzwilliam and Pallavicini reliefs: *ibid.*, pp. 307–8, nos. 4.C.2, 4.C.10; Palazzo Venezia relief: Cannata in Montagu 1999a, pp. 122–23, cat. 13; Yale relief: Montagu in Heller 2002, p. 104, cat. 36. 5. Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 308, no. 4.C.8. 6. R. Stone/TR, January 27, 2011. 7. RCIN, 902348; MMA, 1997.374. 8. See Desmas and Freddolini 2014, p. 267.

Groups representing the Flagellation of Christ, of which this figure was once a part, were among the most popular and widely produced of small-scale bronzes in seventeenth-century Rome. Surviving examples consistently show Christ tied to a column at center scourged by two flanking figures. Jennifer Montagu proposed a division of these groups into two stylistic types based on the figures of the flagellators, Type A passive versus Type B dynamic. Type A, which she assigned to François Duquesnoy, is represented by a gilt-bronze group in Brussels and linked to a work mentioned in Giovanni Pietro Bellori's biography of the artist.¹ Montagu attributed Type B groups, such as gilt-bronze examples in the Fitzwilliam and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, to Alessandro Algardi.² The earliest documentation of Algardi's authorship is in the 1758 inventory of the Schatzkammer (the Vienna group).³

Our flagellator, missing the knotted ropes of his whip, is a cast of the figure at Christ's right from a Type B group. The sense of movement and undercurrent of violence find counterparts in Algardi's oeuvre, for instance, the dramatic *Beheading of Saint Paul* marble group in San Paolo Maggiore, Bologna. The twisting flagellator's weight is balanced on his right foot, his arms raised across his chest, brandishing the flail. The poor-quality cast is clearly not a product of Algardi's workshop. The modeling is quite rubbery, and the pose lacks the sense of inherent tension or torsion from the torso's twisting. The finishing of the facial features, toes, and feet is rudimentary, as is the rendering of the anatomy where the two legs join under the stippled loincloth. The brown transparent patina may be original. The legs and arms were cast solid. Two cracks on the left arm were likely caused by the placement of two screw plugs in that area.⁴ JF

PROVENANCE: [Schnittjer, 1937; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1938, p. 198; Montagu 1966–67, pp. 165–66, no. B.8; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, p. 181; Northampton 1974, cat. 13; Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 319, no. 9.C.17



NOTES

1. Bellori 1976 (1672), pp. 301–2. “E per ultimo parmi di non tralasciare tre figurine di suo modello, alte un palmo, le quali si veggono d’argento e di metallo; Cristo flagellato alla Colonna fra due ebrei che lo battono crudelmente esprime l’innocenza e la volontaria passione, esponendosi alle percosse e piegando il volto umile e dimnesso verso la destra spalla.” For the Brussels group, see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 319, no. 9.C.21. 2. For the list of Type A and Type B figures, with further variants, see Montagu 1966–67, pp. 163–67. Grabski 1987 instead proposed that all the groups are variations on types by Algardi. For the Fitzwilliam group, see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 316–17, no. 9.C.2. For the Vienna group, see *ibid.*, p. 317, no. 9.C.7; see also Pietro Cannata in Montagu 1999a, pp. 128–31, cat. 16. 3. Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 317, no. 9.C.7. 4. R. Stone/TR, January 27, 2011.

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Pair of Andirons with Figures of
Jupiter and Juno
After models by Alessandro Algardi
(Bologna 1598–1654 Rome)

Late 17th century, probably cast in France

Bronze

Each Height 45½ in. (115.6 cm)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1973 (1973.315.16, .17)

At the end of his career, Alessandro Algardi created models for a pair of andirons that would gain tremendous popularity not only in Italy but in Spain, where the earliest bronze casts were sent, and France, where foundries produced versions in both bronze and silver. In one firedog, Jupiter, seated on an eagle, brandishes his thunderbolt; the eagle’s talons grasp a globe supported by three Titans shouldering the weight of rock formations. Its pendant shows Juno with her peacock in a similar formation, held aloft by wind deities. Both objects are allegories of the creation of the world as described by Ovid and others.¹ As powerful, cohesive sculptural ensembles, they are among the finest andirons to emerge from early modern Italy, and one of the rare sets about which authorship can be stated with certainty. The commission, on order of King Philip IV of Spain and facilitated by Velázquez, is mentioned by Algardi’s early biographers and in correspondence from Velázquez to cleric and future cardinal Camillo Massimi in 1654.² Two other models, featuring Neptune and Cybele, were completed by Algardi’s assistants.³

Algardi’s early bronze casts were delivered to Spain and incorporated into a fountain design in Aranjuez, remaining

Cat. 149





Rome, 17th-18th Century



Fig. 150a. Alessandro Algardi, *Andiron with Jupiter Victorious over the Titans*, ca. 1650–54. Sotheby's, New York, June–September 2019, lot 18

there until the early twentieth century. A *Jupiter* on the market in 2019 is now considered to be one of Algardi's original casts for Spain (fig. 150a).⁴ Other relevant extant versions include a superb pair in the Wallace Collection; a set in the Pavlovsk Palace; and a gilt *Jupiter* in the Louvre.⁵ Examples once in the collections of the duke of Westminster and Lord Camoys at Stonor Park, present whereabouts unknown, have been compared to ours.⁶ Jennifer Montagu catalogued several other versions as well as early inventory records for currently untraceable casts.⁷

The earliest record of our firedogs is in the 1870 sale catalogue of the vast collection of Anatoly Nikolaievich Demidov, the first prince of San Donato, an area outside Florence where the Russian noble family had built a sumptuous villa housing thousands of paintings, sculptures, and objects of decorative art. The palace was a veritable museum that also included the Demidov Vase and Demidov Table, both commissioned by the family in the nineteenth century and now in The Met. The firedogs are described without attribution in the 1870 sale, held in Paris, as: "Two grand and very beautiful bronzes groups from the time of Louis XIV . . . with modern pedestals of carved

walnut wood with gold gilding."⁸ They were sold for 41,000 francs, or 1,640 pounds.⁹ In 1931, they were mentioned by Jacob Hess in an article on Algardi's late style as then in the Rothschild collection. From there they went to Baron Léon Lambert (whose family represented the Rothschilds in Brussels), before entering The Met as gifts from Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, whose collection was exceedingly rich in French decorative arts.

Scholars have vacillated as to whether the present casts are Italian or French productions. In 1962, when the pair was on loan from the Wrightsmans, John Goldsmith Phillips considered them Roman, cast by Algardi's pupil Domenico Guidi. James David Draper echoed this opinion in 1975—"the taut, superb facture . . . indicates a Roman foundry"—challenging F. J. B. Watson's earlier assertion that they were "probably cast at the Manufacture des Gobelins as firedogs for use in one of the French royal palaces." Montagu considered them eighteenth century based on the "rounded, smiling sweetness" of Juno's face. The pair has been displayed in the museum's Wrightsman Galleries for French Decorative Arts, and in 2010 Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide catalogued them as "probably cast in France during the 18th century."

Covered with a black patina, each firedog was cast in multiple parts and nearly seamlessly joined. In terms of composition and details, our pair is closest to the Wallace bronzes, which were recorded in the 1689 inventory of the Grand Dauphin.¹⁰ Jeremy Warren posits those as Italian casts, based on the "freshness and relative looseness of the modeling," in contrast to the gilt *Jupiter* in the Louvre, likely cast in France. While the affinities between The Met and Wallace sets point to a shared model, our firedogs cannot be said to exhibit the same looseness Warren observed. Nor is it likely they originated in Italy. The refined and fastidious details—the formal precision of the birds' feathers, the elegant but wan hammering of the rocks, the lassitude of the supporting figures' musculature—are more decorative than sculptural. That is to say, our firedogs were probably produced in France with an eye toward decorative utility and—picking up on Watson's suggestion in 1966—cast in the Gobelins Manufactory under the direction of Charles Le Brun, perhaps by a sculptor with the talents of Jean-Baptiste Tuby. JF

PROVENANCE: Prince Anatoly Demidov, Palazzo San Donato, near Florence (until d. 1870; sale, Paris, March 24, 1870, lot 252); Baron Gustave de Rothschild (1829–1911), Paris; Rothschild family (until at least 1931); Baron Léon Lambert, Brussels; [Rosenberg & Stiebel; sold to Wrightsman]; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, New York (1961–73; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Hess 1931, p. 20 n. 9; Phillips 1962, p. 216; F. Watson 1966, pp. 364–67, nos. 185A–B; Fahy and Watson 1973, pp. 362–66, nos. 43A–B; Dreyer 1974; James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 247; Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 412, nos. 129.C.4, 130.C.4; Kisluk-Grosheide and Munger 2010, pp. 152–53, no. 74; Warren 2016, vol. 2, pp. 617, 619, 621 nn. 68 and 71

NOTES

1. For a full discussion of iconography and sources, see Sotheby's, New York, *Inspired by Chatsworth*, June 28–September 13, 2019, lot 18 (Jeremy Warren). 2. Bellori 1976 (1672), p. 399; Passeri 1772, p. 214; Harris 1960, p. 166. 3. Mentioned in early sources (see note 2); a contract is published in García Cueto 2011. 4. As discussed in Warren's extensive essay on the work; see note 1. 5. See Warren 2016, vol. 2, nos. 129, 130, for in-depth discussion of the Wallace casts (S161) and the models more generally. 6. Sotheby's, New York, November 1, 1997, lot 317. 7. Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 409–14. 8. San Donato sale, Paris, March 24, 1870, lot 252: "Deux grands et très-beaux groupes en bronze du temps de Louis XIV. Apothéose de Jupiter de et apothéose de Junon. Ces divinités sont supportées chacune par un groupe de trois figures accroupies. Belle patine brune. Piédestaux de travail moderne en bois de noyer sculpté, rehaussé d'or. Haut., sans socle, 1 mètr. 55 cent." 9. The price in francs mentioned in Montagu 1985, p. 412; the price in pounds recorded in the report of the sale in *The Art-Journal* (London), May 1, 1870, p. 152. 10. Warren 2016, vol. 2, p. 604, no. 129.

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Pope Innocent X

Modeled and cast by Domenico Guidi
(Carrara 1625–1701), adapted from a
composition by Alessandro Algardi
(Bologna 1598–1654 Rome)

Rome, ca. 1690

Bronze, on a later plinth

31 × 35¼ × 15¼ in. (78.7 × 90.8 × 38.7 cm) (bust only)

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.49)

Born in Rome into a prominent family from Gubbio, Giovanni Battista Pamphilj shrewdly represented the Holy See's interests in Spain, France, and Naples before his election to the papacy as Innocent X in 1644. While his predecessor Urban VIII Barberini had showered Bernini with a monopoly of commissions, Innocent's reign heralded a reversal of fortune for both the Barberini family and their favored sculptor, and a raft of opportunities for Alessandro Algardi, who had been working in Rome for nearly two decades. The projects Algardi oversaw for the pope include the Villa Pamphilj on the Janiculum, the monumental marble relief depicting the meeting of Leo I and Attila for an altarpiece in Saint Peter's Basilica, and a large-scale bronze portrait of Innocent, today in the Musei Capitolini. Though Innocent is often judged less extravagant than his predecessor, his artistic projects in Rome, with Algardi and others, completely remade large sections of the city, most dramatically in the development of Piazza Navona, which encompassed Bernini's Four Rivers Fountain and the Palazzo Pamphilj.

Algardi also produced a number of portrait busts of Innocent X in terracotta, marble, and bronze. His busts, along with those by Bernini and the well-known painting by Velázquez, established an official image of the pope, promulgated across

mediums and subsequent centuries. The tangle of papal busts has been examined and given order by several scholars. Rudolf Wittkower sorted out the Bernini and Algardi busts in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj.¹ Of those attributed to Algardi, David Bershad reassigned a number to the sculptor's pupil Domenico Guidi.² Questions remain, however, concerning how The Met bust, one of the first bronzes to enter the museum, relates to these groupings. Despite its significance to the collection and its nearly continuous display since its acquisition in 1908, the work has often received short shrift in the literature on the busts of Innocent X.³

In clarifying the corpus of busts, Catherine Hess and Anne-Lise Desmas rightly proposed two typologies originating from distinct models.⁴ One family, to which our bronze belongs, derives from a terracotta, painted white and with partial original gilding, in the Odescalchi collection in Rome and dated around 1650 (fig. 151a).⁵ This model gave rise to versions in marble, bronze and porphyry, and bronze.⁶ Two busts, one in the Cleveland Museum of Art and the other in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, derive from a different, now lost model.⁷

In our bronze, the pope wears a fur-trimmed *camauro*, a *mozzetta* over his shoulders, and a stole adorned with the emblems of the Pamphilj family: a fleur-de-lis and dove encircled by olive leaves. Innocent, who became pope at age seventy,



Fig. 151a. Alessandro Algardi, *Pope Innocent X*, ca. 1650. Terracotta; 33½ × 32¼ in. (85 × 82 cm). Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome (PV 13466)





bows his head slightly to the right, his gravity reinforced by his gaunt cheeks and elongated visage. The work typifies Algardi's sober, classicizing approach to the portrait bust, in contrast to Bernini's theatricality. Carefully defined wrinkles enliven the subject's eyes and brow. Much of the detail work was modeled in the wax, such as the embroidery on the cape. These areas were then animated with delicate chasing. The bust, impressively, was cast directly in one piece, and its interior reveals numerous screw plugs of various sizes, nearly invisible from the exterior, that were used to plug core pin holes.⁸

Domenico Guidi trained with his uncle Giuliano Finelli in Naples before joining Algardi's workshop in Rome in 1647.⁹

Guidi was one of the four *giovani* in the shop—with Ercole Ferrata, Paolo Crineri, and Girolamo Lucenti—and Algardi's estate was divided among them at his death. The Met's bronze of Innocent X is nearly identical to one in the V&A acquired in 1853 along with a bronze bust of Pope Alexander VIII.¹⁰ Because the V&A busts are considered a pair, and documents confirm that the *Alexander VIII* was made by Guidi in 1691 (that is, after Algardi's and Innocent X's lifetimes), both have been given to the younger artist, and, by extension, ours has as well.¹¹

To my eye, the Innocent and Alexander busts do not appear to be conceptions by the same artist. While the *Innocent X* displays the restrained, austere approach of Algardi,



the *Alexander VIII* is fussy, with more pronounced modeling and a sense of harsh agitation in the drapery. A more nuanced approach to authorship is required that takes into account the practical exigencies of a large workshop, wherein the master typically created a model and a separate founder cast it. Guidi was an exceptional metal caster, and one of the few seicento sculptors to model and cast his own bronzes. The difficulty of casting the head, upper body, and socle integrally, as in The Met's bust, points to Guidi's involvement with the process. One can reasonably speculate that among the models left to him at Algardi's death was the terracotta bust of Innocent X now in the Odescalchi collection. Guidi then adapted Algardi's model for the bust of Innocent X around 1690 to which he paired his own model of a bust of Alexander VIII a year later: a student making a pendant to his master's work.

Little is known of our bust's history before its acquisition. The previous owner, Georges Hoentschel, was based in Paris. Intriguingly, the Ottoboni collection in Rome holds a bronze bust of Alexander VIII identical to that in the V&A but missing a matching Innocent X.¹² Is our bronze, whose high quality can now be better appreciated, that mate? JF

PROVENANCE: Georges Hoentschel, Paris (until 1908); [Durlacher Inc., 1908; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: MMA 1908, pp. 71–73, 80; Phillips 1947, p. 205; Hawley 1962, p. 82 n. 4; Bershada 1970, p. 809 n. 21; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, p. 118, no. 3; Wittkower 1981, pp. 220–22; Spike 1984, p. 35; Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 431–32, no. 156.D.2; Catherine Hess and Anne-Lise Desmas in Bacchi et al. 2008, pp. 233, 236 n. 5; Giometti 2010, p. 269

NOTES

1. Wittkower 1981, pp. 220–22. 2. Bershada 1970. Bershada's attributions are upheld in Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 431–32, nos. 156.D.1–2. 3. For its importance to the museum's early collecting, see MMA 1908; MMA 1909; and Phillips 1947. See Baedeker 1909, p. 61, for evidence of its early and prominent display: "[We] next ascend the Grand Stairway, ornamented with marble busts, to the upper floor. The small Room 10, at the head of the staircase, contains a bust of Pope Innocent X, by *Algardi*, a bronze statue of Washington by *Houdon*, some reproductions of metal work, a modern French stained-glass window, designed by L. O. Merson, and the lacquered doors from the Palace of Ispahan." 4. Bacchi et al. 2008, p. 233. 5. Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 431, no. 156. 6. The marbles are in Acquapendente Cathedral (Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 431, no. 156.A.1) and the CREDIOP S.p.A collection in Rome (Tosini 2002, pp. 74–75, no. 1.24); the bronze with a porphyry cape is in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome (Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 432, no. 157); and the bronzes are in the V&A (Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, p. 626, no. 660). 7. For the Cleveland bust (1957.496), see Hawley 1962; Montagu 1985, vol. 2, no. 154.C.1; and Bacchi et al. 2008, p. 233. For the bust of Innocent X in the private apartments of the Doria Pamphilj, which is recorded in a 1666 inventory at Villa Belrespiro, see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 429–30, no. 154. 8. R. Stone/TR, 2011. 9. For Guidi, see Bershada 1970 and 1971; Giometti 2010. 10. V&A, 1088-1853 and 1089-1853; see Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, pp. 625–26. 11. See Bershada 1970, who published a document recording Guidi as the author of several busts of the Ottoboni pope, and Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 431, who published part of the 1780 Ottoboni inventory listing "Due scabelloni di legno. Sopra detti scabelloni due busti di metallo, uno rappresentante la S.M. di Innocenzo X di peso lb. 248 dell'Algardi, e l'altro di Papa Alessandro 8° di peso lb. 215 di Dom.co Guidi." 12. See Giometti 2010, pp. 264–65, no. 47.S.a.

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Pope Alexander VII
Melchiorre Cafà (Malta 1638–1667 Rome),
cast by Giovanni Piscina

Rome, 1667

Bronze

39¼ × 34¼ × 16½ in. (99.7 × 87 × 41.9 cm)

Signed and dated (on back of cape): MELCHIOR. CAFA/

MELITENSIS/FAC. AN DOM/MDCLXVII

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1957 (57.20)

This impressive bronze bust, together with the one of Innocent X (cat. 151), is a rare example of Roman Baroque bronze portraiture in an American collection.

Fabio Chigi, of Sieneese origin, was elected pope on April 7, 1655, as Alexander VII. A literate man, he prized architecture and launched a cycle of urban planning projects in Rome that





included majestic works for Saint Peter's and its piazza. Gian Lorenzo Bernini was the mastermind behind this intensive building program, and his genius matched the pope's ambitions. Under Chigi patronage, Bernini conceived daring and complex sculptures that were placed in phantasmagoric settings, among them the *Cathedra Petri*, one of his most compelling inventions. The accomplished Maltese sculptor Melchiorre Cafà arrived in Rome in 1658 in the midst of these beautification campaigns. He joined the workshop of the classicizing Ercole Ferrata but soon came under the sway of Bernini's

theatrical style. Much in demand during his brief Roman career, Cafà died young in an accident in Saint Peter's foundry while working on a bronze commission for Saint John's Co-Cathedral at La Valletta.

In this, his only known bronze portrait bust, Cafà captured Alexander's imposing personality while simultaneously revealing a man plagued by ill-health. The pope wears a fur-trimmed biretta and a stole incised with the Chigi family coat of arms composed of a star, oak branch, and mountain. Cafà's mastery of modeling is evident in the energetic treatment of the

Paolo Giordano II Orsini, Duke of Bracciano
Probably cast by Johann Jakob Kornmann,
called Cormano (Augsburg ?, active Rome
ca. 1630–d. after 1672 Rome), possibly
after a design by Gian Lorenzo Bernini
(Naples 1598–1680 Rome)

Rome, ca. 1632

Bronze, partially silvered

7⅞ × 6 × 2½ in. (18.1 × 15.2 × 6.4 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.106)



Fig. 152a. Detail of cat. 152 showing the artist's signature

garments and the sensitive rendering of the aging sitter's haggard face. The sculptor's name is proudly incised on the back of the cape (fig. 152a).

Alexander VII sat for Cafà in December 1666. The terracotta model fashioned after this session is now in the Palazzo Chigi, Ariccia.¹ A cast in bronze, partially gilded, was made by Giovanni Artusi and delivered after the pope's death to his nephew, Cardinal Flavio Chigi, in 1667.² The scholarly consensus is that this bust, now in Siena Cathedral, is the first bronze version, and that our cast followed, probably commissioned by another member of the Chigi family.³ As customary, the head was cast separately, but a casting failure caused a horizontal break in the cape of our bust. The break was neat, thus allowing for repair rather than completely recasting the portrait. A new cast of the cape was made from a piece-mold, then mechanically secured to the head and shoulders with the use of a horizontal gusset plate.⁴ The expert repair is visible only from behind.

A third version of the portrait bust, in a private collection, is a late cast after Cafà.⁵ PD'A

PROVENANCE: Chigi family (from ca. 1667); Baron Gustave de Rothschild (1829–1911), Paris; by descent to Baroness Rothschild-Lambert, Paris; [Stiebel Ltd., New York, until 1957; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Wittkower 1959; Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, p. 625; Olga Raggio in Detroit 1965, pp. 69–70, cat. 59; Wittkower 1966, p. 243, no. 65.2a; Spike 1984, pp. 38, 66–67, cat. 12; Bacchi 1996, p. 792; Ursula Schlegel in Ariccia 1998, p. 76, fig. a; Monika Butzek in Angelini et al. 2000, pp. 188–89; Sciberras 2006, pp. 13, 261, figs. 41, 43; Anne-Lise Desmas in Bacchi et al. 2008, pp. 262–65, cat. 6.7; Wardropper 2011, pp. 127–28; Alessandro Angelini in Siena 2019, p. 10

NOTES

1. Schlegel in Ariccia 1998, pp. 76–77; Sciberras 2006, pp. 218–22. 2. Golzio 1939, p. 302. 3. Butzek in Angelini et al. 2000, pp. 188–89; Angelini in Siena 2019, pp. 10–12. 4. All of the parts tested were similar leaded tin bronzes. R. Stone/TR, February 15, 2011. 5. Sciberras 2006, p. 261.

The duke sports a finely silvered cuirass *all'antica* decorated with the head of Medusa, emblem of leadership. Expertly cast in one piece, the bronze appears to have retained the original rich black patina on the face and rather bovine neck. The armor was attentively chased. The choice of the alloy would appear to be deliberately coloristic, as the sleeves, collar, and Medusa's head were left the rich coppery color of the underlying metal. Traces of gold paint in these areas are not original.¹ Particularly striking is the treatment of the ringlets on the crown of the head and the forelock combed in a fashionable style of the early Baroque. The cuirass is pounced, simulating perforated armor and revealing the chest's anatomy.

Paolo Giordano II Orsini, duke of Bracciano (1596–1656), was a flamboyant character on the Roman cultural scene. His correspondents included Queen Christina of Sweden. He hosted Gian Lorenzo Bernini at his palazzo and frequently visited the sculptor's atelier. In one of his best-known satires, Orsini refers to the caricatures of his guests that he drew in Bernini's company.² Throughout his life, the duke commissioned a great number of likenesses of himself in different mediums and sizes.

The Met's miniature bust surfaced on the art market in the 1960s. Based on documents of 1623–24 in the Orsini archive, Rudolf Wittkower identified it as that cast by the founder Sebastiano Sebastiani after Bernini's wax model of Orsini's head.³ Two other versions of the miniature are known: in the Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, and another auctioned in 1979 and now in the Saint Louis Art Museum.⁴ They share with the Linsky portrait the same dimensions and classicizing corselet with deep-cut imbricated patterns, but are later casts of lesser quality. Anthony Radcliffe published both in 1978–79 and assigned them to Bernardino Danese, a founder who collaborated with Bernini in 1675.⁵ In 1984, after the Linsky bust entered The Met, James David Draper dismissed the Bernini/Sebastiani/Danese attributions, assigning the three small bronzes to the goldsmith and medalist Johann Jakob Kornmann (italianized Cormano), who had made several medals of Orsini's profile.⁶ Draper cited unpublished research by Gisela Rubsam, who argued that the Bernini/Sebastiani bronze described in the



1623–24 documents must have been a “massive work,” given the 1,050 Roman *libbre* paid to founder Giacomo Laurenziani to make a second cast in 1624. She also discovered a seventeenth-century engraving of the small bronze that bears an inscription identifying Kornmann as the artist.⁷ Recent scholarly attempts to restore a direct correspondence between the three miniatures and the Sebastiani/Laurenziani casts after Bernini’s model are unpersuasive.⁸ They overlook the technical specifications clearly stated in the documents, the insightful analyses by Draper and Rubsamen, Bernini’s workshop practices, and the disparate quality of the small busts themselves.

Sifting through the known documents, it is clear that they refer to casts after a different, larger model, all now lost.⁹ Bernini worked on a lifesize wax model of the head of Paolo Giordano II in June 1623, and Sebastiani received a single down payment (*in conto*) for a bronze cast of it. In May 1624, Bernini received final payment for the model and, in August 1624, Laurenziani was paid to cast what had to be a monumental bronze. The change of founder working with Bernini does not relate to a supposed second version of the bust, but is explained by Sebastiani’s death in 1624. This intricate history is further complicated by two lifesize marble busts (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome, and Castello Orsini-Odescalchi, Bracciano) that are based on Bernini’s design but were carved by an unknown master.¹⁰

In terms of iconography, material, and size, the Orsini effigies are exceptional in the context of Bernini’s production of portrait busts. Still, as Tomaso Montanari observed, this does not preclude the possibility of a Bernini portrait that may not have progressed beyond the model stage but inspired a series of small-scale bronzes and versions in marble.¹¹ Rubsamen points to a letter of 1632 in which the duke confirms that Bernini was at that time occupied with two statues of him, one in marble and the other in porphyry. The Linsky bronze may have been created at that time and cast by Kornmann shortly afterward. Or perhaps Orsini commissioned it as a form of ekphrasis, which captures the paradox of greatness in miniature. We can agree that Bernini was not directly involved in the making of the small-scale bronze, but he was likely aware of Kornmann’s masterful portrait after his own larger model. PD’A

PROVENANCE: possibly Paolo Giordano II Orsini, duke of Bracciano; [Cyril Humphris, London]; Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Wittkower 1966, pp. 203–4, no. 36; Montagu 1967, p. 569; Wittkower 1981, p. 275, no. 36; James David Draper in Linsky 1984, pp. 159–60, no. 73; Francesco Petrucci in Bernardini and Fagiolo dell’Arco 1999, pp. 334–35, cat. 50; Benocci 2006, pp. 57–69; Bacchi et al. 2008, pp. 19, 286, checklist A13a; Amendola 2017, pp. 129–32, 170–71, docs. 14–17; Desmas 2017, p. 98; Mann and Wyckoff 2017, p. 249; Amendola 2019, pp. 248–55

NOTES

1. The alloy is a leaded copper with a minor amount of tin and trace impurities. The silvering on the cuirass was applied by flowing silver

solder (composed of silver, copper, and zinc) onto the surface and chasing with a matting punch to create a convincing texture and disguise inconsistencies in the solder layer. There is evidence of a wax-to-wax join at the shoulder and remnants of an iron pin in the proper right shoulder. The broken stump of an integrally cast screw at the bottom shows that the bust originally had an accompanying base. R. Stone/TR, March 8, 2011. 2. Orsini 1648, p. 65. 3. For the documents, see Haskell 1980, pp. 96–97, 388. 4. Sotheby’s, London, July 12, 1979, lot 184; SLAM, 260:2021 (see Mann and Wyckoff 2017, pp. 248–49). 5. Radcliffe 1978; London 1979, pp. 31–32, cat. 1. 6. See Pollard 1973. 7. Gisela Rubsamen, “Bernini and the Orsini Portrait Busts,” in *Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions, Sixty-third Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America*, Washington, D.C., January 22–25, 1975. 8. See Petrucci in Bernardini and Fagiolo dell’Arco 1999, pp. 334–35, cat. 50; Benocci 2006, pp. 57–69. See also Desmas 2017, p. 98, and Amendola 2019, p. 250, who have ruled out a link between a large-scale model by Bernini and the miniature busts. 9. Amendola 2017, pp. 129–32, 170–71, docs. 14–17. 10. Montanari 1998, pp. 345–46; Montanari 2015, pp. 428, 430. 11. Montanari 2015, p. 428. An Orsini inventory of 1656 records two metal busts of the duke, valued at 25 and 15 scudi, which suggests a small size; see Rubsamen 1980, nos. 123, 151

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Medallion of Pope Clement X
Girolamo Lucenti (ca. 1627–1698),
after a model by Gian Lorenzo Bernini
(Naples 1598–1680 Rome)

Italy, ca. 1670

Bronze

Diameter 12½ in. (31.8 cm)

Inscribed: X·P[ONTIFEX]·O[PTIMUS]·M[AXIMVS]·CLEMENS
Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.204.1)

Pietro Cannata relates this large bronze depicting Pope Clement X to a group of slightly smaller portrait medallions featuring the same pontiff and roughly equal in size (27–28 cm).¹ The superior cast is in the Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome; others are in Perugia, Raleigh, a private collection, and one formerly in Milan.² They differ in some details; for instance, the Perugia roundel is gilt, and the stitching on the *camauro* of the Raleigh bronze is intermittent and nonlinear. In 1677, Carlo Cartari catalogued a “very large medallion” with a “beautiful image of Clement X by Cavalier Bernino without an inscription [or] a reverse.”³ Cartari is a particularly reliable source, as he was librarian to Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri (the pope’s nephew) and cousin of Giulio Cartari, one of Bernini’s favorite pupils. Given its outstanding quality, the Rome medallion has been identified as the one Cartari described, and the entire series has accordingly been linked to Bernini. Silvana Balbi de Caro infers that Bernini made a sketch of the pope’s profile and the first model in wax, then delegated the casting to Girolamo Lucenti.⁴ An engraver at the papal mint from 1668 to 1679, Lucenti was extensively



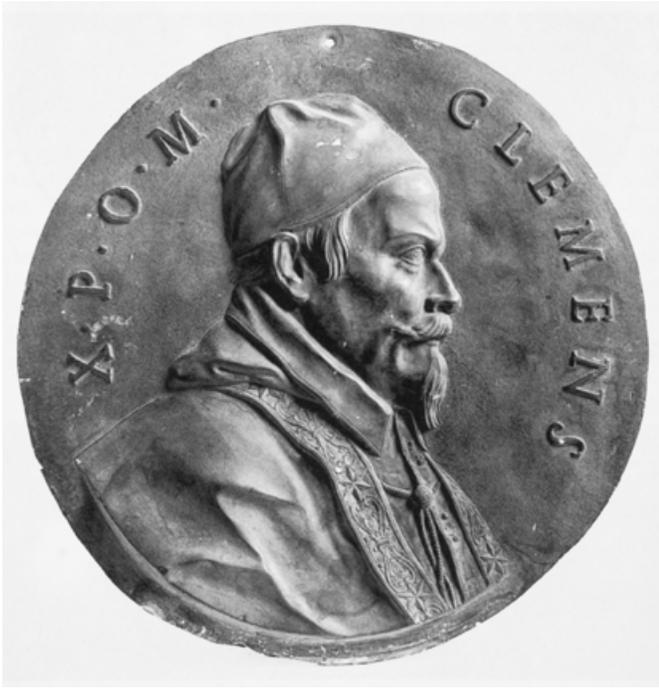


Fig. 154a. Attributed to Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Girolamo Lucenti, *Portrait Medallion of Pope Clement X*, 1670. Bronze; Diam. 12¼ in. (31.2 cm). Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna

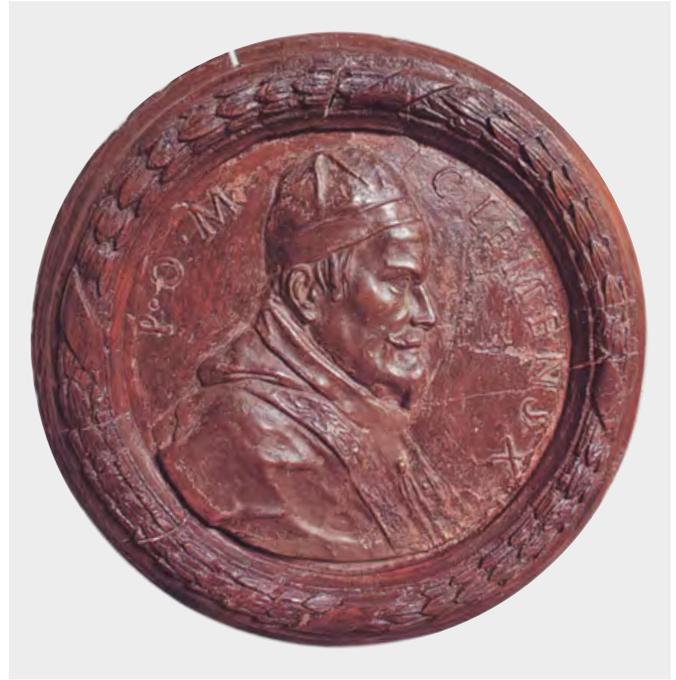


Fig. 154b. *Portrait Medallion of Pope Clement X*, ca. 1670–76. Terracotta; Diam. 15¼ in. (40 cm). Museo Civico di Palazzo della Penna, Valentino Martinelli Collection, Perugia, 208

employed by Bernini for the casting of bronzes.⁵ The connection between this medallion and profile sketches of Clement X, one by Bernini and the other by his workshop (Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig), remains unclear. As Cannata notes, the pope looks much older and jowlier in the drawings, which should therefore be dated to the end of his pontificate.⁶

Unlike this group of medallions, ours bears an inscription: X·P[ONTIFEX]·O[PTIMUS]·M[AXIMVS]·CLEMENS (Pope Clement X, the highest and the greatest). It is also slightly larger.⁷ Only one other cast of this variant is known, in Bologna (fig. 154a).⁸

The kinship between the inscribed Met and Bologna exemplars suggest that they are larger casts derived from the inscription-less Rome prototype. Lucenti is indeed a good candidate as the caster of our variant. In fact, throughout 1670, the first year of Clement X's papacy, Lucenti produced two medals of the pope with slender features, and our medallion might be tied to those commissions.⁹ Although a fine cast, it is inferior to the Rome medallion (which should be considered from Bernini's own hand): the irises are bluntly delineated, the shape of the ear simplified, the facial wrinkles smoothed out, the garments less elegant. Overall, it lacks the subtle modulations and expressiveness of the prototype.

Finally, an even larger, terracotta medallion of Clement X attributed to Bernini (fig. 154b) has been linked to our bronze, but it is difficult to understand why beyond the fact that it, too, has an inscription.¹⁰ However, here the "X" appears on the

right side of the roundel, after CLEMENS. The execution is mediocre and the details schematically rendered. Although both presumably portray the pope at around the same age, at the beginning of his reign, the terracotta pontiff is leaner, his pensive gaze cast downward. Rather than a model for our variant, it is more likely a later derivation. FL

PROVENANCE: [J. & S. Goldschmidt, until 1907; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Spike 1984, pp. 124–25, cat. 41; Athens 1996, pp. 70–71, cat. 16; Elena Bianca Di Gioia in F. Mancini 2002, p. 178; Cannata 2011, pp. 158–59, no. 174

NOTES

1. On the series, see Cannata 2011, pp. 158–59. See also Bimm 1974, p. 72. I thank Andrea Bacchi for sharing with me his unpublished research on some of the medallions discussed here.
2. Palazzo Venezia, PV 1637; Museo di Palazzo della Penna, Perugia, 296 (Di Gioia in F. Mancini 2002, p. 174, cat. 104); North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, 70.20.1 (Humphrey 2015); private collection (Andrea Bacchi, unpublished research). For the medallion formerly in Milan (the so-called Daninos version), see Fagiolo dell'Arco 2002, p. 65.
3. See Balbi de Caro 1974, p. 19; Cannata 2011, p. 158.
4. Balbi de Caro 1974.
5. See Ostrow 1991; Villa 1996; Simonato 2012; Guido and Mantella 2013.
6. Cannata 2011, p. 159.
7. It was cast in brass with small amounts of lead and tin and trace impurities. R. Stone/TR, 2010.
8. See Stefano Tumidei in Bologna 1997, cat. 63 (which does not discuss The Met medallion); Bacchi, unpublished research.
9. Spike 1984, pp. 124–25; Gramiccia 1981, p. 283.
10. Di Gioia in F. Mancini 2002, p. 174, cat. 104.



Pope Benedict XIV

Rome, mid-18th century
 Bronze, on a later stone socle
 12½ × 6½ × 3½ in. (30.8 × 16.5 × 8.9 cm)
 Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.131)

The scholarly, witty, and beloved Pope Benedict XIV (born Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini; r. 1740–58), a great patron of the arts, is shown here in his mid-sixties. The best comparisons in medals are from early in his reign, before he became jowly and his nose began to protrude more noticeably.¹ This miniature bust unites two key traits. The first is a vibrant, painterly surface associated more with the late Baroque than the budding Neoclassicism prevalent in Benedict’s pontificate. It lends considerable excitement to the vestments. The second is its lightweight casting, un-reworked from the wax and hardy in facture.² Largish sprues were left intact in back but sawn off around the edges; they would have been unseen if the bust

occupied a niche. A sensible scenario may be that a sculptor of merit simply wanted to preserve his dashing composition in the form of an inexpensive “relict” cast.

Portraits of Benedict are generally of high quality, notably the marble busts of Pietro Bracci and the paintings of Pierre Subleyras, by whom The Met acquired a ravishing bust-length study in oil that captures both the pope’s integrity and his bonhomie (fig. 155a), characteristics evidently prized by our master as well. JDD

PROVENANCE: John Edward Taylor (1830–1905), London; (sale, Christie’s, London, July 1, 1912, lot 24, as a 17th-century pope); [Langton Douglas, London, 1912; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Breck 1913a

NOTES

1. *Papal Medals* 1977, no. 451 (1740). 2. The alloy is well cast in brass made from relatively clean, fire-refined copper. The inexpensive alloy and lack of surface finish could suggest a date as late as the nineteenth or even the early twentieth century. R. Stone/TR, November 5, 2010.



Fig. 155a. Pierre Subleyras (1699–1749), *Benedict XIV*, 1746. Oil on canvas; 25¼ × 19¼ in. (64.1 × 48.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of European Paintings Gifts, Bequest of Joan Whitney Payson, by exchange, Gwynne Andrews Fund, Charles and Jessie Price Gift, and Valerie Delacorte Fund Gift, in memory of George T. Delacorte, 2009 (2009.145)

Reliquary Bust of a Bishop-Saint

Possibly Rome, early 17th century
 Bronze, fire-gilt; glass
 Height 9 in. (22.9 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.5)

This gilt bronze bust of a bishop-saint was meant to be a reliquary. The figure’s hair is tonsured, his slight beard and wavy mustache neatly trimmed. The front of the cope shows Peter, Paul, and two other heads of saints; on the back, a seated Faith holds a cross and chalice above a swath of floral ornamentation. The relic would have been placed under the clear glass morse (clasp). According to Richard Stone, the head and lower portion were each indirectly cast in a low-alloy bronze, then mechanically joined.¹ The chasing of the cope is rough, but that of the facial features, although schematic, is effective in the delineation of the goatee, the deep wrinkles etched in the corners of the eyes, and the simplified locks of hair. The surface is scratched and has apparently suffered, possibly due to the use of the bust.

Our bishop-saint is part of a series of at least four reliquary busts in which different heads were mounted on identical bases. Serial production of the lower portion would explain its mediocre execution. The group includes a bust in the Seattle Art Museum (fig. 156a) and two in the Walters Art Museum (54.734 and 54.735). The Met and Seattle bronzes were sold by Blumka, New York (in 1964 and 1971, respectively). Their ownership history is murky, although the Seattle bust has been tentatively traced to the Richard von Kaufmann sale in Berlin



in 1917 (fig. 156b).² While the three heads are indeed similar, Seattle's has more beard growth than ours, and the ex-Kaufmann has no facial hair at all. The latter should therefore be considered an additional cast in the series (five total) and its whereabouts unknown.



Fig. 156a. *Reliquary Bust of a Bishop-Saint*. Possibly Rome, early 17th century. Bronze; H. 9 in. (23 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Purchased from the bequest of Raymond G. Wright (71.20)



Fig. 156b. *Reliquary Bust of a Bishop-Saint*. Possibly Rome, early 17th century. Bronze; H. 9 in. (23 cm). Present whereabouts unknown. From *Die Sammlung Richard von Kaufmann, Berlin* (Berlin: P. Cassirer, 1917), vol. 3, p. 18, no. 209, pl. 77

An attribution to Bastiano Torrigiani was suggested when our bust was purchased by Irwin Untermyer in 1964.³ An expert founder active mostly in Rome, where he became a favorite of Sixtus V, Torrigiani was known for casting the colossal *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* that surmount the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.⁴ His vivid and beautifully executed small bronzes demonstrate that his talents far surpassed the rather cursory skills of the reliquary series maker.⁵ The dating and production context of the series, however, align with Torrigiani's Roman career. Post-Tridentine Catholicism revitalized the cult of relics; churches housed them in newly provided chapels that often contained a display of reliquary busts. The Met bust and its companions were likely once part of such a display. The finest cast of the bishop-saints is Walters 54.734, with its penetrating gaze, luxuriant beard, and carefully defined helmet of hair. The other Walters head is distinctively neomedieval, possibly a reflection of the Counter-Reformation rediscovery and reuse of early Christian symbols and iconography. Stylistically, the heads of the bishop-saints and the figures represented on the cope date to the last decade of the sixteenth or the early seventeenth century. The sculptor/caster of the entire series was undoubtedly one of the many founders active in Rome at the dawn of the Baroque era. FL

PROVENANCE: [Blumka Gallery, New York, until 1964; sold to Untermyer]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (1964–68; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, November 1, 2010.
2. Letter from curator Julie Emerson, SAM, to James David Draper, October 5, 1988, ESDA/OF.
3. ESDA/OF.
4. For Torrigiani's work, see Lamouche 2011 and 2012.
5. Ostrow 2015.

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Tabernacle Door with the Risen Christ Cast by Pietro Paolo Romano, identified as Nardi

Florence or Rome, mid-17th century
Bronze, fire-gilt; iron (lock mechanism)
15½ × 7¾ in. (39.4 × 19.7 cm)

Signed: PIETRO PAVLO/ROMANO
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.839)

The Risen Christ, hand resting gracefully on wounded chest, stands in the arch-topped niche of a tabernacle door, a chalice at his feet. A large shroud encircles the elegantly posed figure, covering his loins, billowing out behind, and curving around the small keyhole at his right. Incised at the bottom of the frame is a crest and ladder, a device that has been tentatively identified as the coat of arms of the Scala family of Florence





Fig. 157a. Tabernacle Door with the Risen Christ, formerly in the Charles C. Dent collection, Allentown, Pennsylvania. From *Art Treasures and Antiquities Formerly Contained in the Famous Davanzati Palace, Florence, Italy*, American Art Association, New York, November 21, 1916, lot 44

(*scala* in Italian = ladder).¹ It might have been the device of Bartolomeo Scala (1430–1497), chancellor of the Florentine Republic.² Tabernacle doors of the same type can be found in Santi Simone e Guida, San Michele Visdomini, and Santo Spirito on the Corbinelli Altar, all in Florence.

Our door has a rectangular companion, first published in the 1916 auction catalogue of objects brought to the U.S. from the Davanzati Palace, Florence, by Elia Volpi, and subsequently acquired by Charles C. Dent (fig. 157a).³ They are linked by the similarity of the Christ figures and the presence of the ladder crest as well as a signature, apparently that of the caster. The Met door is signed “Pietro Pavlo/Romano” at the lower left corner (fig. 157b), the Dent version “Pietro Paulo Nardi o Mancino Romano 1522” on the bottom edge of the frame. *Mancino* probably refers to the artist’s left-handedness.

Two sixteenth-century medalists were nicknamed Romano—Pietro Paolo Tomei and Pietro Paolo Galeotti—but do not fit the bill, as the style of our door is incompatible with that of either.⁴ The actual Nardi remains a shadowy figure. A Pietro Paolo Nardi, “ottonaro” (caster and brassworker), is documented in Rome in 1650, providing a lamp and other metal works for the church of Santa Maria Regina Coeli (no longer extant).⁵ It seems more than coincidental that this convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns funded by Anna Barberini



Fig. 157b. Signature on cat. 157

was under the governance of the monastery of Santa Maria della Scala, whose emblem may well have been a ladder.⁶ Which brings us to the knotty issue of the 1522 date on the Dent bronze. It is of course plausible that two sculptors with the same name worked a century apart, but it is much more likely that only the later Nardi existed. The sole documentation for the existence of the earlier Nardi is the date inscribed on the Dent door, which may have been misread (its present location is unknown so it was impossible to inspect), and one wonders if “1622” was misread as “1522.” A sixteenth-century date can reasonably be challenged on stylistic grounds as well.

The strongest support for dating both bronzes to the first half of the seventeenth century is the apparently frequent production of similar tabernacle doors during that time in Florence. Of particular interest is the door on the Corbinelli Altar. The altar went through at least three decorative campaigns, the first and most important under Andrea Sansovino (1490–92). A second involved Lorenzetto (1514–15), and a third is corroborated in a 1642 inscription in the altar chapel. Gabriele Fattorini has rejected Sansovino’s authorship of the tabernacle, arguing that it was added during the third phase in the mid-seventeenth century, when the chapel underwent minor renovations.⁷ The tabernacle door of Santi Simone e Giuda (fig. 157c), installed on a seventeenth-century altar, is almost identical to ours. Although it is possible that an older door was mounted on the tabernacle, it is more likely that both were produced at the same time, lending support to the dating of our door to the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the door in Santi Simone e Giuda is covered with a brass foil, and it is impossible to determine if, as in our door, the original surface bears an inscription by its maker.



Fig. 157c. Tabernacle Door with the Risen Christ, probably 17th century. Altarpiece, Santi Simone e Giuda, Florence

Such *portelle* remained popular through the Baroque era: Giovanni Battista Foggini made one in 1705 for the tabernacle of San Giorgio alla Costa, Florence.⁸ Attesting to the seriality of the design, a gilt bronze *Risen Christ*, of the same type as our figure but lacking the door, surfaced on the art market in 2019.⁹ FL

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan (until 1917; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Olga Raggio identified the coat of arms in 1967 (ESDA/OF). 2. On Scala, see A. Brown 1979; Baldini 2017. 3. On loan to the Allentown Art Museum until 2005, its current location is unknown. Letter from Kathleen K. Regan, dated March 12, 1985, and correspondence with Claire McRee, Allentown Art Museum, ESDA/OF. Information about the inscription on the Dent door comes from ESDA/OF. 4. For Tomei and Galeotti, see Leydi and Zanuso 2015. 5. Dunn 1994, p. 647 n 39. It is perhaps worth mentioning that a Pietro *Antonio* Nardi is documented in Bologna in the early seventeenth century; according to Masini 1666, he worked in Santa Maria della Carità (p. 132) and San Michele in Bosco (p. 636). 6. Dunn 1994, p. 647. 7. Fattorini 2013, p. 142, shows that since the 1930s scholars have doubted the attribution of the Corbinelli tabernacle to Sansovino. 8. Pratesi 1993, vol. 1, p. 79, vol. 2, no. 190. 9. See *Renaissance France—Italie 1500–1600* (Paris: Galerie Sismann, 2021), p. 74.

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Dragon

Attributed to Giacomo Laurenziani
(active 1607–d. ca. 1650)

Rome, early 17th century

Bronze

6⅜ × 2½ × 4 in. (16.2 × 6.4 × 10.2 cm)

Bequest of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.2)

At the time of acquisition, this creature was catalogued as a griffin, but in the 1950s James Parker correctly identified it as a dragon. The dragon was a heraldic emblem of the Borghese family, and this one was probably cast during the reign of the Borghese pope Paul V (1605–21).

More recently, James David Draper compared the piece to the Fountain of the Dragons, in Loreto, by the brothers Pietro Paolo and Tarquinio Jacometti, dated between 1619 and 1622, after a design by Carlo Maderno and Giovanni Fontana.¹ The connection places this work in the industrious climate of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Rome, when skilled bronze founders flourished, often working from architects' designs.² While the Jacometti dragons cast in Loreto evoke Mannerist fairy-tale monsters, with their stiff wings, horned noses, and menacing open jaws, our bronze—probably conceived as a chair finial—displays instead an ease of modeling close to the Baroque gilt-bronze handles and mountings of

cupboards for the sacristy of the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore.³ The handles share details such as the half-moon indentations in the feathered wings, the narrow, pointed yet furry ears, the rendering of scales and claws, and the humorous detail of the protruding tongue.

While the architect Flaminio Ponzio supervised the works in the Pauline Chapel, the bronze founder Giacomo Laurenziani was responsible for casting all the bronze sacristy ornaments, for which he received regular payments in 1612. In partnership with Gregorio de' Rossi, Laurenziani also cast the grilles of the chapel. In receipts for the commission, Laurenziani is referred to not only as founder (*tragittatore*) but also as sculptor,⁴ suggesting he may himself have modeled the works to be cast, as in the case of the heraldry he produced for the fountain at the base of the column in Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore (1613–14).

Originally from Emilia, Laurenziani was a prominent founder in early Baroque Rome and produced a pattern book for goldsmiths in 1632.⁵ His experiments with bronze casting were not confined to small-scale decorative objects: he was among the founders Bernini relied upon to cast the colossal columns for the Baldachin of Saint Peter's. PD'A

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (until 1925; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. ESDA/OF. 2. The metal is a quaternary copper alloy, with tin, lead, zinc, and the usual traces of iron, nickel, antimony, and silver. The casting is quite expert, with thin, even walls and virtually no porosity. R. Stone/TR, September 15, 2009. 3. González-Palacios 1984, p. 56, fig. 84. 4. Corbo and Pomponi 1995, pp. 128, 150, 156, 165, 192. 5. Montagu 1989, pp. 48–49, 52–54, 72.

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Neptune with a Dolphin

After a model by Gian Lorenzo Bernini
(Naples 1598–1680 Rome)

Rome, late 17th or early 18th century

Bronze

20¼ × 15⅜ × 11¾ in. (51.4 × 39.1 × 29.8 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1946 (46.183)

The group is a small-scale variant of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's marble *Neptune and Triton*, carved between 1622 and 1623, which was once installed at the head of the fish pond at the Villa Montalto, Rome, and has been at the V&A since 1950.¹ The fountain enjoyed considerable fame and was reproduced in different mediums.² Bernini's youthful groups were scaled down to bronze and silver versions during his lifetime, and



Rome, 17th-18th Century
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often without his permission.³ The *Neptune with a Dolphin* is, however, the only bronze reduction of one of his early marbles to show distinct compositional differences from the original: Neptune stands on a rocky islet instead of a shell, and a whirling dolphin, nestled between his legs, has replaced the Triton. The fluttering swirl of drapery behind Neptune's proper right thigh is positioned so that more of it is visible even from the front.

Our *Neptune with a Dolphin* is one of four known casts. The others are in the Corsini collection, on loan to the Galleria Borghese, Rome; the V&A; and the Getty.⁴ They are all quite close in size, and were probably cast from different stages of the same model. When compared, the four statuettes reveal several small variations, probably introduced in the wax intermodels, as well as notable differences in facture.⁵ Our version is missing the trident.⁶ In the Getty and Borghese groups, the dolphin's tail touches Neptune's proper left leg; in ours, an additional fin has been added to the fish tail to create a similar effect, while in the V&A's the tail does not make contact with the god's body. The treatment around the dolphin's eyes is more stylized in our group than in the Borghese and Getty statuettes. Scholars agree the version in Los Angeles is the finest cast.

Bernini's authorship of a small-scale model to be cast in bronze has long been disputed. In 1998, discussing the Borghese version, Sebastian Schütze rightly dismissed the notion, suggesting instead a Florentine artist close to Giovanni Francesco Susini, in view of the Corsini provenance and the highly polished surface.⁷ Peter Fusco advocated Bernini's own hand, but Philippe Malgouyres has more convincingly argued that the bronze reductions may not even have been produced in Bernini's circle.⁸ The composition seems a curious assemblage of stylistic elements from his works: the Neptune is a copy of the figure for the Villa Montalto; the dolphin belongs to the same breed as the marine mammals designed by Bernini after the 1650s.

This discrepant combination of early and late elements may be explained through a comparison with another Neptune fountain in Portugal that has been studied only recently.⁹ Dom Luís Menses, third conde de Ericeira, a prominent political and cultural figure in late seventeenth-century Portugal, commissioned this work from Bernini through the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Dom Luís de Sousa, archbishop and primate of Braga. In a letter of 1677 from the archbishop to his brother, he recounts that Bernini supplied a *modello* of the *Neptune*. After studying different hydraulic possibilities with Ercole Ferrata, they agreed that dolphins would be placed between Neptune's feet, and the group would be carved by Ferrata. The fountain was shipped to Portugal in 1682 and placed in the gardens of the Anunciada Palace in Lisbon, where the Neptune figure was soon praised as a work by Bernini, who in all likelihood had

entrusted the whole ensemble to Ferrata after setting the basic design. Ferrata's estate inventory refers to models of Neptune, in both clay and wax. It is tempting to place the model for the bronze reductions of *Neptune with a Dolphin* in the context of the industrious workshop run by Ferrata in Rome, a model later reused to produce commercial bronzes destined for collectors in the eighteenth century. PD'A

PROVENANCE: possibly Maurice Kann, Paris; [Blumka Galleries, New York, 1946; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1947, pp. 205, 207; Phillips 1954, p. 163; Weston-Lewis 1998, pp. 89–90; Sebastian Schütze in Coliva and Schütze 1998, pp. 170–79, cat. 15; Peter Fusco in Fogelman et al. 2002, p. 172; Malgouyres 2013, p. 74

NOTES

1. V&A, A.18:1-1950. The fountain was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Peretti, who played an important role in Bernini's early career. The *Neptune and Triton* stayed in the Villa Montalto until 1786, when it was sold to the British art dealer Thomas Jenkins, then acquired by Sir Joshua Reynolds and shipped to England. Its history has been reconstructed in detail in Maclagan 1922 and Wittkower 1952; for further references, see Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, pp. 596–600, no. 636; Wittkower 1981, pp. 28–29, 177–78, no. 9; Schütze in Coliva and Schütze 1998, pp. 170–79, cat. 15. 2. Several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century engravings show the group in its original location. The V&A has a reduced copy in wood (Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, p. 609; Weston-Lewis 1998, pp. 89–90, cat. 41), and a marble reduction is mentioned in the collection of Antonio Muñoz, together with a lead variant (Faldi 1954, p. 43; see also Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, p. 600). A terracotta fragment of Neptune's torso, now in the Hermitage, comes from the Farsetti collection; a full-size plaster copy of the *Neptune and Triton* was in the same collection, now in the Academy of Fine Arts, Saint Petersburg (Androsov 1991, p. 52, cat. 13; Wardropper 1998, p. 6, cat. 10). 3. Malgouyres 2013, p. 74. 4. See, respectively, Schütze in Coliva and Schütze 1998, pp. 170–79, cat. 15; Pope-Hennessy 1964a, vol. 2, p. 600; Fusco in Fogelman et al. 2002, pp. 170–76, no. 22. Two bronze casts of the marble *Neptune* were auctioned in London in the eighteenth century: the first, in the collection of the British sculptor Bird, was sold in April 1731 (Esdaile 1938, p. 139). The second, "a capital bronze of the Neptune, in the villa Negroni in Rome," was auctioned at Jean Bertels, London, May 26–28, 1783, lot 81. Another bronze *Neptune with a Dolphin* was in the sale of the Palazzo San Donato, Florence, March 15, 1880, lot 307; looking at the illustration, this could be the version now at the V&A. 5. Our version was cast in ten sections joined with Roman-type joins, with one part telescoping into another then fixed with pins, suggesting it was part of a larger edition of sectional casts, possibly including the Corsini *Neptune*. There is minimal chasing and most details appear to be in the wax, with broader surfaces smoothed by filing. The core is plaster, and the core supports are randomly placed wires that were replaced with screw plugs. R. Stone/TR, April 21, 2010. 6. The trident of the Borghese version is a modern replacement after the original was stolen in 1947 (Faldi 1954, p. 43). 7. Coliva and Schütze 1998, p. 176. 8. Fogelman et al. 2002, p. 172; Malgouyres 2013, p. 74. 9. Delaforce et al. 1998, to which the following discussion is indebted (pp. 807–8).



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Saint Agnes

After a model by Gian Lorenzo Bernini
(Naples 1598–1680 Rome)

Rome, early 18th century

Bronze

13¹⁵/₁₆ × 6 × 5⁷/₈ in. (35.4 × 15.2 × 14.9 cm)

Purchase, Bequest of Vivian W. Lehman, 1978 ([1978.202](#))

The statuette is a replica of the travertine *Saint Agnes*, after Bernini's design, probably carved by Lazzaro Morelli for the north arm of Saint Peter's Colonnade. Alexander VII Chigi

commissioned a new design for Saint Peter's Square from Bernini in 1656.¹ Between 1660 and 1661, Morelli tested large-scale models of pozzolana and plaster on the Colonnade's entablature. The statue of Agnes was set into place together with that of Mark the Evangelist in 1662.² All the saints designed by Bernini for the site are characterized by a pronounced contrapposto and share similar compositional features: the drapery is organized in relatively simple masses, the figures generally gaze upward, and their iconographic attributes and gestures are reduced to a minimum, so as to make them readable from a great distance. The Met's small-scale bronze maintains the foreshortening that was conceived for the monumental statue. A voluminous mantle envelops the female

martyr, who presses her right hand onto her chest and lifts her head skyward as if lost in contemplation. She grasps the folds of her mantle and a palm branch in her left hand. A furry lamb, the saint's attribute, crouches next to her proper left foot.

The bronze replica is known in four other versions. Close in size, they were likely cast from the same model. The best known is in the family chapel of the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome, and it was once gilt and silvered; when Jennifer Montagu published it in 1967, she considered it a cast after a model by Bernini himself.³ The other statuettes are in the Sacchetti collection, Rome (the smallest in the series); a private collection in Los Angeles; and the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. The last, which carries a leafier palm branch, is the only one that is entirely gilt.⁴ Our example is well cast and has a waxy brown surface.⁵ There are traces of perfunctory reworking after casting, especially in the eyes, nose, and mouth. A more refined lacy motif is stippled on the saint's sleeves; a similar pattern appears on the Doria Pamphilj version and on the edge of the Edinburgh mantle.

As early as 1970, Andreas Haus rejected the claim that Bernini himself fashioned clay models for the Colonnade statues, a view now accepted by most scholars.⁶ In the late 1660s, Bernini was involved in several projects for Alexander VII. Having developed the Colonnade's architectural framework and studied the sculptures' proportions and stances through drawings, he entrusted the execution of the clay models to his assistants, mainly Morelli and later also Paolo Naldini. The figure of Saint Agnes, in pose, tilt of the head, and fall of drapery on the proper left side, is reminiscent of the marble statue of Saint Barbara commissioned from Bernini for Rieti Cathedral in 1652.⁷ Only a small preparatory sketch by him survives; he entrusted the carving of the marble to Giovanni Antonio Mari. The scarcity of three-dimensional models for the Colonnade statues may be explained, in some cases, by the reuse of Bernini's previous sketches and models by his most skilled assistants.

Saint Agnes and the mirroring figure of Saint Catherine flanking the Chigi coat of arms are the only statues of the Colonnade to have been scaled down to small bronzes. The models were probably studied and reduced by some of the younger sculptors who joined the enterprise after 1666. The Colonnade's "army of saints" (Wittkower) was much imitated at the beginning of the eighteenth century,⁸ and statuettes of the two female martyrs were possibly cast around that time to serve as devotional objects, as the pair still in the Sacchetti collection suggests. PD'A

PROVENANCE: [Alberto Colzi, Florence, by 1978]; (sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 1, 1978, lot 214; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Mezzatesta 1982, cat. 5

NOTES

1. For the various architectural designs of this ambitious and highly symbolic work, see with further references: Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, pp. 64–102; Haus 1970; Krautheimer 1987, pp. 71–80, 175–80; Martinelli 1987; Angelini 1998, pp. 104ff; Marder 1998, pp. 126–50.
2. The work slowed down between 1662 and 1666, as Bernini was completing the *Cathedra Petri* in Saint Peter's apse, and Morelli assisted him with the casting of the figures. In 1666, a task force of younger sculptors was recruited to speed up the carving of the travertine blocks for the Colonnade, completed in 1673. In 1702, Clement XI decided to complete Bernini's project by adding other statues on the straight sections of the Colonnade. See Paola Santamaria Mannino in Martinelli 1987, pp. 25–26; Montagu 1989, pp. 147, 213 n. 69; Montagu 1996, p. 4; C. Avery 1997, pp. 214–15; Weston-Lewis 1998, pp. 110–11, cat. 68; Montagu 1999b, p. 105; Irene Buonazia in Pinelli 2000, vol. 1, p. 305; Di Gioia 2002, p. 113.
3. Montagu 1967.
4. Mezzatesta 1982, cat. 6; Weston-Lewis 1998, pp. 110–11, cat. 68.
5. The cast is virtually flawless with thin, even walls and essentially no porosity. Most of the surface detail was produced by casting, not chasing. The fully elaborated drapery and rather schematic face suggest that the cast was based on a Bernini clay drapery model without much reference, if any, to the finished work. R. Stone/TR, January 28, 2011.
6. Haus 1970, pp. 39–41.
7. Wittkower 1981, pp. 234–35, no. 60.
8. Bacchi and Desmas 2017, pp. 334–35.

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Saint Pius V

Possibly after a model by Angelo de' Rossi

(1671–1715)

Rome, early 18th century

Bronze, fire-gilt

Height 25½ in. (64.8 cm)

Ann and George Blumenthal Fund, 1972 (1972.86)

The refined bust, in high relief, depicts Antonio Ghislieri, the Dominican cardinal and Grand Inquisitor elected pope in 1566 as Pius V. During his short reign, Ghislieri was a zealous reformer. Soon after his death in 1572, he began to be invoked as a saint, and a series of paintings, medals, and engravings reproduced his ascetic features. In 1588, his body was transferred to a monumental tomb in the Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore. Sixtus V commissioned the tomb and launched the campaign for his canonization. The head of the Dominicans, Antonin Cloche, actively promoted his cult. From beatification in 1672 to canonization in 1712, the Grand Inquisitor was celebrated in a number of artworks: in 1692, Francesco Nuvolone's lifesize bronze statue sent to the Ghislieri Collegium in Pavia; in 1697–98, Pierre Le Gros's gilt-bronze relief of the pontiff on his deathbed (which embellishes the green marble sarcophagus that holds his remains); in 1701, a marble statue carved by Francesco Melone for the monumental staircase in Pavia; and in 1712, several paintings commemorating episodes in his life,



among them a work commissioned by Cloche from Benedetto Luti as a gift to Clement XI.¹

The Met's effigy was probably created during this forty-year span. The bony, elderly face and long sharp nose are customary in Pius V's portraiture. He wears the typical papal vestments—a *mozzetta*, an elaborately embroidered floral stole, and a *camauero*. During the bust's early years in the collection, it was assigned to Camillo Rusconi, whose role in supplying models to be cast in metal has recently been elucidated,² but it lacks the energetic modeling, incisive rendering of facial features, and deeply undercut folds that typify his figures. On the other hand, in its masterful ebb and flow of forms, it invites comparison with later Baroque Roman works, especially the

glittering bronzes for the altar of Saint Ignatius in the church of the Gesù (1692–95). In fact, in a letter of 1972, James David Draper noted the technical and compositional correspondence between our portrait and Angelo de' Rossi's gilt-bronze relief *Saint Ignatius Exorcising a Man Possessed*, made for that altar.³ This promising lead was set aside at the time of acquisition but merits reconsideration.

In the early 1690s, after apprenticing with Filippo Parodi in Genoa and the Veneto, de' Rossi settled in Rome, where he soon became an accomplished sculptor, particularly adept in relief. Following his work on the altar of Saint Ignatius, he became a protégé of the cultivated Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, a key figure in early settecento Rome, who entrusted de' Rossi

with the tomb of Pope Alexander VIII in Saint Peter's, following the architectural design of Count Enrico di San Martino. De' Rossi did not complete the project before his death in 1715, although he had fashioned the model of the seated pontiff's statue to be cast by Giuseppe Bertosi, and carved and signed the *Canonization of Five Saints* (fig. 161a), a marble relief for the tomb that enjoyed immediate success.⁴ De' Rossi's technical acumen is here on full display. The striking gallery of human types paraded before the viewer are individually characterized.⁵ From every approach, the faces appear to have a completely different perspective, with undulating effects emphasized by the passages of light. Comparisons between the Vatican marble slab and our bronze are compelling, especially in the treatment of the broad forehead, the fine line of the eyebrows, and the manner in which the eyes intersect the nose, creating small pockets of shadow. The execution of details such as the fur trim and floral embroidery is equally deft.

The overwrought folds in Pius V's garments differ slightly from de' Rossi's generally longer, sharper folds, but the reason may reside in the bust's peculiar shape. The way in which the creased stole masks rather than reveals the figure's anatomy is a feature of de' Rossi's style. The severe iconography of the Grand Inquisitor is softened by the beard's almost liquid rivulets and the slightly parted lips. His countenance is serene, even benign. The play of curly volutes in the socle, typical of early eighteenth-century Roman ornament, recalls the papal throne in the *Canonization*. De' Rossi worked closely with goldsmiths and supplied models to expert silversmiths such as Giovanni Giardini. Indeed, the refined chasing of the bust suggests the collaboration of a goldsmith.

While the function and original location of the bust remain a mystery, a staple cast into the back indicates that it was suspended. We can imagine it against a colored marble background, possibly in a Roman chapel, but it might also be asked

whether the work was made for Liguria, a region where Pius V was especially venerated, having started there as a priest. PD'A

PROVENANCE: David David-Weill, Neuilly-sur-Seine (d. 1952; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 16, 1971, lot 98); [Blumka Gallery, New York, 1972; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 245; Spike 1984, p. 164, cat. 61

NOTES

1. See the drawing for Luti's work, MMA, 69.169. 2. Montagu 2006 and 2007. 3. Letter to Olga Raggio, May 1972, ESDA/OF. 4. Enggass 1976, p. 165; Franz-Duhme 1986, pp. 201–3, no. 8; Olszewski 2004, pp. 106–11. 5. The youth at the far right, on whose garment de' Rossi inscribed his name, has been identified as a self-portrait.

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Pair of Altar Candlesticks

Possibly Rome, 1610–20

Bronze, fire-gilt; rock crystal

Each 26½ × 7½ × 8 in. (67.3 × 19.1 × 20.3 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.831, .832)

These candlesticks were probably made for a church altar. The pair entered The Met with the donation of J. Pierpont Morgan in 1917 but seem never to have been on view. They were previously dated to the eighteenth century, however the style and materials point to an earlier date, possibly the second decade of the seventeenth century. The combination of rock crystal and gilt bronze was common in Italian production of metal religious objects in the early seicento. Here, the ornate rock crystal and the cherubs, their hair adorned with small flowers, recall the decorative output of Stefano Maderno and his workshop. Maderno was a prominent sculptor and gifted metalworker



Fig. 161a. Angelo de' Rossi, *Canonization of Five Saints*, 1702–4. Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII, Saint Peter's Basilica, Vatican City



in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹ The candlesticks could have been designed and then cast in one of the numerous goldsmiths' shops active around the 1610s, after the completion of the monumental ciborium in the Sistine Chapel in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore and the high altar of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, where many sculptors and goldsmiths jointly produced lavish decorations under Maderno's supervision. PD'A

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan (until 1917; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTE

1. For Stefano Maderno, see Dickerson 2008 and Arnaboldi 2008.



9

Southern Italy,
16th–18th Century



Spinario

After a model by Antonello Gagini
(Palermo 1478–1536 Palermo)

Messina (?), early 16th century

Bronze

34¼ × 20 × 21¾ in. (87 × 50.8 × 55.2 cm)

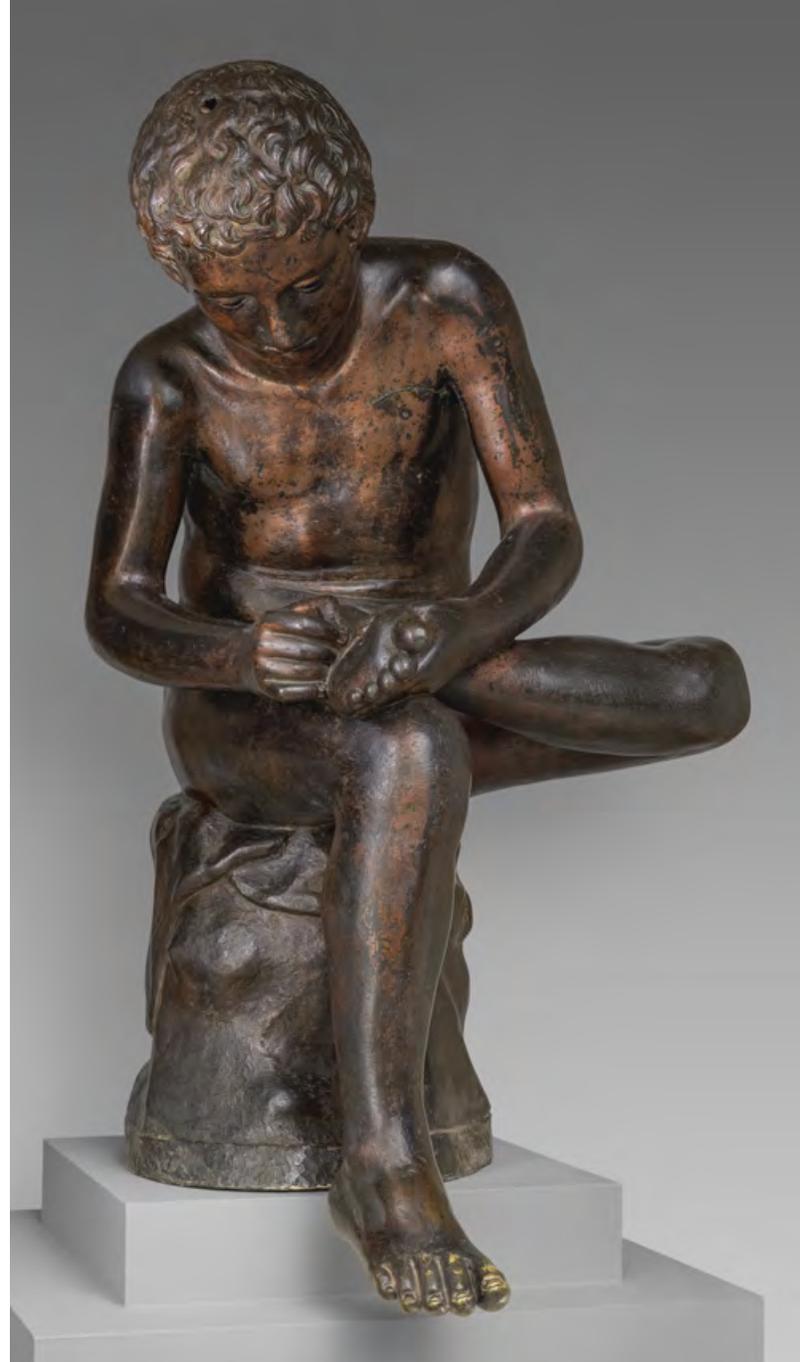
Gift of George and Florence Blumenthal, 1932 (32.121)

The *Spinario*, an ancient bronze sculpture 73 cm in height of a boy sitting hunched over his foot while he extracts a thorn from it, inspired this and several other bronzes in The Met's collection (cats. 9, 39–41). The present work is apparently the largest of all Renaissance bronzes to take the *Spinario* (p. 74, fig. 9a) as its model. Other notable differences include the cropped curls as opposed to the pageboy hairstyle of the original; a draped mound instead of the knobby trunklike support on which the ancient one sits; and more tenderly rounded modeling throughout. These significant variations could point to an artist in conscious competition with the ancient prototype or to one not in direct contact with the original but working from drawings and/or memories of it.

In 1971, as a fledgling curator who had not yet been to Sicily, I came upon what seemed to be plausible documentation for our *Spinario* in a house in Messina and published my findings the following year.¹ I relied on the eighteenth-century chronicler Caio Domenico Gallo's discussion of the great marble carver Antonello Gagini. Gallo was eager to present Gagini as a Messinese artist, but he was in fact born in Palermo, and several of the chronicler's facts are accordingly wrong. The son of Domenico Gagini, the Ticinese sculptor who helped introduce the early Renaissance style to Genoa, Naples, and Sicily, Antonello was hugely prolific, almost always in marble; our thorn-puller is his only known bronze. Gallo claims that Gagini returned to Messina from Rome, where he had assisted Michelangelo on the tomb of Pope Julius II:

[Gagini] still delighted in casting statues of bronze, as he made known in that of a lifesized young boy in the act of extracting a thorn out of his foot in imitation of another similar one, which is to be seen in the Campidoglio, and in this work the good statuary taste of the ancients was very well understood, and one reads at the foot of it "the work of Antonii Gagini, year 1500." The said statue is conserved in the palace of Prince d'Alcontres, positioned for use as part of a fountain at the top of the beautiful staircase. From Messina, his fame having spread, he was called to Palermo.²

Hanno-Walter Kruft endorsed the attribution but emphasized that Gallo took most of his information from Francesco Susinno's publication of 1724.³ Susinno does not specify the



material of the boy in the Palazzo d'Alcontres but names him "the shepherd Marzio," reverting to an Italian medieval tradition in which the thorn-puller represents the month of March.⁴ Kruft suspected the date of 1500 reported by both Susinno and Gallo had been wrongly transcribed. By comparing decorative carvings in Palermo and Rome, he was able to demonstrate a stylistic collaboration between Michelangelo and Gagini, and dated the bronze to about 1505–6.⁵

Another Gagini *Spinario*, also of an unspecified material, emerges from a document of 1527. Gagini had been engaged in 1523 to execute the marble funerary monument to Laura Barresi by her husband Matteo, marchese of Pietraperzia, in the church of that town. In April 1527, he received payment for it, some marble window frames, and "that youth of whom it is



said that he is pulling the thorn from his foot.”⁶ By implication, the youth would also have been of marble. According to a letter of December 2, 2014, from Salvatore La Monica of Palermo, the statue was still in the Barresi castle at Pietraperzia in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷ As to our bronze, it is anybody’s guess how and when it got from Messina to the Paris art market.⁸

As superb in modeling and finish as our *Spinario* is, Gagini likely did not supply more than the model. We know little enough about Sicilian bronze casting, but the Campana (or del Campanaio) dynasty of bell founders in Tortorici, near Messina, were well established in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century.⁹ The simple, rounded forms of the *Spinario* would have been no great challenge for a bell founder. Our bronze appears to have been directly cast over a pre-formed clay core.¹⁰

Gagini does not give us a lot of bare flesh, so the best comparanda are Madonnas and their charges. The one closest to our boy is also the finest, the *Madonna della Scala* in the sacristy of Palermo Cathedral (fig. 163a). The Virgin’s pan-shaped face and the Child’s curls and slightly boneless limbs all come sufficiently close to those of our youth to suggest that it must date to around the same time: the *Madonna della Scala* is signed and dated 1503. But it should be borne in mind that the art of Gagini, once he had established his style, remained fairly conservative so that there are almost as many resonances in a slightly less distinguished

work as late as 1528, the gracious *Madonna degli Ansaloni* in the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia, Palermo.¹¹

Finally, we should consider the boy in relation to the position that the Alcontres fountain is said to have occupied: the top of a staircase. In Gagini’s day, a good height was in keeping with the display of the Capitoline *Spinario*. Jan Gossart’s well-known drawing shows how an elevation of several feet above eye level would reveal the lad’s modest, prepubescent genitalia (fig. 163b). By the twelfth century, the ancient bronze was even known as Priapus,¹² but Gagini, unlikely to have been familiar with that reading, seems unexcited by the nudity and more concerned with gentle forms filling space. JDD

PROVENANCE: presumed to have been in the Palazzo d’Alcontres, Messina; [Arnold Seligmann et Cie, Paris]; George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–32; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Susinno 1960 (1724), p. 82; Gallo 1756–58, vol. 2, pp. 555–56; Di Marzo 1880–83, vol. 1, pp. 203–4, 354; Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. LI (as North Italian, first half of the 16th century); Draper 1972 (to Antonello Gagini); Krufft 1975, p. 599; Athens 1979, cat. 9; Krufft 1980, pp. 51–52, 383–84, no. 72 (to Gagini); Bober and Rubinstein 2010, p. 255; MMA 1987b, p. 103, no. 76; F. Rossi 2015, p. 748 (“may have been made in Rome and not Sicily”); James David Draper in Bormand 2020, pp. 372–73, cat. 115 (to Gagini)



Fig. 163a.
Antonello Gagini,
*Madonna della
Scala*, 1503.
Marble. Palermo
Cathedral



Fig. 163b. Jan Gossart (ca. 1478–1532), *Spinario with Details of Other Sculptures* (detail), ca. 1509. Pen and ink on paper; 10% × 8% in. (26.3 × 20.5 cm). Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden

NOTES

1. Draper 1972. 2. Gallo 1756–58, vol. 2, p. 555: “Dillettossi ancora di gettare statue di Bronzo, come fello a conoscere in quella d’un Giovanetto al naturale in atto di cavarsi dal piè una spina, ad imitazione d’un’altra simile, che vedesi in Campidoglio, si scorge in questo lavoro il buon gusto antico statuuario assai ben inteso, e leggesi a piè di essa *Opus Antonii Gaginu A, MD*. Conservasi la detta statua nel Palazzo del Principe d’Alcontres, accomodata per uso della fonte al capo della bellissima scala. Da Messina, divulgatasi la sua fama, fu chiamato in Palermo.” 3. Krufft 1980, p. 383. 4. Susinno 1960, p. 82; Glass 1970, p. 130, fig. 22. 5. Krufft 1975, pp. 598–99. The surviving Palazzo d’Alcontres in Messina is an eighteenth-century structure with no interior staircase. 6. “Et figura cuiusdam juvenis ut dicitur, che si leva la spina di lu pedi.” Krufft 1980, p. 494, doc. 118. 7. ESDA/OF. A photograph of a marble *Spinario* suggested by Dott. La Monica does not reflect Gagini’s style. 8. It is not the bronze once owned by Count Friedrich Pourtalès, German ambassador to Saint Petersburg, as put forth by Joseph Breck; a photograph of that statuette in a Berlin exhibition shows a work only 72 cm high of the standard pageboy type. 9. Di Marzo 1880–83, vol. 1, p. 635. 10. R. Stone/TR, 2011. Thick traces of the original core, containing fragments of brick, remain on the underside of the draped seat. The cast shows areas of porosity, as well as numerous original plugs and patches, including a major repair to the left arm and neck. The surface of the sculpture is roughly finished, with chiseling on the draped seat, and rasp marks, some quite coarse, on the flesh. At some later point, the tip of the left foot was damaged and repaired in brass. 11. Krufft 1980, figs. 275, 276. One of his comparanda (of questionable relevance) is the bust of Saint Vitus, also in the Galleria Regionale (ibid., figs. 357, 358), but the partial gilding of the hair makes a difference. 12. Bober and Rubinstein 2010, p. 254.

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Pair of Altar Candlesticks

Possibly Naples, 1620–40

Bronze, fire-gilt; rock crystal

(.57) 35 × 6% in. (88.9 × 17.5 cm);

(.58) 34% × 6% in. (87.9 × 17.5 cm)

Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950 (50.145.57, .58)

Like our other candlesticks (cat. 162), this monumental pair was destined for a church altar. Although identical in technique, the two sets differ in structure and design, particularly the style of the volutes and the modeling of decorative elements such as the cherubs. Here, the volutes and the figures’ thick, clustered curls are reminiscent of Neapolitan Baroque metalwork produced between 1620 and 1640. Many goldsmiths and metalworkers were operating in Naples during that time, producing opulent pieces for churches, monasteries, and convents.¹ The majority of these works are known only through documents, although some noteworthy examples have recently been traced and published in Spain.² During their Italian tenure, many Spanish viceroys commissioned works of art in Rome and Naples that were destined for churches or palaces back home. This pair of candlesticks may have been one such export. PD’A



PROVENANCE: William Salomon (until 1923; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, April 4–7, 1923, lot 327; sold to Crawford for \$3,800); H. A. Crawford (from 1923); Mary Stillman Harkness, New York (until 1950; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. See Ruotolo 2007; D'Agostino 2011, pp. 60–66; D'Agostino 2014.
2. Madruga 1983; García Cueto 2009.

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Saint Peter

Cosimo Fanzago (Clusone 1591–1678 Naples)

Naples, 1635–36

Bronze, fire-gilt, on a later base

11½ × 4¾ × 3¾ in. (28.3 × 12.1 × 9.5 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.187)

In spite of its small scale, the statuette is striking for its sense of monumentality and movement. Saint Peter strides forward, his left foot extending almost beyond the edge of the base, creating a series of deeply undercut, sharp folds in the mantle that envelops the figure. The apostle is absorbed in a book held in his left hand, the top middle finger marking a page, as if he were suddenly overtaken by an urge to read a passage. The scowling brows, incised pupils, hooked nose, curly hair, and full beard that emphasizes the bony face are masterfully modeled and tooled. Equally carefully studied are the muscles of the right arm and the articulation of the hand that holds the keys. Although intended to be viewed frontally, the statuette was fashioned in the round: the back is polished, and the silky mantle is elegantly draped so as to accentuate the sense of a figure in motion. The nearly flawless cast exemplifies the artist's technical skill in metalwork.¹

The *Saint Peter* entered The Met in 1952 identified as a seventeenth-century Roman work. It has recently been reattributed to the Neapolitan transplant Cosimo Fanzago by the present author. Born in a small town near Bergamo, Fanzago was mainly active in Naples, where he died after a long and illustrious career as a sculptor and architect, and where his workshop became a mainstay of artistic production. He produced the statuette to flank a gilt-bronze tabernacle, enriched with lapis lazuli, jasper, and *pietre dure* and destined for the church of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca, Spain. The *Saint Peter* was one of many works in different mediums commissioned in Naples from Fanzago and other artists—including painters, craftsmen, and silversmiths—by Don Manuel de Zuñiga, count of Monterrey and viceroy of Naples. All were executed there and shipped to Spain in late 1637.

The tabernacle is still extant on the high altar of the church in Salamanca. The *Saint Peter* is recorded in a Spanish inventory

of 1676² and cited by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources together with its pendant, an equally striking gilt bronze *Saint Paul*, presently in a private collection in New York (fig. 165a). The pair complement each other in stance, gesture, and expression.

Our statuette is an invaluable example of Fanzago's work in bronze, since much of his considerable oeuvre of metalwork has been lost or irreparably damaged. Of the surviving bronze statuettes, the *Saint Peter* and its pendant *Saint Paul* are among the best preserved. They were conceived probably between 1635 and 1636, a time when Fanzago was working on his major monumental marble statues. The two small-scale apostles show a new quest for movement, a more dynamic interaction between figure and space, and a more synthetic and effective treatment of complex masses of drapery. It is as though Fanzago experimented here with stylistic directions that would emerge full-blown in his larger marble projects at the beginning of the 1640s. PD'A

PROVENANCE: commissioned by Manuel de Zuñiga, viceroy of Naples; Church of Las Agustinas Recoletas, Salamanca, Spain (from 1637); [Blumka Gallery, New York, until 1952; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Ponz 1772–94, vol. 12 (1788), p. 27; Falcón 2000 (1867), p. 268; García Boiza 1945, pp. 10–11; Gómez Moreno 1967, p. 296, fig. 368; D'Agostino 2003; D'Agostino 2008, pp. 117–19, figs. 3, 4; D'Agostino 2011, pp. 119–21, no. A.12, figs. 72, 73, pls. 232, 233

NOTES

1. The statuette is remarkably thin and even appears to have been cast in one piece. R. Stone/TR, December 7, 2006. 2. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Salamanca, PN 4439, Matias de Zamora, 1676, c. 1679v.



Fig. 165a. Cosimo Fanzago, *Saint Paul*, 1635–36. Bronze; H. 11½ in. (28.3 cm). Private collection, New York







Virgin of the Immaculate Conception
Probably after a model by Lorenzo Vaccaro
(Naples 1656–1706 Torre del Greco)

Naples, late 17th century
Bronze, fire-gilt; polychromy, silver
30½ × 14¼ × 9½ in. (76.5 × 36.2 × 24.1 cm)
Wrightsman Fund, 1992 (1992.56)

Modeled in the round, the statuette presents an alluring combination of metals—silver and gilt bronze. The Virgin stands on a crescent moon around which coils a serpent with a golden apple in its mouth. The globe base floats on a cloud. The figure's pose is piously restrained, her hand pointed primly at her breast. She tramples the serpent's body under her right foot, thus signaling that she is the New Eve.

The silver head, hands, and feet were cast separately, and the bronze elements were thinly cast in sections joined by an internal ring. A modern T-shaped rod holds the statuette together. The head contains holes, made most likely for the purpose of attaching a twelve-star crown and a pair of earrings. At the nape of the neck is a small cavity, probably meant to hold a coil of hair. Traces of green paint cover the globe and parts of the serpent's scales, ears, and snout. Despite some damage common to such artifacts, the mantle shows a skillful differentiation among stippled, chiseled, matte, and burnished surfaces.

When auctioned at Christie's in 1990, the work was tentatively ascribed to the circle of Lorenzo Vaccaro. After it entered The Met in 1992, Olga Raggio catalogued it as Roman, possibly cast after a model by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. But the decorous folds of the Virgin's mantle, pinned at the right shoulder, and the gracious curves of her dress bear stronger affinities with late seventeenth-century Neapolitan metalwork than with the exuberantly billowing drapery of the Roman Baroque. On stylistic grounds, in 2008 I also attributed the Virgin to Vaccaro. Active in the last quarter of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, this versatile sculptor worked in different mediums and supplied designs to skilled silversmiths and bronze founders. The fusion of materials seen in our statuette, though common enough in Italian sculpture, was particularly favored in Naples in Vaccaro's day. The firm structure of the head, the noble line of the eyebrows, the well-chased eyes and curly hair, and the scooped-out drapery are comparable to his documented metalwork.

The iconography of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception as the New Eve was popular particularly among Spanish patrons in the Baroque period, when Naples was the capital of a vice-kingdom and the center of considerable sculptural production intended for Spain. The city also played a crucial artistic and political role in the thorny dispute over the doctrine of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. Our figure may have

been cast by a Neapolitan silversmith, very likely after a model by Vaccaro, for a Spanish patron. Its dimensions are significant, as several Neapolitan statuettes of the same subject composed in a variety of materials are recorded in documents in both Naples and Spain.¹ While a conspicuous number in polychromed wood are extant, very few in metal survive. The Met's statuette is an exemplar of that production. PD'A

PROVENANCE: private collection, Buenos Aires (ca. 1922); private collection, São Paulo (ca. 1946); (sale, Christie's, New York, January 10, 1990, lot 198; sold to Blumka); [Blumka Gallery, New York, 1992; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Olga Raggio in MMA 1993, p. 36; D'Agostino 2008, pp. 123–27; D'Agostino 2015, p. 337

NOTE

1. See D'Agostino 2008, pp. 125–26.

Saint Agatha

Probably Naples, mid-17th century
Bronze
5⅜ × 3½ × 3⅜ in. (13.7 × 8.9 × 7.9 cm)
The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931
(32.100.193)

This small, half-length statuette depicts the early Christian saint Agatha gazing heavenward with her hands bound behind her back. According to legend, the Sicilian virgin-martyr died in the third century after a prolonged period of torture at the hand of the Roman prefect Quintianus. Among other ordeals, Agatha's breasts were cut off with pincers; these body parts became the principal iconographic attribute of the saint in early modern representations (see, for example, Sebastiano del Piombo's painting of 1520 in the Uffizi).

There are no other known casts of this model, which has not been discussed since 1910, when Wilhelm von Bode published it as "Italian, XVII century" in his catalogue of J. P. Morgan's collection. The saint was indirectly cast in a high-copper alloy and shows traces of a previous black lacquer. Both breasts seem to have been prostheses, cast separately and soldered into place; only the right one remains.¹ This gruesome detail reflects the morbid seventeenth-century interest in the lives and deaths of early Christian martyrs. More specifically, the half-length composition, naturalistic details, and upturned eyes of our statuette align with contemporary paintings of female saints that were especially popular in Naples and produced by artists like Andrea Vaccaro.²

The bronze, which features a delicate floral patterning on Agatha's dress, likely served a private, devotional purpose. A small hole at the back of the head suggests a missing halo. The probable date and place—Naples during the first half of the



seicento—allows one to speculate that the bronze is linked to the renovation of the Palazzo di Sant’Agata by the powerful cardinal Cesare Firrao, who commissioned sculptors Bernardino Landini and Giulio Mancaglia to execute a series of statues for the facade (1637–44). Their figure of Magnanimity bears a resemblance to our bronze in its elegant elongated neck and elaboration of the coiffure.³ JF

PROVENANCE: Charles Mannheim, Paris (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1910, vol. 2, p. 16, no. 163

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, April 27, 2011. The right breast is a similar alloy with the same pattern of impurities as the rest of the statuette, but with the addition of lead, which has resulted in its slightly lighter color. 2. See, for example, the painting of Saint Agatha attributed to Vaccaro in the Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri (Palazzo Como di Napoli). 3. For Cardinal Firrao, his palazzo, and his chapel in the church of San Paolo Maggiore, which features a marble statue of the Madonna by Mancaglia, see Iorio 2012, pp. 320, 328, and throughout.



10
Northern and
Central Italy,
18th Century



A. *Saint Francis Xavier with an
Angel Holding a Crucifix*

B. *Saint Ignatius Loyola with an
Angel Holding a Book*

Francesco Bertos (Dolo 1678–1741 Dolo)

Padua, ca. 1722

Bronze

Francis: 25 × 14 × 6¹/₁₆ in. (63.5 × 35.6 × 15.4 cm);

Ignatius: 24⁵/₈ × 13⁷/₈ × 4⁵/₈ in. (62.5 × 35.2 × 11.7 cm)

Purchase, Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ignazio Peluso, Ada Peluso,
and Romano I. Peluso Gift, 2010 (2010.114, .113)

According to an 1817 guidebook, Francesco Bertos was a “valiant disciple” of the Venetian marble sculptor Giovanni Bonazza.¹ Francesco was conceivably related to one Girolamo Bertos who was engaged in carving marble altarpieces in Ravenna with Pietro Toschini about 1700. In 1708 or 1709, a letter from Ravenna reached Giovanni Battista Foggini in Florence, recommending that he receive Francesco and impart to him lessons in the trade of sculptor.² Thus we have two plausible poles to account for Bertos’s beginnings: on one hand, the rather slapdash manner of Bonazza and other marble specialists among the many teams of carvers working for the churches and villas of the Veneto; on the other, a certain zest for modeling works intended to be cast in bronze—an art that had all but died out in Venice and Padua by the time Bertos came along but that received new impetus generated by the theatrical Baroque configurations of Foggini and his peers in Florence. Bertos would eventually direct an atelier as busy as theirs but one that showed a significantly less dependable range of quality.

Charles Avery’s 2008 catalogue raisonné runs to 215 objects coming from Bertos. Within that oeuvre, the present saints stand out for their size and the sheer conviction of their robust modeling and casting.³ They are his masterpieces, if the term can be said to apply in his case. Avery suspects a dating near 1722, the centennial year of the saints’ canonization,⁴ and it is indeed tempting to date them to Bertos’s early maturity, when his talent must have been strongest.

The two saints were cofounders of the Order of the Society of Jesus, generally known as the Jesuits. The statuettes interrelate best when Ignatius Loyola is placed to Francis Xavier’s left, so that the infant angels enclose them parenthetically. Their types, with jerky movements and retroussé noses, are present in the majority of Bertos’s bronzes and marbles and constitute indelible proof of his authorship. Otherwise, the slowly unwinding compositions, although they could never be called Mannerist, harken back to the long tradition of Venetian bronze statuary continued in the sixteenth century by masters such as Girolamo Campagna. The figures also compose most happily when placed at an angle to each other. We

can hardly guess at the configuration of their chapel or altar, probably small but no doubt installed in a Jesuit setting of considerable Baroque panache. The two saints had firm connections to Venice, having both been ordained there in 1537, before Francis Xavier set forth on his missions in the East. The glorious Baroque church ensembles of the Gesuati and the Gesuiti in Venice come readily enough to mind, but neither can be pinpointed as the site of the altar in question.

Francis Xavier was born Francisco de Jaso y Azpilicueta in the castle of Javier in Navarre in 1506. He banded together with the older Ignatius Loyola, Pierre Favre, and four other students in Paris as early as 1534 to form what would become the Society of Jesus. He and Ignatius shared quarters on and off until his departure eastward. Francis was a zealous missionary, indefatigable until his death on an island off China in 1552. His ascetic, indeed gaunt features were widely circulated through countless images.⁵ Bertos shows him in his short cloak, the *mantellina*, parted over a cross near his heart in allusion to his ecstatic unions with Christ. His putto brandishes a crucifix as if in playful imitation of the preacher. Its dead Christ, with shapes both stark and fluid, is an especially moving passage. Avery points out its similarity to those in three bronze groups by Bertos,⁶ relatively abstract and probably later.



Above and opposite: Cat. 168A





Ignatius Loyola, born Iñigo Oñaz López de Loyola in 1491 in the castle of Loyola in Basque Country, was, like Francis Xavier, a member of the nobility who renounced worldly pleasures to embrace the religious life. He penned his famous *Spiritual Exercises* in about 1521–22. A bull of Paul III approved the constitution of the Society of Jesus, and Ignatius was elected the order's first superior general in 1541. It was he who coined the order's motto, displayed on the open book reverently supported by the bronze putto: AD MAIOREM DEI GLORIAM (To the greater glory of God), to which is appended SOCIETATIS GIESV FVNDATO[R] (Founder of the Society of Jesus). Like Francis Xavier's, Ignatius's kindly, careworn, heart-shaped visage was familiar through a vast iconography.⁷ A brilliant administrator, he deployed members of the Jesuit community on missions throughout the world, the order numbering at least a thousand by the time of his death in Rome in 1556.

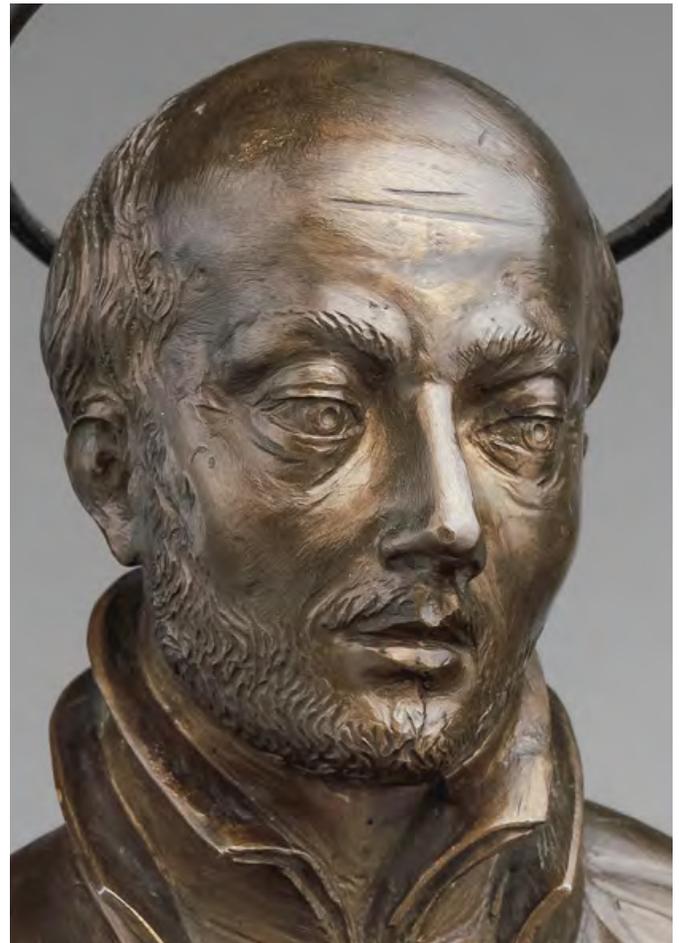
The early Jesuits deliberately eschewed official vestments. We can almost feel the rough wool in which these saints are clad, reinforced by the vivid sweeps of chasing throughout their folds, particularly vibrant on their backs. The ruddy metal was seemingly never patinated except by oils, making for an uncommonly attractive, warm sheen. The *Francis Xavier* had lost its halo by 1979; the present one is a copy based on that of its pendant. JDD

PROVENANCE: Dr. Adolf Hommel, Zurich (until 1909; sale, Lempertz, Cologne, August 10–18, 1909, lots 424, 425); [Heilbronner, Lucerne, 1957]; Donati collection, Lucerne; Ernest Brummer, New York (until 1979; sale, Galerie Köller, Zurich, October 16–19, 1979, lots 117, 118); [Andrew Ciechanowiecki, London]; (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1985, lot 118); [Bernard Black and Hugues Nadeau, Monte Carlo]; (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 19, 1998, lot 138); (sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 2000, lot 73); (sale, Christie's, London, July 9, 2009, lot 136); [Trinity Fine Art, London, 2010; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Penny 1992, vol. 1, p. 44; Viancini 1994, p. 151; C. Avery 2008, pp. 57–58, nos. 174, 175, p. 251; James David Draper in MMA 2010, p. 37; Wardropper 2011, pp. 156–58, nos. 52, 53; Wolk-Simon 2018, pp. 440–43, cats. 14, 15

NOTES

1. Moschini 1976, pp. 182, 253. See also Guerriero 2002. 2. C. Avery 2008, pp. 13, 21 n. 6. 3. The statuettes were cast indirectly with a plaster core. Radiography reveals evidence of extensive porosity and significant casting flaws throughout that were repaired with poured and pinned patches. A number of elements were cast onto the figures, including the putti, Ignatius Loyola's left forearm and book, and additional sections of the arms and drapery. The putto's cross and Saint Francis Xavier's staff were joined mechanically. The surfaces were freely worked with a variety of tools, including chisels. L. Borsch/TR, January 10, 2010. 4. C. Avery 2008, p. 57. 5. Torres 2009. 6. C. Avery 2008, pls. 45–49, 250, 251, nos. 171–73. 7. König-Nordhoff 1982; O'Malley and Bailey 2003, esp. pp. 206–7.



Above and opposite: Cat. 168B



— 169 —

A. *Saint Daniel of Padua Dragged by a Horse
before the Roman Governor of Padua*

B. *Saint Daniel of Padua Nailed between
Two Planks of Wood*

Cast by Michelangelo Venier

(probably Padua ca. 1706–1780 Padua),

after compositions by Tiziano Aspetti

(Padua 1557/59–1606 Pisa)

Padua, ca. 1740–50

Bronze

Daniel A: 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (49.8 × 74.3 × 11.4 cm);

Daniel B: 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (47.9 × 72.4 × 8.9 cm)

Incised: (A, on wall, between leftmost pilasters) TITIANI ASPECTI /
PATAVINI OPVS; (B, on wall left of center arch) TITIANI / ASPETTI

/ PATAVINI / OPVS; (B, on front edge of base ledge) M.A.V.F.

Edith Perry Chapman and Fletcher Funds, 1970 (1970.264.1, .2)

Olga Raggio attempted to demonstrate that these reliefs are Tiziano Aspetti's originals and that the pair originally embedded in the altar-tomb of Saint Daniel, Padua Cathedral, and now in the Museo Diocesano, are modern replacements. She could not, however, explain why or when the substitution had taken place, and her claim was rejected when the Padua reliefs were exhibited in London in 1983. Bruce Boucher assumed then that both pairs were made in the sixteenth century—the Padua set is datable to 1592–93. Charles Avery proposed Francesco Bertos as the author of *The Met* duo, citing the drilled eyes and arbitrary veining characteristic of his work (see [cat. 168](#)).¹ Moreover, our plaques almost certainly had been owned by one of Bertos's best patrons, Dondi dell'Orologio, being catalogued as situated under the staircase of his house in Padua.²

Andrea Bacchi has recently dashed the Bertos idea, proving that the founder signing himself *M.A.V.* was Michelangelo Venier, also called Michelangelo Chieregin.³ That little-known master's noses are noticeably less retroussé than Bertos's, and



the tenaciously neo-cinquecentesque costumes find ready equivalents in Venier's four Virtues, found by Bacchi in a private collection; the socle of *Faith* is signed "Michiel Agnolo Venier."²⁴

These grisly episodes from the martyrdom of Daniel, a young deacon and patron saint of Padua, are perfect instances of the Counter-Reformation's interest in excruciatingly literal reenactments of the tribulations of Early Christian martyrs. Why the subjects would continue to appeal to later collectors, especially those of the eighteenth century, apart from Aspetti's artistry in the originals, is a mystery. Perhaps simply because they were representations of a Paduan, by a Paduan, for a Paduan? Equally, they form part of the revival of earlier masters that was particular to academic art in the Veneto of the mid-eighteenth century.

The Met's reliefs, weighty at 51 and 47 pounds, are marginally larger than the Padua pair and so are surmoulages. Their edges are untrimmed, meaning that they cannot have

been made for insertion into a stone architectural setting such as that of Saint Daniel's tomb. Venier conceivably had access to Aspetti's preliminary models, but certain picturesque touches are his own: punchwork, stippling, and brick walls instead of Aspetti's solid masonry. He replaced the round holes at the corners of Aspetti's reliefs with square ones. JDD

PROVENANCE: probably commissioned by Giovanni Galeazzo Dondi dell'Orologio (1663–1750), Padua; Geheimrat Eduard Arnhold (1849–1925), Berlin; Dr. Hugo E. Kunheim, Munich; [Julius Böhler, Munich, until 1970; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Levi 1900, vol. 2, p. 220; Raggio 1975, pp. 164–69 (to Tiziano Aspetti); James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 242 (to Aspetti); Raggio 1981 (to Aspetti); Bruce Boucher in Martineau and Hope 1983, p. 359 (as Venetian, 16th century); Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Bacchi et al. 1999, cats. 426–29 (as after Aspetti); Kryza-Gersch 2001, p. 153 n. 8 (as after Aspetti); C. Avery 2008, pp. 21, 247–49, nos. 165, 166 (to Francesco Bertos); Bacchi 2017 (to Michelangelo Venier)



NOTES

1. Compare the arms of the kneeling executioner at the center of our plaque B with figs. 72 and 73 in C. Avery 2008. 2. Levi 1900, vol. 2, p. 220: in an inventory of January 2, 1750, among “cose di Galeazzo Dondi Orologio in Padova,” were “2 Bronzes, Martyrdom of S. Daniele bas-relief.” See C. Avery 2008, pp. 247–48, for papers among which is an appraisal of the same date, occasioned by a struggle among legitimate family members over the inheritance of the apparently illegitimate Giovanni Antonio Galeazzo, that locates the reliefs, valued together at 200 lire, “below the stairs.” This palace was in via Battisti. 3. Bacchi 2017, p. 219. 4. *Ibid.*, figs. 5–13.

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Doorknocker with Two Imps
Goading a Dragon
Workshop of Francesco Bertos
(Dolo 1678–1741 Dolo)

Padua, ca. 1730–40

Bronze, iron (hammer and bolt)

Height 16 in. (40.6 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.20)

When Charles Avery published a more-or-less mirror-image doorknocker in 2008, he presciently speculated that it must have had a companion, which is, in fact, ours.¹ Curiously, both had belonged to the dealer Blumka, who perhaps acquired them separately.² They have iron hammer knobs in back, but the casts are so flimsy that it is doubtful they ever knew heavy duty, and certainly never outdoors. They were more likely mounted in an interior of complementary decor that mixed Neo-Renaissance arabesques with chinoiserie and Rococo. The asymmetric design—two winged imps of unmatched size jabbing a writhing dragon—is sinuous, but the doughy modeling and the execution are not at the high end of the output of Bertos and his atelier. The same hand was responsible for music-making putti on two vessels that Avery calls rosewater bowls.³ JDD

PROVENANCE: [Blumka Gallery, New York, by 1962]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. C. Avery 2008, p. 265, no. 203. 2. Sold with the Blumka collection at Sotheby's, New York, January 9–10, 1996, lot 247. 3. C. Avery 2008, p. 261, nos. 194, 195.

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Inkwell with Three Putti
Francesco Bertos (Dolo 1678–1741 Dolo)

Padua, probably 1738

Bronze

15 × 9¼ × 6⅞ in. (38.1 × 23.5 × 16.8 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.110)

Three nude putti surmount a trilobed shell-basin supported on three legs shaped like bird's claws. The central figure rises above a crowned escutcheon whose coat of arms and lower point are missing. The escutcheon is backed by a military trophy of club, arrow, and ax, and it ends on a broken extension and two squared hooks. The child it supports blasts a beribboned trumpet from which a broken flame emerges. Carrying a laurel wreath and sporting a ribbon-sash, he embodies Fame. The child perched precariously on the left, also sashed, points to an open book with the legend incised in degraded Latin: *Virtus/in/puetio/non est*. If *puetio* is a contraction of *pueritia*, the sense should be a play on the infantine imagery to the effect that “childish things do not produce virtue” or “virtue does not reside in puerility,” although Charles Avery translates it as “Virtue lies not in price.”¹ The boy to the right sits more securely on the rim and brandishes a circlet framing a serpent biting its own tail, an old symbol of Eternity. A strong breeze is implied in the whipped-up peaks of the boys' stringy hair. Despite losses, the piece retains much of its dark patina.

Headquartered in Padua, Francesco Bertos supplied a large clientele there and in Venice, as well as patricians in nearby villas along the Brenta. One of the most generous and enthusiastic was Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg, a German field marshal retired from the service of the Serenissima and an important collector of Venetian art, notably paintings by Giovanni Battista Piazzetta.² Avery presents an attractive theory that our vessel was made for Schulenburg.³ Besides large groups, beginning in 1732 the marshal bought a few small bronzes from Bertos, described as “an inkwell,” “a paperweight,” and “the little group of bronze of three *puttini*.” Bertos received a small payment of five zecchini and eleven lire for the inkwell and paperweight on August 25, 1738.⁴ The inkwell, “a little group of bronze,” and “three little groups of bronze” were valued together at 230 thalers in a Schulenburg inventory of June 30, 1741.⁵

The “little group of bronze of three *puttini*” could have been any of these. Avery notes that our three boys are easily



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interpreted as emblems of military glory, and that the “rather stiff-looking” three-taloned bird’s feet that support the bowl are very similar to those of the shield at the center of Schulenburg’s armorial bearings, concluding that the missing arms were very likely those of the marshal.⁶ The object probably functioned as a fancy inkwell. The small square projections behind the shield may have served as hooks upon which to rest a pen. Avery’s alternative, that the vessel is a sweetmeat dish whose hooks could have suspended spoons, makes less sense in view of the object’s military overtones and Schulenburg’s dignity. JDD

PROVENANCE: probably Field Marshal Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg (1661–1746), Venice; his heirs, Berlin; Jack and Belle Linsky, New York (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Draper 1986; Banzato 2002, p. 90; C. Avery 2008, pp. 19, 90, 256–57, no. 185

NOTES

1. C. Avery 2008, p. 257. 2. See Binion 1990. 3. C. Avery 2008, pp. 19, 257. 4. Binion 1990, p. 162, also p. 190 for an inventory of May 30, 1738, in which the “three other smaller groups are listed but not yet the inkwell and paperweight because they had not yet been contracted for.” See also *ibid.*, p. 271, seventh shipment of works to Berlin, listing “little groups of bronze of three *puttini*.” 5. C. Avery 2008, p. 23 n. 34, cites Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dep. 82, III, no. 37, for the three groups valued together at 150 zecchini. Schulenburg also had an “Ecritoire de bronze” by Bertos; *ibid.*, p. 23 n. 36. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 19, fig. 8A, illustrates the Schulenburg arms. Crowned shields occur on similar vessels with babies in *ibid.*, pp. 260–61, nos. 191 and 192, called salts.

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Inkstand

After a model by Andrea Cinelli
(active 1737–64)

Italy, late 18th century

Bronze

7½ × 11¾ × 10¼ in. (18.1 × 28.9 × 26 cm)

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.45a–f)

By the mid-nineteenth century, this bronze inkstand had garnered a certain renown in England, where it was considered a superlative example of sixteenth-century decorative art and mentioned in the same breath as the famous inkwell from which Petrarch composed verses to his beloved Laura.¹ It was presented in the display of works of ancient and medieval art held at the House of the Society of Arts in London in 1850 and subsequently illustrated in summaries of the show in *The Illustrated London News* and *The Art-Journal* (fig. 172a). It was then included in the important *Art Treasures of Great Britain* exhibition, held in Manchester in 1857, and reproduced in its catalogue.

During this period, the inkstand was owned by the celebrated British industrial engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel. His brother-in-law recalled Brunel’s avid collecting of objects for his Duke Street residence: “well do I remember our visits in search of rare furniture, china, bronzes, &c., with which he filled it, till it became one of the most remarkable and attractive houses in London.”² The inkstand may have been acquired during Brunel’s trip to Italy in 1842. It was described in the 1860 sale catalogue of his collection as “a fine cinque-cento bronze inkstand, of triangular form, chased with arabesques and dolphins, and surmounted by a figure.” As an engineer, Brunel himself designed inkstands, so his interest in Renaissance utilitarian objects and bronze casting is not surprising.³

But is the inkstand truly a sixteenth-century production? When the work entered The Met in 1941, it was considered a product of Riccio’s workshop. It has since gone unpublished, in contrast to its mid-nineteenth-century ubiquity. The bronze is composed of multiple elements. A triangular base rests on masked satyr’s heads, each side featuring a relief of a siren figure and foliate ornament. The base contains three triangular compartments, each with a separate lid. Inserted between the compartments is the inkwell: a basin standing on three clawed feet and decorated with eagles. While much of the visual vocabulary indeed derives from the Paduan workshop of Riccio and his successors, certain elements—the finials, eagle’s heads, and masked feet of the base—seem indebted to a later sensibility.⁴ The smooth, thick interior walls also point to a post-Renaissance manufacture.

Based on new research, the bronze can now be attributed and dated with more precision. It is neither the creation of a cinquecento atelier nor a nineteenth-century pastiche, but is instead modeled after a silver inkstand designed by the little-known silversmith Andrea Cinelli, active in the Vatican and Perugia in the mid-eighteenth century. Two silver inkstands of the same design have recently surfaced on the art market, in 2011 and 2018, and the markings of the first of these were identified as that of the Chamber of Commerce of Perugia (in use 1737–47) and Cinelli’s own maker’s mark (fig. 172b).⁵ Either of these inkstands may be identical with one auctioned in 1985 at Sotheby’s Geneva and described as “probably Italian, mid-19th Century, in late 16th century Paduan style.”⁶

In photographs, all three silver versions that have come to auction retain the original cover element: a column surrounded by three seated putti holding up a garland. Since at least the mid-nineteenth century, as seen in illustrations, our inkstand’s lid has featured a single seated putto and is obviously of different manufacture.⁷ This element was likely added at the time to appeal to collectors such as Brunel looking for Renaissance objects. The translation of a model meant for silver into bronze—perhaps done by taking a mold of the silver—accounts for the liquidity of some of the bronze’s modeling



The INKSTAND is a favourable example of the fancy exerted in the designs for these appendages to the secretary, at a time when writing was really a distinction in one who possessed that accomplishment. Inkstands were then strictly

articles of luxury, and were generally large and showy pieces of library furniture. The present specimen is of bronze, and the enrichments consist of arabesques, eagles, &c., surmounted by a figure of Cupid. The triangular base is made

with a triple division, forming a pedestal to an inkstand, bearing some resemblance to that used by Patrarach, and which is a well-known production. The present specimen belongs to L. K. Brunel, Esq., and is a work of the sixteenth century.



Fig. 172a. Engraving of The Met inkstand then in the collection of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, published in *The Art-Journal* (1852), p. 219

and the smoothness of much of its surface, internal and external. The eighteenth-century dating accounts for the eclectic design: one eye looking back to Padua and the ornament and grotesquerie omnipresent in Riccio's work, the other eye fixed on the future, anticipating the nineteenth-century taste for the Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Gothic. JF

PROVENANCE: Isambard Kingdom Brunel (by 1852); (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, April 20–21, 1860, lot 156); George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)



Fig. 172b. Andrea Cinelli, Inkstand, ca. 1737–47. Silver; 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (27.7 × 27.5 cm). Casa delle Aste–Meeting Art S.p.A.

LITERATURE: *Illustrated London News* 1850; London 1850, p. 8, cat. 157; *Art-Journal* 1852, p. 219; Manchester 1857, p. 218; Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. XLIX

NOTES

1. Manchester 1857, p. 218. 2. Brunel 1870, p. 507. 3. The Brunel archives at the University of Bristol include, for example, an 1836 sketchbook page of designs for an inkstand; one biographer recalls leafing through Brunel's sketchbooks and finding "seven detailed drawings for an inkstand." Morris 2015, n.p. 4. I am grateful to Jeremy Warren for his insights regarding the visual characteristics of the inkstand and its possible nineteenth-century origin. 5. Meeting Art, Vercelli, *Asta 731*, November 1–13, 2011, lot 697; Catawiki auction (online), 2018, lot 15550299. For the marks, see Donaver and Dabbene 2000, pp. 263, 266, refs. 2201 and 2227. 6. Sotheby's, Geneva, November 12–14, 1985, lot 64. 7. More recently, the inkstand has been shown without this element.

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Pair of Five-light Candelabra Luigi Valadier (Rome 1726–1785 Rome) and workshop

Rome, 1774

Bronze, fire-gilt; porphyry

Each 27 × 15 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (68.6 × 40.5 cm)

Wrightsman Fund, 1994 (1994.14.1, .2)

In 1774, Marcantonio Borghese, busily updating the family palace in Rome's Campo Marzio in the most advanced Neo-classical style, turned to the architect Antonio Asprucci and the founder Luigi Valadier. For these strikingly handsome





candelabra Valadier was paid the then princely sum of 450 scudi. Valadier, son of Andrea Valadier, a French founder who relocated to Rome, inherited the family business and subsequently became the most sought-after creator of gilt-bronze-encased luxury objects in Europe. A perfectionist, his worries over the casting of the bell for Saint Peter's and his debts spurred his suicide by drowning in the Tiber the day before the bell (successfully) came out of the mold.¹

In the Palazzo Borghese, the candelabra surmounted two tables of porphyry and gilt-bronze in the space known as the Galleriola dei Cesari, so called because it contained busts of Roman emperors of the same blood-red porphyry. The tables remain in the Villa Borghese, Rome.² Valadier's bill specifies that the three female figures—chosen, no doubt, because each lends an upraised arm to “support” the candelabra—derive from the *Callipygian Venus* (now Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples), the *Mattei Amazon* (now Musei Capitolini), and the *Artemis of Gabii* (then a Borghese possession, now in the Louvre).³ The bases' garlands and bucrania, on the other hand, imitate the decoration of ancient Roman altars. The overall condition is superb apart from the minor loss of some of the mounts and possible regilding. Copies, modified to three-light fixtures, are in the Pavlovsk Palace, Saint Petersburg, probably commissioned by the future Czar Paul I on his visit to Rome in 1781–82. JDD

PROVENANCE: Prince Marcantonio Borghese, Rome (from 1774); by descent in the Borghese family; Puiforcat family, Paris; [J. Kugel, Paris, until 1994; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: James David Draper in MMA 1994, p. 38; González-Palacios 1995; González-Palacios 1997, pp. 129–31, cat. 27; Roberto Valeriani in Colle et al. 2001, p. 216, no. 60; Wolfram Koeppel in Koeppel and Giusti 2008, p. 310, cat. 121; González-Palacios 2018, pp. 421–23, fig. 9.26

NOTES

1. For more on Valadier's life and career, see González-Palacios 2018. 2. González-Palacios 1995, p. 99, who also surmises that the stone carver Lorenzo Cardelli was responsible for turning the porphyry, a highly specialized job (p. 101). 3. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

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Crouching Venus

Probably Rome, late 17th or early 18th century, after the antique
Bronze

5¾ × 2⅞ × 3⅝ in. (14.6 × 7.3 × 9.2 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931
(32.100.184)

The source is an ancient composition often identified as the “Aphrodite of Doidalses,” the best-known marble—and the one our *bronzista* consulted—being that in the Uffizi.¹ It was restored by 1704, when an engraving records the seashell that supports the goddess' left buttock, present in our work too.² The conceit was that she appeared on land immediately after her birth, borne there by the shell. Our man gives her two armlets for extra allure. Reductions apparently were sold in eighteenth-century Rome by Neoclassical founders Giacomo Zoffoli and Francesco Righetti, but this one still has more than a whiff of the Baroque about it.³ JDD

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan, London (by 1910–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. xxxiii, vol. 2, pp. 13–14, no. 153 (as “a follower of Gian Bologna” and “either a Venus or a Susanna”)

NOTES

1. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 321–23. 2. Maffei 1704, pl. 28. 3. Haskell and Penny 1981, p. 323.

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Crouching Venus

Rome, second half of the 18th century
Bronze

7⅞ × 6 × 3¼ in. (20 × 15.2 × 9.5 cm)

Bequest of Mary Cushing Fosburgh, 1978 (1979.135.21)

This bronze is an adaptation of the famous Hellenistic model known as the *Crouching Venus*. The goddess balances on her feet, right knee hovering just above the ground. Though her hairstyle mirrors that of the ancient prototype, the positioning of the arms—right extended upward, left stretched out and down—diverges from the model. The small statuette entered The Met in 1979 as part of the bequest of Mary Cushing Fosburgh, along with three other Italian bronzes (see [cats. 142, A17, A53](#)). The acquisition papers include an attribution to “Sussini,” presumably linking the bronze to the celebrated model by Susini's master Giambologna (see [cat. 120](#)). Olga Raggio considered it French in origin, but by 1995 James David Draper had placed it in Italy, second half of the eighteenth century.¹ Richard Stone notes signs typical of Italian Renaissance facture, such as wax-to-wax joins at the arms and carefully



Cat. 174

Northern and Central Italy, 18th Century



Cat. 175

fitted screw plugs.² He also points out that the statuette's current black patination cannot be original, and that it was painted over a chemically induced green patina of a type commonly applied to bronzes to "archaeologize" them. These observations are consistent with a bronze made as an ersatz antiquity for Grand Tour visitors to Italy in the eighteenth century. The change in the positioning of Venus's arms suggests the piece might have served as a candleholder, for instance, or as part of a larger decorative ensemble. JF

PROVENANCE: Mary Cushing Fosburgh (until 1978; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. ESDA/OF. 2. R. Stone/TR, November 5, 2010. The figure is thinly and evenly cast in brass containing very little tin or lead, a trace of nickel, and minute traces of other impurities, indicating that the copper was fire-refined.

Venus

Florence, 18th century

Bronze, on a later wood base

12 × 3½ × 3 in. (30.5 × 8.9 × 7.6 cm) (without base)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1927 (27.36.8)

This statuette is a reduced version of the famous *Venus de' Medici*, the ancient marble unearthed in Rome in the 1630s and transferred to Florence in 1677 for installation in the Tribuna of the Uffizi along with other notable sculptures and paintings.¹ The composition circulated in bronze reductions during the eighteenth century, its popularity owing much to replications by Massimiliano Soldani, and it is not surprising that our figure has at times been linked to him. In addition to original compositions (see [cat. 145](#)), Soldani was known for bronze versions of notable sculptures, both antique and “old master,” of which now at least twenty different models have been documented.² He produced at least three large-scale bronze *Venus de' Medici*s, and several statuettes of the subject have been associated with him.³ Soldani achieved a soft, fleshy corporeality in bronze absent from his marble output, and his bronze versions after the antique are animated by deft personal touches. Lacking such flourishes, our *Venus* must be considered a derivative cast. The omission of the small cupid playing atop the dolphin at Venus's left, present on all the known Soldani *Venus de' Medici* casts, also signals a more generic manufacture. The inexpert modeling, graceless pose, and disproportionate limbs point to a run-of-the-mill production for Grand Tourists, one that nonetheless reflects the vogue for reductions of antique statuary and their reinterpretations by the great eighteenth-century sculptors. JF

PROVENANCE: Ogden Mills (acquired in London, 1925–until 1927; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. See Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 56–60, for the sculpture's popularity in seventeenth-century Florence. 2. These include ancient sculptures but also works by Giambologna, Jacopo Sansovino, Cellini, and Michelangelo. See C. Avery 1976; Warren 2010, p. 225 n. 7. 3. Princely Collections of Liechtenstein, SK537, commissioned in 1695 by Prince Johann Adam Andreas I von Liechtenstein (see Kugel 2008, p. 104, no. 25); Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, commissioned by the duke of Marlborough (see Ciechanowiecki 1973); Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, F73-3. For *Venus de' Medici* statuettes attributed to Soldani, see C. Avery 1976, p. 166, fig. 1, and Christie's, London, July 5, 2006, lot 245.



Venus

Probably Rome, early 19th century

Bronze

Height 19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (48.6 cm)

Gift of April Axton, 1961 (61.95)



The pose derives from the ancient marble known as the *Venus de' Medici* (see [cat. 176](#)). Replicas of this famous statue were popular among Grand Tour collectors, and this bronze was likely cast for such a market in early nineteenth-century Rome, though the size, larger than the typical souvenir, raises questions about its intended function. The bronze was cast in sections, and a repair is visible on the left forearm. The overall execution is middling, with little to distinguish a specific hand or workshop, though at the time of acquisition the individualized character of the face suggested a connection to the “type of Zoffoli or Righetti.”¹ If anything, there is an abstract, smooth quality to the musculature that anticipates the twentieth century.

The statuette was promised to the museum by the socialite and philanthropist April Axton in 1961, though it did not officially enter the collection until 2001. Axton sat for a portrait by the painter Massimo Capigli in Rome in 1953. Perhaps she acquired the *Venus* during that trip. JF

PROVENANCE: April Axton (until 1961; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTE

1. See the report of a gift, ESDA/OF, February 22, 2001.



Cat. 178

— 178 —

Roebuck Attacked by a Hound
After Francesco Antonio Franzoni
(Carrara 1734–1818 Rome), after the antique

Rome, after 1784

Bronze

Height 5 in. (12.7 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 ([68.141.26](#))

In 1784, the sculptor-restorer Francesco Antonio Franzoni incorporated ancient fragments into the marble group of this composition, which he assembled for Pope Pius VI. It is among the peculiar delights of the Vatican Museums' Sala degli Animali, where it is paired with Franzoni's similarly reconstructed *Stag Attacked by a Hound*.¹ Bronze reductions ensued in large numbers. Alvar González-Palacios assigned a cast of the *Stag* group to the prolific founder Francesco Righetti, but neither it nor the *Roebuck* model occurs in the price lists of Righetti or of

his contemporary Giovanni Zoffoli.² The *Stag* group is glossier in appearance than the present one, whose master interested himself in providing the beasts with furry hides in place of the Vatican marble's matte surfaces.³ The surface is patinated a rich, dark brown. The roebuck's right hind leg was broken just below the joint and repaired with solder. JDD

PROVENANCE: Adolf von Beckerath, Berlin (d. 1915); Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin (d. 1920); Mrs. C. von Pannwitz, Hartekamp, the Netherlands; [Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York, 1964; sold to Untermyer]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (1964–68; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. González-Palacios 2013, nos. 169, 171. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 35, fig. 16. The cast was then in the collection of Jacques Petit-Horry, Paris. For the price lists, see Haskell and Penny 1981, appendix. 3. Yet another foundry produced variations on the pelts in a pair sold at Sotheby's, London, April 12, 1990, lot 126.

— 179 —

“Borghese Vase”

Giovanni Zoffoli (ca. 1745–1805)

Rome, ca. 1795

Bronze

11¼ × 9⅞ × 9⅝ in. (29.8 × 24.4 × 24.4 cm)

Inscribed (on square foot): G·Z·F·

Purchase, The Isak and Rose Weinman Foundation Gift, 2011
(2011.346)

Giovanni Zoffoli was the brother or nephew of Giacomo Zoffoli, a Roman silversmith and bronze founder who built a successful practice, continued by Giovanni, of producing reductions after antique sculptures for those making the Grand Tour. It is difficult to separate the two, their work being quite consistent.¹ About 1785, Giovanni printed a list of available models, which on February 15 of that year the architect Charles Heathcote Tatham annotated and sent from Rome to fellow architect Henry Holland. Number 15 on the list, the “Vaso a Pila,” or basinlike vase, offered for 15 zecchini, is the same model as ours.² The model was in fact the smaller of two antique vases in the collection of the Borghese family, then in Rome but now in the Louvre, having been bought by Napoleon from his brother-in-law Camillo Borghese in 1807.³

The Borghese “Vaso a Pila” originally had low handles, of which Zoffoli was unaware and which would have counterbalanced the extraordinarily flared neck. The bronze does, however, replicate the four satyr's masks and the thyrsi ending in pinecones and hung with goatskins. The lower body was cast separately and joined by means of an iron bolt and nut with solder. The underside is filled with wood. Another cast appeared at auction in 2003, having undergone changes: it is initialed on a

different side, the heads of the animal skins are a bit more caprine than our slightly bovine ones, and the metal is redder.⁴ Two casts of another Zoffoli model, “Vaso a Urna,” larger and thus more expensive (20 zecchini each), are in the Ashmolean.⁵ JDD

PROVENANCE: [David & Constance Yates, New York, until 2011; sold to MMA]

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. First studied by Honour 1961. 2. The list was published in *ibid.*, p. 205, and in Haskell and Penny 1981, p. 342. 3. See Jean-Luc Martinez in Giroire and Roger 2007, p. 160, cat. 89. 4. Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2003, lot 161. 5. Penny 1992, vol. 1, pp. 162–63, nos. 110, 111.

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Panther

Giovanni Zoffoli (ca. 1745–1805)

Rome, ca. 1795

Bronze

7⅝ × 3½ × 11¹⁵/₁₆ in. (19.4 × 8.9 × 30.3 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 (68.141.28)

Conventional wisdom and the supposition that naturalism started in Padua led this model to be assigned to northern Italy in the early sixteenth century, an assessment supported by a pride of related felines, variously datable from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, with classical and Mannerist origins.¹ The 1624 inventory of the Delft silversmith Thomas Cruse listed a “form van den Tiger van Tettero,” i.e., a mold of the tiger by Willem van Tetrode, the Italian-trained Dutch Mannerist.² This work, with its streamlined, diagonal composition and relatively short neck, corresponds to a type represented by examples in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, and the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.³ The French sculptor François Girardon owned a statuette of the same lithe model, engraved before 1709 and called a leopard.⁴ It prefigures but does not form a true match to our *Panther*, which is more aggressive, more emphatically muscled, and has almost the appearance of a flayed beast, so evident is its underlying anatomy.

Felines of this second, more common type were first associated with Giovanni Zoffoli.⁵ A “notomia di tigre” (anatomy of a tiger) occurs in Zoffoli's product list of about 1795, offered for sale at 10 zecchini.⁶ The title reflects the écorché-like effect of our model. If really meant for a tiger—or a leopard, for that matter—the skin's markings would have vanished in creating this flayed effect. The name “panther” is perhaps best because it covers most of the largest cats and because panthers so often appear in the Bacchic subjects familiar to Neoclassical generations. In any case, Zoffoli's connection with the production is





certified by the existence of one example signed on the base.⁷ Ours is distinguished by the tail elegantly looped along the proper left flank, the vivid modeling of the head and teeth, and a patina not dissimilar to that of [cat. 179](#).⁸ JDD

PROVENANCE: (sale, Christie's, London, November 20, 1967, lot 156); [Frank Partridge & Sons, Ltd., London; sold to Untermyer]; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Wixom 1975, cat. 163; James David Draper in Untermyer 1977, p. 171, no. 319

NOTES

1. For the northern Italian attribution, see Bode 1908–12, vol. 3, pl. CCXLVIII (but see Bode and Draper 1980, p. 109, “probably by Giovanni Zoffoli”); Planiscig 1930, p. 87, no. 146. For the group of felines,

see Berger and Krahn 1994, p. 160, no. 121. Ancient bronzes could have prompted both the extended front paw and the svelte stretch. See Ridder 1913, p. 58, nos. 913, 914. **2.** See Scholten 2003, pp. 35, 126, and references cited therein. **3.** *Ibid.*, p. 126, cat. 33; Berger and Krahn 1994, pp. 160–63, no. 121. **4.** Souchal 1973, p. 9, no. 441, pl. III, recorded from both sides, and pp. 44–45. The shorter neck and lowered tail make it clear that Girardon's bronze was of this earlier type, not the one Souchal illustrates (fig. 43), a Louvre example of our type. **5.** Weihrach 1967, p. 435, fig. 516, discusses an example then on the market, very likely also by Zoffoli. **6.** Haskell and Penny 1981, p. 342. **7.** Christie's, London, December 11, 1978, lot 105a. **8.** Richard Stone describes the muzzle and teeth as “curious” and notes that the cast is exceedingly thin and even, suggesting it may date to the nineteenth century. The metal is a quaternary alloy of copper, zinc, lead, and tin, with trace impurities. R. Stone/TR, 2014.

11

Northern European
Bronzes (formerly
considered Italian)





— 181 —

Prisoner

Possibly northern Europe (formerly considered Roman),
late 16th–early 17th century
Bronze, later fire gilding
Height 5 in. (12.7 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.103](#))

This elongated and refined statuette represents a bearded prisoner. He gazes imploringly to the heavens, arms hugging chest, trudging wearily forward, ankles bound in separately cast chains. The shining surface is the product of a later gilding. Emphasizing the figure's elegant contrapposto, James David Draper assigned it to an artist working in the stylistic wake of Guglielmo della Porta, premier master of bronze sculpture in sixteenth-century Rome. Draper identified the subject as Saint John the Baptist in chains, but Nicolas Penny recognized the

bronze as one of a series of male and female prisoners in the Ashmolean and the V&A. The Ashmolean has two bronzes—a haggard male and female in distress, the male identical to ours—that come from the Fortnum collection, where they were catalogued as “16th/17th century, probably Florentine.”¹ The V&A has four silver statuettes: two males—one identical to our prisoner, the other a barely clad youth (figs. 181a–b)—and two desperate, partially naked females.² The four probably constitute the complete set, and they are evidently meant to be paired: two younger prisoners and two older ones.

Based on the appearances of the younger figures, Penny has ascribed the series to an unidentified Northern goldsmith. The V&A assigns the silvers to Southern Germany circa 1600. Considered on its own, our bronze might be Italian, and in particular Roman, as Draper suggested, but not when placed in the context of the group. The younger, overly expressive figures are clearly products of the other side of the Alps, and it is

Corpus from a Crucifix
Probably German artist active in Italy,
late 17th or early 18th century

Bronze, gilt

34 × 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 in. (86.4 × 58.7 × 20.3 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1949 (49.68.2)



Figs. 181a–b. *Male Prisoners*. Germany, ca. 1600. Silver; H. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$, 7 in. (17.5, 17.9 cm). Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Salting Bequest (A.158-1910, A.160.1910)

improbable that the sole Met prisoner was cast after an Italian model. We can say with fair certainty that the figures were produced at the turn of the seicento, perhaps to be mounted on a precious cabinet, but the entire group and its function deserve further investigation. FL

PROVENANCE: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 152, no. 67; Penny 1992, vol. 2, p. 179

NOTES

1. Ashmolean, WA1888.CDEF.B435-436; see Penny 1992, vol. 2, p. 179.
2. V&A, A.159-1910, A.161-1910; see *ibid.*

This finely modeled gilt-bronze figure of the dead Savior (*Cristo morto*) exudes pathos. The face is slack in death, with unseeing eyes and open mouth. The conspicuous ribcage and sinewy arms convey Christ's torment. The billowing loincloth, as if whipped by a sudden wind, is a poignant reminder of the barren setting of his lonely ordeal.

The figure was cast in a relatively pure tin bronze in four sections: each arm, the torso with the head, and the legs integrally with the perizonium. The four pieces were fastened with typically inserted sleeve joints fixed by cross-pins.¹ The same high level of technical finesse is evident in the thin, even walls, at the virtual minimum for traditional bronzework (e.g., no more than 1.3 mm thick at the wound on the back of the proper left hand). Thus, despite its height, the corpus is strikingly light in weight. There are no cast-in repairs, although there is considerable fine porosity, which necessitated a great many screw plugs. Details such as the long curly hair and unruly tufts of beard were skillfully rendered. The gilding was applied using sheets of gold leaf after the bronze surface was “quickened,” or amalgamated, with mercury. The back was perfectly finished. The corpus had been mounted on a massive ebonized cross (inscribed “I.N.R.I.”) and affixed with four nails.

There is no literature on our bronze beyond the auction catalogues of the 1940s, which place it as Italian, early seventeenth century, a chronology John Goldsmith Phillips moved to the second half of the seicento.² Stylistically, nothing about the work definitively or exclusively says “Italian,”³ and Richard Stone notes that the technical facture cannot be specifically identified with Italian foundry practices.⁴ On the one hand, in pose our Dead Christ is reminiscent of Alessandro Algardi's bronze corpus in the Franzoni Chapel, San Vittore e Carlo, Genoa, which also has four nails.⁵ Apart from Algardi, this detail was uncommon in early modern Italy, where the Jesuits' three-nail-rule prevailed.⁶ On the other hand, certain features of the head (the beautiful corkscrew curls, for instance), the inclination of the arms, and the crisply modeled loincloth, together with the four nails, suggest a provenance north of the Alps, perhaps Southern Germany.

A promising direction to explore is that of a German artist in Italy. The silversmith and caster Johann Adolf Gaap is one such case.⁷ Born and trained in Augsburg, Gaap worked in Rome and died in Padua in 1724. The distinctive features of





Fig. 182a. Detail of cat. 182



Fig. 182b. Johann Adolf Gaap (1667–1724), *Charity* (detail), 1698–1700. Throne of Saint Feliciano, Foligno Cathedral

our corpus—the slack mouth, heavy eyes, and T-configuration of the nose, nasal root, and eyebrows—are seen in the faces of Gaap’s *Charity*, a silver relief for the Throne of Saint Feliciano in Foligno Cathedral (figs. 182a–b).⁸ The throne design was provided by the Jesuit painter and architect Andrea Pozzo, but the figures’ features reflect Gaap’s personal practice. This hypothesis requires more investigation, but it is a first step toward rediscovering a corpus that, given its high quality and stylistic peculiarities, merits a deeper look. FL

PROVENANCE: Stanley Mortimer, New York (until 1943; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, January 23, 1943, lot 37); Joseph Brummer, New York (until 1949; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, June 8–9, 1949, lot 372; sold to French & Company for MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. These are also sometimes referred to as Roman joins or joints. Radiographs show that the hollow arms were cast with a slightly narrower tubular section that was inserted into an opening at the shoulders and pinned. The perizonium was cast with a narrower upper section that was inserted into the lower torso. This join was reinforced with an internal rectangular gusset plate. R. Stone/TR, May 4, 2011. 2. February 1950, ESDA/OF. 3. This was confirmed in an email from Jennifer Montagu, August 17, 2019. 4. R. Stone/TR, May 4, 2011. 5. See Bruno and Sanguineti 2013. 6. On the dispute about the number of nails, see Mâle 1932, pp. 270–73. On the case of Algardi in particular, see Montagu 1999a, p. 166 n. 33. For a recent discussion of the four nails in the context of Algardi’s workshop, see Denise Allen in Wengraf 2014, p. 240 n. 21. 7. On Gaap, see Berliner 1952–53; Kerber 1965; Lipinsky 1981; Montagu 1996, pp. 136–41; “Gaap, Johann Adolf,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998), vol. 50. 8. Montagu 1996, pp. 137–38.



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Corpus from a Crucifix

Italy or possibly France, 18th century

Bronze, fire-gilt; silver

13 × 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (33 × 31.4 × 6.4 cm)

Gift of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1944 (44.142.2)

This exquisite corpus is fitted with a separate silver loincloth that attaches neatly to the body. The exceptionally fine cast is well finished on both sides and in very good condition (only a fracture on the left leg to be noted). The figure is very light (the walls are less than a millimeter thick), there are no traces of chasing, and it was probably cast in one piece. The artist

lavished attention on the beautiful head and its individualized locks of hair. The precise execution suggests that the bronze was cast after a prototype. Usually identified as early seventeenth-century Italian, the corpus has also been considered a German product of about 1600.¹ However, it looks much more like an eighteenth-century cast, and may not even be Italian but French. The impeccable cast, sophisticated treatment of the hair, shape of the forehead, and straight nose strongly suggest the later chronology, reinforced by the elegant font of the initials “L.G.” incised on the sole of the left foot.² Though the initials are logically assumed to be those of the sculptor or founder, it has not yet been possible to link them to a specific name. FL

PROVENANCE: [Adolf Melli Gallery, Florence, June 26, 1903; sold to Bliss for 1,000 lire]; Susan Dwight Bliss (1903–44; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. See Olga Raggio, 1966, ESDA/OF, who compares it to Hans Reichle's work, in particular a bronze *Crucifixion* at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. The latter was attributed to Reichle in Balogh 1964 but recently ascribed to Guglielmo della Porta; see Szócs 2013. 2. Michael Riddick has published our corpus on his website with an unlikely attribution to Bastiano Torrigiani, <https://renbronze.com/2020/03/16/a-possible-corpus-saint-and-siren-by-sebastiano-torrigiani/>.

— 184 —

The Suicide of Dido, Queen of Carthage

Possibly Flanders, late 17th century

Bronze, on a later base

9 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (23 × 12.1 × 9.5 cm) (without base)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1466)

This bronze statuette depicts the suicide of Dido, queen of Carthage. According to Virgil's *Aeneid*, when Dido failed to persuade her lover, the Trojan hero Aeneas, to remain with her, she plunged his sword into her breast as he sailed away. Here, a bit of drapery flutters around Dido's nude body. The sword is missing. The subject was first interpreted as the Roman matron Lucretia, heroine of another classical tale of self-destruction.¹ James David Draper, who pointed out that the figure wears a crown, provided the correct reading.² At least two other versions are known: one in London and a silvered cast in Munich.³

The *Dido* has been variously attributed to a follower of Bernini in Rome, possibly of Flemish origin, circa 1650;⁴ a Netherlandish artist under the influence of Bernini;⁵ a first-rate sculptor who “shows knowledge of the rhetorical language of Bernini and Rubens in equal measure” (noting similarities with François Duquesnoy's Flagellation groups);⁶ and Ferdinando Tacca, because of its kinship with the features and theatrical attitude of bronzes such as *Roger and Angelica* or *Mercury and Juno*.⁷ Anthony Radcliffe, discussing the London version, argued that the group of bronze *Didos* “derive from an unknown original in ivory or boxwood.” He also considered plausible the ascription to a Roman-based Flemish artist and noted the Rubensian character of the form.⁸

Stylistically, a Flemish or Netherlandish origin seems to be more tenable, and this is corroborated by Richard Stone's technical analysis of our *Dido*.⁹ It was cast in brass with an armature of iron wire that is paired and twisted into spiral lengths, obviating the need for more typical core pins and plugs. The billowing drapery was cast separately and joined



with solder. Interestingly, a statuette of Lucretia committing suicide recently appeared on the art market with a “South Netherlandish, circa 1700” designation.¹⁰ Though not analogous to our bronze in general features, the *Lucretia* and the *Dido* might derive from two different castings of the same original series of Roman heroines. FL

PROVENANCE: Charles Loeser, Florence; Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, fig. 79, pl. 76; Radcliffe 1966, p. 108; Weihrauch 1967, pp. 479–80; James David Draper in MMA 1975, p. 232; Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 170–71, no. 317

NOTES

1. Untermyer 1962, p. xxxv; Weihrauch 1967, pp. 489–90. 2. MMA 1975, p. 232. 3. V&A, A.113-1956 (Radcliffe 1966, p. 108, pl. 70); Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 63/3 (Munich 1974, p. 62, no. 42 [as “Lukretia”]). 4. Untermyer 1962, pl. 76. 5. Weihrauch 1967, pp. 479–80. 6. Draper in Untermyer 1977, pp. 170–71. 7. Draper notes, April 1994, ESDA/OF. 8. Radcliffe 1966, p. 108, citing the Untermyer version as an “identical cast.” 9. R. Stone/TR, February 2011. 10. Sotheby’s, London, July 9, 2015, lot 107.

— 185 —

A. *Two Women Wrestling*B. *Two Men Wrestling*

Northern Europe (?), possibly late 17th century or later
Bronze, on a later stone base

Women: 13³/₁₆ × 7¹/₂ × 8³/₈ in. (34.4 × 19.1 × 21.3 cm);

Men: 16¹/₄ × 8³/₈ × 8¹/₂ in. (41.3 × 21.3 × 21.6 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Howard J. Sachs and Mr. Peter G. Sachs, in memory
of Miss Edith L. Sachs, 1978 (1978.516.7, .8)

The finish and stance of these naked wrestlers—one group of men, covered in loincloths, the other women—point to a late Baroque chronology, possibly the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The groups differ in the way the bodily motion is conceived: balanced and rhythmical in the men’s contest, sclerotic and stiff in the women’s. Despite its in-the-round character, the male group privileges the frontal view, from where both faces can be appreciated. The female bronze must be viewed from two distinct angles—frontal and from the right—to observe the two faces.

Our bronzes are among the rare ones to have apparently survived as a pair.¹ The female group and its variants are encountered more frequently.² After earlier proposals of French, Italian, or German authorship, an attribution to Ferdinando Tacca’s workshop was assigned to a cast sold at auction in the 1970s, and a male group in the Hermitage is given to Tacca’s circle.³ This attribution is difficult to sustain. The soft and generous loincloths of the wrestling men bear little resemblance to Tacca’s sharp, linear drapery, and the swirling locks of hair are vaguely akin to Alessandro Algardi’s designs (paradoxically, thus more Roman than Florentine). While the academic flavor of the male figures—faultless anatomy, curly hair, draped genitalia—evoke the Italian manner, the features of the female group strongly suggest production on the other side of the Alps, in particular the schematic, rather lumpy bodies and odd details such as the tuft of hair on the left wrestler’s forehead. If we accept that the groups were cast as a pair by the same founder, they are likely a product of a northern European workshop. Support for this may be found in an earlier group of women wrestlers now attributed to the German sculptor Leonhard Kern.⁴ Moreover, two female groups

are documented in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century French and German collections.⁵ It is worth noting that many of the female groups, such as a much smaller version in Baltimore,⁶ are partially clad in abundant loincloths. FL

PROVENANCE: Mrs. Howard J. Sachs and Peter G. Sachs (until 1978; to MMA)

LITERATURE: St. Petersburg 1981, cat. 24 (*Two Women Wrestling* only)

NOTES

1. Both are brasses, although of differing composition. F. Carò/AR, September 15, 2021. 2. London 1976, nos. 24, 25. The relationship between the male and female groups was noted in Tietze-Conrat 1918, pp. 61–63. For a list of similar groups, see Androsov 2017, p. 300 (with no mention of our bronzes). 3. Christie’s, London, December 4, 1973; Androsov 2017, p. 300, cat. 160. 4. MMA, 1982.60.121; see James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 172, no. 91. 5. André Le Nôtre, Paris (see Guiffrey 1911), and Augustus the Strong, Dresden (see Holzhausen 1939, p. 185). 6. Walters Art Museum, 54.647.

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Reclining Female Figure

Southern Germany, late 16th century

Bronze

4¹/₂ × 8 in. (11.4 × 20.3 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.149.5)

While thoroughly, recognizably Mannerist, the figure retains a contradictory “archaeological” patina, an artificial chloride corrosion that was applied at a later date. Richard Stone’s examination of the interior revealed an unusual method: extremely thin walls in the body and head, and core pin holes plugged with pointed lengths of wire. The arms are solid, “and when apparently still in the wax were inserted into the short cap sleeves like stoppers in a bottle.”¹ Presciently, Stone likened the procedure to that of sculptors working in silver.

The statuette was formerly ascribed to an artist from the circle of the Rome-based Guglielmo della Porta and identified as Omphale, the ancient Lydian queen who owned Hercules as a slave. She usually appears brawnier than here, where her dainty hand hardly looks powerful enough to grasp the hero’s club, which she exchanged for her distaff. In fact, the model originated with a silversmith north of the Alps, probably from Augsburg. The same woman, clad in an elegant, clinging shift, occurs on top of an ebony and silver shrine from the Gonzaga collections, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum.² Two other bronzes, of more rudimentary facture, are in the V&A, one occurring alongside an inkwell (that figure’s right arm is encircled by a snake and so is sometimes identified as Cleopatra).³ Another, in the Alexander Fleischner collection, was attributed to Guglielmo della Porta when sold in 1929,⁴ whence probably



Cat. 185



Cat. 186

came the attribution of our example. In all of these, the object once in the woman's left hand is missing, making her identity difficult if not impossible to establish. JDD

PROVENANCE: [Luigi Grassi, Florence, until 1913; sold to MMA]

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. R. Stone/TR, November 12, 2010. 2. Venturelli 2005, pp. 190–91. 3. V&A, A.38-1939, called French. The same museum calls another example, A.90.1956, Venetian with a question mark. The first is unpublished; for the second, see Weihrauch 1967, p. 386, fig. 467. 4. Dorotheum, Vienna, May 13–15, 1929, lot 33.

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Oil Lamp in the Form of a Grotesque Animal

Possibly France or the Netherlands, 17th century

Bronze

2 × 1¼ × 5¼ in. (5.1 × 4.5 × 14.6 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1422](#))

Bernard de Montfaucon illustrated an example of such an oil lamp as antique.¹ Many of the type exist but have not been studied, probably because they are not Italian. The sinuous creature somewhat calls to mind the salamander-like shapes that were a staple of French *bronziers*, but there is none resembling



it by Barthélemy Prieur, who might otherwise be a candidate.² The creature is also formally reminiscent of the fantastic hybrid grotesques by the Amsterdam bronze master Arent van Bolten (fig. 187a).³ JDD

PROVENANCE: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, p. xvi, fig. 23 (as “School of Andrea Riccio”)

NOTES
 1. Montfaucon 1719–22, vol. 5, pl. 144, no. 2. 2. Regina Seelig-Teuwen in Bressc-Bautier et al. 2008, pp. 102–47. 3. See Scholten and Verber 2005, pp. 130–33, cats. 40, 41.



Fig. 187a. Circle of Arent van Bolten (1573–before 1633), Oil Lamp in the Shape of a Grotesque Animal, ca. 1610–50. Bronze; H. 4 1/8 in. (10.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-1969-4)



— 188 —

Inkwell with a Rampant Lion

Probably northern Europe, late 17th century

Bronze

Height 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (11 cm)

Incised (in bowl): M. F. THAD.S/Alt. SC

Bequest of Michael Friedsam, the Michael Friedsam Collection,
1931 ([32.100.163](#))

The three masks on the body of this inkwell, executed in an international Baroque idiom, could have been produced almost anywhere in northern Europe. A hole in the lion's front right paw would have secured a quill. The inscription has the character of a vendor's name, and there is something of an English feel to it. An example of this type is in the Museo Civico

dell'Età Cristiana, Brescia, and another, listed with the New York dealer Anthony Blumka in 2018, has two masks.¹ Where the central mask appears on our inkwell, Blumka's bears a separately cast, concave, undeciphered coat of arms. JDD

PROVENANCE: Henry J. Pfunst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (1916–d. 1931; to MMA)

LITERATURE: London 1904, no. 13 (as Italian, 16th century; inscription misread); Bode 1910, vol. 1, p. 19, no. 67, pl. XXXIX (as Italian, 16th century)

NOTE

1. Nicodemi 1920, p. 473 (as Venetian, 16th century); Lion inkwell, Italy (Tuscany), ca. 1600, bronze, at <http://www.blumkagallery.com/metalwork-1>.



12
Italian
Renaissance-style
Bronzes, 19th
Century



— 189 —

The Flagellation of Christ

Europe, late 19th–early 20th century

Bronze

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{9}{16}$ in. (18.3 × 19.7 × 1.4 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 ([17.190.2094](#))

Although it has been exhibited, this plaque has eluded scholarly attention. It is heavy in every sense and shows a deliberately “primitive” approach and an all-too-knowing observation of quattrocento technique. The vigorous chiseling of the back, for

instance, is consistent with an early practice by which even the backs of reliefs and the undersides of statuettes might receive a lot of attention. But the artist responsible unleashed a store of inconsistencies. His point of departure is a Donatellesque composition known in slightly smaller bronze plaques in the Louvre and the Bode-Museum.¹ From one or the other of these he took the two all-but-naked flagellators who swing their knouts at Jesus. However, the one on the right has been completely misunderstood so that the front of his torso and the back of his hips are seen simultaneously in an impossible alignment. The same incongruously twisted contrapposto occurs in the putto below

him. The soldier at left, meanwhile, wears a fanciful outfit more resonant of swimwear than armor.

The putti supporting the coat of arms form an exergue whose ornamental nature is at odds with the tragic episode (and it must be said that Christ himself exhibits little pathos). The coat of arms is per pale with argent and vair in pale.² Disturbingly, the figures' flesh and costumes have been indiscriminately stippled, while blank surfaces and the background are highly burnished. Some solder on the back suggests that the plaque was once framed. There is no buildup of patina; where rubbed, at top rear right, the alloy is highly cuprous.

The relief was at one time assigned to the "School of Donatello," but a pencil note by John Goldsmith Phillips summed up the situation perfectly: "This clumsily modeled relief is far removed from the Master." An attribution to Antonio Filarete, that seminal participant in the Roman early Renaissance, was once suggested, but Pietro Cannata rightly rejected the thought. JDD

PROVENANCE: Odescalchi family (by tradition); J. Pierpont Morgan, London and New York (until 1917; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Cannata 1989, p. 49; Malgouyres 2020, p. 75, fig. 18

NOTES

1. Landais 1958, pl. 4; Bange 1922, pl. 1.1. 2. This is not the coat of arms of the Odescalchi, who originated in Como and only attained power in the seventeenth century. A suitable family has not been identified.

— 190 —

David with the Head of Goliath
Imitator of Bartolomeo Bellano
(Padua 1437/38–1496/97 Padua)

Europe, 19th or 20th century

Bronze

Height 13 in. (33 cm)

Bequest of Jules S. Bache, 1949 (49.7.76a, b)

The present writer unmasked this and an identically solid-cast and unchased statuette,¹ formerly in the Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, as brazen, inept imitations of the excellent *David* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which is usually called Bellano but here given to Severo Calzetta da Ravenna in his formative years (see [cat. 2](#)). And this despite the claimed descent of our bronze from Sieneese collections of some repute and its frequent endorsement as a work of Luca della Robbia, whose oeuvre contains nothing resembling it, and little in the way of bronze for that matter. Nevertheless, for John Pope-Hennessy, "the possibility cannot be ruled out that it was modelled by Luca della Robbia and cast in the shop of Maso or Giovanni di Bartolomeo." It is pointless to consider these or



other Renaissance names. Some traits absolutely rule out the quattrocento: a bleary expression, shapeless pageboy haircut, lifeless tunic (beneath which there are neither genitals nor breeches), and a sword handle the same width as the weapon. The smallness of Goliath's head, hardly bigger than David's, is another blunder. Alarmingly, the right wrists of both statuettes are broken in precisely the same place.

In view of the late facture, the provenance demands reexamination. Ostensibly, the first mention of our bronze occurred in 1810, when Galgano Saracini recorded the "bronze David sold me by Bastiano," who has not been identified.² The



situation around 1810, when early Renaissance bronzes were not yet avidly sought, probably rules out its being made near or before that time. Yet another bronze remains in the collection of Palazzo Chigi-Saracini, Siena, now belonging to the Monte dei Paschi di Siena.³ Although well published, those holdings do not contain noteworthy pre-seventeenth-century sculptures, and the earlier works among them generally bear frightfully ambitious attributions. It must be asked whether some member of the Chigi-Saracini-Piccolomini della Triana tribe did not have an interest in inventing and promoting three poor, virtually identical bronze Davids as authentic relics of the quattrocento. JDD

PROVENANCE: traditionally but unreliably registered as coming from Galgano Saracini, Siena (to whom it was sold by a “Bastiano” in 1810); Count Fabio Chigi, Siena; Count Piccolomini della Triana, Siena; [Godefroy Brauer, Nice]; Jules S. Bache, New York (until d. 1944; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Buffalo 1937, cat. 125 (to Luca della Robbia); Duveen 1944, no. 26 (to Luca della Robbia); Weihrauch 1967, pp. 79, 81 (to Luca della Robbia); Pope-Hennessy 1980, pp. 264–65, no. 57 (among questionable attributions to Luca della Robbia); James David Draper in Detroit 1985, p. 227 (as by a late imitator of Bartolomeo Bellano); Gentilini and Sisi 1989, pp. xxiv–xxv, fig. 7 (as after Bellano); Malgouyres 2020, p. 208 n. 53

NOTES

1. Sotheby’s, New York, May 21, 1985, lot 97 (as after a Renaissance model). 2. Gentilini and Sisi 1989, p. xxiv. 3. *Ibid.* Thanks to Barbara Valdambrini of the Fondazione Accademia Musicale Chigiana, Siena, for confirming the existence of this bronze (6417), now catalogued as nineteenth century.

— 191 —

Marsyas

Probably late 19th–early 20th century

Bronze, mounted on an ancient architectural fragment

11¹³/₁₆ × 5⁷/₈ × 4¹/₈ in. (29.7 × 13.7 × 10.5 cm)

Gift of C. Ruxton Love Jr., 1963 (63.195)

The figure, while not a satyr (no tail), is meant to be Marsyas, Apollo’s foe, playing double panpipes (now lost), which were secured by the leather strap at his mouth. It derives from an ancient composition widely copied since the fifteenth century. The Medici owned bronze examples, one called the “Nude of Fear” (*Ignudo della Paura*), no doubt seen as a representation of that emotion because it seemed caught in the act of recoiling.¹ There is no consensus on a small host of reproductions that run a wide gamut in composition and facture. Some have prompted ambitious attributions. John Pope-Hennessy ventured to assign the most sculptural piece—a vital, rangy example now in the Bargello—to Donatello himself, and Verrocchio has also been wrongly proposed.²

The best of a wirier type with fuller hair are in the Bargello and the Galleria Estense, Modena.³ Our specimen, derived from another model in the Bargello and like it also sometimes labeled Pollaiuolo,⁴ does not measure up to any of these. While it has figured in prestigious collections and exhibitions, Anthony Radcliffe rightly warned (orally) against quattrocento origins. One saw what he meant as soon as he spoke, and the piece has not been exhibited since. The back muscles are impossibly twisted and grooved, and the whole surface was systematically but inarticulately and monotonously hammered over. No patina has built up. JDD

PROVENANCE: John Postle Heseltine, London; private collection, Florence; [Charles Lucien Morley, New York]; C. Ruxton Love Jr., New York (1950–63; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Raghianti Collobi 1949, p. 52, cat. 15 (to Antonio Pollaiuolo); Sandler 1957–59, cover ill., p. 90; Phillips 1964, p. 88; James David Draper and Joan Mertens in Athens 1979, cat. 8 (as probably Florentine, late 15th century)

NOTES

1. Müntz 1888, p. 79. 2. Pope-Hennessy 1977; Ciaroni 2007, no. 24. 3. Bode and Draper 1980, pls. XCV, XCVI. For the many pictorial uses to which the model was put, see Middeldorf 1958. 4. See Raghianti Collobi 1949, p. 52, cat. 15, and letters of expertise from Leo Planiscig in 1950 supporting the Pollaiuolo attribution (ESDA/OF).

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Nude Youth with a Horn

Italy, 19th or 20th century

Bronze

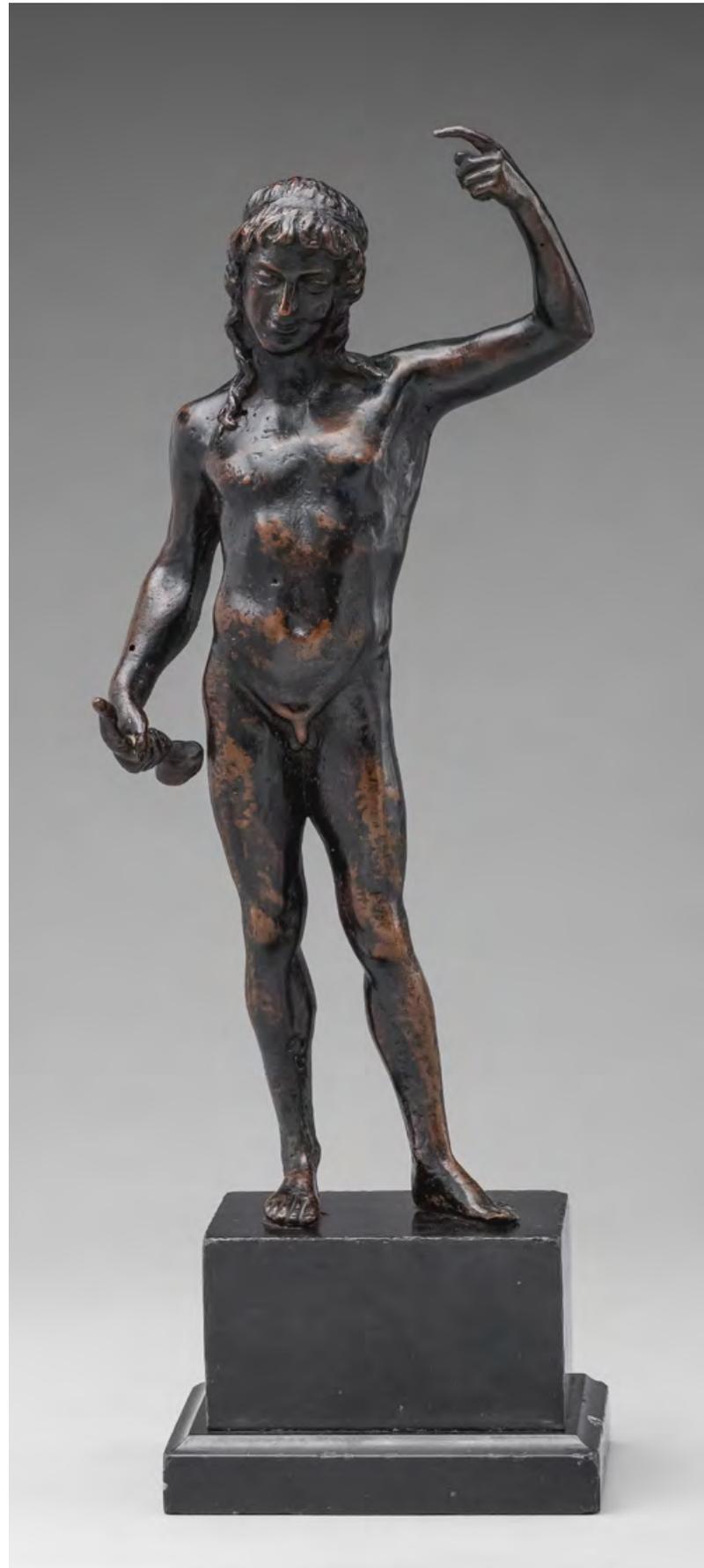
Height 10 in. (25.4 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1439)

Yvonne Hackenbroch, in the Untermyer catalogue, quotes a letter of May 15, 1923, from Wilhelm von Bode to an unknown recipient, recommending the statuette as “a very good bronze of the late *Quattrocento*, unknown to me, rendering a motif of Antiquity in a fine, free manner.” In fairness, it should be noted that Hackenbroch’s marked copy is annotated with a question mark and the word “no.” Indeed, the license taken with this “kouros” is pitifully un-antique, to the point that it would be deceitful to offer it at auction. The surface is pitted and may also have been intentionally battered. JDD

PROVENANCE: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, p. 15, figs. 42–44 (as Italian, second half of the 15th century)





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Reclining Putto

Imitator of Andrea del Verrocchio
(Florence 1435–1488 Venice)

Florence, probably 19th century

Bronze

7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (19.4 × 31.6 × 15.6 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1909 ([09.155.1](#))

In 1490, two years after the death of the sculptor Andrea del Verrocchio, his brother Tommaso listed various properties that he claimed were his by right. They included four clay infants, three called “abozati” (*abbozzati*, or “roughed out”).¹ Although undescribed, they have been taken to include the original reclining baby from which the present one and several others derive.

A terracotta pair, once in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, reprised this basic model and a mate in which the position is reversed. They were destroyed in World War II and

hence cannot be judged except through photographs, but they were too sleek in quality to permit their identification as models by Verrocchio.² A marble of our type in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco is superior to the bronze but badly weathered and probably too tame in facture to merit consideration as by Verrocchio or his associate Francesco di Simone Ferrucci.³ The model was further disseminated in a well-known book of drawings from Ferrucci’s workshop, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.⁴ Two images of a reclining shield-supporting child feature the same proper left foot playing freely over the proper right knee as in the San Francisco marble. The posture was retained by Albrecht Dürer in a drawing dated 1506 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and a painted Madonna of 1512 (Kunsthistorisches Museum), prompting suppositions that Dürer owned a three-dimensional copy.⁵ Our bronze departs from all these early citations of the model, which place the boy’s proper left heel in front of his right knee, big toe directed upward in an involuntary reflex. The lack of this charming, childish movement; the inorganic, uncomprehending mass of



curls; the conformal casting; and the lustrous, ruddy patina all suggest that the Verrocchiesque model survived only in a state of serious disrepair by the time it was reiterated in the bronze copy, datable no earlier than the late sixteenth century and very likely much later. Our model was also adapted for a Christ Child in a Madonna at Upton Hall, Nottinghamshire, once called “French School, c. 1500” but now deemed a forgery.⁶ JDD

PROVENANCE: [Luigi Grassi, Florence, 1909; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Breck 1909, pp. 206–7; Breck 1910b, p. 19; Breck 1913c, pp. 35–36, no. 35; Schottmüller 1913, pp. 79–80, under nos. 189–230; Heil 1949, p. 16; Covi 1966, p. 100 n. 22; Heil 1969, p. 274; Detroit 1985, pp. 210–11, cat. 73; Naldi 2002, pp. 86, 93 n. 79; Covi 2005, pp. 163–67

NOTES

1. Covi 2005, p. 286. 2. *Ibid.*, figs. 162, 163. 3. FAMSF, 1949-02-17; see Naldi 2002, pp. 86, 93 n. 79. 4. See Pisani 2007, p. 148, pl. 162. 5. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2.1 (1937), no. 502. 6. Gore 1993, p. 213.

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Rearing Horse

After a model sometimes attributed to
Leonardo da Vinci (Vinci 1452–1519 Amboise)

Italy (?), 19th or early 20th century

Bronze

7¼ × 5½ × 10 in. (19.7 × 14 × 25.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1925 (25.74)

Leonardo, as is well known, was a frequent if frustrated experimenter with the plastic arts, especially equestrian bronzes. Consequently, any morsel that might reflect his involvement in an enterprise of that ilk invariably elicits attention, as reflected in the vast literature that surrounds the horse and rider in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (inv. 5362). The Hungarian Neoclassical sculptor István Ferenczy acquired it in Rome between 1818 and 1824 as an ancient Greek bronze, and in 1914 it was purchased by the Budapest museum together with other

distinguished bronzes from his collection. In 1916, the curator there proposed that it might have been cast from figures modeled in wax or clay by Leonardo, pointing to similarities in his drawings of horses and warriors and associating it with the monument to Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, which never advanced beyond the planning stages.¹ Those conclusions were eagerly accepted after The Met purchased the present horse, “a later and more perfect answer to Leonardo’s problem of equestrian composition.”² It was shown at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo in 1937 in a pathbreaking exhibition of bronzes in U.S. collections. It must be admitted that the present author did not get much closer to the mark when writing about the bronze for an exhibition at the Galerie des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, in 1981.

Our horse has been exhibited together with the Budapest group twice, at the Szépművészeti Múzeum in 1969 and at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in 2009. Following the Budapest showing, Mária Aggházy aired various theories, including identification of the Budapest work as the relic of a Leonardo project glorifying François I of France.³ Neither exhibition had a true catalogue, but the National Gallery team produced a follow-up article analyzing the bronzes and demonstrating the hopelessness of defending the New York horse as a Renaissance work.⁴ X-radiography shows that the walls of the cast are very thin, and the elements inside include what look to be modern screws. Worst of all, our rampant “stallion” has no sex organs.

A horse in the Hunt Museum, Limerick, was added to the exhibitions in both Budapest and Washington.⁵ Its earliest provenance dates to 1966. Others have emerged, all with limp manes and tails like the Hunt and Met pieces. One was in the collection of the journalist Pierre Jeannerat, London, by 1934, and another was auctioned in 1975.⁶ The latter two are mirror inversions of the Budapest and Met compositions. It is unsettling that all of these derivatives of the Budapest group, again like ours, boast little in the way of provenance.

As for the Budapest horse, National Gallery conservators proved that its alloy is the same as that of its rider. The patina, like other, better bronzes from Ferenczy, has an “archaeological” green hue. The jury is still out for the Budapest group. One objection could be the extraordinarily powerful unity that binds the tiny warrior, with his sucked-in belly, to his flailing charger in a spirited demonstration that, if Renaissance, is certainly prophetic of Romanticism. Others are merely technical, such as the separately cast square plug inserted in the mount’s rump, positioning the tail upside down, a trait corrected in all the other horses. A recent attribution to Giovanni Francesco Rustici is unhelpful.⁷ JDD

PROVENANCE: [French & Company, New York, by 1921–22];⁸ Karl Freund, New York (until 1925; sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, March 25–28, 1925, lot 381; sold to MMA)

LITERATURE: Buffalo 1937, cat. 135 (as after Leonardo, 16th century); James David Draper in Bordeaux 1981, cat. 128 (as after Leonardo, Milan?, late 16th–early 17th century); Zoltán Kárpáti and Maria Sframeli in Bietti et al. 2008, cat. 89; Sturman et al. 2015, pp. 35–36; Luchs et al. 2018, pp. 178–79

NOTES

1. Meller 1916. 2. Letter from Paul S. Harris to Joseph Breck, May 24, 1933, MMA Archives. 3. Aggházy 1972 and 1989. 4. Sturman et al. 2015. See also Luchs et al. 2018. Actually, based on radiography and composition, Richard Stone had noted the problems a decade earlier and dated our horse to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. R. Stone/TR, October 26, 2005. XRF analysis identified the alloy as a brass. 5. Sturman et al. 2015, pp. 36–38, noting that it is smaller than the other two and from a different workshop. 6. See Jeannerat 1934; Sotheby’s, London, July 5, 1990, lot 106. The second horse was at Lempertz, Cologne, November 20–22, 1975, lot 1770 (unattributed). Still others sold in recent years are listed in Sturman et al. 2015, p. 43 n. 16. 7. Pietro C. Marani in Mozzati et al. 2010, pp. 101–3. 8. As per a photograph dated 1921–22 in ESDA/OF.

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Hercules and Antaeus

Possibly Italy, probably 19th century

Bronze

Height 11¼ in. (28.6 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.98)

The group freely copies an ancient marble much admired in the Renaissance, now in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, which arrived from the Vatican Belvedere as a gift from Pius IV to the Medici. The head and right arm of Antaeus and the legs of both giants were then missing.¹ Until restorations were carried out, artists felt free to reconstruct the group according to their own fancy. A disastrous innovation on the part of our *bronzista* was to position Antaeus’s hands around his genitals, a gesture at odds with the Renaissance veneration of classical antiquity.

The technique of this solid cast investigates the hardy, rudimentary methods of the Florentine quattrocento but in an all-too-knowing manner. There is relentless but uninformed hammering all over. The ends of sprues are left unfiled for added “texture.” Sharp creases delineate some of the flesh folds, but the metal has not been chased away cleanly from adjoining areas, such as that between the back of the sagging Antaeus and the top of Hercules’s right shoulder. The consignor of the bronze to Sotheby’s apparently had a certificate from Leo Planiscig, proposing a wrong attribution to Francesco da Sant’Agata. JDD

PROVENANCE: “Marcipiani” collection (perhaps Antal Marczibányi [1793–1872], Budapest?); (sale, Sotheby’s, London, May 10–11, 1962, lot 139, as by “Vittor Camelio”; sold to a “Copper”); Jack and Belle Linsky, New York (until 1982; to MMA)

*Renaissance-style Statuette Group of
Victory of Virtue over Vice*

Possibly Italy, 19th or early 20th century

Bronze

Height 18¼ in. (46 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1445)

The bronze depicts a youthful nude subjugating an anthropomorphic creature with a canine face and the claws and furry long legs of a satyr. It entered The Met with an attribution to the Tuscan artist Pierino da Vinci, endorsed by Leo Planiscig, but of which Yvonne Hackenbroch was skeptical.¹ While Planiscig identified the prototype for the Untermyer group as the bronze *Samson and the Philistines* traditionally linked to Michelangelo (see [cat. 98](#)), Hackenbroch traced its source to another well-known sixteenth-century Florentine creation, the large marble *Triumph of Virtue over Vice* by the Perugian sculptor Vincenzo Danti.²

Our bronze does seem closer in spirit to Danti's group in its compact composition and the oblique pose of the victor. The monstrous appearance of the defeated figure resonates as well with Valerio Cioli's terracotta of the same subject, another nod to Danti.³ The Untermyer and Cioli dimensions match, and the vanquished creature in each has a snakelike tail and fierce features. But neither the Pierino attribution nor the connection to Danti, or even to the Renaissance, is tenable. The bronze's style suggests a much later time frame. Its high, earthy base and the creature's physiognomy indicate familiarity with Rodin's *koiné*, and certain technical aspects point to a very late cast as well.⁴ The evident but free citation of Florentine models and the hellish appearance of the creature lead to the conclusion that this work is more a *d'après* than a fraudulent imitation intended to be sold on the international market as a Renaissance bronze. Nonetheless, the sculpture soon acquired that identity, perhaps by way of an unscrupulous art dealer, even managing to deceive a connoisseur like Planiscig. TM

PROVENANCE: Viscountess Harcourt (née Mary Ethel Burns), Paris; Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Untermyer 1962, p. 17, pl. 50

NOTES

1. ESDA/OF; Untermyer 1962, p. 17, pl. 50. 2. Bargello, 3 S. 3. Bargello, 286 S; see Claudio Pizzorusso in Davis and Paolozzi Strozzi 2008, p. 304, cat. 3. 4. Radiographs show that this spatially complex group was cast in one piece with thin even walls and no porosity, suggesting the use of flexible molding materials more commonly used in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The metal is a ternary alloy of copper, zinc, and tin, with very low levels of lead and no arsenic, antimony, or silver. R. Stone/TR, September 23, 2011.

LITERATURE: James David Draper in Linsky 1984, p. 151, no. 65 (as probably Florentine, early 16th century)

NOTE

1. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 232–34.





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Rooster

Italy or France, late 19th–early 20th century

Bronze, on a later stone base

8¹³/₁₆ × 7¹/₈ × 3¹/₄ in. (22.4 × 18.1 × 8.3 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1958 (58.156)

Was our bird the loser in a cockfight? John Goldsmith Phillips, observing without alarm that it is half-plucked (“on port side represented in his full and splendid plumage, on starboard bare of any feathers”), ascribed the sculpture to a seventeenth-century follower of Giambologna, recalling that artist’s bronze avifauna made for the grotto of the Medici villa in Castello.¹ Herbert Keutner, in a letter of June 18, 1959, urged Phillips to consider whether the *Rooster* might not be from Giambologna’s own hand.² Keutner was right to mention its “impressionistic

handling,” which, with the decorous cadences of metal feathers, reminiscent of Art Nouveau, surely point to a latter-day animalier.³ And indeed, our rooster is defiant enough, but its torn, bedraggled feathers rule out any origins in the exalted company of Giambologna’s birds, each a proud specimen of its type. JDD

PROVENANCE: [Adolph Loewi, Los Angeles, until 1958; sold to MMA]

LITERATURE: Phillips 1959, pp. 222–23

NOTES

1. See C. Avery 1987, pp. 151–55. 2. ESDA/OF. 3. Radiographs identified the core supports as large machine-made nails, first manufactured in the nineteenth century. The bronze contains a minor amount of lead but no nickel, antimony, or silver, suggesting the copper was electrolytically refined, supporting a dating to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. R. Stone/TR, March 30, 2011.



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Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza

Europe, 19th or early 20th century

Bronze

Height 8½ in. (21.6 cm)

Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950 ([50.145.63](#))

The Calabrian provenance was furnished by Wilhelm von Bode, writing March 4, 1922, to an unknown addressee, possibly the dealer Edward Gans. It is to be taken with more than a grain of salt, as is Bode's acceptance of someone's proposal of Benvenuto Cellini (!) as the maker.¹

Ottavio Farnese (1524–1586), grandson of Pope Paul III and duke of Parma and Piacenza, wears the insignia of the Golden Fleece on the cord around his neck. It was awarded to him by Emperor Charles V in 1547 but returned in 1552 after a squabble. The identification originated with John Goldsmith

Phillips and Olga Raggio and seems correct on the basis of the great triple portrait of Ottavio and his brother, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, flanking the pontiff in the Capodimonte.² The facture of the bust cannot, however, date from the Renaissance, and is a reminder to tread cautiously when dealing with miniature busts of any century, for they can be produced at little cost and considerable profit, especially when portraying famous personages. Phillips and Raggio note the “impressionistic” modeling, which should have been a warning. Indeed, the modeler responsible got carried away wanting to capture the dash and “painterly” scumbling of a virtuoso, leaving the hair and armor virtually unrecognizable while wanting the eyes to seem sharply focused (yet they do not). Their attribution to Pastorino dei Pastorini is a disservice to that gifted, conscientious medalist. The molten metal was erratically poured, and horrid flaws and gaping holes resulted, especially visible in the chin and neck, somewhat mitigated by the filling of the interior



Fig. 199a. Attributed to Nicolò Roccatagliata (ca. 1560–1629), *Cupid*. Venice, 1593. Bronze, marble and bronze base; H. 8½ in. (21.6 cm). Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust (43-24)

with another metal. Probably from the same careless late workshop is a similar bust, lacking the fleece, paired with that of a woman in seventeenth-century attire, once owned by Captain Charles C. Dent of Breinigsville, Pennsylvania.³ JDD

PROVENANCE: by repute, “from an Italian noble family in Calabria who were indirect descendants of the Farnese family”; Dr. F. R. Martin (until 1920; to Gans); [Edward Gans, Los Angeles, 1920]; [A. S. Drey, Munich]; Mary Stillman Harkness, New York (until 1950; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Phillips and Raggio 1954

NOTES

1. Translation of transcript in ESDA/OF. 2. The identification of Ottavio in the painting seems to have been their main thrust. 3. Photographs in ESDA/OF.

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Cupid about to Fire an Arrow

Probably Italy, 18th or 19th century

Bronze, on a later stone and wood base

8³/₁₆ × 5⁷/₈ × 4 in. (32.9 × 16.5 × 10.2 cm) (without base)

Bequest of Mrs. Alexandrine Sinsheimer, 1958 (59.23.1)

Cupid’s wings, quiver, and arrows are all missing, but the articulated baldrick shows the modeler had a nice ornamental touch. The first important question to ask is, Why does the god of love wear a puritanical loincloth? That would seem to



eliminate Renaissance or Neoclassical origins. The pose charmingly reiterates that of the Vatican’s ancient marble *Laocoön*. When in the collection of J. P. Morgan, the piece was catalogued as being a pair with another boy now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (fig. 199a).¹ He is winged, with the same upper body and gently faceted garment but with the legs rear-ranged so as to be running, supported on his bent left leg. The sculptor was able to alter his model before casting to change the meaning altogether, from triumph in our bronze to more



athletic activity in the Kansas City one. They had different marble bases, since removed, and were certainly not invented as pendants.

A clumsier version of *The Met Cupid*, with the same Laocoön conceit, was sold in 1977.² Its wings are mounted low on the back, and there is a rather meaningless gash across the left thigh, perhaps in imitation of the folds of a baby's flesh.

Artist or workshop have thus far eluded scholars. Like its Kansas City counterpart, this *Cupid* bears marks of distinctive quality, such as the blank oval eyes and tousled curls, and their mix of classicism and naturalism has not yet been encountered elsewhere. JDD

PROVENANCE: Henry J. Pfunst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901-d. 1913); Alexandrine Sinsheimer, New York (until d. 1958; to MMA)

LITERATURE: Bode 1910, vol. 2, pp. 19–20, no. 175 (as Italian, late 16th century)

NOTES

1. Bode 1910, vol. 2, p. 20, no. 176. The Nelson-Atkins bronze bears an unlikely attribution to Nicolò Roccatagliata. 2. Christie's, Rome, May 5, 1977, lot 138 (as possibly early 16th century).

— 200 —

Standing Hercules

Possibly Italy, 19th century

Bronze, silvering (eyes and wreath)

8¼ × 3⅞ × 3¼ in. (21 × 9.8 × 8.3 cm)

Gift of C. Ruxton Love Jr., 1964 (64.304.3)

A reduction of the gilt-bronze colossus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, famous in antiquity and ever since it was dug up in the fifteenth century, this bronze Hercules differs from the original in several respects.¹ The position of the legs is reversed, and the torso has lost torsion and authority, thereby compromising the contrapposto. The head is larger in relation to the whole, the hair artfully feathered, and the gnarly club shorter. In cataloguing the statuette for *The Met*, Johanna Hecht noted similarities in the stances of two ancient ones in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,² but their poses are more coherent, and our imitator's conception probably derived, ultimately, from the large work in Rome. JDD

PROVENANCE: C. Ruxton Love Jr., New York (until 1964; to MMA)

UNPUBLISHED

NOTES

1. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 227–29. 2. Inv. bronzes .519, .549.

Appendix to
the Catalogue



As a matter of practicality—limitations of time and space—a decision was made to present the following bronzes without full scholarly entries. James David Draper and Peter Jonathan Bell made the initial selection, which was then assessed by Fernando Loffredo, who made further refinements. Denise Allen and Linda Borsch studied the group closely and present here new proposals for attributions and dates. Relevant previous cataloguing information drawn from the museum’s curatorial files, including provenance and selected references, has also been retained.

That these are “lesser” bronzes is both subjective and, to a degree, arbitrary. Newly photographed, each of these bronzes could be the subject of rich sustained analysis. Many of these bronzes entered The Met with optimistic attributions, often with the imprimatur of having been included in publications by Wilhelm von Bode and Leo Planiscig, and have been little studied since. A fair number were unpublished. Only a handful are indeed products of the early modern period, and few, if any, can be ascribed to a specific artist. The largest subset are Renaissance-style, Pan-European casts from the nineteenth or twentieth century, itself a phenomenon worthy of more study. Regardless of how they are presently catalogued, this group of bronzes affords great insight into the history of the form, and this Appendix should be seen not as the final word but as a springboard for future research.



A1

Kneeling Satyr

Manner of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, satyr possibly late 16th century with later additions

Formerly: Manner of Andrea Briosco, called Riccio, possibly Padua, 16th century

Bronze, 9½ × 6⅞ × 6 in. (24.1 × 15.6 × 15.2 cm)

Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 ([30.95.109](#))

Provenance: Theodore M. Davis, New York (until d. 1915; to MMA)



A2

Statuette

Manner of Desiderio da Firenze, satyr possibly late 16th century with later additions

Formerly: Manner of Andrea Briosco, called Riccio, Padua, 16th century

Bronze, 8 × 6 × 6¼ in. (20.3 × 15.2 × 15.9 cm)

Bequest of Harriet H. Jonas, 1974 ([1974.236](#))

Provenance: [French & Company, New York, until ca. 1931; sold to Jonas]; Harriet H. Jonas (ca. 1931-74; to MMA)



A3

Satyr Holding a Boy Satyr on His Shoulder

Manner of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, possibly 17th century or later

Formerly: Possibly Padua, 16th century

Bronze, 7¼ × 5 × 3⅞ in. (18.4 × 12.7 × 9.8 cm)

Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950

([50.145.64](#))

Provenance: Mary Stillman Harkness (until 1950; to MMA)



A4

Pair of Mermaids

After Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, mid-late 16th century

Formerly: Padua, first half 16th century

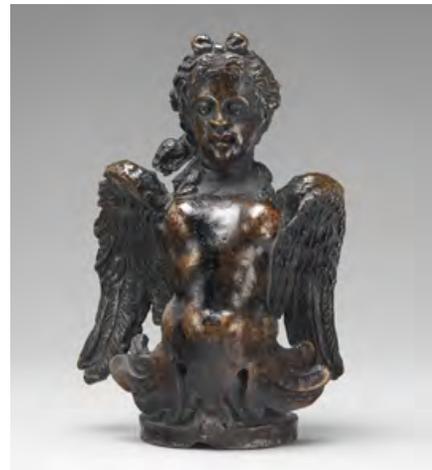
Bronze, H. each 5⅞ in. (12.9 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.174](#), [.175](#))

Provenance: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan);

J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901-d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 61



A5

Siren

Nicolò Roccatagliata, Venice, late 16th-early 17th century

Bronze, H. 3½ in. (8.9 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 ([25.142.15](#))

Provenance: Henri Lehmann (until 1925; sale,

Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4-13, 1925, lot 365); Ogden Mills (until 1925; to MMA)



A6

Boy with a Barrel

Probably Italy, possibly late 16th century or later

Formerly: Probably Italy, 16th century (?)
Bronze, H. 3¾ in. (9.5 cm)

Gift of J. & S. Goldschmidt, 1911 (11.5.3)

Provenance: J. & S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (until 1911; to MMA)



A7

Boy with a Barrel

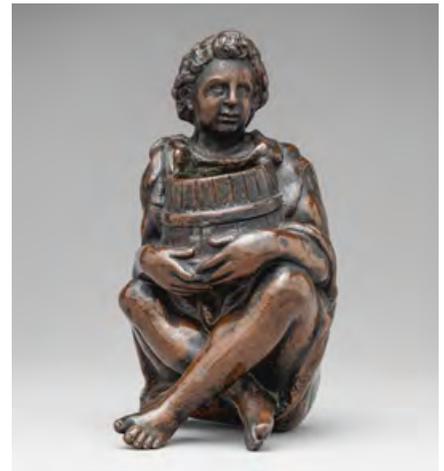
Probably Italy, possibly late 16th century or later

Formerly: Probably Italy, 16th century (?)
Bronze, H. 4 in. (10.2 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.172)

Provenance: Henry J. Pfunst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 43, pl. XXXIII



A8

Boy with a Barrel

Probably Italy, possibly late 16th century or later

Formerly: Probably Italy, 16th century (?)
Bronze, H. 4¼ in. (10.8 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.173)

Provenance: J. Pierpont Morgan, London (until d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 44, pl. XXXIII (left)



A9

She-bear

Possibly Germany, late 16th–early 17th century

Formerly: Andrea Briosco, called Riccio, Padua, early 16th century
Bronze, H. 3½ in. (8.9 cm)

Gift of Ernst Rosenfeld, 1934 (34.48)

Provenance: Sigismond Bardac, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York; Enrico Caruso (until 1923; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, March 8, 1923, lot 1000, to Canessa); Ercole Canessa (until 1930; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, March 29, 1930, lot 41); Ernst Rosenfeld (until 1934; to MMA)

References: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 31; Baltimore 1926, p. 56; Remington 1934, pp. 81–82



A10

Inkwell

Italy, possibly 17th century or later, in the manner of the 16th-century Paduan school
Formerly: Venice or Padua, mid-16th century
Bronze, H. 3¾ in. (8.6 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.178)

Provenance: Henry J. Pfunst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

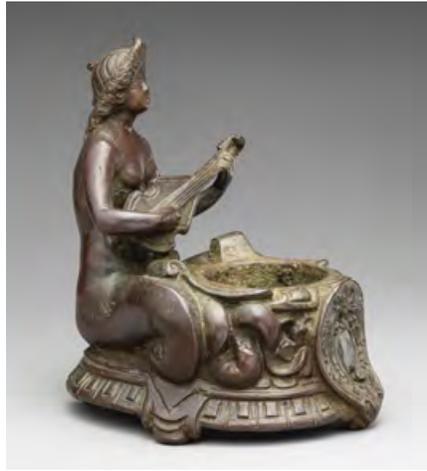
Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 60, pl. XXXIX



A11

Mermaid with an Ink Pot

Possibly Venice, 17th century
 Formerly: Possibly Venice, 16th century
 Bronze, H. 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (13.2 cm)
 The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.191](#))
 Provenance: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)
 Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 2, no. 188, pl. CXXIX



A12

Mermaid Playing a Lute

Possibly Venice, 17th century or later
 Formerly: Possibly Venice, 1550–1600
 Bronze, H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14 cm)
 Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 ([30.95.111](#))
 Provenance: Theodore M. Davis, New York (until d. 1915; to MMA)



A13

Triton

After the workshop of Nicolò Roccatagliata, probably late 17th century
 Formerly: Workshop of Nicolò Roccatagliata, Venice, late 16th or early 17th century
 Bronze, H. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (24.5 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 ([25.142.6](#))
 Provenance: [Webb; sold to Mills]; Ogden Mills (until 1925; to MMA)



A14

Putto with Flute and Putto with Viol

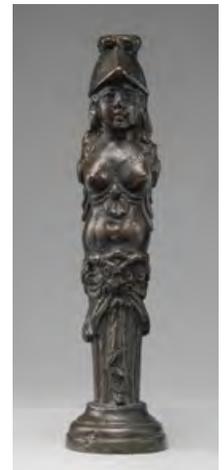
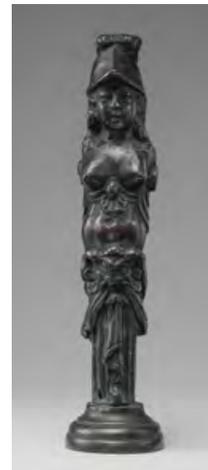
Style of early 17th-century Venetian school, late 17th century or later
 Formerly: Nicolò Roccatagliata, Venice, 16th century
 Bronze, H. 10 in. (25.4 cm)
 Fletcher Fund, 1945 ([45.60.36](#), [.35](#))
 Provenance: Jules S. Bache, New York (until d. 1944; to MMA)



A15

Pair of Candlesticks

Style of Nicolò Roccatagliata, Venice, 17th century
 Formerly: Venice, late 16th or early 17th century
 Bronze, (1) H. 21 in. (53.3 cm); (2) H. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (52.1 cm)
 Rogers Fund, 1948 ([48.18.1](#), [.2](#))
 Provenance: Sydney Ernest Kennedy, London; Henry Goldman (until 1948; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, February 28, 1948, lot 66; sold to MMA)



A16

Pair of Minerva Figures

Venice, 17th century
 Formerly: Venice, 16th–17th century
 Bronze, (.48) H. 7 in. (17.8 cm); (.49) H. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.5 cm)
 Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.190.48](#), [.49](#))
 Provenance: George and Florence Blumenthal, New York (until 1941; to MMA)



A17

Ceres

Venice, probably late 17th century
 Formerly: Girolamo Campagna, Venice, late 16th–early 17th century
 Bronze, 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (37.8 × 8.9 × 8.3 cm)
 Bequest of Mary Cushing Fosburgh, 1978 (1979.135.20)
 Provenance: Mary Cushing Fosburgh (until 1978; to MMA)



A18

Candlestick Fragment

Venice, 17th–early 18th century
 Formerly: Venice, 16th–17th century
 Bronze, 13 × 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (33 × 19.5 × 17.5 cm)
 Inscription on base: IN ETERNUM
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1927 (27.36.9)
 Provenance: Ogden Mills (until 1927; to MMA)



A19

Doorknocker

Venice, 17th century
 Formerly: Venice, late 16th century
 Bronze, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36.2 × 28.9 × 9.8 cm)
 Rogers Fund, 1940 (40.14.6)
 Provenance: [Symons Galleries, until 1940; sold to MMA]



A20

Pair of Double-headed Monsters

Possibly Venice, late 17th–early 18th century
 Formerly: Possibly Venice, late 17th century
 Bronze, (.115) W. 9 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (24.9 cm); (.116) W. 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (27.6 cm)
 The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.115, .116)
 Provenance: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)
 Reference: Linsky 1984, nos. 76, 77



A21

Standing Child (Possibly a Young Saint John the Baptist)

After a model by Ferdinando Tacca, late 17th century or later
 Formerly: Ferdinando Tacca, Florence, ca. 1665
 Bronze, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (24.1 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1467)
 Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 References: Untermyer 1962, pl. 77; Untermyer 1977, no. 318



A22

Bearded Satyr Fountain Spout

Italy, 17th century
 Bronze, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (29.8 × 24.1 cm)
 Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.199)
 Provenance: Stefano Bardini (until 1918; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, April 23–27, 1918, lot 76); [French & Company, New York, 1918–22; sold to MMA]



A23

Marcus Aurelius

Italy, probably late 18th–early 19th century
 Formerly: Italy, late 16th century
 Bronze, H. 13³/₈ in. (35.2 cm)
 Engraved on back of base: M. AVRELIO
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1927 ([27.36.10](#))
 Provenance: Ogden Mills (until 1927; to MMA)



A24

Vase

Possibly Italy, 18th–19th century
 Bronze, H. 3³/₄ in. (9.5 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1464](#))
 Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York
 (until 1964; to MMA)
 Reference: Untermyer 1962, pls. 72, 73



A25

Mount with Grotesque Masks

Europe, mid-17th century or later
 Formerly: Probably Florence,
 mid-17th century
 Bronze, 6¹/₆ × 5¹/₂ × 3¹/₄ in. (15.4 × 14 × 8.3 cm)
 Gift of Eugene Victor Thaw, 1977 ([1977.318](#))
 Provenance: Eugene Victor Thaw (until 1977;
 to MMA)



A26

Apollo and Marsyas

Possibly Italy, 19th–20th century, in the
 manner of the 16th-century Paduan school
 Formerly: Manner of Andrea Briosco, called
 Riccio, Padua, first quarter of 16th century
 Bronze, H. 6³/₈ in. (16.2 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1414](#))
 Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York
 (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 Reference: Untermyer 1962, pp. 14–15, pl. 11



A27

Satyr Riding a Goat

Italy, 19th–20th century, in the manner of the
 16th-century Paduan school
 Formerly: Workshop of Andrea Briosco, called
 Riccio, Padua, early 16th century
 Bronze, H. 6³/₄ in. (17.1 cm)
 Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1939 ([39.24](#))
 Provenance: Ernst Rosenfeld; [R. Stora, 1939;
 sold to MMA]



A28

Box

After Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, Italy,
 probably 19th century
 Formerly: Caradosso (Cristoforo Caradosso
 Foppa); Desiderio da Firenze; Severo
 Calzetta da Ravenna, Padua, second quarter
 16th century
 Bronze, 3 × 7³/₄ × 4¹/₈ in. (7.6 × 19.7 × 10.5 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1926 ([26.276.1](#))
 Provenance: John P. Heseltine, London;
 Ogden Mills (until 1926; to MMA)



A29
**Sixteenth-century Style Oil Lamp
 in a Stand**
 Rome, 19th–20th century
 Bronze, H. 16½ in. (41.9 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1457](#))
 Provenance: Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim
 Palace (until 1912; sale, Christie's, London,
 June 25, 1912, lot 63); William Salomon, New
 York (until 1923; sale, American Art Galleries,
 New York, April 4–7, 1923, lot 424); Irwin
 Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 Reference: Untermyer 1962, pls. 64, 65



A30
Eve
 After a model by Antonio Rizzo, Italy, 19th–20th century
 Formerly: Follower of Antonio Rizzo, Venice, first quarter
 16th century
 Bronze, H. 17¼ in. (43.8 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1437](#))
 Provenance: William Salomon, New York (until 1923; sale,
 American Art Galleries, New York, April 4–7, 1923, lot 435);
 Mrs. Henry Walters (until 1941; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries,
 New York, May 1, 1941, part 2, lot 1305); Irwin Untermyer,
 New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 Reference: Untermyer 1962, pl. 37



A31
Man Struggling with a Serpent
 Italy, possibly 19th century, after the antique
 Formerly: Padua, early 16th century
 Bronze, H. 3¾ in. (9.5 cm)
 Rogers Fund, 1938 ([38.22.2a, b](#))
 Provenance: Frank Gair Macomber, Boston;
 [J. and J. Jackson, 1938; sold to MMA]



A32
Man with Arm Raised
 Possibly Italy, probably 19th century
 Formerly: Style of Tiziano Aspetti; School
 of Jacopo Sansovino, possibly Venice, late
 16th century
 Bronze, gilt, H. 11¼ in. (28.6 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.9](#))
 Provenance: Ernest de Ganay (until 1924;
 sale, Paris, June 12, 1924); Ogden Mills (1924;
 to MMA)



A33
Nude Warrior
 Possibly Italy, possibly 19th century
 Formerly: Possibly Italy, late 16th century (?)
 Bronze, H. 13¾ in. (34 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.13](#))
 Provenance: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)



A34
Nude Warrior with Helmet, Spear, and Sword
 Possibly Italy, possibly 19th century
 Formerly: Possibly Italy, possibly late 16th century
 Bronze, H. 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (32.7 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.14)
 Provenance: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)



A35
Renaissance-style Statuette of the Baptism of Christ
 Italy, 19th century
 Bronze, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (40 × 52.1 cm)
 The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.60)
 Provenance: Jules S. Bache, New York (until 1949; to MMA)



A36
Man with a Toothache
 Possibly Italy, 19th–early 20th century
 Formerly: Possibly Padua, 16th century
 Bronze, H. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.6 cm)
 Rogers Fund, 1927 (27.14.12)
 Provenance: Alphonse Kann, Paris (until 1927; sale, American Art Association, New York, January 6–8, 1927, lot 362; sold to MMA)



A37
Architecture
 After a model by Giambologna, Italy (?), late 19th–early 20th century
 Formerly: After a model by Giambologna, Florence, 17th century
 Bronze, H. 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (36.2 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1449)
 Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)
 References: Untermyer 1962, pl. 56; Wixom 1975, cat. 150; Untermyer 1977, no. 313



A38
Abduction of a Sabine Woman
 After Giambologna, Europe, late 19th–early 20th century
 Formerly: Follower of Giambologna, possibly Florence, probably early 17th century
 Bronze, H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25.1 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 (25.142.14)
 Provenance: Henri Lehmann (until 1925; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4–13, 1925, lot 358); Ogden Mills (1925; to MMA)



A39
Old Sabine Crouching
 After a model by Giambologna, Europe, probably late 19th century
 Formerly: Workshop of Giambologna, Florence
 Bronze, H. 9 in. (22.9 cm)
 Fund: Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.216.2)
 Provenance: [J. & S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt, until 1909; sold to MMA]
 References: Breck 1913c, no. 79; Venturi 1935–37, vol. 3, fig. 622; Dhanens 1956, p. 239, no. 2



A40

Wild Boar

Probably after Giovanni Francesco Susini,
Europe, 19th century
Formerly: Probably after Giovanni Francesco
Susini, Florence, late 17th century
Bronze, 7 × 8¼ in. (17.8 × 21 cm)
Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1451](#))
Provenance: J. Wernher, London; Irwin
Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)
Reference: Untermyer 1962, pl. 58



A41

Hercules and the Cretan Bull

Europe, 19th century or later
Manner of Giambologna, France or the
Netherlands, early 17th century
Bronze, 21¾ × 16 in. (55.2 × 40.6 cm)
Gift of Jean A. Seligmann and Arnold
Seligmann, in memory of Arnold Seligmann,
1933 ([33.20](#))
Provenance: Porgès, Paris; Arnold Seligmann;
Jean A. Seligmann (until 1933; to MMA)



A42

Samson and the Lion

Europe, 19th–20th century
Formerly: Probably Italy, 17th century
Bronze, 7¼ × 7¼ × 6⅜ in. (18.9 × 20.2 ×
16.2 cm)
The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982
([1982.60.107](#))
Provenance: Jack and Belle Linsky, New York
(until 1982; to MMA)
Reference: Linsky 1984, no. 74



A43

Two Men Fighting a Lion

Europe, 19th century
Formerly: Florence, 17th–18th century (?)
Bronze, H. 14½ in. (36.8 cm)
The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael
Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.186](#))
Provenance: Michael Friedsam, New York
(until d. 1931; to MMA)



A44

Hercules and the Nemean Lion

Europe, 19th–20th century
Formerly: Italy or Germany, late 17th century
Bronze, H. 12¾ in. (32.4 cm)
The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.96](#))
Provenance: [A. S. Drey, Munich]; Samuel Untermyer, New York and
Yonkers (until 1940; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, May 10–11,
1940, lot 161); Alvin Untermyer, New York and Greenwich, Conn. (until
1964; sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, October 2–3, 1964, lot 285);
[Arthur Erlanger]; Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)
References: Bode 1922, pl. 35.2; Linsky 1984, no. 79



A45

Cupid

Europe, possibly 19th century, after the antique

Formerly: Northern Italy, 16th century
Bronze, H. 3 in. (7.6 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.166](#))

Provenance: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 2, no. 179



A46

Resting Hercules

Europe, late 19th–early 20th century

Formerly: Florence, 16th century
Bronze, H. 9¾ in. (24.8 cm)

Bequest of Irwin Untermyer, 1973
([1974.28.143](#))

Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1973; to MMA)



A47

Hercules

Europe, 19th century

Formerly: Possibly Venice, mid-16th century
Bronze, H. 8½ in. (21.6 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1545](#))

Provenance: Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin; Henry Oppenheimer, London (until 1936; sale, Christie's, London, July 15, 1936, lot 127); Irwin Untermyer (by 1962–64; to MMA)

References: Bode 1907–12, vol. 3, pl. CCXL; London 1912, no. 63, pl. XXXII; Bode 1922, pl. 72; London 1930, p. 449D; Planiscig 1930, no. 233, pl. 133; Untermyer 1962, pl. 142; Untermyer 1977, no. 304



A48

Youthful Hercules

Europe, probably 19th century

Formerly: Possibly Italy, possibly 16th century
Bronze, traces of gilding, H. 12⅞ in. (32.7 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 ([68.141.21](#))

Provenance: Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin (by 1926); Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)



A49

Hercules (?)

Europe, 19th–20th century

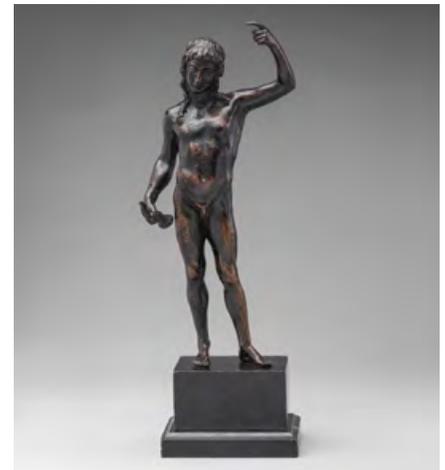
Formerly: School of Antonio Pollaiuolo, Florence, last quarter 15th century

Bronze, H. 10½ in. (26.7 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1438](#))

Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)

Reference: Untermyer 1962, pl. 38



A50

Youth

Europe, 19th–20th century, after the antique

Formerly: Italy, second half 15th century
Bronze, H. 10 in. (25.4 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1439](#))

Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)



A51

Male Torso

Europe, 19th–20th century
Formerly: Ferrara, late 15th century
Bronze, H. 6½ in. (16.5 cm)
Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1432](#))
Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1964; to MMA)
Reference: Untermyer 1962, pl. 40



A52

Neptune

Europe, probably 19th century
Formerly: Jacopo Sansovino, Italy, 16th century
Bronze, H. 6½ in. (15.6 cm)
Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1968 ([68.141.11](#))
Provenance: Richard von Kaufmann (no. 228); Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1968; to MMA)
Reference: Untermyer 1962, pl. 38



A53

Vulcan

Europe, probably 19th century
Formerly: Venice, late 16th century
Bronze, 12½ × 3¾ × 3¾ in. (30.8 × 8.6 × 9.5 cm)
Bequest of Mary Cushing Fosburgh, 1978 ([1979.135.18](#))
Provenance: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Mary Cushing Fosburgh (until 1978; to MMA)
Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 2, no. 137, pl. XCVIII



A54

Lucretia

Europe, possibly 19th century
Formerly: Possibly Florence, second half 16th century
Bronze, H. 9¾ in. (24.8 cm)
Rogers Fund, 1910 ([10.141.3](#))
Provenance: [Heilbronner Gallery, until 1910; sold to MMA]



A55

Warrior

Europe, 19th century
Formerly: Italy, 16th century
Bronze, H. 10½ in. (25.7 cm)
Bequest of Michael Dreicer, 1921 ([22.60.35](#))
Provenance: Michael Dreicer (until 1921; to MMA)



A56

Bacchus with a Panther

Europe, possibly 19th–early 20th century
Formerly: Italy, possibly 16th–17th century
Bronze, H. 9½ in. (23.2 cm)
The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.190](#))
Provenance: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)
Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 104, pl. LXX



A57

Bacchus and a Panther

Europe, possibly 19th–early 20th century

Formerly: Possibly Florence, 16th–17th century

Bronze, H. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22.4 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982

([1982.60.99](#))

Provenance: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)

Reference: Linsky 1984, no. 66



A58

Apollo Sauroktonos

Europe, 19th century

Formerly: Italy, 18th–19th century

Bronze, H. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (16.2 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael

Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.160](#))

Provenance: J. Pierpont Morgan, London (until d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 101



A59

Hercules Leaning on a Club

Europe, probably 19th century

Formerly: Italy, 17th century

Bronze, H. 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (32.7 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael

Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.161](#))

Provenance: Baron Achille Seillière (until 1890; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 5–10, 1890, lot 433); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (until d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 90, pl. LVIII



A60

Goddess

Europe, probably 19th–early 20th century, after the antique

Formerly: Italy, 17th–18th century

Bronze, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (34.3 × 10.2 × 9.8 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.25](#))

Provenance: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)



A61

Renaissance-style Statuette of Venus

Possibly France, 19th century

Formerly: Italy, probably 19th century

Bronze, H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (81 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael

Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.182](#))

Provenance: J. Pierpont Morgan, London (until d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 2, no. 182



A62

Young Satyr with Cymbals

Europe, 19th century

Formerly: Italy, 19th century

Bronze, H. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (21 cm)

Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1947 ([47.150.1](#))

Provenance: Rita de Acosta Lydig; Philip M. Lydig, New York; Irwin Untermyer, New York (until 1947; to MMA)

References: Valentiner and Friedley 1913, no. 25



A63

Satyr

Europe, probably late 19th century
 Formerly: Style of Andrea Briosco, called Riccio, northern Italy, 16th–17th century
 Bronze, gilt, H. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (18.1 cm)
 Bequest of Michael Dreicer, 1921 ([22.60.40](#))
 Provenance: Michael Dreicer (until 1921; to MMA)



A64

Rearing Horse

Europe, 19th century or later
 Bronze, 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (34.6 × 42.5 × 14.6 cm)
 The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 ([1982.60.104](#))
 Provenance: Jack and Belle Linsky (until 1982; to MMA)
 Reference: Linsky 1984, no. 78



A65

Pair of Centaurs

Europe, 19th century
 Formerly: Italy, 17th century
 Bronze, (.20) 5 × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (12.7 × 13.7 cm); (.19) 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14.6 × 14 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1925 ([25.142.20](#), [19](#))
 Provenance: Henri Lehmann, Paris (until 1925; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4–13, 1925, lot 390); Ogden Mills (until 1925; to MMA)
 Reference: Breck 1925



A66

Deer

Europe, probably 19th century, after the antique
 Formerly: Northern Italy, late 15th century
 Bronze, H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14 cm)
 Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 ([24.212.2](#))
 Provenance: Ogden Mills (until 1924; to MMA)



A67

Lioness

Europe, 19th century
 Formerly: Probably northern Italy, 16th century
 Bronze, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (11.4 cm)
 The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.169](#))
 Provenance: J. Pierpont Morgan, London (until d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)
 Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 76, pl. XLVI



A68

Ewer in the Shape of a Chimera

Europe, Renaissance Revival style, 19th century
 Formerly: Venice or Padua, first quarter 16th century
 Bronze, H. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (21 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1420](#))
 Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 Reference: Untermyer 1962, pl. 21



A69

Ewer

Europe, Renaissance Revival style, possibly mid-late 19th century

Formerly: Venice, second half 16th century
Bronze, 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (45.4 × 26 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1953 ([53.209](#))

Provenance: Pollak, Vienna; [Blumka Gallery, New York, until 1953; sold to MMA]



A70

Ewer

Europe, Renaissance Revival style, 19th century

Formerly: Venice, 16th century
Bronze, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (36.5 × 16.5 × 14.6 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 ([17.190.632](#))

Provenance: J. Pierpont Morgan (until 1917; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 2, no. 145, pl. CIV



A71

Inkwell

Europe, Renaissance Revival style, 19th century

Formerly: Padua or Venice, ca. 1500
Bronze, 3 $\frac{1}{6}$ × 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (8.7 × 9.2 cm)

Gift of Ogden Mills, 1927 ([27.36.4](#))

Provenance: Edouard Chappey, Paris (until 1907; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 5–7, 1907, lot 1718); [Stettiner et Cie, France, until 1926; sold to Mills]; Ogden Mills (1926–27; to MMA)



A72

Bell

Europe, Renaissance Revival style, 19th century

Formerly: Padua or Venice, 16th century
Bronze, H. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (12.4 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 ([32.100.165](#))

Provenance: Henry J. Pfungst, London (until 1901; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1901–d. 1913); Michael Friedsam, New York (until d. 1931; to MMA)

Reference: Bode 1910, vol. 1, no. 62, pl. XL



A73

Bell

Europe, Renaissance Revival style, 19th century

Formerly: Possibly Florence, 16th century or late imitation of Renaissance style
Bronze, H. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17.1 cm)

Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 ([41.190.53](#))

Provenance: George and Florence Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–her d. 1930); George Blumenthal (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)

Reference: Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. XLVIII



A74

Bell

Europe, 19th century

Formerly: Giovanni Battista de Maria, Vicenza, 1693

Bronze, H. 6 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (16 cm)

Falsely signed and dated “Giovanni Battista de Maria” “1693”

Gift of Nathaniel Spear Jr., 1986 ([1986.269](#))

Provenance: Nathaniel Spear Jr. (until 1986; to MMA)



A75

Doorknocker

Europe, 19th century
 Formerly: Venice, ca. 1550
 Bronze, H. 11¼ in. (28.6 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1454](#))
 Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York
 (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 Reference: Untermyer 1962, pl. 61



A76

Doorknocker

Europe, possibly 19th century
 Formerly: Possibly Venice, mid-16th century
 Bronze, H. 13¼ in. (33.7 cm)
 Fletcher Fund, 1949 ([49.60.11](#))
 Provenance: [R. Stora, New York]; Joseph
 Brummer (until 1949; sale, Parke-Bernet
 Galleries, New York, May 11–14, 1949, lot 501;
 sold to MMA)



A77

Inkstand

Europe, probably 19th–20th century
 Formerly: Probably Padua, ca. 1500
 Bronze, H. 4¼ in. (10.8 cm)
 Rogers Fund, 1909 ([09.216.3](#))
 Provenance: [J. & S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt,
 until 1909; sold to MMA]
 Reference: Breck 1913c, no. 93



A78

Supporting Element

Europe, Renaissance Revival style,
 19th–20th century
 Formerly: Venice, 16th century
 Bronze, H. 15¼ in. (38.7 cm)
 Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941
 ([41.190.56](#))
 Provenance: George and Florence
 Blumenthal, Paris and New York (by 1926–
 her d. 1930); George Blumenthal
 (1930–d. 1941; to MMA)
 Reference: Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. LVI



A79

Pair of Candlesticks

Europe, Renaissance Revival style,
 19th century
 Formerly: Venice, 16th century
 Bronze
 Gift of Edith and Herbert Lehman Foundation
 Inc., 1969 ([69.110.1, 2](#))
 Provenance: Edith and Herbert Lehman
 Foundation, Inc. (until 1969; to MMA)



A80

Triton with a Shell Serving as a Saltcellar

Europe, possibly early 19th century
 Formerly: Follower of Gian Lorenzo Bernini,
 Rome, third quarter 17th century
 Copper, parcel gilt and silver gilt, 5¼ × 4⅞ ×
 4⅞ in. (12.9 × 12.4 × 11.3 cm)
 Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 ([64.101.1468](#))
 Provenance: Irwin Untermyer, New York
 (by 1962–64; to MMA)
 Reference: Untermyer 1962, p. xxxv, pl. 78

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Typeset in Equity, GT Super Text, and Mallory by Tina Henderson

Front cover: Alessandro Vittoria, *Saint Sebastian* (detail), 1566 ([cat. 58](#))

Back cover: Antonio Susini (?), after a model by Giambologna, *Fortuna* (detail), early 17th century ([cat. 122](#))

Frontispiece: Giambologna, *Triton* (detail), 1590s ([cat. 116](#))

Dedication: Gian Marco Cavalli (attributed), *Mars, Venus, and Cupid with Vulcan at His Forge (The Mantuan Roundel)*, ca. 1500 ([see p. 3](#))

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Page 4: Domenico Guidi, after a composition by Alessandro Algardi, *Pope Innocent X* (detail), ca. 1690 ([cat. 151](#))

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Page 69: Antico, *Spinario* (detail), probably modeled by 1496, cast ca. 1501 ([cat. 9](#))

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Page 169: Nicolò Roccatagliata, *Virgin and Child* (detail), early 17th century ([cat. 66](#))

Page 253: Francesco Fanelli, *Mercury and Cupid* (detail), late 1630s ([cat. 92](#))

Page 281: Camillo Mariani, *Siren* (detail), ca. 1600 ([cat. 110](#))

Page 329: Antonio Susini, after a model by Giambologna, *Abduction of a Sabine* (detail), cast probably 16th century ([cat. 135](#))

Page 403: Melchiorre Cafà, *Pope Alexander VII* (detail), 1667 ([cat. 152](#))

Page 443: Probably after a model by Lorenzo Vaccaro, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (detail), late 17th century ([cat. 166](#))

Page 455: Luigi Valadier, *Five-light Candelabrum* (detail), 1774 ([cat. 173](#))

Page 479: *Prisoner* (detail), late 16th–early 17th century ([cat. 181](#))

Page 491: *Cupid about to Fire an Arrow* (detail), 18th or 19th century ([cat. 199](#))

Page 505: Nicolò Roccatagliata, *Siren* (detail), late 16th–early 17th century ([cat. A5](#))

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