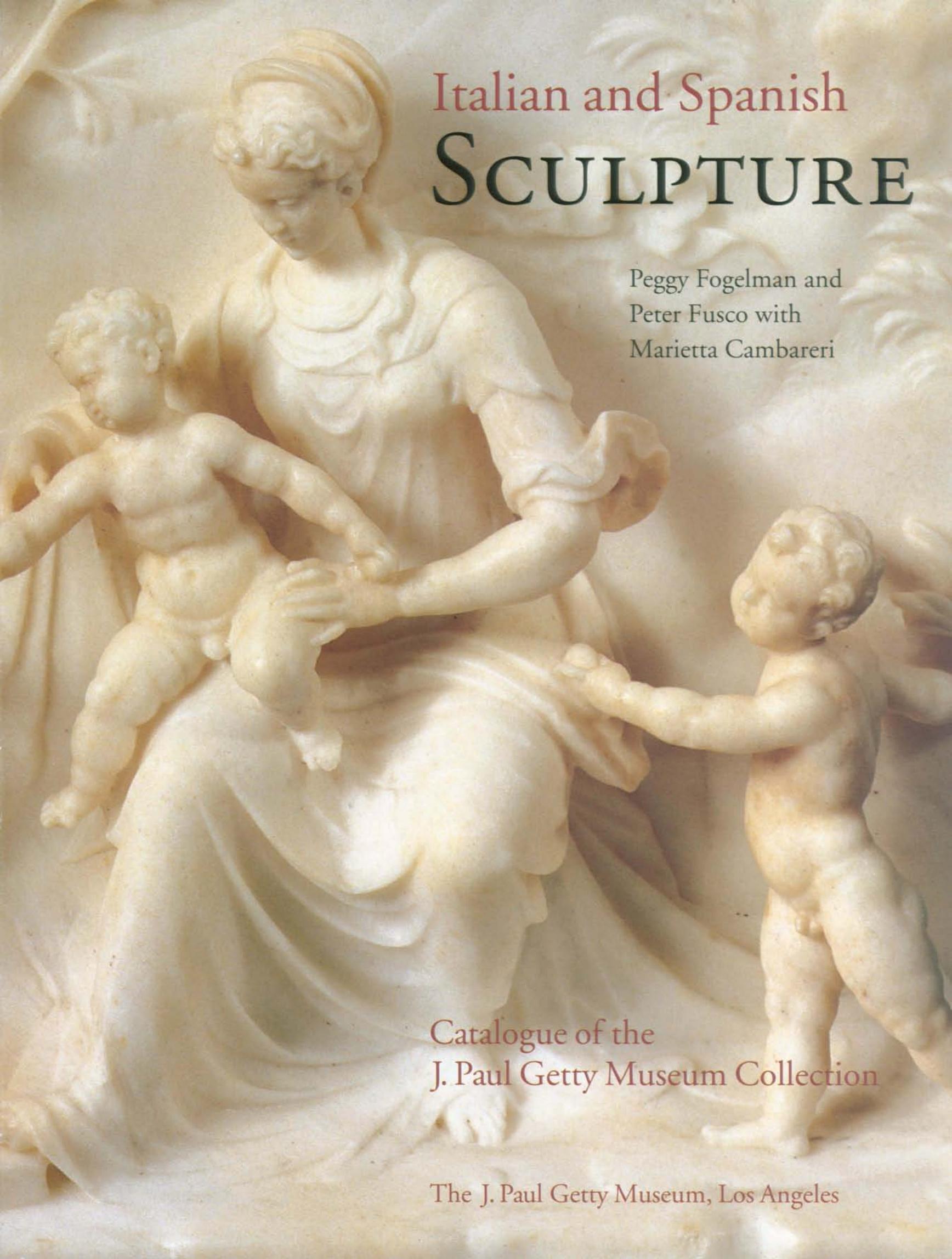
A detailed marble bust of a woman, likely a 17th-century Italian or Spanish noblewoman. She has a large, voluminous wig made of many tight, curly curls. Her face is serene with closed eyes. She wears a wide, flat necklace with a repeating geometric pattern. A large, ornate medallion hangs from the necklace, featuring a relief of a seated figure, possibly a child or a saint. The bust is set against a dark background.

Italian and Spanish  
**SCULPTURE**

Catalogue of the  
J. Paul Getty Museum Collection

Italian and Spanish  
**SCULPTURE**



A detailed marble relief sculpture depicting a woman, likely a deity or saint, seated and holding a young child. Another child stands to her right, reaching towards her. The woman has a serene expression and is dressed in a long, flowing gown. The children are depicted with soft, rounded features and curly hair. The background shows faint relief carvings of other figures.

# Italian and Spanish SCULPTURE

Peggy Fogelman and  
Peter Fusco with  
Marietta Cambareri

Catalogue of the  
J. Paul Getty Museum Collection

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

© 2002 J. Paul Getty Trust

Getty Publications  
1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 500  
Los Angeles, California 90049-1682  
www.getty.edu

Christopher Hudson, Publisher  
Mark Greenberg, Editor in Chief  
Ann Lucke, Managing Editor

*Project staff*

Karen Jacobson and Alison Pearlman, Editors  
Jim Drobka and Hillary Sunenshine, Designers  
Amita Molloy, Production Coordinator  
Jack Ross, Photographer

Typesetting by G & S Typesetters, Inc., Austin, Texas  
Printed in Italy by Mondadori Printing

Unless otherwise specified, all photographs are courtesy of the institution  
owning the work illustrated.

Cover: Giuliano Finelli. *Bust of a Noblewoman*, 1630s (detail).

See cat. no. 26.

Pages ii–iii: Benedetto Cervi. *The Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth  
and the Young Saint John the Baptist*, 1520s–1530s (detail). See cat. no. 5.

Page v: Vincenzo Gemito. *Medusa*, 1911 (detail). See cat. no. 43.

Page vi: After Gianlorenzo Bernini. *Neptune with Dolphin*, probably 17th  
century (after 1623) (detail). See cat. no. 22.

Page 2: After a model by Benvenuto Cellini. *Satyr*, modeled c. 1542,  
date of cast uncertain (detail). See cat. no. 6.

Page 364: Giovanni Battista Foggini. *Dancing Faun*, c. 1700 (detail).  
See cat. no. 30.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

J. Paul Getty Museum.

Italian and Spanish sculpture : catalogue of the J. Paul Getty  
Museum collection / Peggy Fogelman and Peter Fusco, with Marietta  
Cambareri.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-89236-689-3 (hardcover)

I. Sculpture, Italian—Catalogs. 2. Sculpture, Spanish—Catalogs.  
3. Sculpture—California—Los Angeles—Catalogs. 4. Sculpture—  
Expertising—Catalogs. 5. J. Paul Getty Museum—Catalogs.  
I. Fogelman, Peggy. II. Fusco, Peter, 1945- III. Cambareri, Marietta.  
IV. Title.

NB611 .J25 2003

730'.945'07479494—dc21

2002013421

## CONTENTS



1	Foreword
3	Note to the Reader
4	Catalogue
352	Appendix A: X Rays of Selected Sculptures
360	Appendix B: Analysis of Bronze Alloys
365	Index



## FOREWORD

In his comparison of the arts of painting and sculpture, the sixteenth-century Italian artist Benvenuto Cellini clearly favored the latter, stating: “But how much greater, eternal, and whole is sculpture/ In gold, silver, bronze and marble./ It is worthy to take first dominion/ Over all the other arts.” For Cellini, the conception of form integral to sculpture was the basis for design and, when color was added, gave birth to painting. Whether or not one agrees with his assessment, it is clear that sculpture speaks with its own voice, and no era in the history of art can be fully understood without reference to its sculptural production. For instance, one can hardly imagine a meaningful study of the Italian Baroque that ignores the brilliant innovations of Gianlorenzo Bernini, whose work is represented in the Getty’s collection by his precocious marble *Boy with a Dragon*. And although Cellini’s view of sculpture as the “mother” of painting may not be entirely accurate, the two arts are often so complementary in aesthetic intention that they become nearly inseparable. The profound dialogue that can occur between the Museum’s bronze bust by Antico and its *Adoration of the Magi* by Andrea Mantegna—works by the greatest sculptor and painter, respectively, of Renaissance Mantua—is just one example.

These are some of the reasons why in 1984, under the directorship of John Walsh, the Museum embarked on the serious pursuit of European sculpture, hiring Peter Fusco to head the new department. At that time, the few sculptures in our collection were primarily decorative works purchased to ornament the Museum’s exceptional examples of French furniture.

Now, less than two decades later, the Museum’s collection encompasses all the materials that Cellini praised for their permanence—and some he did not, such as wood, terra-cotta, and porcelain. As this volume demonstrates, the Getty’s holdings, while not comprehensive, rival larger American collections in the quality and scope of certain areas of concentration, such as sixteenth- and seventeenth-century bronzes. The predominance of larger-scale figural compositions, often associated with important court or ecclesiastical commissions, distinguishes this group of bronzes from many museum and private collections, which more typically consist of the small statuettes and functional objects abundantly produced in this period. Other areas of

strength include Neoclassicism, here represented by its greatest practitioner and the most famous artist of his time, Antonio Canova, as well as terra-cotta sculpture from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of these works, of British and French origin, will be published in a future volume.

The Museum owes Peter Fusco a great debt of gratitude. From 1984 until his retirement in 2000, he built and shaped the collection with his discerning eye and passionate connoisseurship. His achievement is apparent on every page of this publication. In all areas of his work—acquisition, interpretation, and scholarly research—he collaborated closely with his staff, whose own tastes and knowledge proved highly influential. Therefore, I am equally grateful to the coauthors of this catalogue. Marietta Cambareri is responsible for many of the entries and contributed extensive research to many others. Peggy Fogelman wrote the majority of entries; to her I extend particular thanks and admiration not only for her keen scholarship but also for the graceful persistence she exercised in shepherding this publication to completion. I also want to acknowledge Scott Schaefer, who, as acting curator of sculpture after Peter’s retirement, oversaw this project.

This catalogue benefited enormously from the contributions of other staff members, graduate interns, and research assistants, some of whom appear as coauthors of several of the entries: Denise Allen, Victoria Avery, Catherine Hess, Kathrin Holderegger, Anne Iverson, Anna Jolly, James Peck, and Simon Stock. I would also like to thank the three scholars who reviewed the text and provided invaluable advice, expertise, and insight with such generosity and collegiality: Giancarlo Gentilini, Bertrand Jestaz, and Nicholas Penny.

The reader will undoubtedly notice the unusual thoroughness with which the manufacture, materials, and condition of the sculptures in this volume are described, as well as the appendixes containing X-ray and alloy analyses. Brian Considine and his staff in the Department of Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation—particularly Jane Bassett, Abigail Hykin, and Julie Wolfe—deserve recognition for their dedication to the technical examination and interpretation of the Getty’s sculptures and their leadership in the field of bronze analysis. Sculpture, by its very nature,

demands the sort of viewer interaction that is difficult to replicate in two-dimensional illustrations. Nevertheless, Jack Ross has done a magnificent job in photographing the Museum's collection of sculpture from every angle and in great detail, and I am very grateful for his efforts. We are all grateful to Karen Jacobson, who meticulously edited the manuscript, with the assistance of Alison Pearlman. Finally, I would like to thank the design and production staff of Getty Publications for their excellent work on this catalogue: Jim Drobka and Hillary Sunenshine provided the handsome design and layout, while Amita Molloy oversaw the production.

I look forward to the publication of future volumes as the Museum's collection of European sculpture continues to grow and enrich our understanding of the history of Western art.

DEBORAH GRIBBON

Director, J. Paul Getty Museum

Vice President, J. Paul Getty Trust



## NOTE TO THE READER

The text of each catalogue entry is preceded by an introductory section providing basic information such as artist, title, and date, as well as a technical description. The latter section offers an assessment of the object's present condition and discusses aspects of its manufacture that can be deduced from technical analyses. Tests performed on Getty objects include x-radiography, metal alloy analysis, thermoluminescence dating, pigment and binding-media analysis, petrographic (thin-section) analysis of core material, and isotopic analysis of marble. Each technique is referred to in the entries by its standard acronym.

X-radiographs (X rays) of Getty sculptures were taken by Jane Bassett, Abigail Hykin, Linda Strauss, or Arie Wallert.<sup>1</sup> Francesca Bewer (research fellow in the Museum Research Laboratory of the Getty Conservation Institute from November 1991 to June 1996), who provided enormous insight in interpreting all technical data, also reviewed the majority of the X rays in order to draw conclusions concerning casting methods. A selection of annotated X rays can be found in appendix A.

Three different techniques for elemental analysis were used in the examination of Getty bronzes: atomic absorption spectrometry (AAS), X-ray fluorescence (XRF), and inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS).<sup>2</sup> The term *bronze*, as it appears in the descriptive information at the beginning of each entry and in captions, generally denotes a copper alloy used for fine art sculpture. A qualitative summary of alloy composition is, however, provided in the technical descriptions. Some of the alloys identified as bronze may technically qualify as brass due to the greater percentage of zinc versus tin. A table listing the ICP-MS results appears in appendix B.

Thermoluminescence (TL) laboratories used for dating core material and terra-cottas are: Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Dr. Christian Goedicke); Oxford Research Laboratory for Art and Archaeology, Oxford University (Dr. Doreen Stoneham); Daybreak Nuclear and Medical Systems, Guilford, Connecticut (Dr. Victor J. Bortolot); and the Conservation Center of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Dr. Pieter Meyers). Each laboratory is hereafter referred to by city, and the year of analysis is noted.

Petrographic thin-section analysis of core material was performed by Ron Schmidting at the Museum Research

Laboratory of the Getty Conservation Institute. The thin sections of core material were prepared by the Department of Geology at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Isotopic analysis of marble samples was performed by Dr. Norman Herz of the Department of Geology, University of Georgia. Wood identification was carried out by Dr. Bruce Hoadley, University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Pigments were identified at the Getty Conservation Institute using polarized light microscopy (PLM) and scanning electron microscopy with energy-dispersive spectrometry (SEM-EDS). Binding media were identified at the Getty Conservation Institute using gas chromatography–mass spectrometry (GC-MS).

Explanations of the techniques used to produce the sculptures included in this catalogue can be found in J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles and London, 1997).

For their extensive work on the technical descriptions, the authors would like to thank Jane Bassett, associate conservator, and Abigail Hykin, formerly assistant conservator, at the J. Paul Getty Museum. The authors would also like to acknowledge, in particular, Brian Considine, head of the J. Paul Getty Museum Department of Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation, and David Scott, head of the Museum Conservation Laboratory of the Getty Conservation Institute, along with the staffs of these two departments, for their continuing analysis of the Museum's collection of European sculpture, their keen observations, and their invaluable assistance in helping us understand how the objects were made.

### Notes

1. Before August 1998 X rays were taken using an IRT/Nicolet 320/3200 unit with a maximum kV of 320. After that date a Phillips 450kV unit with a maximum kV of 450 was used.
2. AAS and XRF were performed at the Museum Research Laboratory of the Getty Conservation Institute under the direction of Dr. David Scott. AAS was done using a Varian 4000 series atomic absorption instrument with graphite furnace for low levels of elemental concentrations. A Kevex 0750A spectrometer in secondary target mode was used for XRF. All XRF acquisitions were carried out at 50–55kV, 3.28–3.3 mA, for two hundred seconds. All bronzes were analyzed with a mixed barium/strontium target. See appendix B for ICP-MS testing procedures.

## FRANCESCO LAURANA

Vrana, Dalmatia, c. 1420–Avignon 1502; active in Naples, Sicily, and southern France

*Saint Cyricus*

c. 1470–80

Marble

H: 48.2 cm (19 in.)

W: 39 cm (15¼ in.)

D: 21 cm (8¼ in.) at the base

96.SA.6

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The head was broken off relatively cleanly at the neck. X rays reveal that it is attached to the body with an iron rod and fill material, which is sandwiched between the two pieces. There are numerous minor chips and losses, especially to the base. The end of the nose was broken off and repaired and may have been carved from a new piece of stone. There are abraded indentations on the proper left temple and cheek. All of this damage may have been the result of a fall or severe blow to the sculpture. The proper left eye may have been recarved.

The surface of the stone—a fine-grained, yellowish marble—is worn and pitted, but various tool marks are still visible, including evidence of drills, chisels, and rasps. The area around the side of the base is strongly scored and roughened, probably to facilitate the adherence of stucco or wax with pigmented decoration, which is now lost. The top of the base, between the outer edge of the base and the body of the child, is less rough but is also unpolished, which may indicate that this area was originally pigmented. Similarly, there is a lightly scored circular area on the left side of the crown of the head, which may have been pigmented. There are minute traces of yellow, orange, and red pigment on the base, of uncertain date.

## PROVENANCE

Georges Saalman (d. 1995), Paris, since the 1950s, by inheritance to his widow, Mrs. Georges Saalman, 1995; Mrs. Georges Saalman, Paris, placed on consignment at Sotheby's, London, 1995; Sotheby's, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum through private treaty, 1996.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

P. Fusco, "An Image of Saint Cyricus by Francesco Laurana," in *La scultura II: Studi in onore di Andrew S. Ciechanowiecki*, issue of *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s., nos. 52–55 (1996): cover, 8–16; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 98; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 31; P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 14–17; P. Malgouyres and P. Sénéchal, *Peintures et sculptures d'Italie: Collections du xve au xixe siècle du Musée Calvet, Avignon*, exh. cat. (Avignon: Musée Calvet, 1998), 100; "Museum Acquisitions," *Report of the J. Paul Getty Trust, 1997–1998* (Los Angeles, 1998), 78; C. Damianaki, *The Female Portrait Busts of Francesco Laurana* (Manziana [Rome], 2000), 5.

NEITHER A BUST NOR A FULL FIGURE, the Getty marble depicts the half-length image of an infant on a high oval base or plinth, which is carved from the same block of marble as the figure. He holds a palm and a laurel branch, which are symbolic, respectively, of martyrdom and victory over death. He wears a waisted dress tied with a bow on each shoulder and one at the back, with the sleeves dagged at the elbows. On the crown of his skull is a lightly scored, circular area, which may have originally been pigmented to represent a bonnet (see FIG. 1B).<sup>1</sup> The strongly scored or roughened areas around the base almost certainly were intended to facilitate the adherence of a ground, which would have been painted to display decorative motifs, figural scenes, or an inscription.

This work was first published only recently, by the present author, who attributed it to Laurana, identified the subject as Saint Cyricus, and dated it c. 1470–80.<sup>2</sup> The attribution of the Getty work to Laurana seems fairly straightforward, most obviously because of the shape of its base and the scored, roughened areas on the marble. These unusual

elements are found in combination only in works that, although undocumented, have generally been accepted as by Laurana. The high oval base, carved from the same block of marble as the figure, appears in the four female portraits that have received the most universal acceptance as autograph busts by Laurana, three portraying a sitter of disputed identity (most frequently called portraits of a princess of the house of Aragon), in the Frick Collection, New York; in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; and formerly in the Bode Museum, Berlin. The fourth, *Bust of Battista Sforza*, is in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (FIG. 1A).<sup>3</sup> The bases of the Getty marble and these four female busts share not just a general similarity in shape but two other idiosyncrasies as well: (1) they are all slightly higher in front than in back, suggesting that the artist intended the heads to be seen tilted slightly backward, thus increasing the "distanced," cool, otherworldly nature of the images, and (2) they all slope inward, from bottom to top, away from the viewer and toward the sitter, further





1A Francesco Laurana. *Bust of Battista Sforza*, 1474–75. Marble. H: 50.8 cm (20 in.). Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

reinforcing the sense of distance from the viewer and providing a unique sense of stability, which adds to their motionless, timeless quality. Moreover, the cartouche in the form of a *tabula ansata* (a tablet or inscription plate with triangular handles) in the center of the base of the Getty marble, with its triple-banded frame flanked by angled wings, is identical to the same element in the bust formerly in Berlin and very similar to the central framed elements on the bases of the Frick and Washington busts. The rough and scored areas found on the base of the Getty marble also appear on the bases of the Frick and Washington busts, and comparable scored areas are found on the accepted Laurana female busts without bases, such as those in Palermo, Paris, and Vienna.<sup>4</sup>

Further supporting the attribution of the Getty marble to Laurana is the design and treatment of the bows on the

boy's dress. They are rendered as shallow, gently looping decorative accents very similar in conception to the single, curling locks of hair that meander down each side of the head in *Bust of Battista Sforza*. Finally, the fascination with physiognomy and proportional relationships that seems evident in both the Getty marble and Laurana's female busts is a topic that would benefit from detailed and systematic exploration.<sup>5</sup>

Laurana's style is eclectic, varying, depending upon the type of work, in its mix of late Gothic expressiveness, naturalism, and abstraction.<sup>6</sup> This must be due in part to the fact that he was such an itinerant artist, repeatedly adapting to local conventions and the desires of different patrons. For example, his penultimate documented work, *Calvary*, a relief of 1478–81 (Church of Saint Didier, Avignon), exhibits elements of a local late Gothic style.<sup>7</sup> The awkwardly composed scene includes a number of grimacing figures, with several faces bordering on caricature. In comparison to Laurana's female busts, it looks undisciplined and provincial. The female busts are characterized by a subtle distillation of observations from nature into a series of quasi-abstract forms composed in a balanced harmony and imbued with a sense of serenity and timeless perfection perhaps found elsewhere only in Cycladic idols and the work of Constantin Brancusi (1876–1957).

The Getty marble displays an expressive quality similar to that of the late Calvary relief, combined with naturalistic observations and the appearance, found in Laurana's female busts, that realistic details have been condensed into abstract forms. For example, its extraordinary rendering of an infant's cranium, surely based on careful studies from life, results in a skull-like quality, evoking one of the tortures suffered by this child. At the same time, it has been exploited to create a beautiful, abstract shape, which gives the head a strange, slightly spooky, otherworldly presence.

To identify the subject of the Getty marble, initially an attempt was made to see if any of Laurana's major patrons, the Aragon family and René d'Anjou, had sons who died young during the period when Laurana was working for them. No obvious candidate was found, and it seemed sensible, because of the martyr's palm held by the boy, to explore the possibility that he represented an infant martyr saint, most likely Saint Cyricus.



1B Detail, head, profile from proper left



1C Side view from proper right



1D Back view

Saint Cyricus (the name is spelled in a variety of ways, including Ciriucus, Ciryucus, and Ciriacus; in the Roman martyrology it is now given as Quiricus; in French it is Cyr or Ciryues, and in Italian, Quirico) was, according to legend, martyred around A.D. 304, along with his mother, Saint Julitta, for professing to be a Christian and refusing to pray to false idols.<sup>8</sup> Saint Cyricus was revered in Spain, Italy, and particularly Provence, in southern France; his reputed relics are said to have been brought from Antioch to Auxerre in the fourth century by Saint Amator, bishop of Auxerre, and then transferred to several other locations in southern France.

Various accounts detail a panoply of tortures to which the child was subjected: he was lifted by one leg and thrown



1E Side view from proper left

down on his head, cracking open his skull; his body was torn by iron claws, and boiling pitch was poured into his wounds; he was flagellated with lead-tipped whips; three iron nails were placed, according to different accounts, in each shoulder and in the neck, in each shoulder and the skull, or in each eye and the mouth; his body was flayed; he was decapitated; the skin was peeled back from his head, on which were then placed burning coals; he was put in a boiling cauldron; and he was sawn in half. He is said, in one account, to have cried abundantly. Some of these events appear to be reflected in Laurana's image. Although he looks up to heaven for salvation, the infant appears sad-eyed, with deep bags beneath his eyes.<sup>9</sup> The fact that he is shown half-length probably alludes to his having been sawn in half (he

became the patron saint of sawyers as well as of children). His torso is set inside, rather than on top of, the oval base, suggesting his immersion in a boiling cauldron. He places his left hand on top of the front edge of the plinth, thereby acknowledging it as an object, as if to keep himself from sinking; this apparently unprecedented detail introduces a narrative quality to the work. A fine line running over the top of the head from ear to ear, perhaps indicating where the skin was peeled back, emphasizes the skull-like quality of the head. Also, one must entertain the possibility that the head was in fact carved separately (even though broken off later), with a thin cut below one of the rolls of baby fat at the neck, in order to suggest that the boy had been beheaded. Finally, one can only conjecture that polychrome indications of his other tortures may also have originally been part of the work.

Typologically Laurana's image is unusual and inventive. It is the only known marble half-length figure in the round with its own base carved from the same block. In it the sculptor ingeniously combined several elements from other types of religious sculpture, which, for the Renaissance viewer, must have contributed to the figure's air of sanctity. The startling eyes raised to heaven (in stark contrast to the lowered eyes of the female busts) are found in earlier images of saints and in busts of the suffering Christ.<sup>10</sup> The combination of a base with a horizontally truncated figure recalls earlier reliquary busts in metal, polychrome wood, and terra-cotta, with short bases or simple bands for inscriptions.<sup>11</sup> Also, the half-length truncation of the human figure without a base is found almost exclusively in the depiction of saints, the Virgin, and the Annunciate Angel.<sup>12</sup> Finally, it was Laurana's and other Sicilian sculptors' custom to provide statues of the Virgin and Child with a plinth, or base, made specifically for them.<sup>13</sup>

As far as the dating of *Saint Cyricus* is concerned, the only relatively secure point of reference is provided by *Bust of Battista Sforza*. Of Laurana's female busts this is the one that can be dated with the most certainty to a fairly precise moment in the artist's career. Battista Sforza died in 1472, and in 1474 her widowed husband, Federigo da Montefeltro, visited the Aragonese court in Naples. Scholars have reasonably assumed either that Federigo commissioned the bust in Naples or that Laurana made an undocumented trip to

Urbino before his return to France in 1475. Based on this circumstantial evidence, *Bust of Battista Sforza* is presumed to be based on a death mask and to have been executed in 1474–75.<sup>14</sup> Given the current state of knowledge, it seems sensible to proceed with caution and to suggest for *Saint Cyricus* only a fairly broad time frame, c. 1470–80, the decade when *Bust of Battista Sforza* was probably executed. On the one hand, it can be conjectured that Laurana may have first used a high oval base when he made *Saint Cyricus* because such a base conveyed the idea of a cauldron and that he later adapted it for four of his female portraits; it can also be argued that *Saint Cyricus* was more likely to have been made prior to 1475 (when Laurana returned to France) since it provides a precedent—a half-length figure placed upon a high base—which seems later to have been copied most frequently in Neapolitan reliquary busts.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the highly expressive (originally potentially gruesome) naturalism of *Saint Cyricus* is more in tune with the style of the late Calvary relief than with the earlier documented statues of the Virgin and Child, and it appears that Saint Cyricus was more widely venerated in Provence. An initial review of the literature on the most obvious sites in Provence dedicated to Saint Cyricus has not revealed the location for which the Getty marble was made.<sup>16</sup> The next logical step, which might help pinpoint the date of *Saint Cyricus*, would seem to be an exhaustive exploration of the literature on all the religious institutions in Provence, Sicily, and Naples that were devoted to the cult of this fabulous figure.<sup>17</sup>

PETER FUSCO

#### Notes

1. The only other freestanding late fifteenth-century Saint Cyricus of which I am aware shows the child full-length, wearing a dress and bonnet; this stone figure is attributed to Louis Mourier in P. Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps* (Paris, 1901), 298–300, illus. following 298.
2. This entry is a slightly altered and abbreviated version of Fusco, “An Image of Saint Cyricus.” This article appeared too late for consideration in Damianaki, *Female Portrait Busts*, though the author rejects the attribution in her preface (p. 5). Malgouyres and Sénéchal (*Peintures et sculptures d’Italie*, 100) accept the attribution and compare it with *Bust of a Boy* in the Musée Calvet, Avignon (inv. N 110B), attributed to Laurana but rejected by H.-W. Kruff, *Francesco Laurana, ein Bildhauer der Frührenaissance* (Munich, 1995), 175. For the literature on Laurana, see Kruff, *Francesco Laurana*, with earlier bibliography; see also B. von Götz-Mohr, “Laura Laurana, Francesco Lauranas Wiener Porträtbuste und die Frage des wahren Existenz von Petrarca’s Laura in Quattrocento,” *Städel Jahrbuch*, n.s., 14 (1992): 147–72, which must have appeared after Kruff’s book had gone to press.
3. For these four busts, see Kruff, *Francesco Laurana*, nos. 16, 33, 2, 6. Some of the female busts by Laurana were first proposed as being by the same unidentified hand in L. Courajod, “Observations sur deux bustes du Musée de sculpture de la Renaissance du Louvre,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 28, no. 2 (1883): 24–42. On the basis of stylistic similarities with the faces of Laurana’s documented statues of the Virgin, several of the busts were first attributed to Laurana by W. von Bode, “Desiderio da Settignano und Francesco Laurana: Zwei italienische Frauenbüsten des Quattrocento in Berliner Museen,” *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1888): 209–27. W. R. Valentiner (“Laurana’s Portrait Busts of Women,” *Art Quarterly* 5 [1942]: 273–99) presented the first comprehensive treatment of the female busts. Subsequently there has been considerable debate over their dating and the identification of the sitters. Kruff (*Francesco Laurana*, 132–59) provides the most recent overview but adds little that is new and resolves no disputed issues. For a good overview, see also E. Mognetti, “Francesco Laurana, sculpteur du Roi René en Provence,” in *Le Roi René en son temps, 1382–1481*, exh. cat. (Aix-en-Provence: Musée Granet, 1981), 151–57, and the sensible, disinterested discussion in J. Pope-Hennessy, assisted by A. F. Radcliffe, *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue* (New York, 1970), vol. 3, 9–21. See also Götz-Mohr, “Laura Laurana,” and Fusco, “An Image of Saint Cyricus,” 12, n. 10.
4. For illustrations of the busts in the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia, Palermo; in the Louvre and the Musée Jacquemart André, Paris; and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, see, respectively, Kruff, *Francesco Laurana*, no. 24, pls. 26–29, no. 26, pls. 87–90, no. 27, pls. 91–93, fig. 124, no. 34, pls. 73–75.
5. Articles that tackle the difficult subjects of physiognomy and proportion, important issues for many artists of the period, include P. Meller, “Physiognomical Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits,” in *The Renaissance and Mannerism: Acts of the Twentieth Congress of the History of Art*, ed. M. Meiss et al. (Princeton, 1963), vol. 2, 53–69; P. Meller, “Quello che Leonardo non ha scritto sulla figura humana dall’uomo di Vitruvio alla Leda,” in *Arte lombarda*, n.s., no. 77 (1983–84): 117–33; L. Freedman, “Donatello’s Bust of a Youth and the Ficino Canon of Proportions,” in *Il ritratto e la memoria: Materiali*, vol. 1, ed. A. Gentili, Biblioteca del cinquecento, no. 48 (Rome, 1989), 113–32. Laurana’s fascination with physiognomy is attested to by the marble relief and medallion portraits of René d’Anjou’s deformed court jester, Triboulet (Kruff, *Francesco Laurana*, nos. 20, M2).
6. The eclectic nature of Laurana’s style was stressed in C. Seymour Jr., *Sculpture in Italy, 1400 to 1500* (Baltimore and Middlesex, 1966),

- which deals with Laurana in chap. 7, "Regionalism and Eclecticism, 1465–1500."
7. See Krufft, *Francesco Laurana*, 175–86, no. 1, 369–70, pls. 108–17, figs. 138–40.
  8. For Saint Cyricus in general, see *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. H. J. Thurston and D. Attwater (Westminster, Md., 1956; reprinted 1981), vol. 2, 552–54, with further bibliography; D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford and New York, 1982), 99. For depictions of Saint Cyricus in art, see L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1955–59), vol. 1, 360–63; G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Paris, 1952), vol. 1, 866–70; idem, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Painting* (Florence, 1965), vol. 2, 952–58; idem, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy* (Florence, 1985), vol. 4, 562–64. The most extensive reviews of the various accounts of Saint Cyricus, the tortures he suffered, and the places where he was worshiped in France are to be found in M. A. Crosnier, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Nevers* (Nevers, 1854) and, especially, idem, *Notice historique sur Saint Cyricus et Sainte Juliette, martyrs, patrons de l'insigne et royale église de Nevers* (Nevers, 1868). For the miracles attributed to Saint Cyricus (but little of interest in regard to his iconography), see *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint Georges*, trans. A. J. Festugière (Paris, 1971), 217–76. J. Corblet (*Hagiographie du Diocèse d'Amiens* [Amiens, 1874], vol. 4, 225) mentions a "statue de S. Cyr au Pont-de-Metz," which can no longer be traced.
  9. The only sculpted Renaissance head with nearly comparable drooping flesh under the eyes is the so-called *Vecchio Barbuto*, attributed to Donatello or his followers, c. 1460 (Florence, Bargello), illustrated in Jane Schuyler, *Florentine Busts: Sculpted Portraiture in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 1976), fig. 59; a beautiful variant cast of this head is in the collection of Michael Hall, New York.
  10. See, for example, the terra-cotta Ecce Homo busts illustrated in M. Harms, *Matteo Civitali, Bildhauer der Frührenaissance in Lucca* (Münster, 1995), figs. 61, 62, and the *Bust of Saint Leonard*, attributed to Donatello, illustrated in J. Poeschke, *Donatello and His World* (New York, 1993), pl. 87. To my knowledge the only earlier non-religious bust with eyes raised is *Niccolò da Uzzano*, attributed to Donatello, illustrated *ibid.*, pl. 73. Later busts with their eyes raised include the four terra-cottas given to Rustici and his school in J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1964), vol. 3, pls. 254–55. Schuyler (*Florentine Busts*, 68) notes that reliquary busts "are usually shown facing forward, with . . . the eyebrows level and the eyes out of focus," and "through constant repetition of the images, rigid immobility and lack of expression became visually associated with sanctity." This is generally true for third-rate repetitive devotional images but does not apply to exceptional, innovative works.
  11. See H. Keller, "Zur Entstehung der Reliquienbüste aus Holz," in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Hoffmann* (Berlin, 1956), 71–80, and F. Souchal, "Les bustes reliquaires et la sculpture," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 67 (April 1966): 205–16. For two Dalmatian reliquary busts of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, see I. Lentic, *Zlatno doba Dubrovnik XV stoljeće*, exh. cat. (Dubrovnik: Dubrovak Muzej, Knezevo dvor, 1987), nos. 2/2, 2/3.
  12. See, for example, the horizontally truncated half-length figures in the round of Saints Francis and Clare, the Virgin Annunciate, and the Annunciate Angel by the Lombardi in Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice, illustrated in L. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana: La scultura del cinquecento* (Milan, 1935), vol. 10, 1, 358–60; I thank Peter Meller for bringing these works to my attention. Schuyler (*Florentine Busts*, 68) notes that the half-length figure appeared during the Middle Ages for representations of the Madonna and Child but did not return to vogue in portraiture until the last quarter of the quattrocento in Florence. A major exception is Buggiano's half-figure of Brunelleschi, 1447 (Florence, Duomo), illustrated in Schuyler, *Florentine Busts*, fig. 7. See also A. Lugli, *Guido Mazzoni e la rinascita della terra-cotta nel quattrocento* (Turin, 1990), 82–83, fig. 109, for a half-length *San Domenico* by Niccolò dell'Arca. For two early sixteenth-century half-length figures, *San Pellegrino* and *San Romano*, attributed to Baccio da Montelupo, see G. Gentilini, *I della Robbia: La scultura invetriata nel rinascimento* (Florence, 1994), vol. 2, 472–73. The half-length *San Francesco* attributed to Nanni di Bartolo (detto il Rosso) and dated 1419–23 in *La bottega di Giuliano e Benedetto da Maiano nel rinascimento fiorentino*, exh. cat., ed. M. G. Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto (Fiesole: San Alessandro, 1994), no. 1, 47–48, 59, fig. 1, seems to me to be a later, *retardataire* work.
  13. See, for example, H.-W. Krufft, "Die Madonna von Trapani und ihre Kopien," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (June 1970): 297–322; idem, *Domenico Gagini und sein Werkstatt* (Munich, 1992); and idem, *Francesco Laurana*.
  14. Krufft, *Francesco Laurana*, 371, no. 6, with further literature, and Pope-Hennessy and Radcliffe, *Frick Collection*, 9–21.
  15. See, for example, *The Treasure of San Gennaro: Baroque Silver from Naples*, exh. cat. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1987). Also, half-length sculpted tomb portraits, with an unmitigated horizontal truncation, appear to be particular to Naples in the seventeenth century; see G. G. Borrelli, "Note per uno studio sulla tipologia della scultura funeraria a Napoli nel seicento," *Storia dell'arte*, no. 54 (1985): figs. 8, 10, 14, 16, 17.
  16. An extensive restoration of the Collegiale Saint-Cyr at Issoudun was completed about 1470 (R. Planchenault, in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, 1939–1940* [Paris, 1941], 173–89); it is tempting to suppose that *Saint Cyricus* was commissioned in conjunction with this, since the date of the restoration and the probable date of the bust seem to coincide.
  17. Saint Cyricus was also venerated on the Italian mainland; see, for example, M. Bosi, *SS. Quirico e Giulitta*, Chiesa di Roma illustrate, no. 60 (Rome, n.d.); G. Naldi, *San Quirico d'Orcia e dintorni* (Siena, 1976).

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

Paduan or Venetian

*Bull with Lowered Head*

c. 1510–25

Bronze

H: 12.4 cm (4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)D: 22.2 cm (8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)W: 6 cm (2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

85.SB.65

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

X rays show that the bronze was cast in one piece. The body and head are composed of hollow, thin walls, and the legs are solid. XRF analysis reveals the metal to be a copper-zinc-lead-tin alloy (see appendix B). There are regularly spaced core pins. A small hole (0.7 cm

in diameter) in the belly was probably made at the time of casting. A supporting armature may have passed through the hole, which was certainly used also to remove core material. Nails project from the bottom of the front proper right hoof, and there are remains of a similar nail in the rear proper left hoof. The nails probably served to mount the figure to its base. There is evidence of considerable cold work, for example, in the hair on the hooves, the hammering above the eyes, and the scraping on the surface. The bronze is covered with a thick brown-black coating over a golden brown lacquer. There are scratches through the coating, indicating that a mold was taken.

## PROVENANCE

Dr. Franz Kieslinger, Vienna, sold to August Lederer; August Lederer (d. 1936), Vienna, by inheritance to his widow, Serena Lederer, 1936;

Serena Lederer (d. 1943), Vienna, looted by the Nazis, 1938;<sup>1</sup> in the possession of the Nazis, restituted by the Allied forces to the Austrian government, 1947; Austrian government, restituted to the son of Serena Lederer, Erich Lederer, 1947; Erich Lederer (1896–1985), Geneva, by inheritance to his widow, Elisabeth Lederer, 1985; Elisabeth Lederer, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance* (Vienna, 1921), 591; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 260, no. 239; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 67.

THE GETTY STATUETTE depicts a lean bull ambling forward. The bull's head, turned slightly to the right, is lowered so that its curved horns jut forward. Its tail hangs in a gentle backward S-curve between its hind legs, the tip joining the lower part of its right leg.

The plentiful production of small bronze statuettes representing bulls in the Renaissance is due primarily to the survival of numerous votive bronze statuettes of bulls from antiquity. Renaissance statuettes of bulls vary from representations of docile, plodding beasts, such as the present model, to those of more alert, lively animals, epitomized by the vigorous bulls of Giambologna and Antonio Susini in the later sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The Getty *Bull* adheres to classical prototypes in the stylized depiction of its neatly cloven hooves and the clump of hair around its horns. The schematically rendered dewlap is also a stylized feature, falling as it does into ripplelike folds on both sides of the bull's neck rather than purely on the side to which its head is turned.<sup>3</sup>

In the Renaissance, bronze reliefs also sometimes depicted bulls. A typical example is the extremely naturalistic *Bull Grazing Seen from the Rear*, commonly attributed to Bartolomeo Bellano (Venice, Ca d'Oro).<sup>4</sup> Bulls occasionally

appear in small group sculptures of the Rape of Europa (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello; Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum; Venice, Museo Civico Correr).<sup>5</sup>

The survival of several other examples attests to the popularity of the present design. One, with traces of gilding, is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>6</sup> Two examples of lesser quality are in the Augustinian monastery, Klosterneuburg.<sup>7</sup> A fourth, of high quality, is in the holdings of the Parisian art dealer Brimo de Laroussilhe.<sup>8</sup> The Getty example has been almost completely ignored in the critical literature, presumably because it was formerly in a private collection. This omission is regrettable because the Getty statuette may be the finest and earliest of all the known extant examples.

None of the versions is signed, initialed, or dated, and there have been differing scholarly opinions regarding their authorship, place of origin, and date of manufacture. As with so many Renaissance bronzes, resolution of these issues is hampered by a lack of documentation. That the model has been compared with other animal statuettes is of little use, since there is no general consensus about the authorship of those bronzes. Given the lack of secure knowledge about the production of bronzes in the Veneto in the late fifteenth and





2A Side view from proper left

early sixteenth centuries, most authors have opted to identify statuettes in terms of generalized regions and periods. The most common designation is Padua, around 1500, surely due to the fact that the model's subject, medium, and dimensions, as well as its stylistic characteristics, recall the animal bronzes of such Paduan sculptors as Andrea Briosco, called Riccio, and Bartolomeo Bellano.<sup>9</sup> It should be noted, however, that although Padua is the city most often associated with the production of bronze statuettes, the possibility that the *Bull* was produced in Venice cannot be ruled out.<sup>10</sup>

Recently there has been a shift toward even more circumspect attributions, so that "north Italy" is preferred to Padua.<sup>11</sup> For example, Manfred Leithe-Jasper describes the Vienna model as "North Italian (probably Padua), ca. 1500," and links the bull model with the bronze group *Europa and the Bull* in the Bargello.<sup>12</sup> He also proposes that the *Ambling Horse* in Vienna might come from the same workshop, an idea that deserves consideration because freestanding bulls were often paired with horses in the later sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the Bargello *Europa* group is perhaps the closest to the Getty *Bull* in basic composition and in certain details: the sinuous curve of the tail, the bony angularity of the joints, and the rippling dewlap.

VICTORIA AVERY AND PETER FUSCO

#### Notes

1. The entire collection belonging to Serena Lederer was looted by the Nazis between November 1938 and May 1939, when the Lederers were forced to leave Austria in order to save themselves from persecution. After the war the Allies rescued the collection from the salt mine at Bad-Aussee and brought it to the collection point in Munich, where it was shipped back to Austria in 1947 and restituted to the son of Serena Lederer, Erich Lederer, by the Austrian government. Information on the collection and its confiscation can be found in documents at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. This note applies to all objects in the catalogue with a provenance from the Lederer collection.
2. The following are examples: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. 5757, 5714 (M. Leithe-Jasper, in *Italienische Kleinplastiken, Zeichnungen und Musik der Renaissance: Waffen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Besitz der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe des Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien*, exh. cat. [Vienna: Schloss Schallburg, 1976], 106–7, nos. 143, 144); Venice, Museo Civico Correr inv. XI (N. Gramaccini, in *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance*, exh. cat. [Frankfurt-am-Main: Liebieghaus–Museum alter Plastik, 1985], 547, no. 287); Padua, Musei Civici inv. 3 (D. Banzato and F. Pelligrini, *Bronzi e placchette dei Musei Civici di Padova* [Padua, 1989], 127, no. 122).
3. For example, see S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1909), vol. 2, 732, ill. 1. In *A Bronze Bestiary*, exh. cat. (New York: Rosenberg and Stiebel, 1985), 60, no. 42, P. Hunter Stiebel pointed out that the dewlap of the bull is represented conventionally rather than naturalistically.
4. For an illustration of the latter, see G. Mariacher, *Bronzetti veneti del rinascimento* (Vicenza, 1971), 24, no. 19.
5. For examples in the Bargello, see *ibid.*, no. 20. For the most recent discussion of the piece in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, see V. Krahn, in "Von allen Seiten schön": *Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1995), 208–9, no. 33. For examples in the Museo Civico Correr, see Mariacher, *Bronzetti veneti*, 33, no. 104.
6. Inv. PL.5704; H: 12.2 cm (4<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); M. Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1986), 98, no. 15, with further bibliography.
7. H: 14 cm (5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.); L. Planiscig, *Katalog der Kunstsammlungen im Stifte Klosterneuburg*, vol. 3, *Die Bronzen* (Vienna, 1942), 9, 10, nos. 7, 8. Gramaccini, in *Natur und Antike*, 546, no. 285, for inv. KG 507.
8. Previously it was in an American private collection; H: 12.7 cm (5 in.); E. Bertrand, *Sculptures et objets d'art précieux du VI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1992), 82–83, no. 24, with further bibliography. A variation, formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (inv. M.V. 33), is now in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, inv. M 19/33. See Gramaccini, in *Natur und Antike*, 546–47, no. 286.



2B Detail, head

9. Wilhelm von Bode first published the model in 1907 and captioned the Vienna example simply as fifteenth century; see *Die italienischen Bronzestatuetten* (Berlin, 1907), vol. 2, 12, pl. 115. Fritz Goldschmidt catalogued the Berlin variant as Paduan, around 1500, in *Die italienischen Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock* (Berlin, 1914), 17. In general, scholars have adhered to this idea.
10. For example, Bertrand Jestaz suggested that the *Bull* might be Venetian (note, JPM object file), observing its consonance with the bronze reliefs attributed to the Barbarigo Master in the Ca d'Oro, Venice.
11. For example, see James D. Draper's opinion in W. von Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, trans. W. Grétor, ed. and rev. J. D. Draper (New York, 1980), pl. 115.
12. Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Master Bronzes*, 98.
13. Bertrand (*Sculptures et objets d'art*, 82) affirms these comparisons.

## PIER JACOPO ALARI-BONACOLSI, CALLED ANTICO

Mantua(?) c. 1460–Gazzuolo 1528

*Bust of a Young Man*

c. 1520

Bronze with silver eyes

H (without socle): 54.7 cm (21½ in.)

W: 45 cm (17¾ in.)

D: 22.3 cm (8¾ in.)

86.SB.688

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

Gilt-bronze drapery, which was attached to the figure's chest prior to its acquisition by the Museum, was removed after it was determined to be a later addition (see FIG. 3B; see also appendix B). An opaque black varnish coated the surfaces of the head, face, and upper chest, extending to the edge of the drapery. The varnish was removed to reveal a brown patina that matched those areas of the chest that had been hidden beneath the drapery. Several drill holes were made in the chest for the attachment of drapery, and these have been filled. At the center of the chest, along the lower edge, is a roughly rectangular loss about 13.9 centimeters (5½ in.) wide and 2.9 centimeters (1⅛ in.) high, which may have occurred when the bust was removed from its original setting by twisting or cutting off the original mounting flange. The damaged area, which has been filled and toned, exhibited tool marks that indicated a mechanical cutting or filing of the edge. There is also a rectangular hole in the center of the back, above the bottom edge. ICP-MS revealed the metal composition to be a leaded copper-tin alloy (see appendix B). The eyes are coated with a silver layer, but it is not clear how it was adhered to the bronze.

Richard Stone of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has suggested that either a thin silver layer was applied mechanically or silver solder was poured over the area.<sup>1</sup> The hollow bust was cast in one piece using the indirect

lost-wax method. The head may have been modeled separately from the neck and shoulders and joined in the wax.

X rays and examination of the interior revealed several rectangular core-pin holes of two different sizes. Smaller holes occur at regular intervals in the center of the chest and more randomly in the shoulders and head. Larger holes occur at the sides of the head and neck. The core-pin holes were repaired by the original founder with rectangular copper alloy patches that are not detectable on the surface. As X rays showed, the chest is porous throughout. A fine, hard tan material—composed of clay, carbonate, quartz, and several other materials—coats the inner surface of the chest, yet not the head. It is unclear whether this material represents the core or, more likely, a later addition that was part of the mounting system.

A modern alabaster socle was fabricated for the bust, its profile based on the section of bronze socle cast integrally with the *Bust of Cleopatra* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. 64.2174). (For the previous socle, also modern, see FIG. 3B.)

## PROVENANCE

Purportedly in the collection of the Grimani family, Palazzo Grimani, near Santa Maria Formosa, Venice, before 1831; Antonio Sanquirico, Venice, by 1831; duchesse de Talleyrand et Sagan, Paris, by 1866;<sup>2</sup> by inheritance to the heirs of the duchesse de Talleyrand et Sagan, Paris (sale, *Succession de Madame la duchesse de Talleyrand et Sagan*, 19–20 June 1907, 57, rue Saint-Dominique, Paris, lot 44 or 45, unsold); by inheritance within the same family (sold, Sotheby's, Monaco, 23 February 1986, lot 913, to Same Art Ltd.); Same Art Ltd., Zurich, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1986.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Beckett, "Mantuan Bronze Bust Sells for 484,496 Pounds Sterling," *Daily Telegraph*, 25 February 1986; J. D. Draper, in *Die Bronzen der Fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt: Liebieghaus, 1986), 260; "Acquisitions/1986," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 220–21, no. 124; L. N. Amico, "Antico's *Bust of the Young Marcus Aurelius*," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 16 (1988): 95–104; K. Fittschen, "The Bronze *Bust of the Young Marcus Aurelius*" by Antico and Its Antique Model," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 18 (1990): 113–26; K. Fittschen, "Über einige römische Porträts in Venedig: Antike Vorbilder und neuzeitliche Nachahmungen," in *Congresso internazionale, Venezia e l'archeologia: Un importante capitolo nella storia del gusto dell'antico nella cultura artistica veneziana* (Venice, 1990), 205, fig. 25; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Malibu, Calif., 1991), 203; A. H. Allison, "The Bronzes of Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, Called Antico," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 89 (1993): 62, 257–60; M. Thomas, "Michelangelo's Brutus and the Classicizing Portrait Bust in Sixteenth-Century Italy," *Artibus et historiae* 14, no. 27 (1993): 73, 80, nn. 7, 9; B. Cohen, "Antico's Bronze Busts: Precious Metal and the Invention of Renaissance 'Antiquities,'" *National Gallery of Art, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Center 17, Record of Activities and Research Reports* (June 1996–May 1997), 57; D. Carr, *Andrea Mantegna: The Adoration of the Magi* (Los Angeles, 1997), 26; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 2; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 238; J. Walsh and D. Gribbon, *The J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Collections: A Museum for the New Century* (Los Angeles, 1997), 187, 189; P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 20–23.



THE BRONZE BUST DEPICTS A MAN in early adulthood sporting a smooth mustache, close-cut, curly sideburns, and a hint of facial hair in the crevice between the lower lip and the crease of the chin. The hair, one of the most striking features of the bust, consists of abundant curls that twist and spiral in all directions to form a heavy cap. Although exquisitely rendered in bulging waves detailed with linear striations to indicate the individual strands, the hair at the back is flatter, closer to the head, and generally less curly. The figure's silver eyes with dark pupils gaze upward and into the distance as his head turns to the proper right. The nude chest exhibits no hair on its broad, smooth surface, which terminates in a rounded line below the breasts.

The bust was first attributed to the Mantuan sculptor Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico, when it sold at Sotheby's, Monaco, in 1986.<sup>3</sup> At the time of the sale, the bust was decorated with gilt-bronze drapery fastened with a fibula at the left shoulder. There is evidence to suggest that the drapery was added when the bust entered the collection of the duchesse de Talleyrand. First, the bust was still nude when rendered in a lithograph for the promotional catalogue of Venetian art dealer Antonio Sanquirico in 1831, and, second, the bronze *Bust of Caracalla* from the Talleyrand collection, also sold in the 1986 Monaco auction, bore a similarly elaborate gilt-bronze costume that appeared to be a later addition.<sup>4</sup> The drapery may have been attached to the Getty bust as a matter of taste, so that it would function as a pendant to the *Caracalla*, or to conceal damage to the chest.

The attribution of the Getty bust was quickly accepted by scholars, and soon after appearing at auction it was cited by James D. Draper as a late work by the sculptor.<sup>5</sup> In 1988 Leonard Amico provided a fuller discussion of the bust, in which he identified it as a representation of the young Marcus Aurelius (b. A.D. 121, r. 161–80); associated it with the Roman emperor's second portrait type, dating from A.D. 145 to 147; and compared it with an ancient head in the Antiquarium Forense in Rome.<sup>6</sup> At the time, no exact prototype for the Getty bust was known, and Amico used its departures from the Antiquarium Forense head to justify a date of around 1520 and to posit Antico's stylistic progression away from "naive classicism" toward a looser handling with "greater, freer naturalism."<sup>7</sup> An ancient model for Antico's

bronze was, however, discovered by Klaus Fittschen in the Hispanic Society of America in New York (FIG. 3A).<sup>8</sup> Although the provenance of the Hispanic Society marble is purportedly Spanish, Fittschen considered it probable that the ancient head originated in Italy, that it or a plaster cast was available to Antico for study, and that it may have been brought to Spain at a later date. Considering Antico's exactitude in following the antique prototype, Fittschen surmised that there may be other busts by the sculptor that copy models not yet identified. Finally, in 1993 Ann H. Allison published the Getty bust, dating it even later, to the years around 1526–28. She presumed that it was commissioned by Federico II Gonzaga, and suggested that the waxiness of the hair may indicate the participation of Antico's son.<sup>9</sup>

The Getty bust's subject and date are often interconnected in the scholarly opinions summarized above. Yet each of these is still open to question. Fittschen has concluded that the Hispanic Society marble, and therefore Antico's bust, does not represent Marcus Aurelius, but rather a private citizen of the early Antonine period.<sup>10</sup> For evidence, he has pointed to differences in physiognomy between the New York bust and known portraits of the emperor. Specifically, the New York bust has flatter, straighter eyebrows than those of Marcus Aurelius, which are arched. Fittschen might have also noted the complete lack of facial hair on the chin of the New York bust, which contrasts with the stippled beard typical of Marcus Aurelius portraits of the second type, or pointed out how markedly different the narrow upper eyelids of the New York example are from the heavy lids and large, bulging eyes characteristic of the emperor's portraits.<sup>11</sup> Fittschen has, however, admitted the possibility that Antico thought that the ancient marble represented Marcus Aurelius.

It is difficult to determine which emperor, if any, Antico intended to portray, because the iconography of Marcus Aurelius was not yet fully established in Antico's time. For example, the imperial equestrian bronze now known as Marcus Aurelius was twice identified as Antoninus Pius: once in the 1496 inventory of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, and again in a letter from Antico to Isabella d'Este.<sup>12</sup> Allison has suggested that the Getty bust would have appealed to Federico II Gonzaga as a portrait of the philosopher-ruler



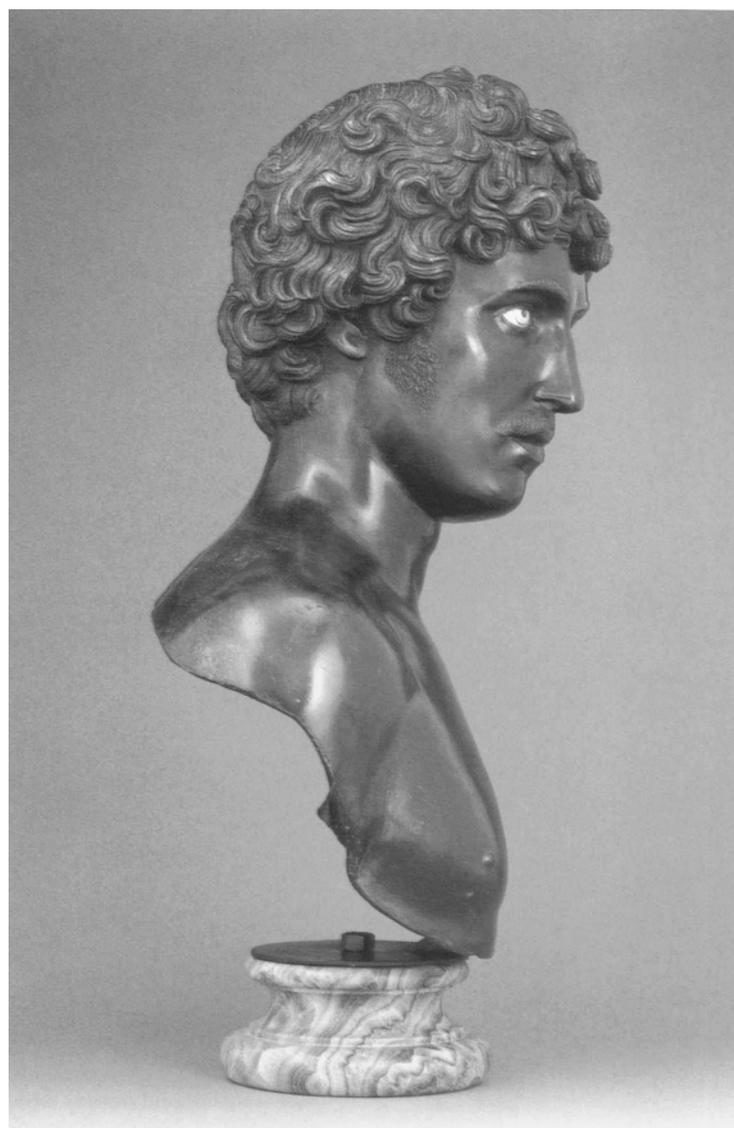
3A *Bust of a Young Man*, Roman, c. A.D. 140–50. Marble. H: 55.9 cm (22 in.). New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D.205.



3B Bust before conservation, mounted on previous socle

Marcus Aurelius. Federico II's library included two popular books on this emperor.<sup>13</sup> No bust of Marcus Aurelius was, however, named in Federico II's inventory of 1542.<sup>14</sup> More recently, Allison proposed that the Getty bust is a portrait of Pompey and a pendant to a bust by Antico in the Liechtenstein collection, which she identified as Alexander the Great. Bronze busts of Alexander and Pompey appeared, probably as pendants, in the "studio delle antichità" in Duke Federico's inventory.<sup>15</sup> Several factors, however, undermine the Pompey hypothesis. First, Allison's interpretation of the Liechtenstein bust as Alexander is speculative, relying heavily on ancient literary descriptions and only generally on visual sources.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, even if one follows Allison's reference to ancient literature, one finds contradictory evidence as it applies to the Getty bust. For example, Plutarch described Pompey as resembling Alexander in that his hair lifted from the forehead.<sup>17</sup> This is not consistent with the long curls lying flush to the forehead in the Getty bronze. Most importantly, despite their close similarity in height, the nude, ungolded Getty bust is an unlikely pair to the elaborately draped, gilded Liechtenstein bust.<sup>18</sup> Even if the Getty bust had been commissioned later as a pendant to a pre-existing bronze, one would expect a greater attempt at consistency. Furthermore, if the bust was intended to represent Pompey, one would expect to find some military reference in the costume, rather than a nude portrait. Pompey was known for his military exploits and was likely to have been admired on that basis by Federico II, a self-styled military leader.<sup>19</sup>

The possibility that Antico intended to portray Lucius Verus (b. A.D. 130, r. 161–69) in the Getty bust should also be considered. The ancient prototype for Antico's bust, the Hispanic Society marble, was once thought to represent Lucius Verus, who was co-emperor with Marcus Aurelius.<sup>20</sup> Although the New York marble does not represent that ruler, its straighter eyebrows and thin-lidded eyes, which peer up from beneath the brow line, are consistent with portraits of Lucius Verus.<sup>21</sup> Isabella d'Este displayed a head of Lucius Verus in her Grotta, as a pendant to a head of an old man.<sup>22</sup> The Getty bust, whose virile youth is emphasized by his nude chest, would have provided the perfect foil to a portrait of an elderly man. Nevertheless, Isabella's inventory



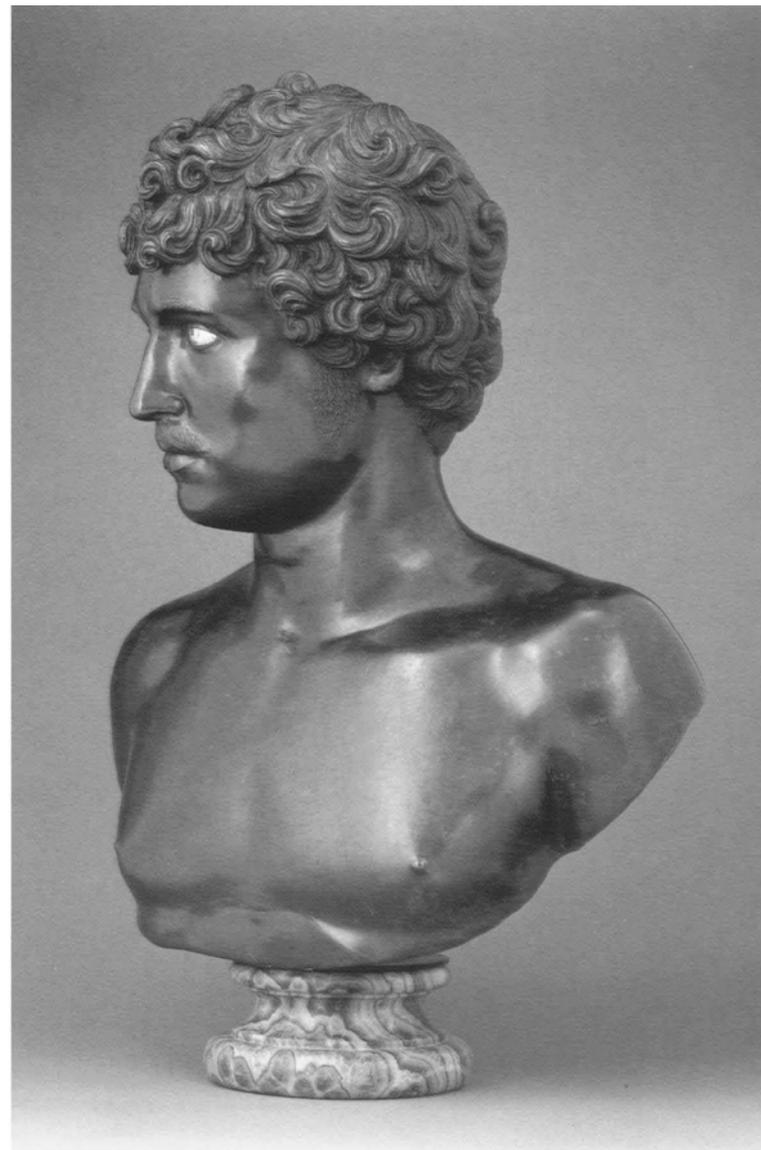
3C Profile from proper right

does not specify the material or size of her Lucius Verus bust, and there is no way of confirming that it was by Antico. The subject of the Getty bronze remains uncertain, but the sheer number of suggestions underscores the need for caution in drawing conclusions about its identity, whether based on the Gonzaga inventories or on visual comparisons with ancient imperial busts. Given that its subject is still open to question, Amico's dating of the Getty bust at around 1520 would seem most plausible, since it allows for the possibility that the bronze was made for Isabella d'Este.<sup>23</sup>

The Getty bust, open at the back, with the interior of the chest exposed, was likely intended for placement in a



3D Back view



3E Profile from proper left

niche or against a wall, to be seen primarily from the front. Amico, followed by Allison, has concluded that the relative lack of detail in the hair at the back of the head in the Getty bust is evidence of this type of installation. This feature more likely reflects its ancient model, however, rather than the circumstances of its display.<sup>24</sup>

PEGGY FOGELMAN



3F Detail, face

#### Notes

1. Technical report, JPM object file.
2. C. Mannheim, *Catalogue des objets d'art, Paris 1866, collection de la duchesse de Talleyrand en son hôtel de la rue Saint-Dominique*, sec. D, no. 7.
3. Sale cat., Sotheby's, Monaco, 23 February 1986, lot 913.
4. On Sanquirico, his art dealing establishment, and the lithographs of objects in his possession, see M. Perry, "Antonio Sanquirico, Art Merchant of Venice," *Labyrinthos* 1–2 (1982): 67–111. The lithograph of the Getty bust is reproduced on 95, fig. 15, with the legend "TESTA INCOGNITA, Lavoro in Bronzo del XV Secolo Del Museo Grimani in Venezia (Alt. cm. 52)." The image, as well as the dimensions, leaves no doubt that Sanquirico's bust and the Getty bronze are the same. For the *Bust of Caracalla*, see sale cat., Sotheby's, Monaco, 23 February 1986, lot 910.
5. Draper, in *Bronzen*, 260.
6. Amico, "Antico's *Bust*," 95–104.
7. *Ibid.*, 103.
8. Fittschen, "Bronze *Bust*," 113–26. For the marble bust in the Hispanic Society (inv. D.205), which was purchased at Paul Chevallier, Paris, in a sale from the Warneck collection (June 1905, lot 28), see J. Pijoan, *Antique Marbles in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1917), 29–30; *The Hispanic Society of America Handbook: Museum and Library Collections* (New York, 1938), 60; A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1949), 59–60, pl. 41; J. Theodorou, "Treasures of Ancient Spain," *Minerva* 2 (November–December 1991): 32, fig. 2. Constancio del Alamo of the Hispanic Society (Museum Department) deserves thanks for providing further information on the bust. The Hispanic Society bust measures 55.9 centimeters (22 in.) high, slightly taller than the Getty bust. The variations from the prototype, noted by Fittschen, suggest that the bronze is a freehand copy rather than a cast after the ancient marble.
9. Allison, "Bronzes," 62, 257–60.

10. Fittschen, "Bronze Bust," 118–19.
11. See, for example, M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939), pls. 16–18; V. Saladino, *Museums and Galleries, Florence: The Uffizi: Classical Sculpture* (Florence, 1983), 87, no. 34 (a bust rejected as modern by Wegner but accepted by Fittschen, "Bronze Bust," 113, n. 4); K. Stemmer, ed., *Kaiser Marc Aurel und seine Zeit* (Berlin, 1988), 15; M. Bergmann, *Marc Aurel* (Frankfurt, 1978), 22ff.; *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981), 230, no. 247 (for a *Bust of Marcus Aurelius* of the second type that was formerly in the Gonzaga collections in Mantua and is now in the British royal collection, London); C. Saletti, *I ritratti antoniani di Palazzo Pitti* (Florence, 1974), pls. 9–10 (rejected as modern by Wegner but accepted by Fittschen).
12. Both times in reference to a bronze reduction executed by Antico. For the inventory and letter, see Allison, "Bronzes," 272, doc. 10 ("El cavalo de Sancto Iani cum Antonino suso"), and 292, doc. 75 ("il chaullo de Sancto Iani Laterano, zoè Auellio Antonino"); M. Leithe-Jasper, "Isabella d'Este und Antico," in *La Prima Donna del Mondo: Isabella d'Este, Fürstin und Mäzenatin der Renaissance*, exh. cat., ed. S. Ferino-Pagden (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1994), 317–21. At the time the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was still in San Giovanni in Laterano. Although the identification of the emperor as Marcus Aurelius was given by Andrea Fulvio in 1527 (*Antiquitates Urbis* [Rome, 1527], 25), it did not gain universal acceptance until around 1600. For the history of the equestrian Marcus Aurelius and its various identifications, see *Glorious Horsemen: Equestrian Art in Europe, 1500–1800*, exh. cat. (Springfield, Mass.: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), 11–13; F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981), 252–55; and J. S. Ackerman, "Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill," *Renaissance News* 10, no. 2 (1957): 69–75.
13. *Libro aureo di Marco Aurelio imperadore* and *Marco Aurelio imperadore*, both by Antonio Guevara. See Allison, "Bronzes," 62, 260. For the listing of these books in Federico II's library, see A. Luzio and R. Renier, "La cultura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 42 (1903): 85–86. For a discussion of these books and their author, see A. Redondo, "Antonio de Guevara et l'Espagne de son temps" (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1974, published 1978).
14. Allison, "Bronzes," 304, doc. 94.
15. A. H. Allison, correspondence, 3 January 1993 and 26 July 1994, JPMG object file.
16. Allison, "Bronzes," 246–51. Other identifications proposed for the Liechtenstein bust are Antinous (with some doubt by H. J. Hermann, "Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, genannt Antico," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 28 [1909–10]: 279, pl. 46); Hercules (J. D. Draper, in *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985], 209–13, no. 133); and Scipio Africanus (Draper, *ibid.*).
17. *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. B. Perrin (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1917), vol. 5, Pompey, 2.1–2.



36 Detail, hair

18. Allison ("Bronzes," 251) believes that the oil gilding of the garment is not original.
19. On the Gonzagas' self-image as military leaders, see D. S. Chambers, "The Gonzagas and Mantua," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, xix–xx.
20. Pijoan, *Antique Marbles*, 29–30.
21. The confusion between portraits of Lucius Verus and those of Marcus Aurelius is discussed by F. Albertson, "The Sculptured Portraits of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180): Creation and Dissemination of Portrait Types" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1979), esp. 102–3. Albertson concludes that variations in portraits of Lucius Verus can be explained in terms of the influence of Marcus Aurelius's portraits. An example of this confusion in eighteenth-century inventories is found in P. Bocci Pacini and P. Cassinelli Lazzeri, "La serie degli imperatori romani nella Galleria degli Uffizi e gli esordi di Carlo Lasinio," *Bollettino d'arte* 50–51 (1988): 40–41.
22. 1542 inventory of the Grotta and studio of Isabella d'Este (Allison, "Bronzes," 302, doc. 93).
23. Amico, "Antico's Bust," 103. Allison ("Bronzes," 62) dated the bust to the end of Antico's career on the assumption that a portrait of Marcus Aurelius would have appealed to Federico II Gonzaga.
24. Amico, "Antico's Bust," 104, and Allison, "Bronzes," 260.

## GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA

Florence 1488–Paris 1566

*Bust of a Man*

Between 1526 and 1535

Glazed terra-cotta

H: 46.4 cm (18 3/4 in.)

W: 40 cm (15 3/4 in.)

D: 19.7 cm (7 3/4 in.)

95.SC.21

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The bust is mold-made of pink terra-cotta covered with a semiopaque white glaze. The color of the clay body can be seen through the glaze where it has been thinly applied. Crazing of the glaze, due to uneven shrinkage of the clay body and glaze during the firing process, appears as a fine *crackure* over the entire surface. The muted black of the pupils of the eyes may have been achieved either by stippling white over black glaze or by applying black over the white glaze. Two small, angular protrusions at the back of the head have been colored with a

grayish violet glaze, which may indicate the color of the background of the medallion into which the bust was set. XRF on the glazes confirmed that the white is a tin oxide, opacified lead glaze; the black of the eyes contains iron oxide; and the grayish violet contains manganese oxide. The bottom left portion of the nose was broken and has been reattached, with subsequent losses filled. Small losses in the beard and hair have also been filled or toned. A square-headed iron bolt projects from a hole in the bottom of the bust, which was formed in the wet clay and was therefore part of the original mounting system. TL (Berlin, 1995) yielded a date of manufacture between 1551 and 1649. A second TL (Guilford, 1995) resulted in a date between 1385 and 1685.

## PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Jacques, called Galiot, de Gourdon de Genouillac for the Château d'Assier, near Figeac, in the south of France; remained in situ on the courtyard façade of Château d'Assier under successive owners until the late eighteenth century; Plantade printing house, Cahors, from the 1860s until at least 1902;<sup>1</sup> Guy Ladière, Paris, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995.

## EXHIBITIONS

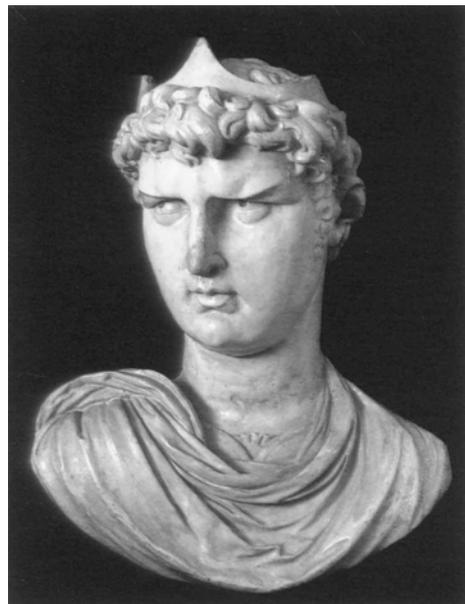
None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

P. Vitry and G. Brière, *Documents de sculpture française* (Paris, 1911; reprint, New York, 1969), 13, pl. 42, no. 3; G. Gentilini, *I della Robbia: La scultura invetriata nel rinascimento* (Florence, 1992), vol. 2, 366–67; *Burlington Magazine* 136 (September 1994): ill. x; "Acquisitions/1995," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996): 136, no. 85; T. Crépin-Leblond, "Le retable de la chapelle de Cognac et l'influence de Girolamo della Robbia en France," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1996): 16; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 42; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 42; P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 24; A. Bellandi, in *I della Robbia e l'arte nuova della scultura invetriata*, ed. G. Gentilini, exh. cat. (Fiesole: Basilica di Sant'Alessandro, 1998), 306; C. Hess, *Italian Ceramics: Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection* (Los Angeles, 2002), no. 28.

THIS BUST DEPICTS a handsome bearded male dressed in Roman-style armor and drapery, rendered in three-quarter relief. Turning his head slightly to the right, he appears to look up from underneath his expressively modeled brow. The entire front surface of the bust has been colored with a white glaze, perhaps in imitation of marble, except for the pupils of the eyes, which were painted black.

Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière first identified a group of six busts, including the Getty *Bust of a Man*, as coming from the Château d'Assier and attributed them to Girolamo della Robbia.<sup>2</sup> This provenance and attribution have been accepted by Giancarlo Gentilini and Alfredo Bellandi.<sup>3</sup> The Getty bust and another of the group, a white-glazed terra-cotta bust of a beardless male figure, crowned and draped in a toga (FIG. 4A), now owned by Marvin and Jacqueline Kosofski in Los Angeles, were both in the same Paris collection in 1995.<sup>4</sup> The other busts published by Vitry and Brière are a white-glazed terra-cotta bust of a young man in classical

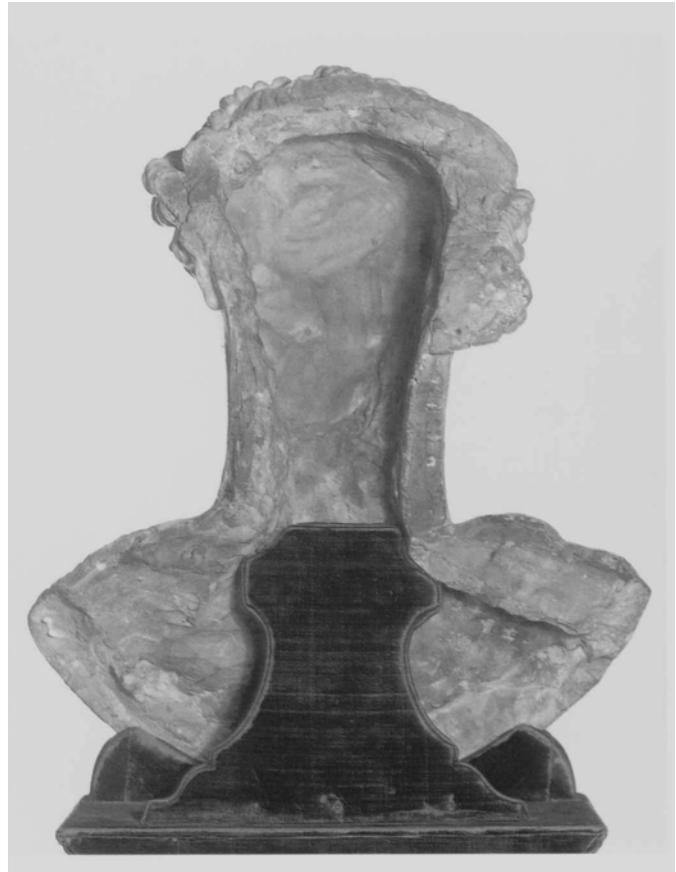


4A Girolamo della Robbia. *Bust of a Man (Constantine?)*, between 1526 and 1535. Glazed terra-cotta. H: 47 cm (18 1/2 in.). Los Angeles, collection of Marvin and Jacqueline Kosofski. Photo courtesy Guy Ladière.





4B Attributed to Girolamo della Robbia. *Bust of a Young Girl*, c. 1530. Glazed terra-cotta. H (without socle): 47 cm (18½ in.). New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, purchased through the Maitland F. Griggs (BA 1896) Fund, inv. 1950.138.



4C Attributed to Girolamo della Robbia. *Bust of a Young Girl*, c. 1530 (see FIG. 4B). Back view.

armor with abundant curly hair, now lost;<sup>5</sup> a draped male bust in stone, crowned with a laurel wreath and set into a round medallion, acquired by the Louvre in 1910; a bust of a woman with braided hair and a draped chest, cast in reconstituted stone, which was acquired by the Louvre in 1936;<sup>6</sup> and a stone bust of a man wearing elaborate armor and a feathered helmet, also set into a medallion, now lost.<sup>7</sup> A male bust, presumably in stone, is set into a wreathed medallion and is still in situ on the courtyard wall of the Château d'Assier's west wing.<sup>8</sup> Another work that has been related to the Assier group is a white-glazed terra-cotta bust of a woman in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (FIGS. 4B–C), which is identical to the female bust in the Louvre.<sup>9</sup>

Although an exact identification of subject cannot be found for every bust in this group, the crowned man in a toga and the curly-haired youth in armor appear to represent, respectively, Constantine and Alexander the Great. This, along with the classicizing or military nature of the costumes, suggests that the series as a whole depicted legendary figures of the ancient world. The classical armor of the Getty bust indicates that it too was intended to portray a Roman or Gallic hero.

The building of the Château d'Assier, near Figeac, in southern France, was begun in 1524 by Jacques, called Galiot, de Gourdon de Genouillac, and its decoration commenced in 1526 after his appointment as *grand écuyer* to Francis I.<sup>10</sup> An inscription of 1535 marks the completion of construction. According to a watercolor by François-Roger de Gaignères of about 1680, the château was designed as a large quadrangular edifice with a central courtyard and round towers marking the four corners.<sup>11</sup> The courtyard façade of the west wing—the only interior façade fully visible in the engraving and the only one to survive to the present day<sup>12</sup>—incorporated portrait medallions in high relief between the engaged columns and pilasters of the second story. This façade may have provided the original context for the Getty bust; there its dimensionality and reflective surface would have created a striking contrast with the flat, gray walls against which it was set. The touches of purple-gray glaze at the back of the Getty bust, also present on the Kosofski and Yale busts, may recall the color used to fill in the backgrounds of the medallions.<sup>13</sup>

Girolamo della Robbia may have come to France at the end of 1517, since by May 1, 1518, he was receiving a royal stipend.<sup>14</sup> Preceding other Florentine artists recruited by the French king—such as Andrea del Sarto, Giovanni Francesco Rustici, Rosso Fiorentino, and Benvenuto Cellini—Girolamo was a pioneer in spreading the influence of Italian style and establishing a more international reputation for della Robbian art. After a brief return to Florence in 1525 (the year of his father's death and Francis I's imprisonment), Girolamo received commissions for the polychrome-glazed terra-cotta decorations of the Château de Madrid, the Château de Sansac, and the Château d'Assier. Galiot de Genouillac may have based his decision to employ Girolamo on his own knowledge of and taste for Italian Renaissance architecture and ornament (acquired during French military campaigns in Italy in 1494, 1501, and 1515), as well as on the official, royal sanctioning of Girolamo's style at the Château de Madrid, which was roughly concurrent with Galiot's building. In fact, it is likely that Girolamo's designs for one château influenced his ideas for the other. As with the Château d'Assier, the south elevation of the Château de Madrid featured glazed terra-cotta portrait medallions in high relief, set into the spandrels between the arches of the first two stories, as can be seen in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's engraving.<sup>15</sup> For the Château de Sansac, Girolamo created a glazed terra-cotta bust of Francis I, the surround of which bears the date 1529.<sup>16</sup>

For his decoration of the Château d'Assier, Girolamo drew on several precedents from the work of the Florentine della Robbia studio. Most relevant is the series of sixty-six portrait medallions of saints and prophets produced in 1523 by the workshop under Giovanni della Robbia for the cloister of the Certosa in Val d'Ema.<sup>17</sup> The probing gazes, dramatic facial expressions, naturalistic modeling, animated hairstyles, and costumes of the Certosa heads seem to have influenced Girolamo during his visit to Florence in 1525. Girolamo rejected Giovanni's bright palette in favor of the almost uniform white of the Getty *Bust of a Man* and the other related heads, however, suggesting his preference for a more classicizing approach to architectural decoration at the Château d'Assier.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

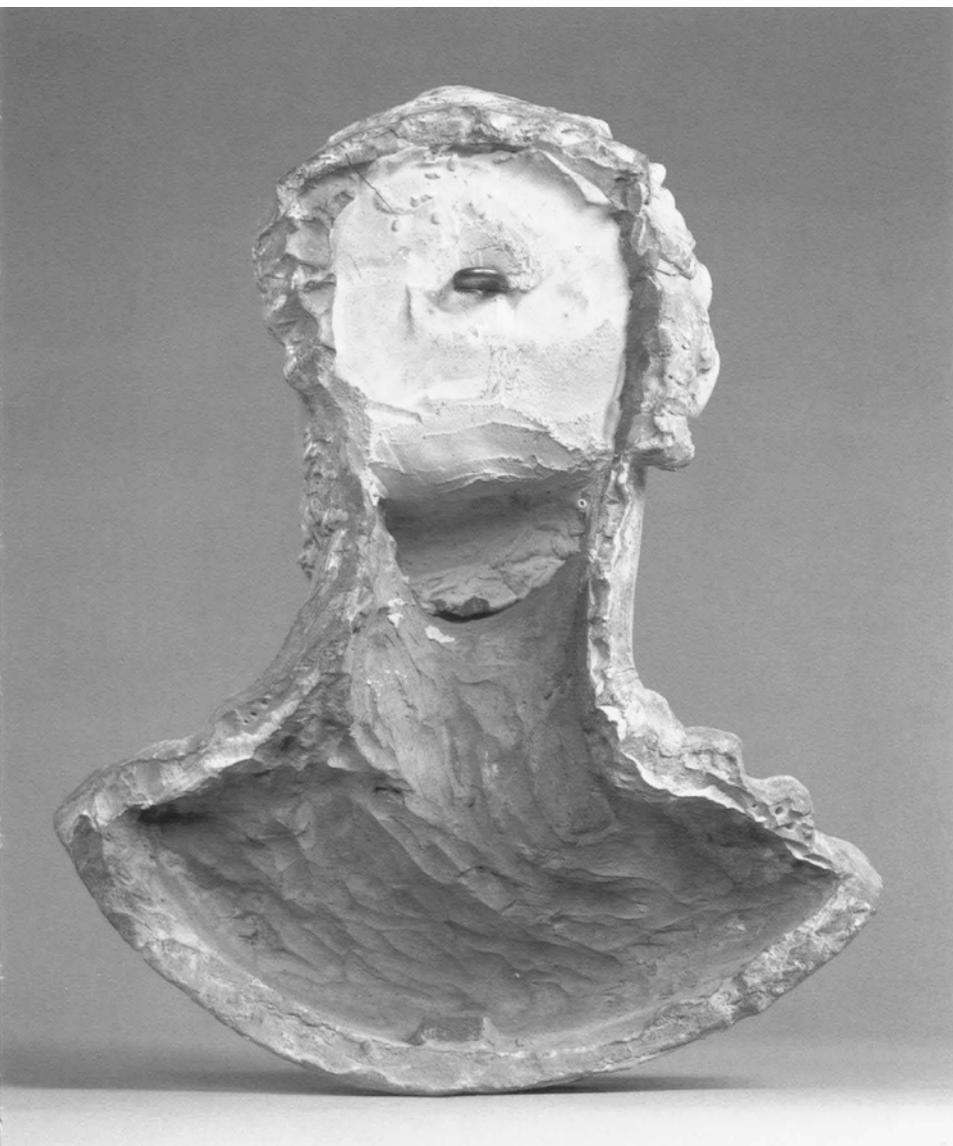
Notes

1. Crépin-Leblond, "Le retable de la chapelle," 19, n. 57.
2. Vitry and Brière, *Documents*, 13, pl. 42, no. 3.
3. Gentilini, *I della Robbia*, vol. 2, 366–67; Bellandi, in *I della Robbia e l'arte nuova*, 306–7, no. IV.12.
4. Guy Ladrière, Paris; reproduced in Vitry and Brière, *Documents*, pl. 42, no. 8; Gentilini, *I della Robbia*, 367. Most recently, see Bellandi, in *I della Robbia e l'arte nuova*; Crépin-Leblond ("Le retable de la chapelle") accepts both these busts as part of the group associated with Château d'Assier but is uncertain that they can be traced to the château itself. They surely came from the same decorative program, since both bear traces of a grayish violet glaze on the back, likely from the background of the medallions into which they were originally set. Unless further information becomes available, it seems reasonable to accept Vitry and Brière's association of these busts with the Château d'Assier.
5. Vitry and Brière, *Documents*, pl. 42, no. 6; Gentilini, *I della Robbia*, 367.
6. For the two Louvre busts, see M. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 2, *Renaissance française* (Paris, 1978), 64–65, nos. 104–5; B. Tollon, "Le Château d'Assier," in *Congrès archéologique de France, 147<sup>e</sup> session, 1989, Quercy* (Paris, 1993), 137–49, esp. 144.
7. Vitry and Brière, *Documents*, pl. 42, no. 5.
8. Visible in a photograph reproduced in F. Gebelin, *Les châteaux de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1927), pl. 5, no. 9; see also Tollon, "Château d'Assier," 144.
9. The Yale bust was first associated with the Assier group by P. McGraw, "Terracotta Bust—Maitland F. Griggs Collection," *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University* 21 (July 1955): 4–7; see also Gentilini, *I della Robbia*, 367; Bellandi, in *I della Robbia e l'arte nuova*, 306.
10. F. Galabert (*Galiot de Genouillac* [Paris, 1902], 50) gives 1524 as the date of initial construction on the building, but Gebelin (*Châteaux de la Renaissance*, 48) and P. Vitry ("Château et église d'Assier," in *Congrès archéologique de France* [Paris, 1938], 332–33) qualify the date by stating that, even if some construction began in 1524 or 1525, the decoration of the palace cannot date before 1526, the year Galiot was named *grand écuyer*, since the emblem of his position appears on the exterior. See also Tollon, "Château d'Assier."
11. Reproduced in Gebelin, *Châteaux de la Renaissance*, pl. 93, no. 175, and Galabert, *Galiot de Genouillac*, facing 50.
12. The Château d'Assier was apparently owned by the dukes of Uzès in the seventeenth century but was abandoned by the family after the death of François de Crussol, the duke of Uzès, in 1680. By the end of the eighteenth century the palace had been given away to avoid maintenance costs, the contents and the exterior decorations sold or stripped away, and parts of the building demolished. Not until 1841 was the building classified as a historic monument. See Galabert, *Galiot de Genouillac*, 54.

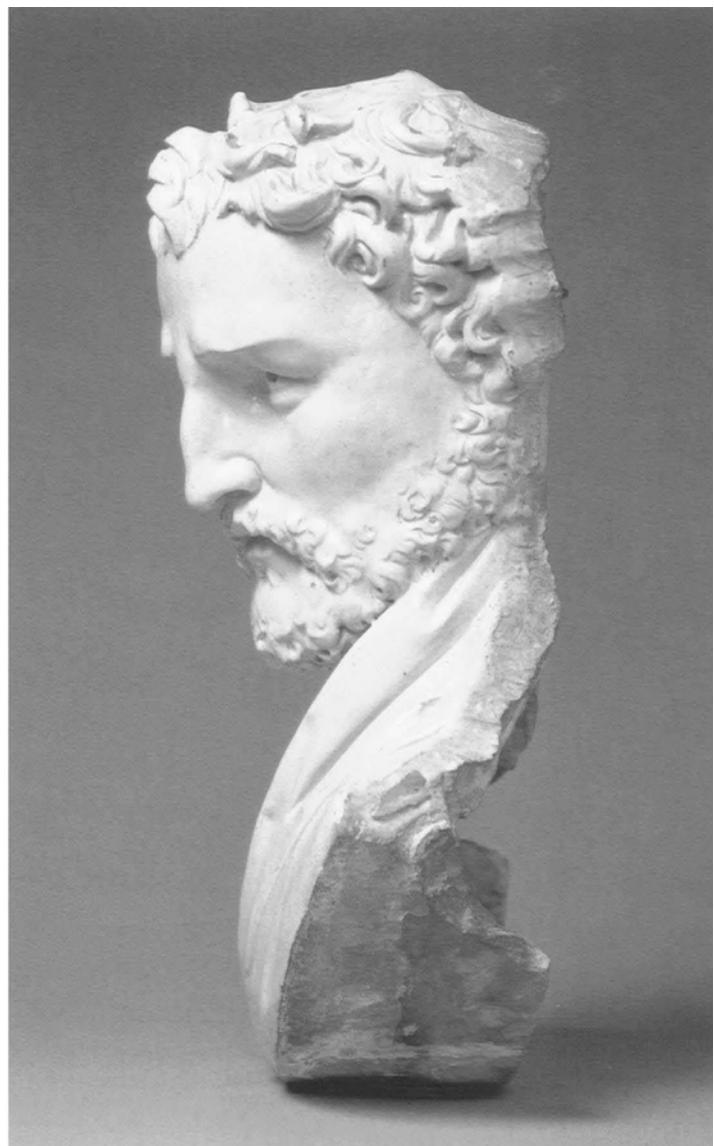


4D Profile from proper right

13. I am grateful to Mark Aronson of the Yale University Art Gallery for ascertaining the presence of a small drop of purple glaze above the proper left ear of the bust at Yale.
14. P. Lesueur, "Arrivée de Girolamo della Robbia en France," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1937): 200; Gentilini, *I della Robbia*, 362.
15. See M. Chatenet, *Le Château de Madrid au Bois de Boulogne: Sa place dans les rapports franco-italiens autour de 1530* (Paris, 1987), 196, 212, 215, figs. 13, 14, 40, 44, for images by Jean Marot as well as by du Cerceau.
16. The bust is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the surround is in the Louvre; see Gentilini, *I della Robbia*, 366–67; and Bellandi, in *I della Robbia e l'arte nuova*.
17. A. Marquand, *Giovanni della Robbia* (Princeton and London, 1920), 167–74. See also F. Domestici, "Giovanni e il cinquecento," in G. Gentilini, F. Petrucci, and F. Domestici, *Della Robbia*, Art Dossier (Florence, 1998), 39.



4E Back view



4F Profile from proper left

## BENEDETTO CERVI

b. Pavia; active in Milan 1500s–1530s

*The Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and the Young Saint John the Baptist*

1520s–1530s

Alabaster relief

H: 29.5 cm (11½ in.)

W: 28 cm (11 in.)

D: 7.5 cm (2⅞ in.)

2000.19

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Signed *B<sup>s</sup> PP* (Benedictus Papic or Benedetto of Pavia) on the underside of the relief.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The relief is carved from a single piece of alabaster. Dark striations in the stone are visible throughout the relief: in the upper areas representing sky, in the large central tree, in the figures, and in the globe. The surface is evenly worn and is covered with a heavy layer of wax.

The top corner of the platform at the lower left has broken away. The area shows wear consistent with that of the rest of the relief surface, indicating an old loss. A broken-off portion of the large, proper left tree limb was either reattached or replaced, and then overpainted to mask the repair. The infant Christ figure is missing the first toe on his right foot and has a small fracture in his right hand where he touches the globe. There are three losses in the central tree: the top of the tree trunk from just above the uppermost limb to the top of the composition; an outer branch on the proper right, lower limb; and foliage on the outer segment of the proper left limb. Notches on the back of the relief and red-orange staining (from corroded nails) on the sides, bottom, and front edges of the relief indicate that it was previously mounted in a frame.

## PROVENANCE

Heseltine collection, England, by 1912, sold to a private collector in the 1930s; private collection, exported to Rhodesia, c. 1952; by descent within the family of the same private collector, exported to the Channel Islands, 1973; Sotheby's, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum through private treaty, 2000.

## EXHIBITIONS

Burlington House, London, 1888; Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1977–November 1981, on extended loan.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

C. Phillips, "Marmi e bronzi del rinascimento italiano," in *Archivio storico dell'arte* 1 (1888): 100–101; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of a Collection of Italian Sculpture and Other Plastic Art of the Renaissance* (London, 1913), 49, no. 39, pl. xxiv; C. Baroni, "Problemi di scultura manieristica lombarda," *Le Arti* 5 (June 1943): 189; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, vol. 2 (London, 1964), 549; M. T. Fiorio, "Un rilievo referibile a Bambaia e qualche osservazione sull'incidenza della pittura leonardesca sulla scultura lombarda," *Raccolta vinciana* 23 (1989): 66, n. 9; G. Agosti, *Bambaia e il classicismo lombardo* (Turin, 1990), 32 and 44, no. 109; M. T. Fiorio, *Bambaia: Catalogo completo delle opere* (Florence, 1990), 152.

THE RELIEF REPRESENTS THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST child greeted by Saint Elizabeth, the young Saint John the Baptist, and two small boys. The scene takes place in a landscape dominated by a large tree at the center of the composition. The Virgin sits to the right of the tree, with the Christ child straddling her right thigh. He reaches out to accept a globe from Saint John, who walks toward Christ from the left, holding his attribute, the reed cross with banderole, with his left hand. The kneeling Saint Elizabeth leans forward as she helps her toddling son along. A little boy has climbed the tree to gather a branch, which he extends down toward Christ, while a second child strides purposefully into the scene from the right, holding a branch in his right hand and offering a piece of fruit with his left. The infant Christ already holds a piece of the fruit in his left hand. Breezes ruffle the veils of both women and the sleeve of the Virgin, animating the landscape that extends through rocky hills

and trees in the middle distance at the left. A cityscape appears in the far distance at the right.

The story of this meeting, not part of the New Testament narrative, is recounted in the fourteenth-century Franciscan devotional manual *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. It follows the Purification of the Virgin, when the Holy Family went from Bethlehem to Jerusalem to present the Christ child in the Temple: "Then the Blessed Virgin departed from Jerusalem and went to Elizabeth, wishing to see John before leaving that region. . . . When they arrived there was great festivity, especially about their children. The children made merry together; John, as though understanding, reverently approached Jesus."<sup>1</sup> The scene is rarely depicted in Renaissance art.<sup>2</sup> More often the Virgin and Child appear with Saint John the Baptist in devotional images that sometimes include Saint Elizabeth and Saint Joseph. Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks* (Paris, Musée du Louvre; London,

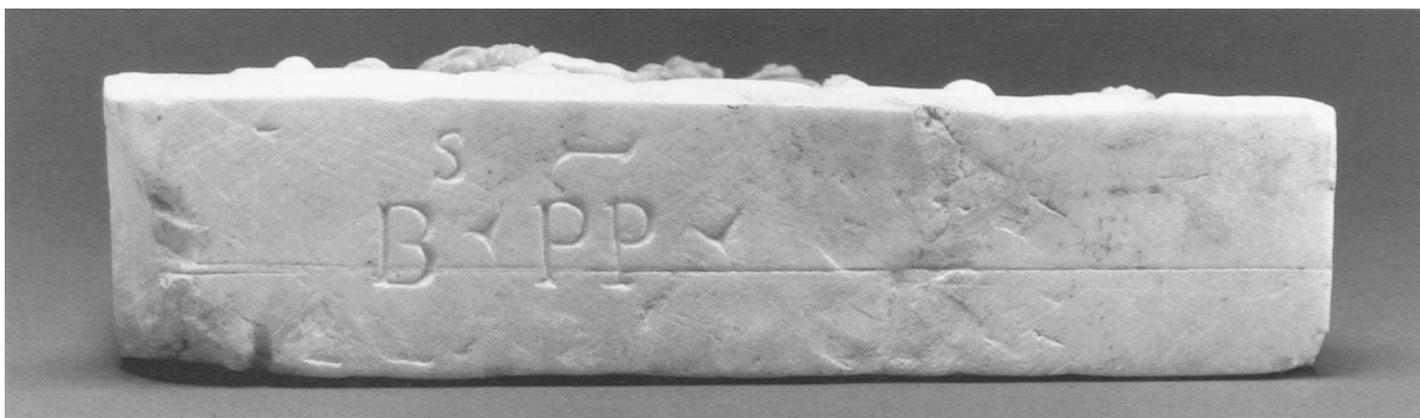


National Gallery of Art) presents the Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist and an angel in a landscape. It stresses the reverence between Saint John and Christ. Raphael worked out many variations on the theme of the Virgin and Child with Saint John.<sup>3</sup> Closest to the Cervi relief is his drawing at Windsor Castle (FIG. 5A), which includes Saint Elizabeth and is set in a landscape. Cervi's conception for this relief probably developed out of such devotional images, but his figures are spread out across the relief plane, an arrangement that emphasizes the narrative elements of the scene.

The relief, like the devotional images that inspired it, contains many allusions to broader religious themes. The scene recalls the previous meeting between Mary and Elizabeth, the Visitation, when Saint John leapt in his mother's womb as he recognized Christ, in Mary's womb. The central action shows the Christ child reaching down to accept a large spherical object from Saint John. It may be that the object offered to Christ is a piece of fruit, most likely an apple, which would refer to the Tree of Knowledge and original sin and to Christ's role as the new Adam, whose sacrifice brought salvation to fallen mankind. Offered by John the Baptist, it refers to baptism as the cleansing act that erases original sin.<sup>4</sup> The Virgin, seated on a rocky bench, rests her right foot on a small block, which is a common symbol of the foundation of the Church. The scene of the Christ child seated on his mother's lap receiving gifts recalls the Adoration of the Magi, when Christ was recognized by the kings,



5A Raphael. *Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and Saint John*. Pen and pale iron-gall ink on paper with black chalk and carbon-black ink. H: 23.2 cm (9 1/8 in.); w: 18 cm (7 1/16 in.). Windsor Castle, Royal Library inv. RL 12738.



5B Underside of relief, with signature



5c Detail, Saint Elizabeth and Saint John

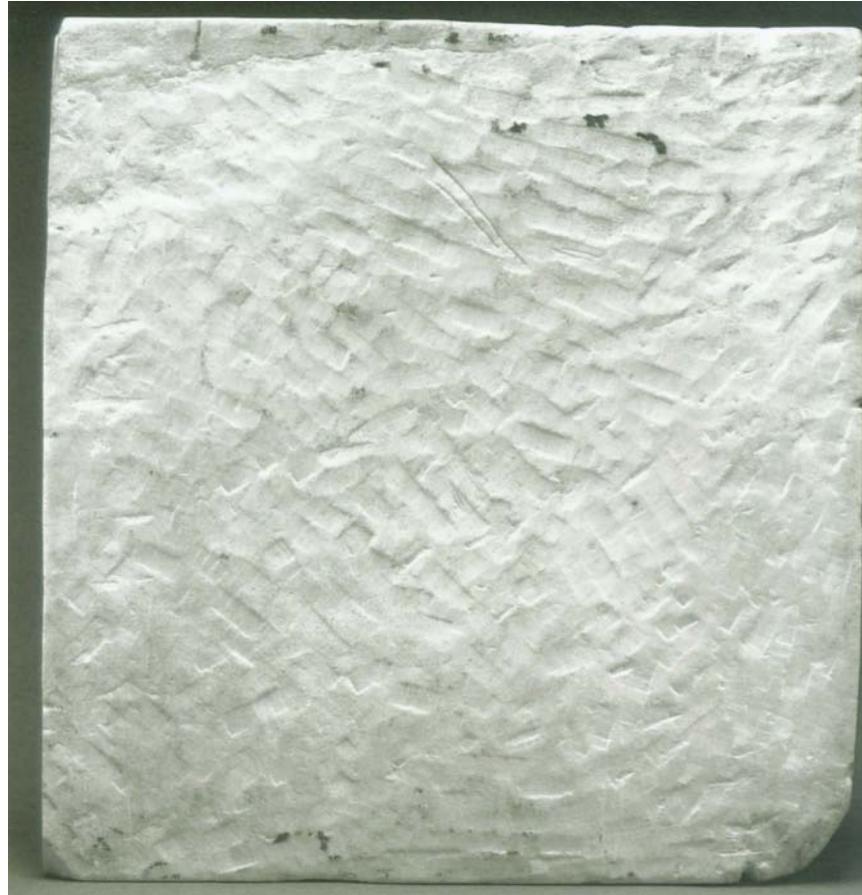


50 Detail, Virgin and Child

a scene also long considered a prefiguration of the foundation of the Church.<sup>5</sup> The elderly Elizabeth—who, like John, is a figure of the transition from the old law to the new under Christ and from the Old Testament to the New—is also a symbol of the synagogue, as the Virgin is emblematic of the church.<sup>6</sup> The object handed by John to Christ, however, is not clearly identifiable as an apple, since it is out of scale and very nearly a perfect sphere. It might instead be an image of the orb, often held by Christ as a symbol of his role as the *Salvator Mundi*, savior of the world.<sup>7</sup> The fundamental message underlying all aspects of the relief is the recognition of Christ as savior, a message implied in the text from the *Meditations* cited above: “John, as though understanding, reverently approached Christ.” Christ’s acceptance of the offering conveys his acceptance of his role as the savior.

The little children offering branches and fruit from the tree at the center of the composition are not part of the narrative described in the *Meditations*. They expand upon John’s act of recognition and tribute and, in formal terms, help to focus and frame the scene, creating a lyrical image of gesture and motion flowing toward the Christ child at the center. They clearly offer fruit and branches from the tree, which is not the source of the object offered by John. The shape and size of the fruit and the leaves identify the tree as a fig tree, often an alternate for the apple tree as the Tree of Life.<sup>8</sup> The little boy in the tree is a reworking of the figure often seen in scenes of Christ’s entry into Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup> This allusion to the first event of Christ’s Passion is reinforced by other sacrificial references in the relief. The prominent placement of the tree at the center refers to the Tree of Life and thus to the wood of the cross. John carries the reed cross and banderole, which, though not inscribed, is understood to relate his prophecy “*Ecce agnus dei*” (Behold the Lamb of God).

The identification of the two little boys requires further discussion. They may simply be participants in the scene, included to expand the narrative of celebration and recognition and to create a more focused and lyrical composition. Some other possibilities should, however, be considered. Since many elements in the relief are found also in devotional images of the Virgin and Child, perhaps these figures serve as surrogates for the angels that are often represented in such devotional works.<sup>10</sup> Or the children may refer to the Holy Innocents, the first martyrs who gave their lives in Christ’s



5E Back view

place. The scene of the meeting in the *Meditations* precedes the Flight into Egypt, when the Holy Family escaped Herod’s order to slay all firstborn sons. Seventeenth-century images of the Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and Saint John that include little children have been interpreted as showing the Holy Family with the Holy Innocents.<sup>11</sup>

The relief is characterized by an ambitious pictorial quality, displaying Cervi’s reliance on paintings produced in northern Italy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and particularly on the work of Leonardo and his followers in Milan.<sup>12</sup> The rocky ledge in the foreground, for example, can be seen in paintings by Andrea Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini and in Leonardo’s *Madonna of the Rocks* and *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne*. The recession into space, achieved through the most subtle carving of the surface, can be traced through Leonardo’s use of *sfumato* modeling back to the *schacciato* technique of Donatello.<sup>13</sup> Cervi took the opportunity provided by this subject to juxtapose the elderly Saint Elizabeth with the young Virgin, a favorite device of Leonardo’s, which he recommended in his writings.<sup>14</sup> The central tree has parallels in Leonardo’s works, for example, in the unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

The relief is signed on the underside of the slab, *B<sup>s</sup> PP*, or Benedictus Papie (Benedetto of Pavia; see FIG. 5B).<sup>15</sup> This mark allows us to attribute the relief to the Benedetto Pavese twice mentioned by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo in his *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scultura ed architettura* of 1584. Lomazzo praised Benedetto’s abilities as a carver of reliefs,



5F Benedetto Cervi. *Procession towards a Contest*. Marble relief. H: 37.5 cm (14¾ in.); w: 47.6 cm (18¾ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv. 7257-1860.

grouping him with Donatello and the goldsmith Caradosso as a rival to the ancients, able to carve “legs and other parts in the round.”<sup>16</sup> In a second reference Lomazzo attributed to Benedetto the battle reliefs for the tomb of Gaston de Foix, the most famous sculptural project by the more famous Lombard sculptor Agostino Busti, called *il Bambaia*.<sup>17</sup> This relief clearly fits into the circle of Bambaia. The virtuosity of the relief carving and the classicism of the figures, especially evident in the characteristic parallel folds of the drapery, are found in Bambaia’s works. The attribution of the relief to Bambaia himself was challenged by several scholars, however, and identification of the signature bears these opinions out.<sup>18</sup>

Sergio Gatti has identified Benedetto Pavese as Benedetto Cervi of Pavia, recorded as living in Bambaia’s house in 1522 and as the sculptor of three documented marble reliefs (1531–32).<sup>19</sup> He considers the possibility that Cervi was in fact the author of the reliefs for the tomb of Gaston de Foix and attributes several other reliefs to him, including the *Suicide of Lucretia* (Milan, Museo d’Arte Antica del Castello Sforzesco) and three reliefs in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, that were assigned to a “follower of Bambaia” by John Pope-Hennessy. Pope-Hennessy associated the Getty relief with these reliefs, and his attribution of all four to the same hand appears to be correct.<sup>20</sup> Other attributions to Cervi include two battle reliefs in the Museo del Prado, Madrid.<sup>21</sup>

The Getty relief is the first known work that bears Cervi’s signature, making it the standard for judging all attributions to him. Comparison with the works noted above is hampered by the fact that the *Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and Saint John the Baptist* is quite different in subject and composition. Emphasizing an open landscape and a devotional subject, the Getty example contrasts with the military subjects of the Victoria and Albert reliefs and the enclosed composition of the *Lucretia*. Nonetheless, there are many points of comparison. The sensitively carved lined face of the aged Elizabeth finds a close parallel in the face of the old woman in the *Suicide of Lucretia*. Also, the drapery is modeled with a similar sense of plasticity, which is evident especially in the stretching of cloth over the bent knee of the woman to the proper right of Lucretia and the deeply carved cloak of the man at the far right of the relief. The ruffling edges of the women’s cloaks can be compared with the wind-whipped drapery and the virtuoso deep undercutting in the Victoria and Albert’s *Two Warriors* and *Procession towards a Contest* (FIG. 5F). All of these reliefs share not only the classicism common to all works associated with Bambaia and his shop but also the almost three-dimensional carving, the delicacy of limbs, and the lightness of postures evident in the Getty relief.

MARIETTA CAMBARERI

Notes

1. I. Ragusa and R. B. Green, trans., *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Princeton, 1961), 64.
2. See M. A. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *Art Bulletin* 37 (June 1955): 85–101 and esp. fig. 3, for a rare, thirteenth-century image of the scene, along with citations of other apocryphal texts that describe the meeting. See also M. A. Lavin, "The Joy of the Bridegroom's Friend: Smiling Faces in Fra Filippo, Raphael, and Leonardo," in *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, ed. M. Barasch and L. Freeman Sandler (New York, 1981), 193–210; F. P. Pickering, "Zur Ikonographie der Kindheit von Johannes dem Täufer," in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1981), 21–27.
3. See J. Pope-Hennessy, *Raphael* (New York, 1970), 193–206, for a consideration of Raphael's compositions of the Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist, including the importance of Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks* in spurring interest in the subject in northern Italy. Images of the Madonna and Child with the young Saint John were most popular in Florence.
4. See Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," for the inherent association of the Young Saint John with the future event of the Baptism.
5. See *Meditations*, 46–47, where the association of the Epiphany with the Baptism as a manifestation of the foundation of the Church is made explicit.
6. These ideas are also conveyed in representations of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne.
7. For an image of the infant Christ with the orb, surmounted by the cross, adored by the infant Saint John, see the 1460s altar by Mino da Fiesole, *Salutati Chapel*, Fiesole cathedral, illustrated in Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," fig. 19. A later example of the Christ child holding a clear globe and indicated to the viewer by the Young Saint John with reed cross and banderole, is Annibale Carracci's *Madonna and Child with Saints*, c. 1583–84, illus. in D. Posner, *Annibale Carracci* (New York, 1971), vol. 2, pl. 13.
8. This association is summarized in G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, 1954), 31.
9. This motif first appeared in early Christian representations of the scene and was revived and made popular in late medieval scenes by Giotto. See M. R. Fisher, "Assisi, Padua, and the Boy in the Tree," *Art Bulletin* 38 (1956): 47–52.
10. One interpretation of the *putti* in Michelangelo's *Madonna of the Steps* in Casa Buonarroti, Florence, is that they are angels (without wings) who expand the sepulchral imagery of the sleeping, almost shrouded Christ child. See K. Weil-Garris Brandt, "I primordi di Michelangelo scultore," in *Giovinetta di Michelangelo*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Vecchio and Casa Buonarroti, 1999), 71–72.
11. See D. De Grazia, "Poussin's *Holy Family on the Steps* in Context," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 4 (1999): 26–63, for the most recent survey of the many iconographical interpretations of Poussin's Holy Families that include groups of little children, along with new discussion and complete bibliography. Another possible source for these children is the representations of little nude boys on objects associated with childbirth, where playful children are represented to express the hope for healthy offspring. See J. Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven and London, 1999), 126–32. The scene in the *Meditations* is a meeting between two new mothers. The text stresses the festivity expressed by the children.
12. See Fiorio, "Un rilievo," 57–72, for one attempt to distinguish Leonardo's impact on Lombard sculpture. Fiorio also notes the Getty relief in the context of her argument (66 n. 9), judging its composition less coherent than that of certain reliefs by Bambaia.
13. K. Weil-Garris Brandt, *Leonardo e la scultura* (Florence, 1999), 30–31.
14. "I say that in narrative paintings you should closely intermingle direct opposites, because they offer a great contrast to each other. . . . Thus have the . . . old next to the young. . . . In this way there is as much variety, as closely juxtaposed as possible" (M. Kemp, ed., *Leonardo on Painting* [New Haven and London, 1989], 220).
15. Warmest thanks to Giancarlo Gentilini, who recognized the signature, indicated the relevant bibliography, and was therefore instrumental in the attribution of the Getty relief to Benedetto Cervi.
16. G. P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura ed architettura* (Milan, 1584; reprint, Rome, 1844), vol. 2, 164 (bk. 6, chap. 17): "d'onde nei pili antichi, e loro bassorilievi si sono ritrovate gambe, ed altre parti tonde, siccome hanno imitato poi anco gli eccellenti moderni, come Donatello, Caradosso Foppa, e Benedetto Pavese."
17. *Ibid.*, 209 (bk. 6, chap. 19): "e dei scultori fu singolare Benedetto Pavese, che scolpi le battaglie di Monsù di Lautrech alla sua sepoltura di basso rilievo in S. Marta di Milano." For Bambaia, see Agosti, *Bambaia e il classicismo lombardo*; Fiorio, *Bambaia*; and Agostino Busti, *detto il Bambaia, 1483–1548: Il monumento a Gaston de Foix . . .* (Milan, 1990).
18. When the relief was first published, it was attributed to Bambaia. See Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue*, 49, no. 39. The attribution was challenged by Baroni ("Problemi di scultura," 189), who saw it as a later work of a Bambaia follower; by J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1964), 549; and by Fiorio, "Un rilievo"; idem, *Bambaia*, 152.
19. S. Gatti, "Nuove aggiunte al catalogo di 'Benedetto Pavese' collaboratore di Agostino Busti detto il Bambaia," *Arte lombarda* 96–97 (1991): 117–19.
20. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture*, 544–49.
21. R. C. Aréizaga, *Catálogo de la escultura de época moderna, siglos XVI–XVIII, Museo del Prado* (Madrid, 1998), 54–55, no. 4, 56–57, no. 5.

## AFTER A MODEL BY BENVENUTO CELLINI

Florence 1500–1571

*Satyr*

Modeled c. 1542,  
date of cast uncertain

Bronze

H: 56.8 cm (22<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

W: 8.9 cm (3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.)

D: 8.4 cm (3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

85.SB.69

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

M119, most likely an inventory number, in red paint on the sole of the proper right foot.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface of the metal appears to be coated with two layers: a translucent brown lacquer covered by a thick, dark brownish black material. The surface coating has been abraded down to the oxidized metal in several areas. Lines scratched through the surface coating are evidence that a mold was taken. Details of the face, such as the nose and chin, were damaged in the wax and cast without repair. The club once held in the figure's left hand appears either to have broken in the wax and been cast without repair or to be the result of a flawed casting. At some point the head of the *Satyr* was filled with a plasterlike substance, which has since been removed. The right thumb of the figure is a replacement. The fig leaf is a later addition, attached with a threaded pin. ICP-MS revealed the composition of the metal to be a heavily leaded copper-zinc alloy with a low percentage of tin (see appendix B).

The figure was cast in one piece using the indirect lost-wax method. Examination of the sculpture's interior indicates a wax-to-wax join at the right shoulder. Small pads below the feet were cast with the figure and create a flat surface on which it can stand. Small traces of black core, composed of carbonized organic material with quartz sand, remain inside the figure.

## PROVENANCE

Drey Gallery, Munich, sold to August Lederer, 1918; August Lederer (d. 1936), Vienna, by inheritance to his widow, Serena Lederer, 1936; Serena Lederer (d. 1943), Vienna, looted by the Nazis, 1938; in the possession of the Nazis, restituted by the Allied forces to the Austrian government, 1947; Austrian government, restituted to the son of Serena Lederer, Erich Lederer, 1947; Erich Lederer (1896–1985), Geneva, by inheritance to his widow, Elisabeth Lederer, 1985; Elisabeth Lederer, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Pope-Hennessy, "A Bronze Satyr by Cellini," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (July 1982): 406–12; G. Goldner, *Master Drawings from the Woodner Collection* (Malibu, Calif., 1983), 52; A. Gibbon, *Bronzes de Fontainebleau* (Paris, 1985), 57, fig. 62; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York, 1985), 135–36, 141, pls. 72–74; J. Pope-Hennessy, "Cellini, Large as Life," *FMR*, no. 14 (September 1985): 60–61; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986):

260, no. 241; C. Avery, "The Pope's Goldsmith," *Apollo* 124 (July 1986): 61–62; *European Works of Art, Armour, Furniture, and Tapestries*, sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, 26 November 1986, cited under lot 72; N. Penny, "Geraniums and the River," *London Review of Books* 8, no. 5 (1986): 13ff.; C. Savonuzzi, "Cellini, una vita fusa nelle passione," *Stampa*, 26 July 1986; *Old Master Drawings, Bronzes of the Renaissance*, exh. cat. (New York: Paul Rosenberg and Co., 1987), 34; A. Radcliffe, "Book Reviews: Cellini by John Pope-Hennessy," *Burlington Magazine* 130 (December 1988): 930; H. Kenner, "The Inside Story: First Prize," *Art and Antiques* 7 (March 1990): 192; *J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Malibu, Calif., 1991), 205; J. Cox-Rearick, *Chefs-d'œuvre de la Renaissance: La collection de François 1er* (Antwerp, 1995), 290–92, illus. 317; J. Poeschke, *Michelangelo and His World: Sculpture of the Italian Renaissance* (New York, 1996), 211, fig. 116; A. Nova, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 6, 141–42, fig. 3; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 77; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 16; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 239; J. Walsh and D. Gibbon, *The J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Collections: A Museum for the New Century* (Los Angeles, 1997), 187, 191; P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 26–27.

THE STATUETTE IS EXECUTED in very high relief. It is as if the back portion, from the right elbow to the back of the right thigh, had been shaved off to allow the figure to lie flush against a flat plane, revealing the hollow interior of the bronze from the knees to the head—with the exception of the neck, where the edges were pinched together in the wax. The figure stands in exaggerated contrapposto. His weight-bearing arm is bent at the elbow, resting palm up on top of his head. His relaxed leg is crossed over in front of his straight, tensed leg. As the eye proceeds along the length of

the sinuous figure, parts of the body alternately appear to project and recede from an imaginary background plane, emphasizing the strong torsion of the body. Turning his head sharply to his left, the bearded and horned satyr gazes fiercely—with a dramatically furrowed brow; deeply chiseled eyes; full, gnarled lips; and an open-mouthed scowl—toward an unknown intruder.

The bronze statuette of a satyr was first associated with Cellini, specifically his project for the Porte Dorée, the principal entrance to Francis I's château at Fontainebleau, by





6A Alternate view

John Pope-Hennessy in 1982.<sup>1</sup> The monumental bronze door-surround was to have included two colossal satyrs, which would have stood in place of columns at either side of the doorway; a relief lunette depicting a nude female nymph reclining among creatures of the forest; and two personifications of Victory in the spandrels. The basis for the attribution of the Getty bronze was provided by the sculptor's own description of the satyrs: "The first . . . was in somewhat more than half-relief, lifting one hand to support the cornice, and holding a thick club in the other; his face was fiery and menacing, instilling fear into the beholders. The other had the same posture of support; but I varied his features and some other details; in his hand, for instance, he held a lash with three balls attached to chains. Though I called them satyrs, they showed nothing of the satyr except little horns and a goatish head; all the rest of their form was human."<sup>2</sup>

The Getty *Satyr*, which agrees in all details with Cellini's passage, also corresponds to an autograph drawing of a satyr by the artist in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.<sup>3</sup> Although they differ slightly in the treatment of the musculature and other minor features (such as the club, which is rendered in its entirety in the drawing), both the bronze and the drawing reflect Cellini's design for the left-hand satyr of the *Porte Dorée*. The inscription on the drawing in his hand refers to the satyr in the past tense, leading Pope-Hennessy to conclude that Cellini cast the bronze *Satyr*, brought it with him when he left France for Florence, and used it as the source for the later drawing.

There are, however, several problems with Pope-Hennessy's argument. He saw evidence of the bronze's intended status as a finished work of art in the addition of a flat, level plane to the bottoms of the feet, which would have enabled the figure to stand without support.<sup>4</sup> And yet, despite the addition of flat "soles," the bronze cannot stand stably without support and would probably have been cast with or mounted on a base if it had been intended to do so. In 1545, after being accused of theft, Cellini was forced to leave France. If he had brought the wax model for the *Satyr* with him and cast it in Florence, it would likely appear in the 1571 inventory of the sculptor's studio, but it does not. More probably, Cellini left behind the wax model when he fled, and it was later cast in its deteriorated state without his

input or supervision.<sup>5</sup> He no doubt would have repaired the *Satyr's* broken club before or after casting, had he been the one to execute or oversee the making of the bronze from a wax model. The continuing presence in France of Cellini's model for the *Satyr* is further suggested by the exact duplication of its pose—in reverse—for the gilt-bronze figure of Hercules on a royal commode made by Jean-Henri Riesener in 1775, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.<sup>6</sup> Although the reversal of the pose may suggest an intermediate print source, none is known to exist, and it is equally possible that Riesener modified the figure to conform to his design for the commode.

Cellini's inclusion of satyrs in the design of the Porte Dorée reflects his profound engagement with antiquity. Nicholas Penny has pointed out the significance of two ancient marble satyrs owned by the della Valle family in Rome for Cellini's conception.<sup>7</sup> The della Valle satyrs were used from the 1530s onward as supporting figures in a courtyard loggia (a deceptive function, since they were attached to load-bearing pilasters). In 1540 these satyrs were among the famous antiquities of which Primaticcio obtained molds for casting replicas. Primaticcio's bronze casts of the satyrs were presumably placed on view with the other bronze copies in the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau, where Cellini saw them on the day he was to present his silver *Jupiter* to the king.<sup>8</sup> Cellini's keen sense of rivalry with the antique, made obvious in his recounting of that day, may have influenced his decision to incorporate satyrs as caryatid figures in the Porte Dorée.

The pose of the Getty *Satyr*, with one leg crossed in front of the other, also derives from an antique source, a *Mercury* that stood in the Belvedere court in Rome until around the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The development of Cellini's composition for the *Satyr* may also have had something to do with the use of this cross-legged pose for the ubiquitous caryatids and framing figures in the bedchamber of the duchesse d'Étampes at Fontainebleau. The motif of the open-mouthed or screaming figure, used in Italian sculpture from the fifteenth century onward, had become a conventional expression of aggression and ferocity and is exploited to this end in the Getty *Satyr*.<sup>10</sup> It was repeated by Cellini for a similar purpose in his relief *Perseus Delivering Andromeda* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



6B Back view



6c Detail, face

#### Notes

1. Pope-Hennessy, "Bronze Satyr," 406–12. For more on the project of a monumental doorway for Fontainebleau and the relevant documents, see C. Grodecki, "Le séjour de Benvenuto Cellini à l'Hôtel de Nesle et la Fonte de la Nympe de Fontainebleau d'après les actes des notaires parisiens," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1971): 1–36.
2. J. Addington Symonds, trans., *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, ed. C. Hope (Oxford, 1983), 131.
3. For a discussion of the drawing, formerly owned by Ian Woodner, and a fairly complete bibliography and exhibition history, see Goldner, in *Master Drawings*, no. 18.
4. Pope-Hennessy, "Bronze Satyr," 410.
5. Another bronze that may be a relict cast of a Cellini model for a satyr appeared on the art market in the late 1980s. The bronze—which depicts only the head of a frowning satyr with long, spiraling horns and a smooth, high forehead—was first put up for sale at Sotheby's, New York (see *European Works of Art*, 1986, lot 72). At Peter Fusco's suggestion that the head might be associated with Cellini, however, it was pulled from the auction. Paul Rosenberg, presumably the consignee of the bronze, published it a year later as being by Cellini (*Old Master Drawings, Bronzes of the Renaissance*, no. 16). Purportedly cast from the model for the right-hand satyr of the Porte Dorée, the head would have recorded those elements distinct from the left-hand satyr. The two bodies would have mirrored each other exactly in pose and anatomy, thereby eliminating the need for a second model of the entire figure. Cellini distinguished the two satyrs primarily on the basis of their differing weapons, however, and such a distinction is not accounted for in this head.
6. See P. Verlet, "Les trois commodes de la nouvelle chambre du roi à Versailles," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1937): 58–65; Pierre Verlet, *Le mobilier royal français: Meubles de la couronne conservés en France*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1945), no. 9, pl. XI; sale cat., Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 20 January 1989, lot 107; *Christie's International Magazine*, May–June 1989, 69. A later, nineteenth-century copy of the commode sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 20 November 1996, lot 63.
7. Penny, "Geraniums and the River," 14.
8. S. Pressouyre, "Les fontes de Primaticci à Fontainebleau," *Bulletin monumental* 127 (1969): 224–25, 231.
9. Now in the Uffizi, Florence. See F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981), 266, no. 61.
10. For a discussion of this motif, see A. Parronchi, "Une tête de satyre de Cellini," *Revue de l'art*, no. 5 (1969): 43–45.

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

Probably active at Fontainebleau

*Pair of Andirons in the Form of a Female and a Male Herm*

c. 1540–45

Bronze

Female herm:

H: 84 cm (33 in.)

W: 39.5 cm (15½ in.)

D: 14 cm (5½ in.)

Male herm:

H: 82 cm (32¼ in.)

W: 39.5 cm (15½ in.)

D: 13 cm (5 in.)

94.SB.77.1–2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

1248R in red paint on the back of the female figure. Presumably this is a Rothschild inventory number (see provenance below).

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The bronzes have a light brown patina with an overlying black layer of variable thickness, which obscures some details. The black layer is unevenly adhered and has flaked off in some areas. It is not clear whether the surface was chemically patinated before the darker coating was applied. There are square iron rods that extend horizon-

tally about 1½ inches from the back of the base of each figure. It is probable that these rods originally extended farther to support firewood and were cut down at some point. At the end of each rod is attached a later thin, flat, rolled iron plate, which extends down to the ground to support the figure so that it stands vertically. There are four copper plugs on each figure, toned to match the surrounding bronze. These copper plugs, which appear on the abdomen and lower back of each figure, are unusually large and appear to be repairs (replacements) for iron core pins employed in the casting of the objects.

X rays suggest that the bronzes are direct lost-wax casts made over preformed cores reinforced by thick iron armatures. The bodies of the figures are hollow, but the arms, heads, and bases are solid. On the inside of the female figure there are two parallel vertical iron rods that extend down the figure and then turn away from each other at the base into the grotesque heads, where they are partially embedded in the bronze and partially visible from underneath the object. Inside the male figure there is only one large iron rod, which extends down and then is bifurcated at the base in order to extend into the grotesque heads at each side. Each of the works appears to have been cast originally in one piece and to have had flawed areas requiring repairs (metal-to-metal joins) on the strapwork scrolls of the bases. ICP-MS and XRF reveal that both bronzes are composed of a similar leaded copper-zinc-tin alloy, and XRF reveals that the four large rectangular fills are made of copper

with traces of lead and iron (see appendix B). It appears that there was little polishing of the bronzes after casting—except in areas where patches were made—and little, if any, cold-work chasing of the details. The details seem to have been worked into the wax before casting. The cores of the two figures, composed primarily of kaolinite clay, are similar.

## PROVENANCE

Probably in the collection of Francis I (1494–1547), king of France, Fontainebleau, France; Gustave Samuel James de Rothschild (1829–1911), Paris; by descent within the Rothschild family (sold, Hôtel Drouot, Étude Oger-Dumont, Étude Courturier Nicolay, Paris, 17 June 1994, lot 117, to Same Art Ltd.); Same Art Ltd., Zurich, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

“Acquisitions/1994,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1995): 120; unsigned note by D. Allen, *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, summer 1996, unpaginated; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 36; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 61; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 240; *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Decorative Arts* (Los Angeles, 1997), 18.

THESE PAIRED ANDIRON FIGURES are modeled fully in the round. The base of each object is composed of two grotesque male heads, below the chins of which extend bifurcated curling pieces of strapwork that serve as supports for the objects. The straps are decorated on one side with a series of parallel indented lines and on the other with a simple raised central area that conforms to and reinforces the shape of the straps. The horns protruding from the top of the grotesque heads overlap but do not interlock. Above the grotesque heads in each work is a small, pumpkinlike, squashed spherical form, which is grasped by (or decorated

with) six clearly articulated talons. The talons are not organically related to the figure above. From the talons, an inward-curving abstract herm form rises. The herm is decorated with four stippled bands, which, as they continue to rise, swell outward to form the “hips” of each figure. Partially covering the “hips” and “legs” of each figure is a split skirt, composed of acanthus leaves, which begins in the front just above where one expects genitalia and in the back from the bottom of the buttocks. Portions of the side of the “thighs” are provocatively left uncovered. The complete upper bodies of a male and a female figure rise from the





acanthus-leaf skirts. Each figure's arms are raised like a caryatid's to hold an ovoid vase decorated with garlands of drapery and goat heads. The vases are surmounted by an abstract strapwork nest supporting a salamander. The heads of the salamanders turn in opposite directions, conforming to the turn of the figures and reinforcing the sense that the female figure is intended to be seen on the left, and the male on the right. Thus, the heads of both figures (and the heads of the salamanders they carry) look inward, toward each other, when their bases are placed in the same vertical plane. Above the heads of each figure and below the ovoid bodies of the vases is a small transitional element, which looks like a ring of beads. On the male figure, it is more distinct. Around her neck the female figure wears a bib, slightly larger in the front than in the back, which is decorated on both sides with a framed oval "gem." The "gem" is surrounded by four oval or circular gemlike protrusions, playing suggestively against the breasts, which the bib fails to cover. As a counterpart to the bib on the female, a series of extended strands from the male's beard crisscross over his chest.

This pair of firedogs is unusual in a number of respects. Each of the grotesque heads of the bases is differentiated from its counterpart (see FIGS. 7D–E, 7I–J). This individualization departs from the standard treatment of paired firedogs, in which the elements of the bases mirror each other. It is also unusual for firedogs with such elaborate figural bases to be cast in one piece; late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Venetian figural firedogs are invariably cast in separate sections or pieces.<sup>1</sup> The implied narrative element of the two Getty firedog figures—that is, the fact that they were clearly made to look at each other—also appears unique. The French figurative firedogs that are derived from the engravings of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau generally face forward.<sup>2</sup> The figures crowning later Venetian firedogs never display the sensual interaction implied in the glances of the two Getty figures, although they may mirror each other in pose or may be iconographic counterparts.<sup>3</sup>

A number of features support the supposition that the Getty firedogs were produced for Francis I as part of the first phase of the decoration of his château at Fontainebleau: the style; the subjects (herm figures); the subtly erotic treatment of the subjects; the decorative use of strapwork, goat heads, talons, acanthus leaves, and grotesque masks; and the



7A Female herm, view from proper left



7B Female herm, detail, upper body



7C Female herm, back view



7D Female herm, detail, base with grotesque mask, proper left

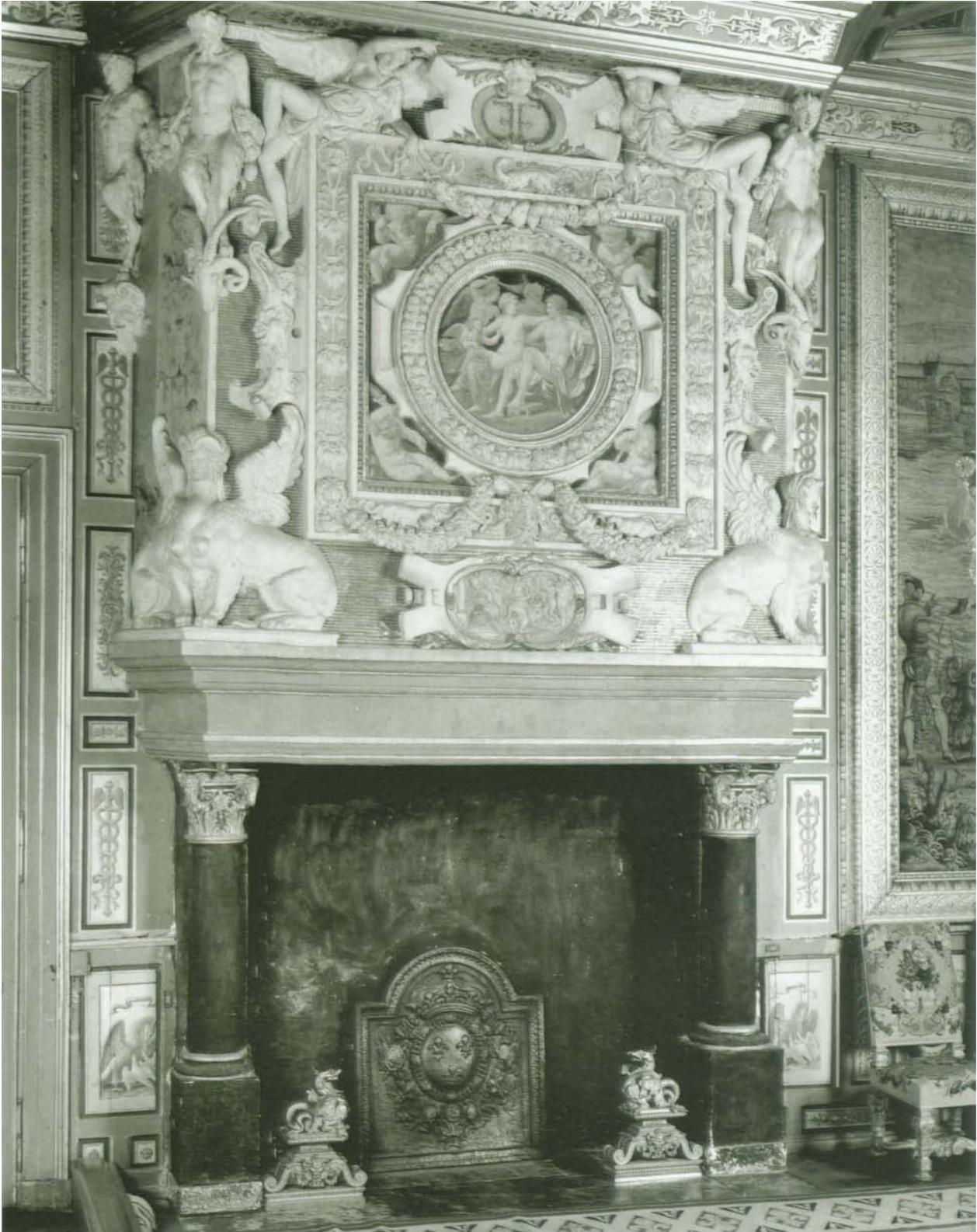


7E Female herm, detail, base with grotesque mask, proper right

inclusion of salamanders, a personal device of the king.<sup>4</sup> This first Fontainebleau style (c. 1530–50) was developed by Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio and their workshop.<sup>5</sup> Male and female herms and caryatids, often rendered as satyrs and nymphs, are a principal leitmotif of the first campaign of architectural stucco sculptures that embellish the Gallery of Francis I (1534–40), the bedchamber of the king (1533–35), and the bedchamber of the duchesse d'Étampes (1541–44). The rather common pairing of nymphs and satyrs symbolized Francis's conception of the château as the fruitful source and center of France, the "fontana bella" of Cellini's reminiscences.<sup>6</sup> As the king's device, the salamander appears throughout the château and is used with frequency in the decoration of the Gallery of Francis I; the closest stylistic counterpart to the Getty bronze salamanders appears on the lunette above the gallery's principal doorway. Unlike the emblems in the gallery, the salamanders on the Getty fire-dogs lack flames. This feature, however, does not dissociate the bronzes from, but rather firmly places them within, the

orbit of Francis I and Fontainebleau. The king's device was accompanied by the motto "Nutrisco et extingo" (I nourish and extinguish).<sup>7</sup> By leaving out the emblematic flames, the artist of the fire-dogs combined device, motto, and the sculpture's function in order to show that the salamanders both nourished and extinguished the fire before which they stood.

The fire-dogs reflect a moment when the fireplace and its accoutrements became a focus of Renaissance interior design. In his *On Architecture* of 1537, Sebastiano Serlio admitted the fireplace into the Vitruvian canon.<sup>8</sup> The treatise's profound influence on French fireplaces is illustrated by Primaticcio's painted and stuccoed fireplace at Fontainebleau (1534–37), which was the focal point of the bedchamber of Queen Eleanor, now the Salon of Francis I (FIG. 7F). The experimental architectural sensibility apparent in the design and execution of the fire-dogs is also in keeping with the first phase of decoration at the château. The male figure's sharply twisted pose, vigorously modeled musculature, and emotional expressiveness have many points in common with



7F Francesco Primaticcio. *Fireplace with Central Medallion Representing Marriage*, 1534–37. Fresco and stucco decoration. Château de Fontainebleau, bedchamber of Queen Eleanor, now the Salon of Francis I. Photo: RMN-Lagiewski.



7G Rosso Fiorentino. *Ignorance Expelled*, 1534–40. Fresco and stucco framework. Château de Fontainebleau, Gallery of Francis I. Photo: RMN-Peter Willi.

Rosso Fiorentino's designs for sculptures and paintings in the Gallery of Francis I (FIG. 7G), while the female figure's elongated, mannered proportions and chilly, detached classicism evoke Primaticcio's stuccoed caryatids in the bedchamber of the duchesse d'Étampes. These similarities indicate a date for the firedogs of around 1544–45, the period when the Gallery of Francis I and the bedchamber of the duchesse d'Étampes were completed. Secondary confirmation of the bronzes' date is provided by a print after a design by Jean Cousin the Elder, which is inscribed with the date 1545 and exhibits the same inventive yet controlled handling of architectural and figural motifs as the firedogs (FIG. 7H).<sup>9</sup> The presence of the salamanders on the bronzes further provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1547, the year of Francis I's death.<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that, although the decorative vocabulary of the Getty firedogs is consistent with the works produced in these years at Fontainebleau, other châteaux were being decorated for Francis I at this time. The Getty firedogs may have been intended for one of those.<sup>11</sup>

A significant precedent for the bronzes is a design for firedogs of around 1530 by Giulio Romano and his workshop for the Palazzo del Te, in which a female herm with a support of acanthus leaves and clawed feet stands on an ornately worked base.<sup>12</sup> Before his French sojourn, Primaticcio worked as a *stuccatore* for Giulio Romano at the Palazzo del Te. Giulio's influence was transferred to Fontainebleau through Primaticcio, who brought his master's designs for the bedchamber of the king with him to France.<sup>13</sup>



7H Master N. H., after Jean Cousin. *Design for a Mausoleum*, 1545. Etching. H: 23.5 cm (9 1/4 in.); W: 16.8 cm (6 5/8 in.). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes.



71 Male herm, detail, base with grotesque mask, proper left



71 Male herm, detail, base with grotesque mask, proper right

If these works were in fact produced for Francis I, they are rare examples of small bronzes or statuettes that can be associated with the first Fontainebleau style, and they may be the earliest among known French or Italian firedogs that are composed primarily of figural elements.<sup>14</sup>

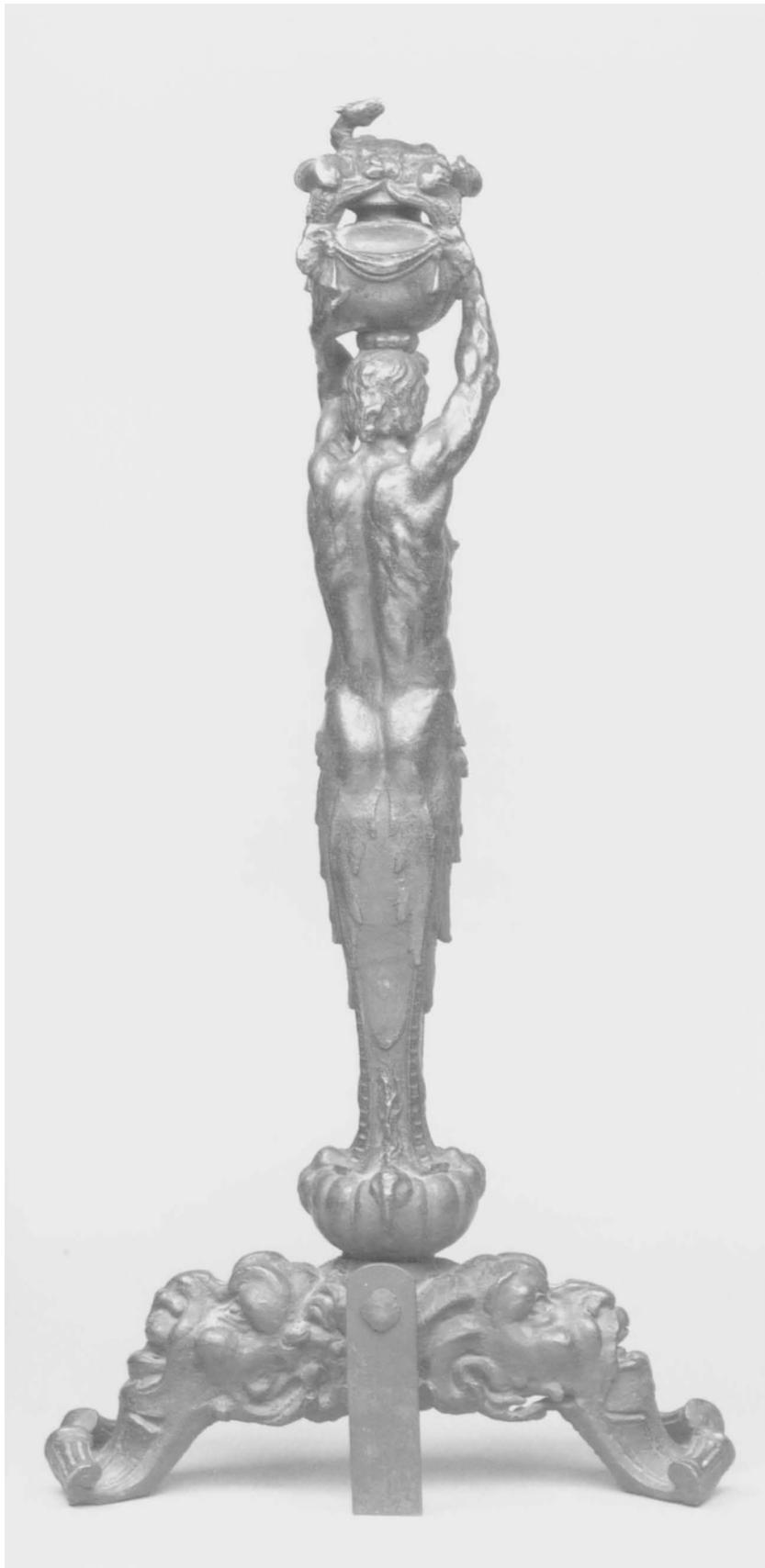
DENISE ALLEN AND PETER FUSCO

*Notes*

1. There is a need for a systematic study of Venetian firedogs or firedogs in general. For examples of Venetian firedogs that are cast in several separate pieces, see J. Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (London, 1965), 125, nos. 464–65, figs. 569–70.
2. There are du Cerceau engravings of caryatid figures that look to one side, but these do not seem to have been adapted for firedogs. See B. Wagner, “Zum Problem der ‘Französischen Grotteske’ in Vorlagen des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz* 9–10 (1974–75): pl. XLIV. Of the firedogs

inspired by the designs of du Cerceau, the earliest dates at least twenty years later than the Getty firedogs. See J. Fischer, *The French Bronze, 1500–1800*, exh. cat. (New York: Knoedler and Company, 1968), no. 5; J. Boccador, *Le mobilier français du moyen âge à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1988), fig. 317; and L. Metman, *Le musée des arts décoratifs* (Paris, 1912), vol. 2, nos. 178, 181, 183. None of the works in the preceding publications bears any similarity, in terms of sculptural quality or innovation, to the Getty firedogs.

3. See *The School of Fontainebleau: An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings, Engraving, Etchings, and Sculpture, 1530–1619*, exh. cat. (Austin: University of Texas; Fort Worth: Fort Worth Art Center, 1965), 60, for a pair of andirons in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, attributed to the School of Fontainebleau, c. 1550. These works are composed of a male and female figure, each with one hand raised to support a basket of fruit, and each clearly looking into the face of the other. In the latter respect, they are the works most closely related to the Getty andirons. Andirons by or associated with Tiziano Aspetti that consist of figures of Venus and Mars who appear to interact with each other are known in various examples; see J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*,



7K Male herm, back view



7L Male herm, detail, upper body



7M Male herm, view from proper right

- vol. 3, *Sculpture, Italian* (New York, 1970), 183–85, and the pair of late sixteenth-century andirons representing Mars and Venus in *The Cyril Humpris Collection of Sculpture and Works of Art*, pt. 1, sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, 10 January 1995, lot 25.
4. One of the works closest in style to the Getty firedogs shows a similar male figure in a print of the stoning of Saint Stephen by Domenico del Barbieri, called Dominique Florentin. It is illustrated in H. Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (London, 1969), no. DB 2. Unfortunately, although we know that Barbieri was probably active as a sculptor during the first phase of work at Fontainebleau, there are no documented sculptures by him from this period. For a close comparison to the pair of female herm figures with upraised arms (holding baskets of fruit) and acanthus leaves covering the genitalia, see the Danae tapestry, which is illustrated in S. Schneebalg-Perelman, "Richesses du garde-meuble parisien de François 1er," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 99 (November 1971): 260, fig. 5.
  5. For this period at Fontainebleau, see the following recent sources: J. Cox-Rearick, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la Renaissance: La collection de François 1er* (Antwerp, 1995), 42–62, with bibliography; H. Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance en France: L'invention du classicisme* (Paris, 1996), 68–89, 98–111, with bibliography; and J.-M. Pérouse de Montclos, *Fontainebleau* (Paris, 1998), 55–93.
  6. D. Herrig, *Fontainebleau: Geschichte und Ikonologie der Schlossanlage Franz I* (Munich, 1992), 159–60.
  7. *Ibid.*, 163.
  8. P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York, 1991), 20–23.
  9. See H. Zerner, in *L'école de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat. (Paris: Grand Palais, 1972), 312–13, no. 401.
  10. J. S. Byrne ("Some Attributions Undone," *Master Drawings* 13 [autumn 1975]: 246), for example, argues this point when considering the date of a drawing in the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin (Hdz. 2201).
  11. For example, the Château de Chambord or the Château de Madrid. For a brief survey of the other châteaux built for Francis I in the Île de France, see A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700*, 5th ed., rev. by R. Beresford (New Haven, 1999), 10–15, 26–38.
  12. Illustrated in Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, 25, fig. 26. See also the herms decorating a chimneypiece believed to have been sent by Pope Leo X to the king of Portugal, Manuel I, in Lisbon, illus. in S. A. Bendini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Nashville, 1998), 225–32. Also, Bendini reports R. Wittkower's opinion that the fireplace was by Andrea Sansovino. In the chimneypiece, two male herms whose torsos emerge from acanthus-leaf skirts look toward each other across the hearth.
  13. Zerner, in *L'école de Fontainebleau*, 134–35, no. 143.
  14. For a rare pair of early sixteenth-century figural firedogs, made in Flanders, see Y. Hackenbroch, *Bronzes, Other Metalwork, and Sculpture in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (New York, 1962), pls. 130–33, figs. 141–44, dated 1510–20.

## CIRCLE OF JACOPO SANSOVINO

Florence 1486–Venice 1570

*Venus and Cupid*

c. 1550

Bronze

H: 88.9 cm (35 in.)

87.SB.50

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Inscribed in the wax model under the base, F<sup>+</sup>B (founder's mark?).

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface of the bronze is rough, due to the porosity of the cast and to uneven flaking of previous surface coatings. When acquired, the bronze had an opaque black coating over a green, streaky patina that resulted from corrosion. There is no evidence that the work functioned as a fountain, but the corrosion of the surface and the debris found inside indicate that it was placed outdoors for some time. Coatings added to make the surface more uniform have turned slightly milky and dull. There is a crack in Venus's right wrist, and the little finger of her left hand is a restoration.

Large, unusual holes are present in the palms and right sole of Venus and in the palms and soles of Cupid. Their function is uncertain. It is possible that these holes, which appear to have been cut into the wax before casting, were made to facilitate drying or the removal of the core material. There are many core-pin holes, some of which have been plugged.

Along the edge of the bronze's base, five protrusions with nail holes indicate where the work would have been secured to a support. Two rusted nails are still in place. Casting flaws, where the metal seems to have flowed unevenly, were left unrepaired in places that are not easily visible, such as in the dolphin's tail and head, under Cupid's left leg, and in the dolphin below Cupid's left thigh. Porosity and prominent casting flaws, such as those in the dolphin's tail and Cupid's right hand, were filled with round plugs and cast-in repairs. Many of the flaws and repairs are hidden by the heavy surface coatings.

X rays reveal that this is an indirect lost-wax bronze that was cast hollow, with core material removed, and in two separate pieces: (1) the figure of Venus and (2) the Cupid, dolphin, and base. The two sections are attached with a cast-on metal join between Venus and the base. Wax-to-wax joins are visible in the arms and upper legs of Venus and in the arms of Cupid. Wax joins appear in the tail of the dolphin, between the base and the dolphin, and between the dolphin and Cupid.

ICP-MS analysis reveals that the Venus is a heavily leaded copper-tin-zinc alloy, while AAS and XRF tests show that the Cupid, dolphin, and base are lower in zinc (see appendix B). Core material suitable for testing was found only in the Cupid, and the results of TL testing (Oxford, 1987) were consistent with the proposed date. The core composition, sandy clay with fibers, is typical of early- to mid-sixteenth-century bronze cores.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, Brussels, sold to Bernard Steinitz; Bernard Steinitz, Paris (sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 17 June 1986, lot 152, to Same Art Ltd.); Same Art Ltd., Zurich, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Drouot, 1985–1986: L'art et les enchères* (Paris, 1986), 162; S. Melikian, "Sale of Rare Bronze," *International Herald Tribune*, 21–22 June 1986; *Gazette*, no. 26 (27 June 1986): 7; *Art and Auction* 10 (September 1986): 86; "Venere, Amore e Denaro," *Giornale dell'arte*, no. 37 (September 1986): 76; "Acquisitions/1987," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 16 (1988): 137, 183, no. 83; "Recent Acquisition: Sculpture and Works of Art," *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, May 1988, unpaginated; A. Gibbon, *Guide des bronzes de la renaissance italienne* (Paris, 1990), 252, pl. 234; *Important European Sculpture and Works of Art*, sale cat., Christie's, London, December 1990, 58, under lot 98; *Important European Sculpture and Works of Art*, sale cat., Christie's, London, July 1991, 33, under lot 45; *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar* (winter 1995–96): unpaginated; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 26; P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 28–29.

THE BRONZE SCULPTURE REPRESENTS VENUS, with Cupid at her side on the back of a dolphin. Venus is in a *contrapposto* stance, with the left hip raised and drawn back, the right hip pressed forward, and the right shoulder pushed forward and slightly raised as she bends her right arm. Her right hand bends down at the wrist, and she holds an apple in her long, elegant fingers. Venus's left arm extends downward as she reaches toward her son. Winged Cupid rides a dolphin while holding a bow in his left hand, his upper body twisting to his right and upward toward Venus. The strap of his quiver stretches across his upper torso, and the quiver full

of arrows rests along the contour of his back. Cupid smiles at Venus and raises his right arm, presumably to show her an arrow (now missing). Venus looks down at him somewhat severely. She probably originally held the shaft of the arrow, as if about to take it from Cupid or, alternatively, as if to test its point with the tip of her finger. The dolphin seems poised to dive into the water, which is indicated by the waves modeled in the base. The beast's lower body and finned tail curve upward and behind Venus's left leg.

The composition recalls antique marble statues of Venus, without following any known prototype. The open,





8A Mazarin *Venus*, Roman copy after a Hellenistic original, A.D. 100–200. Marble. H: 184 cm (72 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum inv. 54.AA.II.

frontal stance of Venus is that of a Venus “non-*pudica*.” She does not reach in front of her body to cover herself and appears completely unself-conscious in her nudity. An example of the classical prototype closest to the present figure, and one known in the sixteenth century, is the Mazarin *Venus*, in the J. Paul Getty Museum (FIG. 8A).<sup>1</sup> The pose of the bronze figure is very similar to this ancient example, although the sharp turn of Venus’s head is closer to that of the Medici *Venus* (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi). The Medici statue also includes a Cupid riding a dolphin.<sup>2</sup>

The Getty *Venus* raises difficult and still unanswered questions about function, facture, and attribution. The scale of the bronze is unusual for the sixteenth century in that it is neither a table bronze nor a monumental sculpture, so we can only speculate about its function. It likely served as a decorative bronze in a domestic setting.<sup>3</sup> Close in size to the bronze statues in niches in the Studiolo of Francesco I Medici, in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, cast between 1571 and 1574, it may have been made for a similar architectural setting.<sup>4</sup> The composition is generally frontal, yet the round base and detailed treatment of the back of the figure strongly suggest that the sculpture was meant to be seen in the round. For example, only from the back do we see Cupid’s quiver full of arrows and the dimples at the lower back of the goddess. Because of its subject, the statue might have served as the crowning element of a fountain, although it was never piped for water to flow through it.



8B Detail, inscription under base



8c Detail, head of Venus



8D Three-quarter view from proper right



8E Back view



8F Side view from proper left

Its condition is also perplexing. The unusually large holes in the head and hands of Venus and in the feet of Cupid may have served to remove core material, but such holes are usually filled in and chased. There are also empty core-pin holes in various places on the surface. It is likely, given the bronze's high degree of finish, that the holes were originally filled with wax that has since disappeared.

Finally, the attribution remains problematic. The piece is inscribed under the base F<sup>\*</sup>B (see FIG. 8B), almost certainly the initials of a name, since the superscript cross is a paleographic convention used in such abbreviations in the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> When the sculpture was sold at auction in 1986, it was attributed to Francesco Bordonì (1580–1654) on the basis of the inscription.<sup>6</sup> Yet the figure has little to do with the work of this sculptor and bronze founder, the student and son-in-law of Pietro Francavilla, a sculptor closely associated with Giambologna.<sup>7</sup> The sculpture seems instead to date close to the middle of the sixteenth century and shows no awareness, for example, of Giambologna's characteristic *figura serpentinata*. In the open pose of Venus and the placement of the dolphin, it displays a general quality of frontality, which is mitigated only by the sharp turn of the goddess's head and Cupid's lively, twisting pose. Details such as Venus's hairdo and her elegant, splayed fingers are common in mid-sixteenth-century *maniera* works.

Other sculptors with the initials FB including Francesco Brambilla and Federico Brandani, can be eliminated on the basis of stylistic comparison.<sup>8</sup> Generic stylistic affinities with midcentury works in France have led to the tantalizing suggestion that it is by Francesco Primaticcio, known to have used the initials FB, for Francesco da Bologna.<sup>9</sup> This idea has not, however, held up to closer stylistic comparison.

The Getty bronze displays many stylistic idiosyncrasies found in the sculptures of Jacopo Sansovino, the famous Tuscan sculptor and architect active in Rome and, after 1527, in Venice. No completely nude female figures by Sansovino survive, but he is known to have made at least two, and possibly four, figures representing Venus.<sup>10</sup> One example, meant for the bedchamber of Federico II Gonzaga, marchese of Mantua, is described in a letter to him written by Pietro Aretino. Aretino discusses a Venus by Jacopo "so true to life and so living that it will fill with lustful thoughts the mind



8G Jacopo Sansovino. *Peace*, 1541–46. Bronze. H: 144.5 cm (56 7/8 in.). Venice, Piazza San Marco, Loggetta. Photo: O. Böhm, Venice.



8H Jacopo Sansovino. *Peace*, 1541–46 (see FIG. 8G). Detail, head. Photo: Conway Library, © M. Hirst.

of anyone who looks at it.”<sup>11</sup> This description, albeit a trope for the subject, is in accordance with the openly displayed nudity of the present figure. The Getty statue, in its presentation of Venus as triumphant goddess of love and beauty, appealing from all sides, and recalling antique prototypes, seems a Renaissance evocation of Pliny’s description of the Knidian *Venus*, surely the classical source for Aretino’s trope.<sup>12</sup>

The proportions of the Getty *Venus* are close to those of figures by Sansovino, particularly the bronze statues for the Loggetta in Piazza San Marco, Venice, which date to the 1540s. If we imagine *Peace* (FIG. 8G) undressed, for example, we might see a figure very similar to the Getty bronze, with long torso, conical breasts, long legs, and characteristically bent wrists and mannered gestures with long, open fingers.



8I Jacopo Sansovino. *Hope*, 1550s. Marble. H: 241 cm (94 $\frac{7}{8}$  in.); w: 62.4 cm (24 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.). Venice, San Salvatore, Monument to Doge Francesco Venier. Detail, head.



8J Jacopo Sansovino. *Madonna and Child (Madonna del Parto)*, 1518–21. Marble. H: 188 cm (74 in.). Rome, Sant'Agostino, Martelli Altar. Detail, Christ's head. Photo: Conway Library, © Courtauld Institute.

Other specific comparisons can be made with details of the face of *Peace* (FIG. 8H): the smooth arch of the brows that run into the flat, sharply formed bridge of the nose; the slightly crooked, curving lips; and the long, thick, tubular neck. These features also recall the head of *Hope* (FIG. 8I) from the monument to Doge Francesco Venier in San Salvatore, Venice, as well as the *Madonna and Child* from the Martelli Altar (Rome, Sant'Agostino), in which there is also a close resemblance between Christ, with his dimpled chin and cheeks (FIG. 8J), and Cupid. Cupid recalls the loose, open figures of children in many paintings by Andrea del Sarto, who worked closely with Sansovino while the sculptor was in Florence early in his career.<sup>13</sup> The dolphin is very similar to the nose-diving dolphin in the Neptune on the Scala dei Giganti in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice.<sup>14</sup> Finally, the

bands that hold Venus's hair in place are identical to those worn by *Charity* (FIG. 8K) in the monument to Doge Francesco Venier (Venice, San Salvatore). All of these comparisons encourage the suggestion that the Getty *Venus and Cupid* was created in the circle of Jacopo Sansovino, around 1550, shortly after the bronze statues for the Loggetta, Sansovino's earliest documented works in bronze.

The group including Venus, Cupid, and a dolphin is relatively rare in sixteenth-century sculpture.<sup>15</sup> Other groups show Venus either with Cupid alone or with the dolphin at her side.<sup>16</sup> By including several elements of her story, this Venus presents a more complex image of the goddess. The dolphin and the circular base decorated with waves recall her birth from the sea as daughter of Uranus. Shown holding the golden apple awarded her by Paris, she is also Venus



8K Jacopo Sansovino. *Charity*, 1550s. Marble. H: 239.4 cm (94½ in.); w: 63 cm (24<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Venice, San Salvatore, Monument to Doge Francesco Venier. Detail, head. Photo © Cameraphoto.

Triumphant, goddess of love and beauty. Accompanied by her son Cupid and probably originally shown touching one of his potent arrows, she partakes of his powers of amorous inspiration. Meanwhile, Cupid riding on the dolphin's back evokes the idea of the swiftness of love.

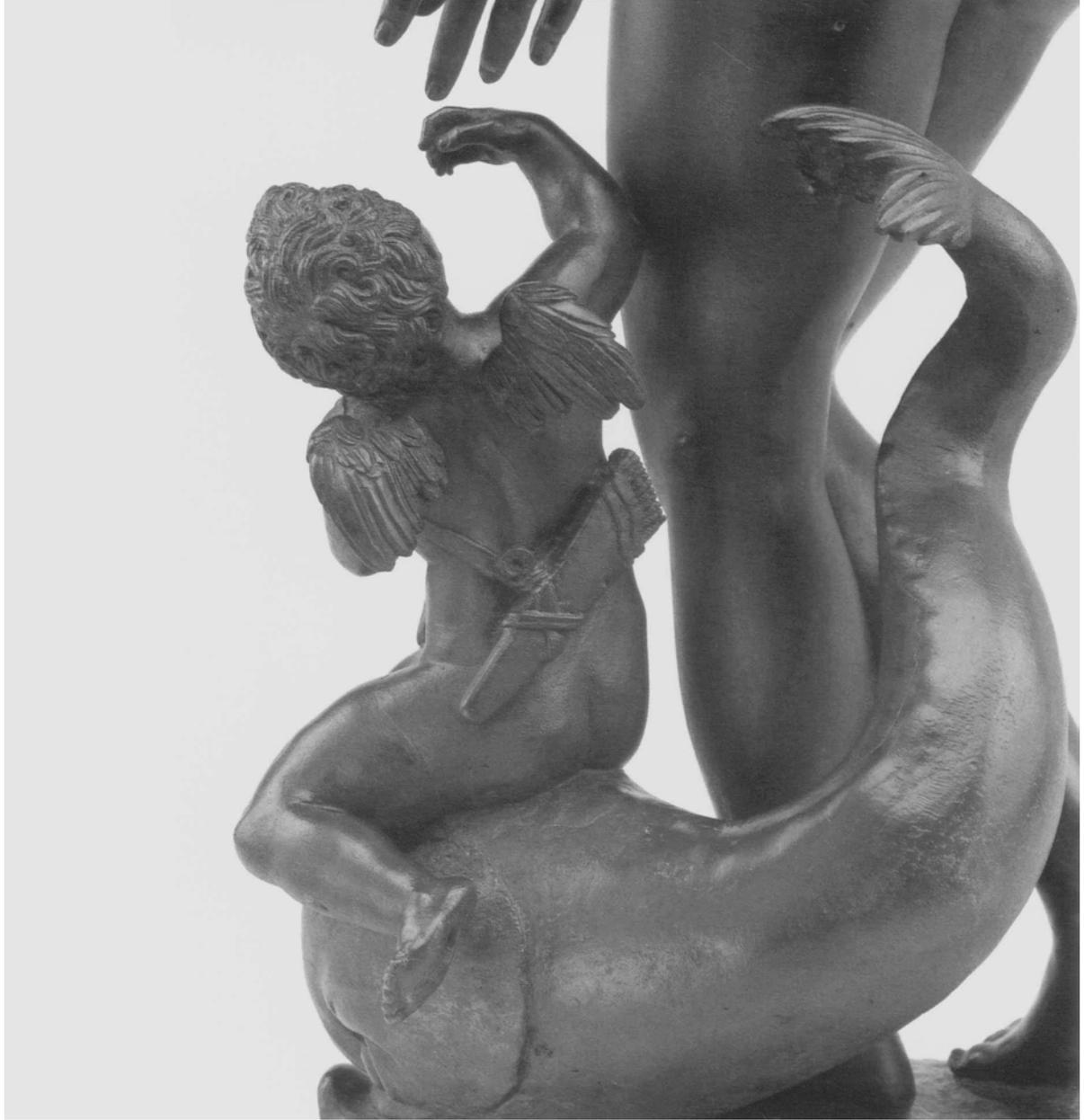
The Getty statue reflects a broader sixteenth-century interest in the subject, which is evident in such paintings as Paolo Veronese's *Venus Disarming Cupid* (New York, private collection) and Palma Vecchio's *Venus and Cupid* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum).<sup>17</sup> In these and similar images, Venus chastises Cupid by taking away his arrows or shares in the potency of those arrows by fingering them. Like those painted images, this Renaissance bronze statue transforms the classical prototypes through narrative or allegorical content. For example, the placement of Cupid and the

dolphin along the left leg of the figure of Venus recalls the need for a supporting element in marble statues, the antique models for this sculpture. In the Getty bronze the convention is transformed into a narrative element, which stresses the interaction of Venus and Cupid and focuses on the now-missing arrow, thereby carrying the significance of the nude Venus beyond the classical paradigm of female beauty.

MARIETTA CAMBARERI AND PETER FUSCO

#### Notes

1. For Renaissance awareness of the Mazarin *Venus* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum inv. 54.AA.11), see P. Pray Bober and R. Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London and New York, 1986), 61, pl. 15.
2. For the Medici *Venus*, whose recording in the Renaissance is debated, see P. P. Bober, *Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini: Sketchbooks in the British Museum* (London, 1957), 50–51; M. L. Netto-Bol, *The So-Called Maarten de Vos Sketchbooks of Drawings after the Antique* (The Hague, 1976), 30; F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981), 325–28. Other examples of the ancient *pubica* type surely were known. For a recent consideration of classical Venus statues and further bibliography, see C. Mitchell Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995).
3. For a mid-sixteenth-century representation of a sculpture of a nude female figure, probably Venus, set on a circular base and placed in a domestic setting, see G. Mazzola-Bedoli, *Portrait of Anna Eleonora Sanvitali* (1562), in the Pinacoteca, Parma, illus. in P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (London, 1991), 238, fig. 272.
4. For the Studiolo bronzes, see the entries on Vincenzo de' Rossi's *Vulcan* (H: 90 cm [35<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.]) and Vincenzo Danti's *Venus* (H: 98 cm [38<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.]) in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici: Arte a Firenze alla fine del cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, 1997), 230–31, with further bibliography.
5. Gino Corti (correspondence, JPM object file, 87.SB.50) notes this convention and deems it highly unlikely that it could be read in any other way.
6. See, for example, the auction catalogue *Meubles et objets d'art*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 17 June 1986, lot 152; Gibbon, *Guide des bronzes*, 252, pl. 234.
7. For Bordonni, see G. Bresc-Bautier, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, vol. 4 (New York, 1996), 401–2.
8. For Brambilla, see M. T. Fiorio, in *ibid.*, 654–55; for Brandani, see D. Sikorski, in *ibid.*, 664–65.
9. This was the hypothesis put forward shortly after its acquisition by the J. Paul Getty Museum (“Recent Acquisition,” unpaginated).
10. For Sansovino's Venus sculptures, see M. Garrard, “The Early Sculptures of Jacopo Sansovino: Florence and Rome” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1970), 291–97; and B. Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven and London, 1991), vol. 1, 184–85, vol. 2, 363, 375–76, nos. 91, 92, 128.



81. Detail, Cupid from behind

11. T. Caldecot Chubb, trans., *The Letters of Pietro Aretino* (Hamden, Conn., 1967), 33, dated 6 August 1527. It is unclear whether Sansovino ever completed the bronze. See Boucher, *Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, vol. 1, 184–85, vol. 2, 375–76.
12. Pliny, *Natural History*, 36.20: “Its shrine is completely open, so that it is possible to observe the image of the goddess from every side. . . . Nor is one’s admiration of the statue less from any side. They say that a certain man was once overcome with love for the statue and that, after he had hidden himself [in the shrine] during the nighttime, he embraced it and that it thus bears a stain, an indication of his lust.” Cited in Havelock, *Aphrodite of Knidos*, 10. That the Knidian *Venus* was a Renaissance paradigm for the representation of the goddess is indicated by the account of a visit to a Venetian home in 1494, which describes “a nude Venus of the greatest beauty, three and a half feet [121.8 cm] high, in my judgment not inferior to the Venus of Cnidus by Praxiteles that was once so highly praised”; cited in A. Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490–1530* (Cambridge and New York, 1995), 26.
13. See Boucher, *Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, vol. 1, 12ff.
14. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, fig. 310.
15. Two examples of this group are illustrated in H. R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten 15.–18. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig, 1967), 324, figs. 394–95, both in Naples. The first is attributed to Johann Gregor van der Schardt, and the second to Adriaen de Vries.
16. For an example of *Venus and Cupid*, see L. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance* (Vienna, 1921), 565, fig. 619. For a Florentine example of *Venus with a Dolphin*, see the sculpture by V. Danti in the Studiolo of Francesco I, illustrated with bibliography, in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici*, 231.
17. For Veronese’s *Venus Disarming Cupid*, see T. Pignatti and F. Pedrucco, *Veronese: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991), 157, no. 65. For Palma Vecchia’s *Venus and Cupid*, see P. Rylands, *Palma Vecchio* (Cambridge and New York, 1990), 209, no. 67. See also W. Keach, “Cupid Disarmed or Venus Wounded? An Ovidian Source for Michelangelo and Bronzino,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978): 327–31.

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

Probably Venetian, possibly Paduan

*Mortar*

c. 1550

Bronze

H: 48.9 cm (19 ¼ in.)

DIAM (at top): 59.7 cm (23 ½ in.)

85.SB.179

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The mortar appears to have been made in a traditional fashion, similar to the manufacture of bells. The model for the body was turned on a lathe, leaving circular scoring marks on both the interior and exterior. On the exterior, these lines may have served as guidelines for placing the figural groups. The relief decoration, made mostly from molds, was applied to the surface of the mortar. Some areas, however, such as the

waves linking the figures in the main scene, were most likely modeled directly on the mold. The figural and floral decorative elements are slightly blunted or blurred and do not appear to have been chased after casting. Casting flaws include a thin crack, which extends around the lower part of the object at approximately 8.9 cm (3 ½ in.) above the bottom, and some porosity in the base and flashes due to cracks in the outer mold.

XRF showed that the metal is a lead-tin alloy and that there are chlorides and calcium in the patinated area (see appendix B). ICP-MS confirmed that the alloy is relatively high in lead and shows only a trace of zinc. There is a higher percentage of lead than one would expect in a bell. The work has a dark brownish black patina, which is not original. When it was sold at auction in 1977, it was covered with green corrosion products, which were removed before it was acquired by the Museum.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, France (sold, Sotheby's, London, 14 July 1977, lot 156, to Rainer Zietz); Rainer Zietz, Ltd., London, sold to Rosenberg and Stibel, Inc.; Rosenberg and Stibel, Inc., New York, sold to Barbara Johnson, 1982; collection of Barbara Johnson, Princeton, New Jersey, sold to Rosenberg and Stibel, Inc., 1985; Rosenberg and Stibel, Inc., New York, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 254, no. 222; C. Bremer-David et al., *Decorative Arts: An Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1993), 194; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 68.

ULRICH MIDDELDORF's important study of mortars, based on the analysis of architectural molding forms and types of surface decoration, attempted to differentiate several general categories of mortars.<sup>1</sup> The present example conforms to Middeldorf's sixth category, "the Classical Renaissance type," which is characterized by "bell-shaped bodies" that have "clearly articulated rims and feet" and "rich Renaissance decoration." According to Middeldorf, this category includes "the majority of the finest mortars known, which are usually attributed to Venetian and Paduan foundries of the first half of the sixteenth century."<sup>2</sup>

The Getty mortar is composed of three distinct elements: a foot, a bell-shaped body, and a lip, which protrudes considerably beyond the body. The foot includes a high, vertical base surmounted by a torus molding, which supports a scotia molding. The inward curve of the scotia molding distinguishes the foot clearly from the body above. The body is composed of a lower bombé section decorated with a continuous frieze of upright acanthus leaves. A complex molding composed of a scotia supporting a groove lies above the frieze. Above the molding lies an oval and another groove.

The molding supports the main part of the body, which flares outward as it rises, like a vase, and is decorated with sea gods and other sea creatures linked by waves. Above the sea scene is a transitional *cyma reversa* molding, which supports the flaring lip. The lip is composed of a small, plain *cyma reversa* supporting a large molding of the same type decorated with a continuous frieze of cherub heads linked by garlands. Above the frieze is a strong, undecorated, overhanging lip in the form of the upper half of a torus molding. A small flange flaring slightly outward lies atop the lip. Along certain areas of the flange, there is an irregular line that appears to be flashing. The line occurred during casting and is not an element of the design.

With its complex profile, elegant proportions, elaborate surface decoration, and unusually large size, the Getty mortar is, arguably, one of the most important surviving examples of this type of object. It is reasonable to presume that it was designed by a sculptor-architect as opposed to a bronze founder. Also, there is a possibility that the mortar was commissioned as a gift or as a ceremonial or commemorative object and that it was not intended for daily use,





9A Alternate view

although the interior has clearly received a considerable amount of pounding. The Getty example is the largest recorded Renaissance mortar.<sup>3</sup> It is unusual in that it has three distinctly decorated horizontal bands.<sup>4</sup> The lower band of upright acanthus leaves is a common motif on Renaissance mortars (as well as bells and canons), but generally these leaves are applied with blank spaces between them and are not so close together.<sup>5</sup> The vertical stemlike element between the leaves is unusual. It is common to find winged cherub or putti heads and garlands on Renaissance utilitarian objects, but the specific juxtaposition of infant heads alternating with garlands on the lip of the Getty bronze does not appear on any other known mortar.

The most exceptional aspect of the Getty mortar is the decoration of the large horizontal section of the body. This area is covered with eight distinct figures or groups of two figures, which are linked by waves. The individual vignettes depict a triumphant Neptune and Galatea on opposite sides of the mortar and, between these two primary figures, three

pairs of sea creatures on one side and three on the other, for a total of eight scenes. The Neptune is flanked on either side by a pair of battling ichthyocentaurs. Each of the other four groups depicts a couple composed of a Nereid riding on or being abducted by an ichthyocentaur. Below each of the latter four scenes there are one or two dolphin heads visible in the water. The figural decoration on the Getty mortar is unusually elaborate and sophisticated. Most mortar decoration is composed of repeated motifs (like those on the lip and base of the Getty bronze), symmetrical nonfigurative decoration, isolated figural elements, or some combination of these.

The ultimate, if not direct, source for the marine theme on the Getty mortar is classical Nereid sarcophagi. As Phyllis Pray Bober has stressed, Nereid sarcophagi belong “to a class of monuments which shares honors with bacchic sarcophagi or reliefs as the most cherished source material for the Renaissance.”<sup>6</sup> Moreover, there is a Nereid sarcophagus, well known in the Renaissance, that provides a close prototype in



9B Alternate view

its center for the Getty mortar's spread-legged Neptune flanked on each side by two seahorses.<sup>7</sup> In general, however, the figures and groups on the mortar do not appear to be direct copies or even slightly altered adaptations from the antique. For example, two-figure groups of battling ichthyocentaurs do not seem to have been employed in ancient sarcophagi with sea scenes.<sup>8</sup> Also, compared with antique marble reliefs, most of which allow the viewer to continue to "read" the front plane of the marble from which they have been carved, the figures and groups on the mortar, despite their sketchiness, display a dramatic twisting movement that suggests a deep penetration into the background plane, or body, of the mortar.

Although Renaissance mortars with handles in the form of dolphins are common (as are Venetian doorknockers with figures of Neptune or other sea gods), the Getty mortar appears to be unique in having a marine theme as its primary decoration.<sup>9</sup> The most obvious source for the organization of the mortar's scene—distinct vignettes linked by waves

around a circular body—is the decoration of the famous Piazza San Marco standard bearers, executed by Alessandro Leopardi.<sup>10</sup> These likewise display a series of separate (more elaborate) sea scenes linked by waves. These public monuments would have been familiar to any artist working in or visiting Venice.<sup>11</sup>

This probable source for the compositional organization of the Getty mortar is one of several factors that suggest that it was produced in Venice, including the fact that the scene on the mortar celebrates sea gods, and that its profile conforms to that of mortars generally associated with Padua or Venice. Moreover, several of the figures or groups on the mortar have relatively similar counterparts in the marble reliefs executed around 1540–46 for Jacopo Sansovino's Loggetta on the Piazza San Marco.<sup>12</sup> Also, the Getty mortar's figure of Galatea—with her svelte, elongated proportions, elegant twisting pose, and mannered bend of the wrists—may reflect the influence of Sansovino's bronze figures on the Loggetta.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the splayed-leg stance of the figure of



9C Alternate view

Neptune is comparable to the pose of Christ in the *Christ in Glory* on the Medici tabernacle (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello), which also dates to the 1540s.<sup>14</sup>

The Getty mortar is identical in its profile and proportions to only one other known mortar, a smaller one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (FIG. 9D). It was published in 1910 as “School of Jacopo Sansovino,” but this attribution has not been pursued in more recent literature.<sup>15</sup> The two mortars share the same frieze of upright acanthus leaves decorating the lower portion of their bodies, but their main scenes are different in style, subject, and organization. The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s mortar bears the following inscription: MANNVUS CROCVLVVS AMERINVS FIERI FECIT + ANNO MDXLIV (Mannus Croculus of Amelia had it made in the year 1544). Nothing is known of this patron, but the date of the inscription supports dating the Getty mortar to the



9D *Mortar*, Italian, 16th century. Bronze. H: 37.4 cm (14¾ in.); DIAM. 48.2 cm (19 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1910, inv. 10.37.1.

mid-sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> It should be stressed that the dating of mortars is notoriously difficult because of founders' reuse and recombination of forms and decorative motifs created independently of one another by different artists at different times. Thus, the 1544 date on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's mortar should be treated with caution and with the assumption that only its form and its decoration had been created by that date. Even Middeldorf, generally an optimistic scholar who dedicated much of his work to opening up new fields of study, wrote in his study of mortars: "A real history of Italian mortars can probably never be written because too few pieces are dated or carry their place of origin, and the shapes and ornaments cannot be relied upon as safe guides."<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the character of the decoration of the main scene on the Getty mortar is so distinctive that one may eventually be able to identify the sculptor responsible for it.

PETER FUSCO

#### Notes

1. U. Middeldorf, *Fifty Mortars* (Florence, 1981). For other literature devoted to mortars, see L. Planiscig, *I mortai di bronzo*, sale cat., collection A. Figdor, Vienna, 1930, vol. 5; O. Falke, "Bronzemörser," *Pantheon* 16 (October 1940): 243–47; G. Lise and B. Bearzi, *Antichi mortai di farmacia* (Milan, 1975); R. Montagut, *Mortiers* (Paris, 1984); and E. Lauhert, *Der Mörser* (Munich, 1990).
2. Middeldorf, *Fifty Mortars*, 11.
3. Larger mortars may exist, but none is published in the literature cited in the notes to this catalogue entry. Aside from the Getty example, the largest early mortar of which I am aware is the late medieval one, 42 cm (16½ in.) high, in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul. For this example, see Lise and Bearzi, *Antichi mortai di farmacia*, 28–29; and P. Sampaolesi, "Un mortaio pisano del XII secolo a Istanbul," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi* (Rome, 1961), vol. 1, 287–89.
4. The majority of Renaissance mortars have only one or two decorated horizontal bands. For an exceptional example with five decorated horizontal bands, see E. Bertrand, *Sculptures et objets d'art précieux du XIII au XVII siècle*, exh. cat. (Paris: Galerie Brimo de Laroussille, 1993), no. 13.
5. The motif is employed on the base, body, or lip of mortars. See Middeldorf, *Fifty Mortars*, nos. 17, 33; Lise and Bearzi, *Antichi mortai di farmacia*, nos. 568, 572, pl. 49, fig. 60; K. Pechstein, *Bronzen und Plaketten: Kataloge des Kunstgewerbe-Museums Berlin*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1968), nos. 58, 59, 65, 655; sale cat., Christie's, London, 11 April 1990, lots 78, 79; Bertrand, *Sculptures et objets d'art précieux*, no. 13.
6. P. P. Bober, "An Antique Sea-Thiasos in the Renaissance," in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, ed. L. F. Sandler (New York, 1964), 46.
7. The sarcophagus is in the Giardino della Pigna at the Vatican. For an illustration of it and discussion of its repercussions in the Renaissance, see P. P. Bober and R. Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (Oxford, 1986), no. 99, with further bibliography.
8. None is found in the standard corpus on sarcophagi with sea scenes: A. Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (Berlin, 1939).
9. See Pechstein, *Bronzen und Plaketten*, nos. 56, 63; Lise and Bearzi, *Antichi mortai di farmacia*, no. 565; Middeldorf, *Fifty Mortars*, no. 20.
10. For the standard bearers by Leopardi, see B. Jestaz, "Requiem pour Alessandro Leopardi," *Revue de l'art*, no. 55 (1982): 23–34; P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven and London, 1996), 265–68.
11. Two famous Renaissance bronze vessels that feature a sea thiasos running around their bodies are Antico's "Gonzaga Urn" of around 1481–83 in the Galleria Estense, Modena, and the large early sixteenth-century Paduan basin in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. For the latter, see, respectively, A. H. Allison, "The Bronzes of Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, Called Antico," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien* 89 (1993): 87–95, and L. Planiscig, *Die Bronzeplastiken: Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien* (Vienna, 1984), 37, fig. 58.
12. The authorship of the Loggetta reliefs is uncertain. The sculptors Danese Cattaneo, Tiziano Minio, Girolamo Lombardi, and Sansovino himself all appear to have been involved, but it is unclear which artist was responsible for which reliefs. See B. Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven and London, 1991), vol. 2, 334–35, figs. 195–206, for illustrations of the reliefs and a review of the attempts to attribute them.
13. For the bronzes, see *ibid.*, figs. 210–20.
14. See *ibid.*, 332–33, figs. 165, 168.
15. J. Breck, "A Bronze Mortar," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 5 (August 1910): 190–91. This mortar is 37.1 cm (14⅝ in.) high and has a diameter of 48.2 cm (19 in.) at the top of the rim.
16. No one by this name is recorded in G. Moroni, ed., *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni*, 103 vols. in 53 (Venice, 1840–61), or in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960–).
17. Middeldorf, *Fifty Mortars*, 9.

## ALESSANDRO VITTORIA

Trent 1524/25–Venice 1608

*Mercury*

c. 1559–60

Bronze

H: 65.4 cm (25¾ in.)

W: 22.2 cm (8¾ in.)

D: 22.2 cm (8¾ in.)

85.SB.184

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Inscribed around the base,  
ALEXANDER.VICTOR.T.F.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The dark, blackish patina is composed of several distinct layers, some of them wax and at least one a modern acrylic. A reddish brown surface is visible where the dark patina has flaked off. Under the microscope, traces of oil gilding were detected on certain areas of the surface: the hair of Argus, the hair of Mercury, the wings of Mercury's helmet, and the strap across Mercury's left shoulder. The date of the gilding is not known. ICP-MS revealed the metal composition to be a heavily leaded copper-tin-zinc alloy (see appendix B). The bronze appears to have been cast in one piece using the lost-wax method; only the attribute held in the right hand, which

is broken off above the handle, was cast separately. (The index finger of the left hand also broke after casting and was repaired.) The nature of the tool marks under the base, the arrangement of core supports, and the configuration of the core in the arms indicate that the bronze is an indirect cast. X rays reveal that the arms were modeled separately and joined in the wax. The surface of the bronze has been polished on smooth, protruding areas, such as the helmet, but has been left rough with minimal cold work in the recesses and certain details. Thin-section analysis determined the core to be composed primarily of gray clay, sand, and mica crystals. Numerous rods, scattered throughout the figure's interior, are not connected to one another and likely served as core supports. The signature around the base was inscribed in the wax model.

## PROVENANCE

Edward Steinkopff, London (sold by the trustees of his estate, Christie, Manson, and Woods, London, 22 May 1935, lot 54, to "Stoye"); Walter Stoye, London; by descent to Dr. John Stoye, Magdalen College, Oxford, donated to the Magdalen College Development Trust, 1984; Magdalen College Development Trust,

Oxford, sold to Cyril Humphris, September 1984; Cyril Humphris, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

"La bellissima maniera": *Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del cinquecento*, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent, 25 June–26 September 1999, no. 72 (entry by P. Fogelman).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

M. Leithe-Jasper, "Alessandro Vittoria," in "Auszüge aus kunsthistorischen Dissertationen österreichischer Hochschulen seit 1956," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 16–17 (1963–65): 30; H. R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten* (Braunschweig, 1967), 147, 149, fig. 171; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 260, no. 243; M. Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna* (London, 1986), 282; A. Radcliffe, *The Robert H. Smith Collection: Bronzes, 1500–1650* (London, 1994), 114–16; M. Leithe-Jasper, in "Von allen Seiten schön": *Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1995), no. 84; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 54.

VITTORIA'S SIGNED *Mercury* stands victorious, with his left leg bent so that his foot rests upon the severed head of his victim, Argus. His petasus, or winged helmet, confirms the god's identity, as would the attribute, now broken, once held in his right hand, probably a caduceus.<sup>1</sup> Mercury's long, lanky torso and limbs are nude except for a thin strap around his chest (which serves to secure his drapery at the back) and a swathe of cloth across his groin and thighs, which threatens to slip from his narrow hips with the slightest motion of his bent leg. The drapery continues down to the integrally cast base, thus forming a support for the figure, which is unnecessary in such a small, hollow cast. In the front and side views of the statuette, the drapery accentuates the shift in weight caused by Mercury's raised leg, which interrupts the emphatic verticality and contained profile of the composition. As with most of Vittoria's figures, the focus is on the

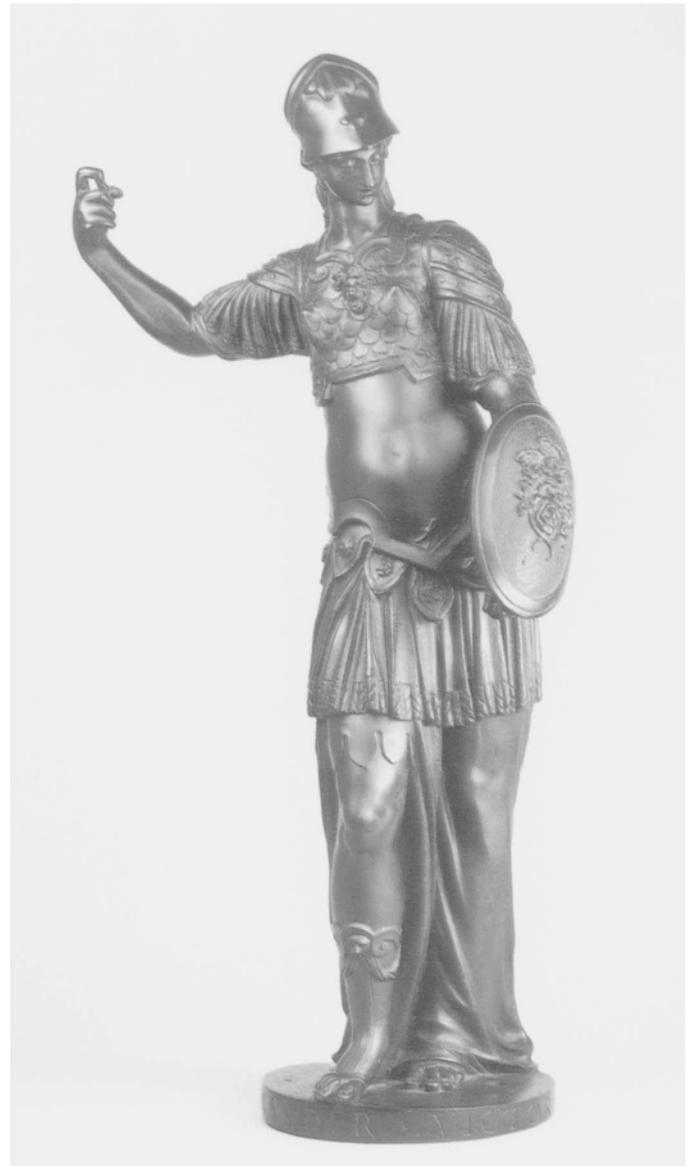
long, elegant silhouette rather than the modeling of the surface. The god's anatomy is soft and fluid, as if blurred, and reflects light evenly, in contrast to the highlights and deep shadows created by the drapery folds.

The bronze statuette is closely related to Vittoria's large stone figure of Mercury from around 1559, which is in the upper left niche of the *finestrone*, or ornamental window surround, of the Doge's Palace in Venice (FIG. 10A).<sup>2</sup> The pose of the statuette is almost identical, in reverse, to that of the *finestrone* god. The orientation of Argus's head remains the same, but its shift to the other side of the base results in a reversal that makes the neck face outward in the stone but inward in the bronze. The stone *Mercury* turns his head more to the side, while the Getty figure tilts his head downward. The elaboration of attributes differs slightly in the two works: the *finestrone Mercury* appears to have wings attached





10A Alessandro Vittoria. *Mercury*, c. 1559. Marble. Venice, Doge's Palace. Photo courtesy Palazzo Ducale, Venice.



10B Alessandro Vittoria. *Minerva*, c. 1560. Bronze. H: 66.4 cm (26 1/8 in.). United States, private collection.

to his left ankle, which are absent in the bronze, while a Medusa head decorates the chest strap in the bronze and not the stone. Other details of the composition are equivalent, however, such as the bent leg and foot, which splay outward rather than straight down toward Argus's head; the wide fold of drapery, forming a horizontal band across the groin; and the two or three small pleats in the drapery between the legs.

Vittoria's *Mercury* on the Doge's Palace accompanies figures of three other mythological male deities—Mars, Neptune, and Jupiter—of which the *Mars* is signed by Pietro da Salò.<sup>3</sup> At the time of the commission, Jacopo Sansovino was *protomagister* of San Marco and, as Boucher has argued, must have had some involvement in the project, probably recommending the sculptors and participating in the development of an iconographic program.<sup>4</sup> Scholars have frequently remarked that Vittoria's *Mercury* on the *finestrone* owes a great deal to Sansovino's earlier bronze statue of the god on the Loggetta.<sup>5</sup> The tapering body and small head of Sansovino's *Mercury*, the use of the bent leg to create a sinuous shift in the figure's balance, the turn of the head, and the elegant poses of the hands and fingers likely influenced Vittoria in designing his own statue. The iconographic underpinnings of Sansovino's *Mercury*, which dictated the god's depiction as victor over Argus, and which conveyed specific political meaning as part of the official Venetian self-image, were, however, equally important to Vittoria's sculpture. Sansovino's and Vittoria's statues of Mercury were equal participants in a renewed program of public decoration celebrating the Venetian republic. In both representations Mercury is the personification of eloquence—exemplified by his deception of Argus—and bestows that virtue upon the Doge and the Venetian patriciate.<sup>6</sup> The Getty bronze figure of Mercury standing on the head of Argus plays the same role on a more diminutive scale and can also be seen as a symbol of eloquence.

Until recently the Getty statuette of Mercury was paired with a figure of Minerva, dressed in armor and holding a spear (now missing) and shield (FIG. 10B).<sup>7</sup> The pendant status of the two statuettes is supported by their closeness in size, their complementary subjects and compositions, and their similar facture. Both bronzes are integrally cast with a signed circular base, in which two holes served for mounting. *Mercury* and *Minerva* both look down, and in both statuettes the drapery forms a support. Hans R. Weihrauch

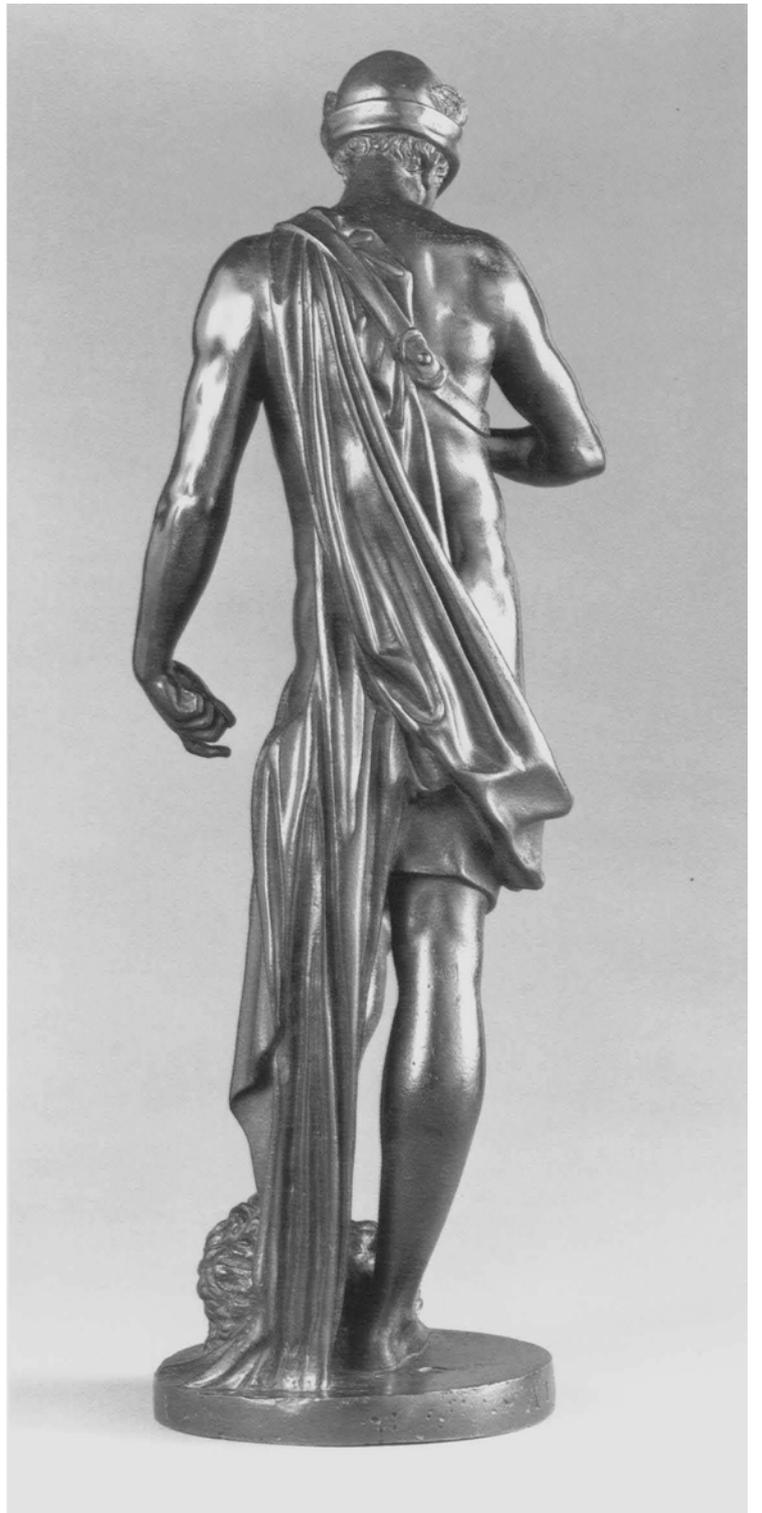
attempted to link the pair with other bronze statuettes in a series of classical gods by Vittoria. Two other known single-figure bronze gods by Vittoria stand on signed circular bases: a female goddess, alternately identified as Diana or Venus, in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, and a Jupiter holding thunderbolts, formerly on the art market.<sup>8</sup> Although the latter bronzes closely relate to each other and may have formed part of a larger group, they cannot be associated with *Mercury* and *Minerva*. The *Diana/Venus* is six centimeters ( $2\frac{3}{8}$  in.) taller; it and *Jupiter* are completely nude and have no vertical supporting elements.<sup>9</sup> If *Mercury* and *Minerva* were originally part of a larger series of bronze gods, the other statuettes are still unknown. The two bronzes are wholly compatible as a couple, however, with *Mercury* embodying eloquence and *Minerva* symbolizing prudence, as Vincenzo Cartari paired them in his *Imagini de i dei degli antichi*.<sup>10</sup> Such a pairing might also suggest that these bronzes served as andirons, but the downward glances of both deities argue for a higher placement than one would expect for fire-dog figures. Furthermore, it would be difficult to imagine how the circular bases might have been adapted for mounting as andirons.

The relationship between the Getty statuette of Mercury, the pendant figure of Minerva, and Vittoria's stone *Mercury* for the Doge's Palace has not been given adequate consideration. Vittoria produced three categories of bronzes: reductions after large sculptures, such as *Saint Sebastian* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; casts from models intended for independent bronze statuettes, such as *Jupiter* at the Musée de la Renaissance at Écouen; and bronzes cast from models for larger sculptures.<sup>11</sup> The different derivations and functions of these bronzes may help explain why they vary so markedly from one another in facture.<sup>12</sup> The Getty bronze *Mercury* appears to belong to the third category and to be cast from a model for the *finestrone* work. The drapery support and the position of the bronze figure's head looking downward suggest that the statuette was conceived in terms of a large stone statue to be seen from below. The same is true of the pendant bronze *Minerva*, even though it has no direct correlate among Vittoria's monumental sculptures.

The only comprehensive explanation for the existence of these two bronzes, their specific characteristics, and the reversal of the Getty *Mercury* from the *finestrone* statue



10c Profile from proper right



10d Back view



10E Profile from proper left

pivots upon the supposition that the *finestrone* commission underwent a major revision at some point in its history. If the commission originally called for a statue of Minerva, a precedent established by Sansovino's Loggetta, and if the stone *Mercury* was originally intended to be placed in a niche on the opposite side of the balcony, both bronze statuettes would represent rejected or unused models for the *finestrone* project. Vittoria worked up the bronze statuettes from the models, retaining the support but varying certain details, around the same time or after the stone *Mercury* was completed. No document records such a change in the commission, but the possibility should be considered. Other possibilities are that the two bronzes were based on unused models for a different project, with the model for *Mercury* being revived for the *finestrone*, or that the Getty *Mercury* was worked up from the model for the stone and that *Minerva* was designed solely as a pendant to the male god. The reversal of the Getty *Mercury* from the *finestrone* statue makes it unlikely that the former was executed simply as a bronze reduction.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

*Notes*

1. The bronze was mistakenly identified as David with the head of Goliath in the catalogue of the Steinkopff sale, *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Works of Art . . .* (see provenance, above). The attribute *Mercury* held broke off after casting (note by Francesca Bewer, JPM conservation files). Judging from the remaining fragment—a thin, faceted handle terminating in a small bead or ball—it was most likely a caduceus. An important visual precedent for Mercury holding a caduceus and being accompanied by the head of Argus occurs in the Mercury of Andrea Mantegna's *Tarocchi*, which Jean Seznec cites as the source for Sansovino's tunic-clad *Mercury* on the Loggetta (*The Survival of the Pagan Gods* [Princeton, 1953], 200, 210–11). In this engraving and in an earlier illustration from *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, however, Mercury also plays a reed flute while holding the caduceus (ibid., 199). This introduces the possibility that the Getty figure once held a reed flute. In addition, Peter Meller has suggested that the figure might have held a sword or *harpe*, appropriate to his action of beheading Argus (oral communication, 11 April 1996).
2. Vittoria's account book records payment on January 28, 1558 (*m.v.*), i.e., 1559, to a "maestro Domenicho di maestro Zen taipiera" for four and a half days' work on the stone *Mercury*, possibly for blocking out the figure (R. Predelli, *Le memorie e le carte di A. Vittoria* [Trent, 1908]).
3. There has been some discussion concerning the attribution of the *Neptune* and *Jupiter* on the Doge's Palace. In *Le vite de' più eccellenti*

- pittori, scultori, et architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, vol. 7 (Florence, 1568), 517, 519 (trans. A. B. Hinds [New York, 1963], 228–29), Giorgio Vasari attributed only *Mars* to da Salò and *Mercury* to Vittoria. In *Venezia e il suo estuario* (Venice, 1926), 231, G. Lorenzetti ascribed *Jupiter* and *Neptune* to Danese Cattaneo. In *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven and London, 1991), vol. 1, 87, B. Boucher attributed *Mars* and *Neptune* to da Salò and *Mercury* and *Jupiter* to Vittoria.
4. Boucher, *Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 87. According to Boucher, Sansovino's involvement in the *finestrone* may have been extensive.
  5. *Ibid.*, 154; Radcliffe, *Robert H. Smith Collection*, 116. By the time of the *finestrone* commission, Vittoria was an independent artist assimilating other influences. Therefore, the formal differences between the two statues are also noteworthy. For example, Vittoria chose to leave his *Mercury* almost entirely nude rather than dress him in shepherd's guise. Vittoria's figure is even more elongated, the body type is slimmer, and the pose is generally calmer and more languid.
  6. D. Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice*, 2d ed. (New Haven and London, 1987), 34; Boucher, *Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 84–86. Cartari's discussion (*Le imagini de i dei degli antichi* . . . [Venice, 1571; reprint, New York and London, 1976], 328) of Mercury as the god of eloquence, who taught mortals the rudiments of proper speech so that they could live together in civilized society, is applied specifically to the newly elected Venetian doge in Pietro Contarini's poem *Argo voluptas* (Venice, 1541). In this context, Mercury's playing of pipes to lull Argus to sleep symbolized wisdom and the power of eloquence. Boucher (*Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 85) cites two other instances of eloquence symbolized by Mercury with the head of Argus: the reverse of a medal of Torquato Tasso, and the soffit on the arch of Mercury in the Libreria. Mercury also appears as Eloquence in a tondo by Francesco Salviati in the Libreria, commissioned in 1556; see M. Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco* (Milan, 1987), 140–48.
  7. This was recently published in an extensive catalogue entry in Radcliffe, *Robert H. Smith Collection*, 114–17, which included provenance and technical description. The Getty bronze and the *Minerva*, first documented as a pair in the Steinkopff sale (see note 1), remained together until 1984. The *Minerva* measures 66.4 cm (26 1/8 in.) in height and was cast in one piece with its base. Its signature, ALEXANDER.VICTOR.F., was incised around the base in the wax. As in the case of the Getty statuette, *Minerva* is a heavy cast covered with a thick, dark patina. It displays polishing on the helmet and cuirass but little cold work in the crevices and details. The core appears to be modeled and consists of a soft gray material. For comparison, see the technical section on *Mercury* above.
  8. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten*, 147–49, figs. 169–72 (*Diana, Jupiter, Mercury, and Minerva*). For the identification of the Berlin goddess as Venus rather than Diana, see V. Krahn, in *Kaiser Friedrich II und sein Museum*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie, 1988), 58. The Berlin bronze and the question of a series of gods by Vittoria are also discussed by Leithe-Jasper, in *Von allen Seiten schön*, no. 84. A terra-cotta Apollo in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which could have served as a model for a bronze statuette, is attributed to Vittoria and is approximately the same height (71 cm [28 in.]) as the *Diana/Venus*. See F. Cessi, *Alessandro Vittoria, bronzista (1525–1608)* (Trent, 1960), pl. 30. The Apollo, like the other two gods, is completely nude except for a thin strap across his torso to hold his quiver. He looks up and to the side and stands on a circular base. He has a large supporting tree stump, however, which might have been omitted in a cast bronze. A smaller (28.9 cm [11 3/8 in.]) bronze variant of the *Apollo* in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, does not include the tree stump. See Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten*, fig. 168, and Cessi, *Alessandro Vittoria, bronzista*, fig. 29. Another version of the *Apollo* is in the David T. Owsley collection. It shows him holding a lyre and appears to be an (unsigned) aftercast of the Berlin *Apollo*. I am grateful to Victoria Avery for this information.
  9. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten*, does not provide the height of the *Jupiter*, but one presumes it is approximately that of the *Diana/Venus*. The *Jupiter* and *Diana/Venus* have usually been considered part of a larger series, rather than pendants, the reasoning being that Jupiter would naturally be paired with Juno (for instance, see Radcliffe, *Robert H. Smith Collection*, 116). There are numerous precedents, however, for the pairing of Jupiter and Venus as symbols of Crete and Cyprus, respectively, within the context of Venetian iconography. Crete and Cyprus were the two most important Venetian holdings in the Adriatic, and their significance for Venetian politics is underscored by the 1558 redesign of the doge's crown, which included the inscriptions "King of Crete" and "King of Cyprus." See, for example, N. Ivanoff, "La Libreria Marciana: Arte e iconologia," in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, vol. 6 (1968), 56. Written evidence for the equation of Jupiter with Crete and Venus with Cyprus is found in Contarini's *Argo voluptas* and Francesco Sansovino's commentary on the Loggetta reliefs (cited in Boucher, *Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 80, 83). Visual examples of the juxtaposition of Jupiter and Venus as Crete and Cyprus are found in the Loggetta reliefs (flanking the central relief of Venice as Justice), the decoration of the Scala d'Oro (Ivanoff, "La Libreria Marciana," 56), and the statues at the sides of the obelisk crowning the Libreria (where Jupiter and Venus are prominently situated to be visible to arriving boats [*ibid.*, pl. 39]). The possibility that Vittoria created *Jupiter* and *Venus* as pendants cannot be completely discounted on the basis of iconography.
  10. Cartari, *Imagini de i dei degli antichi*, 356, 359, as cited by Radcliffe, *Robert H. Smith Collection*, 116, n. 2. The first edition was published in Venice in 1556 and predates Vittoria's statuettes. A second, illustrated, edition appeared in 1571.
  11. For the *Saint Sebastian*, see Cessi, *Alessandro Vittoria, bronzista*, pl. 22. For the *Écouen Jupiter*, see A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Musée national de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1987), 60, and Leithe-Jasper, in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 302, no. 85.



10F Detail, base with head of Argus

12. It is also possible that Vittoria entrusted the casting of his various statuettes to a number of different foundries. According to payment records, the founder Andrea Bresciano cast Vittoria's bronze statuette *Saint Sebastian* (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art), while Bresciano's nephew Orazio cast another *Saint Sebastian* a decade later (Predelli, *Le memorie e le carte*, 78, 81). Radcliffe has suggested that Bresciano may also have been responsible for Vittoria's bronze gods (*Robert H. Smith Collection*, 116). The features of the New York *Saint Sebastian*, the Getty *Mercury*, the Berlin *Diana/Venus*, and the Écouen *Jupiter* are not consistent, however, and this may indicate that they were cast by different foundries.

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

Possibly Florentine

*Two Sphinxes*

c. 1560

Bronze

H (85.SB.418.1): 64 cm (25<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)H (85.SB.418.2): 65.1 cm (25<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

85.SB.418.1–2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The Sphinxes are crudely cast and roughly finished, with many casting flaws and extensive hammering on the cold surface of the metal. The surface is covered with at least two layers of coating, which has chipped away in certain areas, adding to the rugged quality of the bronzes. There are many unfinished passages, areas left completely unchased, and flaws left unrepaired. These areas occur especially at the top of the bodies of the creatures, in the wings, and at the backs of the sculptures. A large portion of

the lower body of 85.SB.418.1 is a cast-on repair. Large, unpatched rectangular apertures are present near the cast-in repair, above the proper right front leg and on the proper left rear haunch. The tip of the proper right wing of 85.SB.418.1 is broken off. The scrolls that were purchased with the Sphinxes (FIGS. IID–E) share the same rough, unfinished quality.

XRF, AAS, and ICP-MS show that the alloys are slightly different for each Sphinx, but only enough to suggest that they were made in separate pours, not at different times or in different workshops (see appendix B). Both are copper-tin alloys with a small amount of lead. Each was cast in one hollow piece by the direct lost-wax process. Wax-to-wax joins are evident, for example, on the back of the wings of both Sphinxes, and there are large cast-in repairs near the bases.

X rays reveal core supports, core pins, and thin wires. These make it clear that the models were formed around a preformed core wrapped in thin wire, following a technique described by Benvenuto Cellini in his *Treatise on Sculpture*. The core consists of many different materials.

The original casting core contains some very large chunks of brick as well as considerable amounts of organic material, much of which was not burned out in casting. At least one additional type of core, again containing unburned organic material, was used for the cast-in repairs.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, Geneva, sold to Workart Est; Workart Est, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 260; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 20; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 70–71; P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 30–31.

THE TWO BRONZE SPHINXES are identical but for small variations in modeling. The Sphinx is a fantastic hybrid, usually presented with the head of a human, the body of a lion, and the wings of an eagle. In these sculptures the creature has a woman's head with an elaborately braided and ornamented hairdo. The eyes are downcast, the lips are slightly parted, and the monsters appear almost to be in a trance. Bands cross below the chin of each figure, giving the heads a masklike detachment and an air of cool sensuality. Curls of hair fall along the backs of the long, serpentine necks. Large braids fall along the sides of the necks and are tied together in a bow in front. The necks emerge from broad chests and curve back as if the creatures have recoiled and are ready to strike. The transition between serpentine neck and squared, frontal chest is marked by a circle of beads, from which drops a cartouche-shaped pendant with a large central jewel. From the string of beads drapes a piece of cloth that is pinned by a screaming Gorgon's head (see FIG. IIA) between the sharply pointed, projecting breasts of the monster. This cloth drapes back around the lower chest of the figure and,



IIA *Sphinx* (85.SB.418.1), detail, screaming face





11B *Sphinx* (85.SB.418.1), detail, head, three-quarter view from proper right



11C *Sphinx* (85.SB.418.1), view from proper right

caught up in a belt, returns up and along the back of the creature between the wings. The legs and lower body of the *Sphinxes* are those of a lion. They crouch on all fours, close to the ground, ready to spring.

The Sphinx is a mythical creature that, in ancient Egypt, symbolized vigilance, among other things.<sup>1</sup> The most famous tale about a Sphinx comes from the cycle of the Theban legends.<sup>2</sup> A Sphinx was sent by Hera to punish Thebes. The monster posed a riddle to those who passed her lair,

devouring them when they failed to answer it. Oedipus correctly answered her question: what creature walks on four legs in the morning, two at noon, and three in the evening? The answer was man, who crawls as a child, walks as a man, and uses a stick in old age. The Sphinx killed herself, and thus Oedipus saved Thebes.

In the Renaissance the Sphinx came to symbolize not only vigilance but also mystery, voluptuousness, and wisdom.<sup>3</sup> The monsters often decorated tombs, thrones, candlesticks, and fireplaces. Their hybrid nature allowed for the manipulation and distortion of their bodies so that they could fit into a variety of positions. Most malleable was the long neck, which would allow the head to be placed back or forward as required by the setting or desired decorative effect. The rough finish of these *Sphinxes* and the fact that many areas on the top and back of the figures are unfinished make it clear that they were meant to be seen at a distance and from below. They may have served as supporting elements in a monument, very possibly a tomb. A break in the upper part of the proper right wing of Sphinx 85.SB.418.1 may even indicate that they were put in place as a support and that the weight of the supported feature caused the break.<sup>4</sup> The Getty *Sphinxes* were purchased along with scrolls that seem to have been part of the same monument or structure (FIGS. 11D–E). The *Sphinxes* rest uneasily on these scrolls, so it is clear that the scrolls were not made to support them.

The unfinished, rough quality of the casts may have more to do with their likely function and placement than with individual style and has thus far not been helpful in determining an attribution for the bronzes. The fantastic



11D One of a pair of volute scrolls (profile), c. 1560. Bronze. H: 23 cm (9 1/16 in.); w: 33 cm (13 in.); D: 58 cm (22 13/16 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum inv. 85.SB.418.3.



11E One of a pair of volute scrolls (profile), c. 1560. Bronze. H: 23 cm (9 1/16 in.); w: 33 cm (13 in.); D: 58 cm (22 13/16 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum inv. 85.SB.418.4.



11F *Sphinx* (85.SB.418.2), view from proper left

headdresses, the pleasure taken in the delineation of the drapery and jewels, especially the screaming heads between the breasts, as well as the powerful, muscular quality of the curving necks and crouching bodies of the lions, are very common in the works of *maniera* artists around midcentury in central Italy, in Venice, and in France, at Fontainebleau. This sophisticated, elegant quality can be found in bronzes by Benvenuto Cellini, made both in Florence and for the French court. For example, the head of Medusa, from Cellini's famous *Perseus* in Piazza della Signoria, has the heavy-lidded, icy, and threatening quality of the Getty *Sphinxes*.<sup>5</sup>

The closest stylistic comparisons are to be found perhaps in the works of Vincenzo Danti (1530–76). The narrow oval faces, straight noses, small mouths, braided hairdos, and sinuous necks found in the *Sphinxes* also characterize Danti's female figures. The Herodias from the *Beheading of the Baptist* on the Baptistery (1569–71) and the *Venus* (1572–73) in the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio display similar plaited coiffures, straight noses, heavy lids, and full cheeks and chin. The roughly textured surface of the *Sphinxes* can be compared with Danti's bronze relief *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* as well as the relief on the safe door



11G *Sphinx* (85.SB.418.2), back view

(*sportello*) made for Cosimo I, both now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.<sup>6</sup> Charles Davis has argued that these reliefs demonstrate Danti's interest in leaving bronzes relatively unfinished, comparable to sketches, which permitted the artist's hand to be detected in the finished object.<sup>7</sup> By eschewing the fine finish associated with the goldsmith's craft (Danti was trained as a goldsmith), the artist proclaimed himself a sculptor and perhaps emulated Michelangelo's *non-finito* in bronze by stressing the ideal of *disegno* and privileging the "idea" over the final product.<sup>8</sup> By the mid-sixteenth century this ideal was given voice by Giorgio Vasari, who praised Donatello's *Cantoria* for its lack of precise finish, which allowed the forms to be read from a distance and from below.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the same ideals guided the sculptor who created the Getty *Sphinxes*.

MARIETTA CAMBARERI AND PETER FUSCO

#### Notes

1. G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958), vol. 1, col. 363. See also H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx: Geschichte ihrer Darstellung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1977), 16–39, for a comprehensive survey of the various forms and meanings of the Sphinx in ancient Egypt.
2. Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, 96–100.
3. See A. Chastel, "Note sur la Sphinx à la renaissance," *Archivio di filosofia* (1958): 179–82; Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles*, 364; Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, 167–75, for a survey of the representation of Sphinxes in Renaissance art. One of the earliest examples of the use of Sphinxes in Renaissance art is Donatello's *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Basilica del Santo, Padua, of 1450. Sphinxes decorate the throne, clarifying the association between Mary as Throne of Wisdom and the idea of the Sphinx as a representation of wisdom. See, for example, H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, 1963), 185.
4. Perhaps the most famous early Renaissance use of Sphinxes employed to support the four corners of a marble sarcophagus is Andrea del Riccio's della Torre tomb in San Fermo Maggiore, Verona; see D. Blume, "Antike und Christentum," in *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik, 1985), esp. 112ff.
5. See J. Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York, 1985), pls. 104–5.
6. See also Danti's monument to Julius III on the exterior of the Perugia cathedral, 1553–55, which displays a similar decorative vocabulary, including Sphinxes on the throne and scrolls as decorative motifs, and is also a relatively rough cast. This is illustrated in F. Santi, *Vincenzo Danti Scultore (1530–1576)* (Bologna, 1989), figs. 1–16, esp. figs. 5–7; see also J. D. Summers, *The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti* (New York and London, 1979), 23–37.
7. C. Davis, "Working for Vasari: Vincenzo Danti in Palazzo Vecchio," in *Giorgio Vasari tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. G. C. Garfagnini (Florence, 1985), 205–71, esp. 252–55. Denise Allen deserves thanks for this reference. For a similar argument about the late works of Adriaen de Vries, see F. Scholten, "Adriaen de Vries, Imperial Sculptor," in *Adriaen de Vries, 1556–1626: Imperial Sculptor*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 1999), 13–41, esp. 39–41.
8. Davis ("Working for Vasari," 253–54) cites Filippo Baldinucci's famous anecdote about Michelangelo's advice to Giambologna that the young sculptor should learn first to sketch (*bozzare*) and then to finish (*finire*).
9. Vasari's 1568 life of Donatello, cited in Scholten, "Adriaen de Vries," 39: "To this matter artists should devote much attention, because experience shows that all things seen at a distance, whether they be paintings or sculptures or any other like thing, are bolder and more vigorous in appearance if skillfully hewn in the rough than if they are carefully finished. Besides the effect obtained by distance, it often happens that these rough sketches, which are born in an instant in the heat of inspiration, express the idea of their author in a few strokes, while on the other hand too much effort and diligence sometimes saps the vitality and powers of those who never know when to leave off." For other fifteenth-century precedents in bronze, see N. Penny, "Non-finito in Italian Fifteenth-Century Bronze Sculpture," in *La scultura II: Studi in onore di Andrew S. Ciecchanowiecki*, issue of *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s., nos. 52–55 (1996): 11–15.

## GIAMBOLOGNA (GIOVANNI BOLOGNA)

Douai 1529–Florence 1608

*Female Figure*Possibly Venus;  
formerly titled *Bathsheba*,

1571–73

Marble

H: 115 cm (45¼ in.)

82.SA.37

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The sculpture was originally carved from a single block of white marble. Two campaigns of restoration on the statue are known: one appears to have been relatively early, perhaps dating to the late eighteenth century; the second was undertaken in London in 1980/81. According to documents, damage had occurred to the hands and feet by 1757 and was still present in 1770.<sup>1</sup> At some point between 1770 and 1980 a marble replacement was carved for the large loss at the top of the vase and above the left middle finger. By 1980 the tip of the nose and the first three toes of the left foot were missing, and there was a clean break across the left forearm, as well as complex breaks through the bottom of the plinth. Iron stains extended halfway up the column of the base. Although there has been speculation that the entire left hand above the break in the forearm has been replaced, the close match of the marble, showing that some grain is continuous on both sides of the break, indicates that most of the hand is original and was simply reattached.<sup>2</sup> Variations in finish on different areas of the surface indicate that there may have been some repolishing of the marble.

The pre-1980 restoration included the addition of a low, small top for the vase, and the fingers of the left hand were moved lower down and closer to the rest of the hand.<sup>3</sup> This restoration may have followed the original disposition of the left hand, since a plaster cast of the sculpture at Eric'sberg Castle, presumably executed prior to its first restoration, shows the hand and vase in a similar position.<sup>4</sup> In 1980 this previous restoration to the left hand and vessel was removed. A much larger vessel (which, as Herbert Keutner noted, is a copy of Pandora's box from

a bronze group by Adriaen de Vries) was made of synthetic marble (polyester embedding resin, boiled alabaster powder, and powder pigments).<sup>5</sup> The index finger was placed higher and separated from the other fingers.<sup>6</sup> This vessel does not continue the profile of the bottom portion (arguably original) in a logical manner, does not have a straight vertical axis, is disproportionately tall, and obscures the face of the figure. The 1980 restoration also included removal of rust stains and completion of the tip of the nose and missing left toes in synthetic marble.

X rays reveal a series of interconnected, drilled channels of varying diameter from the left hand down to the base of the column (see appendix A). The first channel runs from the raised left hand down to the underside of the left forearm, where it breaks through the surface, creating a hole that was closed with a marble plug. The second channel runs from the aperture through the elbow to the upper arm. There it meets a shorter channel, which breaks through the left shoulder, leaving an aperture, and connects to a long channel running down through the center of the torso. An additional short channel was drilled in the upper left arm but does not connect to the other channels in the arm. This disjunction suggests that the channel was incorrectly positioned. The long channel running down the torso appears to terminate at a large marble plug inserted in the proper right side of the column. A shorter channel descends from the lower edge of this plug toward the center of the column, where it connects to a larger channel ending at the base. This wide channel is presently filled with an iron mounting pin, most likely inserted during the 1980 restoration. These channels suggest that the sculpture was fitted as a fountain, which would explain the extensive rusting on the column and base.

## PROVENANCE

Probably sent by Francesco de' Medici from Florence to the duke of Bavaria (either Albrecht v or Crown Prince Wilhelm or his brother Ferdinand), Munich; taken by Gustavus II Adolphus, king of Sweden, to Nuremberg in 1632 and sent to Stockholm; Johan Gabriel Stenbock (1640–1705), Åkerö, county of Södermanland, Sweden, by at least 1703; Maria Elisabet Stenbock (d. 1694), Åkerö, and her husband, Axel Lillie; by descent to Christina

Beata Lillie (1677–1727), Åkerö, and her husband, Eric Sparre; by descent to Ulrika Lovisa Sparre, Åkerö, and her husband, Carl Gustaf Tessin; remained in Åkerö, through successive owners, from the eighteenth century to the late twentieth century; Daniel Katz, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1982.

## EXHIBITIONS

*Adriaen de Vries, Imperial Sculptor*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 12 October 1999–9 January 2000 (p. 108).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

R. Borghini, *Il riposo* (Florence, 1584; reprint, Milan, 1807), vol. 3, 160; A.-N. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Vies des fameux sculpteurs depuis la Renaissance . . .* (Paris, 1787), vol. 2, 123; F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno* (Florence, 1846), 559; P. de Bouchard, *Jean de Bologne (1524–1608)* (Paris, 1907), 336; O. Granberg, *Svenska Konstsamlingarnas Historia* (Stockholm, 1930), pt. 2, 99, 243; B. G. Söderberg, *Slott och Herresäten i Sverige: Södermanland* (Malmö, 1968), 291ff.; G. W. Lundberg, "Nagra bronser ur Carl Gustaf Tessins skulptursamling," *Konsthistoriska Tidskrift* 39 (December 1970): 115; *Giambologna, 1529–1608, Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1978), 72, no. 17, 233, no. 248; P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven and London, 1978), 317–19; "Recent Acquisitions," *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, July–September 1982, unpaginated; C. Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba': An Early Marble Statue Rediscovered," *Burlington Magazine* 125 (June 1983): 340–49; C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), 54, 58, 98, 100, 241, 254–55, 274; H. Keutner, "Die *Bathsheba* des Giovanni Bologna," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 139–50; S. Reyburn, "Dealers from Home," *Antiques* 131 (winter 1987): 92; M. Bury, "Book Review: *Giambologna* by Charles Avery," *Burlington Magazine* 130 (September 1988): 706; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Malibu, Calif., 1988), 186–87; S. Melikian, "Giambologna and the Rediscovery of Sculpture," *International Herald Tribune*, 9–10 April 1988; P. Arnaud, "L'objet d'art: Bethsabée par



Giovanni Bologna," *L'Estampille*, no. 225 (May 1989a): 91–92; "Trovata la Fata Morgana del Giambologna in un'asta di arredi da giardino," *Giornale dell'arte*, no. 71 (October 1989): 72; M. Bury, "Giambologna's *Fata Morgana* Rediscovered," *Apollo* 131 (February 1990): 96–100, n. 22; G. B., "Round-up: The Giambologna Puzzle Unresolved," *Daily Telegraph*, 18 June 1990, 18; *The J. Paul Getty Museum:*

*Handbook of the Collections*, rev. ed. (Malibu, Calif., 1991), 206–7; *Agnew's 175th Anniversary*, exh. cat. (London, 1992), no. 31; *Giambologna's Cesarini Venus*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993), 3, 12; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 26; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 242–43; J. Walsh

and D. Gribbon, *The J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Collections: A Museum for the New Century* (Los Angeles, 1997), 68, 71, 187; C. Avery, *Giambologna: An Exhibition of Sculpture by the Master and His Followers from the Collection of Michael Hall, Esq.*, exh. cat. (New York: Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, 1998), 15, fig. 2; P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 32–33.

GIAMBOLOGNA'S FEMALE FIGURE is nude except for a bracelet across her upper left arm and a discarded blouse or robe, whose sleeve traverses her groin and upper left thigh. She is neither seated nor standing. Her left buttock rests on a round column piled with drapery, but her right buttock is unsupported, and she leans on her bent right leg, which touches the ground to support her weight. With her right hand she reaches down to dab her raised left foot with a small cloth. In her left hand she holds a vessel, inaccurately restored, above her head. With one leg and both arms positioned in front of her, the figure's weight and the compositional balance seem tilted forward. Even if she still held her original vessel or attribute, the figure's raised hand would likely interfere with the front view of her face. This, and the arrangement of the bent left leg so that the foot sticks out toward the viewer, makes a frontal view of the statue awkward, just as the bent leg of Giambologna's *Grotticella Venus* "drives [the beholder] away from the straight front view" and encourages viewing from an oblique angle.<sup>7</sup> The figure is best seen and understood by standing slightly to the left. This has led at least one author to assume that the Getty sculpture was intended for a niche.<sup>8</sup> Giambologna used similar compositional devices in other sculptures, however, and the back of the Getty figure yields some of the most elegant, if simplest, views. Although the precarious pose is not equally, or even satisfactorily, resolved from all directions, the Getty figure may have been conceived as a free-standing statue.

The Getty marble was unknown to Elisabeth Dhanens when she published her monograph on Giambologna in 1956.<sup>9</sup> It was first identified as a sculpture by Giambologna and illustrated in a guidebook by Bengt G. Söderberg in 1968. It was subsequently published and illustrated in an

article by Gunnar W. Lundberg in 1970.<sup>10</sup> In 1983 the statue was published by Charles Avery along with speculation about which of the female figures mentioned in Raffaello Borghini's life of Giambologna it might be.<sup>11</sup> In 1987 Herbert Keutner persuasively argued that, based on its size and stylistic relationship to Giambologna's other dated works, the Getty statue should be identified with "another sitting figure of marble, of the size of a young girl of sixteen years, which . . . was sent to the Duke of Bavaria," and dated from 1571 to 1573.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the thoroughness of these scholarly discussions, several aspects of the Getty statue remain uncertain. Its association with Borghini's description and dating is not definitive, although supported by its provenance and its similarities in anatomy, hair, and facial features to the 1570–72 *Florence Triumphant over Pisa*. For instance, no documents concerning the statue's transfer to Germany, receipt by the Bavarian duke, or installation in Munich have yet been found.<sup>13</sup>

The intended subject of the marble, which had been called *Bathsheba* since the seventeenth century, is unknown. Its iconography is obscured by the partial loss of the attribute held in the figure's left hand. Recent X rays have revealed a series of connecting channels drilled vertically through the entire length of the figure and into the raised left hand. The presence of these channels as well as greater surface damage in the hair and iron staining in the left hand and base suggest that the marble was used as a fountain. The placement of the figure in the center of a basin, with water spouting from the raised vessel and running gently down her head and body, would explain the awkward position of her left hand and her action of drying herself. Furthermore, the flow of water would have continued and completed the line of the

raised arm. Since there is no documentation regarding its intended placement and function, however, it is impossible to determine whether the statue was originally executed as a fountain or drilled to serve as a fountain at some later date. Unfortunately, given the present state of knowledge, questions concerning the identity, function, and history of the Getty figure can be discussed but not resolved.

Documents concerning the Getty sculpture deserve a brief review since they have been published separately in various sources. The earliest written reference to the sculpture after Borghini occurs in a letter of July 21, 1635, from Amberg Rentmeister Sickenhauer regarding art pillaged from the Bavarian ducal collections by King Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden in 1632. The letter states that “the king of Sweden . . . when he first came to Nuremberg from Munich had brought with him the lifesize Bathsheba of white marble and soon sent the sculpture to Stockholm in Sweden.”<sup>14</sup> This is the first mention of the statue being in Sweden, and its first identification as the biblical Bathsheba. This interpretation of the subject recurs in all subsequent documents. In 1688 Nicodemus Tessin saw the marble Cesarini *Venus* by Giambologna in the Villa Ludovisi and concluded that “one can be sure that the statue of Bathsheba in Sweden must be by the same author.”<sup>15</sup> Tessin’s reference provides a link between the *Bathsheba* and Giambologna. A 1703 inscription on a drawing for *Bathsheba’s* pedestal by Johan Håleman places the statue at Åkerö, the Swedish estate of Johan Gabriel Stenbock.<sup>16</sup> A 1715 list of sculpture in Sweden, compiled by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, includes a “Bathsheba at the bath by Jean de Bologne” belonging to Eric Sparre at Åkerö.<sup>17</sup> A May 29, 1757, inventory of Åkerö records a seated statue of Bathsheba by Giovanni di Bologna [*sic*] and notes damage to its hands and feet.<sup>18</sup> A previously unpublished April 5, 1758, inventory of Åkerö, handwritten by Carl Gustaf Tessin, records the statue and mentions several copies of it existing in Ericsberg Castle.<sup>19</sup> Finally, a 1770 appraisal for sale of Åkerö’s contents lists a seated *Bathsheba* by Giovanni di Bologna, again notes damage to the hands and feet, and estimates its value at 280 crowns.<sup>20</sup>

In these documents the subject of the Getty marble is consistently identified as Bathsheba. Keutner has cogently argued, however, that this identification was most likely a

later, Counter-Reformation, attempt to justify the figure’s nudity with biblical symbolism, since Bathsheba is an unusual subject for sculpture and, even in paintings, typically appears in a narrative context, accompanied by her handmaidens or spied upon by King David.<sup>21</sup> Avery has suggested that the statue was originally intended to represent Psyche, who holds a vase containing water from the river Styx.<sup>22</sup> This too, however, would be an atypical theme for a single-figure sculpture by Giambologna. Two factors frustrate any attempt to give the Getty marble a specific identity. First, Giambologna himself was particularly unconcerned with the iconography of his female figures, and so, it seems, were his early biographers. Of the seven female figures by Giambologna mentioned by Borghini, four are identified only by size, medium, or recipient.<sup>23</sup> Filippo Baldinucci also mentions seven female figures, four of which are assigned no mythological or allegorical identity.<sup>24</sup> Second, even the descriptions offered by these writers are puzzling. For instance, the Getty statue is described by both Borghini and Baldinucci as a young girl sitting. While their observations are accurate and may reflect Giambologna’s own formal concerns, their neglect of the obvious—that the figure is bathing—seems peculiar and sheds some doubt on the equation of the Getty marble with this description.

Giambologna himself may not have titled the figure sent to the duke of Bavaria, but a large, fully nude figure in marble must have possessed some appellation or thematic justification in the eyes of Giambologna’s patron and contemporaries. In the absence of early documentation specifying its intended subject, there are reasons to consider the Getty marble as a bathing Venus. The figure holds no attributes other than those associated with bathing, there is nothing to suggest an allegorical interpretation, and the most common bathing nude in single-figure sixteenth-century sculpture was Venus. Giambologna’s other bathing female nudes, holding small washcloths or standing beside urns, are traditionally titled *Venus*.

As Avery has noted, the source for the Getty marble was an ancient, now lost statue of Venus bathing (probably in metal), which was drawn by Maarten van Heemskerck during his trip to Rome around 1535.<sup>25</sup> The compositions of the Getty figure and the ancient Venus depicted by Heemskerck are particularly close in the action of reaching down with



12A Cast by Gerhardt Meyer after a marble by Giambologna. *Female Figure*, 1697. Bronze. H: 110 cm (43<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Three-quarter front view from proper right. Collection Nemesis Fine Art.



12B Gerhardt Meyer after Giambologna. *Female Figure*, 1697 (see FIG. 12A). Front.



12C Gerhardt Meyer after Giambologna. *Female Figure*, 1697 (see FIG. 12A). Profile from proper right.

one hand to dry the opposite, bent, raised leg and in details such as the band around the raised arm. The differences between Giambologna's marble and its antique source are, however, equally significant. Giambologna heightened the precarious placement of his figure by means of a half-seated pose, whereas the Roman *Venus* places all her weight on her standing leg, using the square pedestal beside her only to lean on. Also, Giambologna emphasized the forward tilt of the entire upper body by bringing the raised arm in front of the face. In contrast, the ancient figure's left arm is raised above and behind her, creating a more balanced composition. Giambologna apparently used his study of the ancient *Venus* in Rome to explore various standing or half-standing poses, just as he had used a version of the *Crouching Venus*

by Doidalsas as the starting point for a series of nude, kneeling female figures.<sup>26</sup> Another sculpture by Giambologna that appears to derive from the *Venus* drawn by Heemskerck is a small bronze, *Standing Venus Drying Herself* (or *Standing Venus after the Bath*), in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. In this small figure, Giambologna's most important departure from his antique source occurs in the bent left leg, which rests on top of an urn rather than extending, unsupported, as it does in the Getty marble.<sup>27</sup>

A small, seated wax figure first attributed to Giambologna by Heseltine in 1916 was proposed by Avery in 1983 as the model for the Getty statue.<sup>28</sup> From certain views, such as the profile from left or the three-quarter back view, the Getty marble does resemble the wax. The wax figure places



12D Gerhardt Meyer after Giambologna.  
*Female Figure*, 1697 (see FIG. 12A).  
Back view.



12E Gerhardt Meyer after Giambologna.  
*Female Figure*, 1697 (see FIG. 12A).  
Profile from proper left.

her raised left foot upon a tree-branch support, however, a device that stabilizes and resolves the composition in the same way that the introduction of an urn does in the Bargello *Standing Venus Drying Herself*. The absence of arms or a head in the wax makes it difficult to determine the entire composition, but the figure's position on the whole seems more comfortable than the Getty statue's. The wax may have been one of several models used to work out the pose of a seated female nude, but given the differences between them, it is unclear whether the wax composition preceded or followed the Getty marble.

Since the analyses of the Getty statue by Avery in 1983 and Keutner in 1987, another version of the figure in bronze has come to light (FIGS. 12A–E). This bronze is signed on the

base of the column on which the figure sits with the inscription ME FECIT. GERHARDT MEYER. HOLMIAE (Gerhardt Meyer of Stockholm made me). The composition is cast with an integral square plinth decorated with acanthus leaves, strapwork, and abstract foliage on its molding. A small extension beneath the figure's right foot, which projects from and interrupts the plinth's molding, is inscribed with the date ANNO: 1697 in Roman lettering and, below, *Den 25 Novembe [sic]* in script (FIG. 12G).<sup>29</sup> The author of the bronze, Gerhardt Meyer, was a member of the Meyer family of bell founders, who worked in Stockholm in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> Although the patron and purpose of Meyer's bronze are uncertain, the unusual exactness of the inscribed date suggests that the sculpture either resulted



12F Gerhardt Meyer after Giambologna. *Female Figure*, 1697 (see FIG. 12A). Detail, hand holding vessel.



12G Gerhardt Meyer after Giambologna. *Female Figure*, 1697 (see FIG. 12A). Detail, inscription under foot.

from a specific commission with a commemorative function or marked an occasion important to the founder.

Meyer's bronze figure is an extremely close translation of the marble in pose and details, but even small differences affect the overall composition. In the bronze the raised forearm bends in closer to the head and face, while the head itself tilts forward and down to a greater degree than in the marble (FIG. 12F). The space between the head and the raised arm is therefore compressed in the bronze, which results in a tighter silhouette but a more complete obscuring of the face from the frontal view. The upper body from the left shoulder is less forward in the bronze. Although the folds of the drapery are exactly repeated, they have lost some of their crispness and clarity in the bronze; the same can be said of the hair. Since the left hand and vessel of the marble figure are restored, it is difficult to make a comparison of that area. The bottom of the vessel held in the bronze differs from the bottom of that in the marble in both size and decoration. If the entire left hand of the marble is a replacement, the bronze might be thought to reflect Giambologna's sculpture before it was damaged. The bronze does not, however, accord in this detail with the plaster casts of Giambologna's figure at Ericsberg, which are also dated prior to restoration of the marble.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, it seems that the caster of the bronze took some liberties with the details of the composition, as he did with the design of the plinth.

It is unclear what method Meyer employed to make his bronze version of Giambologna's statue. Assuming the founder had access to the original, the easiest means of producing a copy would have been to take piece molds from the marble and cast a hollow wax in parts, to be used for casting the bronze. One would expect a bronze produced by this means to be up to one-tenth smaller than the stone original due to the cooling and shrinkage of the metal. A comparison of measurements reveals that some dimensions of the marble original are actually smaller than those of the bronze copy, however, while others are larger.<sup>32</sup> The inconsistent relationship between measurements of the sculptures suggests that the bronze was not cast from molds of the marble. In addition, the bronze appears to have been cast in one piece using a method of manufacture that, not surprisingly, is entirely consistent with contemporary bell casting.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



12H Front view



12I Profile from proper right



12J Three-quarter back view from proper right



12K Back view



12L Three-quarter back view from proper left



12M Profile from proper left



12N Detail, hand and foot

Notes

1. A 1757 inventory of Åkerö, first published in Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 348, n. 34, lists the statue as having damage to the hands and feet ("Ein sittigande Bathsheba wacker Statue af Giovanni di Bologna litet skadd på händer och fötter"). In a 1770 appraisal for sale first published in Granberg, *Svenska Konstsamlingarnas Historia*, pt. 2, 243, the statue is still recorded as having the damage.
2. Regarding the replacement, see Keutner, "Bathsheba des Giovanni Bologna," 149–50.
3. Restoration photographs, JPMGM object file.
4. The Getty sculpture was reproduced around 1670 in a series of identical painted plaster casts for the bathroom at Eric'sberg Castle, Katrineholm, Sweden. See Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, pls. 106–7, for illustrations. Avery ("Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 347) attributes the casts to Carlo Carova (Italian, d. 1697), a court stuccoist at Drottningholm.
5. Keutner, "Bathsheba des Giovanni Bologna," 150.
6. Treatment report, 22 January 1981, JPMGM object file.
7. J. Holderbaum noted this in *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna* (New York and London, 1983), 99–100.
8. Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 100. Avery (107) also notes the similarity between the Getty sculpture and the freestanding *Grotticella Venus* with respect to this compositional device.
9. E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne* (Brussels, 1956).
10. B. G. Söderberg, *Slott och Herresäten i Sverige: Södermanland* (Malmö, 1968), 291ff.; G. W. Lundberg, "Nagra bronser ur Carl Gustaf Tessins skulptursamling," *Konsthistoriska Tidskrift* 39 (December 1970): 115.
11. Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 344–47. Avery referred to the statue earlier in *Sculptor to the Medici*, 72, 233.
12. Keutner, "Bathsheba des Giovanni Bologna," 141–45. The quotation is from Borghini, *Il riposo*, vol. 3, 160: "e nel medesimo tempo un'altra figura di marmo a sedere, della grandezza d'una fanciulla di sedici anni, la quale statua fu mandata al Duca di Baviera." Baldinucci (*Notizie*, 559) follows with a similar description: "ed al duca di Baviera fu mandata un'altra sua statua di marmo d'una fanciulla in atto di sedere." According to Borghini's account, Giambologna carved this marble at about the same time as his group *Florence Triumphant over Pisa* (Museo Nazionale del Bargello) and before completing his *Ocean Fountain* (Florence, Boboli Gardens).
13. Keutner, "Bathsheba des Giovanni Bologna," 145–47. Keutner raises the question of which duke of Bavaria received the statue from Francesco de' Medici, concluding that it was most likely one of Albert V's sons, Wilhelm (1548–1626; r. 1579–97) or Ferdinand (1550–1608), since Albert himself "was not very interested in contemporary Italian art." It seems rash to dismiss Albert V (1528–79; r. 1550–79) so completely, however, considering that he was in fact the duke of Bavaria at the time of the commission.
14. P. Diemer, in *Quellen und Studien zur Kunstpolitik der Wittelsbacher vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert: Mitteilungen des Hauses der Bayer: Geschichte*, vol. 1, ed. H. Glaser (Munich, 1980), 154, n. 83; republished in connection with the Getty marble by Keutner, "Bathsheba des Giovanni Bologna," 147. I am indebted to Anna Jolly for her translation.
15. Passage from Tessin's travel diary, first transcribed, translated, and associated with the Getty statue by Jennifer Montagu (letter to Daniel Katz, 4 January 1980, JPMGM object file); published by Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 347. See also A. Radcliffe, in *Giambologna's Cesarini Venus*, 6.
16. Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 347, fig. 34.
17. Granberg, *Svenska Konstsamlingarnas Historia*, pt. 2, 99.
18. Published by Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 348, n. 34. See note 1.
19. "Sitt[?] Bathsheba schön Statue i marmor af Giovanni di Bologna 47. tumb hög. NB. artskilliga copier funnits af [?], saratad i bad[?] avid Ericksberg" (A seated Bathsheba beautiful Statue in marble by Giovanni di Bologna, 47 thumbs high. Note well: several copies are found of/at [?] singular to bath[?] near Ericksberg); diary (*Akerödagboken*) of Carl Gustaf Tessin, vol. 3, 360, no. 17 (Royal Library, Stockholm). Discovered by Patrice Marandel and associated with the Getty sculpture in a November 1, 1983, letter to John Walsh (JPMGM object file). Rebecca Bubenias deserves thanks for her help with the transcription and translation. For the plaster casts of Giambologna's statue at Eric'sberg, see technical description above and note 4.
20. Granberg, *Svenska Konstsamlingarnas Historia*, 243. As Avery ("Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 348) notes, the statue must not have sold, since it remained at Åkerö until the late 1970s. See provenance information above.
21. Keutner, "Bathsheba des Giovanni Bologna," 145–46.
22. Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 98.
23. Borghini, *Il riposo*, 158–64.
24. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 555–86. Although Baldinucci mentions the same number of female figures as Borghini, they are not in all cases the same works.
25. Maarten van Heemskerck, *Venus Drying Her Foot, after the Antique, from Three Angles*, ink on paper, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. See Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 343, fig. 28; idem, *Complete Sculpture*, 54, and fig. 58; L. O. Larsson, *Von allen Seiten gleich schön* (Stockholm, 1974), 41, 125, fig. 27.
26. For a general discussion of the ancient *Crouching Venus* type, with particular attention to a version now in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1981), 321–23. According to Radcliffe, in *Giambologna's Cesarini Venus*, 7,

- Giambologna used for his studies a version of the *Venus* in the Palazzo Medici-Madama in Rome, which is now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. See H. Keutner, *Giambologna: Il Mercurio volante e altre opere giovanili* (Florence, 1984), 3, fig. 1. Also see A. de Franciscis, *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples, 1963), fig. 47, for a *Crouching Venus* accompanied by Cupid. Sculptures by Giambologna that derive from this prototype include *Venus Drying Herself* (or *Kneeling Woman Drying Herself*), bronze, signed I. B. F., Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; and *Kneeling Nymph Surprised at Her Bath*, bronze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Keutner (*Il Mercurio volante*) believes that the alabaster *Kneeling Venus Wringing Her Hair* is the early figure carved by Giambologna for his sponsor Bernardo Vecchiotti. Avery's argument, however, that the Vecchiotti figure must have been marble because it was intended to demonstrate Giambologna's skill in that medium seems correct (see *Complete Sculpture*, 273, no. 164).
27. Both Keutner (*Il Mercurio volante*, 15–16) and Radcliffe (*Giambologna's Cesarini Venus*, nos. 3–7) discuss the similarities and the progression from the Bargello *Standing Venus Drying Herself* (inv. 71; bronze, h: 13.5 cm [5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.]) through the *Cesarini Venus*. By varying the position of the bent arm, the angle of the shoulders, and the direction of the head, Giambologna used the same compositional device of a supported, bent, forward leg in the *Venus Drying Herself after the Bath* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. 5847; bronze, h: 24.9 cm [9<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.]), the *Cesarini Venus*, or *Venus Drying Herself after the Bath* (Rome, Embassy of the United States of America; marble, h: 154 cm [60<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.]), and, less directly, in the *Venus Urania*, or *Astronomy* (Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. 5893; gilt bronze, h: 38.8 cm [15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.]), and the *Grotticella Venus*, or *Venus after the Bath* (Boboli Gardens, marble; H: 130 cm [51<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.]). See also Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, nos. 52, 14, 55, and 7, respectively.
  28. Private collection. J. P. Heseltine, *Trifles in Sculpture* (London, 1916), no. 23; Avery, "Giambologna's 'Bathsheba,'" 343. Avery strengthened the more tenuous association of the wax with the marble in his 1987 monograph on Giambologna (*Complete Sculpture*, 241, 274, no. 173), where he titles them both *Psyche* and states that the wax was a *pensiero* for the Getty statue.
  29. The date is not completely certain since the 6 might also be read as a 5, making the date 1597. Dorothea Diemer (correspondence, 19 November 1999 and 25 January 2000, JPGM object file) considers this to be an inscription written c. 1700 rather than c. 1600, however, and reads the date as 1697. A date of 1597 would make it difficult to explain why a bronze copy was made in Sweden when the marble sculpture still was in Germany. By 1697, however, the marble was already in Sweden (see provenance above). Thermoluminescence analysis of a core sample from the bronze (performed by Christian Goedicke of the Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) supports a date of c. 1600 (JPGM object file).
  30. U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1930), vol. 24, 475.
  31. See previous notes 4 and 19.
  32. For instance, the dimensions of the bronze are greater in the circumference of the column below the drapery, the circumference of the upper right arm, and even the circumference of the right ankle, where the marble should be thicker to lend added strength. Several other measurements are smaller in the bronze (the overall height from the top of the head to the top of the base and the circumference of the left forearm), however, and some are virtually identical in the two sculptures (the circumference of the waist beneath the ribs, the circumference of the left calf at its largest point, and the length down the back from the join in the two hair braids to the top of the drapery below the buttocks).

## ATTRIBUTED TO ANNIBALE FONTANA

Milan 1540–87

*Pair of Drug Jars*

c. 1580

Terra-cotta with white paint, gilt exterior, and glazed interior

Jar (90.SC.42.1):

H: 33.3 cm (13 1/8 in.)

W: 39.4 cm (15 1/2 in.)

D: 32 cm (12 3/8 in.)

Lid (90.SC.42.1):

H: 21.2 cm (8 3/8 in.)

DIAM.: 17.5 cm (6 7/8 in.)

Jar (90.SC.42.2):

H: 32.4 cm (12 3/4 in.)

W: 39 cm (15 3/8 in.)

D: 31.1 cm (12 1/4 in.)

Lid (90.SC.42.2):

H: 20.3 cm (8 in.)

DIAM.: 18.3 cm (7 1/4 in.)

90.SC.42.1–2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The jars and the lids were thrown on a wheel. The relief decoration was modeled or molded and applied afterward. There are minor losses to the surface of jar 90.SC.42.1, including small areas of the gilding. X rays show that the bodies of the jars are free from breaks and old repairs. The lids of both jars have been broken in several places and repaired. For example, the proper right hand, the fold on the back of the robe, and the two feet of the figure on the lid of jar 90.SC.42.1 are restorations, while both of the feet and areas of the hair of the figure on the lid of jar 90.SC.42.2 are remodeled. TL testing (Oxford, 1990) dated the last firing of jar 90.SC.42.1 to between 1490 and 1670 and the last firing of jar 90.SC.42.2 to between 1500 and 1670.

Cross-sectional analysis of white, blue, and gold pigment from several points on both jars revealed a complex layer structure, indicating that, after firing, both jars were completely oil-gilded. Subsequently, lead white paint was applied over all of the oil gilding. Two additional layers of white paint were applied to the background areas, and another layer of oil gilding was applied to the figural elements. It is uncertain when these layers were applied. The cross-sectional analyses do not reveal a layer of dirt

between the gilding and the white paint, so it is likely that the lead white was applied relatively soon after gilding. The cartouches have two layers of white paint covered with a layer of Prussian blue, the latter in use only after the early eighteenth century.

## PROVENANCE

Mario Tazzoli, London, sold to Siran Holding Corporation; Siran Holding Corporation, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Acquisitions/1990," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 19 (1991): 164, no. 57; C. Bremer-David et al., *Decorative Arts: An Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1993), 211; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 23; *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Decorative Arts* (Los Angeles, 1997), 23 (90.SC.42.1); G. Wilson and C. Hess, *Summary Catalogue of European Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 2001), no. 375; C. Hess, *Italian Ceramics: Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection* (Los Angeles, 2002), no. 37.

DESIGNED AS A PAIR, these terra-cotta jars were made to store specific, compositionally related pharmaceutical substances. The jars are similar in form and decoration. A bulbous jar is elaborately decorated with a pair of medallions—centrally placed on front and back—which depict low-relief narrative scenes that serve to identify the drug contained within the jar. Set within a scrolling strapwork cartouche, each medallion is surmounted by a vigorously modeled, grimacing mask and flanked by a pair of nude, winged females holding swags of fruit in mirror image. Below the relief medallions are smaller cartouches that may once have borne inscriptions indicating the contents of the jars, the coat of arms of the commissioning family, or the name or symbol of the pharmacy for which they were made. The handles of the jars are composed of twisting, muscular satyrs and satyresses (jars 90.SC.42.1 and 90.SC.42.2, respectively; see detail) balanced precariously on projecting volutes crowning

additional grimacing masks. Each mask is slightly different in expression, and the relief decoration looks as though it was modeled by hand rather than molded.<sup>1</sup> Also, the gadrooned lids of both drug jars are similarly designed so that each has a classicizing, draped male figure—representing the supposed inventor of the drug contained within—seated on top of the centrally placed knob. All of the figural and ornamental elements are gilded, while the convex, non-sculpted surfaces of both jars are painted with lead-white paint, creating a contrasting background.

The narrative scenes establish that jar 90.SC.42.1 was a receptacle for the prophylactic *antidotum Mithridaticum*, whereas jar 90.SC.42.2 was made to hold a derivative of this called *theriaca Andromachi*.<sup>2</sup> These complex drugs had a variety of uses. They were used generally as cure-alls and as antidotes to poisons and were also used against the plague. According to tradition, the *antidotum Mithridaticum*,



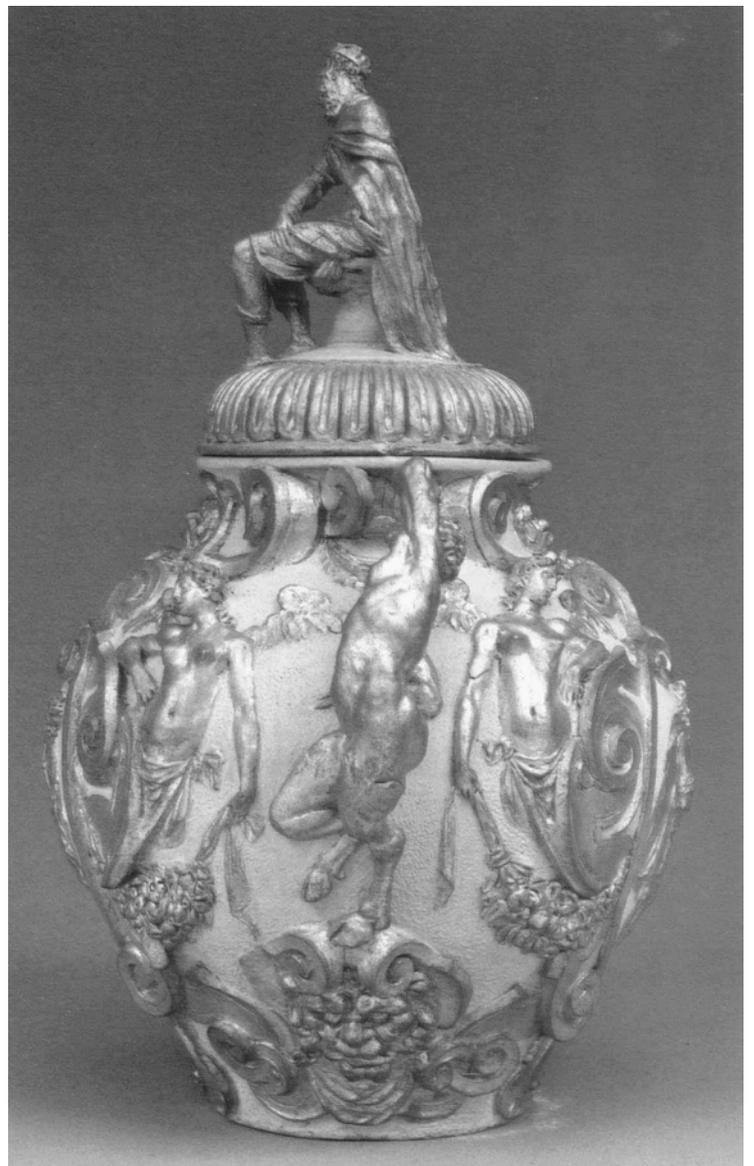


or mithridate, comprising fifty-four different ingredients, was invented by King Mithridates VI, who ascended to the throne of Pontus in 120 B.C.—hence its name and his crowned presence atop the lid of jar 90.SC.42.1. Paranoid about being poisoned by his enemies, Mithridates would ingest his own antidote daily, just in case. Later, following his military defeat by the Romans in 63 B.C., Mithridates tried to poison himself to avoid captivity. His constant use of prophylactics had rendered him immune to such methods, however, and he was forced to have himself slain by the sword of his guard. Thus, the relief on the back of the drug jar probably represents Mithridates being given either his daily antidote or the ineffectual suicidal poison, while the relief on the front of the jar depicts him being killed by his guard (see FIG. 13D).

*Theriaca Andromachi*—the theriac, or cure-all, stored in jar 90.SC.42.2—was invented by Andromachus (shown seated on the lid clasping a drug jar against his thigh), who was court physician to the Roman emperor Nero. Commanded by Nero to improve upon Mithridates' elixir, Andromachus eliminated some of the less active constituents and added new ones (bringing the number of ingredients to seventy-four), the most important of which was the flesh of vipers. The relief on the back of the jar shows Andromachus in the act of cutting up vipers, watched by what appears to be a group of fellow physicians, all wearing tall hats similar to that of Andromachus (see FIG. 13J). The relief on the front depicts the physician presenting his new theriac to the emperor.

Mithridate and theriac were among the most highly prized and complex drugs in the Renaissance pharmacopoeia. They were especially popular in northern Italy, Venice becoming the prime center for their manufacture.<sup>3</sup> Given the preciousness of these drugs, they were made infrequently but in large quantities, and the production process often became an occasion for civic celebration.<sup>4</sup> The recovery of the recipes for these ancient drugs was a particular goal in Renaissance Europe, representing an example of the revival of antique knowledge and ideas in the fields of science and medicine.

The drugs were usually stored in large paired jars, often more elaborately decorated than counterparts made to hold less expensive pharmaceutical substances. Mithridate and theriac drug jars frequently bear a painted inscription



13A Drug Jar (90.SC.42.1), side view from proper left



13B *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.1), back view



13C *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.1), side view from proper right



13D *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.1), detail, relief medallion with the Death of Mithridates

revealing their contents, such as the vessel designated for theriac in the Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna (whose bulbous shape is similar to that of the Getty jars) or that in the Musée Fabre in Montpellier.<sup>5</sup> Theriac jars sometimes have handles composed of coiling snakes, reflecting their essential component of serpent flesh. The profusion and sophistication of the plastic decoration on the Getty jars, however, go beyond all contemporary ceramic drug jars and instead call to mind sixteenth-century designs for virtuoso goldsmith work, such as the Farnese casket (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte).<sup>6</sup> The use of decorative elements, the placement of narrative scenes in cartouches, and the crowning of the object by a single seated figure all speak of a goldsmith's approach to design and conception. The combination of gilding and lead white paint (which simulates the appearance of gilt bronze or parcel-gilt silver objects) further emphasizes this.

Given the lack of glazing on the exterior of each jar, the absence of a foot or base in each case, and the fact that the decoration is not precisely mirrored, even though clearly intended to be identical on both vases, it is conceivable that these jars were made as presentation models for works to be executed in metal.<sup>7</sup> The glazing on the insides of the Getty jars strongly suggests, however, that they were made to be used. The emulation of goldsmiths' work, surely inspired by the preciousness of the contents, extends the traditional boundaries for the design of functional ceramic vessels.

In their vigorous yet elegantly mannered style, the Getty drug jars particularly call to mind the work of the most important late sixteenth-century Milanese sculptor, Annibale Fontana. For example, like the figures on the Getty drug jars, Fontana's figures have deeply set eyes placed close together; long, straight noses; and fleshy lips, often shown slightly parted. The female figures on the drug jars wear their wavy hair loosely swept back in a style extremely close to that of Fontana's females. The proportions of the Getty and Fontana figures are similar, with heads that are small in relation to the body, and hands and feet that are comparatively large. Fontana's figures display solid, well-defined musculature that is similar to that seen in the Getty figures, such as in the arms of the satyresses. Animated garments accentuate the poses by alternately binding and flowing around the figures in graphic folds, a stylistic characteristic of the figures on the Getty drug jars.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the



13E Annibale Fontana. *Angel*, 1586–87. Wax on wood base. H: 55.2 cm (21<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of the Ahmanson Foundation, inv. M.80.191.

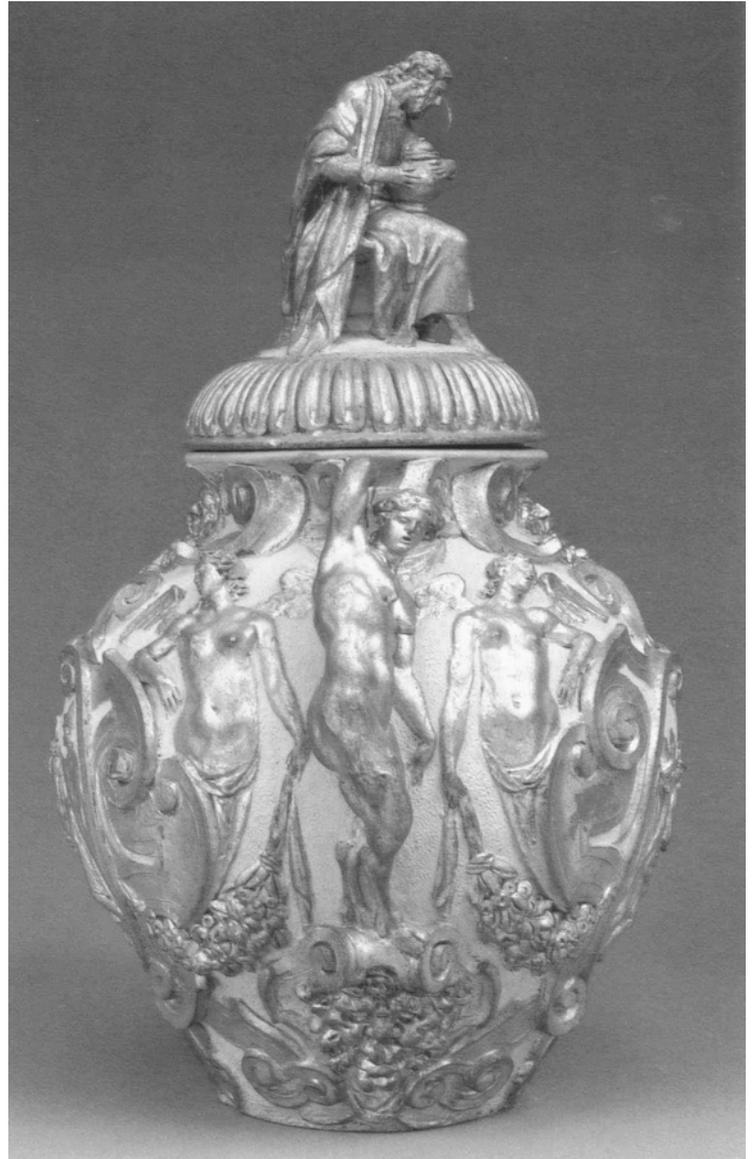
graceful and theatrical poses of the drug jar figures are often given added emphasis through the tilt of a head or by a raised shoulder that projects the figure forward. Again, one finds these traits in works such as Fontana's *Angel* in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (FIG. 13E) and the terracotta *bozzetto* of the Birth of the Virgin in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the Getty drug jars may also be compared with a pair of bronze candelabra that Fontana designed for the Certosa di Pavia in the early 1580s, which were executed after his death. Like these candelabra, the drug jars are modeled in a particularly fluid and animated manner and display attenuated figures that elegantly drape themselves over the surface areas. Certain decorative details—the use of a stippled background in order to contrast with the relief elements and the framing of cartouches by interlacing strapwork—are also common to both pairs of objects.<sup>10</sup>

VICTORIA AVERY, PETER FUSCO, AND CATHERINE HESS

#### Notes

1. The jars were thrown on a wheel, and the figures, masks, strapwork, and reliefs would have been modeled with the clay still damp, using additional clay.
2. Thanks go to Jennifer Montagu, who first recognized that the iconographic program was related to theriac and mithridate (letter, 27 February 1990, JFGM object file), and to Richard Palmer and William Schupbach of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, for their help in clarifying the iconography and history of the drugs mithridate and theriac.
3. See G. Watson, *Theriac and Mithridatium: A Study in Therapeutics* (London, 1966); R. Palmer, "Pharmacy in the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A. Wear, R. K. French, and I. M. Lonie (Cambridge, 1985), 108–10.
4. For an image of theriac being produced in Bologna, see A. Carosi et al., *Speziali e spezierie a Viterbo nel '400* (Viterbo, 1988), 120.
5. For the Bologna example, see J. Bentini, ed., *L'arredo sacro e profano a Bologna e nelle Legazioni pontificie* (Bologna, 1979), fig. 70, no. 77. For the Montpellier example, see R. E. A. Drey, *Apothecary Jars: Pharmaceutical Pottery and Porcelain in Europe and the East, 1150–1850* (London and Boston, 1978), pl. 44a: "Theriac jar, painted in blue and manganese-purple. Montpellier, end of the 17th or beginning of 18th century. H. 41 cm (16.1 in.). Inscription 'Theriacque. A.'"
6. For a recent discussion of the Farnese casket, see C. Robertson, *"Il gran cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven and London, 1992), 38–48, with bibliography.

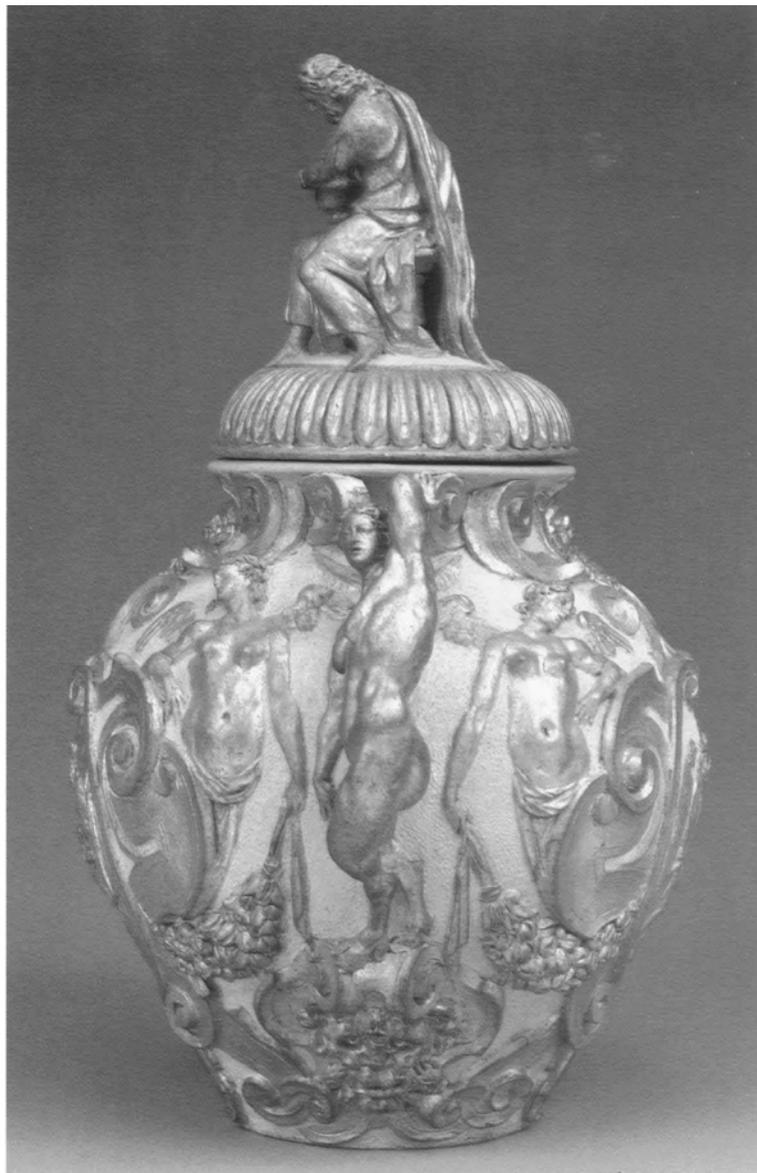


13F *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.2), side view from proper right

7. The abrupt termination of the bases (without any kind of foot) is unusual and is made all the more noticeable by the size of the lids, which seem as though they demand to be counterbalanced by a foot or base. It should also be noted that, although the two drug jars were clearly executed as counterparts with an identical overall design, certain elements do not conform, so that, for example, the relief narratives on jar 90.sc.42.1 are placed higher up the body than those on jar 90.sc.42.2. The cartouches on the two jars also differ in form.
8. See, for example, E. Kris, "Materialen zur Biographie des Annibale Fontana und zur Kunsttopographie der Kirche S. Maria presso S. Celso in Mailand," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3 (July 1930): figs. 9, 10, 12, 15, 18–25, 28, 29.

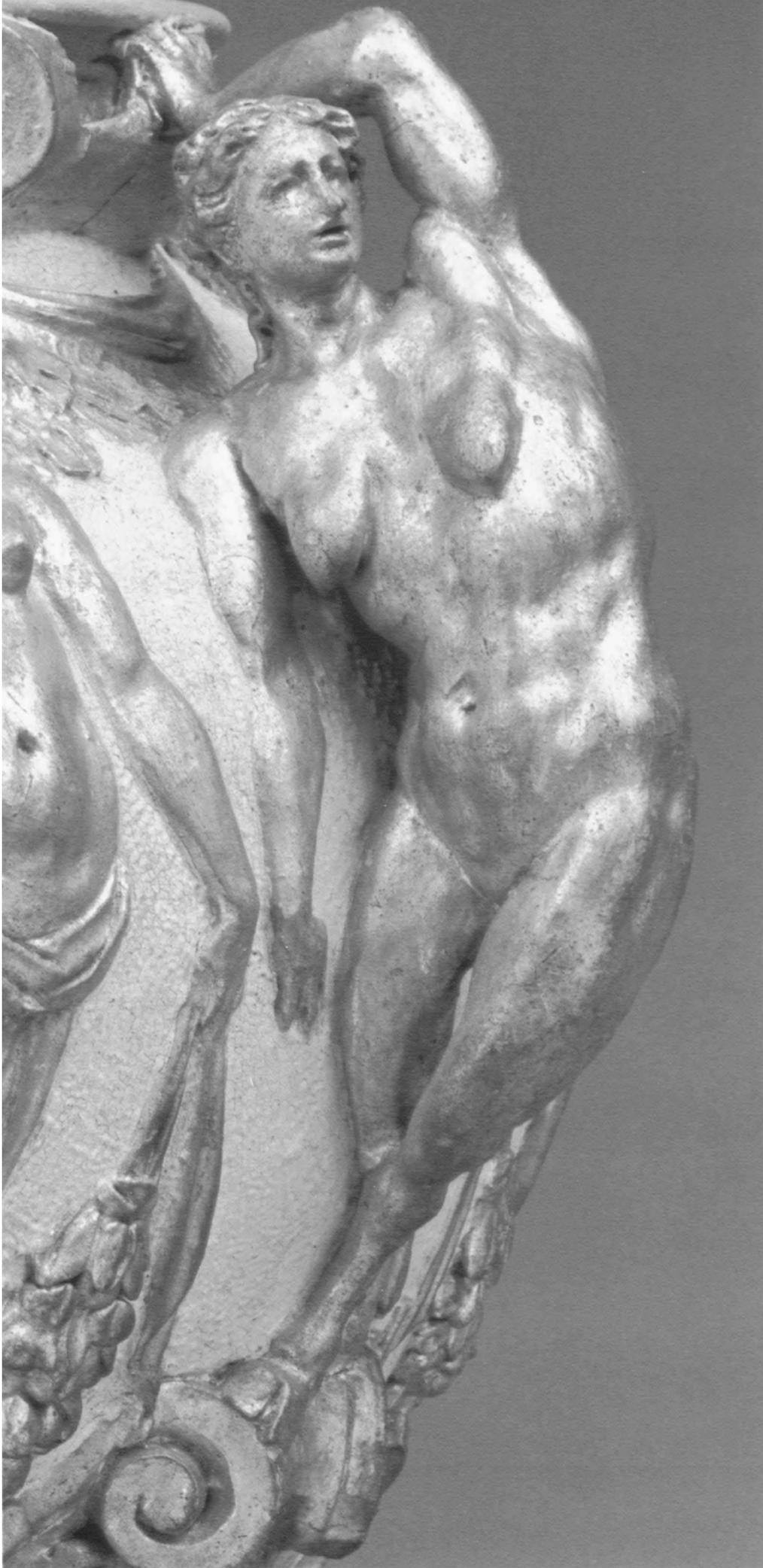


13G *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.2), back view



13H *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.2), side view from proper left

9. See P. Fusco, "Two Wax Models by Annibale Fontana," *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s., no. 21-22 (1984): 40-46; A. P. Valerio, "Annibale Fontana e il Palio dell'Altare della Vergine dei Miracoli in Santa Maria presso San Celso," *Paragone*, no. 279 (May 1973): figs. 16, 17, 18, 19, n. 15.
10. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1937), vol. 10, pt. 3, 466, figs. 383-90; R. Bossaglia, in *La Certosa di Pavia* (Milan, 1968), 68; A. P. Valerio, *Il seicento lombardo* (Milan 1977), 15-16.



131 *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.2), detail, proper left handle with satyress



131 *Drug Jar* (90.sc.42.2), detail, relief medallion with Andromachus Preparing His Theriac

## CESARE TARGONE

Born Venice; active in Florence, Rome, and Venice, late 16th century

*Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ*

c. 1582–84

Repoussé gold relief on an obsidian background

Gold relief:

H: 28.9 cm (11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)W: 26 cm (10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

Obsidian background:

H: 38.4 cm (15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)W: 26.5 cm (10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

84.SE.121

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Signed below the right foot of Christ,

OPVS.CAESARIS.TAR./VENETI.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The fragility of the gold medium is evident in numerous tears and flaws in the relief surface.

For example, there are small splits in the winding

cloth in the area of Christ's head and right shoulder, and in the drapery that falls below the Virgin's neck. The Virgin's fingers were crushed and have been restored. The gold was lifted in order to reform the convexity of the fingers. During this conservation campaign, in 1989, Christ's right thumb, which was determined to be a modern addition, was lifted and replaced in the present position. Finally, a patch of the gold relief in the upper left corner, clearly an addition, was removed and replaced with a small, newly fabricated portion in fourteen-carat gold, closer in appearance and chasing to the rest of the area of the relief showing the hillside.

When the relief was acquired by the Museum, the frame, which may date to the early nineteenth century, was decorated with an ornate Charles X-style gilt design in the central flat area. This area was covered with strips of ebony veneer and glued at the edges so as not to destroy the gilding underneath.

## PROVENANCE

Collection of Sir Julius Wernher (d. 1912); by descent to Sir Major General Harold Wernher (sold, Christie's, London, 16 November 1950, lot 157, to "Wein" for David Black); David

Black Sr., London; Black-Nadeau, Ltd., Monte Carlo, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1984.

## EXHIBITIONS

*Curator's Choice*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 11 December 1978–11 February 1979.

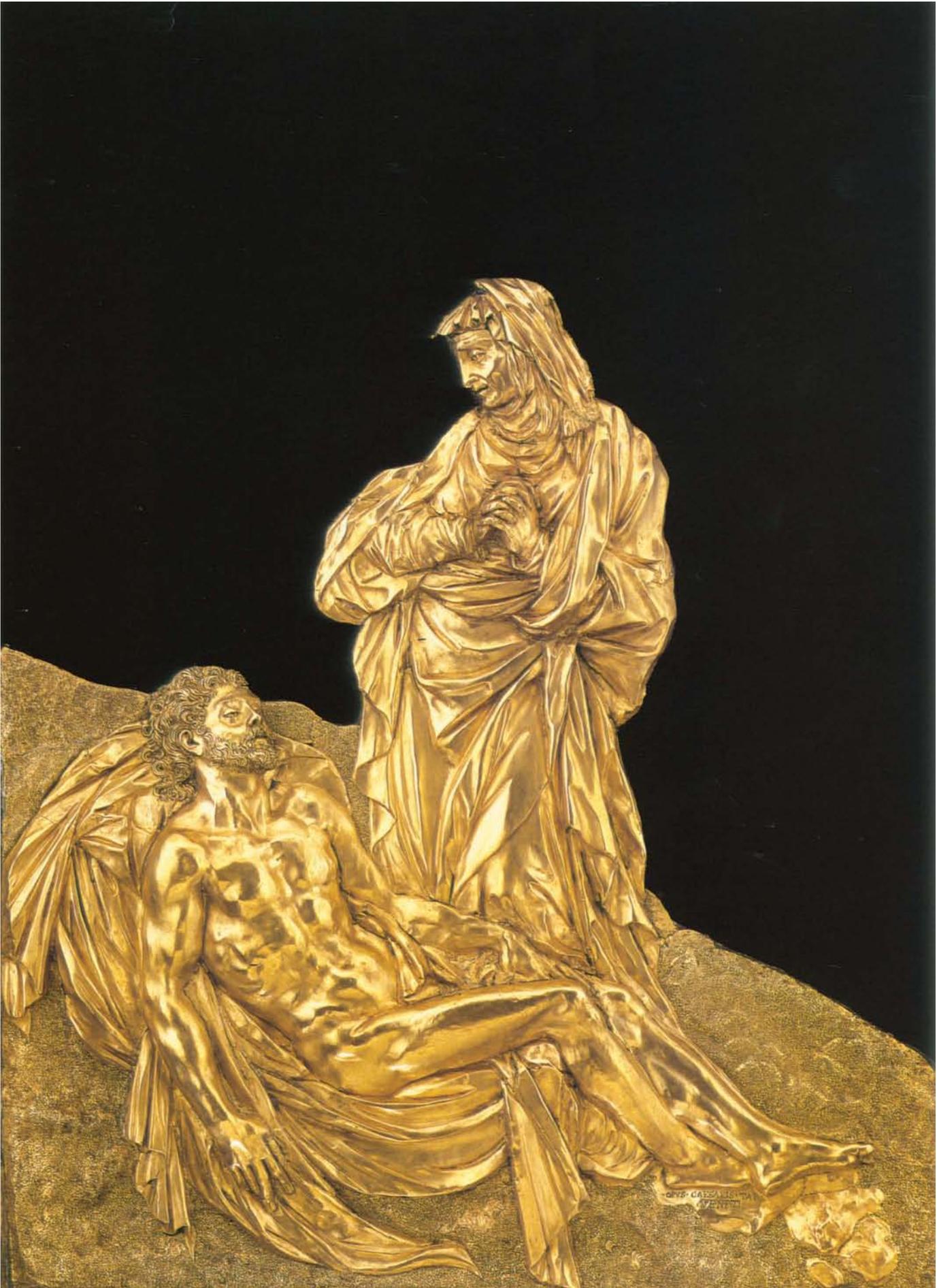
## BIBLIOGRAPHY

U. Middeldorf, "In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta," *Connoisseur* 194 (February 1977): 75–76; B. Jestaz, "Le décor mobilier, la sculpture moderne et les objets d'art," in *Le Palais Farnèse: École française de Rome*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Rome, 1981), 407, n. 68; "Acquisitions/1984," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 13 (1985): 256–57; unsigned note, *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, April 1989, unpaginated; C. Bremer-David et al., *Decorative Arts: An Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1993), 194; B. Jestaz, in *I Farnese: Arte e collezionismo*, exh. cat., ed. L. Fornari Schianchi and N. Spinosa (Parma: Palazzo Ducale di Colorno, 1995), 376–78; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 51; M. Cambareri, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 38–39.

THIS GOLD RELIEF REPRESENTING the standing Virgin mourning over the body of the dead Christ is the only signed work by the Venetian goldsmith Cesare Targone. Published in 1977 by Ulrich Middeldorf, the relief establishes Targone as a follower of Guglielmo della Porta and demonstrates his brilliant technique. It also provides a standard for judging attributions to the artist.<sup>1</sup> Targone is listed in the registers of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon in Rome in 1582.<sup>2</sup> He is documented as working in Florence along with Antonio Susini in 1585 on a series of gold repoussé reliefs based on Giambologna's models for the Tempietto of Francesco I de' Medici, a display cabinet designed by Bernardo Buontalenti for the Tribuna of the Uffizi in Florence.<sup>3</sup> Targone was also known as a dealer in antique sculptures and gems.<sup>4</sup>

*The Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ* is a masterful example of the difficult repoussé technique, which is described by Benvenuto Cellini in his *Treatise on Goldsmithing*.<sup>5</sup> The

process involved working a thin sheet of gold first from behind—either by pressing it over a model or by using a modeling tool freehand—and then from the front, using tools and punches to create forms and textures. The goldsmith continued to work from the back and the front alternately, seeking to maintain an even thickness of the metal. The finished piece was then soldered to a background field, in this case black obsidian, a volcanic glass. Targone attained great subtlety in the modeling of the forms of the bodies and drapery, and he created a variety of textures, as exemplified by the uneven terrain of the mossy hillside, which he achieved through the use of meticulous, tiny punch marks, broken up by small, polished, leafy plant forms. The rendering of Christ's hair and beard is also particularly detailed and fine (see FIG. 14B). The fact that Targone was hired by the Medici to execute repoussé reliefs based on Giambologna models suggests that he was considered a specialist in this technique.





14A *Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ*, c. 1584–85. Gold repoussé relief on red stone background. H: 31 cm (12<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); W: 23.5 cm (9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.). Milan, Santa Maria presso San Celso.

Bertrand Jestaz has attempted to connect the Getty relief with references to a Pietà set onto lapis lazuli, which is listed in seventeenth-century inventories of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.<sup>6</sup> He posits that these documents refer to the Getty relief, suggesting that it was once mounted on lapis and completed by the two granite heads of angels described in the sources. Noting that lapis was the most common stone used for such objects, Jestaz also acknowledged the fact that other semiprecious stones were employed for this purpose. He cited the relevant documents discovered by Anna Maria Massinelli in the Medici archives, which mention gold reliefs set onto “cristallo nero,” one of which is a portrait made by Targone himself.<sup>7</sup> While Jestaz’s theory of a lapis backing remains a possibility, there is no physical evidence to suggest that the gold figures of the Getty relief were transferred onto the present backing of obsidian, well described as “cristallo nero.” That the Farnese owned such an object, however, tells us a great deal about the kinds of patrons who might have commissioned or bought such luxury objects.

Another version of the Getty relief survives in the church of Santa Maria presso San Celso in Milan (FIG. 14A).<sup>8</sup> In that version the figures of Mary and Christ are set onto red stone, probably jasper. The relief is not signed and is not as finely finished as the Getty relief but is of roughly the same size and displays only minor compositional variations in the heads of the Virgin and Christ. Documents indicate that the Milan relief was bought, not commissioned, for the church in 1585 and set into place in 1591 by Giovanni Battista Busca. It decorates the front face of the elaborate bronze socle of Annibale Fontana’s *Assumption of the Virgin* on the high altar of the church.<sup>9</sup> Although attributed traditionally to Fontana and more recently to Busca, the Milan relief, documented in 1585, provides a secure date for the existence and fame of the composition, and a likely *terminus ante quem* for the Getty relief.<sup>10</sup>

A small group of gold repoussé reliefs set onto precious stone are known today. Those produced by Targone and Susini from Giambologna’s models, noted above, exist along with some of the wax models and bronze matrices for them.<sup>11</sup> Set onto either amethyst or green jasper backgrounds, they demonstrate that such precious objects sometimes decorated pieces of furniture. These reliefs depict



14B Detail, Christ's head and upper body



14C *Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ*. Gold repoussé relief on lapis lazuli, framed in diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, set in an outer lapis lazuli frame that dates to 1689–97. Inner rectangle: H: 15 cm (5<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); W: 10.4 cm (4 in.). Outer rectangle: H: 23 cm (9 in.); W: 18.5 cm (7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.). Private collection.



14D *Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ* (see FIG. 14C). Detail.

scenes from the life of Francesco I de' Medici. Other surviving examples of, or documentary references to, gold reliefs set on precious-stone backgrounds indicate that religious scenes, views, and portraits were also presented in this luxurious medium.<sup>12</sup>

The gold repoussé relief that comes closest to the Getty piece represents the same subject, the Virgin mourning the dead Christ. This relief (FIG. 14C–D), published by Middeldorf in 1976, is set onto lapis lazuli and placed in a seventeenth-century frame.<sup>13</sup> It is smaller than the Getty relief but is very close in composition and execution. The Virgin is shown looking up with her arms open and extended downward. Although Christ's head falls away from his mother, the rest of his body is similar to the Getty composition. The latter is tighter, conveying the physical and emotional closeness of the figures, and the slope of the hillside is given particular emphasis. Both objects were related by Middeldorf to drawings by Guglielmo della Porta, who treated the theme of the Lamentation frequently in the Düsseldorf sketchbooks.<sup>14</sup> A third gold repoussé relief, set onto red agate, in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, fits into this group and represents a multifigured Entombment very closely based on drawings by della Porta (FIG. 14E).<sup>15</sup> Here again, the figure of Christ is similar to that in the Getty relief.

The standing Virgin with Christ laid out at her feet was also represented in monumental sculpture in the 1580s. One example is by Giovanni Bandini in the Oratorio della Grotta in Urbino cathedral.<sup>16</sup> It appears earlier in the sixteenth century in a print by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, where the figure of Christ is placed on a stone support. A similar theme is treated by Sebastiano del Piombo in the *Pietà* in Viterbo, in which the Virgin sits with Christ at her feet.<sup>17</sup> All of these images focus on the restrained grief of the Virgin and the extended body of the dead Christ. They develop out of the tradition of the devotional image of the *Pietà*, in which the body of Christ is placed on the lap of the Virgin, but by separating the two protagonists, these images offer two foci of devotion and meditation. The Getty relief shows the Virgin with hands clasped in a traditional gesture of lamentation, her head and body shrouded in heavy drapery, which helps to convey the weight of her grief.<sup>18</sup> The body of Christ is exposed to the viewer, thus becoming an image of the eucharistic *Corpus Domini*.



14E After Guglielmo della Porta. *Entombment*, late 16th century. Gold repoussé relief on red agate. Relief: h: 18.5 cm (7¼ in.); w: 17 cm (6⅞ in.). Plaque: h: 26.8 cm (10⅞ in.); w: 18.2 cm (7⅜ in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum inv. 57.564.

Both figures are presented with a monumentality that belies the small scale of the relief. This effect is heightened by the black background, which emphasizes the isolation of the gold figures and suggests the darkness of night.<sup>19</sup> The fine, white striations of the obsidian contribute to this effect by evoking clouds.<sup>20</sup> It seems fitting that Targone signed this relief, which displays greater refinement of detail and finish than his other known works. By signing it *OPVS CAESARIS TAR. VENETI*, he asserted his roots in Venice and may well have marked the relief as his masterpiece and as his own design (FIG. 14F). By doing so, he would have followed the tradition of ancient sculptors and Renaissance masters.<sup>21</sup>

MARIETTA CAMBARERI



14F Detail, signature

Notes

1. Middeldorf, "In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta," 75–84.
2. Ibid., 75.
3. Ibid. For the Tempietto reliefs, see D. Heikamp, "Zur Geschichte der Uffizien-Tribuna und der Kunstschanke in Florenz und Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1963), 193–268; idem, "La Tribuna degli Uffizi come era nel cinquecento," *Antichità viva* 3 (May 1964): 11–30; C. Frulli, "Tradizione e sintesi nella Tribuna degli Uffizi: Nota di confronto con il Battistero e un'ipotesi sulla disposizione delle raccolte," *Antichità viva* 22, no. 4 (1983): 18–24; D. Heikamp, in *Splendori di pietre dure*, exh. cat. (Florence: Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Sala Bianca di Palazzo Pitti, 1988), 96–100, with extensive bibliography; A. M. Massinelli, "Magnificenze Medicee: Gli Stipi della Tribuna," *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s., 35–38 (1990): 111–34; A. Faro, in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici: Arte a Firenze alla fine del cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, 1997), 74–75.
4. See M. McCrory, "An Antique Cameo of Francesco I de' Medici: An Episode from the Story of the Grand-Ducal Cabinet of *Anticaglie*," in *Le arti del principato Mediceo* (Florence, 1980), 301–16, esp. 304–5; and A. Bertolotti, *Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga Duchi di Mantova nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Modena, 1885), 109. Targone's son Pompeo was also a goldsmith, as well as an architect and engineer, and worked in Rome on projects such as the sacramental tabernacle for San Giovanni in Laterano (1600). See C. Fruhan, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 30, 344–45; J. Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge and New York, 1995), 130–58, 305–6.
5. *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, trans. C. R. Ashbee (New York, 1967), 45ff.
6. Jestaz, in *I Farnese*, 376–78. Jestaz relates the *Pietà* referred to in the Farnese inventories to the "quadretto di mostra grande per le gioie, oro et li adornamenti," which was recommended for purchase to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese by Fulvio Orsini in September 1577 and published in C. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung Kardinal Alessandro Farnese: Ein "Studio" für Künstler und Gelehrte* (Weinheim, 1989), 184.
7. Anna Maria Massinelli generously provided these documents to Peter Fusco (JPGM object file), who passed them on to Jestaz for citation in the catalogue entry. The citation reads: "Un quadrettino d'ebano intagliato e flettato d'oro, fondo di cristallo nero, attaccatovi sopra il ritratto del G. D. Francesco f. m., d'oro, di bassorilievo, di mano di Cesare Targone, con sua catena d'argento." See Jestaz, in *I Farnese*, 376.
8. Middeldorf ("In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta," 84, n. 18) cites unpublished documents brought to his attention by A. P. Valerio, "which tell that the *Pietà* was bought in 1585 from Monsignor Panigarola for one hundred and fifty gold *scudi*, after the consultation of experts, including Annibale Fontana. In 1591 the piece was paid for, and Giovanni Battista received thanks for its installation." Excerpts from these documents were published in *S. Celso e la sua*

- Madonna* (Milan, 1951), 201, by F. Maggi, who states that the work is by Busca, who seems also to have executed the base and set the relief into it.
9. E. Kris, "Materialien zur Biographie des Annibale Fontana und zur Kunsttopographie der Kirche S. Maria presso S. Celso in Mailand," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3 (July 1930): 201–53; A. P. Valerio, "Annibale Fontana e il paliotto dell'altare della Vergine dei Miracoli in Santa Maria presso San Celso," *Paragone: Arte*, no. 279 (May 1973): 32–53.
  10. The published documents, discussed above in note 8, do not say explicitly that Busca created the *Pietà*, and it seems possible that Targone executed the Milan relief. For the attribution to Fontana, see, for example, *Notizie istoriche intorno alla miracolosa immagine ed insigne tempio della Beata Vergine Maria presso San Celso* (Milan, 1765), unpaginated. For Busca, see, for example, Maggi, *S. Celso e la sua Madonna*, 202; and F. Reggiori, *Il Santuario di Santa Maria presso San Celso e i suoi tesori* (Milan, 1968), unnumbered illustration.
  11. For the Medici reliefs, see the bibliography cited in note 3, above.
  12. See R. Bossaglia and M. Cinotti, *Tesoro e Museo del Duomo* (Milan, 1978), vol. 1, no. 32, for a pax donated to Milan cathedral, an Entombment in gold set into lapis, agate, and other semiprecious stones. See S. Blasio, in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici*, 78–79, for the famous gold and precious stone image of Piazza della Signoria, Florence, by B. Gaffurri and J. Bylivert. See Y. Hackenbroch, "Two Portrait Medallions of Charles v: World Domination and Humility," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri* (Milan, 1984), vol. 1, 436–43, fig. 429, for a gold repoussé portrait of Charles v set onto lapis lazuli.
  13. U. Middeldorf, "A Renaissance Jewel in a Baroque Setting," *Burlington Magazine* 68 (March 1976): 157–58.
  14. *Ibid.*, 158; Middeldorf, "In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta," 75–76. For drawings of the Lamentation by della Porta, see W. Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorf Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta* (Berlin, 1964), vol. 2, no. 44, vol. 3, nos. 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 85, 88, 96, 152.
  15. A. Gabhart, "A Sixteenth-Century Gold Relief," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 31–32 (1968–69): 29–39.
  16. U. Middeldorf, "Giovanni Bandini, detto dell'Opera," *Rivista d'arte* 11 (1929): 514–15.
  17. These examples of the theme are noted in Middeldorf, "A Renaissance Jewel," 158.
  18. Her figure can be compared to the standing Virgin at the foot of the cross by Targone's compatriot Alessandro Vittoria. Vittoria's figure for the church of San Giuliano, Venice, also dates to the early 1580s and exploits the heavy drapery as a metaphor for grief. See C. Davis, "Shapes of Mourning: Sculptures by Alessandro Vittoria, Agostino Rubini, and Others," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, ed. A. Morrogh et al., vol. 2 (Florence, 1985), 163–75.
  19. J. Montagu, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque* (New Haven and London, 1996), 18. Montagu discusses the divine associations of gold, citing scriptural sources, and notes Carlo Borromeo's emphasis on the use of gold and gilding for works of sacred art and church furnishings in the *Instructiones Fabricae et suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae* (1577).
  20. The idea that precious colored stones could be used and understood illusionistically is presented in S. F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge and New York, 1996), 158ff. Ostrow cites a document that calls for lapis lazuli to be used on the tabernacle of the Virgin in the Pauline Chapel so that it "appears like sky." He also cites the Pauline Chapel's foundation bull, which likens the lapis lazuli ground to the sky, comparing the specks of gold in the stone to stars. The tabernacle dates to 1607–13. See also R. Jones, "Mantegna and Materials," *I Tatti Studies* 2 (1987): 85–86.
  21. At least from the fifteenth century, artists signed their work in this Latin form, following the spurious signatures on the Dioscuri in Rome. See V. Bush, *Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento* (New York and London, 1976), 55–56. Denise Allen deserves thanks for this reference. See also S. Zuraw, "The Public Commemorative Monument: Mino da Fiesole's Tombs in the Florentine Badia," *Art Bulletin* 80 (September 1998): 455. For the issue of the signature of works in the Giambologna workshop, see C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), 60, where he posits that *opus* "seems a more definite statement of authorship." See also A. Radcliffe, *The Robert H. Smith Collection: Bronzes, 1500–1650* (London, 1994), 68. A particularly instructive contemporary signature is found on the *Saint Matthew* (1599) for Orvieto cathedral (now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto), commissioned from Giambologna and executed by his assistant Pietro Francavilla, according to Giambologna's design. It bears the signature PETRI FRANCAVILLA F. OPUS GIOVANIS. BOLOGNE (The work of Giovanni Bologna. Pietro Francavilla made it), which clearly differentiates between the design and the execution. See H. Keutner, "Il San Matteo nel Duomo di Orvieto," *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano* 11 (1955): 17–26. More evidence for the use of *opus* for the claiming of the design is presented in A. Wright, "Mantegna and Pollaiuolo: Artistic Personality and the Marketing of Invention," in *Drawing, 1400–1600: Invention and Innovation* (Aldershot and Brookfield, Vt., 1998), 76–77.

## GIROLAMO CAMPAGNA

Verona 1549/50–Venice 1625

*Madonna and Child  
with Angels and the  
Infant Saint John the  
Baptist*

c. 1585

Terra-cotta

H: 44 cm (17<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

W: 20.3 cm (8 in.)

D: 16.2 cm (6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

85.SC.59

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The sculpture is composed of fired orange clay. Its surface has been coated with a paint that was originally green, perhaps to simulate bronze, but has now darkened to nearly black. No grime layer is apparent between the terra-cotta surface and the paint. The paint layers were analyzed by Richard Newman, research scientist at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. They could not be specifically dated, but the pigments in the darkened paint were found to include orpiment, malachite, possibly another copper-containing pigment, lead white, bone black, and earth pigments. Three different media were found: drying oil, egg, and glue. The presence of glue may

be due, at least in part, to the fact that a gelatin mold was made from the terra-cotta, as indicated by surmoulage marks. There are traces of gilding on the borders of the Madonna's gown, in the fur of Saint John's garment, and in Saint John's and Christ's hair. A darkened varnish was applied over the paint and gilding layers at a significantly later date, indicated by the fact that the paint layer had already formed a craquelure pattern. The later varnish was found to be a natural pine resin. Scratches in the surface indicate that a mold was taken. Three of the heads in the terra-cotta were broken and reattached: those of the Madonna, of the infant Saint John, and of the angel to the left of the Virgin and behind Saint John. The Madonna's right index finger is a restoration. The areas of damage have been toned along the breaks with modern over-paint. Saint John's left foot is lacking. A clothlike texture was pressed into the wet clay in the Madonna's robe, the torso of the Christ child, and several other areas. The underside of the base is flat, but not smooth, and reveals a large fingerprint in the clay near the front edge. X rays indicate that the terra-cotta was modeled from bits of clay pressed together, that it is solid, and that it has no armature. TL (Oxford, 1987) indicated that the terra-cotta was fired between 1537 and 1697.

## PROVENANCE

Dr. Benno Geiger, Vienna, sold to August Lederer; August Lederer (d. 1936), Vienna, by inheritance to his widow, Serena Lederer, 1936;

Serena Lederer (d. 1943), Vienna, looted by the Nazis, 1938; in the possession of the Nazis, restituted by the Allied forces to the Austrian government, 1947; Austrian government, restituted to the son of Serena Lederer, Erich Lederer, 1947; Erich Lederer (1896–1985), Geneva, by inheritance to his widow, Elisabeth Lederer, 1985; Elisabeth Lederer, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance* (Vienna, 1921), 384–85, pl. 409; H. Weihrauch, *Studien zum bildnerischen Werke des Jacopo Sansovino* (Strassburg, 1935), 100; H. Weihrauch, "Review of Paola Rossi, *Girolamo Campagna*," *Pantheon* 29 (November–December 1971): 542–43, illus.; "Acquisitions/1985: Sculpture and Works of Art," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 261, no. 246; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 12; A. Bacchi, in "La bellissima maniera": *Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Trent: Castello del Buonconsiglio, 1999), 400; P. Fogelman, in *ibid.*, 406–7; A. Bacchi, ed., *La scultura a Venezia da Sansovino a Canova* (Milan, 2000), pl. 46.

CAMPAGNA'S TERRA-COTTA COMPOSITION depicts the Madonna standing with the infant Christ seated in her arms, while two playful angels appear to either hide among or tug at the swirls of drapery at her sides. The infant Saint John sits at the edge of the base to the left of the Virgin, cocking his head to the left and bending his right arm across his chest. The grasping gesture of his left hand indicates that he once held an attribute, and judging from the circumference of the hole, it was most likely a reed cross. The Virgin's pose, with her right leg raised and bent, is a mannered contrapposto, to which Campagna has added depth by tilting her upper torso backward and to her right. The sway of the Madonna's body is accentuated by the animated, back-and-forth movement of drapery folds at her chest and the triangular pattern of the

garment folds just below her waist. The twists of the body and the handling of the drapery create a dynamic composition that enlivens the figures. At the same time, the curve of her pose is countered by the long, assertive vertical line of her straight, weight-bearing leg. The length of that leg, emphasized by the broad, slightly diagonal drapery folds that cover it, lends elegance to the proportions of the Virgin's figure. The back of the terra-cotta is unfinished and reveals tool marks and deeply impressed fingerprints.

In 1921 Leo Planiscig published the Getty terra-cotta as a work by Jacopo Sansovino, belonging to the period of the sculptor's *Madonna and Child* in the Chiesetta of the Ducal Palace, Venice.<sup>1</sup> Hans Weihrauch was the first to recognize the similarity of the Getty composition to the marble group





15A Profile from proper right



15B Back view



15C Profile from proper left

of the Madonna and Child by Campagna in the church of San Salvatore, Venice (known as the *Madonna Dolfin* because it was commissioned by Andrea Dolfin, the procurator of San Marco; FIG. 15E).<sup>2</sup> On that basis, Weihrauch correctly identified Campagna as the author of the terra-cotta. The attribution is supported by stylistic comparisons.<sup>3</sup> Various features—including the modeling of the infants' hair in irregular clumps; the Virgin's coiffure of wavy strands, loosely pulled back from a central part; the heavy-lidded eyes; the continuous line from the brow to the nose; the small, rounded lips; and the stocky proportions and thick legs of the infants—are all typical of Campagna's work. They recall his stucco figures of the Annunciation and two Sibyls in San Sebastiano and the angel of Saint Matthew on the high altar of San Giorgio Maggiore.<sup>4</sup>

The low degree of finish in the details and back of the Getty terra-cotta indicates its function as a preparatory model. Its lack of articulation in the rear view makes it an unlikely model for a bronze statuette that could be seen from many angles. The Getty terra-cotta must have been made for a marble or large bronze statue that was to be placed in a niche. Compositional similarities suggest that it served as a *bozzetto* for the marble *Madonna Dolfin*. On the basis of documents, Wladimir Timofiewitsch dated the San Salvatore monument to around 1585–88, thereby also providing an approximate date for the Getty terra-cotta.<sup>5</sup> There are, however, several differences between the terra-cotta and the marble: the infant Saint John and the wings of the angel to the left of the Madonna have been excluded in the marble. The upper body of the marble Virgin is more frontal, lacking the pronounced recession of the proper right shoulder in the *bozzetto*. Finally, the rough, irregular base of the *bozzetto* has become, in the marble, an elaborate pedestal with a winged cherub carved in relief. The marble composition has generally become tighter and more self-contained than the terra-cotta, perhaps reflecting the limitations of the stone block as well as the niche. Nevertheless, the elimination of Saint John would appear to be a significant iconographic change, rather than a purely formal decision, which raises the question of whether the commission was revised or whether the Getty terra-cotta was first developed for another project and reused, with modifications, for the *Madonna Dolfin*.



15D Cast from a model by Girolamo Campagna. *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and Two Cherubim*. Red wax over clay core. H: 43 cm (17 in.). New York, collection of Alexis Gregory.



15E Girolamo Campagna. *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*, known as the *Madonna Dolfin* (with later adornment). Marble. Venice, San Salvatore, Dolfin Altar. Photo © Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Campagna's conception of the Madonna surrounded by infants and angels recalls Renaissance personifications of Charity. Ripa, drawing upon what had become an established iconographic tradition, characterized Charity as a woman holding one infant, whom she nurses, while two other flanking children grasp her free hand or her drapery.<sup>6</sup> Such images may have derived from traditional representations of the Virgo Lactans.<sup>7</sup> The conflation of the Virgin and Child with Charity frequently occurred in the sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino—for instance, in the *Madonna of the Chiesetta* and the so-called *Madonna delle Muneghette*—which may have influenced the iconography of Campagna's San Salvatore monument.<sup>8</sup>

Numerous formal sources have been suggested for the pose of Campagna's *Madonna Dolfin*, including the late medieval *Madonna and Child* in the Cappella dei Mascoli, San Marco; Jacopo Sansovino's *Madonna and Child* on the Nicesola tomb in the cathedral at Verona; Sansovino's figure of Peace for the Venetian Loggetta; the figure of Charity on Sansovino's monument to Doge Venier in San Salvatore; and Vincenzo Danti's statue of Salome in the Florence Baptistery.<sup>9</sup> While Campagna's *Madonna Dolfin* does exhibit similarities to all of these models, the Madonna's pose—one leg bent and raised and the upper and lower body turned in swaying counterpoint—had become somewhat common in the sixteenth century. It had been used before in exaggerated form by Campagna himself in his figure of Peace (Sala delle Quattro Porte, Palazzo Ducale), and again in his figure of Saint Mark in the Redentore.<sup>10</sup>

A wax cast of the Getty terra-cotta exists in the collection of Alexis Gregory in New York (FIG. 15D).<sup>11</sup> After the cleaning of the Gregory sculpture and the removal of previous restorations, it became clear that the wax group was cast from the Getty model after damage to the terra-cotta figures had already occurred.<sup>12</sup> Although the height of the wax base was increased, Saint John's left foot terminates at the ankle in the Gregory example, as it does in the Getty terra-cotta. It is unclear for what purpose and at what date the wax was made. The back of the wax would have required further modeling prior to casting in bronze. No bronze versions of this composition are known, and the back of the wax is identical to the unfinished back of the terra-cotta.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

#### Notes

1. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer*, 384–85, pl. 409.
2. For Andrea Dolfin, see G. Cozzi, *Il doge Nicolò Contarini: Ricerche sul patriziato veneziano agli inizi del seicento* (Venice, [1958]), 354; and M. Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 163, 167, 170–74, 176, 269 n. 45.
3. Weihrauch, *Studien zum bildnerischen Werke*, 100. See also Weihrauch, "Review of Paola Rossi, *Girolamo Campagna*."
4. W. Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna: Studien zur venezianischen Plastik um das Jahr 1600* (Munich, 1972), pls. 14–25, 62–68, esp. pls. 67, 69.
5. *Ibid.*, 250.
6. C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611; reprint, New York, 1976 [first published Rome, 1593]), 72–73.
7. J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York, 1974), 64.
8. See R. Bagarotto, L. Savio, and B. Boucher, "The Madonna delle Muneghette: A New Work by Jacopo Sansovino," *Burlington Magazine* 122 (January 1980): 22–29, esp. 25.
9. Sources for the pose of Campagna's *Madonna Dolfin* were suggested by Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna*, 112–16, 117; except for the figure of Charity, suggested by J. Schulz, "Review of Paola Rossi, *Girolamo Campagna*," *Art Bulletin* 53 (June 1971): 252.
10. Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna*, pls. 31, 50.
11. The height of the wax measures 43 cm (approx. 17 in.). Published in C. Avery, "Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Alexis Gregory Collection," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 4 (fall 1995): 90–92, no. 57.
12. A. Sigel, "Treatment Report for Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John the Baptist and Two Cherubim . . . Wax Cast. Girolamo Campagna" (JPGM object file). The author would like to thank Anthony Sigel of the Strauss Center for Conservation, Harvard University Art Museums, for providing this information.

## GIROLAMO CAMPAGNA

Verona 1549/50–Venice 1625

*Infant*

c. 1605–7

Bronze

H (with base): 88 cm (34<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

W: 48.2 cm (19 in.)

D: 34.2 cm (13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.)H (base): 5.5 cm (2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

86.SB.734

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface of the bronze has a heavy black patina. The rough surface and excess bronze on the palm of the left hand indicate that the figure once held an attribute. The back of the head was roughly modeled in the wax and shows little chasing. After casting, two iron knobs were screwed into the back of the figure below the shoulders. There is also evidence that two holes were plugged above and below each iron knob. The hemispherical bronze base shown in the

illustrations is not original and has since been removed. XRF and ICP-MS reveal that the metal composition of the sculpture is a heavily leaded copper-tin alloy (see appendix B). Using the direct lost-wax method, it was cast hollow and in one piece except for the left index finger, which is a repair that was made in the same alloy as the rest of the sculpture. X rays indicate that the bronze walls of the sculpture are approximately 1/8 to 1/4 inch thick and that the core of the torso and legs may have been bound at regular intervals with a thin iron wire, using a technique described by Benvenuto Cellini in his *Treatise on Sculpture*. Heavy iron core supports or armature remain in the interior. Wax-to-wax joins are evident in the shoulders. The core is primarily clay with added sand, fibers, and hair. TL (Oxford, 1987) yielded an approximate date of manufacture of between 1517 and 1677.

## PROVENANCE

Purportedly in the collection of Prince Corleone, Vicenza; Cavaliere Cesare Canessa, New York (sold, American Art Galleries, New York, 26 January 1924, lot 233); Arnold

Seligmann & Cie., Paris, in the late 1920s; by descent to François-Gerard Seligmann, Paris, until the 1950s; Jean Davray, Paris, from the 1950s (sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 14–15 April 1986, lot 90, to Alain Moatti); Alain Moatti, Paris, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1986.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anonymous, *A Statue in Bronze of Eros by Alessandro* [sic] *Vittoria* (New York, n.d.); "Acquisitions/1986," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 221, no. 125; P. Fogelman and P. Fusco, "A Newly Acquired Bronze by Girolamo Campagna," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 16 (1988): 105–10; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 12; A. Bacchi, in "La bellissima maniera": *Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Trent: Castello del Buonconsiglio, 1999), 402.

THIS BRONZE FIGURE represents a nude male infant striding forward on his proper right leg, with his left leg slightly bent and raised behind him. He holds his right arm down and away from his body, and he touches the tips of his right forefinger and thumb to form a circle with his fingers. The figure's left arm reaches forward and is bent at the elbow. The infant's head tilts gently to his left, though his gaze is directed straight ahead. The curls of his thick hair, with their carefully chased individual strands in front, become rougher and less finished at the back of his head. His musculature is both accurately defined and fleshy. Despite his chubby physique, the figure conveys a sense of effortlessly graceful movement.

The bronze *Infant* was first published in a 1924 auction catalogue as a work by Niccolò Roccatagliata representing Cupid. A bow and arrow were proposed as its missing attributes.<sup>1</sup> When the figure appeared again at auction, in 1986, it was attributed to Alessandro Vittoria on the basis of a privately printed book, most likely published by Arnold or

François-Gerard Seligmann.<sup>2</sup> When acquired by the Getty Museum in 1986, the *Infant* was assigned to Girolamo Campagna; support for this attribution was provided in a 1988 article by Peggy Fogelman and Peter Fusco.<sup>3</sup> The Getty *Infant* exhibits close similarities to the putti and angels that play a recurring role and are a consistent physiognomic type within Campagna's Venetian sculptural complexes. They appear in the so-called *Madonna Dolfin* in San Salvatore; the high altar of San Giorgio Maggiore, including the angel of Saint Matthew; the *Madonna and Child with Angels*, also in San Giorgio Maggiore; and the Altare degli Orefici in San Giacomo di Rialto, which contains two flying angels bearing Saint Anthony's miter and a wingless nude infant crowning the pediment.<sup>4</sup> The Getty bronze shares the following features, which are characteristic of Campagna's infants or putti, with the figures of these altars: a high forehead framed by curls piled up at the top and bulging above the ears; heavily lidded eyes; heart-shaped lips; a small but pointed chin set against the layer of fatty flesh under it; a semicircular

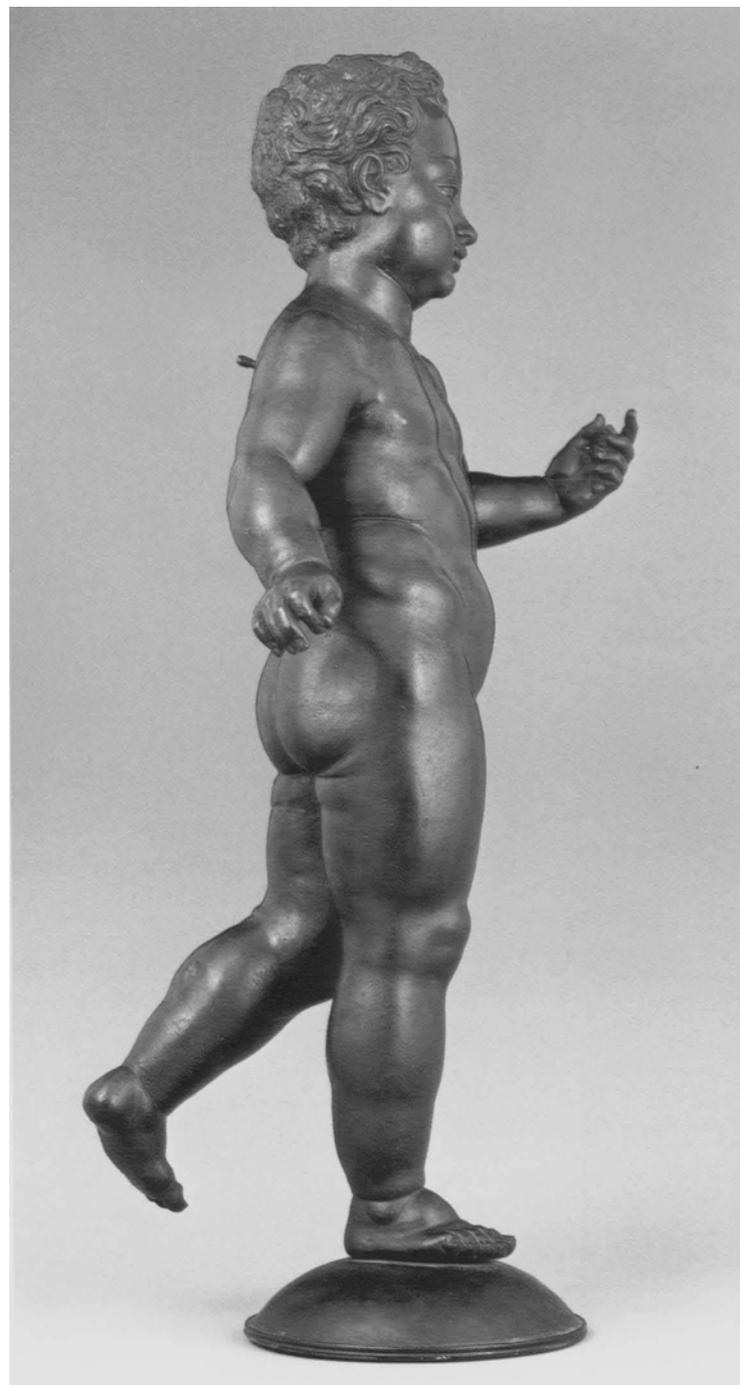


brow line that continues down into the bridge of the nose; a marked corpulence apparent in the swelling cheeks and thick neck, ankles, legs, and buttocks; and a degree of generalization in certain parts of the body, such as the pneumatic legs.

The intended function of the Getty *Infant* is not known. Several features of the bronze suggest that it was made as part of a sculptural complex, such as a tomb or altar. Its large size and the lack of finish at the back of the head make it unlikely to have been a table or cabinet bronze. It must have originally been placed against a wall, or at least been viewed frontally. The two knobs screwed into the back of the *Infant* may have been used for the attachment of wings, or to secure the figure to a wall. The latter is more likely because this method of attaching wings would be unusual for a bronze sculpture and is unknown in Campagna's oeuvre.<sup>5</sup> The frontal pose and straightforward gaze of the *Infant* further suggest that it was placed at the center rather than at a side of a complex, since paired, flanking putti normally mirror each other's poses and look inward or outward from the central element that they frame.

Among the putti in Campagna's oeuvre, the most strikingly similar to the Getty sculpture are on the Altare degli Orefici in San Giacomo di Rialto. The two bronze miter-bearing angels above the statue of Saint Anthony Abbot can be securely dated to the years 1605 to 1607.<sup>6</sup> This is a likely date for the Getty *Infant* in the absence of documentation. The wingless bronze putto or—more likely, given its placement—Christ child, striding forward atop the pediment of the Altare degli Orefici, is close to the Getty *Infant* in pose and proportions. The figure may be a replacement, judging from the surviving inventories of San Giacomo di Rialto.<sup>7</sup> The possibility, however speculative, exists that the Getty *Infant* is the original figure of the Altare degli Orefici in San Giacomo. Since neither the original location nor function of the Getty *Infant* is known—whether he originally had wings and what, if any, objects he originally held in his hands—his identification as either putto, angel, or Christ child remains uncertain.

Another bronze putto of similar size and stance to the Getty *Infant* is in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (FIG. 16D). Although attributed to Roccatagliata by Nina Kosareva, the Hermitage figure embodies the stylistic



16A Profile from proper right



16B Back view



16C Profile from proper left

features characteristic of Campagna's work and so can be reassigned to Campagna.<sup>8</sup> The function and setting for which the Hermitage putto was made are unknown, as in the case of the Getty *Infant*. The Hermitage putto, like the Getty *Infant*, steps forward with his right leg, holds his right arm down with the same peculiar gesture of touching the tips of his right forefinger and thumb, and raises his left hand forward. Unlike the Getty sculpture, however, the Hermitage bronze has wings, which are cast separately and soldered. Also, his head and gaze are directed downward. In addition, he carries a full moneybag as the attribute in his left hand. What's more, his proper left foot limits the sense of forward movement by staying on the ground. Finally, a square base was cast with the figure. These differences, and the fact that their poses are parallel rather than mirrored, negate the possibility that the Getty and Hermitage figures were conceived as pendants.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



16D Girolamo Campagna. *Putto with Moneybag*.  
Bronze. H: 82 cm (32 1/4 in.). Saint Petersburg,  
Hermitage Museum inv. N68.

#### Notes

1. *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art Collection of the Expert Antiquarians C. and E. Canessa*, sale cat., American Art Galleries, New York, 26 January 1924, lot 233.
2. Anonymous, *Statue in Bronze of Eros*.
3. Documentation of the acquisition can be found in "Acquisitions/1986," 221, no. 125. See the attribution to Campagna in Fogelman and Fusco, "Newly Acquired Bronze," 105–10.
4. For illustrations of these works, see W. Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna: Studien zur venezianischen Plastik um das Jahr 1600* (Munich, 1972), no. 9, pls. 34–37, no. 15, pls. 62–69, no. 17, pls. 71–74, and no. 23, pls. 86–87.
5. See JPM object file for Anthony Radcliffe's opinion to this effect.
6. See R. Cessi, "L'Altare degli Orefici in San Giacomo di Rialto," *Rivista di Venezia* 13 (1934): 251–54; W. Timofiewitsch, "Der Altar der 'Scuola degli Orefici' in S. Giacomo di Rialto in Venedig," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 11 (1963–65): 287–91.
7. These inventories were published by Fogelman and Fusco, "Newly Acquired Bronze," 109–10, n. 13, with the permission of Loredana Puppi. There the figure is referred to as an angel holding a bell. For example, in 1662, it was described thus: "et sopra il fronte spicio un anzoletto che tien la campanella."
8. Hermitage Museum, *Khudozhestvennaia bronza ital'ianskogo Vozrozhdeniia* (Artistic bronzes of the Italian Renaissance) (Leningrad, 1977), 47, no. 67 (inv. N68, H: 82 cm). According to the catalogue entry, the bronze putto came from the collection of Count F. Potocki of Warsaw in 1840. Despite the fact that he quotes Kosareva, the catalogue author does not provide a more specific attribution than his conclusion that the putto is sixteenth-century Italian. In a letter dated November 6, 1991 (JPM object file), Sergey Androssov suggests that the Hermitage putto is an "imitation" of the Getty *Infant* that was executed in Venice by a German or Bavarian sculptor.



16E Detail, head

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

Florentine

*Bust of Emperor  
Commodus*

Second half of the 16th century

Marble

H (without socle): 70 cm (27½ in.)

W: 61 cm (24 in.)

D: 22.8 cm (9 in.)

H (socle): 22.5 cm (8⅞ in.)

92.SA.48

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface of the marble is generally in good condition. There is evidence of damage from weathering, however, especially on the front of the bust, in the nose, left forehead, neck, fibula, front right side of the hair, and drapery fringe. Areas of the surface may have been repolished. There are minor chips and abrasions in several areas of the hair and garment. Larger losses can be found on the front of the drapery, such as on the upper edge of the top fold of the

paludamentum, or cloak. A large vertical fold at the lower left of the chest has been carved separately and attached with a pin. The pattern of weathering and aging on the attached piece of drapery is identical to that on the rest of the chest. Therefore, if this attachment was added as a repair, it was done soon after the creation of the bust, before weathering of the surface occurred. Substantial portions of the back of the bust and crevices of the hair, mouth, eyelids, and drapery on the front were covered with a white-colored lime layer containing calcium carbonate, an organic binder (either milk, plant extracts, honey, or egg white), and possibly either pozzolana or brick powder. The lime wash may have been applied as a maintenance coating to protect the marble and enhance its appearance.<sup>1</sup> When the bust was cleaned, all traces of the lime wash on its front were removed. Isotopic analysis in 1993 suggested that the marble was quarried from Turkey and that the bust was carved from a different block of marble than both the socle and the attached piece of drapery.<sup>2</sup>

## PROVENANCE

Probably acquired by Henry Howard (1694–1758), fourth earl of Carlisle, for Castle Howard, Yorkshire; by descent in the collection of the

earls of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire (sold, Sotheby's, Castle Howard, 11–13 November 1991, lot 49); Edric van Vredenburg, Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* (London, 1800), 196; J. P. Neale, *Yorkshire Seats* ([London?], 1829–30), 4; G. F. Waagen, *Treatises of Art in Great Britain*, vol. 3 (London, 1854), 331; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), 329; M. Wegner, "Verzeichnis der Kaiserbildnisse von Antoninus Pius bis Commodus, II. Teil," *Boreas* 3 (1980): 81; J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, vol. 2, *Die Bildnisse der römischen Kaiser*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1981), pt. 2, 233, no. 47; C. Matthew, "Buy Buy Brideshead," *World of Interiors*, September 1991, 101, fig. 5; "Acquisitions/1992," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 21 (1993): 147, no. 74; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 72.

THIS MARBLE BUST represents Lucius Aelius Aurelius, the elder son of Marcus Aurelius, who was born in A.D. 161 and reigned as sole emperor from A.D. 180 to 192.<sup>3</sup> The young emperor changed his name to Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus upon his accession. Commodus, who considered himself to be the incarnation of Hercules, was assassinated after appearing to the public as consul and gladiator. The bust portrays the emperor as a young man, with full curls, short beard, and mustache. He is clothed in a tunic and a fur-trimmed paludamentum, which is fastened with a fibula at the right shoulder.

Despite the formal decree of *damnatio memoriae* to which the infamous emperor was subject after his death, numerous ancient portraits of Commodus survive.<sup>4</sup> One to which the Getty bust is closely related is a marble head of Commodus in the Vatican Museums, generally dated to the early years of the emperor's reign, in A.D. 180–81

(FIGS. 17B–E).<sup>5</sup> The Getty and Vatican portraits are identical in the arrangement of the hair, the treatment of the beard and mustache, the slight turn of the head toward the proper right, and the direction of the gaze into the distance. The sculptor of the Getty portrait altered the physiognomy, however, making the cheeks and nose thinner, elongating the neck, and emphasizing the heavy, half-closed eyelids to give the face a sleepier, dreamier appearance than that of the Vatican marble. Also, the back of the Getty head is more finished and its hair is better articulated than that of the Vatican *Commodus*. In areas such as the chest, where the Vatican *Commodus* did not provide a prototype, the artist of the Getty sculpture provided a substantial, wide, tall bust that terminates in a sweeping curve.

The authenticity of the Vatican head has never been questioned, and it is often considered the prime example among portraits of Commodus of this type. Its provenance





17A Detail, face



17B *Head of Commodus*, Roman, A.D. 180–81.  
Marble. H: 44 cm (17<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Rome, Musei  
Vaticani, Sala dei Busti inv. 368.



17C *Head of Commodus*, Roman, A.D. 180–81  
(see FIG. 17B). Profile from proper right.

is unknown, however, and there is no documentation of its existence prior to 1773, when Andrea Doria Pamphilj gave it and other statues to his uncle Pope Clement XIV.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, several explanations can be offered regarding the relationship between the Getty and Vatican portraits. Most likely, the Getty bust is derived from the Vatican head, and the sculptor improvised to supply the chest, drapery, and back of the hair. Yet it is also possible that the Vatican marble and the Getty sculpture both copy a lost prototype that was finished at the back and included a draped bust. In the latter case, the Vatican head may be of a later date than the missing original.

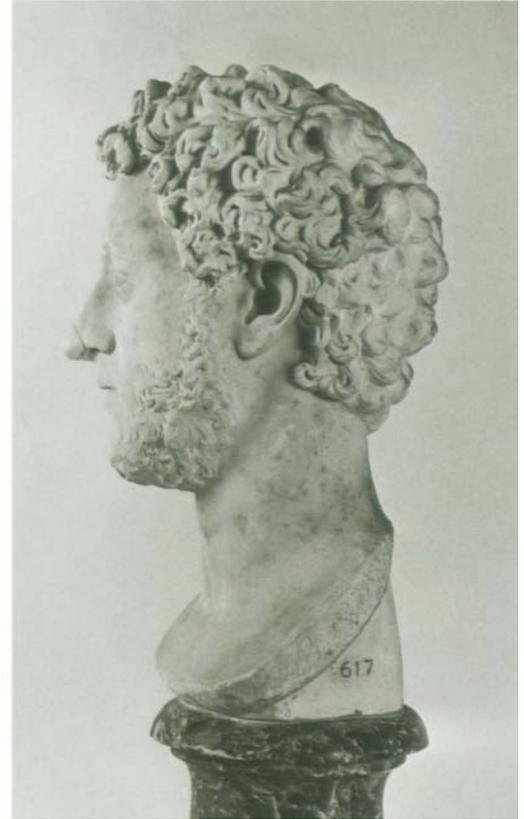
The dating and attribution of the Getty bust have been controversial. When the bust was sold at Castle Howard in 1991, the authors of the Sotheby's catalogue attributed it to an anonymous Italian sixteenth-century sculptor.<sup>7</sup> The bust was purchased by the London dealer Edric van Vredenburg, who put forth a proposal by Claudio Pizzorusso attributing it to Giovanni Caccini.<sup>8</sup> Around the time of its acquisition by the Getty Museum, opinions concerning the bust were solicited from leading scholars of ancient art. On the basis of photographs, Paul Zanker concluded that it was ancient

rather than sixteenth century, citing its excellent quality and exactness.<sup>9</sup> Klaus Fittschen argued that its divergence from the Vatican head, especially in the hair at the back, upheld the Getty bust's status as an ancient original rather than a Renaissance copy. He further suggested that the marble was repolished in modern times to give it a porcelainlike finish.<sup>10</sup> At first, Fleming Johansen concluded from photographs that the bust was not ancient, but upon examining the bust in person, he admitted the possibility of its antique origins.<sup>11</sup> Peter Rockwell considered the sculpture to be a Roman portrait bust that was heavily recarved and restored in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> Geoffrey B. Waywell, after seeing the bust in Malibu, stated that its exceptional quality indicates that the sculpture has eighteenth-century, rather than ancient or Renaissance, origins.<sup>13</sup>

Claims of the bust's antique origins were based largely on the unusual skillfulness and accuracy of its details, but these are not determining factors for assessing its date.<sup>14</sup> Rather, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the *Bust of Emperor Commodus* originated in sixteenth-century Italy, perhaps as one of a series of busts of Roman emperors. Although Commodus was not among the twelve caesars



17D *Head of Commodus*, Roman, A.D. 180–81  
(see FIG. 17B). Back view.



17E *Head of Commodus*, Roman, A.D. 180–81  
(see FIG. 17B). Profile from proper left.

profiled by Suetonius, his image was included in larger groups of imperial portraits in Italian palaces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> The elongated elegance and the sleepy, unfocused gaze of the head of Commodus recall the work of Mannerist portraitists such as Pontormo and Bronzino. The exaggerated width of the chest, which makes the head appear small, is typical of mid-sixteenth-century portrait sculpture, especially in northern Italy. Finally, the sharp, angular folds of the drapery, with the recesses seemingly gouged out in abstract shapes and ending abruptly at the edge of a fold, as well as the rigid pleats in the neckline of the shirt, find their closest parallels in the work of Giambologna and his circle.

Pizzorusso's attribution of the *Bust of Emperor Commodus* to Caccini, while speculative, is worth serious consideration. It at least places the work comfortably in the sixteenth century. Caccini, probably born in Rome, trained under the architect Giovan Antonio Dosio.<sup>16</sup> By 1578 Caccini had moved to Florence and was working in Giambologna's studio on the restoration of three antique busts.<sup>17</sup> Caccini restored a number of statues and Roman imperial portraits for the Florentine court, including an Augustus, a Livia, and perhaps a Vespasian.<sup>18</sup> The sculptor

likely supplied modern busts copied from or inspired by ancient prototypes. A bust of Marcus Aurelius after the antique, which appeared on the Italian art market in 1992, was attributed to him.<sup>19</sup> Raffaello Borghini and Filippo Baldinucci praised Caccini's ability to imitate the antique and to piece together fragments.<sup>20</sup> Several features of the Getty *Bust of Emperor Commodus* are found in other examples of Caccini's sculpture. For example, the sharp gouges that continue right up to the edge of a crest in the drapery occur in the recently discovered *Bust of Christ* in the collection of Barbara Piasecka Johnson, Princeton; in the *Bust of the Virgin*, formerly in the Convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence; and in the statue of Sant'Alessio in the Church of Santa Trinita, Florence. Also, the elongation of the face is like that of the *Bust of Christ* in Via Cerretani, Florence.

The bust cannot, however, be conclusively attributed to Caccini since these features were characteristic of Giambologna's style, were part of the formal vocabulary that constitutes Giambologna's Florentine legacy, and were common to his other followers. For instance, Pietro Francavilla's 1585 statue of Janus in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, exhibits a similar treatment of drapery. Francavilla worked for



17F Detail, head, profile from proper left



17G Three-quarter view from proper right



17H Back view



171 Profile from proper left

Giambologna, primarily as a carver of large marbles, exhibiting an outstanding skill that is consistent with the quality of the *Bust of Emperor Commodus*.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, it is likely that the marble carvers in Giambologna's studio and Giambologna himself were involved in the restoration of ancient sculpture for the Florentine court. That Giambologna was at least occasionally commissioned to restore ancient fragments is documented by the head of the so-called *Dying Alexander* (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi), which he was given to restore and place on a statue in 1579. (Giambologna apparently never completed the commission, since, by 1586, the head was in Caccini's hands to be restored and have a bust made for it.)<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the specific authorship of the Getty *Bust of Emperor Commodus* remains uncertain. A more cautious attribution, to a Florentine sixteenth-century sculptor working in the circle of Giambologna or his sphere of influence, seems advisable.

There are also other busts to consider in relation to the Getty marble and its attribution. The drapery of the Commodus bust is close in arrangement and carving to the draped chest of the *Bust of Hadrian as a Young Man* in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (FIG. 171), making it appear to be by the same hand. The distinctive similarities between the two busts include wrinkled folds of drapery along the border or collar of the tunic; abstract, gouged recesses in the drapery folds; the disposition of the folds at the proper right shoulder; and the hollowing out of the chest's interior in exact conformity with the contour of the front. The Prado sculpture was purportedly in the collection of Charles V (1500–1558) but cannot be traced prior to that period.<sup>23</sup> Although Max Wegner and Frederik Poulsen have dismissed all versions of this portrait type as forgeries, the head of the Prado marble is generally considered ancient; the bust, however, is universally regarded as sixteenth century.<sup>24</sup> There is a *Bust of Antoninus Pius* at Castle Howard (FIG. 17K) that also exhibits features comparable to those of the Getty bust: a smooth, translucent treatment of facial features, an animated and skillful rendering of curls and beard, and a somewhat similar carving of drapery (differing from that of the Getty bust mainly in its arrangement of folds).<sup>25</sup> The *Bust of Emperor Commodus* may be by the same sculptor as the *Bust of Antoninus Pius* and may have been purchased by Lord Carlisle from the same source.

Antonia Boström attempted to find mention of the Getty bust in the correspondence between Lord Carlisle and his agents, dealers, and shippers in Italy in order to determine exactly when and from whom the *Bust of Emperor Commodus* was acquired.<sup>26</sup> Her research was inconclusive, due to the ambiguity of descriptions in the letters and the confusion stemming from the fact that there were two busts and one statue of Commodus at Castle Howard by 1825.<sup>27</sup> Pizzorusso was, however, able to associate the Getty marble with the bust of Commodus described by James Dallaway in 1800 and located by Gustav Friedrich Waagen in 1854 “in a room adjoining the cupola” at Castle Howard.<sup>28</sup>

Locating references to the Getty bust in the Castle Howard documents is further complicated by the fact that it may, at one time, have been identified as a portrait of Marcus Aurelius. The *Bust of Emperor Commodus* was copied by the Belgian sculptor Gilles Lambert Godecharle (1750–1835).<sup>29</sup> His stone replica (FIG. 17L), signed and dated 1817 and now in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, was executed as one of thirty-seven busts of celebrated men to decorate the Champs-Élysées in the gardens at Wespelaer.<sup>30</sup> The bust is inscribed *Marc Aurele/20* on the back in the hollow of the chest. The exact correspondence of the copy to its model suggests that Godecharle saw the Getty bust and perhaps took molds from it. It is possible that Godecharle studied the marble *Bust of Emperor Commodus* during one of his trips (1775 or 1779) to Rome, before its acquisition by Lord Carlisle. It is much more likely that Godecharle saw the bust in England, however, perhaps in the family’s London house before its removal to Castle Howard. His presence in London in the spring of 1778 provides the *terminus ante quem* for the bust’s purchase and installation. Godecharle’s identification of the bust as Marcus Aurelius may be his own mistake or may represent the consensus at that time. In 1829 John Preston Neale listed two busts of Marcus Aurelius at Castle Howard. Waagen listed only one colossal bust, obviously not the Getty marble. Nevertheless, at the time of its acquisition, the *Bust of Emperor Commodus* may have been identified as Marcus Aurelius in the letters pertaining to its sale and shipment.

PEGGY FOGELMAN AND PETER FUSCO



17J *Bust of Hadrian as a Young Man*, Roman, A.D. 136–37 (16th-century bust). Marble. H: 82 cm (32 1/4 in.). Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 176-E.



17K *Bust of Antoninus Pius*, Italian, 16th century. Marble. H (without socle): 80 cm (31 1/2 in.). Yorkshire, Castle Howard.



171. Gilles Lambert Godecharle. *Bust of Marcus Aurelius* [sic]. Stone. H: 73 cm (28¾ in.). Brussels, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts inv. 3486.

#### Notes

1. Roberto Nardi, Centro di Conservazione Archaeologica, Rome, meeting notes, March 1993, JPGM object file.
2. Technical report, JPGM object file.
3. A summary biography of Commodus appears in N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1970), 276.
4. Technically the decree necessitated the destruction of images of Commodus and the erasure of his name from inscriptions. See C. Saletti, "Considerazioni critiche su alcuni ritratti di età greca e romana nel Museo del Liviano a Padova," *Arte antica e moderna* 24 (1963): 282. For a listing of Commodus busts, see M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939), 252–74.
5. For the Vatican head, with references to related versions and further bibliography, see Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse*, 268; R. Calza et al., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili* (Rome, 1977), 287, no. 357; *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, exh. cat. (Munich: Glyptothek, 1979), 108; H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (New York, 1982), 68ff., fig. 44; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Center of Power*, trans. P. Green (New York, 1970), 294, fig. 330; Wegner, "Verzeichnis der Kaiserbildnisse," 176.
6. R. Calza et al., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili*, 287.
7. Sale catalogue, Sotheby's, Castle Howard, Yorkshire, 11–13 November 1991, lot 49.
8. Unpublished essay provided by Edric van Vredenburg (JPGM object file).
9. Letter to P. Fusco, 25 May 1992; fax to M. True, 15 July 1992; letter to P. Fogelman, 9 November 1996 (both in JPGM object file).
10. Letter to P. Fusco, 15 June 1992; letter to P. Fogelman, 9 December 1996 (all in JPGM object file).
11. Letter of 4 April 1992; notes from a meeting on 27 October 1992, in the Getty Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation lab (both in JPGM object file).
12. Notes from Peter Rockwell's visit to the Getty Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation studio, 27 May 1993, recorded by J. Bassett (JPGM conservation file).
13. Notes from a meeting on 17 June 1993, at the J. Paul Getty Museum (JPGM object file).
14. Remains of a lime wash (calcium carbonate) protective coating that had been applied to the bust, probably in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and had later been mostly removed, were visible on the back of the sculpture and in recesses on the face, hair, and drapery when it was acquired by the Getty. Several scholars mistakenly identified this coating as a sinter (a calcium carbonate deposit formed during burial) and, therefore, as evidence of the bust's age. This identification was also a factor in some opinions that the bust was ancient.
15. For series of imperial portraits, see C. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese* (Weinheim, 1989), 28ff.; G. Capecchi, "La collezione de antichità del Cardinale Leopoldo dei Medici: I marmi," *Atti e memorie* 44 (1979): 125–45; U. Middeldorf, "Die zwölf Caesaren von Desiderio da Settignano," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 23 (1979): 297–312; I. Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: Le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX* (Rome, 1954), 16–17, 49–51; A. Giuliano, ed., *Museo nazionale romano: Le sculture*, vol. 1, pt. 6, *I marmi Ludovisi dispersi* (Rome, 1986), 259ff.; K. Lankheit, "Rokoko und Antike: 'Teste di Cesari' in Porzellan," *Forschungen und Funde: Festschrift Bernhard Neusch* (Innsbruck, 1980), 273–78. Orazio Muti owned a famous head of the young Commodus, which was offered to Cesare Gonzaga in 1563, perhaps to add to the series of twenty-two marble emperor busts that Cesare was forming. For reference to this, see C. M. Brown, *Our Accustomed Discourse on the Antique* (New York and London, 1993), 83, no. 25, 96, no. 62. Giovanni Francesco Garimberto's collection included two heads of Commodus (in Brown, *Our Accustomed Discourse*, 166, nos. 52–53). A head of Commodus figured among the imperial busts of the Uffizi by at least 1704 but may have entered the collection earlier. For this possibility, see P. Bocci Pacini and P. Cassinelli Lazzeri, "La serie degli imperatori romani nella Galleria degli Uffizi e gli esordi di Carlo Lasinio," *Bollettino d'arte* 50–51 (1988): 42, no. XIX; and G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture* (Rome, 1961), vol. 2, 106, no. 131.
16. For a general biography and bibliography on Caccini, see A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 10, *La scultura del cinquecento* (Milan, 1937), pt. 3, 792–816; M. Bacci, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 16 (Rome, 1973), 23–25; C. Caneva, in *Il seicento fiorentino*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1986), 45–46;

- G. Pratesi, ed., *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento*, vol. 1 (Turin, 1993), 38, 71–72; A. Brooks, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York and London, 1996), vol. 5, 359–62.
17. H. Keutner, "Giovanni Caccini and the Rediscovered Bust of Christ," in *Sotheby's Art at Auction, 1988–89* (London and New York, 1989), 332, 339, n. 8.
  18. S. Brusini, "Un Apollo musica nella Firenze di Francesco I," *Antichità viva* 31, no. 3 (1992): 26–27, 30–31, n. 10. J. K. Schmidt ("Studien zum statuarischen Werk des Giovanni Battista Caccini" [Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1971], 163) attributes to Caccini the chest of an antique head of Vespasian in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1914, no. 127. For Caccini's restoration of other ancient statues and fragments, see G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi* (1958), vol. 1, II, 47, 95, 147, 152.
  19. S. Bellesi, "Nuove acquisizioni alla scultura fiorentina dalla fine del cinquecento al settecento," *Antichità viva* 31, no. 5–6 (1992): 37–38, fig. 5.
  20. R. Borghini, *Il riposo* (Florence, 1584), 647; F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, vol. 3, ed. F. Ranalli (Florence, 1846), 289–90.
  21. For a general biography of Francavilla, see especially R. de Franqueville, *Pierre de Franqueville, sculpteur des Médicis et du roi Henri IV* (Paris, 1968); H. Keutner, "Pietro Francavilla in den Jahren 1572 und 1576," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin, 1968), 301–7; and, more recently, C. Avery, *Giambologna* (Oxford, 1987), 225–27; and C. Avery, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York and London, 1996), vol. 11, 502–3.
  22. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi*, vol. 1, 94–95.
  23. See E. Barrón, *Catálogo de la escultura* (Madrid, 1908), 138, no. 176; S. F. Schröder, letter to P. Fusco, 20 October 1992 (JPGM object file); S. F. Schröder, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen des Museo del Prado in Madrid*, vol. 1 (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), 204, no. 54. Additional bibliography for the Madrid bust is as follows: E. Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* (Berlin, 1862), 130, no. 241; R. Ricard, *Marbres antiques du Musée du Prado à Madrid* (Bordeaux, 1923), 94, no. 145; A. Blanco, *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de la escultura* (Madrid, 1957), 146, no. 176-E; A. Blanco and M. Lorente, *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de la escultura* (Madrid, 1981), 97, no. 97; E. Paul, in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. 2, ed. S. Settis (Turin, 1984), 435, fig. 438.
  24. Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse*, 229 (as a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century forgery); F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses* (Rome, 1968), 23–24 (as a forgery of the Napoleonic period).
  25. Published in K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen*, vol. 1 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 64, 66 n. 18, pls. 41a–d.
  26. Lord Carlisle's correspondence can be found in the Castle Howard archives. Regarding the acquisition of the *Bust*, see unpublished essay provided by Edric van Vredenburg, London (JPGM object file).
  27. Unpublished probate inventory of the fifth earl of Carlisle (1748–1825), October 1825, Castle Howard H2/11/2, provided by Boström, in an unpublished essay provided by Edric van Vredenburg, London (JPGM object file). Earlier but undated lists of sculpture at Castle Howard also record the existence of two busts and a statue of Commodus: "Mr. Jenkin's opinion about sundry antiques and paintings" (H2/1/1); "An Account of part of the pictures, statues, Busts, bronzes & other curiosities at Castle Howard" (H2/1/2); "5th Earl's list by him of Cat. of paintings, bronzes, marbles and statuary" (J14/30/2).
  28. See J. Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* (London, 1800), 196, no. 6 ("A bust of Commodus when young. Intire . . ."); Waagen, *Treasures*, vol. 3, 331 ("Septimius Severus; a very well-executed and admirably preserved bust. Commodus. The same."). J. P. Neale, *Yorkshire Seats* ([London?], 1829–30), 4, also records a bust of Commodus in the saloon.
  29. For Godecharle's biography and further bibliography, see F. Stappaerts, in *Biographie nationale*, vol. 7 (Brussels, 1866), 834–38; W. Hausenstein, "Godecharle," *Belfried* 1 (1917): 325–34, pls. 50–55; J. van Lennep, *Les bustes de l'Académie royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1993), 326–31; *La sculpture belge au 19ème siècle*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Générale de Banque, 1990), 426–28; *1770–1830: Autour du néo-classicisme en Belgique*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts d'Ixelles, 1985), 105–13; M. Devigne, *Art Treasures of Belgium*, vol. 2, *Sculpture* (New York, 1954), 10–13; *The Winds of Revolution*, exh. cat. (New York: Wildenstein, 1989), 107.
  30. M. Devigne, *Laurent Delvaux et ses élèves* (Brussels and Paris, 1928), 49, 98, n. 151. For the decoration of Wespelaer, see also idem, "Le souvenir de Godecharle à Wespelaer," *Revue de l'art*, nos. 7–8 (July–August 1925): 1–12. Other references to this bust are as follows: M. Devigne, *Musée royal des Beaux-Arts de Belgique: Catalogue de la sculpture* (Brussels, 1923), 60; H. Hymans, *Musées royaux de peinture et de sculpture de Belgique: Catalogue des sculptures*, 2d ed. (Brussels, n.d.), 32, no. 204; and J. van Lennep, *Catalogue de la sculpture: Artistes nés entre 1750 et 1882* (Brussels, 1992), 224–25, no. 3486.



17M Detail, collar and drapery

## TIZIANO ASPETTI

Padua c. 1559–Pisa 1606

*Male Nude*

c. 1600

Bronze

H: 74.9 cm (29½ in.)

88.SB.II5

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

There are minor scratches and bumps on the surface, and the surface is worn in parts. The tip of the index finger on the right hand has been restored, and there is a crack near the left elbow. The underside of the circular base originally extended farther down to form a cylindrical socle, which has been sawed off. We know that the figure is a heavy, hollow, lost-wax cast, but it is not clear whether the direct or indirect method was used. The bronze reveals extensive cold work, not only in areas of the face and hair (mainly to conceal flaws) but also in less visible recesses. Punch marks are evident in the hair. The metal surface, where visible, is a golden brown color and is finely filed. The bronze has an uneven, flaking opaque black coating, probably more than one application of a substance with beeswax as its major component. Scratches through the surface indicate that a mold may have been taken. XRF, AAS, and ICP-MS show that the bronze is a leaded alloy of tin, zinc, and copper (see appendix B).

X rays indicate that the cast is extremely porous, and that accounts for the dent in the figure's left elbow and probably for the repair in the right index finger and the cast-in repair on the left forearm. Except for a few repairs, it was cast in one piece together with the base. There are no visible wax-to-wax or metal-to-metal joins. The X rays also reveal a thick rod in the lower left leg, which may be the remains of an internal armature, and a large number of wires (core pins) traversing the figure horizontally. Most of the wires run from side to side, although a few run from front to back. Three small square plugs fill the core-pin holes in the figure's shoulder blades and right knee. It appears that the remaining holes were not plugged. They are now filled with coating material.

The underside of the hollow base is smooth except for seven thick, round-sectioned sprues cut almost flush with the bottom rim of the edges. In two of these is a round, thinner brass alloy rod, perhaps the sawed-off remains of a previous mounting arrangement. The underside is largely concealed by fine, gray core material composed of sandy clay. TL testing (Los Angeles, 1988) of powdered material taken from the base proved consistent with a date of execution of about 1600.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, France;<sup>1</sup> Jack (d. 1980) and Belle Linsky, New York and Palm Springs, California, since at least the end of the 1960s (sold

by the trustees of the estate of Belle Linsky, Sotheby's, New York, 20 May 1988, lot 68A, to Cyril Humphris); Cyril Humphris, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Due bronzi attribuiti a Tiziano Aspetti," *Giornale dell'arte*, no. 58 (July–August 1988): 64; J. Gilbert, "New York Prices Leap High above Estimates/Salesroom," *Times* (London), 23 May 1988; G. Norman, "Top Prices Paid for 'Aspetti' Bronzes/Art Market," *Independent* (London), 23 May 1988; "Works of Art," *Sotheby's Art at Auction, 1987–88* (London, 1988), 298–99; "Acquisitions/1988," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 17 (1989): 152, no. 95; M. Busco, "Eye on the Prize: The Hunt Is on for Renaissance Bronze Statuettes," *Art and Auction* 12 (December 1989): 149, ill. 147; A. Gibbon, *Guide des bronzes de la Renaissance italienne* (Paris, 1990), 95, fig. 114; "The Peter Jay Sharp Collection," *Sotheby's Preview*, December 1993, 18–20; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 35; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 3; P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 40–41; C. Kryza-Gersch, in "La bellissima maniera": *Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Trent: Castello del Buonconsiglio, 1999), 421.

THE NUDE, THICKSET MALE FIGURE stands on a circular, integrally cast base with his right foot placed in front of and at an angle to his left, so that the larger toes extend over the edge. He twists his heavily muscled upper torso vigorously to his right, pulling his right shoulder downward and his left shoulder upward. His right arm is held away from the side of his body, his hand lowered with palms down and the fingers slightly bent and splayed. His left arm is bent up and brought across his chest. His hand gesture recalls that of blessing. His comparatively small head (see FIG. 18F)—with long sideburns, short mustache, and goatee—is turned so that he looks out over his right shoulder, as if responding to another figure or event. Details are precisely modeled and

finished, as can be seen in the carefully manicured nails, the veins on the hands, and the tightly curled hair.

Identification of the subject remains uncertain. Lacking attributes, this male nude might represent a figure from Christian iconography, such as Adam or Saint Sebastian, although his nudity makes it more likely that he represents a mythological or secular personage.<sup>2</sup> In its combination of vigorous movement and nudity, the figure recalls participants in scenes of persecution: the men flagellating Christ at the column or the figures using pitchforks to keep Saint Lawrence down on the bed of hot coals. The gesture of his left hand, however, precludes such an interpretation, as it is open and not aggressive.<sup>3</sup>





18A Side view from proper right



18B Back view



r8c Side view from proper left

When the bronze was in the Jack and Belle Linsky collection in New York, it was paired with another bronze statuette attributed to Aspetti, a muscular male nude of identical dimensions and similar anatomical modeling, which stood on an identical cut-down base (FIGS. 18D–E).<sup>4</sup> The finish of this figure differs from that of the Getty nude in that the hair is more tightly modeled, the curls more precisely finished. Whereas the companion statuette grips what appears to be a thin and rather limp, long-handled, flaming torch, the open-handed gestures of the Getty figure and the relationship of his hands to each other indicate that he never held such an object.<sup>5</sup>

The existence of a second figure of identical dimensions also raises the possibility that both were originally made as the crowning elements of a pair of andirons. Their medium and the fact that the second figure holds a flaming torch (appropriate iconography for a hearthside) appear to support this theory, as does the fact that Tiziano Aspetti produced a great number of models of finial figures for andirons.<sup>6</sup> There are, however, several arguments against this theory. First, these sculptures are unlikely pendants. Even though they turn to look at each other and their opposite hips swing outward, and despite their pairing in the Linsky collection, their limbs are disposed too similarly to form a satisfactory pair.<sup>7</sup> Firedog figures, by contrast, are normally designed to have mirror-image poses and are most often of the opposite sex. Common pairings include Mars and Venus, Diana and Actaeon, and Mercury and Minerva.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, their large size and extremely high level of finish speak against their being made to crown andirons. Finial figures are almost all approximately twenty centimeters, or roughly eight inches, smaller than the Getty bronze and its former companion and, given their placement and functional nature, are generally more crudely cast, displaying little cold work. Finally, the integrally cast, circular bases would have been unusual for andiron figures, which were normally cast with a thin, triangular base plate to allow easy mounting on the top of the andiron.<sup>9</sup> It is more likely that these figures are survivors from a larger group of statuettes and that they were made to decorate a collector's studio or the balustrade of a staircase.<sup>10</sup> Their undisguised celebration of the nude figure suggests that they were made for a secular context.

Along with its companion, the Getty bronze was first attributed to Aspetti when it sold at auction in 1988. There is no reason to question the attribution.<sup>11</sup> For example, the coiffure and cut of the beard recall figures by Aspetti, such as the soldiers in two reliefs made for the Santo in Padua (1592–93): *Saint Daniel Nailed between Two Boards* and *Saint Daniel Dragged by a Horse*.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the torsion and dynamism inherent in the figure are characteristic of Aspetti's documented works, such as the colossal marble figure for the entrance to the Zecca, Venice (1590–91); the figures of torturers in the above-mentioned martyrdom scenes; and the figure of Christ that decorates a holy-water font in the Santo, Padua (1595).<sup>13</sup> Many bronze statuettes of varying quality have been attributed to Aspetti on the basis of analogies with his secure work.<sup>14</sup> Of these, the model *Vulcan with Hammer* and the *Mars*(?) appear to be closest to the Getty figure.<sup>15</sup>

Dating the bronze is difficult due to the lack of comparable securely dated bronze statuettes by Aspetti. One point of reference is a letter Aspetti wrote on July 26, 1602, from Verona to the court of Mantua, in which he begs Laura Gonzaga to inform the duchess that he had virtually finished two silver statuettes. Olga Raggio convincingly identified these figures as a pair of silver statuettes of Saints Peter and Paul in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam, which had been attributed to Alessandro Vittoria. She thereby securely dated two of Aspetti's extant small-scale works to 1602.<sup>16</sup>

In 1604 Aspetti accompanied Antonio Grimani, bishop of Torcello and Apostolic Nuncio in Tuscany, to Pisa, where the sculptor remained until his death in 1606. Together with the sculptor Felice Palma, Aspetti became the protégé of the Pisan nobleman Camillo Berzighelli. According to his first biographer, Filippo Baldinucci, Aspetti executed numerous works for him, of which only the bronze relief *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in the Usimbardi Chapel, Santa Trinità, Florence, survives.<sup>17</sup> Aspetti is also recorded as having made a number of small-scale bronzes, mostly with pagan subjects, for his Pisan patron. It is tempting to think that the Getty figure and its counterpart, as well as their possible lost companions, were made during Aspetti's Pisan sojourn between 1602 and 1606, and possibly for Berzighelli. In their movement and rippling musculature, the two statues recall the



18D Tiziano Aspetti. *Male Nude with Torch*, c. 1600. Bronze. H: 74.9 cm (29½ in.). United States, private collection.



18E Tiziano Aspetti. *Male Nude with Torch*, c. 1600 (see FIG. 18D). Front view.



18F Detail, head

half-draped aggressors in Aspetti's late *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* relief, yet the gesture of the Getty figure's right hand and the slant of his shoulders are similar to those of the silver *Saint Peter* statuette. If this dating is correct, it might also explain the dichotomy of style and finish between the Getty statuette and its companion figure. It could be argued that the latter was finished by Aspetti's pupil, Felice Palma.<sup>18</sup>

VICTORIA AVERY AND PETER FUSCO

#### Notes

1. Under its base the bronze bears a prewar French customs sticker, which indicates that it was once in a French collection.
2. Although nude figures of saints are known, such as Alessandro Vittoria's *Saint Sebastian* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), they are rare, especially following the decrees of the Council of Trent. Vittoria's figure is unusual in that it was conceived with a dual identity: Vittoria specifically stated that it could also be interpreted as the pagan figure of Marsyas. This helps to explain its unabashed nudity. A later, less fine variant of the figure with a loincloth is in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. See P. Fusco and S. Schaefer, with P.-T. Wiens, *European Painting and Sculpture in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art: An Illustrated Summary Catalogue* (Los Angeles, 1987), 170. See also the discussion of the subject matter of a bronze statuette of a male nude in R. Signorini and A. Radcliffe, "'Una figura nuda legata a un tronco': Una statuette in bronzo dorato qui attribuita ad Andrea Mantegna (I), 'Una figura nuda legata a un tronco': A Gilt Bronze Statuette Here Attributed to Andrea Mantegna (II)," *Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti: Atti e memorie*, n.s., 65 (1997): 1–59.
3. The gesture of the statue's right hand comes close to that of a figure of Saint John the Evangelist holding a quill in his extended right hand, which was published by L. Planiscig as being by Aspetti and in the Castiglioni Collection, Vienna; see *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance* (Vienna, 1921), 591, fig. 653.
4. The earlier provenance of this piece is obscure. According to Vincent Foucode, the Linskys purchased a pair of large bronze male nude statues from the Talleyrand collection in the early 1960s. (Unfortunately research into the Talleyrand collections has been unable to verify this.) Alain Moatti (personal communication) further hypothesized that the bronzes may once have been part of the Seligmann collection, Paris. This is possible because Seligmann had dealings with the Talleyrand family, and this would explain the existence of the prewar French customs sticker on the base.
5. That the object held by the companion bronze is indeed a torch appears to be confirmed by comparison with that held by a figure of Peace in the Museo Civico, Padua (inv. 179), attributed to a "bronzista Veneto attivo nella cerchia del Campagna o dell'Aspetti." It has a similar "floppiness" to it. See D. Banzato and F. Pellegrini, *Bronzi e placchette dei Musei Civici di Padova* (Padua, 1989), 103, no. 80.
6. Thanks go to Anthony Radcliffe for pointing out the existence of a pair of nineteenth-century fire dogs in Clivedon, near Maidenhead, England, which are surmounted by nineteenth-century casts of these two sculptures and set on triangular bases.
7. For two equally enigmatic, larger-scale nude bronze male figures that strike complementary poses, and that may therefore be interpreted as a pair, see the male figures in the Detroit Institute of Arts (49.417–18), recently published in B. Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven and London, 1991), vol. 2, 374, no. 124, figs. 399–400.
8. See J. Balogh, "Tiziano Aspetti Két Ismeretlen Múve (Zwei unbekannte Werke von Tiziano Aspetti)," *Archaeological Értesítő* 94 (1930): figs. 106–7, for a pair of andirons crowned by figures of Mercury and Minerva.
9. Examples are the andirons with finial figures of Vulcan and Venus Marina, attributed to Aspetti. See, for example, sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, 6 July 1989, lot 64, and J. Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Reliefs, Plaquettes, Statuettes, Utensils, and Mortars* (Washington, D.C., 1965), 125–26, nos. 464–65, figs. 569–70. Many variants of these figures are known. They are occasionally attached to different andiron bases, although for the most part they survive as freestanding statuettes. This is hardly surprising given the fact that andirons were mass-produced objects; indeed, the fact that contemporary casts of the Getty figure and its torch-bearing counterpart do not exist may provide further evidence that they were not made to crown a pair of andirons. A variant of *Vulcan*, for example, is in the Museo Civico, Padua, for which see G. Mariacher, *Bronzetti veneti del rinascimento* (Vicenza, 1971), fig. 143; *Dopo Mantegna: Arte a Padova e nel territorio nei secoli XV e XVI*, exh. cat. (Padua: Palazzo della Ragione, 1976), 147, no. 118; and Banzato and Pellegrini, *Bronzi e placchette*, 96–98, no. 74. A version of its pendant *Venus* is in the Museo Bottacin, Padua. For this, see *Dopo Mantegna*, 147, no. 120, and Banzato and Pellegrini, *Bronzi e placchette*, 95, no. 72.
10. *Portrait of Anna Leonora Sanvitali*, published in P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (London, 1991), 238, fig. 272, includes a half-draped statuette resting on a tabletop, thus providing contemporary evidence as to one way in which such bronzes were displayed.
11. Sotheby's, New York, 20 May 1988, lot 68A. For Aspetti, see Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer*, 559–94; M. Flores d'Arcais Benacchio, "Vita e opere di Tiziano Aspetti," pts. 1–4, *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, n.s., –8 (1930): 189–206; 7–9 (1931): 101–52; 8–10 (1932): 67–103; 10–11 (1934–39): 91–138; A. Venturi, "Tiziano Aspetti," *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 10, pt. 3, *La scultura del cinquecento* (Milan, 1937), 279–311; H. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzeplastiken 15.–18. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig, 1967), 159–61; B. Boucher and A. Radcliffe, "Sculpture," in *The Genius of Venice, 1500–1600*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1983), 357; T. Martin, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (London and New York, 1996), vol. 2, 608–11; Kryza-Gersh, in *La bellissima maniera*, 417–21.

12. See O. Raggio, "Tiziano Aspetti's Reliefs with the Scenes of the Martyrdom of St. Daniel of Padua," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 16 (1981): 131–46, who argues that the originals are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. This view was rejected by Boucher, in *The Genius of Venice*, 358–59, nos. 51–52. For the most recent sources, see Kryza-Gersch, in *La bellissima maniera*, 426–29. This distinctive cut of beard and hair is also found in several statuettes attributed to Aspetti, especially in several variations on the model of Mars, the basic version of which is in the Frick Collection, New York. For this, see J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Frick Collection: Sculpture*, vol. 3 (Princeton, 1970), 183–85. Incidentally, the combination of this particular cut of beard, mustache, and hair could be self-referential, since the same features occur in the portrait bust of Aspetti carved by Felice Palma for the former's funerary monument in the Chiesa del Carmine, Pisa.
13. On the marble figure for the entrance to the Zecca, see C. Kryza-Gersch, "Leandro Bassano's Portrait of Tiziano Aspetti," *Burlington Magazine* 140 (April 1998): 265–67. On the sculpture at the Santo, see G. Lorenzoni, ed., *Le sculture del Santo* (Vicenza, 1984), 226, figs. 296–97.
14. See Kryza-Gersch, in *La bellissima maniera*, 426–28; and idem, "The Reproduction of Artistic Ideas in Venetian Foundries: Tiziano Aspetti's Mars in the Frick Collection—a Case Study," in *Small Bronzes in the Renaissance*, ed. D. Pincus (Washington, D.C., 2001), 143–57.
15. The *Vulcan with Hammer* model is discussed above, note 9. For the *Mars* in San Francisco, see L. Camins, *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Abbot Guggenheim Collection* ([San Francisco], 1988), 50, no. 14 (catalogued as "Italian, Venetian, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century"). For that in Budapest, see Balogh, "Tiziano Aspetti Két Ismeretlen Múve," 170–78.
16. The similarity between the Rotterdam statuettes and Aspetti's work was first noted by Ulrich Middeldorf. The statuettes were first attributed to Aspetti in Raggio, "Tiziano Aspetti's Reliefs," esp. 145–46. This "rediscovery" is of fundamental importance for understanding the late work of Aspetti, since hitherto it has been believed that the bronze relief *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in the Usimbardi Chapel in Santa Trinità, Florence, was his only surviving work from this period.
17. See F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, ed. G. Rinalli (Florence, 1845–47), vol. 3, 491–94. Camillo Berzighelli's third wife was Virginia Usimbardi, hence the donation of this work to Lorenzo Usimbardi, who inserted it into his chapel. According to Baldinucci, the other works Aspetti made for Berzighelli included *Hercules and Antaeus*, which was probably a single statue, although he recorded it as two separate statues. See L. Migliaccio and F. Paliaga, "Nuovi studi su Felice Palma e note sull'attività toscana di Tiziano Aspetti," *Paragone* 41 (January–March 1990): 20–46, 39, n. 9, which includes a crucifix given to a certain Suor Orsola Fontebuoni, another crucifix made of bronze, and a bronze portrait bust of Luisa Paganelli, Camillo's second wife. Also for Berzighelli were figures of Adonis and a sleeping Leda; four oblong bronze bas-reliefs depicting *Hercules Killing the Bull*, *The Rape of Europa*, *Muzio Scevola before Porsenna*, and *The Forge of Vulcan*; and four oval bronze bas-reliefs with episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: *Psyche and Cupid*, *Siringa Changed into Reeds*, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, and *Apollo and Daphne*.
18. Aspetti was already in contact with the young Felice Palma by 1602, as proved in a document of May 3, 1602, published by Flores d'Arcais Benacchio, "Vita e opere di Tiziano Aspetti," pt. 1, 189. It was thought that Palma was taken on by Aspetti only when he moved to Tuscany in 1604. For Felice Palma, see A. Parronchi, "Felice Palma nascita del barocco nella scultura toscana," in *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler* (Munich, 1972), 275–98; Migliaccio and Paliaga, "Nuovi studi su Felice Palma"; and A. Brook, in Turner, *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 23, 880.

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

Probably Florentine

*Dog and Bear*

c. 1600

Bronze

Dog: H: 30.5 cm (12 in.)

Bear: H: 29.5 cm (11 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.)

86.SB.5.1 (dog); 86.SB.5.2 (bear)

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

Each bronze was cast hollow and in one piece through the indirect lost-wax process, and both were cast integrally with their similar oval bases. The wax models were slush-molded and

modeled in great detail. The casts were left in a rough state, with only a little chasing. There is an unpatched hole, possibly a core-pin hole, in the back of the *Dog*, and there are casting flaws around the testicles of the *Dog* and at the top of the head of the *Bear*. The figures have a dark, opaque coating, which conceals some of the roughness of the casts. X rays reveal that tapering nails of comparable length served as core supports inside each bronze. TL testing (Oxford 1987) found the *Dog* to be consistent with the proposed dating, but contamination of the core in the *Bear* made dating inconclusive. The composition of the core material—gypsum plaster, clay, and sand—was very similar in both bronzes. AAS, XRF, and ICP-MS indicate that both bronzes were made of leaded-tin alloys

with only a trace of zinc (see appendix B).

All technical evidence indicates that the bronzes were cast as a pair.

## PROVENANCE

Collection of a lady (sold, Christie's, London, 20 June 1983, to David Inc.); David Inc., Vaduz, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unsigned note, *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, March 1989, unpaginated; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 69; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 73.

THIS PAIR OF SCULPTURES, set on oval bases, represent a dog and a bear.<sup>1</sup> Each animal sits on its haunches, its front paws projecting slightly over the contour of the base. The dog turns his head to his proper right, the bear to his left. The dog's long snout and cropped ears indicate that he is a member of the hound family. He wears a collar studded with spikes, typically worn to protect an animal's neck when hunting or fighting.<sup>2</sup> His heavily muscled upper back suggests power. Certain features of the beast convey attentiveness and intelligence: the heavy brows and lower lids, slightly drooping jowls, sensitively modeled head, sharply focused eyes, and head tilting slightly in the same direction as his eyes. His tail curves around and under his hind right leg. He steps on it as if to keep it still. The hair at the end of the tail curves in front of the paw. On his back, tufts of fur lie close, whereas on his chest and the backs of his front legs the loosely modeled fur curls away from the body.

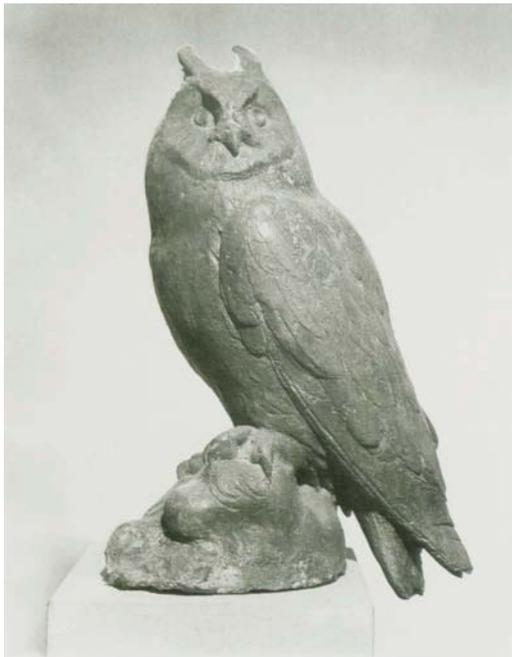
The bear takes a similar posture, yet his heavier anatomy makes for a weightier composition. His shorter, slightly bowed front legs end in longer, flatter paws. The animal's fur is modeled very loosely, giving the sense of a thick and curling coat. The bear peers out from round, wide eyes. His expression does not have the intensity and intellect of the dog's but instead conveys the qualities of patience and watchfulness.<sup>3</sup>

Although we know from technical and formal evidence that these figures were created as a pair, we know little else about them. They fit into a general category of animal sculpture that became increasingly popular in the sixteenth century both in Italy and in northern Europe. The naturalism of the figures suggests that they might have been produced in the north, where animals were favored subjects for painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths.<sup>4</sup> Yet a strong tradition of animal sculptures, especially in bronze, also developed in Italy in the sixteenth century, particularly in Florence, beginning with Cellini and flowering in the work of Giambologna at the Medici court.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the *Dog* and *Bear* are infused with anthropomorphic qualities that seem more Italian than northern.

These bronzes can be compared with Cellini's oval relief representing a saluki, an exotic member of the hound family much prized at the Medici court.<sup>6</sup> The naturalism and individuality of this image make for a remarkable portrait of a particular dog. Cellini also depicted hounds in an over-door relief for Francis I, the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*.<sup>7</sup> The closest comparisons, however, are with the animals associated with Giambologna. The naturalistic, life-size bronze birds (see FIG. 19A) created for the Medici villa at Castello, generally attributed to Giambologna, have an impressionistic looseness of modeling that is characteristic of the







19A Giambologna. *Owl*. Bronze. H: 47 cm (18½ in.);  
W: 28 cm (11 in.). Florence, Museo Nazionale del  
Bargello inv. 127.



19B *Dog*, three-quarter view from proper left

Getty animals.<sup>8</sup> The birds also display distinct character traits associated with particular species of birds, traits that can also be interpreted as human. Several bronze monkeys, traditionally attributed to Giambologna, likewise have a loose, almost waxy quality and an anthropomorphic infusion of personality.<sup>9</sup> These similarities suggest that the Getty bronzes were created in Italy, probably in Florence, around 1600.

These bronzes differ from the Castello birds, however, in significant ways. First of all, the birds are life-size and were created for placement into a grotto, where their naturalism would have been emphasized. In contrast, the Getty bronzes are smaller than life-size. Furthermore, the *Dog* and the *Bear* are rendered as if they were animals of the same size. This deliberate departure from reality shows that they were adapted for visual consonance as formal pendants. This

purpose is also evident in the similarity of their general contours and positions, including the turn of their heads on long necks. It is likely that they were meant for an indoor domestic setting, perhaps to flank a fireplace or to be set into a stair rail. Finally, the Castello birds were made in molds and could be reproduced, while the Getty *Dog* and *Bear* seem to be unique casts, and no other versions of them are known.

The subject and meaning of the *Dog* and *Bear* are uncertain.<sup>10</sup> In the sixteenth century the animals represented might well have been set against each other in a bear-baiting event or for a hunt, as suggested by the dog's protective collar. The Getty bronzes can be interpreted as an allegory of harmony, or as an evocation of the Golden Age, sometimes expressed through the peaceful juxtaposition of natural adversaries.<sup>11</sup> The animals, however, do not seem completely at ease. In their tightly contained poses and watchful expressions, they



19C *Dog*, side view



19D *Dog*, back view

appear to wait upon the will of their master. Representations of animals found in tapestries of hunt scenes created for the Medici villa of Poggio a Caiano are similar. The animals depicted in action in the main tapestry fields are also represented sitting or standing in the ornamental fields. Set into cartouches or integrated into decorative elements, they are shown at the same scale regardless of their relative size.<sup>12</sup> Both the tapestries and the Getty bronzes reflect the desire of Renaissance man to control and direct nature—embodied in animals both wild and domesticated—expressed through popular diversions such as hunts and animal fights.<sup>13</sup> The suggestion of sport and the implication of their patron's or owner's power support the idea that the *Dog* and *Bear* might have decorated a villa or hunting lodge.

MARIETTA CAMBARERI



19E *Bear*, three-quarter view from proper right



19F *Bear*, side view

#### Notes

1. The base is unusual. For another example of a small animal bronze with a somewhat similar integral base, see the *Monkey*, formerly in the collection of Jack and Belle Linsky, called “probably South German, early seventeenth century” and illustrated in *Sotheby’s Newsletter*, April 1988, 6.
2. For illustrations of dog collars with spikes, see *Four Centuries of Dog Collars at Leeds Castle* (London, 1979), figs. 2, 3, and esp. 4, a German fifteenth- or sixteenth-century collar.
3. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, animals were considered to have particular character traits, which were thought to have symbolic implications for humans. This belief had a strong impact on the iconography of animal representations in the period. For example, the loyalty of dogs led to their allegorical use as signs of fidelity in marriage scenes or on tomb monuments. On the sagacity of dogs, see P. Reuterswärd, “The Dog in the Humanist’s Study,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 50, no. 2 (1981): 53–69. Bears, for example, often symbolized luxury. See G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l’art*

4. In *Important Sculpture: Works of Art and Renaissance Bronzes*, sale cat., Christie’s, London, 20 June 1983, they were listed as “in the style of Hans Krumper,” the German sculptor (c. 1570–1634). For Krumper, see D. Diemer, in *Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 18, 478–80.
5. See notes 8–10 below. For the continuation of this tradition in the seventeenth century, see G. Capecchi, *I cani in “Pietra Bigia” di Romolo Ferrucci del Tadda: Simbolismo e “capriccio” nel giardino di Boboli* (Florence, 1998).
6. On Cellini’s relief, see J. Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York, 1985), 225–26, pl. 122. See also M. Spallanzani, “Saluki alla corte dei Medici nei secoli xv–xvi,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 27 (1983): 360–66, no. 3.
7. See Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini*, 133–46, pls. 80, 82.
8. Most of the birds from the Villa at Castello are now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Their attribution to Giambologna



19G Bear, back view

is based on a well-known letter from the sculptor to Francesco I de' Medici, dated May 4, 1567, requesting that he not be required to leave Florence to quarry marble. This is cited in E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne: Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo* (Brussels, 1956), 337–38: “et così io potrò avanzare spesa et molto tempo, quale meterò nela fine di questo ucelli [sic], che adesso a le stagion calda, seccando assai la tera, si avanseranno molto.” For discussions of these *Birds*, see *ibid.*, 159–61; E. Micheletti, “I ‘ritratti di ucelli’ del Giambologna per la Grotta di Castello,” in *Scritti di storia dell’arte in onore di Ugo Procacci* (Milan, 1977), vol. 2, 408–14; C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), 151–54, 267–68, nos. 122–28; C. Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven and London, 1990), 181–82; C. Acidini Luchinat, *Le ville e i giardini di Castello e Petraia a Firenze* (Ospedaletto, 1992), 117–20; C. Lazzaro, “Animals as Cultural Signs: A Medici Menagerie in the Grotto at Castello,” in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. C. Farago (New Haven and London, 1995), 197–227, 331–35.

9. The finest of the known bronze monkeys is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. See Avery, *The Complete Sculpture*, 154, 268, no. 129; H. Keutner, in “*Von allen Seiten schön*”: *Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1995), 380–83, no. 120. See also C. Avery and A. Radcliffe, eds., *Giambologna, 1529–1608: Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1978), 194–95, nos. 182–83 (for other examples of bronze monkeys), 184 (for a spaniel associated with Giambologna), 186 (for a pigeon, possibly from the Castello Grotto, now in the Louvre). This group of monkeys should be dissociated from the three larger bronze monkeys that decorate a fountain in the Boboli Gardens, Florence, and a fourth bronze monkey (*European Sculpture*, exh. cat. [New York: Daniel Katz Ltd., 2002], 66–77), which can now be attributed to Camillo Mariani; see E. D. Schmidt, “Giovanni Bandini tra Marche e Toscana,” *Nuovi studi*, no. 6 (1998): 71–72.
10. Many ancient sculptures of animals have survived and have inspired Renaissance sculptors, particularly those working in bronze. See Avery, *The Complete Sculpture*, 56, for a discussion of ancient models for Renaissance animal bronzes. It is possible that the *Bear* is related to ancient vessels in the shape of bears, also shown seated. See those illustrated and discussed in A. P. Kozloff, “A Bronze Menagerie,” *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 63 (March 1976): 74–88, esp. 83–87, and figs. 26, 27, 29. Renaissance naturalists were strongly influenced by ancient writers on the natural world. See Lazzaro, *Italian Renaissance Garden*, 210–12. See also J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 93–100, 102–24.
11. An example of this imagery is found in the four lunettes of animals in the Grotta degli animali at the Medici villa at Castello, where Giambologna’s birds were originally located. There a bear stands peacefully near two hounds. See Lazzaro, *Italian Renaissance Garden*. For the Castello Grotto, and the idea that it represents an image of peace embodied in the myth of Orpheus taming the beasts, see D. Wright, “The Medici Villa at Olmo a Castello” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976), 202–7, 292–300, esp. 298–300. For an illustration of this theme with Orpheus playing for a dog and a bear, see the print by Marcantonio Raimondi, *Orpheus Charming the Animals*, c. 1505, in *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, exh. cat. (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1981), 54–55. See also Acidini Luchinat, *Le ville e i giardini*, 109–29.
12. For the tapestries, see A. Baroni Vannucci, *Jan van der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano: Flandrus pictor et inventor* (Milan, 1997), figs. 683.5, 683.7, 683.12.
13. Lazzaro, *Italian Renaissance Garden*.

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

*Corpus*

c. 1600

Wood (probably boxwood)

H: 32.5 cm (12 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.)

W: 33 cm (13 in.)

97.SD.45; Gift of Lynda and Stewart Resnick in honor of Peter Fusco

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

An examination of the *Corpus* under a stereo-microscope (recorded in JPMG conservation file) indicated that it was carved in boxwood. The arms were carved separately; seams are visible where they were joined to the shoulders. There

are holes in the palms of the hands and in the feet, where nails would have originally attached the corpus to a cross (now lost). A hole in the crown of the head would have allowed the attachment of a halo, probably cast in metal (also lost). There is an original wood fill in the front of the loincloth. The nipples are hollow and filled with a soft material, probably wax, which may not be original. There are three vertical splits in the chest, following the grain of the wood. Other splits are evident: one running through the loincloth and proper left upper thigh; and another in the back of the same thigh. There are also a few minor losses to the wood, such as in the crown of thorns and in the back of the proper left calf. The surface is covered with a brittle yellow varnish that appears yellow-green under ultraviolet light, a typical appearance for natural resin coatings. The varnish

is thickest around the face and hair, making them look darker than the rest of the figure.

## PROVENANCE

Michael Hall, New York, since 1965, sold to John Gaines, 1985; John Gaines, Lexington, Kentucky (sold, Christie's, New York, 2 June 1993, lot 213, to Lynda and Stewart Resnick); Lynda and Stewart Resnick, Los Angeles, donated to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

M. Cambareri, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 42–43; unsigned calendar note, *This Month at the Getty*, May 1998.

THIS PARTICULAR CORPUS, or body of Christ crucified, represents the sacrificial death of Jesus in a restrained and idealizing way. Carved in boxwood and varnished to emphasize its polished surface, the *Corpus* is characterized by sensitive and detailed modeling in the musculature of the body and a calm facial expression. Stark reminders of Christ's suffering nevertheless abound: the crown of thorns, made of two interwoven, spiny branches; four streams of blood dripping from the understated lance wound in the right side; and the bunching of flesh around the nail holes. The veins in the arms and in the proper left side of the neck are carved in distinct relief, suggesting that blood has only just stopped coursing through the body. The fall of the head and legs to the same side and the lack of torsion in the body, however, impart great calm and dignity to the *Corpus*.

The crucifixion of Christ is one of the most common subjects in Christian iconography, represented at least since the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> It treats one of the central tenets of the Christian faith, the paradox of a deity who suffers a human death.<sup>2</sup> It represents salvation for the faithful, for Christ's sacrifice redeems sinful humanity. Early representations stress Christ's triumph over death by showing him alive on the cross, with head held upright and eyes wide open. Later ones emphasize the suffering of the human Christ in order

to prompt an empathic response to the sacrifice he made for humanity. The early history of sculpted crucifixes follows a similar course.

In the fifteenth century Filippo Brunelleschi created an influential example: the wooden *Crucifix* in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, which presented a noble, idealized, and calm image of the crucified Christ.<sup>3</sup> In the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, Giorgio Vasari praised the work, noting these qualities. Vasari attributed to Brunelleschi a statement about the proper representation of the body of Christ as "most delicate in every member and of noble aspect throughout." In contrast, Brunelleschi judged that Donatello, in his *Crucifix* (Florence, Santa Croce), had represented Christ as a "peasant."<sup>4</sup> Vasari's story tells us more about the taste and expectations of his own period than about fifteenth-century images, and so this discussion is relevant for the Getty *Corpus*, which can be dated to around 1600. It is also true, however, that Brunelleschi's *Crucifix* is an important ancestor of countless images of Christ produced in Italy in the later fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The Getty *Corpus*, like Brunelleschi's, shows the head and legs falling to the same side, which limits the twisting of the body, creating a harmonious and still image. The arms are stretched wide, allowing the upper torso to fall forward only slightly, pulling on the underarms and pressing the rib cage forward.





20A Ludovico Carracci. *Portrait of a Widow*, c. 1590. Oil on canvas.  
 H: 99.7 cm (39 1/4 in.); W: 77.5 cm (30 1/2 in.). The Dayton Art Institute, Museum purchase with funds provided by Dr. and Mrs. E. R. Arn and the Junior League of Dayton, Ohio, Inc., 1958.15.

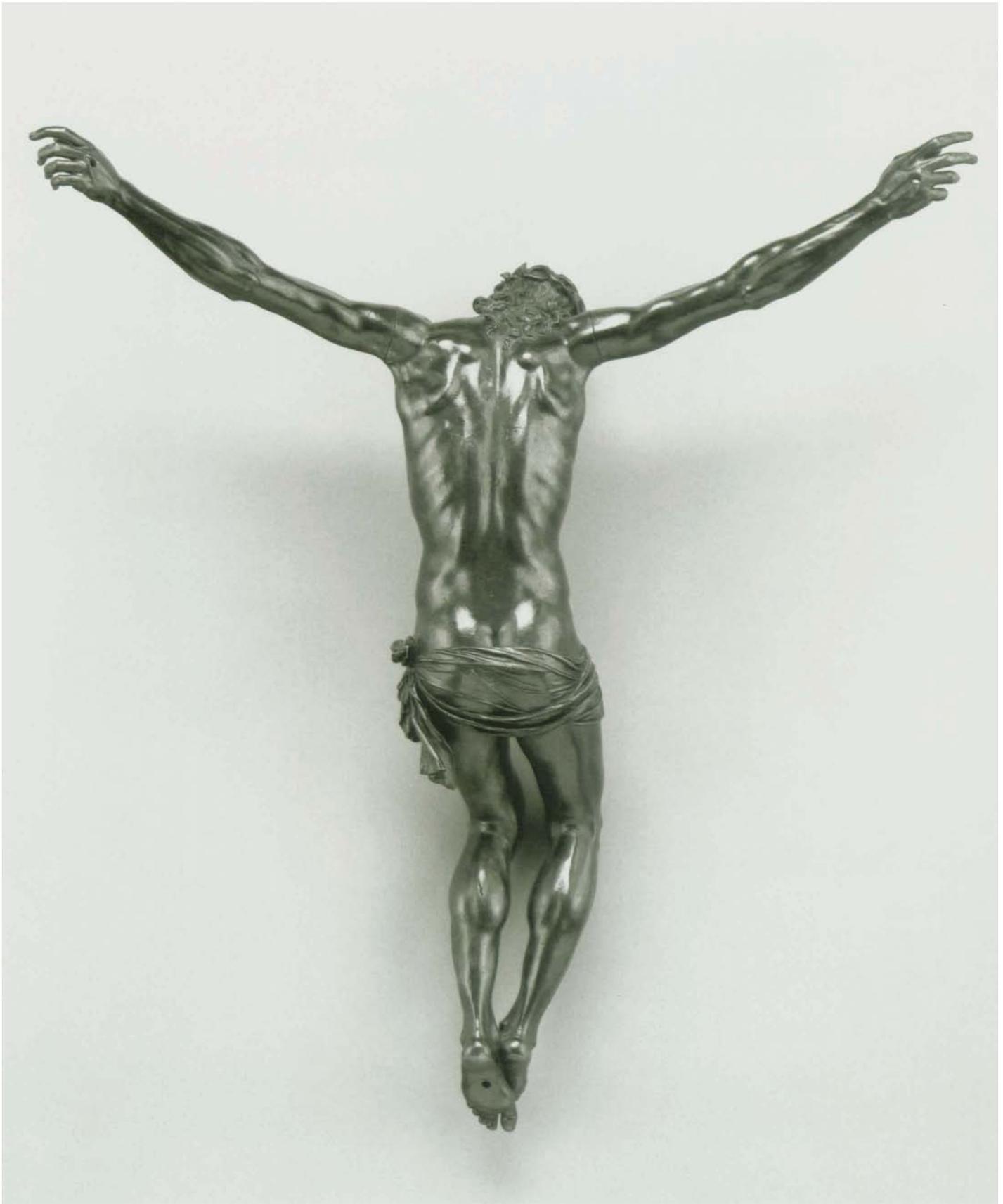
When the Getty *Corpus* was sold at auction in 1993, it was attributed to a follower of Georg Petel (1601/2–34), the German sculptor who worked not only in Augsburg but also in Rome and Genoa.<sup>5</sup> Petel's mature work incorporates elements of Italian Baroque sculpture and painting into a style strongly influenced by Peter Paul Rubens. The similarities between the present *Corpus* and works by Petel make clear how pervasive this type of crucifixion image was in Europe in the decades around 1600.<sup>6</sup> Yet a close comparison reveals a different sensibility. The still, timeless calm of the Getty *Corpus*, the torso of which falls straight, differs from the more overt emotionalism of Petel's figures of Christ, which have torsos that sway from rib cage to hips. The Petel loin-cloths are more animated and convey the emotion and energy that is common among Baroque examples. By contrast,

the loincloth in the Getty *Corpus* remains close to the body, and in the back the drapery stretches over the buttocks, revealing the contours of the body below with a straightforward naturalism.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the musculature in the German figures is more emphatic and vigorously carved. In the Getty *Corpus*, the surface transitions are smoother.

While it remains possible that the Getty *Corpus* was produced in northern Europe, it seems most closely related to painted and sculpted works created in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Italy.<sup>8</sup> For example, a combination of powerful musculature and idealization characterizes Michelangelo's images of the Passion of Christ, from the Saint Peter's *Pietà* to the *Crucifixion* drawing for Vittoria Colonna.<sup>9</sup> Both Michelangelo and Giambologna produced images of the living Christ, a subject that became widespread in the seventeenth century, and one that highlights the notion that the living Christ is present even in his human death.<sup>10</sup> Images of the dead Christ may also convey this idea through the calm nobility of the figure. In fact, crucifixes and Passion reliefs associated with the sculptor Guglielmo della Porta and his followers develop these ideals, and the Getty *Corpus* has much in common with these objects.<sup>11</sup>

A similar sense of serenity can be observed in paintings by Siciolante da Sermoneta, Scipione Pulzone, and Santi di Tito, which reflect ideas about sacred art current during the periods of Catholic Reform and the Counter-Reformation.<sup>12</sup> During these years the crucifixion—an image of the Corpus Domini, the body of Christ in the Eucharist—was often represented as a subject for altarpieces. This is one indication that there was a renewed emphasis on the sacrament of the Eucharist in response to Protestant challenges.<sup>13</sup> Private devotion to the Corpus Domini and contemplation of the sacrifice of Christ encouraged the production of small crucifixes made for domestic settings.<sup>14</sup> Paintings of devout widows created around 1590—which include breviaries, rosaries, and small crucifixes to aid contemplation and individual prayer—show how this kind of object functioned (see FIG. 20A).<sup>15</sup>

MARIETTA CAMBARERI



20B Back view



20c Detail, head

Notes

1. For the history of the image of the crucifixion, see P. Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959); G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman (Greenwich, 1972), vol. 2, 88–164, esp. 140–49, for the history of the sculpted crucifix in the West; and J. Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), vol. 8, s.v. “Crucifix.”
2. For a discussion of this issue in relation to the history of the icon, see H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago and London, 1994), 269–71.
3. See M. Lisner, *Holzkrucifixe in Florenz und in der Toskana* (Munich, 1970), 54–57.
4. Cited and discussed in H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, 1963), 7–12.
5. *Important European Sculpture from the Collection of John R. Gaines*, sale cat., Christie’s, New York, 2 June 1993, lot 213. For Petel, see K. Feuchtmayr and A. Schädler, *Georg Petel 1601/2–1634* (Berlin, 1973); A. Schädler, *Georg Petel (1601/02–1634): Barockbildhauer zu Augsburg* (Munich, 1985); and J. Ramharter, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 24, 542–44.
6. For relevant crucifixes by Petel, see Feuchtmayr and Schädler, *Georg Petel*, figs. 83–86, 100–102, 114–17, 165.
7. See the discussion of such passages in corpora associated with Giambologna in *Giambologna: An Exhibition of Sculpture by the Master and His Followers from the Collection of Michael Hall, Esq.*, exh. cat. (New York: Salander-O’Reilly Galleries, 1998), 61–62.
8. In the later decades of the sixteenth century, Giambologna and his shop produced many crucifixes, large and small, characterized by an idealized image of Christ, showing little suffering. See K. Watson, “The Crucifixes of Giambologna,” in *Giambologna, 1529–1608: Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat., ed. C. Avery and A. Radcliffe (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1978), 45–47, with further bibliography; C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), 199–202; *Giambologna: An Exhibition of Sculpture*, 61–91; H. Keutner, *Firenze 1592: Un nuovo crocifisso in argento del Giambologna* (Turin, 1999). Thanks go to Giancarlo Gentilini for this and several other references for this entry.
9. For the *Pietà*, see the following recent source: W. E. Wallace, “Michelangelo’s Rome *Pietà*: Altarpiece or Grave Memorial?” in *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Sculpture*, ed. S. Bule, A. Phipps Darr, and F. Superbi Gioffredi (Florence, 1992), 243–55, with further bibliography. For the drawing, see M. Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings* (New Haven and London, 1988), 117–18. See also A. Parronchi, “Les crucifix de bois en Toscane au xve siècle,” *Revue de l’art* 18 (1972): 56–67, and idem, *Opera giovanile di Michelangelo* (Florence, 1969), vol. 1, 46–48, for the typology of some Michelangelesque crucifixes.
10. See F. Negri Arnoldi, “Origine e diffusione del crocifisso barocco con l’immagine del Cristo vivente,” *Storia dell’arte* 20 (1974): 57–80.
11. See U. Middeldorf, “In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta,” *Connoisseur* 194 (February 1977): 75–84, esp. figs. 13–14.
12. For relevant examples, see J. Hunter, *Girolamo Siciolante pittore da Sermoneta (1521–1575)* (Rome, 1996), fig. 62, showing the *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*, Santa Maria di Monserato, Rome, 1560s; F. Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma: L’“arte senza tempo” di Scipione da Gaeta* (Turin, 1957), fig. 83, featuring the *Crucifixion* from Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome, c. 1585–90; M. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce* (Oxford, 1979), pl. 109, showing Santi di Tito’s *Crucifixion*, Santa Croce, Florence, c. 1574, a similarly calm, restrained image of Christ, who is placed at the center of an animated scene with many figures.
13. On eucharistic devotion in the sixteenth century, see M. Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Renaissance* (New York and London, 1979), with bibliography. See also M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (Cambridge and New York, 1995).
14. This tradition was already strong in Florence and elsewhere around 1500, probably in response to the preaching of Savonarola, who encouraged private prayer and devotional contemplation. See G. Gentilini, “Giuliano da Sangallo, Cristo crocifisso,” in *Per la storia della scultura: Materiali inediti e poco noti*, ed. M. Ferretti (Turin, 1992), 22–31. For the small *Crucifix* believed to have belonged to Savonarola himself, see G. Rasario, in *Savonarola e le sue “reliquie” a San Marco: Itinerario per un percorso savonaroliano nel Museo*, exh. cat. (Florence: Museo di San Marco, 1998), 88–94.
15. See the portraits of widows by Ludovico Carracci, in *Ludovico Carracci*, exh. cat. (Bologna: Museo Civico Archeologico-Pinacoteca Nazionale; Fort Worth, Tex.: Kimbell Art Museum, 1993), 24–25, no. 11, and 54–55, no. 25, for images of private devotion before a crucifix.

## GIANLORENZO BERNINI

Naples 1592–Rome 1680

*Boy with a Dragon*

c. 1617

Marble

H: 55.7 cm (22 in.)

W: 52 cm (20 in.)

D: 41.5 cm (16 in.)

87.SA.42

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The sculpture was carved from a single block of white marble. The grain of the marble runs diagonally and has weathered and darkened more than the rest of the piece, so that there appear to be cracks, for example, in the left side of the upper chest and upper arm, the stomach, and the right knee. The piece was drilled through the throat of the dragon so that it could function as a fountain, which accounts for some rust stains on the rocks to the left of the boy and on the dragon's body. Analysis has shown that black, raised accretions—for example, on the penis, right first toe, and left foot of the boy—are composed of gypsum, which results from the interaction between rainwater and marble, indicating an outdoor location for the piece at some point in its history. The surface is worn, in some areas to the point that there is a crystalline appearance, for example, in the boy's face and hair. Furthermore, no tool marks are visible in areas where one might expect them, such as the hair of the boy and the scales of the dragon. This surface wear is due in part to the placement of the piece outside and its function as a fountain but also probably to acid cleaning. Finally, there are scratches and abrasions on the right side of the piece, which suggests that it may have fallen at some point. There are additional scratches in the recesses in the base, hair, and right ear of the boy.

## PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII; collection of Don Carlo Barberini, brother of Urban VIII, Rome, by 1628; collection of Cardinal Carlo Barberini, grandnephew of Urban VIII, Rome, by 1692, given to Philip V of Spain, 1702; Philip V of Spain; Galerie Sempé, Nice, sold to Baron Lazzaroni, 1905; Baron Lazzaroni (d. 1934), Paris, and then by descent to his heirs, 1934; the heirs of Baron Lazzaroni, Rome, sold to Francesco Romano, 1955; Francesco Romano, Florence, until 1966; Irving and Marilyn Lavin, Princeton, New Jersey, from 1966, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987.

## EXHIBITIONS

Included in the exhibition (without catalogue) of early Bernini works at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, spring 1977; intermittently on display at Princeton University Art Museum, 1977–87.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

F. Biandini, *Descrizione della solenne legazione del Cardinale Carlo Barberini a Filippo V . . .*, ed. P. E. Visconti (1703; Rome, 1858), 81; A. Bulifon, *Giornale del viaggio d'Italia dell'inviatissimo e gloriosissimo monarca Filippo V, Re delle Spagne e di Napoli, etc.* (Naples, 1703), 171; O. Siren, *Nicodemus Tessin d.y.s. Studieresor* (Stockholm, 1914), 168; O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII* (Vienna, 1928–31), vol. 1, 334, no. 960; A. Nava Cellini, "Un'opera di Pietro Bernini," *Arte antica e moderna* 13 (January–March 1961), 288–90, pls. 130A–B, 131A; M. Fagiolo dell'Arco and M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Bernini: Una introduzione al gran teatro del barocco* (Rome, 1967), no. 3; U. Schlegel, "Zum Oeuvre des jungen Gian Lorenzo Bernini," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 9 (1967): 274–94, pls. 1, 4; unsigned article, *Life Magazine*, 20 January 1967, 69, 74; I. Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini, and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works," *Art Bulletin* 50 (September 1968): 229–32, pls. 16–19; C. Brandi,

*L'attività giovanile di Gianlorenzo Bernini* (Rome, 1969), 20–22; M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini," *Storia dell'arte* 1–2 (1969): 195–200; H. Kauffman, *Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini* (Berlin, 1970), 11FF., 44; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London and New York, 1970), 425; M. A. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), 79, no. 120, 118, no. 120, 134, no. 110, 445, no. 454; O. Raggio, "A New Bacchic Group by Bernini," *Apollo* 108 (December 1978): 406, 411, 413, pls. 3, 13, 16; M. Fagiolo dell'Arco and A. Cipriani, *Bernini* (Florence, 1981), 44, pl. 2; R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1981), 268, no. 81, 277, no. 81; A. Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento* (Turin, 1982), 30; "Acquisitions/1987," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 16 (1988): 184–85, no. 85; *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, March 1988, unpaginated; A. Bacchi, ed., *Sculpture dal xv al xix secolo della collezione di Federico Zeri*, exh. cat. (Milan: Museo Poldi Pezzoli; Bergamo: Accademia Carrara, 1989), 30; *Sculptura del '600 a Roma*, ed. A. Bacchi (Milan, 1996), 777, pl. 96; C. Avery, *Bernini: Genius of the Baroque* (London, 1997), 20–24; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 4; J. Walsh and D. Gribbon, *The J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Collections: A Museum for the New Century* (Los Angeles, 1997), 196; A. Coliva and S. Schütze, eds., *Bernini scultore: La nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, exh. cat. (Rome: Villa Borghese, 1998), 83–84, 100–101, fig. 1; P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 52–55; T. A. Marder, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture* (New York, London, and Paris, 1998), 84–85; A. Bacchi, in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: Regista del barocco*, exh. cat. (Rome: Palazzo Venezia, 1999), 67, 72; M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, *L'immagine al potere: Vita di Giovan Lorenzo Bernini* (Rome, 2001), 28, 303, pl. 28.





21A Profile from proper left



21B Back view

IN 1617 A PAYMENT IS RECORDED to Pietro Bernini in the account books of Maffeo Barberini “per prezzo di una Statuetta di Marmo bianco di un putto sopra un Drago Marino.”<sup>1</sup> This surely refers to the Getty *Boy with a Dragon*, providing a date and identifying the patron of the work. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the work is described four separate times in seventeenth-century inventories of the Barberini family’s collections.<sup>2</sup> It is first mentioned in 1628 as “Un putto a sedere sopra un drago moderno al nat[ur]ale” in an inventory of works coming from the house of Don Carlo Barberini, the brother of Maffeo Barberini, who was elected Pope Urban VIII in 1623.<sup>3</sup> In an inventory begun in 1632, it is listed as “Un putto qual tiene un drago alto palmi 2½ fatto del Cavalier Bernini.” This is the first time it is

attributed to Gianlorenzo, and as Irving Lavin has noted, the height of the work given in this inventory (2½ *palmi*, which equals 55.7 cm) corresponds to the height of the Getty marble. The 1632 Barberini inventory is of special importance<sup>4</sup> since it was carried out by a fellow sculptor, Nicolò Menghini, when Gianlorenzo was overseeing the last stages of construction of the Barberini palace and Menghini was administrator of Cardinal Francesco Barberini’s sculpture collections. Under such circumstances, it seems that the attribution to Gianlorenzo should be taken seriously.

In an inventory of 1651 it is described as “Un altro putto del naturale, che tiene un Drago p. la Bocca alt. p. <sup>mi</sup> 2½.”<sup>5</sup> In a 1692 inventory of the collection of Urban VIII’s grand-nephew, Cardinal Carlo Barberini, the work is described as



21C Profile from proper right

“un ercoletto intiero à sedere sopra un Drago, che con una mano li rompa la bocca.” This is the first instance where the boy is identified as Hercules. A later marginal note to the 1692 inventory states that the work was “Donato a Filippo v, rei di Spagna da S[ua] E[ccellenza] in occ[asi]one della leg[at]io[n]e di Napoli”—that is, the work was given by Cardinal Carlo Barberini to Philip v of Spain when he entered Naples (which took place in 1702). For this event the cardinal had been sent to Naples as Pope Clement xi’s legate extraordinary to welcome the king. A list of gifts to Philip v, in Cardinal Carlo Barberini’s report of the legation, includes “Una statuetta rappresentante un Ercholetto che sbrana il serpente [*sic*] in eta puerile opera del s[igno]r Cavaliere Lorenzo Bernini.” A member of Philip v’s entourage,

A. Bulifon, also recorded the cardinal’s gift as a Hercules by Bernini: “inoltre presentogli un’altra bellissima statua, che reppresenta un’Ercole, che spezza un serpente [*sic*], scolpita in finissimo marmo bianco similmente d’un sol pezzo, per mano del Bernini.” It is difficult to imagine that in 1702 Cardinal Carlo Barberini would have offered the work to Philip v as being by Gianlorenzo if he did not believe it to be so. No further trace of the sculpture is recorded until early in this century.<sup>6</sup>

These documentary sources leave unresolved the two major questions that have been a matter of considerable scholarly debate: the statue’s creator and its subject matter. In 1928 Oskar Pollak first published the reference cited above from the 1632 Barberini inventory.<sup>7</sup> Rudolf Wittkower, in



21D Gianlorenzo Bernini. *Boy on a Dolphin*, 1617–18. Marble.  
H: 44.8 cm (17<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer  
Kulturbesitz inv. 29/67.

the first edition of his monograph on Bernini, listed the sculpture among the artist's lost works.<sup>8</sup> Antonia Nava Cellini first published the Getty marble in 1961, when it appeared on the Florentine art market (as private collection, Florence), attributed it to Pietro Bernini, and dated it to c. 1620.<sup>9</sup> In January 1967 articles in the popular press were devoted to Lavin's recent Bernini discoveries and refer in passing to the *Boy with a Dragon* as by the young Gianlorenzo.<sup>10</sup> In 1967 Maurizio and Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco were the first to publish the association between the *Boy with a Dragon* and the work noted in the 1632 Barberini inventory; they dated it to c. 1616, attributing it to Gianlorenzo, but noted that it was done when he was working in collaboration with Pietro.<sup>11</sup> Later in 1967 Ursula Schlegel attributed the *Boy with a Dragon* to Pietro, c. 1620.<sup>12</sup> In 1968 Lavin published his key article on the early works of Gianlorenzo, which provides the most thorough study of the *Boy with a Dragon*. Lavin dated the work to c. 1614 and made a compelling case for attributing it to Gianlorenzo.<sup>13</sup> In 1969 Cesare Brandi, who admitted to having seen only

photographs of the work, stated that it reminded him more of Pietro and speculated that it might be an eighteenth-century copy (of what, is not clear).<sup>14</sup> John Pope-Hennessy in 1970, Olga Raggio in 1978, and Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco in 1981 followed Lavin's attribution and dating.<sup>15</sup> In 1982 Nava Cellini revised her opinion slightly and published the marble as a collaborative work, with an implied dating of c. 1616–18.<sup>16</sup> In 1998 Sebastian Schütze published the payment document cited above, which provides a secure date of c. 1617, and attributed the piece to Pietro.<sup>17</sup> In 1999 Andrea Bacchi asserted that the Getty marble is best understood as a collaboration between father and son.<sup>18</sup>

Disagreement about the attribution will likely continue. Pietro was a great sculptor and an extraordinary marble carver in his own right,<sup>19</sup> so judgments made solely on the basis of quality are not always helpful in distinguishing his work from that of Gianlorenzo. It is clear that documents do not solve the problem, since both the Getty *Boy* and the *Saint Sebastian* can now be considered contemporary, and both were produced in Pietro's shop.<sup>20</sup> In a situation where a teenage prodigy is working alongside a gifted father, there must have been considerable mutual influence and stimulation, a complex, at times subconscious collaboration, with a subtle merging of two artistic personalities, each enamored of the other.

The intended subject of *Boy with a Dragon* is uncertain. Nava Cellini assumed that the inclusion of the dragon must have some reference to the Borghese family (whose arms include a dragon and an eagle), and she speculated that it may have had a pendant figure of a boy with an eagle.<sup>21</sup> Lavin also proposed an association with the Borghese, citing a poem by Maffeo Barberini that refers to a bronze dragon that stood guard at the entrance to the garden of the Villa Borghese (where Maffeo clearly enjoyed walking), and suggested that Maffeo may have commissioned "such a sculpture as an allusion to the pleasures of the Borghese garden, where wild nature had been tamed."<sup>22</sup> Lavin also noted that the smiling and victorious *Boy with a Dragon* is a kind of "anti-type" to the crying and defeated Berlin *Boy on a Dolphin* (FIG. 21D) but that the difference in size between the two (and the fact that the *Boy with a Dragon* is drilled to function as a fountain, while the other is not) would seem to preclude their creation as pendants.<sup>23</sup>

It is tempting to speculate that for Gianlorenzo the work had an autobiographical significance. Nava Cellini, as one of her reasons for assigning it to Pietro, found it mannered insofar as the boy shows little sense of real struggle—he does not brace his feet against the ground and looks away from the dragon, whom he seems to grasp with little force.<sup>24</sup> The apparent effortless with which the boy overcomes the dragon might, however, also be read retrospectively as Gianlorenzo's expression of how effortlessly he was able, even as a child, to win over the Borghese through his mastery, also apparently effortless, of the intransigent medium of marble. But Philipp Fehl provides a salutary warning against the overwrought interpretations that twentieth-century scholars have felt obliged to provide in their rehabilitation of Baroque art and Bernini in particular.<sup>25</sup> What is evident is the sheer joy and exuberant vitality exuded by the *Boy with a Dragon*. The mischievous, self-satisfied grin and effortless pose may simply reflect the fact that the moment depicted is after the boy has cracked the dragon's jaw and the struggle is over.

It is unclear whether the *Boy with a Dragon* was Bernini's first fountain.<sup>26</sup> Although it is now drilled to function as a fountain, none of the seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century documents refers to it as such. If originally employed as a fountain, by 1702 it would probably have been subjected to a certain amount of wear and would therefore have been inappropriate as a gift for Philip v. Also, none of the other early seventeenth-century groups that are typologically closest related to it—Bernini's *Boy on a Dolphin* in Berlin and the lost *Boy Bitten by a Snake*, as well as Alessandro Algardi's lost *Boy with a Tortoise*—are known to have been fountain sculptures.<sup>27</sup> If the Getty group was created as a fountain, however, then one must consider the possibility that it reflects an awareness of Giambologna's famous fountain group *The Dwarf Morgante Riding a Tortoise*.<sup>28</sup>

Typologically *Boy with a Dragon* is a revival of an ancient sculptural genre—the representation of an infant struggling or playing with a beast. Lavin's assertion that "it is clearly based on the classical motif of the Infant Hercules Killing Snakes"<sup>29</sup> is perhaps too restrictive. There is only questionable evidence that the work was originally intended to represent the young Hercules (as noted above, the first time it was referred to as Hercules was in 1692). There is also

no known ancient sculpture of Hercules killing snakes that appears to be a specific formal source for the Getty group. There were available to Gianlorenzo for study, however, several similar ancient groups, which he must have drawn upon for inspiration. In the Borghese collection there was indeed a fragmentary *Infant Hercules Killing Snakes* (compositionally very different from the Getty group) as well as a *Faun Riding a Dolphin* (in which, significantly, the figure pulls open the mouth of the dolphin) and the fountain group *Infant Squeezing a Wineskin* (suggestive as a source for the Getty marble if it was, in fact, made as a fountain). Also, Bernini must have known one of the versions of the famous *Boy Standing with a Goose* and the *Seated Boy with a Fox-Goose or Bird*.<sup>30</sup> Lacking a specific prototype, it seems sensible to view the *Boy with a Dragon* as inspired by several antique works, but a new invention in an ancient mode. One difference between all potentially influential antique figures<sup>31</sup> and the *Boy with a Dragon* is that in contrast to the self-absorption of the ancient figures, the seventeenth-century figure looks out, as if to engage the spectator as an accomplice to his mischief. In typically Baroque fashion he enters the viewer's world with an extraordinary sense of immediacy. Also, in Bernini's work the modeling of the boy's body and face is much more naturalistic and less idealized than in the classical works.

The infant in *Boy with a Dragon* is depicted as victorious, tough, smug, self-satisfied, and inattentive—in short, as a typically willful child. Although inspired by classical prototypes, Bernini's figure is rendered as imperfect, sensual, and intimate. The work is a minor counterpart in sculpture to the revolution that Caravaggio had begun in painting at the end of the sixteenth century. Part of the problem of precisely defining the subject of *Boy with a Dragon* is that the work suggests a classical or mythological point of departure, normally with heroic implications, but at the same time presents an image charged with immediacy and everyday realism. It is an image of frivolity toying not just with a dragon but with the spectator and the traditional boundaries of serious art as well.

PETER FUSCO

Notes

1. Published in *Bernini scultore*, 83.
2. The following quotations from the Barberini inventories and the references to the gift of the work to Philip v are taken from Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures," 230–31. The inventories are published in full by Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents*.
3. Lavin ("Five New Youthful Sculptures," 230, n. 50) states that the house referred to was the palazzo in via dei Giubbonari, which originally belonged to Maffeo, who, after he was elected pope, gave it to his brother Carlo.
4. *Ibid.*, 230. In the same 1632 inventory there also appears for the first time the attribution to Gianlorenzo of the marble *Saint Sebastian*; see A. Radcliffe, in *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Renaissance and Later Sculpture with Works of Art in Bronze* (London, 1992), 132–37; Schütze, in *Bernini scultore*, 78–95.
5. In the diary of his second visit to Rome, 1687–88, the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger describes the work in the Palazzo Barberini, somewhat curiously, as a depiction of the Christ child with a dragon by a pupil of Bernini: "ein Christkindlein mit dem drocken von einem disciple von Cav. Bernini." See Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures," 230–31. Evidently Tessin's descriptions were frequently confused; see J. Montagu, "Antonio and Gioseppe Giorgetti: Sculptors to Cardinal Francesco Barberini," *Art Bulletin* 52 (September 1970): 290, n. 103.
6. See Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures," 230–31, n. 57, for what is known about the whereabouts of the piece in this century. Lavin notes that Yves Bottineau was unable to find any references to the work in the Spanish king's inventories; this may imply that the gift was not much appreciated and disposed of soon after it was received.
7. Pollak, *Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, vol. 1, 334, no. 960.
8. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 268.
9. Nava Cellini, "Un'opera di Pietro Bernini," 288–90.
10. Unsigned article, *Life Magazine*, 20 January 1967, 69, 74; unsigned article, *Times* (London), 13 January 1967; presumably there was other press coverage, but no attempt has been made to find it.
11. Fagiolo dell'Arco and Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Bernini*, schedario no. 3.
12. Schlegel, "Zum Oeuvre," 274ff.
13. Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures," 229–36.
14. Brandi, *L'attività giovanile*, 20–22.
15. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 425; Raggio, "A New Bacchic Group," 406, 411, 413, pls. 3, 13, 16; Fagiolo and Cipriani, *Bernini*, 4, pl. 2.
16. Nava Cellini, *Scultura del seicento*, 30.
17. *Bernini scultore*, 83–84.
18. Bacchi, in *Regista del barocco*, 70–73, esp. 72.
19. On Pietro, see *Pietro Bernini, un preludio al barocco*, exh. cat. (Florence, 1989), with further bibliography.
20. Schütze (in *Bernini scultore*) and Lavin ("Five New Youthful Sculptures," 225–26) pointed out that no payments are known to have been made directly to Gianlorenzo before December 1618, probably because, legally, he had not yet reached the age of majority. The new documentary evidence supports this; see above, note 1.
21. Nava Cellini, "Un'opera di Pietro Bernini," 288.
22. Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures," 230–31.
23. *Ibid.*, 233, n. 67. Lavin assumed that the Berlin *Boy on a Dolphin* should be identified with a *Crying Boy Bitten by a Serpent* cited in various Ludovisi collection inventories, the earliest of which is dated November 2, 1623, but as Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco and Jennifer Montagu have pointed out, this seems unlikely since the Ludovisi figure is clearly described as seated amid flowers and as having been bitten by a snake; see M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini," *Storia dell'arte* 1–2 (January–June 1969): 196; J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven and London, 1985), vol. 2, 15–16, 239, nn. 28–29. Montagu cites Giovanni Pietro Bellori, who states that the Ludovisi *Boy Bitten by a Snake* was meant to symbolize fraud and that, as a companion to it, Algardi was commissioned to execute a marble *Boy Leaning on a Tortoise*, which was intended as an allegory of security. Montagu does not entertain the possibility that Bernini's lost *Boy Bitten by a Snake* (certainly an early work, since it is recorded by 1623) might originally have been conceived as a counterpart to the Getty's *Boy with a Dragon*, which later became separated from it, prompting Algardi to provide a new pendant. Montagu rejects the idea that the Ludovisi marble may have been interpreted as a symbol of fraud only after it was executed, when the Ludovisi were looking to provide it with a pendant. On the Berlin *Boy on a Dolphin*, see U. Schlegel, in *Bernini scultore*, 96–101. To the provenance of the Berlin marble, as given by Schlegel, in "Zum oeuvre," can be added the Brummer collection (*Joseph Brummer Collection*, sale cat., Park-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 8–9 June 1949, lot 431), where it is attributed to Montorsoli. In fact, both the Berlin and the Getty marbles bear certain similarities with a few works by Montorsoli and his collaborator Silvio Cosini; see B. Laschke, *Fra Giovan Angelo da Montorsoli* (Berlin, 1993), figs. 27–28, 49–50.
24. Nava Cellini, "Un'opera di Pietro Bernini," 290.
25. P. Fehl, "Hermeticism and Art: Emblem and Allegory in the Work of Bernini," *Artibus et historiae*, no. 14 (1986): 153–56.
26. Marder (*Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 84–85) includes the Getty marble among Bernini's fountains.
27. On these typologically related groups, see note 23 above.
28. C. Avery, *Giambologna* (Oxford, 1987), 206–9, 366–69, no. 117.
29. Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures," 230.
30. For the antiquities in the Borghese collection, see K. Kalveram, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinal Scipione Borghese*, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, no. 2 (Worms, 1995), esp. 248–49. On the subject of the young Hercules in antiquity, see O. Brendel, "Der schlangengewürgende Herakliskos," *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 47 (1932): 191ff.; S. Woodford, "The Iconography of the Infant Herakles Strangling Snakes," in *Image et céramique grecque: Actes du colloque de Rouen, 25–26 Novembre 1982*, ed. F. Lissarrague and F. Thelamon (Rouen, 1983), 121–29. For the antique sculptures *Boy Standing with a Goose* and *Seated Boy*



21E Detail, face

with *Fox-Goose or Bird*, see P. Bober and R. Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London, 1986), 233–34, with further bibliography; see also the recent discussion of these two antiques in C. C. Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes* (Ithaca and London, 1996), 176–79. For the influence of antiquity upon Bernini in general, see S. Howard, “Identity, Formation, and Image Reference in the Narrative Sculpture of Bernini’s Early Maturity: Hercules and Hydra and Eros Triumphant,” *Art Quarterly* 2 (spring 1979): 140–71, with previous bibliography cited 163, 165, nn. 5, 16; M. Winner, “Bernini the Sculptor and the Classical Heritage in His Early Years: Praxiteles’, Bernini’s, and Lanfranco’s *Pluto and Proserpina*,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1985): 192–207;

- I. Lavin, “Bernini and Antiquity, the Baroque Paradox: A Poetical View,” and R. Preimisberger, “Zu Bernini’s Borghese Skulpturen,” both in *Antikenrezeption in hoch Barock*, ed. H. Beck and S. Schulze (Berlin, 1989), 9–36 and 109–127, respectively.
31. Even in the few antique sculptures of this type in which the infant looks outward (see Bober and Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists*, fig. 201, and Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes*, 178, fig. c), they do not appear to be seeking the complicity of the spectator.

## AFTER GIANLORENZO BERNINI

Naples 1592–Rome 1680

*Neptune with Dolphin*

Probably 17th century (after 1623)

Bronze

H: 55.1 cm (21 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.)

W: 30 cm (12 in.)

D: 32 cm (12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

94.SB.45

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The trident is bent, and its tip has been broken off. The bronze is covered with a heavy blackish brown patina; the lighter brown oxidized metal surface is visible in rubbed areas. There are hard red wax fills in several areas, mainly plugging holes in crevices, where it appears that the bronze did not flow evenly during casting. Such small wax fills may have been a common studio practice and may be original, but it is not possible to date them. Other casting flaws are repaired with threaded plugs, and there is a cast-in repair in the upper left arm. The bronze is finished with a variety of textures, including, for

example, star-shaped punch marks in the drapery. The underside of the base is covered with a black, bitumen-like material.

X rays indicate that the work was cast from a slush-molded model using the indirect lost-wax process. Metal-to-metal joins are evident in the versions of the bronze in the Galleria Borghese and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see below for discussion of these casts), but such joins have not been distinguished in the Getty bronze. Wax-to-wax joins appear in areas such as the dolphin's tail, and the upper arms and upper left thigh of Neptune. Side-to-side core pins appear to be rectangular in section and are repaired with threaded plugs. ICP-MS revealed a leaded tin-copper alloy, and XRF analysis showed that the separately cast trident is composed of a similar alloy (see appendix B). The core consists of high-fired gypsum (anhydrite) with added clay and quartz. TL testing (Berlin, 1994) resulted in an approximate date of manufacture between 1700 and 1725. Given the difficulty of TL analysis of plaster-based cores, it should not be ruled out that the bronze was cast during Bernini's lifetime (see discussion below).

## PROVENANCE

David Peel, London, by May 1968; Adrian Ward-Jackson (d. 1990), London, and then by descent to his heirs, 1990; the heirs of Adrian Ward-Jackson (sale, Sotheby's, London, 12 April 1990, lot 56, unsold); the heirs of Adrian Ward-Jackson, placed on consignment with Cyril Humphris, London, 1994, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994.

## EXHIBITIONS

*From the Master of the Unruly Children to Shadow: An Exhibition of European Works of Art*, David Peel & Co., London, 30 April–17 May 1968.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Illustrated in an advertisement, *Apollo* 87 (May 1968): xci; "Acquisitions/1994," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1995): 121, no. 99; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 4; *Effigies and Ecstasies: Roman Baroque Sculpture and Design in the Age of Bernini*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1998), 89–90, 91, fig. 64; S. Schütze, in *Bernini scultore: La nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, exh. cat. (Rome: Galleria Borghese, 1998), 176.

THE GETTY STATUETTE IS A REDUCED VARIANT OF Gianlorenzo Bernini's over-life-size marble fountain group *Neptune and Triton* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (FIG. 22A).<sup>1</sup> The marble was commissioned by Cardinal Montalto (Alessandro Peretti) to be placed in a large fish pond, known as the Peschiera or Peschierone, on the grounds of the Villa Montalto, Rome. Engravings of the marble in the original location make it clear that the group was intended to be seen from a distance and primarily from a frontal point of view. The sculpture was executed between March 1622 and February 1623<sup>2</sup> and thus dates to the period after Bernini's *Pluto and Proserpine* (completed 1622; Rome, Galleria Borghese).<sup>3</sup>

The Victoria and Albert marble was first described, incorrectly, in 1682 by Filippo Baldinucci as representing "Neptune and Glaucus."<sup>4</sup> In the eighteenth century Sir

Joshua Reynolds was the first to identify the object as being inspired by the "Quos Ego" in Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.35), and this interpretation was followed by Rudolf Wittkower. John Pope-Hennessy noted, however, that Virgil's scene includes two sea deities, Triton and Cynothis, along with Neptune, who is described as riding a chariot. Pope-Hennessy argued that Bernini's marble was inspired instead by a passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.330–42) describing how Neptune calmed the waters of a deluge, summoning Triton to blow his conch shell as a signal for them to recede. As a counter-argument, Wittkower and Howard Hibbard noted that the passage from Ovid explicitly states that Neptune had laid down his trident.<sup>5</sup> In 1968 William Collier pointed out the lack of correspondence between Bernini's fountain and either of the literary sources proposed by Wittkower and Pope-Hennessy; instead Collier suggested an earlier passage



from Ovid (I.283–84): “When the waters which Neptune was to calm had been let loose when he smote the earth with his trident.”<sup>6</sup> It is doubtful that Bernini’s Neptune is aiming his trident at the ground,<sup>7</sup> however, and the passage cited by Collier makes no mention of Triton. Schütze suggested that the sculpture alludes to both moments in the story: Neptune unleashing the waters, then later calling Triton to calm them.<sup>8</sup>

Luigi Grassi suggested that the formal inspiration for Bernini’s marble was a design by Polidoro da Caravaggio,<sup>9</sup> and Bertha Harris Wiles stressed what seems to be the most obvious formal precedent, Stoldo Lorenzi’s *Neptune Fountain* (Florence, Boboli Garden).<sup>10</sup> A comparison with Lorenzi’s *Neptune* helps elucidate the qualities of Bernini’s figure. Bernini’s *Neptune* is more bent over at the waist, the head and right arm are lower, the legs are bent more at the knees and are spread farther apart. Lorenzi’s upright *Neptune* is more calmly poised, biding his time for the right moment to strike (although the implication that he might do so is vitiated by the frivolous idea of having narrow streams of water issue from each of the three points of his trident, much as if he were delicately holding a sprinkling can over a potted plant;<sup>11</sup> in contrast, the water in Bernini’s group was intended to gush in one stream from Triton’s shell). Bernini’s figure is tensed and focused, about to swing his trident. The increased drama and dynamism in the pose of Bernini’s *Neptune* are reinforced by other changes. Bernini has transformed Lorenzi’s elongated, mannered figure into a stockier, much burlier one with bulging muscles and windswept hair and beard. Furthermore, the figure has been wrapped in a turbulent cloak, whipped by the wind and extending out in three extraordinary, corkscrew-like curls, one at the back and one off to each side. Along with the implied movement of the trident and the originally intended gush of water, the three drapery curls combine to suggest a whirling dervish thrusting into the viewer’s space from five different points around the figure.

The Getty reduction is one of four known bronze casts, all of which differ from Bernini’s marble in the substitution of a dolphin for the Triton and a rocky base for a shell. On the basis of patina and clarity of details, the Getty example is arguably the finest of the four known casts. The example from the Corsini collection (on long-term loan to the

Galleria Borghese) is nearly equal in quality;<sup>12</sup> the bronze version in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has a ruined (by fire?) patina;<sup>13</sup> and the version in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is a cast of much poorer quality than the other three.<sup>14</sup> None of the bronzes has been piped to be a table fountain.<sup>15</sup>

It can be argued that the four bronze *Neptune and Dolphin* groups reflect an unused model by Bernini for his marble fountain.<sup>16</sup> Alternatively, it can be suggested that the bronzes were cast from a later model by Bernini in which he reworked the marble’s composition specifically for the production of bronze statuettes. Although the dolphin in the bronzes is certainly less massive than the Triton (needed in the marble to support the large, spread-legged Neptune), neither the Triton nor the dolphin is necessary as a support for the Neptune in the bronzes. Given Bernini’s penchant for unsupported masses extending into space, it seems unlikely that the bronzes reflect a later reworking of the composition by him when he could have excluded the supporting figure altogether. A third possibility that must be considered is that another artist altered the composition of Bernini’s marble and produced the model with a dolphin for production in bronze. This seems unlikely, however, for two reasons. First, Bernini’s marbles were, at least until the mid-eighteenth century, highly revered, treated almost as “classics,” and the bronzes reproducing his other early works—e.g., *David*, *Daphne and Apollo*, and *Santa Bibiana*—are relatively faithful reproductions, without any major compositional changes.<sup>17</sup> Second, if a later artist wanted to alter the composition of the marble, it seems more logical, if only because it would be easier, simply to omit the Triton; as noted above, there was no need for the physical support of a subordinate figure in bronze.

In summary, it seems most likely that the *Neptune and Dolphin* bronzes reflect a lost, unused preliminary model by Bernini for his marble fountain, employed later by the artist or by someone else for the bronze statuettes. Supporting the attribution of the *Neptune and Dolphin* model to Bernini is the use of a fish-scale pattern on the dolphin (a mammal, which has no scales), an inaccuracy that the sculptor employed to enliven the surfaces of the dolphins in his *Fontana del tritone*, *Fontana della lumaca*, and *Fontana del moro*.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the dolphin with a scale pattern supporting



22A Gianlorenzo Bernini. *Neptune and Triton*, 1622–23. Marble. H: 182.2 cm (71<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv. A.18-1950.



22B Three-quarter view from proper left



22c Profile from proper right

Neptune is compellingly analogous to the suit of armor with an identical scale pattern that supports Bernini's *David*, executed at about the same time that the artist was making models for his Neptune fountain.

Until recently, Roman Baroque bronze statuettes have been a terra incognita. Aside from crucifixes, angels, putti, tabernacle saints, and other church furnishings, it is difficult to document models specifically created for casting as independent bronze statuettes.<sup>19</sup> Jennifer Montagu's publications have done the most to shed light on the subject.<sup>20</sup> Montagu has noted that the majority of bronzes that can be associated with Bernini's models are reductions of his major statues; most of these bronzes are after the early works in the Villa Borghese or *Neptune and Triton*, and most either are posthumous or, at best, should be attributed to his workshop. Montagu has not dealt specifically with the Neptune bronzes, nor has she noted that they differ significantly from the bronze reductions of Bernini's other early marbles in that they reflect a model that introduces major compositional changes.

In several of the catalogue entries in her monograph on Bernini's rival, Alessandro Algardi, Montagu provides closely scrutinized comparisons and perceptive observations regarding the bronzes, often known in many versions, based upon or related to Algardi models. What is of interest in the present context is that the facture of the Getty *Neptune and Triton* is very close in certain respects to that of several of the best versions of the small bronzes that Montagu has accepted as autograph works by Algardi: for example, *The Baptism of Christ* (Cleveland Museum of Art), *Christ Falling under the Cross* (New York, Michael Hall), the *Pietà* (ex-collection Victor Spark, New York), the *Virgin and Child* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), and *Saint Nicholas of Tolentino* (London, collection Brinsley Ford).<sup>21</sup> All of these bronzes, along with the Getty bronze, share a rough, evenly textured drape (or, in the case of the *Pietà*, a textured background), which provides a "coloristic" contrast with the smooth, polished areas of the figures. For the most part, they also share a blackish brown patina. It seems worth speculating that many of these works may have been made by the same group of craftsmen working in the same Roman foundry.

PETER FUSCO

Notes

1. The essential literature on the marble, with further references, includes R. Wittkower, "Bernini Studies—1: The Group of Neptune and Triton," *Burlington Magazine* 94 (January 1952): 68–76; idem, *Gianlorenzo Bernini* (London, 1955), 179–84; and J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of the Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1968), vol. 2, 596–600. Recently, see P. Arnaud, "La première fontaine baroque," *Estampile*, no. 233 (1990): 36–44; Schütze, in *Bernini scultore*, 173–75.
2. See Schütze, *Bernini scultore*, 174, citing the documents noted by C. Benocci, "Il Giardino della Villa Perretti Montalto e gli interventi nelle altre ville familiari del Cardinale Alessandro Peretti Montalto (part II, 1615–fine sec. XVII)," in *Urbe* 56 (May–June 1996): 119.
3. As put forward by Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, before the publication of the relevant documents, cited above, in note 2.
4. F. Baldinucci, *Vita del cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernini* (1682), ed. A. Riegl (Vienna, 1912), 268. See Wittkower and Pope-Hennessy as cited in note 1 for full references regarding the previous attempts to identify the subject of the marble.
5. H. Hibbard, *Bernini* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 39–40, and R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1981), 178.
6. W. Collier, "New Light on Bernini's Neptune and Triton," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968): 438–40. Collier fails to note that S. Howard ("Identity Formation and Image Reference in the Narrative Sculpture of Bernini's Early Maturity: Hercules and Hydra and Eros Triumphant," *Art Quarterly* 2 [spring 1979]: 159) had already pointed out the same lack of correspondence with the literary texts. Howard stresses that Bernini "freely synthesized and interpreted his literary sources as well as his visual ones."
7. See the engraving reproduced E. MacLagan, "Sculpture by Bernini in England, III: The Neptune and Glaucus," *Burlington Magazine* 40 (March 1922): 112–20, pl. c.
8. Schütze, *Bernini scultore*, 174–75.
9. Grassi, as cited by Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 178.
10. B. H. Wiles, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors and Their Followers from Donatello to Bernini* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 101–2.
11. See the illustration in A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 10, *La scultura del cinquecento*, pt. 2 (Milan, 1936), 450, fig. 372.
12. Illustrated in A. Muñoz, "Studi sul Bernini," *Arte* 19 (1916): 109, figs. 10, 11, and in I. Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: Le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX* (Rome, 1954), figs. 39a, b; the trident is a replacement. I am grateful to Pietro Cannata for making this bronze available for study. See Schütze, in *Bernini scultore*, 170–79, for the most recent consideration of the Corsini version, with further bibliography.
13. Inv. A.42-1953; purchased from the London dealer Alfred Spero. I am grateful to Paul Williamson and Peta Evelyn for making this bronze accessible for study and for providing photographs of it and of the Victoria and Albert Museum's marble.
14. Inv. 46.183; ex-collection Maurice Kahn, Paris; acquired from the Blumka Gallery, New York. I am grateful to James Draper for providing photos of the work.
15. In addition to the bronzes, there is a wood reduction with the Triton; see Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, vol. 2, 609. Faldi, *Galleria Borghese*, 43, notes that a marble and a lead version, present whereabouts unknown, were in the Muñoz collection, Rome. A bronze cast figured in the 1731 sale of the English sculptor Francis Bird (K. A. Esdaile, "The Sculpture at Burlington House," *Burlington Magazine* 72 [March 1938]: 139), and another bronze was in the collection of Prince Paul Demidoff (*Catalogue des objets d'art . . . à Florence, au Palais de San Donato, le 15 mars 1880 . . .* [Brussels and Paris, 1880], 58, lot 307, illus.). At present, it is not possible to identify the Bird and Demidoff casts with each other or with any of the four known versions discussed in the text of this entry. The engraved illustration from the San Donato sale catalogue is reproduced by J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire du mobilier de la couronne sous Louis XIV*, pt. 2 (Paris, 1886), following XII, but no bronze Neptune group appears in the published inventory. Although not listed as by Bernini, it seems clear from its context in the inventory (*ibid.*, pt. 2 [Paris, 1885], 68) that item 546—"une figure de Neptune, d'argent, enveloppée d'un linge sur une espalle qui porte un trident de cuivre . . . hault de 20 pouces"—must be a reduction of Bernini's Neptune fountain. It is not clear whether this group included a Triton or a dolphin (the group follows item no. 543, a silver copy of the *Apollo and Daphne* described as based on a "dessein du Bernini," and it precedes no. 547, an anonymous silver group of "Pluton avec une couronne de cuivre doré qui enlève Euridice et un cerbère," surely also after Bernini). A fragmentary terra-cotta published by N. K. Kosareva, in *Alle origini di Canova: Le terrecotte delle collezioni Farsetti*, exh. cat. (Rome: Fondazione Memmo, Palazzo Ruspoli; Venice: Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, 1991), no. 13, is identified as a finished *modello* for the Neptune fountain; Kosareva notes that a full-size gesso cast of the *Neptune and Triton* was also in the Farsetti collection; see also N. Kosareva, in *From the Sculptor's Hand: Italian Baroque Terracottas from the State Hermitage Museum*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 62–63, no. 10.
16. H. Voss ("Berninis Fontänen," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 31 [1910]: 122) simply treated the bronzes as copies. Muñoz ("Studi sul Bernini," 180) wrote of the cast in the Galleria Borghese: "è certo un opera del Bernini stesso, forse di qualche anno posteriore il grupo di marmo." A. De Rinaldis (*Catalogue of Borghese Gallery* [Rome, 1949], 26) thought the bronze was perhaps a first idea. Faldi (*Galleria Borghese*, 48) dismissed the possibility that the Galleria Borghese bronze might reflect a first idea for the marble and considered it a later replica from the circle of Bernini. More recent studies have not dealt with the issue.

17. The bronzes after the marbles of the *David*, the *Daphne and Apollo*, and the *Saint Bibiana* should be distinguished from the bronze statuettes of Bernini's *Saint Agnes* and *Countess Matilda of Tuscany*; the casts of the latter two appear to be based on preliminary terra-cotta models. See J. Montagu, "Two Small Bronzes from the Studio of Bernini," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (October 1967): 566–71; R. Wittkower, "Two Bronzes by Bernini in the National Gallery," *Art Bulletin of Victoria* (1970–71): 11–17; U. Schlegel, *Die italienischen Bildwerke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1978), no. 55; M. P. Mezzatesta, *The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini: Selected Sculpture*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1982), unpaginated. The earliest record of a bronze reduction appears to be in the 1648–49 inventories of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, which list a gilt bronze version; the later Barberini inventories, dated 1686 and 1684, list the same gilt bronze along with another bronze version that was not gilt (M. A. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* [New York, 1995], 197, item ww, 423, nos. 17, 23). Since Montagu's 1967 article, another bronze version of *Saint Agnes* sold at auction (Christie's, London, 5 July 1994, lot 112). Bronze reductions of the *David* appear in the following two sale catalogues: *Catalogue des sculptures et tableaux du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Collection Jacques Doucet*, pt. 2, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 6 June 1912, lot 130; and *Collection d'un amateur*, Ader Picard Tajan, Hotel Georges v, Paris, 15 November 1983, lot 30. For what may be an early bronze reduction of the *Pluto and Proserpine* in the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, see P. Cannon-Brookes, "Three Centuries of Sculpture," *Apollo* 88 (April 1968): 257, figs. 9–11. It is worth noting that no bronze reductions of the *Saint Bibiana* (the marble of which was also commissioned by the Barberini pope Urban VIII) are identifiable in any of the Barberini inventories. The bronze reduction of the *Saint Bibiana* formerly in the Gaines Collection (sale, Christie's, New York, 2 June 1993, lot 221) has a very high level of finish and a golden reddish patina characteristic of Soldani's bronze statuettes after famous antiques and other "modern" classics. A bronze version of the *Saint Bibiana* appears in *Description sommaire des statues, figures, bustes, vases, et autres morceaux de sculptures . . . provenans du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat dont la vente se fera le 14 Dec. 1750* (Paris, 1750), 19, lot 60: "Sainte Bibiane, très-beau bronze fait sur le modèle de la Statue du Bernin qui est à Rome dans l'Eglise de cette Sainte martyre; sa hauteur est de 18 pouces." A boxwood reduction (H: 45.5 cm) of the *Saint Bibiana* was advertised for sale by the Rotterdam dealer Charles van der Heyden, in *Apollo* 124 (October 1986): 49. The small bronze bust published by M. Weil ("A Bronzetto of Scipione Borghese by Bernini," *Source* 8–9 [summer–fall 1989]: 32–39) appears, judging from the photographs in his article, more likely to be cast from a wax model than a terra-cotta, as Weil asserts.
18. See Wittkower, *Gianlorenzo Bernini*, 3d ed., nos. 32, 55, and C. D'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma* (Rome, 1957), 65–77. In the early documents regarding the *Fontana del moro*, when the sea creature is mentioned specifically, it is referred to as a fish, but most later writers have seen it as a dolphin. See also L. C. Alloisi, ed., *Il Tritone restaurato* (Rome, 1988), and the entry by N. Courtright, in *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini from the Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig*, exh. cat., ed. I. Lavin (Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1981), 108–19. For a bronze reduction of the figure from the *Fontana del moro*, see R. Varese, *Placchette e bronzi, nelle civiche collezioni*, exh. cat. (Florence: Centro Di, 1975), no. 164.
19. H. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten 15–18 Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig, 1967), devotes only a very brief chapter to Baroque Rome, and the majority of objects he illustrates are undatable casts that are reductions of larger marbles by leading sculptors such as Algardi and Bernini. The most recent survey of bronzes—V. Krahn, ed., *Von allen Seiten schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1995)—does nothing to advance our knowledge of Roman bronzes; to the contrary, nos. 187 and 188 present as Roman mid-seventeenth century two statuettes that, on the basis of style and facture, seem more likely to be French eighteenth-century bronzes.
20. See esp. Montagu, "Two Small Bronzes," 566–71; idem, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New York and London, 1989), chap. 3; and idem, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque* (Princeton, 1996), 3–7. See also A. Radcliffe, "Two Bronzes from the Circle of Bernini," *Apollo*, n.s., 108 (December 1978): 418–23.
21. J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven and London, 1985), vol. 2, nos. 8, 11, 31, 42, 66.

## ANTONIO SUSINI

Florence, active 1572–1624

## OR GIOVANNI FRANCESCO SUSINI

Florence, 1585–c. 1653

## AFTER A MODEL BY GIAMBOLOGNA (GIOVANNI BOLOGNA)

Douai 1529–Florence 1608

*Lion Attacking a Horse  
and Lion Attacking  
a Bull*

First quarter of the seventeenth  
century  
Bronze

Horse group:  
H: 24 cm (9½ in.)  
W: 28 cm (11 in.)

Bull group:  
H: 20.3 cm (8 in.)  
W: 27.3 cm (10¾ in.)

94.SB.II.1 (horse); 94.SB.II.2 (bull)

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

There are remnants of a faint A painted in varnish on the lion's back in both bronzes.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The bronzes retain their warm, translucent golden brown patinas, except in a few small areas where they are worn or scratched. There is presently a wax coating on the surface. *Lion Attacking a Horse* was cast with an irregular oval base, which has threaded holes for mounting it to a socle. *Lion Attacking a Bull* was cast without a base; iron pins attached to the underside of the hooves and shins of the bull function as mounting devices. Cracks appear on the rear left leg of the horse in the first group. ICP-MS determined the metal composition to be a leaded copper-tin alloy, which was generally consistent for both groups (see appendix B). The bronzes were cast using the indirect lost-wax process. Both groups

were modeled in a number of separate sections, which were joined in the wax: X rays of the horse group reveal wax-to-wax joins at the horse's rear left leg and front right leg, the lion's rear right thigh, and the lion's waist; X rays of the bull group record similar joins at the bull's neck, the bull's belly in front of its hind legs, and the lion's lower waist. The first group was cast in at least three parts, which were joined in the metal: the horse's head, chest, and front legs; the base, lion, and back of the horse; and the lion's tail. The horse's rear left leg was also separately cast, probably as the result of a repair. The second group was cast in at least four separate pieces, which were joined in the metal: the bull's head, chest, and front legs with the lion's front paw; the lion and the bull's back half; and the lion's tail. The bull's tail may or may not have been separately cast. Round plugs, many threaded, were used to fill core-pin holes and repair porous areas in both bronzes. The extensive refinement and sharpening of details after casting are apparent from the tool marks visible in both bronzes, for instance, the traces of a chisel in recesses, punch marks in the muzzles of both lions, and wire brush lines following the contours of the muscles. Thin-section analysis of core from the *Horse* revealed three different clay-sand mixtures distinguished by their color: one red, one gray, and one yellow. The red samples from the horse group were consistent in composition with core taken from the bull group. TL (Berlin, 1994) yielded an approximate date of manufacture for the first group between 1646 and 1682 and for the second group between 1637 and 1673.

## PROVENANCE

Beauvais collection, England (sale, collection of Mr. Beauvais, 2 March 1738 or 1739, to Sir Jacob Bouverie); Sir Jacob Bouverie (created baron of Longford and Viscount Folkestone in

1747, father of the first earl of Radnor), Bart., Longford Castle, near Salisbury, Wiltshire; by descent to the eighth earl of Radnor (sale, Christie's, London, 7 December 1993, lot 108, sold to Cyril Humphris); Cyril Humphris, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

D. Alberge, "Bronzes to Secure Future of House," *Independent*, 16 September 1993, 4; S. J. Checkland, "Repair Bills Force Sale of Statues," *Times*, 17 September 1993, 16; G. T., "Handel und Auktionen," *Kunst und Antiquitäten*, no. 12 ([December] 1993): 61; "Casting a Wider Net," *Art and Auction* 17 (December 1994): 74; P. Jodidio, "Le monastère de Brentwood," *Connaissance des arts*, no. 511 (November 1994): 137; S. Melikian, "A Tale of Shrinking Supply," *Art and Auction* 16 (March 1994): 70, 76; "Works of Art Sales: Giambolognas Give Christie's a Small Edge," *Art Newspaper*, no. 34 (January 1994): 26; S. Melikian, "Acquisitions: Sculpture," *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar* (winter 1994–95): unpaginated; "Acquisitions/1994," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1994): 122, no. 102; C. Herchenröder, "Der Markt für die alte Skulptur," *Weltkunst* 65 (June 1995): 1669; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 19; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 48–49, 76; sale cat., Christie's, London, 1 July 1997, lot 73 (mentioned in passing); P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 44–45.







23A *Lion Attacking a Horse*, c. 3d century B.C. Marble. H: 148 cm (58 1/4 in.); D: 240 cm (94 1/2 in.). Rome, garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori inv. 1692. Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

THE TWO BRONZES DEPICT vivid scenes of combat between a lion and a horse in one composition, and a lion and bull in the other.<sup>1</sup> The position of the lion, attacking from the side and biting into the back of its prey, is virtually identical in both groups. The positions of the defeated victims, each of which turns its head back toward the lion, are also similar despite the fact that the bull remains standing on its hind legs while the horse collapses sideways, its legs buckling underneath it. In both bronzes the twisted head and neck of the victim turn the composition back on itself, creating a circular movement that is complementary in both groups when paired, either head to head or rear to rear. The rich golden brown patina and the highly detailed and consistently precise chasing in the Getty bronzes—apparent, for example, in the ripples along the horse's bent neck, the ridges on the roof of the horse's open mouth, the emphatic lines of stretched and torn flesh beneath the lions' claws and teeth, and the carefully punched whiskers on the lions' muzzles—transform these works into precious, jewellike objects, despite their gruesome, violent subjects.

The composition of *Lion Attacking a Horse* is derived from an ancient marble sculpture in the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (FIG. 23A).<sup>2</sup> Giambologna

may have seen the sculpture during his sojourn in Rome from 1550 to 1552 or on a trip with Antonio Susini around 1588.<sup>3</sup> At either date the ancient group would have been a fragment in which the horse's front and hind legs, neck, and head, as well as the lion's rear legs and tail, were missing.<sup>4</sup> The bronze *Lion Attacking a Horse* may in fact represent a proposed solution for the marble's restoration, which predates that implemented by the Milanese sculptor Ruggiero Bescapè in 1594.<sup>5</sup> In Bescapè's restoration the horse's neck stretches forward to create a more linear, frontal composition than in the bronze. *Lion Attacking a Bull* may be derived from one or more antique prototypes, since the subject appears in marble fragments and on the reverse of an ancient coin.<sup>6</sup> No exact source for the composition is, however, known.

The bronze animal groups exist in numerous casts, display a wide range of quality, and vary frequently in detail, giving rise to speculation regarding their authorship.<sup>7</sup> The controversy over attribution extends to the conception and design of each composition, as well as to its execution in bronze. No casts of either group are signed by Giambologna. He is credited with the design of both subjects, however, in a 1611 list of bronzes owned by Augsburg collector Markus Zeh, in Filippo Baldinucci's 1688 *Notizie de' professori del*



23B Antonio Susini. *Lion Attacking a Horse*, early 17th century. Bronze. H: 24.1 cm (9½ in.); W: 30.5 cm (12 in.). Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase, inv. 25.20.



23C Antonio Susini. *Lion Attacking a Bull*, early 17th century. Bronze. H: 21 cm (8¼ in.); W: 26.5 cm (10¾ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. OA 6062.

*disegno*, and in the early eighteenth-century engravings of François Girardon's *Galerie*.<sup>8</sup> Despite the consistent assertion of these early sources, Giambologna's invention of one or more of the animal compositions has been called into question. James Holderbaum doubted his involvement in the design of these "mere perfunctory juxtapositions of two forms."<sup>9</sup>

Most recently, Charles Avery assigned the creation of *Lion and Horse* to Antonio Susini, leaving Giambologna responsible for only *Lion Attacking a Bull*. A member of Giambologna's workshop until around 1600, Susini made numerous casts from the master's models, and his superior technical skill in doing so was acknowledged by Giambologna himself.<sup>10</sup> That Susini produced bronze casts of the animal groups in particular is evidenced by his signature on four extant versions: a *Lion Attacking a Horse* in the Detroit Institute of Arts (FIG. 23B); a *Lion Attacking a Bull* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (FIG. 23C); and a *Lion Attacking a Horse* and *Lion Attacking a Bull* in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome.<sup>11</sup> Susini signed the *Lion and Horse* bronzes with the word *opus* (work of) but used an abbreviation for *fecit* (made) for the *Lion and Bull*. Therefore, Avery argued, Susini was the primary author of the *Lion and Horse*, and only the bronze caster of the *Lion and Bull*. According to this hypothesis, Susini modeled *Lion Attacking a Horse* based on its ancient prototype, which he may have copied while in Rome with Giambologna,<sup>12</sup> and Giambologna freely modeled *Lion and Bull* as a pendant. Despite its derivation from an antique, however, *Lion and Horse* is the more original group, masterfully completing a fragmentary work to create a strikingly kinetic composition. *Lion and Bull*, by contrast, followed the basic compositional principles of *Lion and Horse* and therefore required less inventive skill. Even taking into account the fluid relationships within a large, organized workshop, it seems unlikely that Giambologna would create a model following a design by Susini, who was not known as an inventor.

Baldinucci notes that Giovanni Francesco Susini, Antonio's nephew and an outstanding bronze caster, also produced many bronzes from Giambologna's models, including the two animal combats.<sup>13</sup> No casts of these subjects are signed by Giovanni Francesco. Versions of the bronzes in Liechtenstein were apparently purchased by Karl Eusebius

von Liechtenstein from the younger Susini along with several of the sculptor's original, signed compositions, however, and their attribution to Giovanni Francesco would seem to support Baldinucci's assertion.<sup>14</sup> Although the Liechtenstein *Lion Attacking a Horse* is cast from the normative model of this subject (consistent with the signed Antonio Susini bronzes and the Getty example), the pendant composition is a variant representing a spotted leopard, rather than a lion, attacking a bull. Baldinucci's description of one of the animal combats as "the bull killed by the tiger" may refer to this composition, which must have existed in more casts than are known today since it appears in Girardon's *Galerie*.<sup>15</sup> There seems to have been some confusion, however, in seventeenth-century nomenclature for wild felines; the Liechtenstein *Leopard Attacking a Bull* is listed as "an ox and lion" in a 1658 inventory of Karl Eusebius's "Quarrobba."<sup>16</sup> Therefore, Baldinucci's choice of words may not necessarily have been intended to distinguish a variant, and it is also possible that he was referring to a cast by Giovanni Francesco of Giambologna's primary model, *Lion Attacking a Bull*.<sup>17</sup> In fact, James D. Draper has argued that the Liechtenstein variant represents an original composition by Giovanni Francesco and not a cast after Giambologna's model, and his attribution has gained general acceptance.<sup>18</sup>

Attempts have been made to distinguish individual casts as the work of Antonio or Giovanni Francesco Susini. Manfred Leithe-Jasper used quality and stylistic criteria to assign a *Lion and Bull* in Vienna to Antonio based on a comparison with Antonio's signed casts.<sup>19</sup> The presence or absence of a signature has also been used as a basis for attribution. The unsigned Getty animal groups were published as attributed to the younger Susini "since he, unlike his uncle, did not sign casts of models by another artist."<sup>20</sup> Giovanni Francesco did, however, sign copies of antiquities, such as the *Seated (Ludovisi) Mars* (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum), *Dying Gladiator* (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello), and *Sleeping Hermaphrodite* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).<sup>21</sup> The use of the same molds and casting techniques by both Susini limits the ability of X-radiographs to distinguish between their bronzes.<sup>22</sup> The Getty versions of *Lion Attacking a Horse* and *Lion Attacking a Bull* are equal or superior to Antonio Susini's signed casts in their handling of details, precision of chasing, richness of

surface treatment, and patina. There is no doubt that they are early casts, but their attribution to Antonio, as opposed to Giovanni Francesco, cannot be made with any certainty.

In general, the attribution of casts of the animal groups is complicated by the fact that their production persisted long after the deaths of Giambologna and the two Susini. Many casts of *Lion Attacking a Horse* and *Lion Attacking a Bull* exhibit compositional revisions that indicate a later date. The most common is the addition of a base to *Lion Attacking a Bull* to make it consistent with its pendant. This variation occurred at least by the mid- to late seventeenth century, since the group with base appears in an imaginary collector's cabinet painted by Jan Breughel the Younger (1601–78).<sup>23</sup> Bronze examples of this type are found in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig; and Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome.<sup>24</sup> Variations in later casts of the *Lion Attacking a Horse* include the reworking of the base and the exclusion of certain details, such as the wrinkled folds of the horse's neck below the jaw. Versions of this type are found in the Royal Ontario Museum, the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, and the Museo di Palazzo Venezia.<sup>25</sup> A paired *Lion Attacking a Horse* and *Lion Attacking a Bull* in the Bargello, which are integrally cast with late Baroque Florentine bases and exhibit several revisions in the animals' poses and features, have been attributed to Massimiliano Soldani Benzi.<sup>26</sup> In a 1702 letter to the prince of Liechtenstein, Soldani listed the groups among the wax models in his studio.<sup>27</sup> Giovanni Battista Foggini also made wax models of the groups, presumably for casting in bronze.<sup>28</sup>

A variant of *Lion Attacking a Horse*, which is sometimes titled *Lion Attacking a Stallion*, is derived from the same antique prototype as the Getty bronze but closely follows Bescapè's restoration and therefore dates after 1594. The four known examples of this variant, which have been attributed to Antonio Susini, working from a model by Giambologna, are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; the Art Institute of Chicago; and the Robert H. Smith collection, Washington, D.C.<sup>29</sup> The horse's mane is neatly clipped in the Vienna, Chicago, and Smith versions; except for the Smith example, all the bronzes are cast with low oval bases. It is difficult to imagine



23D *Lion Attacking a Horse*, detail, horse's head



23E *Lion Attacking a Horse*, back view

Giambologna creating this more open composition after having invented the model with the horse's head turned back toward the lion, thereby creating a kind of *figura serpentinata* arrangement that is both more ingenious and more in keeping with the sculptor's style.

The iconography and function of the *Lion Attacking a Horse* and *Lion Attacking a Bull* have never been fully examined. In the past, Giambologna's small animal bronzes have been dismissed as relatively insignificant genre productions undertaken for commercial reasons and reminiscent of the northern traditions in which the sculptor trained.<sup>30</sup> Although Brita von Götz-Mohr hinted at their function as political allegories, the combat groups are most frequently analyzed on a formal basis as exercises in Mannerist compositional principles applied to animal subjects.<sup>31</sup> Giambologna's depictions of animal combats belong to a

larger cultural context, however, in which animals were used for political aims. Public spectacles of animal fights and animal slaughters—staged by rulers to convey specific political messages—coincided with artistic representations commissioned to lend this symbolism permanence and, in the medium of bronze, preciousness.

A menagerie of lions was maintained at public expense in the city of Florence from the thirteenth century until 1777—first opposite the Baptistery, then, in 1319, on the future site of the Loggia dei Lanzi, and finally, in 1550, opposite the hospital of San Matteo in the Piazza San Marco.<sup>32</sup> Their ownership implied some degree of wealth and power since they were either captured from exotic lands or received as diplomatic gifts.<sup>33</sup> The lion became the heraldic symbol of Florence and, under Medici rule, of ducal power.<sup>34</sup> The behavior of the living lions was considered an omen for the



23F *Lion Attacking a Horse*, alternate view

city: the birth of a lion signified prosperity; a death foretold tragedy.<sup>35</sup> In addition to serving as objects of curiosity and ornaments of power, the lions and other exotic animals housed in the Piazza San Marco were used in animal fights, or *caccie*, organized in the great piazzas for Florentines and foreign visitors. These combats were staged to celebrate festival days, such as the Feast of San Giovanni; official papal or diplomatic visits, such as that of Pius II; and ducal marriages, such as that of Francesco I and Joanna of Austria in 1565. A medley of wild and domestic animals—lions, leopards, bears, buffaloes, horses, bulls—were brought into the piazza to fight in accordance with contemporary notions of natural behavior. Descriptions of lions fighting a bull or attacking a horse by pouncing on its back bring to mind Giambologna's animal bronzes.<sup>36</sup> That the attacks were given political associations is demonstrated by the fact that, if the lions did not fight as expected and became passive, it was interpreted as a divine symbol of Florentine peace and an injunction to the duke, her master, to maintain it.<sup>37</sup>

Under Medici rule *caccie* became increasingly frequent and violent, often involving a massive slaughter of animals.<sup>38</sup> Their political message was multilayered. They demonstrated human, and especially ducal, mastery over nature, “a symbolic expression of ruling class power.”<sup>39</sup> They were a conscious reenactment of a form of spectacle practiced under the Roman Empire and described by ancient authors, and they therefore associated the duke and the city with the glory of imperial Rome.<sup>40</sup> Especially in Florence, the victory of one animal—particularly a lion—over another symbolized the duke's supremacy. The *caccia* continued as a form of political display until 1737, when the last combat was staged to celebrate Francis of Lorraine's succession to the grand-ducal throne.<sup>41</sup> The bronze *Lion Attacking a Horse* and *Lion Attacking a Bull* should be considered within this context. While their subjects recalled actual scenes, their compositions conformed to ancient sculptural conventions and therefore reinforced associations between contemporary *caccie* and antiquity. By making permanent the fleeting spectacle of the animal combat, the bronzes may have served as elaborate souvenirs of important political themes and events.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



23G *Lion Attacking a Bull*, back view

#### Notes

1. The author is grateful to Anna Jolly, former intern in the Department of European Sculpture, for her help in gathering and interpreting the material for this entry.
2. Originally located on the staircase leading to the Loggia Senatori, the marble was moved to the Piazza del Campidoglio around 1550 and to the Palazzo dei Conservatori in 1594. See F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981), 250, no. 54; B. Schmidt-Nechel, “Zur Lowenkampfgruppe auf dem Kapitol,” *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Archäologischer Anzeiger*, no. 2 (1992): 267–75. C. Avery (*Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* [Oxford, 1987], 60) further suggested that a lion hunt scene engraved by Jan Ewoutz. Muller around 1540–45 influenced the design of the bronze *Lion Attacking a Horse*. For the engraving, which may be after Jan van Scorel, see *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1986), no. 118. Although the compositions are generally similar, the position of the horse’s neck in the engraving is different from that in the bronze. In the engraving the horse twists its head forward and sideways to look and whinny at the lion, whereas in the bronze the horse’s head is thrown back and over the top of the lion, in a gesture of anguish rather than defense. Since the dramatic position of the horse’s neck is the essential innovation of the bronze’s composition, this would seem to be a significant contrast. If the engraving influenced the model for the bronze, it was only as a point of departure. The two compositions were, however, more likely independent of each other. The position of the lion in the bronze is also similar to that of a lioness attacking a horse in a print by Antonio Tempesta of circa 1600 (S. Buffa, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch* [New York, 1983], vol. 36, 175).
3. Avery, *Giambologna*, 16; E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne, Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo* (Brussels, 1956), 41.
4. The appearance of the ancient group prior to restoration is recorded in a fifteenth-century anonymous drawing (*Zeichner sehen die Antike*, exh. cat. [Berlin-Dahlem: Staatliche Museen, 1967], 21–22, no. 4) and in an engraving published by G. B. de Cavalleriis, *Antiquarium Statuarum Urbis Romae* (Rome, [c. 1580]), vol. 1, 79.
5. Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 250.
6. An incomplete Hellenistic marble of a lion attacking a bull is in the Allan Memorial Art Museum in Oberlin, Ohio, for which see M. Sturgeon, “A Hellenistic Lion-Bull Group in Oberlin,” *Allan Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 33 (1975–76): 28–44. S. Reinach (*Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* [Paris, 1909], vol. 2, 721) reproduces another ancient group of a lion and bull. A silver coin from Tarsus that depicts a lion attacking a bull in the British Museum is reproduced in Avery, *Giambologna*, 59. For a general discussion of lions as predators in ancient art, see G. E. Markoe, “The ‘Lion Attack’ in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph,” *Classical Antiquity* 8 (April 1989): 86–115. A sixteenth-century engraving from the school of Fontainebleau showing a “lion terrassant un taureau qu’il mord à la nuque” was recorded by Bartsch (*Le peintre graveur* [Paris, 1818], vol. 16, 411, no. 88), suggesting that the motif may have been known through engravings as well as ancient fragments. A similar example is found in Antonio Tempesta’s print *Lion Attacking a Bull* (Buffa, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 179). The specific pairing of lions and bulls for combat occurred in public spectacles in the sixteenth century, which may have been a more direct source for the bronze groups. See discussion above.
7. Versions of the *Lion Attacking a Horse*, including some variants, are in the following collections: Detroit Institute of Arts (signed Antonio Susini); collection of the prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz; Palazzo Corsini, Rome (signed Antonio Susini); Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome (formerly Barsanti collection); Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig; Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; Robert H. Smith collection, Washington, D.C.; formerly collection of Marcello Guidi, Florence (Middeldorf photo archive, Getty Research Institute); formerly Huldinsky collection, Berlin; formerly

- Hommel collection, Zurich (the latter two cited in L. Pollak, *Bronzi italiani: Raccolta Alfredo Barsanti* [Rome, 1922], 86); private collection, Paris, 1994 (exhibited, Exposition Universelle, 1900; sold, Sotheby's, London, 12 December 1996, lot 84); formerly Edward Steinkoff collection (sale, Christie's, London, 22 May 1935, lot 61); Heim Gallery, London, autumn exhibition, 1970, lot 59; sale, Christie's, London, 5 December 1989, lot 134; sale, Sotheby's, London, 9 July 1992, lot 149; Agnew's, London, 1993. Casts of *Lion Attacking a Bull*, including variants, are found in Musée du Louvre, Paris (signed Antonio Susini); Palazzo Corsini, Rome (signed Antonio Susini); Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; collection of the Augustinian monastery, Klosterneuburg; Royal Ontario Museum; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum; Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum; National Museum, Stockholm; Museo Nazionale del Bargello; Museo di Palazzo Venezia (formerly Barsanti collection); formerly Lessing collection, Berlin (cited in Pollak, *Bronzi italiani*, 87); formerly Esterhazy collection, then private collection, Paris (cited in H. Weihrauch, *Die Bildwerke in Bronze und in anderen Metallen*, Kataloge/Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München, no. 13, 5 [Munich, 1956], 98); formerly Schraffl collection, Zurich (cited *ibid.*) private collection, Paris, 1994 (exhibited, Exposition Universelle, 1900; sold, Sotheby's, London, 12 December 1996, lot 84); Heim Gallery, London, autumn 1970, lot 60; sale, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, 12 December 1990, lot 18; sale, Sotheby's, London, 9 July 1992, lot 149.
8. O. Doering (*Des Augsburger Patriciers Philipp Hainhofer Beziehungen zum Herzog Philipp II von Pommern-Stettin* [Vienna, 1896], 96–97) publishes a letter from ducal agent Philipp Hainhofer to Philipp II of Pomerania-Stettin which records Markus Zeh's list of bronzes in his Augsburg collection. The list is introduced with the heading "Nota di 10. figure di bronzo opere del S. Cau. e Gio: Bologna" and "Li seguenti 10. pezzi di bronzo sono tutti di mano del E.mo S.r Cav. Gio. Bologna . . . un gruppo d'un liono, ch'amazza un cavallo. un gruppo d'un liono, ch'uccide un toro." F. Baldinucci attributes the models for these animal groups to Giambologna and acknowledges that they continued to be cast in bronze in Baldinucci's own time: "Appresso sarà nota de'gruppi, che si fanno di bronzo co' modelli di Gio. Bologna, oltre alle figure semplici di crocifissi, ed altre figure di maschi e femmine ed animali bellissimi . . . Il cavallo ucciso dal leone. Il toro ucciso dal tigre" (*Notizie dei professori del disegno* [Florence, 1846], vol. 2, 583). (The question of whether Baldinucci's specification of a tiger in the second group was intentional or mistaken is addressed in note 17.) F. Souchal ("La collection du sculpteur Girardon d'après son inventaire après décès," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 82 [1973]: 54–55) published the engravings of Girardon's collection, in which animal groups are described as: "deux groupes de Bronze . . . par J. de Boulogne réparé par A. Soucine."
  9. J. Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna* (New York and London, 1983), 63.
  10. Letter from Giambologna to Belisario Vinta, 6 August 1605, published in Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, 371–72: "un mio allievo, chiamato Antonio Susini, ha gitato nelle mie forme di molte statuette per mandare in Allamagna; quali sono delle più belle cose che si possono avere dalle mie mani."
  11. For the Detroit *Lion Attacking a Horse* (inv. 25.20), signed ANT.O SVSINI FLORE.OPVS, see *Giambologna: Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1978), no. 170. For the Paris *Lion Attacking a Bull*, signed ANT./SVSI/NI.F. under the bull's right hoof, see *ibid.*, no. 171; G. Migeon, "Les accroissements des musées," *Arts* 76 (1908): 10; *Bronzes of the Italian Renaissance: Twenty-two Unpublished Statuettes*, exh. cat. (New York: Paul Rosenberg & Co., 1981), fig. 119. The bronze, which bears the French royal inventory number 19, is recorded in the royal inventory of 1684 published by J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire général de la couronne sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1886), 34, no. 19. The Rome *Lion Attacking a Horse*, signed ANT.SVSI/INI OPVS/FLORE., and the *Lion Attacking a Bull*, signed ANT./SUSINI/F., were identified in the 1978 Giambologna exhibition (*Sculptor to the Medici*, nos. 172–73) as being in the collection of the Museo di Palazzo Venezia. This location was also given in Avery, *Giambologna*, 59. Palazzo Venezia contains a later, unsigned, inferior pair of animal groups, however, which were published by A. Santangelo, *Museo di Palazzo Venezia: Catalogo delle sculture* (Rome, 1954), 57–58, with an attribution to Giovanni Francesco Susini. A. Radcliffe (*The Robert H. Smith Collection: Bronzes, 1500–1650* [London, 1994], 68) located the signed groups in the Palazzo Corsini, describing them as having been on loan to the Palazzo Venezia. The ebony and hardstone bases of both groups are engraved P.C. (presumably for Palazzo Corsini).
  12. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, vol. 4, 110, notes that in Rome Giambologna had Susini make copies of "the most marvellous statues of the city."
  13. *Ibid.*, 118: "e gettare ogni sorta di figure di bronzo, e moltissime ne gettò con modello do Gio. Bologna; tali furono . . . il cavallo ucciso dal leone, il toro morto dalla tigre."
  14. See O. Raggio's introduction and J. D. Draper's entry in *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 63, 71–72, nos. 40–41. The bronzes are recorded in the 1658 inventory of the "Quadarobba" of Karl Eusebius in Feldsberg and Vienna as "Item einen Ochssen undt Löwen, wie sie einander erwürgen. Item ein Ross, wie der Löw dasselbige geworffen undt umbbringen thut." See V. Fleischer, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein als Bauherr und Kunstsammler (1611–1684)* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1910), 70. See also E. Tietze-Conrat, "Die Bronzen der fürstlich Liechtensteinschen Kunstkammer," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der K.K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 11 (1917): 16–108.
  15. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, vol. 2, 583, vol. 4, 118. Souchal, "Collection du sculpteur Girardon," 54–55, no. 64.
  16. Fleischer, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein*, 70. On the classification and nomenclature of exotic animals in the Renaissance, see the chapter entitled "Naming the Animals," in J. B. Lloyd, *African Animals in Renaissance Literature and Art* (Oxford, 1971), 95–102.
  17. This assumption raises the basic problem of Baldinucci's text, which has not been addressed by writers on the animal groups. In both instances where Baldinucci mentions casts of the animal combats made

- from Giambologna's models (*Notizie*, vol. 2, 583, vol. 4, 118), he identifies one group as a tiger and bull. If Baldinucci simply confused the nomenclature in an effort to vary his prose, and meant to identify the *Lion Attacking a Bull*, then his text provides the basis for attributing casts of this model to Giovanni Francesco Susini. If Baldinucci actually intended to specify the variant *Leopard Attacking a Bull*, however, as represented by the Liechtenstein cast, then there is no textual evidence for attributing any of the normative *Lion Attacking a Bull* casts to Giovanni Francesco.
18. Draper, in *Liechtenstein*, 71–72, nos. 40–41. Girardon described his *Leopard Attacking a Bull* as “par J. de Boulogne réparé par A. Soucine” (Souchal, “Collection du sculpteur Girardon,” 54). Draper’s suggestion that Giovanni Francesco invented the *Leopard and Bull* specifically as a pendant to the *Lion and Horse* variant that follows Bescapè’s restoration of the antique group is questionable, since they never appear as a pair in early inventories or collections. For the most recent discussion and acceptance of Draper’s proposal, see Radcliffe, *Smith Collection*, 68.
  19. *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 228.
  20. “Acquisitions, 1994,” 122, no. 102.
  21. N. Penny, *Catalogue of European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1992), vol. 1, 137, no. 94.
  22. Technical report number GB36 by Francesca Bewer on the *Lion Attacking a Horse* in the Detroit Institute of Arts, 7 (JPGM object file). Bewer noted a striking similarity of joining methods (both in the wax and in the metal) between the Detroit and Getty versions of this composition. She concluded that “the method—and perhaps the molds—were passed down from Antonio to his nephew Giovanni Francesco.” It is also possible, however, that both bronzes were cast by Antonio.
  23. In the John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, alternately titled *Venus and Cupid in Picture Gallery* and *Allegory of Sight*. See J. Montagu, *Bronzes* (London, 1963), 82; *John G. Johnson Collection: Catalogue of Paintings* (Philadelphia, 1941), 22, no. 656; *Johnson Collection: Two Hundred and Eighty-eight Reproductions* (Philadelphia, 1953), 151, no. 656; *John G. Johnson Collection: Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings* (Philadelphia, 1972), 18, pl. 242.
  24. See C. Avery and K. C. Keeble, *Florentine Baroque Bronzes and Other Objects of Art* (Toronto, 1975), 15, and K. C. Keeble, *European Bronzes in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1982), 56–57, for the Toronto bronze; Weihrauch, *Bildwerke in Bronze*, 97–98, no. 122; idem, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten* (Braunschweig, 1967), 221, for the Munich version; W. von Bode, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Die italienischen Bildwerke der Renaissance und des Barock* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), vol. 2, 36–37, no. 172, for the Berlin group; idem, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, ed. J. D. Draper (Berlin, 1907–12), vol. 3, 5, pl. cc; S. Jacob, *Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum Braunschweig: Italienische Bronzen* (Braunschweig, 1972), 11–12, no. 16, for the version in Braunschweig; A. Santangelo, *Museo di Palazzo Venezia: Catalogo delle sculture* (Rome, 1954), 56, for the Palazzo Venezia bronze. A version of the *Lion and Bull* with an integrally cast base was exhibited at Heim Gallery, London, 10 November–23 December 1970, nos. 59–60. A very good quality cast of this type with a low base was exhibited at the Exposition Universelle of 1900 and sold at Sotheby’s, London, 12 December 1996, lot 84.
  25. See note 24 above for references.
  26. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten*, 221, 429, fig. 507; M. Leithe-Jasper, in *Renaissance Master Bronzes*, 228.
  27. K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* (Munich, 1962), 334, document no. 671.
  28. K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 161–62, figs. 250–51.
  29. See Radcliffe, *Smith Collection*, 62–65, no. 10.
  30. Holderbaum, *Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 62–63.
  31. See her essay “Die Kunst der ‘allieven,’” in *Die Bronzen der Fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt: Liebieghaus, 1986), 74–86.
  32. P. Gori, *Le feste fiorentine: Le feste per San Giovanni* (Florence, 1926), vol. 1, 344; E. Borsook, *The Companion Guide to Florence* (Englewood Cliffs and London, 1983), 37; M. M. Simari, in *Natura viva in Casa Medici*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 1985), 27. The collecting and maintenance of lions were practiced in numerous cities by rulers throughout Europe. The dukes of Burgundy, the king of England, René d’Anjou, Francis I, and the cities of Venice, Siena, and Ferrara, among others, maintained menageries of exotic animals, including lions. See Lloyd, *African Animals*, 41–47.
  33. Both Lorenzo de’ Medici and Pope Leo X received such animals as tribute. See C. Lazzaro’s important article on animals in Medici political symbolism, “Animals as Cultural Signs: A Medici Menagerie in the Grotto at Castello,” in *Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. C. Farago (New Haven and London, 1995), 197–227, esp. 225.
  34. Borsook, *Companion Guide*, 37, 42; D. Francioni, *Le feste di San Giovanni in Firenze* (Florence, 1887), 8.
  35. Gori, *Feste fiorentine*; F. Guicciardini, *Opere*, ed. V. de Caprariis (Milan, 1953), 190, described how the death of Lorenzo de’ Medici was foretold by many omens, including a fight among the Florentine lions, which resulted in the death of a “very beautiful one.”
  36. L. Landucci, *Diario fiorentino* (Florence, 1883), 347, 376. A contemporary described such a scene during the *caccia* in Piazza Santa Croce on May 5, 1589: “An extremely ferocious bull fought two lions. The crowd was not pleased since between them no one was slaughtered” (unpublished manuscript, quoted in S. Berner, “Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 [1971]: 226). Leo Africanus (originally named Hassan Ibn Muhammad, al Wazzan, al-Fasi) described a fight between a lion and bull that was staged for the king of Fez (*The History and Description of Africa . . . Done into English in the Year 1600* [London, 1896], 489). Lions attacking horses or bulls appear frequently in Renaissance art, and the motif became a sort of *topos* in



23H *Lion Attacking a Bull*, detail, lion's head

depictions of animal fights, which derived from direct observation, contemporary descriptions, artist's pattern books, and prints, as well as ancient images. See, for instance, an anonymous fifteenth-century Italian engraving reproduced in A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London, 1938), vol. 2, pl. 88; Jacopo Bellini's drawings *Lion Attacking a Horse* (British Museum sketchbook, 7v) and *Lions Attacking Horses* (British Museum sketchbook, 8), reproduced in C. Eisler, *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini* (New York, 1989), pls. 12–13; and Johannes Stradanus's designs for engravings of hunt scenes and public animal combats, reproduced in W. Bok-van Kammen, "Stradanus and the Hunt" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1997), and A. Baroni Vannucci, *Jan van der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano* (Milan, 1997), esp. nos. 347, 564, 582.

37. Anonymous poem describing the *caccia* of 1451, published in Gori, *Feste fiorentine*, 208–9. At other times the animals were incited to fight if they didn't behave as expected. Landucci (*Diario fiorentino*, 345) describes a device used in the *caccia* of 1514, which took the form of a tortoise filled with men, who used their lances to poke at and anger the wild animals.
38. Lazzaro, "Animals as Cultural Signs," 205. For the importance of public spectacles and processions for Medici politics, see

M. Plaisance, "La politique culturelle de Côme Ier et les fêtes annuelles à Florence de 1541 à 1550," in *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1975), 133–52; R. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston, 1973), 169–209.

39. J. Kruse, "The Spectacle of Slaughter: Hunting and the Papal Court in the Renaissance," *Melbourne Historical Journal* 20 (1990): 62. Kruse (p. 59) suggests that public urban spectacles reversed rural hunts as they were practiced in the sixteenth century. The hunt entailed driving animals into an open space for slaughter and cutting off their escape routes with nets or cloth, thereby transforming a country setting into an arena. The urban *caccia* often involved constructing a mock natural habitat of caves, fountains, and trees, into which the animals were released to act out their "natural" inclinations to fight. In both cases the hunt was a noble pursuit, a display of power, and a demonstration that nature exists for man's pleasure and therefore submits to his will.
40. For animal combats and slaughters in Roman times and their descriptions by ancient authors, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (Ithaca, 1973), 16–31.
41. Gori, *Feste fiorentine*, 209; *Natura viva in Casa Medici*, 28.

## GIOVANNI FRANCESCO SUSINI

Florence 1585–c. 1653

*The Abduction of Helen by Paris*

1627

Bronze on gilt bronze socle

H (with socle): 68 cm (26¾ in.)

W: 34.2 cm (13½ in.)

D: 33.7 cm (13¼ in.)

H (without socle): 49.5 cm (19½ in.)

90.SB.32

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Signed on the base,

IO.FR.SUSINI/FLOR.FAC./MDCXXVII.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The sculpture is coated with a translucent golden brown patina that is well preserved except in a small area around Paris's genitalia. The surface was carefully chased overall, concealing the repairs. Fine polish lines run parallel to the limbs, and a hammer or punch was used to texture the base. A round hole above Paris's penis remains from the attachment of a fig leaf, now lost. Two round holes in the integral base serve as a means of attachment to a socle. ICP-MS revealed the metal composition to be a leaded copper-tin alloy (see appendix B). The sculpture was cast indirectly using the lost-wax method. X rays indicate that each of the three figures of the composition was modeled in parts and joined in the wax, and drip marks suggest that the wax casting model was slush-molded (see appendix A). The sculpture was cast in two separate parts, which were joined in the metal:

(1) Paris and Helen and (2) the recumbent female figure and the base. Numerous threaded plugs and cast-in repairs of various sizes appear in all three figures and served to repair casting flaws or fill core-pin holes. There is a rectangular metal patch on Helen's right shoulder. X rays show cast-in repairs in the reclining figure's left arm and in Paris's mid-torso. Helen's three left middle fingers and the reclining figure's left index finger are later replacements cast in a copper-zinc alloy. Petrographic analysis revealed the core to be a clay-sand mixture.

## PROVENANCE

Collection of Jean-Baptiste Machault d'Arnouville, minister of finance under Louis XV, Paris;<sup>1</sup> by descent to Geneviève Françoise Aglaé de Machault d'Arnouville, granddaughter of Jean-Baptiste and wife of Gaspard Marie Victor, comte de Choiseul Daillecourt, Paris;<sup>2</sup> by descent to their daughter Mlle de Choiseul Daillecourt, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 21 May 1896, lot 1, unsold); by descent to the heirs of the de Choiseul Daillecourt and Machault d'Arnouville families, Château de Thoiry (sold, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, 15 April 1989, lot A, to Ventbroach Fine Art Ltd.); Ventbroach Fine Art Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno* (Florence, 1846), vol. 4, 118; "Pour attirer plus de visiteurs au château de Thoiry, un zoo," *Connaissance des arts*, no. 191 (January 1968):

78; Arnault-Plessis, "Thoiry, réserve de meubles précieux," *Plaisir de France* 40 (April 1973): figs. 9, 10; G. Bazin, "Susini's Rape of Helen," *Drouot 1989* (Paris, 1989), 180–83; "Elena e Paride secondo Susini," *Giornale dell'arte*, no. 67 (May 1989): 77; P. Lemonnier and P. Leperlier, "Machault d'Arnouville collectionneur," *Estampille*, no. 224 (April 1989): 32–33; S. Melikian, "French Weigh Reform of System Dating to 1556," *International Herald Tribune*, 28–29 October 1989, 12; S. Melikian, "Image Hunting and the Price of Art," *Art and Auction* 12 (September 1989): 136; S. Melikian, "When Art History Takes Precedence over Aesthetics," *International Herald Tribune*, 22–23 April 1989, 6–7; "Record absolu pour un objet d'art ancien," *Gazette*, no. 16 (21 April 1989): 17; "Reviews," *Art and Auction* 11 (June 1989): 202; F. D.-R., "En tête depuis 80 ans," *Connaissance des arts*, no. 456 (February 1990): 40, fig. 3; N. Powell, "Divorce, French Style," *Art and Auction* 13 (October 1990): 212, 214; "Sculpture and Works of Art," *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, November 1990, unpaginated; "Acquisitions/1990," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 19 (1991): 165, no. 59; G. Pratesi, ed., *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento* (Turin, 1993), vol. 1, 61, and vol. 3, pls. 621–25; "Quelques enchères importantes réalisées par Jacques Tajan," *Optimiste*, no. 10 (1994): 3; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 49; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 254–55; P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 56–59.

THIS SIGNED BRONZE GROUP by Giovanni Francesco Susini depicts the Trojan prince Paris, nude except for his cap, lifting the struggling figure of Helen against his hip as he steps over a fallen female figure, presumably one of Helen's maidservants. The composition, integrally cast with a rocky base suggestive of landscape, has been set into a later gilt bronze socle of Rococo form and decoration which once bore the Machault d'Arnouville coat of arms.<sup>3</sup> The composition is oriented toward one primary viewpoint. The

arrangement of the figures' limbs and the direction of their glances compel the beholder to regard the bronze from its secondary views, however, which are not all equally successful. The centripetal force of the composition stems largely from the twisting action of Paris, who suspends Helen's body in midair at his waist and seems about to complete that spiraling motion by swinging her around in front of him. The weight of Helen's less than girlish figure is convincingly suggested by the apparent slipping of her position against Paris's





24A Detail, Paris's face

body and the strong, clutching grasp with which he must hold her up. The naturalistic details of the composition are exquisitely modeled and precisely finished, as seen in the fingernails, the pupils of the eyes, the coiled band adorning Helen's hair, the bulging veins in Paris's hands, and the punched striations of the integral base.

In conceiving his three-figure abduction group, which Filippo Baldinucci specifically called the sculptor's own invention,<sup>4</sup> Susini must have been influenced by Giambologna's marble *Rape of a Sabine* in the Loggia dei Lanzi, of which Susini himself produced bronze reductions.<sup>5</sup> The spiral motion of the composition and the inclusion of a third, recumbent figure—required for support in marble

but completely unnecessary, structurally and thematically, in the bronze—recall Giambologna's Sabine group. The sense of realistic movement and expression in Susini's bronze is in marked contrast, however, to the weightless, choreographed poses in Giambologna's three-figure group. Susini's *Abduction of Helen* has been characterized by Martin Raumschüssel and Anthea Brook as a more Baroque work manifesting, for the first time in Florentine sculpture, the influence of Gianlorenzo Bernini.<sup>6</sup> Susini would have been exposed to Bernini's early work during a trip to Rome recorded by Baldinucci.<sup>7</sup> Susini's Roman sojourn is usually dated to the early 1620s since the antiquities he copied in bronze reductions—for example, the Ludovisi *Mars*, which entered the



24B Three-quarter view from proper left



24C Profile from proper left



24D Three-quarter back view from proper left



24E Back view



24F Three-quarter back view from proper right



24G Profile from proper right



2411 Detail, Helen's face



24 I Giovanni Francesco Susini. *The Abduction of Helen by Paris*, 1626. Bronze. H: 32 cm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$  in). Dresden, Skulpturensammlung inv. H.153/G.



24 J Giovanni Francesco Susini. *The Abduction of Helen by Paris*, 1626 (see fig. 24 I). Three-quarter view from proper left.

Ludovisi collection in Rome in 1622—would not have been available for study prior to that date.<sup>8</sup> The influence of Bernini's *Rape of Proserpine*, which was completed by the summer of 1622 and transferred to the Palazzo Ludovisi in 1623, is apparent in several aspects of Susini's bronze: its open composition oriented toward one principal view; Paris's striding pose; the position of Helen's upper body and her anguished, open-mouthed expression; and the treatment of the surface around Paris's fingers to convey a sense of Helen's soft, yielding flesh.<sup>9</sup> Susini's evocation of scenographic details through the addition of a landscape base is another Baroque element that presages a recurring and characteristic feature of small bronzes by Giovanni Battista Foggini and Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (see cat. nos. 31, 35).

Earlier, in 1626, Susini cast a signed, dated version of *The Abduction of Helen by Paris*, which is now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden (FIGS. 24 I–J).<sup>10</sup> It was not unusual for him to produce nearly identical casts of the same model within a short span of time. In 1638 he executed original bronze compositions of *Venus Chastising Cupid* and *Venus Burning Cupid's Arrows* for Karl Eusebius

von Liechtenstein; within a year he had cast another version of each composition, both of which were bequeathed to Louis XIV by André Le Nôtre and are now in the Musée du Louvre.<sup>11</sup> As with the Liechtenstein and Louvre Venus groups, a comparison of the Getty and Dresden bronzes reveals few differences in the poses and details of the figures. In the earlier Dresden group Susini incorporated a small relief scene of *Aeneas Fleeing Troy* on the front face of the base, however, making it slightly taller than the base in the Getty bronze to accommodate this addition. By means of this relief, which represents Aeneas carrying his father, Anchises, on his back with his small son Ascanius leading the way, Susini sought to identify the specific rape scene and avoid confusion with other mythological abductions. Without this relief his bronze group might mistakenly be titled, as happened with the Getty example, a *Rape of Proserpine* or *Rape of a Sabine*.<sup>12</sup> Susini's explanatory relief may have been inspired by the example of Giambologna's Loggia dei Lanzi rape group, in which the ambiguous identities of the marble figures are resolved by the bronze relief panel on the pedestal depicting the Rape of the Sabine Women.<sup>13</sup>



24K Detail, maidservant's face

Nevertheless, Susini's relief departed radically in conception, and perhaps function, from Giambologna's *Sabine* relief in the Loggia dei Lanzi. Giambologna represented three relatively self-contained, tightly woven rape groups punctuating the foreground of a classically inspired urban architectural setting. The rape scene enacted by the monumental marble figures above is meant to be understood as belonging to, and taking place at the same time as, the violent abductions in the relief below. Giambologna's marble protagonists and their bronze correlates share both a temporal and a thematic coincidence. Susini, by contrast, used narrative rather than context to elucidate the subject of his bronze group. He identified an event from the beginning of the Trojan War, Paris's rape of Helen, by reference to an event at the end of the war, the burning of Troy.<sup>14</sup> Susini emphasized the narrative quality of the relief scene, which was derived from Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.705 et seq.), by including minute details like the crenellated city walls of Troy and the cypress tree that marked Aeneas's meeting place with his servants (2.714). The primary figures of Paris and Helen relate to the relief sequentially, as beginning and end or cause and effect, rather than simultaneously. In addition to associating the rape with Troy and the victim with Helen, the relief on the base serves as narrative and moral commentary, enumerating the consequences of giving in to impulse and desire.



24L Detail, signature

The Dresden *Abduction of Helen* introduced a new theatrical, narrative element into the genre of the small bronze, which was as significant as its open composition for the development of Florentine Baroque sculpture. In light of its importance, it is unclear why Susini deleted the Aeneas scene from the Getty *Abduction of Helen*, except as a formal simplification. Susini's innovative use of relief did not recur in any of his later bronzes. Its influence, however, can be detected in the scenographic bronze groups produced by the next generation of Florentine sculptors.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

#### Notes

1. This information is recorded in an inventory dated 7–22 Thermidor Year 6 (25 July–9 August 1798) compiled after the death of Jean-Baptiste Machault d'Arnouville, which states “no. 377—Un bronze de trois figures représentant un enlèvement des Sabines sur piédestal cuivre doré. 430 L.”
2. The inventory description reads “October 8, 1869—24, rue de l'Université—Salon. Un groupe en bronze florentin sur socle en bronze doré aux armes (enlèvement de Proserpine). prisé 500 F.”
3. *Catalogue des objets d'art . . . appartenant en partie à Mlle de Ch . . .*, sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit, 21 May 1896, lot 1, “Groupe, en ronde-basse, de trois figures représentant l'Enlèvement d'une Sabine, en bronze du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, à patine brune; il repose sur un très beau socle quadrangulaire et de forme contournée en bronze ciselé et doré du temps de la Régence, présentant sur une face les armes des de

- Machault et sur l'autre les attributs des Beaux-Arts." According to the sale catalogue of Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, 15 April 1989, lot A, the coat of arms had only recently disappeared, leaving two small holes—now filled—on the front of the base where it had been attached. An appliqué symbolizing the arts is still preserved on the back of the base (see FIG. 24E).
4. F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno* (Florence, 1846), vol. 4, 118.
  5. *Giambologna: Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1978), nos. 58, 59.
  6. See M. Raumschüssel, *The Splendor of Dresden*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1978), 199, no. 507; A. Brook, "La scultura fiorentina tra il Giambologna e il Foggini," in *Il seicento fiorentino*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1986), 73.
  7. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, vol. 4, 118.
  8. Baldinucci (ibid.) mentions Susini's copies of a dying gladiator; a resting gladiator; a male figure who, holding his dead wife, commits suicide; a sleeping hermaphrodite; and the Farnese Bull group. *The Dying Gladiator*, now in the Museo Capitolino in Rome, is first recorded in a November 2, 1623, inventory of the Ludovisi collection; the resting gladiator, or *Ludovisi Mars*, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Museo delle Terme), was acquired by the Ludovisi by the first half of 1622; the male figure and his dead wife, or *Paetus and Arria*, in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Museo delle Terme), is also first recorded in the Ludovisi collection on November 2, 1623; a version of the *Hermaphrodite* was restored for the Ludovisi between 1621 and 1623 and was purchased by Ferdinando II de' Medici for the Uffizi in 1699. Another version in the Borghese collection, and now in the Musée du Louvre, was restored by Bernini in 1620. The *Farnese Bull* was excavated in 1545 and was in the Palazzo Farnese by 1546. For these sculptures, see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981), nos. 44, 58, 68, 48, and 15, respectively. Signed bronze reductions of the *Dying Gladiator*, *Ludovisi Mars*, and *Hermaphrodite* by Susini are in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, respectively, for which see N. Penny, *Catalogue of European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1992), vol. 1, 137–38, no. 94; G. Fusconi, in *La Collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi*, exh. cat. (Rome: Palazzo Ruspoli, 1992), 33. For the use of these reductions to date Susini's trip to Rome, see Brook, in *Il seicento fiorentino*, 166 ("Biografie").
  9. For the dating of Bernini's marble group, see I. Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: Le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX* (Rome, 1954), 29–31; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London and New York, 1970), 427–28, and, most recently, M. Winner, in A. Coliva and S. Schütze, eds., *Bernini scultore: La nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, exh. cat. (Rome: Palazzo Borghese, 1998), 180–203.
  10. Raumschüssel, *Splendor of Dresden*; idem, *Barock in Dresden* (Leipzig, 1986), 210, 231, no. 235; idem, in "Von allen Seiten schön": *Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1995), 402–3, no. 130; A. Brook, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 30, 32. E. Tietze-Conrat ("Die Bronzen der fürstlich Liechtensteinschen Kunstkammer," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Institutes der K.K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 11 [1917]: 28–29) mentions a small reduction in the Eissler collection in Vienna, which cannot be traced and is not cited by other authors.
  11. All four bronzes are signed and dated. For the Liechtenstein bronzes, see *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collection*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 74–75, nos. 43–44; *Die Bronzen der Fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt: Liebieghaus, 1986), 198–201, nos. 31–32. For the Louvre bronzes, see H. Landais, "Sur quelques statuettes leguées par Le Nôtre à Louis XIV," *Musées de France* 14 (1949): 60–63; *Sculptor to the Medici*, 198, nos. 190–91; A. P. Darr, "Florentine Baroque Bronzes by Susini, Soldani, and Foggini," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 61 (summer 1983): 6–7. Other versions of the bronzes, such as that of *Venus Burning Cupid's Arrows* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, are not signed and display variations from the signed casts. For a general discussion of all the versions, see G. Lombardi, "Giovanni Francesco Susini," *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa*, ser. 3, 9 (1979): 764–65. The iconography of the bronzes is discussed by E. Maclagan, "Notes on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italian Sculpture," *Burlington Magazine* 36 (May 1920): 240.
  12. The group was identified as *The Rape of Proserpine* in the October 8, 1869, inventory of the collection of Geneviève Françoise Aglaé de Machault d'Arnouville and Gaspard Marie Victor; it was described as *The Rape of a Sabine* in the Paris sale of objects from the collection of Mlle de Choiseul on March 21, 1896. For both references, see the sale catalogue, *Groupe en bronze patiné . . . provenant du château de Thoiry*, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, 15 April 1989, lot A (unpaginated).
  13. For a discussion of Giambologna's marble *Rape of a Sabine* and its bronze relief, see C. Avery, *Giambologna* (Oxford, 1987), 109–14, 186–88, 270.
  14. He could, for instance, have chosen instead to depict a chaotic, multifigure scene of Paris and his cohorts forcing Helen into their boat as Greek soldiers amassed on the shore, following the precedent of Raphael (see Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *The Abduction of Helen*, reproduced in K. Oberhuber, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch* [New York, 1978], vol. 26, no. 209). Other representations of the Abduction of Helen that include many figures and a boat are reproduced in the following: *National Gallery Illustrations: Italian Schools* (London, 1937), vol. 2, pl. 591 (Gozzoli); F. L. Richardson, *Andrea Schiavone* (Oxford, 1980), fig. 85; *Revue des arts* 4 (1954): 30 (Niccolo dell'Abbate); D. McTavish, *Giuseppe Porta, Called Giuseppe Salviati* (New York and London, 1981), pl. 153; F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (New Haven, 1958), vol. 2, fig. 399 (from the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua).

## FRANCESCO MOCHI

Montevarchi 1580–Rome 1654

*Tabernacle Door with the Crucifixion*

c. 1625–35

Gilt bronze

H: 55.3 cm (21¾ in.)

W: 28.9 cm (11⅜ in.)

95.SB.2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

On a tablet above the horizontal beam of the cross, INRI; on the reverse, in black ink, in a later hand, *Francesc[us] Mochi*.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The gilt bronze relief was created by the indirect lost-wax method, and the wax model was created by slush molding. Cast in one piece, the relief bears many flaws and repairs, including two large repairs recast and soldered in place: (1) a long rectangular patch added across most of the top and (2) a smaller rectangular patch adjacent to the keyhole. Hidden by the chasing and gilding, these repairs are visible from the back and

in X rays (see appendix A), where many cracks are also evident, particularly in the area of the keyhole. Small repairs made with round plugs are visible on the front of the relief. Extensive porosity, apparent in X rays and on the surface, is evidence of the difficulty of casting this very thin relief. XRF showed that the gilt areas contain mercury, indicating that the relief was gilded using the mercury amalgam process. The gilding has worn away in some areas, such as the sky and Mary's robe, probably due to overpolishing; in these areas the pink base metal is visible. ICP-MS showed that the relief is made of a leaded copper-tin alloy (see appendix B). XRF revealed the alloy of the soldered patches to be the same as that of the relief, suggesting that the repairs originated in the foundry.

The relief displays a variety of surface textures. The figures were extensively chased, and the stippling of areas such as the clouds and sky, as well as striations along the beams of the cross, were also tooled on the cold metal before gilding. Parts of the relief were burnished after gilding, for example, the body of Christ, the face and

hands of the Virgin, and the arms and hands of Saint John. The keyhole was added after the relief was cast, and there is a 1 cm (⅜ in.) projection at the bottom proper left side, which may have served as a hinge but is more likely a sprue that was not removed after casting. Holes around the perimeter of the relief likely indicate where screws attached the relief to a frame.

## PROVENANCE

Trinity Fine Art Ltd., London, 1993; Daniel Katz Ltd., London, 1994, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995.

## EXHIBITIONS

*An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings and European Works of Art*, Trinity Fine Art Ltd., held at Newhouse Galleries, New York, May 1994, no. 64.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

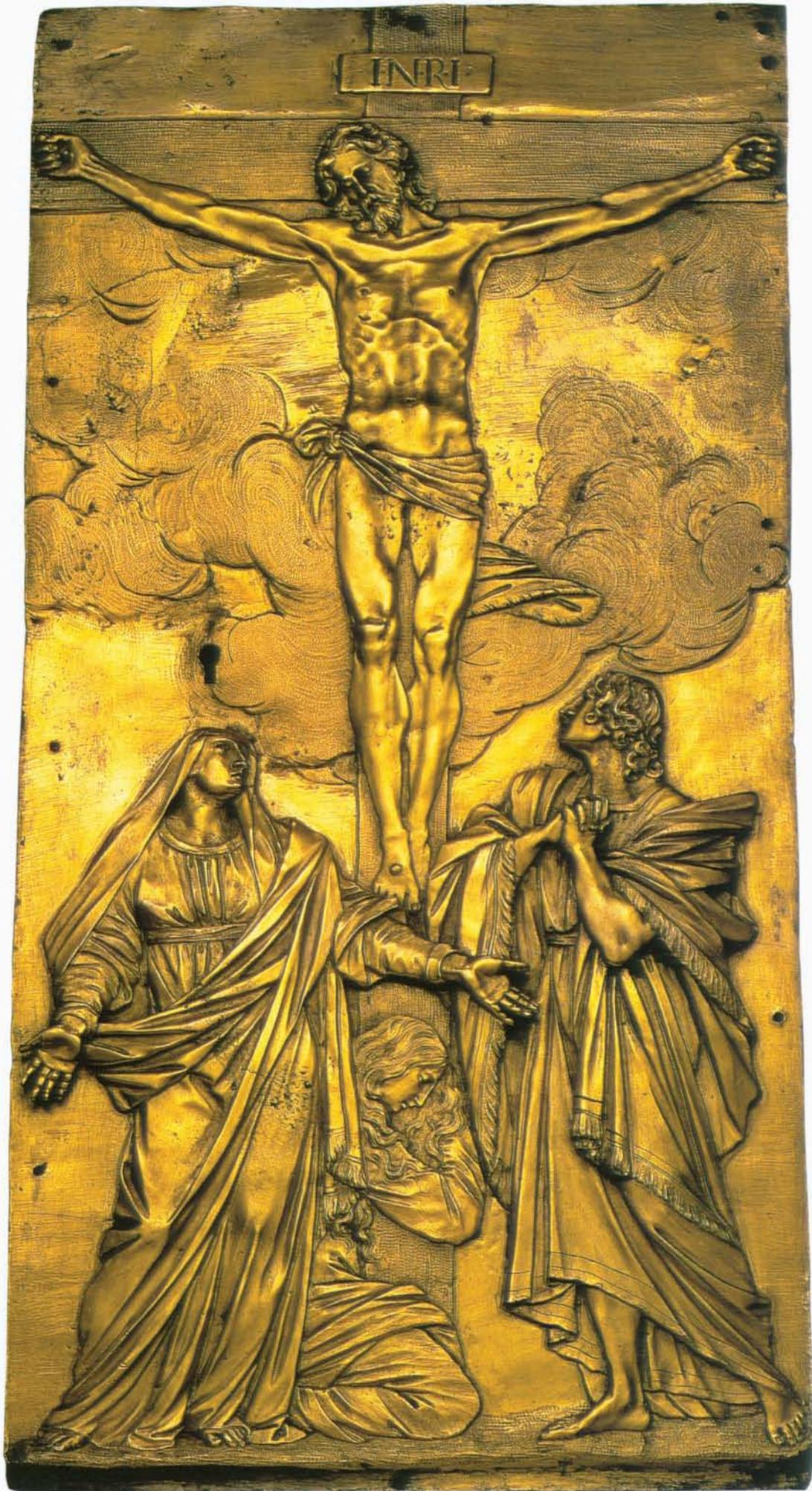
"Acquisitions/1995, Sculpture," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996): 137, no. 87; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 35; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 260.

THE RELIEF REPRESENTS THE SCENE of the Crucifixion, with Mary and Saint John standing below the arms of the cross and Mary Magdalen kneeling at its foot. The narrative derives from the Gospel of Saint John (19.25–27), which describes Mary, Mary Magdalen, and Saint John by the cross and states, "When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple there whom he loved, he said to his mother, 'Woman, behold, your son.'" Mary stands to Christ's right, her arms extended and her palms open in a gesture of lamentation. She turns her head up toward Christ and meets his gaze, creating the moment of direct communication between mother and son called for in the gospel. The scene is set on a shallow ledge merely suggesting a bare landscape, with clouds beyond the figure of Christ, creating a sense of space and distance for the figures. Many paintings from the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, by Scipione Pulzone and Guido Reni, for example, depict the Crucifixion as an almost timeless, isolated event involving these four figures.<sup>1</sup> Characteristic examples of Counter-Reformation imagery in

Central Italy, these paintings share the restrained and powerful emotion of the Getty relief.

The composition without the Magdalen was a common depiction of the Crucifixion stemming from a famous icon.<sup>2</sup> The inclusion of the Magdalen became frequent in the thirteenth century as a way to heighten the emotional expressiveness of the scene, and her kneeling embrace of the cross serves that purpose in the present relief.<sup>3</sup> Intense human emotion is also conveyed by the slight swoon and gesture of the Virgin, which respond to the extended arms of Christ on the cross, signaling the *compassio*, or compassion, of Mary.<sup>4</sup> Her suffering came to be seen as part of the process of redemption and became an important part of visual representations of the Passion of Christ.

The disposition of the figures on the relief plane allows them to be understood easily and quickly by the viewer. The sculptor made full use of the restricted dimensions of the panel by elongating the body of Christ to fill much of the vertical dimension of the relief and having his arms extend





25A Detail, the Virgin

across its entire width. This allowed for the mourning figures to be placed directly below the arms of Christ, enhancing the emotional interaction among the figures. The figures are modeled in low relief, sharply undercut in certain areas to create, through shadow, a degree of three-dimensionality. For example, the entire body of Christ is undercut to impart volume to the figure and to separate it from the relief background. Other elements, such as Mary's hands and John's proper left arm and hands, are modeled in higher relief, giving emphasis to their gestures of lamentation. In some places the overlapping of the figures contradicts logical spatial relationships, for example, the projection of Christ's head in relationship to Mary's upper body, and the placement of the kneeling Magdalen between Mary and the base of the cross. The effect is to imply volume and space for the figures while creating an interlocking of forms across the relief panel.

This relief, taller than it is wide, and bearing a keyhole just above the head of Mary, was probably employed as a door for a sacramental tabernacle. During the period of Catholic reform and even more during the Counter-Reformation, the dogma of transubstantiation, the physical transformation of the eucharistic bread into the body of Christ, challenged by Protestant theology, was reaffirmed.<sup>5</sup> The Church recommended for the faithful regular attendance at mass and more frequent Communion and stressed the decorous display of the Eucharist.<sup>6</sup> As part of this effort, sacramental tabernacles, created to house and to honor the Eucharist, were placed on altars of churches and chapels, to stand as the spiritual and visual focus of sacred interiors.<sup>7</sup> Passion scenes were often used to decorate tabernacles and were recommended specifically by Carlo Borromeo for this function.<sup>8</sup> The scene of the Crucifixion, however, was rarely found on tabernacle doors, where the Risen Christ, the Blood of the Redeemer, and Christ as the Man of Sorrows were more commonly depicted subjects.<sup>9</sup> Given its relatively small size and its subject, it is likely that the Getty *Crucifixion* served as a door on a small tabernacle structure, placed above the altar table and accessible to the priest saying mass.<sup>10</sup> Placement of the relief above the viewpoint of the beholder is implied, since the foreshortening of the figures resolves only when seen from below, further supporting the idea that it was set above an altar. There the Crucifixion on its own, as the central event



25B After Giambologna. *Entombment*. Gilt bronze relief.  
H: 26.8 cm (10<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); W: 27.3 cm (10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.). London,  
Victoria and Albert Museum inv. 67-1866.



25C Francesco Mochi. *Apologia del Buon Governo* (Allegory of Good Government). Bronze relief. Piacenza, Pianna Cavalli, Equestrian monument for Ranuccio Farnese. Photo: Grafis Edizioni.

of the Passion, could convey all the important messages of the eucharistic container.<sup>11</sup> The image of Christ on the cross, a representation of the Corpus Domini, or body of Christ, relates directly to the Eucharist conserved within the tabernacle. In fact, the image of Mary and John beneath the cross was sometimes stamped on hosts, making the association between Crucifixion and Eucharist explicit.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the Crucifixion was one of the scenes recommended by Borromeo for the doors of such smaller tabernacles.<sup>13</sup>

The relief was first attributed to Francesco Mochi in the catalogue published by Trinity Fine Art in 1994.<sup>14</sup> Born in Montevarchi, Mochi trained in Florence in the studio of the painter Santi di Tito (1563–1602), where he would have absorbed his teacher's ideas about clear narrative presentation of sacred stories, imbued with direct and easily accessible emotion.<sup>15</sup> In Florence, Mochi would also have come to understand the work and technique of Giambologna (1529–1608). The Getty relief can be compared with Giambologna's gilt bronze relief of the Entombment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (FIG. 25B), where, in particular, the figure of the grieving woman at the far left is very close in pose, stance, and use of drapery pattern to the figure of Saint John.<sup>16</sup> This gilded relief also displays the refined chasing, creating a variety of textures, seen in Mochi's *Crucifixion* relief. Giambologna's innovative narrative relief style is fundamental for Mochi's documented work in bronze relief, the narrative panels for the bases of the two Farnese equestrian monuments in Piacenza (1625–29; FIG. 25C).<sup>17</sup> Their use of low relief with emphasis conveyed through undercutting, selected areas of projection, and rhythmic drapery patterns are lessons taken from the reliefs of Giambologna.<sup>18</sup> These qualities are also present in the Getty relief.

Further comparisons can be made between the Getty relief and the Piacenza reliefs. The profile of the Magdalen, for example, is extremely close to that of the bare-breasted allegorical figure in the *Allegory of Good Government* scene on the monument to Ranuccio Farnese (FIG. 25C). The bending female figure at the lower left displays a similar use of drapery to expand the silhouette of the figure that we see in the Saint John. Certain differences, such as the more focused composition and passages of higher relief in the Getty panel,

reflect its iconic subject and its function as a tabernacle door, placed inside in low light. The more emphatic treatment of form and line and the particular attention to surface textures seem to have resulted from Mochi's sensitivity to the effects of gilding.

The figures in the Getty relief, which dominate the panel with their expressive postures and gestures, are also comparable to monumental statues by Mochi. The use of drapery to emphasize the forms and movements of the bodies and the emotions of the characters is typical of Mochi throughout his career, in the early *Annunciation* (1603–9) in Orvieto cathedral, and in the *Saint Veronica* (1629–40) in Saint Peter's, for example.<sup>19</sup> The features of the faces are characteristic of Mochi's works; the long, straight nose and sharp angle of the brow of the Virgin, for example, characterize the profile of the Orvieto Virgin Annunciate. Saint John's curly hair is the relief equivalent of the curls found in many of Mochi's figures, from the Orvieto Angel to the *Saint John the Baptist* in Dresden (commissioned 1629).<sup>20</sup> Even the details of the drapery—in particular, the edged border, which adds texture and emphasis to the lines and rhythms created by the figures—are consistent with Mochi's works.

The relief was likely created either while Mochi was in Piacenza—where he became proficient in modeling and casting bronze reliefs—or shortly after his return to Rome. Unable to work with the founders hired for the Piacenza monuments, Mochi took over all casting duties himself, gaining complete control over both the creative and production processes.<sup>21</sup> The creative and technical program of the Getty relief displays a similar ambition: the interplay between three-dimensionality and tight pictorial composition is attempted in a very thin cast, a factor that may well explain the extensive casting flaws of the relief. Furthermore, Mochi seems to have been particularly attuned to the fact that this relief was to be gilded. The meticulous chasing shows the sculptor adapting his approach to bronze by using techniques more commonly found in the creation of works in gold.

Specific comparisons with Mochi's works further support a dating of the relief to the years around 1630. The elaborate treatment of the drapery in the figure of Saint John is very similar to that in the Dresden *Saint John*, which was commissioned by the Barberini family in Rome in 1629, just



25D Detail, head of Saint John



25E Back of relief

after Mochi's return from Piacenza.<sup>22</sup> The bronze equestrian statuette of Carlo Barberini, based on the model for the Alessandro figure in Piacenza and probably created around 1630, compares closely in the controlled energy and patterns of the drapery.<sup>23</sup> Finally, a close comparison can be made with the *Saint Veronica* in Saint Peter's, dated 1629–40.<sup>24</sup> In that statue Mochi refined his interest in the expression of energized motion through controlled and linear disposition of the drapery. This quality of careful control of regular drapery folds became typical of Mochi's later works, such as the *Saint Thaddeus* (completed 1644) for Orvieto cathedral.<sup>25</sup> All of these factors lead to a likely dating of the relief to around 1625–35, the earlier date marking the beginning of the Farnese reliefs, the later including the early phases of work on *Saint Veronica*.

DENISE ALLEN AND MARIETTA CAMBARERI

#### Notes

1. See, for example, F. Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma: L' "arte senza tempo" di Scipione da Gaeta* (Turin, 1957), 91–92, fig. 83 (*Crucifixion*, Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome, 1585–90); and D. S. Pepper, *Guido Reni* (Oxford, 1984), 234–35, no. 55, pl. 82 (*Crucifixion*, for the Capuchins, now in Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, 1617–18).
2. For the Mount Sinai icon of the Crucifixion, see H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago and London, 1990), 269–71, which discusses the exegetical background for a eucharistic reading of the scene; for a eucharistic interpretation of a Renaissance use of the icon, see W. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven and London, 1993), 110.
3. See G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2 (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), 152. This development coincided with the increasing impact of Franciscan devotional practices on works of religious art. The idea of empathic meditation on scenes from the life of Christ, exemplified by the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, was expressed in a more human, emotive visual imagery; see, for example, I. Ragusa, ed. and trans., *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Princeton, 1961), 333–40, for the meditations on the crucifixion.
4. See O. van Simson, "Compassio and Co-Redemptio in Rogier van der Weyden's 'Descent from the Cross,'" *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 9–16, for a discussion of this idea in fifteenth-century painting, and M. Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century* (New York and London, 1979), 48–55, for the continuation of this imagery in sixteenth-century representations of the Pietà and the Entombment.
5. For the decree of the Council of Trent on transubstantiation, see H. J. Schroeder, trans., *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, Ill., 1978), 75, 13th Session, October 1551, chap. 4.

6. For a summary of eucharistic devotional practices from the late medieval through the period of Catholic reform, see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (Cambridge and New York, 1991), and Cope, *Venetian Chapel*.
7. For the history of the sacramental tabernacle, the fundamental work is H. Caspary, *Das Sakramentstabernakel in Italien bis zum Konzil von Trient* (Munich, 1964). See also Cope, *Venetian Chapel*, 20–22; M. Cambareri, “A Study in the Sixteenth-Century Renovation of Orvieto Cathedral: The Sacramental Tabernacle for the High Altar,” *Quaderni dell’Istituto di Storia di Architettura* 15–16 (1990–92): 617–22; J. Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge and New York, 1995), esp. chap. 5, “Revelation: The Altar of the Sacrament,” 130–58; J. Montagu, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque* (New Haven and London, 1996), esp. chap. 2, “Roman Sculpture around 1600,” 19–46, and chap. 3, “Adoration of the Host: Tabernacles of the Baroque,” 47–72.
8. See E. C. Voelker, “Charles Borromeo’s ‘Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae’ 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis” (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1977), 160, in which Borromeo discusses the appropriate tabernacle form for major churches, saying, “Pious reliefs representing the mysteries of Christ’s Passion should be sculptured on it.”
9. One of the few examples of the Crucifixion scene on a tabernacle (though not on a door) is the relief on the tabernacle by Jacopo del Duca, for which Passion scenes, some based on drawings by Michelangelo, were cast in bronze; see Montagu, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze*, 21ff.; A. Schiavo, *Michelangelo nel complesso delle sue opere* (Rome, 1990), vol. 1, 508, 540–45; A. Schiavo, “Il michelangiolesco tabernacolo di Jacopo del Duca,” in *Studi romani* 21, no. 2 (1973): 215–20; Cope, *Venetian Chapel*, 159–63.
10. For examples of such doors, see Freiberg, *Lateran in 1600*, 139–41, esp. figs. 104–5, and 305–6, no. III.H.7, with a silver relief of the Pietà; and Montagu, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze*, 50–51, figs. 73, 74.
11. See Cope, *Venetian Chapel*, 166–67. A useful comparison is the lower level of a famous print by Agostino Carracci, *The Cordone of Saint Francis*. This print was copied many times in paintings and prints, with variations on the lower level. In the original print, Pope Sixtus v Perretti opens a sacramental tabernacle door, placed at the lowest level of an altar structure. In its many copies one sees behind the door either the eucharistic wafer, nimbed and often embossed with the iconic image of the crucified Christ with Mary and John or the chalice and host. This image conveys both the sacrifice of Christ and the promise of redemption for the faithful contained in the Eucharist. The Getty relief presents the same synthesis of theological ideas. For the print and illustrations of several variations, see *L’immagine di San Francesco nella Controriforma*, exh. cat. (Rome: Calcografia, 1982), 163–69, 172–73, no. 99.
12. For an illustration of the host impressed with the Crucifixion, see *Panis Vivus: Arredi e testimonianze figurative del culto eucaristico dal VI al XIX secolo*, exh. cat. (Siena: Palazzo Pubblico, 1994), 73.
13. Voelker, “Charles Borromeo’s ‘Instructiones,’” 163.
14. Trinity Fine Art, *Old Master Drawings*, no. 64, 134–35. For Mochi, see B. C. Barnes and L. G. Winters, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 21, 754–55, with bibliography.
15. For Santi di Tito, see M. Collareta, in Turner, ed., *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 31, 53–56, with bibliography.
16. C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), 183, fig. 197; A. Ronen, “Portigiani’s Bronze ‘Ornamento’ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1970): 415–42, for this and other comparable reliefs associated with Giambologna; see esp. *The Anointment of Christ*, 423, fig. 8, for the kneeling figure of Mary Magdalen, very close to the Magdalen in the Getty relief.
17. See *Francesco Mochi, 1580–1654* (Florence, 1981), 53–58, 63–64, 127; *I bronzi di Piacenza: Rilievi e figure di Francesco Mochi dai monumenti equestri farnesiani*, exh. cat. (Bologna: Museo Civico Archeologico, 1986).
18. For Giambologna’s reliefs, see J. Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna* (New York and London, 1983), 215–81; C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), 177–91; M. W. Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator of the Catholic Reformation* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1995).
19. For these sculptures, see *Francesco Mochi, 1580–1654*, 36–38, no. 1, 40–41, no. 3 (Orvieto *Annunciation*), and 73–74, no. 20 (*Saint Veronica*). See also M. Cambareri, “Francesco Mochi’s *Annunciation* Group for Orvieto Cathedral,” *Sculpture Journal* 6 (2001): 1–9.
20. See *Francesco Mochi, 1580–1654*, 68–69, no. 16.
21. See J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven and London, 1989), 63.
22. *Ibid.*
23. See *Francesco Mochi, 1580–1654*, 70, no. 17; *ibid.*, 63–64.
24. See note 19 above.
25. *Francesco Mochi, 1580–1654*, 82–84, no. 24.

## GIULIANO FINELLI

Torano di Carrara 1601/2–Rome 1653

*Bust of a Noblewoman*

1630s

Marble

H: 90 cm (35½ in.)

W: 62.2 cm (24⅞ in.)

D: 29 cm (11½ in.) without socle

2000.72

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The bust is carved from a single block of creamy white marble with gray and tan inclusions. There is a line of fresh color, as well as fresh chisel marks, across the underside of the bust at the front, suggesting that the bodice and sash have been truncated. There has been very little damage or wear to the original surface, which displays a variety of textures. Deep drill work is evident in the curls of the hair, with shallow drill work in the lace; the drill was also used to undercut the edges of the lace, the folds of the ribbon, and the string of beads. There are drill

holes between the scallops of the lace, which may have held further decorative elements or a ribbon. A fine-toothed chisel was used to carve the swept-back hair. Deeply incised lines and shallowly carved hatch marks were used to render the brocade of the dress. Polish lines are evident on the forehead, on parts of the neck, and on the smooth fabric over the shoulders. Some subtle loss of surface is evident in the upper lip, nose, and cheeks, probably due to excessive cleaning, which has also left the face a cooler white color than the rest of the bust. Chip losses occur in the hair, ribbon, lace, and brocade, and minor damage appears as opaque white bruises on the proper right cheek, proper left side of the neck, and above the proper left side of the mouth.

A pre-acquisition restoration campaign (March 2000; see report, JPM object file) included the following repairs: a small fill along the fold of the brocade over the right arm; the replacement of twenty-two missing beads; and the repair of two damaged beads. The bust was removed from its present socle while in the Bestegui collection (see provenance, below). During the 2000 restoration campaign noted above, the bust was reset onto this socle, with

which it had first appeared on the art market in 1952. The socle is carved from a different type of marble, which is white with gray to black inclusions. It is unclear whether this is the original socle, since the bottom edge of the front of the bust sits quite close to the upper molding of the socle, leaving little room for the bodice to extend downward as it must have before the horizontal truncation noted above. There is a break in the cartouche, and the coat of arms shows more loss of detail due to wear than the bust itself.

## PROVENANCE

Mary Bellis, Hungerford, Berkshire, by 1952; Carlos de Bestegui, Palazzo Labia, Venice, by 1964, and then moved to the Château de Groussay, France (sold, Sotheby's, Château de Groussay, 3 June 1999, lot 460, to Daniel Katz Ltd.); Daniel Katz Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Illustrated in *Connoisseur* 130 (November 1952): xxxvii; J. Auersperg, in *Daniel Katz: European Sculpture* (London, 2000), no. 32.

THE BUST REPRESENTS A YOUNG NOBLEWOMAN dressed in a brocaded gown with a lace collar that falls over her shoulders. A long strand of pearls is wrapped around a sash that drapes diagonally down from her right shoulder. She also wears a necklace set with precious stones, seemingly point-cut diamonds. A pendant with a small relief of the Holy Family is attached to this necklace by a ribbon; point-cut diamonds also decorate the setting.<sup>1</sup> She wears pearl drop earrings. Her hair is pulled back from the top of her forehead with curls left to fall around her face. A braid at the back is pinned into a circle, and a small fringe is combed forward over her forehead. This hairstyle can be observed in painted portraits dating to the 1630s, and her dress is also consistent with this time period.<sup>2</sup> A comparison can be made with Andrea Bolgi's signed and dated marble *Bust of Laura Frangipane* in San Francesco a Ripa, Rome (1637).<sup>3</sup>

The bust sits on a marble socle decorated with a cartouche containing an impaled coat of arms, with the arms of

two Roman families, the Capranica to the proper right and the Celsi to the proper left (FIG. 26H). This type of coat of arms was used by married women in the period and recognized both the family of the sitter's husband and that of her father.<sup>4</sup> When the bust was first published, in 1952, the sitter was tentatively identified as Isabella Celsi (1554–1621), who was married to Domenico Capranica (d. 1599) and had at least three sons.<sup>5</sup> In 1604, as a widow, she inherited the estate of her uncle Lorenzo Celsi, bishop of Castro. Documentary sources indicate that she was a woman of great wealth and considerable power. At her death in 1621 she left her fortune to her nephew Angelo Celsi, thus keeping the Celsi wealth within the family, a line of inheritance that seems to have been challenged in the later seventeenth century. It is tempting to conclude that the Getty bust, which clearly represents a wealthy and powerful woman, is a portrait of Isabella. Yet it is difficult to imagine the scenario in which Isabella would be represented in a posthumous bust in the 1630s, in



contemporary dress and as a young woman. Until further information becomes available, it is best only to raise the possibility that this bust represents Isabella Celsi Capranica.<sup>6</sup>

The identification of the sitter is complicated by the fact that it is not certain whether the socle is original to the bust (see technical description, above). The socle itself, however, whether original to the bust or not, is consistent with a dating in the 1630s. It can be most closely compared with the socle of Alessandro Algardi's *Bust of Antonio Cerri* (late 1630s) in the Manchester City Art Gallery, which has a similar shape and is also decorated with a heraldic cartouche.<sup>7</sup>

The bust was only recently published with an attribution to Finelli.<sup>8</sup> Giuliano Finelli was born in Torano di Carrara in 1601 or 1602.<sup>9</sup> He went with his uncle, a stonecutter, to Naples in 1611 and entered the workshop of the sculptor Michelangelo Naccherino. In 1622 Finelli went to Rome, where he worked with Gianlorenzo Bernini throughout the 1620s. A virtuoso marble carver, Finelli has been credited with some of the most spectacular carving passages of *Apollo and Daphne* (Rome, Galleria Borghese, 1622–24), like the branches and leaves growing from Daphne's fingers.<sup>10</sup> Recent documentary and physical evidence suggests that Bernini maintained strict control over the execution of the group, yet Finelli's participation in the work and his abilities as a marble carver remain undisputed.<sup>11</sup>

Another female bust, also characterized by brilliant carving and drill work, produced during the years when Finelli was in Bernini's shop, is the 1626 *Bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli* (Paris, Musée du Louvre; fig. 26A). A posthumous portrait of the niece of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, the work was noted in a 1629 Barberini inventory; at Palazzo Barberini it was kept in a glass box or an iron cage to protect its delicate carving.<sup>12</sup> The lace collar in particular is a tour de force of marble carving. Described as "havuta da Cavalier Bernini" in the 1631 Barberini inventory, it was presented to visitors as a work by Bernini.<sup>13</sup> In 1678, however, Giovanni Battista Passeri attributed the bust to Giuliano Finelli, and recent scholars have accepted Finelli's participation in the work.<sup>14</sup> Passeri related the story that Bernini had assigned to Finelli the bust of Maria Barberini, with the promise that upon its completion the master would present Finelli to the pope.<sup>15</sup> Bernini reneged on this promise and presented another young sculptor, Andrea Bolgi, to Urban VIII, an



26A Giuliano Finelli. *Bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli*, 1626. Marble. H (without socle): 56 cm (22 in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. RFR66. Photo: RMN–H. Lewandovski. The bust left France under uncertain circumstances during World War II; it was found in German territory and restituted to France after the war.

introduction that led to Bolgi's execution of one of the statues for the crossing of Saint Peter's. In 1629 Finelli left Bernini's shop and established himself as a fine carver of portrait busts, which are characterized by the individualization of the sitters and a high degree of naturalism, as well as extensive drill work and virtuoso carving. In 1634 Finelli returned to Naples, where he received major commissions for monumental marble and bronze sculptures.

The costume and hairstyle of the sitter suggest that the *Bust of a Noblewoman* dates to the 1630s, and thus it was probably created during Finelli's years in Rome as an independent sculptor, the period when many of his portrait busts were carved. It is also possible, however, that Finelli carved the bust in Naples after 1634.<sup>16</sup> The considerable



26B Giuliano Finelli. *Bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, c. 1632. Marble. H (with pedestal): 99.1 cm (39 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Louisa Eldridge McBurney Gift, 1953, inv. 53.201.

differences between the Getty bust and the *Bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli* can be explained by changes in styles of dress as well as the nature of the commission. The lace collar in the latter bust, which stands up stiffly, was characteristic of female costume in the early decades of the seventeenth century but by the 1630s generally had given way to the softer, more natural lace collar worn by the Getty sitter. The same can be said for the hairstyle. The greater weightiness of the Getty bust, as well as the figure's sense of self-containment, contrast with the more ethereal qualities of the posthumous portrait of Maria Barberini, in which the sculptor, given the importance of the patron, sought to highlight his virtuosity as a marble carver. The Barberini bust seems as much a precious object as a likeness of the

sitter. Nonetheless, details of carving, especially in the hair, are similar in both busts.

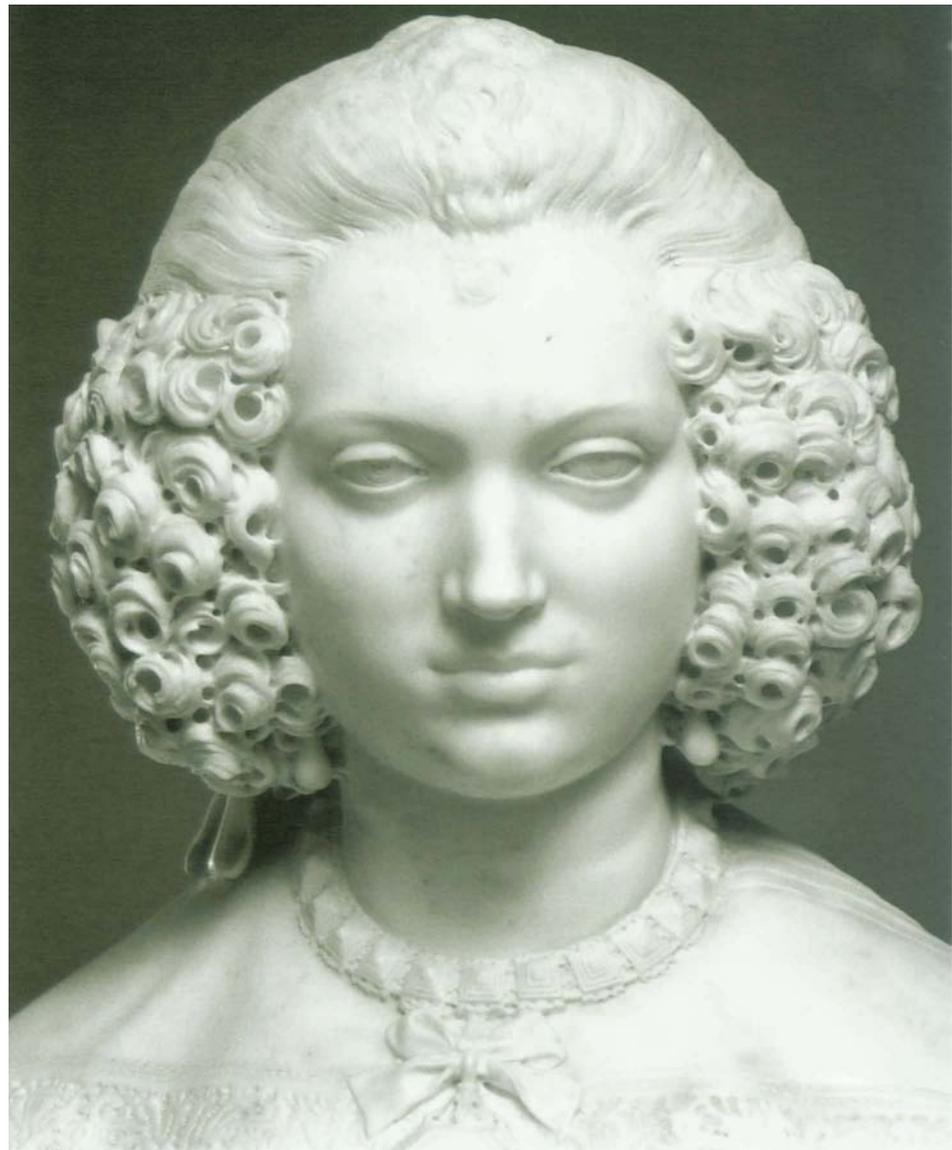
In the Getty bust the extensive use of the drill in the curls and bow in the hair, the necklace, and the string of pearls all recall Finelli. Careful attention to the surface qualities and undulations of flesh—in the soft roll of the neck, slight double chin, and around the eyes and mouth, for example—finds parallels in the documented *Bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese* of c. 1632 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (FIG. 26B). That bust has a similar sense of weightiness, and the rendering of the flesh is given particular attention. For example, as the head turns to the proper left, Borghese's fleshy jowl meets his collar and creates wrinkles in the skin. The play of material against flesh is subtly explored in the Getty bust, where the necklace presses into the neck of the sitter. Also characteristic of Finelli is the attention to the smallest naturalistic details, like the rendering of the material of the lace collar over the dress below, creating slight variations in the surface; the stitching of the collar where the lace meets the fabric; and the carefully described prongs that hold the small relief onto its setting. Very fine drill work can be observed in the lace collar and in the individual settings of each stone of the necklace.

While the sitter cannot be securely identified at this time, it is possible to discuss some aspects of the bust that provide clues to its meaning and function. Dressed in fine clothes and lace collar, and bedecked in jewels, the sitter can be identified as a young matron. Such jewels would properly be worn in this period by a recently married woman and may have dynastic implications as well.<sup>17</sup> They may represent her own personal wealth, or they may be jewels bestowed upon her by her husband, serving to integrate her into his family.<sup>18</sup> The prominence of the Holy Family pendant, closer to bronze reliefs by Algardi<sup>19</sup> than to known pieces of jewelry, seems to make specific reference to the hope for or promise of children and heirs; it may even celebrate the birth of a child. Worn by the young woman, it is both a precious possession and a devotional image like the paintings and reliefs of the Holy Family that often decorated private homes in the period.

Perhaps the socle can provide further clues, if it is original to the bust. In any case, the dynastic messages of the socle are consistent with the representation of the sitter.



26C Side view from proper left



26D Detail, head



26E. Side view, from proper right

Impaled coats of arms of matrons appear in this period in paintings and in architectural settings when the patron of the work was the woman herself. Carolyn Valone has shown that such patronage and use of the coat of arms of the woman, asserting her ties both to her father and to her husband, were a strategy for securing the inheritance of her fortune by her children, particularly her sons.<sup>20</sup> The sense of self-possession and the thoughtful, powerful presence of the sitter in the Getty *Bust of a Noblewoman* seem to convey an awareness of the roles and responsibilities a woman might assume in seventeenth-century Italy.<sup>21</sup>

MARIETTA CAMBARERI

*Notes*

1. I am grateful to Diana Scarisbrick, London, who shared her knowledge of jewels in the period; she suggests that the relief may have been a cameo cut from lapis or bloodstone and relates several examples of devotional jewelry included in a 1653 Doria Pamphili inventory (correspondence, JPM object file).
2. See, for example, the *Portrait of a Woman* attributed to G. Sustermans and dated around 1635, illustrated in *Merletti a Palazzo Davanzati: Manifatture europee dal XVI al XX secolo*, exh. cat., ed. M. Carmignani (Florence: Palazzo Davanzati, 1981), 103, fig. IV; see also 60, no. 43, for a surviving example of a seventeenth-century scalloped-lace border, believed to have been made in Flanders in the first half of the seventeenth century. Thanks to Emilie Gordenker, London, who suggested looking at the prints of Abraham Bosse for comparable costumes and hairstyles fashionable in the 1630s; see, for example, A. Blum, *L'oeuvre gravé d'Abraham Bosse* (Paris, 1924), pls. 116, 119 (both dated 1633), and 1034 (1635?). See also, for example, the *Portrait of Donna Antonia Maria Belli Fenaroli with Her Daughters* by Carlo Cerasa (private collection, Bergamo), dated c. 1637–38, in *Carlo Cerasa: Un pittore bergamasco nel '600 (1609–1679)*, exh. cat. (Bergamo, 1983), 72, no. 16.
3. A. Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento* (Turin, 1982), 91; D. Dombrowski, “Aggiunte all’attività di Andrea Bolgi e revisione critica delle sue opere,” *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*, ser. 3, 19–20 (1996–97): 251–304.
4. C. Valone, “Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (spring 2000): 108–32, esp. 112, where she describes the impaled coat of arms as “the best heraldic expression of the married state of a woman.”
5. Advertisement, *Connoisseur* 130 (November 1952): vii (“Italian marble bust of a lady—possibly Isabella Celsi. On a shaped plinth carved with the arms of Capranica and Celsi”). A statement that Isabella was the only member of the Celsi family to marry a Capranica (Auersperg, in *Daniel Katz*, no. 32, n. 1) has been refuted by recent archival research. Massimo Pomponi consulted the documents in the Archivio Capitolino, Rome, and gathered information about



26F Back view

Isabella Celsi Capranica and the lines of Celsi inheritance. The information about Isabella and the Celsi family presented in this entry comes from his report (correspondence, JPM object file). Another member of the Celsi family, Isabella's niece Dianora, married Bartolomeo Capranica. Dianora's life dates and the date of her marriage have not yet been ascertained. It is not impossible that the Getty bust represents Dianora Celsi Capranica.

6. The bust, together with its socle, seems to represent a young married woman. It would therefore represent Isabella before the death of her husband in 1599 and also before she inherited the Celsi fortune in 1604, the two events that granted her wealth, power, and autonomy. Therefore, the bust would represent the young, married Isabella already as a woman of great wealth and stature. Consideration of the

possible motivations behind such a commission for a posthumous bust of a sitter who died in 1621 but whose hairstyle and costume clearly date to the 1630s, and of the function of such a bust awaits further research that would confirm the sitter's identity as Isabella Celsi Capranica.

7. Inv. no. 1981.305; J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven and London, 1985), vol. 2, 423–24 and, more recently, idem, in *Algardi: L'altra faccia del barocco*, exh. cat. (Rome: Palazzo degli Esposizioni, 1999), 150–51, no. 25.
8. Auersperg, in *Daniel Katz*, no. 32.
9. For Finelli, see D. Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli: Bildhauer zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997). See also S. F. Ostrow, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 11, 84–85, with bibliography.



26G Detail, pendant with relief of the Holy Family



26H Detail, socle

10. J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven and London, 1989), 104–7; Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli*, 27–29.
11. A. Coliva, in *Bernini scultore: La nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, exh. cat. (Rome: Galleria Borghese, 1998), 268–69.
12. M. A. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), 80, no. 138 (1629 inventory), and 116, no. 60 (1631 inventory).
13. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 15.
14. G. B. Passeri, “Vita di Giuliano Finelli scultore,” in *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, ed. J. Hess (Leipzig and Vienna, 1934), 247–48. V. Martinelli (“Il busto originale di Maria Barberini, nipote di Urbano VIII, di Gian Lorenzo Bernini e Giuliano Finelli,” *Antichità viva* 26 [1987]: 27–36) sees it as a collaboration between Bernini and Finelli; Montagu (*Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 106) sees it as primarily by Finelli with some retouching by Bernini in the face; Dombrowski (*Giuliano Finelli*, 39–41) attributes it to Finelli. All these opinions were based on examination of nineteenth-century photographs. Believed lost, and known only from a nineteenth-century photograph, the bust recently reappeared and is currently on view at the Louvre. The issue of the bust’s attribution will surely be revisited now that it has reappeared.
15. Passeri, “Vita.”
16. If the socle is original to the bust, a date in the early 1630s is likely, since both families represented on the coat of arms were Roman; if it is not original (see technical description, above), the bust may date somewhat later.
17. Contemporary sumptuary laws in Florence, for example, regulated the kinds of clothes and jewelry appropriate for women at different stages of their lives; during the first six years of marriage women could wear more jewels and colorful clothing, while more restrictions applied in the later years of marriage. See *Riforma, e prammatica sopra l’uso delle perle, gioie, vestire, et altro per la Città, et Contado di Firenze* (Florence, 1638). For the dynastic value of pearls, see the story recounted by Benvenuto Cellini about a string of pearls that Eleonora wanted Cosimo I to purchase; Cosimo said to Cellini: “If these pearls possessed that rare excellence you attribute to them, I wouldn’t hesitate to buy them, whether to please the Duchess or merely to possess them: in fact I need such things, not so much for the Duchess as in connexion with my arrangements for my sons and daughters” (G. Bull, trans., *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini* [London, 1956], 314). Thanks to Denise Allen for this reference.
18. See C. Valone, “Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome, 1560–1630,” *Art Bulletin* 76 (March 1994): 137, for a discussion of Isabella della Rovere, who retained control over her inheritance by keeping her jewels. For the idea of the woman draped in the jewels of her husband’s family as a sign of her incorporation into that lineage, see C. Klapisch-Zuber, “The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento,” in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London, 1985), 213–46. See also D. Owen Hughes, “Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy,” in *Art and History: Images and Their Meanings*, ed. R. I. Rotberg and T. K. Rabb (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, 1988), 7–38, esp. 9–11. For a discussion of the social context of jewelry in Britain in this period, see D. Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain, 1066–1837: A Documentary, Social, Literary, and Artistic Survey* (Norwich, 1994), 153–225. If the sitter is Isabella Celsi Capranica, it likely represents her shortly after her marriage but surely before the death of her husband in 1599 (she is not dressed as a widow) and so before she inherited Celsi property from her uncle in 1604. This would indicate that she wears either her dowry jewels or the jewels of her husband’s family. Again, the possibility that the bust represents Dianora Celsi Capranica must be considered (see note 5, above).
19. See, for example, J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven and London, 1985), vol. 11, fig. 189.
20. Valone, “Mothers and Sons.”
21. See, for example, the essays in G. Calvi, *Barocco al femminile* (Rome and Bari, 1992), esp. R. Ago, “Maria Spada Veralli, la buona moglie,” 51–70.

## FERDINANDO TACCA

Florence 1619–86

*Pair of Putti Holding Shields*

1650–55

Bronze

Putto with shield to his left:

H: 65 cm (25<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

W: 53.3 cm (21 in.)

D: 46.7 cm (18 in.)

Putto with shield to his right:

H: 64.5 cm (25<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

W: 53.3 cm (21 in.)

D: 46.7 cm (18 in.)

85.SB.70.1–2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

Both figures are coated with a thin, translucent reddish brown lacquer patina. On the putto with a shield to his left, the surface coating has been scratched or abraded in some areas, exposing the metal. Inconsistencies in the surface coating suggest that it may have been inpainted or retouched in places. ICP-MS and XRF revealed the metal composition of both figures to be a leaded copper-tin alloy with traces of zinc (see appendix B). Both putti were cast hollow and in a number of pieces using the lost-wax process. Wax-to-wax joins are also visible in X rays. X rays of the first putto indicate that the head and body were cast in one piece and that the wings, arms, part of the drapery, and the shield with the left hand were cast separately and joined in the metal. Cast-in repairs, rectangular bronze patches, and round threaded plugs were

used to repair casting flaws (for instance, the rectangular bronze patch in the metal-to-metal join of the right arm below the shoulder); threaded plugs were used to fill core-pin holes. Numerous thin wires run through the wings and right forearm. Larger core pins and tapering iron nails are found in the head and body. X rays of the second putto reveal that the head and body were cast in one piece, while the wings, arms, part of the drapery, the shield with the right hand, and the left leg below the knee were cast separately and joined in the metal. A threaded plug, rectangular patches, and cast-in repairs were used to repair casting flaws. There is a crack in the metal of the left calf, the second toe of the left foot appears to have been miscast and repaired, a rectangular bronze patch is visible on the right side of the chest, and a round plug appears on the left foot. Thin wires occur in the wings and left arm. Tapering iron core pins are found in the head, body, and right leg. Both putti exhibit parallel file marks along the contours of the torsos and limbs, punch marks and chisel marks in the hair and wings, and a sharpening of detail with an engraving tool in the teeth and eyes. Thin-section analysis determined the core of both bronzes to be a crystalline gypsum matrix enclosing a variety of red and brown clays with calcite. TL (Los Angeles, 1985) was found to be consistent with a date of manufacture around 1620. Pieces of coarse cloth, paper, and organic material such as straw, wood chips, and dried vegetable matter were inserted into the hollow interiors of both bronzes some time after casting.

## PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Giovanni Battista, Andrea, and Girolamo Bartolommei for the former high altar of Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio, 1650; recorded in Bartolommei family collections, Palazzo Bartolommei, Florence, since

1695; Monsieur Deurdeley (sold, Paris, April 1883); Dr. Alexander von Frey, sold to August Lederer between the early 1920s and mid-1930s; August Lederer (d. 1936), Vienna, by inheritance to his widow, Serena Lederer, 1936; Serena Lederer (d. 1943), Vienna, looted by the Nazis, 1938; in the possession of the Nazis, restituted by the Allied forces to the Austrian government, 1947; Austrian government, restituted to the son of Serena Lederer, Erich Lederer, 1947; Erich Lederer (1896–1985), Geneva, by inheritance to his widow, Elisabeth Lederer, 1985; Elisabeth Lederer, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Brook, "Rediscovered Works of Ferdinando Tacca for the Former High Altar of S. Stefano al Ponte Vecchio," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 29 (1985): 111–28; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 261, no. 247; *Il seicento fiorentino*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1986), 74, 169–70 ("Biografie"); *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Malibu, Calif., 1991), 213; G. Pratesi, ed., *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento* (Turin, 1993), vol. 1, 106, vol. 3, pls. 642–45; A. Brook, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 30, 229; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 50; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 258–59; P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 64–65; *European Works of Art, Tapestries, and Furniture*, sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, 17 October 2000, 28–29, under lot 41.

THESE TWO KNEELING BRONZE PUTTI, or angels—with their pudgy physiques, lively drapery, animated expressions, and finely chased details—were first attributed to Ferdinando Tacca by Anthony Radcliffe on the basis of style.<sup>1</sup> Anthea Brook then published documents pertaining to Tacca's work on the high altar of Santo Stefano al Ponte

Vecchio in Florence, linking the Getty *Putti* with those mentioned in the accounts.<sup>2</sup> The renovations to the church, initiated by Anton Maria Bartolommei in 1631<sup>3</sup> and continued by his heirs—the brothers Giovanni Battista, Andrea, and Girolamo—called for a new high altar decorated with bronzes to be furnished by Ferdinando Tacca. Payments to







27A Ferdinando Tacca. *One of a Pair of Flambeaux*, 17th century. Bronze. H (of figure): 79.3 cm (31 1/4 in.); H (of flambeaux): 104.1 cm (41 in.). London, Wallace Collection inv. S138. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection.



27B *Putto* (85.SB.70.1), profile from proper left

Tacca began in 1650.<sup>4</sup> According to Tacca's statement of 1653, the decoration was to include "two angels with cartouches for the inscriptions which go above the projections of the altar" (the text of the inscriptions is not specified); another statement by Tacca, of 1655, described these statues as "two lifesize infant angels for above the altar."<sup>5</sup> These descriptions, which indicate both the size of the figures and the presence of cartouches, confirm the attribution to Tacca and provide the intended context for which the Getty *Putti* were commissioned.

Stylistic features of the bronzes support the attribution. The Getty *Putti* are similar to two separate pairs of candelabrum-bearing angels in the Wallace Collection, London (FIG. 27A), and in the cathedral at Pietrasanta, which are documented as being by Tacca.<sup>6</sup> The slightly earlier Wallace angels are standing, seem somewhat more elongated in their

proportions, and wear drapery that adheres more closely to the forms of the body with less independent movement. Nevertheless, both the Getty and Wallace bronzes exhibit softly modeled chests and bulging stomachs; faces with small noses, expansive brows stretching across the forehead, high foreheads, parted lips, round cheeks, and precisely articulated eyelids; a meticulous delineation of hair and wing feathers; an exceptionally high quality of finish overall; and analogous presentational arm gestures. In addition, as Brook has pointed out, both the Getty and Wallace bronzes have rectangular keys where the upper arms of the figures attach to the shoulders, indicating a consistent method of manufacture.<sup>7</sup> The Getty putto with a cartouche on his right is also strikingly similar, especially in the face and hair, to Tacca's later *Infant Bacchus* (*Bacchino*), executed as a fountain for the Piazza del Comune, Prato.<sup>8</sup>



27C *Putto* (85.SB.70.1), back view



27D *Putto* (85.SB.70.1), profile from proper right

Furthermore, even without documentation, the size of the Getty bronzes and their symmetrical, mirrored poses would suggest their origins as framing elements in an altar or other architectural complex. It is unclear whether the two *Putti* ever became part of the altar at Santo Stefano, since their cartouches were apparently never inscribed as specified by the 1653 account. They appear in the inventories of the Bartolommei palace in Florence, as part of the private family collection, as early as 1695.<sup>9</sup>

A comparison of the Getty *Pair of Putti* with putti or infants by Giambologna, whose studio and artistic legacy Ferdinando Tacca inherited after the death of his father, Pietro, underscores the Baroque quality of Tacca's figures and demonstrates his development away from the late Mannerism of his famous predecessor. The tight, smooth musculature and elongated proportions of Giambologna's

winged cherubs or his standing infant in the *Charity* group for the Grimaldi Chapel<sup>10</sup> contrast with the more realistic, infantile anatomy of Tacca's *Putti*. The drapery, which seems to dance independently about the waists of Tacca's figures, creates dynamic patterns of light across the surface and lends the composition a sense of play and movement. Ferdinando Tacca has been credited with leading the way toward a new, Baroque conception of the Florentine small bronze group, which culminated in the works of Giovanni Battista Foggini, Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, and others.<sup>11</sup> In the case of the Getty *Putti*, their poses, theatrical gestures, and anatomy and even the handling of their hair are echoed in the angels atop the sarcophagus of Foggini's Ranieri tomb of 1683–91,<sup>12</sup> suggesting that Tacca's stylistic progressiveness and decisive influence extended to other genres of Florentine sculpture.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



27E *Putto* (85.SB.70.2), profile from proper left



27F *Putto* (85.SB.70.2), back view



27G *Putto* (85.SB.70.2), profile from proper right

Notes

1. Brook, "Rediscovered Works," 118.
2. *Ibid.*, 118ff.
3. M. Forlani Conti, "La ristrutturazione seicentesca della chiesa di S. Stefano," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del cinquecento: La comunità cristian fiorentina e toscana nella dialettica religiosa del cinquecento* (Florence, 1980), 278.
4. Brook, "Rediscovered Works," 114.
5. *Ibid.*, 118, 126–27. According to the 1653 account, the altar was also to include several bronze consoles, two of which were to be slightly smaller and placed below the projections on either side of the altar, presumably below the angels; a bronze relief depicting the stoning of Saint Stephen; eight capitals and bases for the columns of the ciborium. By the time of the account Tacca had already finished four altar consoles and six small consoles for the ciborium. Only the martyrdom relief and two consoles survive on the altar as it now stands.
6. W. Gramberg, "A Rediscovered Work of Ferdinando Tacca," *Burlington Magazine* 60 (April 1932): 191; M. Tommasi, *Pietro Tacca* (Pisa, 1995), 94–95. The commission for the Pietrasanta angels and a large bronze crucifix was given to Tacca in 1641 and completed by 1649 (G. Campori, *Memorie biografiche degli scultori, architetti, pittori ec. nativi di Carrara* [Modena, 1873], 236–37). The Wallace angels, which hold candelabra displaying the arms of the Cibo family of Massa, belong to a commission for a crucifix, four angels, and four candelabra for the chapel of Palazzo Cibo-Malaspina, Massa (*ibid.*, 237). See also J. G. Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues: Sculpture* (London, 1931, with 1981 supplement), 51, nos. 138–39, and addendum.
7. Brook, "Rediscovered Works," 118.
8. Dated 1658–65, now in the Palazzo del Comune, Prato. See G. Datini, *Musei di Prato* (Bologna, 1972), 35, no. 64.
9. Long before the first alteration to the altar, which took place in 1836 and which might have necessitated removal of the *Putti* (Brook, "Rediscovered Works," 118, 122–23). Brook transcribes the Bartolommei inventory entries from the years 1695, 1710, 1760, and 1840–59 (p. 127). It seems from the entries of 1710 and 1760 that at some point the *Putti* were set on top of gilt wood dolphins to appear as if riding them, and the ensemble was displayed on bronze pedestals. By the 1840–59 inventory the *Putti* are described as "kneeling on their bases," indicating the elimination of the dolphin supports.
10. C. Avery, *Giambologna* (Oxford, 1987), figs. 20–21, 218; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London and New York, 1970), pl. 88.
11. A. Radcliffe, "Ferdinando Tacca, the Missing Link in Florentine Baroque Bronzes," in *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici* (Munich, 1976), 14–23.
12. K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* (Munich, 1962), pl. 53. The similarities are especially striking in the angel on the left side of the sarcophagus.

## LORENZO OTTONI

Rome 1648–1726

*Portrait Medallion of  
Pope Alexander VIII*

c. 1699–1700

White marble oval relief mounted on  
*bigio antico* marble socle

H (overall): 88.9 cm (35 in.)

H (medallion): 63.5 cm (25 in.)

W (medallion): 46.7 cm (18½ in.)

H (socle): 30.5 cm (12 in.) to point  
where relief rests, 41.9 cm (16½ in.)  
to wing tips

D (socle): 35.6 cm (14 in.)

95.SA.9.I-2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Inscribed on the front face of the medallion,

ALEX·VIII·P·O·M·FRAN·CARD·BAR·F·F·

(Alexandro Octavo Pontifici Optimo Maximo  
Franciscus Cardinalis Barberinus Fecit Fieri).

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

There is a visible chip on the edge of the proper  
right collar and several smaller, less visible chips

on the medallion's bottom edge. The surface was cleaned unevenly, presumably in the recent past, prior to acquisition; some areas were slightly overcleaned, while the face retains some grime and the area under the collar is dirty. Examination under ultraviolet light revealed that the socle has been damaged and repaired; it appears as if the eagle was broken at the legs. The back of the medallion has been inset with two horizontal iron straps and carved out to accommodate a tapered vertical iron bar, which rises from the socle and slips under the horizontal straps (see FIG. 28A). X rays revealed the presence of a very dense material, probably lead, in the center of the socle, into which the vertical iron bar has been set. Ultraviolet-visible fluorescence suggested that the lettered inscription is filled with shellac; XRF indicated that the shellac contains arsenic and sulfur, as well as traces of iron and copper.

## PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (called *Giunore*), around 1699–1700, Rome; private collection, Italy, by at least the nineteenth century; by descent within the same family until

the last quarter of the twentieth century; Same Art Ltd., Zurich, 1995, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Acquisitions/1995," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996): 138, no. 88; P. Fusco, "A Portrait Medallion of Pope Alexander VIII by Lorenzo Ottoni in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 139 (December 1997): 872–76; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 31; M. Cambarelli and P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 80–81.

THE MEDALLION DEPICTS POPE ALEXANDER VIII, born Pietro Vito Ottoboni in 1610, who reigned as pontiff from October 6, 1689, until his death on February 1, 1691. Descendant of a noble Venetian family, Pietro was made cardinal in 1652 by Innocent X and was later given the bishopric of Brescia. Under Innocent XI he became grand inquisitor of Rome and secretary to the Holy Office. An octogenarian when elected to the papacy, Alexander was popular for reducing taxes, increasing inexpensive food imports, diminishing political tensions with France, and aiding Venice during the Turkish wars. He was also known for his vigilant religiosity, condemning many Jansenist and other reformist propositions. A man of letters, he enriched the Vatican library by acquiring the books and manuscripts owned by Queen Christina of Sweden at her death in 1689.<sup>1</sup> He is shown wearing an ermine-trimmed cap (*camauro*) and matching humeral cape (*mozzetta*). These nonliturgical vestments were normally

worn by the pope for informal audiences. By the seventeenth century, portraits of popes in this relatively casual dress had become common.<sup>2</sup>

The top of the medallion is crowned by symmetrical S-shaped cartouches that seem to grow out of shell-like forms and from which are suspended slender garlands. The work is mounted on an elaborate socle with a circular base, from which rises a double-headed eagle, symbol of the Ottoboni since 1588, when Rudolf II allowed the family to add the imperial double-headed eagle to their arms in recognition of their assistance to the empire in fighting the Turks. The carving of the *bigio antico* marble base exploits the coloration of the stone, ranging from white at the bottom to a dark bluish gray (blue was one of the colors of the Ottoboni arms),<sup>3</sup> so that the eagle is rendered in the darkest tones, effectively setting off the white medallion. Placed on its mount, the relief is a freestanding sculpture and appears to be held aloft by the eagle.





28A Back view

According to the latter part of its inscription (·FRAN·CARD·BAR·FF·), the work was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1662–1731), who was called *Giunore* (junior) so as not to be confused with his better-known granduncle, also Cardinal Francesco (1597–1679).<sup>4</sup> Francesco Junior was nominated to the cardinalate by Alexander VIII on November 13, 1690 (probably because of his close friendship with the pope's nephews). Apparently the Getty marble was commissioned as a commemorative work nearly a decade after Alexander VIII's death (February 1, 1691). A document dated 1700, referring to marbles in Ottoni's possession, records the carving of the socle, in the form of an eagle, from a piece of *bigio antico*, meant for a portrait of Alexander VIII.<sup>5</sup>

As an oval portrait supported freestanding on a socle, the work is typologically unusual. During the late seventeenth century in Rome, oval medallion portraits were commonly employed in an architectural setting, usually as part of a tomb or commemorative monument, either attached to a wall or held by putti, angels, allegorical figures, mourners, or some combination thereof.<sup>6</sup> Although it is conceivable that the Getty medallion on its socle was intended to be placed in an architectural niche, there are no known instances of portrait medallions employed in this way. The system of original iron strap supports at the back of the work would suggest that it was intended to sit, supported by the socle, free of any backing. It may be viewed as a rather ingenious (and perhaps less expensive) alternative to a freestanding bust portrait carved in the round and supported on a socle. Another unusual element in the work is the inclusion of the crowning cartouche and hanging garlands on the border of its frame. These are elements that are frequently found surrounding the circular or oval niches containing portrait busts on Roman tombs or commemorative monuments; the application of these elements directly onto the border of the medallion appears unique to this work and implies that it is commemorative in nature.<sup>7</sup> The unusual socle, while evoking the Ottoboni coat of arms, also suggests that the subject depicted in the medallion is being borne aloft, heavenward.<sup>8</sup> The artist has thus managed to compress into a relatively small format several elements of commemorative monuments and tomb sculpture. A similar kind of compression is found in engraved oval portraits, which may have influenced the Getty marble.<sup>9</sup>

Another significant aspect of this object is the inclusion on the front of the medallion of the name of the person who commissioned it. This kind of patron credit line is found in architectural monuments but usually appears in an inscription below the portrait, be it a statue, bust, or medallion. The unusual (almost prideful) inscription on the Getty marble further reinforces the idea that it is a kind of compressed, small-scale commemorative monument. Certainly the indication in the inscription that “Cardinal Francesco Barberini had it made” would seem to preclude that it was done for his own residence. On the contrary, the eccentric inscription implies that the work was made for a church, or a private chapel or as a gift to an influential person.<sup>10</sup> Cardinal Barberini must have wanted to make certain that his role as patron, as well as the identity of the sitter, would not be lost over time. The inscription also served to reassert Barberini’s association with the Ottoboni pope who had elevated him to the cardinalate.

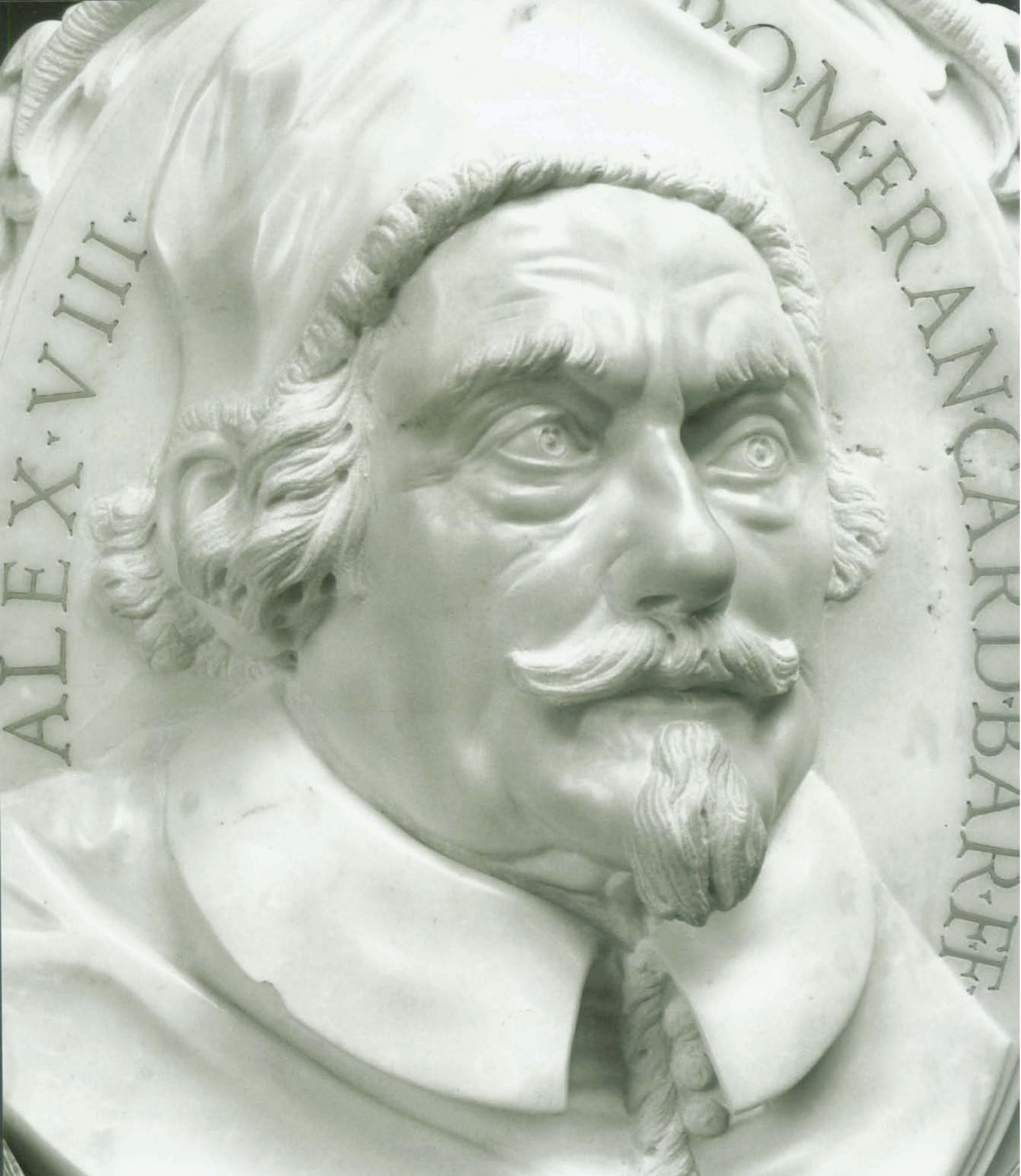
On the basis of circumstantial and stylistic evidence, the Getty portrait can be securely attributed to Lorenzo Ottoni. When Pietro Ottoboni was elevated to the papacy as Alexander VIII in 1689, the two greatest portraitists of seventeenth-century Rome were long dead; Alessandro Algardi died in 1654 and Gianlorenzo Bernini in 1680. The same was true for several of their major pupils and followers: Melchiorre Caffà (d. 1657), Francesco Aprile (d. 1685), Ercole Ferrata (d. 1686), Antonio Raggi (d. 1686), and Filippo Carcani (d. 1688). The most important sculptor active at the moment was Domenico Guidi (1678–1701), and indeed Guidi became, in effect, the official portrait sculptor to the new pope. Guidi’s portrait bust of Alexander VIII is known in a gilded terra-cotta in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (FIG. 28B) and at least three, possibly four, bronze versions; all are essentially replicas of the same image. Guidi’s portrait was begun prior to April 23, 1690, but the bronze versions continued to be delivered and paid for after Alexander VIII’s death.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to Guidi, the only Roman sculptor who is documented as having done a portrait bust of Alexander VIII is Lorenzo Ottoni,<sup>12</sup> and the other known, dated portrait busts of Alexander VIII are marbles in the Liebieghaus, Frankfurt (FIG. 28D), and in the Detroit Institute of Arts (the latter of poorer quality).<sup>13</sup> The Frankfurt bust was



28B Domenico Guidi. *Portrait Bust of Alexander VIII*. Gilded terra-cotta. H (without socle): 73.7 cm (29 in.). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of the William Randolph Hearst Foundation, inv. 47.8.30.

attributed to Ottoni by Uwe Geese in 1984 and by Elena Bianca Di Gioia in 1992.<sup>14</sup> It differs significantly from Guidi’s bust of the pope. In the Frankfurt bust the outline of the chest is more constrained, less broad and expansive, and the treatment of the drapery is more staid, with fewer folds and shallower indentations in the folds. Also, in contrast to Guidi’s image, where the head is raised slightly and turns freely and the sitter looks up and out to his right in a relaxed manner, the Frankfurt bust displays little movement: the head is frontal, and there is only a slight shift of the eyes to the left. With deeply furrowed lines on the forehead, heavy eyebrows, and a weary, troubled, and tense, uncomfortable gaze, it is a very sober portrait. The difference between the two images of Alexander VIII would seem to suggest that



28c Detail, face



28D Lorenzo Ottoni. *Portrait Bust of Alexander VIII*. Marble. H (without socle): 73.5 cm (28<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Frankfurt, Liebieghaus inv. 209.

Guidi's portrait, which we know was modeled, at the latest, within the first seven months after the sitter was elected to the papacy (the first half of 1690), was done prior to the Frankfurt bust. We can only speculate that the latter work was made after Alexander VIII had fallen ill in January 1691; there seems little other explanation for such a joyless, dour image. In any case, what is of interest in the present context is that the face of the Getty portrait, both in the image conveyed and in details of carving, is so close to the head in the Frankfurt marble that there can be little doubt that it was executed by the same hand or workshop.

The fact that the Getty marble was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini provides circumstantial support for attributing it and, consequently, the Frankfurt bust to Lorenzo Ottoni. In 1658, at the age of ten, Ottoni began his career as an apprentice in the studio of Antonio Giorgetti,<sup>15</sup> who by January 1660 had become, in effect, the family sculptor of the elder Cardinal Francesco (from this time on, Giorgetti is referred to in several Barberini accounts as "our" sculptor). When Antonio Giorgetti died in 1669, he was succeeded in this position the following year by his brother Giuseppe, and during the 1670s Ottoni was working in Giuseppe's studio on a number of Barberini commissions. After the death of Cardinal Francesco Senior in 1679, one of the commissions that Giuseppe had initiated was completed by Ottoni with the support of Francesco's nephew Cardinal Carlo Barberini (1630–1704). From Cardinal Carlo, Ottoni also received, in the late 1680s, a commission for a series of portrait busts of the Barberini family members, including one of Cardinal Francesco Junior's father, Maffeo Barberini, prince of Palestrina (1632–85).<sup>16</sup> Moreover, a group of statues and marbles from Maffeo's collection had been consigned for storage and perhaps for restoration by Ottoni by October 1680.<sup>17</sup> Given these ties, it seems only natural that when Cardinal Francesco Junior commissioned the Getty marble he turned to Ottoni to execute it. Whether the Barberini also commissioned the Frankfurt bust is uncertain; nevertheless, it may be that this more typologically conservative or traditional work was executed prior to the idiosyncratic Getty medallion, in which case the artist would then have adapted from the bust its image of Alexander VIII.

PETER FUSCO

Notes

1. On Alexander VIII, see A. Petrucci, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1960), 215–19; L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (London, 1957), vol. 32, 525–60, and J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford and New York, 1986), 288–89, with further bibliography.
2. On papal vestments and dress protocol, see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C., 1967), vol. 5, 483, and vol. 10, 973, 1037.
3. Green and blue were the colors of the Ottoboni arms; both colors were used in a wedding casket commissioned as a gift by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni in 1730; see E. J. Olszewski, “Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) in America,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 1, no. 1 (1989): 51. For the Ottoboni arms, see V. Spreti, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana* (Milan, 1928–35; reprint, Bologna, 1981), vol. 4, 952.
4. On Cardinal Francesco Senior, see *Dizionario biografico*, vol. 6, 172–76; on Cardinal Francesco Junior, who receives no entry in the preceding, see *Dictionnaire des cardinaux*, ed. M. Migne (Paris, 1857), 315; A. C. Gampp, “Santa Rosalia in Palestrina: Die Grablege der Barberini und das ästhetische Konzept der ‘Magnificentia,’” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 29 (1994): 343–68, for discussion of the younger Francesco’s patronage. On the Barberini family in general, see P. Pecchiai, *I Barberini* (Rome 1959), esp. 220–23 for Francesco Junior.
5. Thanks to Jennifer Montagu, who kindly took the time to check her notes on the unpublished inventory cited but not published in full by M. A. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), 362, which lists statues and marble pieces in the “Anticaglia vicino la casa del Sig.r Carlo Maratta in consegna al Sig.r Lorenzo Ottone Scultore . . . li 5 7bre 1680” (Ind. II, Cred. v, Cas. 67, Mazz. LXXXIII, Lett. I, No. 17). Montagu generously communicated a notice, presumably an addition to the 1680 list, dated December 1700, which clearly refers to the carving of the eagle socle: “Del troncone di Colonna di Bigio fattoci un Aquila, quale serve per piede sotto alla medaglia del ritratto di Alessandro Ottavo per serv[iti]o del Em. mo e Rev. mo Sig. r Card.e Fran.co Barberini.” That the *bigio antico* for the socle seems to have been among the marbles in Ottoni’s possession strongly supports the attribution of the medallion and eagle to him. Neither Montagu nor the present writer has had the opportunity to recheck the original inventory.
6. See A. Bacchi, ed., *Scultura del ‘600 a Roma* (Rome, 1996), pls. 93, 148, 185, 186, 384, 388, 390, 425, 456, 468, 531, 532, 643, 651, 680, 733. One of the first such monuments is Bernini’s *Tomb of Alessandro Valtrini* of c. 1640–41, which was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini Senior; see R. Wittkower, *Gianlorenzo Bernini* (London, 1988), no. 43.
7. Bacchi, *Scultura del ‘600*, pls. 39, 84, 218, 272, 349, 448, 487. Another instance in which there is a decorative motif applied over a simple molded border to a portrait medallion is Guidi’s *Monument to Louis XIV*, made for Versailles; see L. Seelig, “Zu Domenico Guidis Gruppe ‘Die Geschichte zeichnet die Taten Ludwigs XIV auf,’” *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 17 (1972): 81–104.
8. One hesitates to use the word *unique*, but this socle is exceptional. For earlier works that incorporate figural elements in a socle supporting a bust, see the portraits by Leone Leoni and Adriaen de Vries in, respectively, E. Plon, *Leone Leoni, sculpteur de Charles-Quint, et Pompeo Leoni, sculpteur de Philippe II* (Paris, 1887), pl. V; and L. O. Larsson, *Adrian de Vries: Adrianus Fries Hagiensis Batavus, 1545–1626* (Vienna and Munich, 1967), pls. 67, 68. It is worth noting that while Bernini typologically reinvented practically every genre of sculpture, he never appears to have altered the essentially architectonic forms of the socles of his busts. The same, I believe, is true, *pace* Alvar González-Palacios, concerning the pedestals of his statues; I find it unlikely that the gilt and polychrome wood tree table that supports Bernini’s *Saint Lawrence* is contemporaneous with the marble. The style and conception of this undocumented table support are more in the spirit of the works produced at the end of Bernini’s career in collaboration with Giovanni Paolo Schorr. On the table base, see A. González-Palacios, “Il Bernini e la mobilia,” in *Il tempio del gusto: Roma e il Regno delle Due Sicilie: Le arti decorative in Italia fra classicismi e barocco* (Milan, 1984), vol. 1, 77–88.
9. See, for example, E. J. Olszewski, “The Tapestry Collection of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni,” *Apollo* 116 (August 1982): 104, fig. 2, which illustrates an engraved portrait of the young Pietro Ottoboni, probably made soon after he was made cardinal in 1689.
10. One possibility is that Barberini intended the piece for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, nephew of Alexander VIII and friend of Cardinal Francesco, whose influence and prestige in Rome were strong in the years around 1700. The piece does not appear, however, in any known Ottoboni inventory. For Pietro Ottoboni and the Ottoboni inventories, see Olszewski, “Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni,” esp. 55–56, nn. 4, 5, 18, 19; and idem, “Tapestry Collection.” Professor Olszewski has kindly checked the unpublished portions of the Ottoboni inventories without finding any trace of the Getty medallion and pointed out that Cardinal Pietro gave away many Ottoboni possessions before his death in 1740, especially during his bid for the papacy in the 1730s (personal communication). It should be noted that Alexander VIII’s niece Cornelia Zelo married Urbano Barberini, the brother of the medallion’s commissioner; their daughter was Cornelia Costanza, last in the Barberini line and heir, therefore, to the family’s possessions, which she shared with Giulio Cesare Colonna di Sciarra by marrying him in 1728; this would provide another potential provenance for the object if it was reclaimed by the family during the roughly three decades after its commission. Another possibility is that the piece was intended for Pope Clement XI Albani, newly elected in the year 1700. Francesco Junior, like Clement, was made cardinal by Alexander, and with this gift Barberini could remind the new pope of this important bond between them. Clement XI too would commission a commemorative image of Alexander VIII, a statue for Albani’s hometown of Urbino; see E. B. Di Gioia, “Un busto del Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni Seniore al Museo di Roma:

- Ancora una proposta per Domenico Guidi," *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, n.s., 6 (1992): 119–20, n. 17.
11. For the various versions of Guidi's portrait and their dating, see D. Bershad, "A Series of Papal Busts by Domenico Guidi," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (December 1970): 805–8; idem, "Domenico Guidi: Some New Attributions," *Antologia di belle arti* 1 (1977): 18–25; Olszewski, "Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni," 37.
  12. See the life of Ottoni edited by V. Martinelli, in L. Pascoli, *Vite de pittori, scultori, e architetti viventi (dai manoscritti 1383 e 11743 della Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta" di Perugia [circa 1730])* (Treviso, 1981), 207–28, with the reference to a portrait of Alexander VIII, presumably a bust, on 214. For the most recent biography of Ottoni, see Bacchi, *Scultura del '600*, 831–32, with further bibliography. The essential literature on the artist includes R. Wittkower, "Ein bozzetto des Bildhauers Lorenzo Ottoni im Museo Petriano zu Rom," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 50 (1929): 6–15; R. Enggass, "Laurentius Ottoni Rom. Vat. Basilicae sculptor," *Storia dell'arte*, nos. 15–16 (1972): 315–41; A. Brancati, *Una statua, un busto e una fontana di Lorenzo Ottoni: Pagine di storia pesarese* (Pesaro, 1981); A. Roth, "A Portrait Bust of Maffeo Barberini, Prince of Palestrina," *Apollo* 122 (July 1985): 24–31, provides the best overview of Ottoni's portraits. The portrait of Maffeo Barberini is now in the collection of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (inv. 1984.80). In addition to Ottoni and Guidi, the one sculptor known to have made a portrait of Alexander VIII in Rome is Angelo de Rossi (1671–1715), who was commissioned by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni to execute the funeral monument to his uncle; de Rossi had begun work on the papal tomb, which included a seated statue of Alexander VIII, by April 1698, but there is no evidence that he executed a bust or medallion portrait of the pope; for the most recent biography of de Rossi, with previous bibliography, see Bacchi, *Scultura del '600*, 839–40, according to whom there are no known documented portrait busts by de Rossi.
  13. A portrait bust of Alexander VIII is also included in a monument to him in the cathedral at Brescia, where he had been bishop. The bust is by Orazio Marinali, and the monument dates to 1690; see Di Gioia, "Un busto," 128–30, fig. 7.
  14. U. Geese, *Nachantike grossplastische Bildwerke: Liebieghaus—Museum Alter Plastik*, vol. 4 (Melsungen, 1984), 16–17, no. 4; Di Gioia, "Un busto," 129, fig. 8. The Detroit bust was published by J. Spike, in *Baroque Portraiture in Italy: Works from North American Collections*, exh. cat. (Sarasota, Fla.: John and Mable Ringling Museum, 1984), 205, as attributed to Guidi, but it seems clearly to be a replica of the Frankfurt bust and therefore by Ottoni or his workshop; the front of the chest has sustained some damage, and it seems possible that this area was never completely finished.
  15. The information presented here on Antonio and Giuseppe Giorgetti is taken from J. Montagu, "Antonio and Giuseppe Giorgetti: Sculptors to Cardinal Francesco Barberini," *Art Bulletin* 52 (September 1970): 278–98.
  16. Roth, "A Portrait Bust," figs. 1, 2, 12.
  17. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents*, 362.

## UNKNOWN ITALIAN ARTIST

Possibly Genoese or Southern Italian

*Christ Child*

c. 1700

Polychrome wood with glass eyes

H: 73.7 cm (29 in.)

W: 49.5 cm (19½ in.)

D: 39 cm (15¼ in.)

96.SD.I8

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The sculpture is structurally sound, with only one crack in the body, at the back of the left shoulder. The fingers of the left hand have been repaired, the left eye is cracked, and there are some holes that indicate insect damage. X rays reveal that the sculpture is constructed of solid wood, with no hollowed areas. The legs, torso, upper arms, head, and part of the base were carved from a single piece of wood, with

additional sections of wood added for the drapery, lower arms, and base. There are two layers of paint on the limbs and torso, a lighter pink pigment covered by a more bluish layer. A third, more matte layer covers the face. The craquelure extends through all three layers, indicating that they were applied relatively close together in time, and the extent of the craquelure suggests that the paint is at least 150 years old. XRF shows a paint composition that includes lead white and vermilion, both available in the eighteenth century. The remains of a translucent brown resin coating are visible on the back of the legs. A more recent, fourth layer of opaque, flesh-colored paint, which shows dark purple under uv light, has been applied to several areas, including the lower half of the right arm, the left hand, the genitals, most of the left foot, the toes of the right foot, and elsewhere. A blue-green, copper-based layer is visible beneath the multi-colored paint of the rocky base. Finally, on the drapery, the lowest layer of blue-green pigment has been entirely overpainted with a second

blue-green layer that includes titanium white, a pigment available only after World War II. On top of this there is evidence of another layer of very recent orange-red paint, now mostly removed. The glass eyes are painted from the reverse and were set into the face from the front with a material that contains lead.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, New York (sale, Christie's, New York, 10 January 1995, lot 42); Patricia Wengraf Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 32; M. Cambareri, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 82–85.

THIS SCULPTURE REPRESENTS the standing Christ child, set onto a base that suggests a rocky landscape. He is nude except for a cape that drapes behind his back, wraps around his arms, and trails down behind his left leg.<sup>1</sup> This drapery blows up and out behind the figure as if caught up by a swirling wind, leaving much of the front of the body uncovered while revealing parts of the back. The Christ child stands in an animated *contrapposto* stance and extends his left hand as if to display an object—possibly a globe, for example, or a bunch of grapes—now lost.<sup>2</sup> The right arm is bent inward, the hand lifted close to the head, conveying the idea that the Christ child is responding, as if listening to the prayers of the beholders (see FIG. 29A).

Devotion to the Christ child developed as part of a growing interest in the humanity of Christ during the fourteenth century. For example, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, a Franciscan manual for prayer and contemplation, encouraged worshipers to imagine themselves present at the events of Christ's life, pondering even the smallest details.<sup>3</sup> The late sixteenth-century *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius Loyola continued this tradition, calling for the use of

the imagination and all the senses in meditation and prayer.<sup>4</sup> These devotional approaches were expressed in religious art, for example, in the elaborate multifigure polychrome sculptural representations of scenes from the life of Christ, like the *Sacri Monti* and the popular *presepio* (or Nativity) groups.<sup>5</sup>

Devotional imagery that featured the Christ child became increasingly popular in these periods.<sup>6</sup> Sculptures of the Christ child were created throughout Europe, ranging from doll-like figures that could be dressed in real clothes to naturalistic polychrome wood sculptures, to marble statues set into architectural structures. Images of saints who saw visions of the infant Jesus, like Saint Anthony of Padua, became popular.<sup>7</sup> The Getty *Christ Child*, who seems to respond to his viewers, recalls the imagery of such visions.

The *Christ Child* probably decorated an oratory, chapel, or church. Life-size and carved completely in the round, the sculpture is designed to be seen from all sides and from below. A wood sculpture, it is relatively light and could be moved easily. These factors suggest that it may also have functioned as a processional figure. In Genoa, Naples, and





29A Detail, head

cities in Spain in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, feast days were often celebrated with processions through the streets, animated by vivid polychrome wood sculptures carried on floats above the heads of the crowds.<sup>8</sup> Confraternities (known as *casacce*) in Genoa had a particularly strong tradition of participating in such processions, and they commissioned many elaborate floats.<sup>9</sup> The figure in the Getty sculpture looks down and seems about to step into the viewer's space. The torsion of the body, the energetically curling spirals of hair, and the wind-blown, swirling drapery combine to create a sense of animation and motion ideally suited to a processional figure.

When acquired by the Getty Museum, the *Christ Child* was attributed to the Genoese wood sculptor Anton Maria Maragliano (1644–1739), who created many processional sculptures for confraternities.<sup>10</sup> The depiction of the child—with distinctly delineated rolls of baby fat at the ankles, chubby knees, rounded belly, and fleshy breasts—is somewhat similar to sculptures of angels and *putti* by Maragliano. For example, the angels in Maragliano's 1704 *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Genoa, San Teodoro)<sup>11</sup> display the easy, naturalistic poses implying transition and motion and the curling hair of the Getty *Christ Child*. The thorough photographic survey of Maragliano's works in a recent monograph by Daniele Sanguineti demonstrates, however, that the Getty *Christ Child* is not by him. The face and details of the body are distinctly different from those of the children carved by Maragliano. For example, the *Christ Child* has high, smooth cheekbones and a small, even mouth, while Maragliano's children invariably have broader, rounder, fleshier lower cheeks, and wider, more animated lips. The bellies of Maragliano's children are slung lower, with belly buttons placed lower on the torso, an idiosyncrasy not found in the Getty sculpture. The spiraling curls that extend from the head do not occur in Maragliano's figures.

Nonetheless, the general similarities between the Getty *Christ Child* and Maragliano's work suggest that the sculpture may have been made in Genoa around 1700.<sup>12</sup> The *Christ Child* shows an awareness of Baroque ideals consonant with those represented in Genoa by such sculptors as Pierre Puget (1620–94) and the native Filippo Parodi (1613–1702). Communication between sculpture and spectator, the quality of projection of the figure into the space around



29B Domenico Piola. *Immaculate Conception*. Oil on canvas. H: 345 cm (135<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); w: 221 cm (87 in.). Genoa, Santissima Annunziata del Vastato. Photo courtesy of the archive of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici e Artistici della Liguria.

it, and the animation of drapery expressive of and in response to motion, emotion, and the wind are typically Baroque qualities present in the Getty *Christ Child*. The spiraling curls can be compared to works by Parodi, such as *Adonis*.<sup>13</sup> The cloak of the Getty *Christ Child* also seems particularly close to works by Parodi in which similar broad facets of drapery animate compositions.<sup>14</sup> Finally, the *Christ Child* also finds close parallels in paintings produced in Genoa around 1700, particularly those of Domenico Piola (1627–1703).<sup>15</sup> For example, the angel carrying the cross in Piola's *Immaculate Conception* (FIG. 29B) displays the animated posture, fleshy limbs, sweet expression, and spiraling curls characteristic of the Getty *Christ Child*.



29c *Christ Child*, southern Italian (Naples?), 18th century. Polychrome wood with glass eyes. H: 46 cm (18 1/8 in.). Gardone Rivera, Italy, Hiky Mayr collection. Photo: FMR/Marco Rapuzzi.

Given the popularity of the image of the Christ child and the strong tradition of wood sculpture in southern Italy, it should not be ruled out that the Getty *Christ Child* comes from Naples, for example. An eighteenth-century *Christ Child* identified as southern Italian, possibly Neapolitan, in the Hiky Mayr collection (FIG. 29C),<sup>16</sup> comes very close in style to the Getty sculpture, sharing the animated curls that extend from the head; smooth, round cheeks; a small, slightly open mouth; rounded belly with belly button placed high; deep rolls of fat at the ankles; and fleshy knees.

MARIETTA CAMBARERI

#### Notes

1. For the religious significance of the nudity of the Christ child in Renaissance images, also central to the meaning of the Getty *Christ Child*, see L. Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion* (New York, 1983), 141–43.
2. Sculptures representing the Christ child hold an assortment of objects, each stressing a particular aspect of Christian theology. For example, Desiderio da Settignano created a marble *Christ Child* holding the crown of thorns and the nails of the Crucifixion to decorate the pinnacle of a sacramental tabernacle in San Lorenzo, Florence. For this sculpture, see C. Klapisch-Zuber, “Holy Dolls: Play and Piety in Florence in the Quattrocento,” in *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (Cambridge and New York, 1998), 111–27, esp. 113–15; I. Cardellini, *Desiderio da Settignano* (Milan, 1962), 217–23, 289–92, figs. 379–84, for several copies of this figure. This image, which inspired many copies, is clearly eucharistic in theme. A German wood sculpture of the Christ child of around 1465 (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum) holds a bunch of grapes, also a eucharistic image; see H. P. Hilger, *Das Jesuskind mit der Weintraube* (Munich, 1991). A globe in the child’s hand signifies Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, the savior of the world. For the imagery of the globe associated with Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, see C. Gottlieb, “The Mystical Window in Paintings of the *Salvator Mundi*,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 103 (December 1960): 313–32. For useful compendia of images of the Christ child, see *Niños Jesús: Sculpture policrome dalle Collezioni Reali di Madrid*, exh. cat. (Milan: Basilica of Sant’Ambrogio, 1989), and *Il Bambino Gesù: Italianische Jesuskindfiguren aus drei Jahrhunderten: Sammlung Hiky Mayr*, exh. cat. (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1997).
3. I. Ragusa, trans., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1961).
4. W. H. Longridge, trans., *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola* (London, 1955). Loyola’s text was first published in Rome in 1615 and then in many editions and translations. For a general assessment of the consonance of devotional approach in the *Spiritual Exercises* with other Counter-Reformation writers, see A. Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450–1600* (Oxford, 1966), 133–36.

5. For the *Sacri Monti*, see, for example, W. Hood, "The *Sacro Monte* of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. T. Verdon with J. Daly (Syracuse, N.Y., 1984), 291–311; Sergio Gensini, ed., *La "Gerusalemme" di San Vivaldo e i Sacri Monti in Europa* (Pisa, 1989); A. Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. C. Farago (New Haven and London, 1995), 113–26, 319–21. For the *presepio* groups, see, for example, R. Berliner, *Die Weihnachtskrippe* (Munich, 1955); A. Bettanini, *Il presepe genovese* (Genoa, 1970); F. Mancini, *Il presepe napoletano* (Naples, 1983); G. Borrelli, *Il presepe napoletano* (Naples, 1990). Both the *sacri monti* and *presepi* were extremely popular throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century in Italy.
6. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trent* (Paris, 1932), 325–32.
7. Thanks to Mari-Tere Alvarez for pointing out the popularity of such images in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For many examples of the Vision of Saint Anthony of Padua, see *Antonio ritrovato: Il culto del santo tra collezionismo religioso e privato*, exh. cat. (Padua: Museo del Santo, 1995). Similarly, as devotion to Saint Joseph grew, his role as guardian of Christ as a child was stressed in images of Joseph holding or adoring the Christ child; see Mâle, *L'art religieux*, 313–25.
8. See, for example, S. Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton, 1998).
9. See F. Franchini Guelfi, *Le casacce: Arte e tradizione* (Genoa, 1974), for a survey of the artists and works of art associated with the Genoese confraternities.
10. When it sold at auction in 1995, it was catalogued as "South Italian, late 17th century"; see *European Works of Art, Furniture, and Tapestries*, sale cat., Christie's, New York, 10 January 1995, 41, lot 42. On Maragliano, see G. Colmuto, "L'arte del legno in Liguria: A. M. Maragliano (1664–1739)," in *Monumenti di storia e arte religiosa in Liguria* (Genoa, 1963); F. Franchini Guelfi, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 20, 371; D. Sanguineti, *Anton Maria Maragliano* (Genoa, 1998).
11. See Sanguineti, *Anton Maria Maragliano*, figs. 44, 60.
12. For a survey of Baroque sculpture in Genoa, see L. Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme della tradizione alla libertà dello spazio barocco," in *Genova nell'età barocca*, exh. cat. (Genoa: Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola, Galleria di Palazzo Reale, 1992), 291–302. See also *Pierre Puget: Peintre, sculpteur, architecte, 1620–1694*, exh. cat. (Marseille: Centre de la Vieille Charité, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1994), also published in Italian: *Pierre Puget (Marsiglia 1620–1694): Un artista francese e la cultura barocca a Genova* (Milan, 1995).
13. See *Genova nell'età barocca*, 318.
14. *Ibid.*, 312–13, no. 190, for Parodi's figure of Spring, for example.
15. For Piola, see Franchini Guelfi, in *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 24, 835–37, with further bibliography.
16. *Il Bambino Gesù*, 88–89, no. 28.



29D Back view

## GIOVANNI BATTISTA FOGGINI

Florence 1652–1725

*Dancing Faun*

c. 1700

Bronze

H: 52.3 cm (20<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

W: 25.5 cm (10 in.)

D: 22 cm (8<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

2000.8

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface, which is in excellent condition, retains traces of what may be the original patina. In certain areas the golden-colored metal is visible beneath the translucent reddish patina.

ICP-MS revealed that it is a leaded tin-bronze alloy containing some zinc (see appendix B). The sculpture was cast hollow with thin walls using the indirect lost-wax technique, in a single pour. X rays (see appendix A) reveal drips from the wax model on the interior, as well as wax-to-wax joins in the upper arms and, possibly, just above the faun's hips. Wires of two different thicknesses were used as core supports and as side-to-side core pins. The core-pin holes were patched with rectangular plugs. Internal flashes occur intermittently. Cast-in repairs appear in the chest, head, and possibly near the right elbow. The surface is carefully chased overall. The body of the faun shows fine polishing marks, running perpendicular to the torso and limbs. Punch work occurs in the hair, base, foliage, and tree trunk. Since the texturing of the trunk runs

continuously over a core-pin plug, it appears that part, if not all, of the texture was added on the cast bronze, not in the wax model. The core material contains, apart from clay and sand, a high amount of plaster, indicating that the core was poured into the wax model as a slurry.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, England (sold, *Souvenirs of the Grand Tour and Neoclassical Decorations*, Christie's, South Kensington, 21 October 1998, lot 40); Patricia Wengraf Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000.

## EXHIBITIONS

International Fine Art Fair, New York, 1999 (p. 99).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Burlington Magazine* 141 (May 1999): xiv (illus.).

THE STATUETTE IS A BRONZE REDUCTION of the antique marble *Dancing Faun* in the Tribuna of the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (FIG. 30A).<sup>1</sup> Although it is not certain when the ancient sculpture first became known,<sup>2</sup> by the eighteenth century it was one of the most famous antiquities in Italy, described with high praise, for example, by Jonathan Richardson in 1722, for whom it was “the best in the Tribunal.”<sup>3</sup> The statuette is very similar to a life-size marble copy of the *Dancing Faun* made by the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini in 1685–86 for King Louis XIV for the gardens at Versailles (FIG. 30B).<sup>4</sup> For this purpose, Foggini took molds from and made casts of the Uffizi *Faun*. Variations from the original model include Foggini's reworking of the tree trunk, which is decorated with naturalistic roots and vines. The Getty bronze shares these naturalistic details with the Versailles marble, including a vine that extends over the upper thigh of the faun and terminates in a broad leaf that covers the genitals.

The bronze is attributed to Foggini on the basis of its close relationship to his documented marble copy, and the attribution is supported by its similarities to other bronzes by the artist. Technical evidence shows that it was expertly cast using methods very similar to those of two other Foggini bronzes in the Getty collection: *Bacchus and Ariadne* (cat. no. 31) and *Laocoön* (cat. no. 32) (see technical description, above). The



30A *Dancing Faun*, Roman. Marble. H: 143 cm (56<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 220.





30B Giovanni Battista Foggini. *Dancing Faun*, 1686. Marble. H: 143 cm (56¼ in.); w: 89 cm (35 in.). Versailles, Musée National du Château inv. MV7977. Photo: RMN-Franck Raux.

*Dancing Faun* has much in common with the Getty *Laocoön*, since it is a copy after a famous antiquity. Like that bronze, the *Faun* displays Foggini's characteristic inclusion of naturalistic detail (in the branches and leaves climbing the tree trunk, the rendering of the tree trunk itself, and the fig leaf), even when this represents a departure from the antique model. The choice to include the tree trunk, however, may reflect Foggini's desire to stay close to the ancient prototype. This support was necessary in the heavy medium of marble but could be eliminated in a hollow bronze, as it was in many bronze full-scale copies and reductions of the *Dancing Faun* made in the

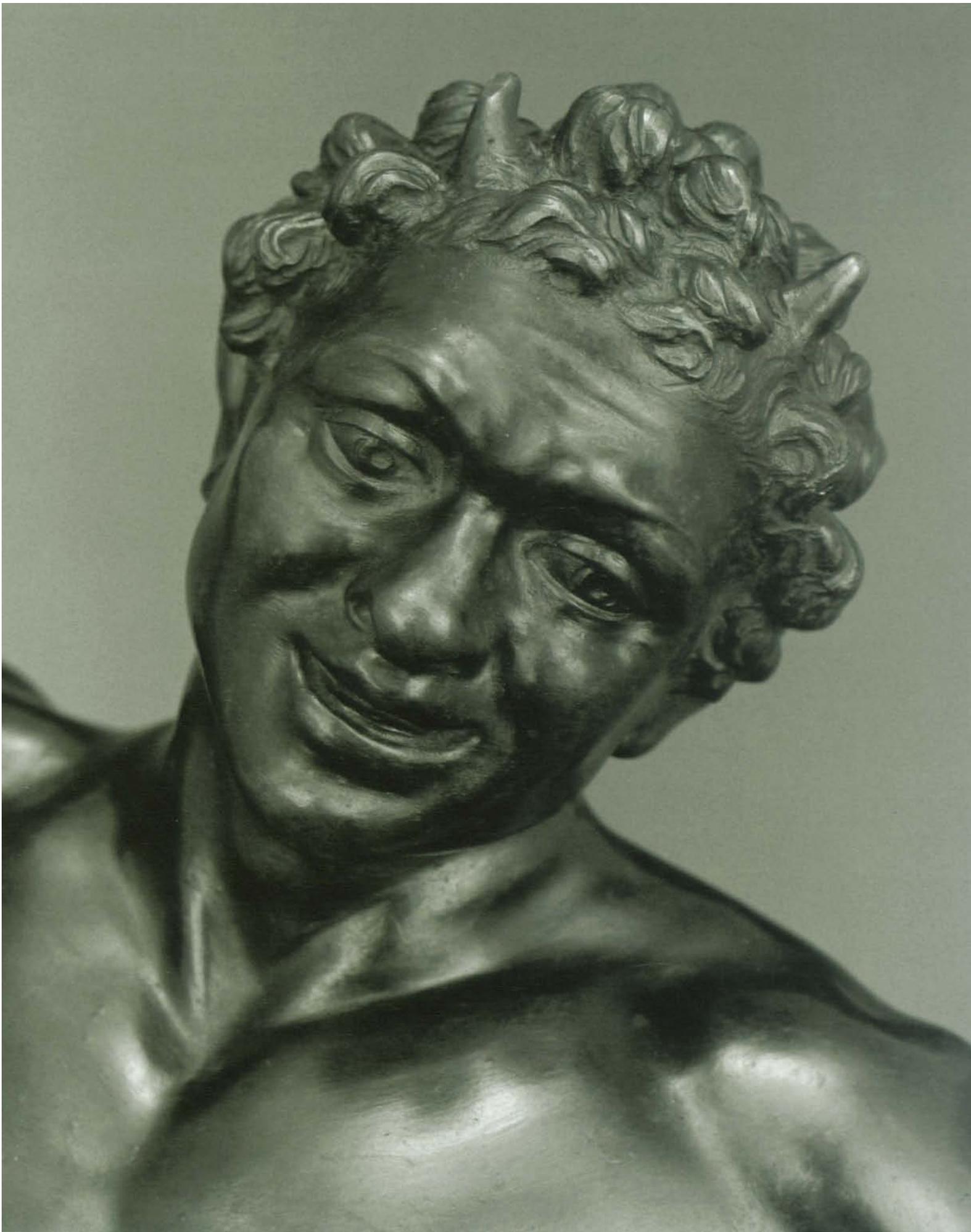
period.<sup>5</sup> The brilliant treatment of the surface, with extremely refined chasing to differentiate a variety of textures, is also consistent with Foggini's bronzes. The base and tree trunk of the *Faun* are very similar to those elements in the *Flaying of Marsyas* (completed by 1716; London, Victoria and Albert Museum).<sup>6</sup>

As is the case with Foggini's other small bronzes, the date of the Getty *Dancing Faun* cannot be determined with any accuracy.<sup>7</sup> It may date as early as 1685–86, when Foggini made his marble copy for Louis XIV, or as late as the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

Foggini is not known to have cast other versions of the *Dancing Faun*,<sup>8</sup> though both Massimiliano Soldani Benzi and Soldani's assistant Pietro Cipriani did cast life-size versions of the figure.<sup>9</sup> There are many smaller bronze reductions, measuring around 33 centimeters, generally attributed to Soldani, as well as versions in terra-cotta and porcelain.<sup>10</sup> Only one other bronze, in a Swedish private collection, is known that is approximately the size of the Getty *Faun*. It is of inferior quality and probably later in date.<sup>11</sup> Bronzes of this size, however, were sought after in the period. For example, Lord Parker sent home to England in 1723 a group of thirteen bronzes that measured around 60 centimeters high.<sup>12</sup> Copies after antique and modern sculptures, this group seems to have been bought for a specific decorative purpose in the family house at Shirborn. In 1718 Soldani was requested by his agent Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni to make bronze copies of antiquities that would measure around 58.6 centimeters (23 in.) high, but he refused, saying he did not have molds on this scale.<sup>13</sup>

The Getty *Faun* may well have been produced for a British traveler on the Grand Tour. Copies of the ancient *Dancing Faun* would have been particularly appealing to a foreign traveler, since the prototype not only was a famous antiquity but also was traditionally thought to have been restored by Michelangelo, who was credited with adding the head and arms. It could thus be thought of as representing the best of both ancient and Renaissance Italy.<sup>14</sup>

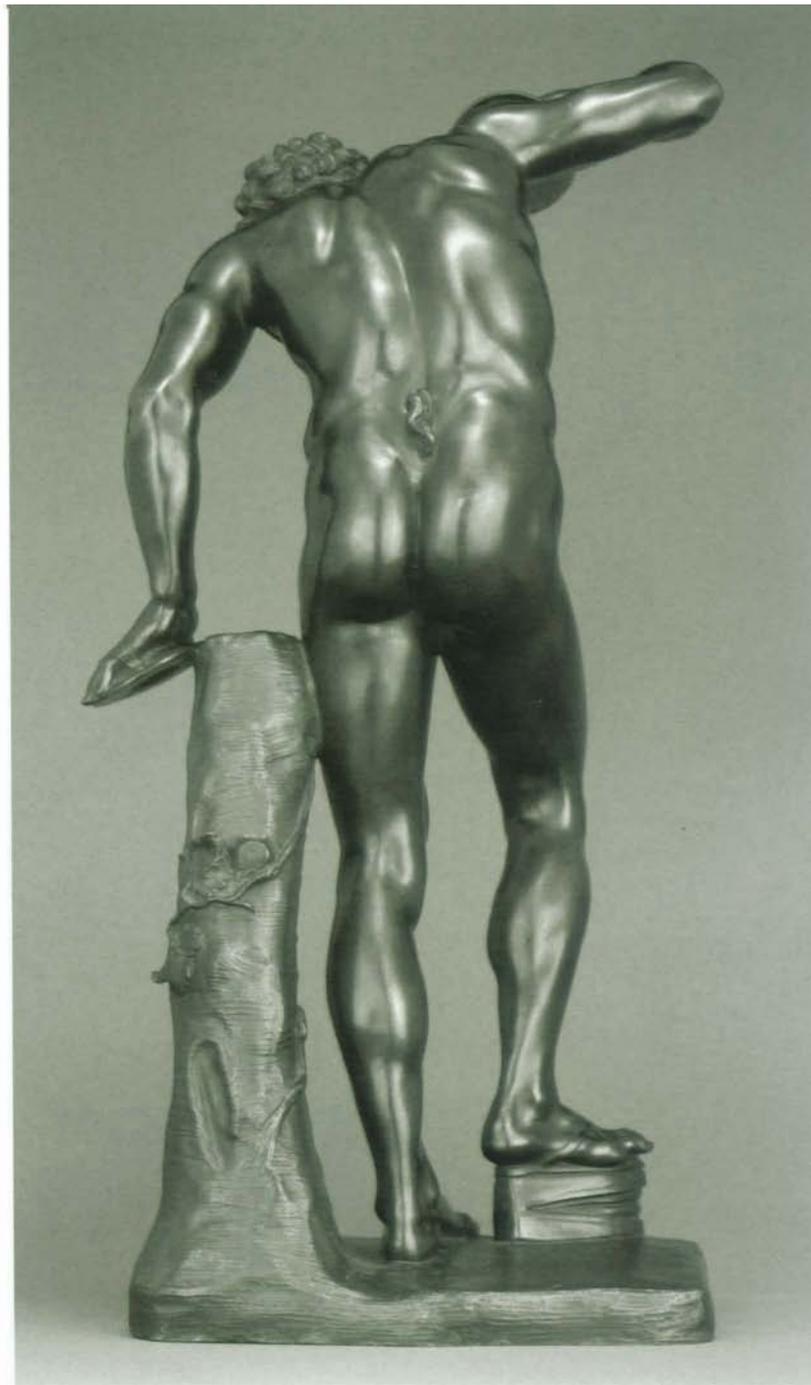
MARIETTA CAMBARERI



30c Detail, head



30D Three-quarter back view from proper left



30E Back view

Notes

1. The ancient marble is thought to be Roman, with sixteenth-century restorations of the head and arms. The antique faun may have been paired with a seated nymph and was probably shown snapping his fingers, not playing cymbals. See G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture*, pt. 1 (Rome, 1958–61), 80; V. Saladino, *Museums and Galleries, Florence: The Uffizi: Classical Sculpture* (Florence, 1983), 64–65. Thanks to Kathrin Holderegger and James Peck for their help on this entry.
2. F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1981), 205–8. While the first written reference to the *Faun* comes in 1665—in A. Rubens, *De re vestiaria veterum, proecipue de lato clavo* (Antwerp, 1665), 187—there is some evidence that it might have been known as early as the mid-sixteenth century. Vasari, in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, describes a lost painting by Alessandro Allori for the funeral services for Michelangelo in 1564, which seems to have included a depiction of the *Dancing Faun* (see G. Milanese, ed., *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* [Florence, 1906], 306–7). P. A. Maffei reports having seen the painting and describes the painted *Faun* as a faithful copy of the Uffizi *Dancing Faun* (*Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne, data in luce . . . da Domenico de Rossi* [Rome, 1704], pl. xxxv). Maffei also says that the head and arms were added by Michelangelo. The first known reflection, with considerable variations, of the *Dancing Faun* in sculpture is Adriaen de Vries's *Juggling Man* (J. Paul Getty Museum, c. 1615), which suggests that the statue was known by the 1580s, when de Vries worked in Italy. See P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 48–51; F. Scholten, in *Adriaen de Vries, 1556–1626: Imperial Sculptor*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1998), 15–16, for de Vries's documented activity in Italy, and 201–3, no. 32.
3. J. Richardson, *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy* (London, 1722), 26, cited by Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 206.
4. S. Hogg, with R. Bossard, *Musée National du Château de Versailles: Les sculptures*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1993), 145, no. 605.
5. See note 9, below, for the bronze *Dancing Fauns* made by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi.
6. J. Pope-Hennessy, “Foggini and Soldani: Some Recent Acquisitions,” *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* 3 (October 1967): 135–44.
7. *Ibid.*, 135–36.
8. Baldinucci reports that Grand Duke Cosimo III ordered Foggini in 1716 to make bronze casts of the four most famous antique statues in the Tribuna of the Uffizi, including the *Dancing Faun*, but nothing more is known of this commission; see F. Baldinucci's *Life of Foggini*, transcribed in K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* (Munich, 1962), 233–38, esp. 236.
9. Soldani made two life-size bronzes: one for the duke of Liechtenstein, around 1695–1705, in the Liechtenstein collection, Vaduz; the other for the duke of Marlboro in 1711, at Blenheim Palace (see G. Pratesi, ed., *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento*, vol. 3 [Turin, 1993], figs. 568 [Blenheim], 569–70 [Liechtenstein]). For Cipriani's bronze, see T. P. Connor, “The Fruits of the Grand Tour: Edward Wright and Lord Parker in Italy, 1720–22,” *Apollo* 147 (July 1998): 25, fig. 4.
10. Examples in bronze are in the Liechtenstein collection, Vaduz (*Die Bronzen der Fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein*, exh. cat. [Frankfurt: Liebieghaus—Museum Alter Plastik, 1986], 332–33, no. 49); the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto (C. Avery, *Baroque Sculpture and Medals in the Art Gallery of Ontario* [Toronto, 1988], 46–48, no. 10, who notes other versions in Dijon, Grenoble, and Florence [Museo Nazionale del Bargello inv. 83]); Klosterneuburg (L. Planiscig, *Katalog der Kunstsammlungen im Stifte Klosterneuburg*, vol. 3 [Vienna, 1942], no. 42, fig. 40). There is a small terra-cotta version attributed to Soldani in the Doccia Museum; see K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), fig. 14. A porcelain version is in the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin, (*ibid.*, fig. 50).
11. Letter from owner, JPGM object file.
12. Connor, “Fruits of the Grand Tour,” 26.
13. *Ibid.*, 27.
14. See note 2 above.

## GIOVANNI BATTISTA FOGGINI

Florence 1652–1725

*Bacchus and Ariadne*

First quarter of the 18th century  
Bronze

H: 40 cm (15¾ in.)

W: 29.5 cm (11⅝ in.)

D: 21.5 cm (8½ in.)

83.SB.333

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface of the metal is covered with a thin, dark brown coating, which is worn in some areas. ICP-MS revealed the composition of the metal to be a copper-zinc alloy with small amounts of tin and lead (see appendix B). The sculpture was cast hollow with thin walls using the indirect lost-wax process. The soft contours of the interior surface, small bubble-shaped excess metal accretions, and metal drips indicate that the wax casting model was produced indirectly using a slush-molding process and filled

with a liquid core. The sculpture was cast in many pieces, which were then attached with cast-in, metal-to-metal joins. X rays show that some joins, including those in Bacchus's left shoulder and Ariadne's left thigh, were made by drilling large holes in the separate pieces near the join, through which molten bronze could be poured. The cast-in metal acts as a solid dowel locking in the separately cast sections. Fine chasing helped disguise the joins, and wax fills were used in the metal-to-metal joins that did not fit exactly. Most of the core material has been removed from the interior of the bronze. Thin-section analysis of remaining core showed it to be a predominantly gypsum matrix with some clay and sand. TL (Oxford, 1987) was unsuccessful due to the high plaster content.

## PROVENANCE

David Peel, London, by 1967; Daniel Katz, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983.

## EXHIBITIONS

*Summer Exhibition*, David Peel Ltd., London, 1967, no. 31.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Montagu, "Hercules and Iole' and Some Other Bronzes by Foggini," *Apollo* 87 (March 1968): 170–75, fig. 7; *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743*, exh. cat. (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts; Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 1974), unbound addendum, nos. 297, 298 (pp. 66–68 in Italian ed.); "Acquisitions/1983," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1983): 266, no. 15; G. Wilson et al., "Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts in 1983," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984): 212–14; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Malibu, Calif., 1988), 190; S. Bellesi, "L'antico e i virtuosismi tardobarocchi nell'opera di Giuseppe Piamontini," *Paragone* 42 (July 1991): 29–31, figs. 48–50; G. Pratesi, ed., *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento* (Turin, 1993), vol. 1, 94, vol. 2, figs. 434–35; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 21.

THIS BRONZE GROUP represents Bacchus, the Roman god of wine, with Ariadne seated in a rocky landscape. Bacchus can be identified by the grapes that he holds in his raised right hand and that adorn his hair, and by the panther skin draped across his lap. Ariadne wears a crown made of fiery gold and red gems set in the shape of roses, which Bacchus had given her upon their marriage.<sup>1</sup> She is shown squeezing grapes into the mouth of a ewer decorated in relief with a mask and swags.

The attribution of the Getty *Bacchus and Ariadne* to Giovanni Battista Foggini is based on documentary evidence provided by an entry in the late eighteenth-century inventory of models at the Doccia porcelain factory. The entry records a terra-cotta group by Foggini depicting Ariadne and Bacchus, with Ariadne in the process of squeezing grapes into a vase.<sup>2</sup> The specificity of the description makes the identification of the model as the composition seen in the Getty bronze unmistakable. The model must have been used for production at Doccia, since an unfinished biscuit porcelain

version survives there.<sup>3</sup> The Doccia entry was first associated with the Getty bronze by Jennifer Montagu in 1968.<sup>4</sup>

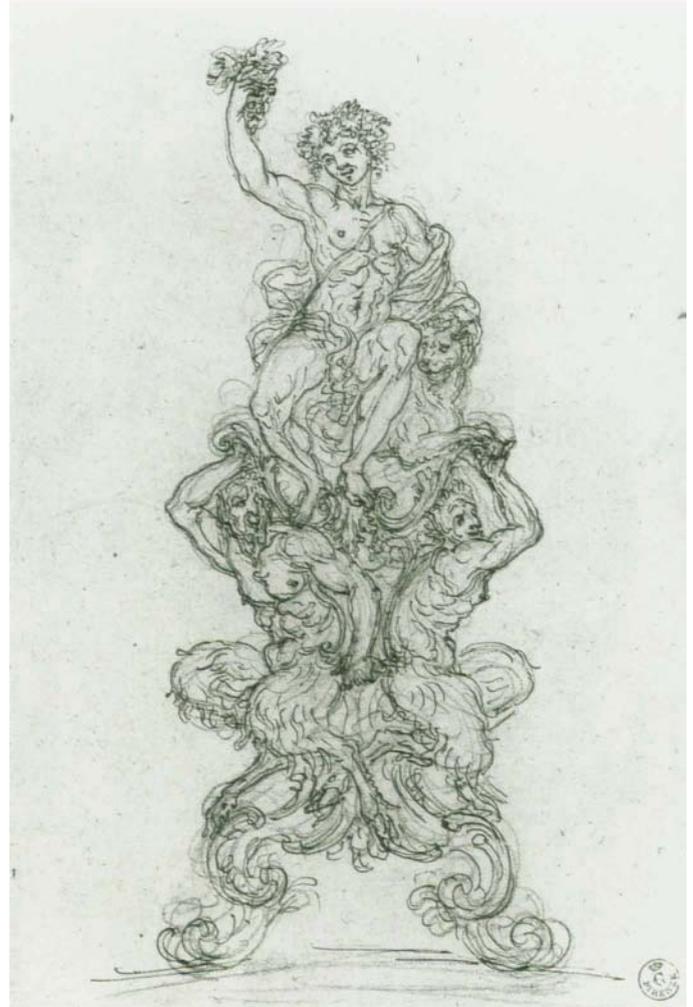
Other bronze versions of the *Bacchus and Ariadne* are found in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (FIG. 31A); the Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris; the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris; the Palacio de la Moncloa, Madrid; and the collection of Winthrop Edey, New York.<sup>5</sup> Another was sold from the Bardini collection at auction in London in 1899, and its present location is unknown.<sup>6</sup> In addition, two porcelain versions were cast in the late eighteenth century by the Aldovrandi factory at Bologna with slight alterations to the base and ewer; they survive in a private collection, Milan.<sup>7</sup>

In the versions in Washington, Madrid, the Musée Nissim de Camondo, and the 1899 Bardini sale, *Bacchus and Ariadne* appears as a pendant to the bronze two-figure group *Venus and Amor*. Formerly attributed to Foggini, the latter composition was correctly associated with Giuseppe Piamontini by James D. Draper in 1974 on the basis of a





31A Giovanni Battista Foggini. *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Bronze. H: 39.1 cm (15 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, inv. 1974.18.1.



31B Giovanni Battista Foggini. *Study for a Small Bronze with Bacchus*. Black pencil and pen on gray paper. H: 31.8 cm (12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.); w: 20.8 cm (8 $\frac{3}{16}$  in.). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 15361 F.

marble version, signed and dated 1711, which is untraced.<sup>8</sup> More recently Sandro Bellesi, dismissing the Doccia inventory as inaccurate, used the circumstantial pairing of these groups to reattribute the Getty *Bacchus and Ariadne* to Piamontini.<sup>9</sup> Where the *Bacchus and Ariadne* and *Venus and Amor* exist as pendants with a similar facture, however, they are likely to be the products of the same founder rather than the same inventor. That they were not intended to be pendants is indicated by the differences in composition, the *Bacchus and Ariadne* being much tighter in its organization than the loosely conceived *Venus and Amor*. The similarities of the figure of Bacchus to drawings by Foggini in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence further confirm the attribution of the Getty bronze and the accuracy of the Doccia inventory entry.

The pose of the god's upper body in *Bacchus and Ariadne* closely recalls a preparatory drawing by Foggini,

probably for an andiron, in which satyrs balancing on volutes support Bacchus seated on a panther or tiger (FIG. 31B).<sup>10</sup> In the drawing, as in the Getty group, Bacchus holds a bunch of grapes in his raised right hand and tilts his head slightly toward it. Foggini executed another drawing representing the Triumph of Bacchus in which the god, seen in seated three-quarter view, raises his right hand to hold a vine-covered staff and extends his left hand outward toward the crowd of putti, bacchantes, and satyrs.<sup>11</sup> Although given a much different context than Foggini's andiron study or the bronze group, the Bacchus in the *Triumph* drawing is nevertheless posed somewhat similarly. Foggini's *Triumph of Bacchus* has been linked to Annibale Carracci's fresco of the same subject in the Palazzo Farnese, Rome.<sup>12</sup> The specific motif of Bacchus seated with his right arm lifted and bent, however—which is the common feature of Foggini's drawings and the bronze—seems to derive from ancient



31C Detail, head of Bacchus

sarcophagus reliefs. In numerous examples the seated or semireclining Dionysus raises and bends his right arm toward his head and is often accompanied by his seated wife, Ariadne.<sup>13</sup> Although no exact antique prototype has been found, Foggini's *Bacchus and Ariadne* may have been at least partly inspired by direct knowledge of ancient Dionysiac reliefs.

Foggini also executed a variant model of the same subject, which is recorded in the Doccia inventory as a "group of Ariadne and Bacchus with a tiger and vase by Bacchus' feet."<sup>14</sup> A bronze cast of this group appeared on the Paris art market in 1991.<sup>15</sup> In this composition Bacchus raises and slightly bends his right arm, as in the Getty bronze, but holds a drinking cup instead of grapes. His left arm encircles Ariadne's shoulders, and their torsos turn toward each other, in contrast to their positions in the Getty group, in which Ariadne's torso is turned away.

In the absence of a secure chronology for Foggini's small bronzes, the dating of the Getty *Bacchus and Ariadne* is problematic. As John Pope-Hennessy has pointed out, there is no evidence to support Klaus Lankheit's dating of many of Foggini's bronze groups to around 1690.<sup>16</sup> Only the *Apollo Slaying Marsyas* and the *Binding of Prometheus* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, can be firmly dated before 1716, the year in which, according to their inscriptions, they were given by Cosimo III to Hyacinthe Rigaud. As with most of Foggini's small bronzes, the date of the model for *Bacchus and Ariadne* remains uncertain, although those versions specifically cast as pendants to Piamontini's *Venus and Amor* were presumably executed after 1711, the date of Piamontini's marble.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



31D Back view

#### Notes

1. R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* (New York, 1957), vol. 1, 340.
2. "Gruppo di Arianna e Bacco. La detta Arianna in atto di premere l'uva in un vaso, di terra cotta con forma. Del Foggini"; published in K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 127, 28:16.
3. Reproduced *ibid.*, pl. 123.
4. Montagu, "Hercules and Iole," 173.
5. The National Gallery version is paired with a bronze group of *Venus and Cupid* by Giuseppe Piamontini; see D. Lewis, in C. Wilson, *Renaissance Small Bronze Sculpture and Associated Decorative Arts at the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 194. For the bronze in the Musée Nissim de Camondo, see *Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Paris, 1973), 25, no. 110; reproduced in M. Filler, "Legacy of Splendor," *House and Garden*, July 1989, 88.
6. *Collection Bardini*, sale cat., Christie's, London, 5 June 1899, lot 434(?), fig. 90. Like the Washington group, the Bardini *Bacchus and Ariadne* was paired with Piamontini's *Venus and Cupid*, which is now in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.
7. G. Morazzoni and L. Borgese, *La terraglia italiana* (Milan, 1956), pls. 118, 166.
8. J. D. Draper, "Giuseppe Piamontini's 'Amore in braccio a Venere,'" *Antichità viva* 13 (November–December 1974): 44–45.
9. S. Bellesi, "L'antico e i virtuosismi tardobarocchi," 29–31, figs. 48–50.
10. In the Uffizi, Florence; see L. Monaci, *Disegni di Giovan Battista Foggini* (Florence, 1977), 55, no. 31, fig. 29. The drawing was first associated with Foggini's two compositions for *Bacchus and Ariadne* by Montagu, "Hercules and Iole," 173.
11. Monaci, *Disegni*, 35, no. 14, fig. 12.
12. *Ibid.*, 35.
13. Examples of this motif can be found in sarcophagi in Newby Hall, Yorkshire; Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican City; Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome; Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire; and in a private collection, Rome. See F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* (Berlin, 1968), pt. 1, nos. 36, 37, 39, pt. 2, nos. 80, 80A.
14. "Gruppo di Arianna e Bacco con la tigre e vaso sotto i piedi di Bacco. Del. Foggini in cera con forma." Published by Lankheit (*Doccia*, 122, 22:27), who cites a porcelain cast without the tiger in the museum at Doccia.
15. Alain Moatti, Paris (*Orangerie Italiana 1991*, 96–97). This bronze is the same version that was owned by Mrs. C. Lelong and sold at Georges Petit, Paris, 11–15 May 1903, lot 790, paired with Foggini's *Hercules and Iole*.
16. J. Pope-Hennessy, "Foggini and Soldani: Some Recent Acquisitions," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* 3 (October 1967): 135–44; K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* (Munich, 1962), 81, pls. 122, 123, 125–27.



31E Detail, head of Ariadne

## GIOVANNI BATTISTA FOGGINI

Florence 1652–1725

*Laocoön*

c. 1720

Bronze

H: 56 cm (22 1/16 in.)

W: 44 cm (17 5/16 in.)

D: 22 cm (8 5/8 in.)

85.SB.413

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface of the sculpture is coated with a translucent golden red lacquerlike material. This patina is well preserved overall, with some abrasion or splotchiness. XRF revealed the metal composition to be a leaded copper-zinc alloy with some tin (see appendix B). The soft contours and presence of fingerprints on the interior surface of the sculpture, as well as internal sprues in the base and snake, indicate the use of the indirect lost-wax process. Wax-to-wax

joins are visible in X rays in the following locations: Laocoön's left arm; the serpent, between Laocoön's left arm and the boy on his left; the left side of the base. Metal-to-metal, cast-in joins are visible in the right arm of Laocoön and the boy to his right. X rays also reveal cast-in metal repairs in the base, Laocoön's left shoulder and abdomen, and the younger boy's head and the older boy's chest. Additional repairs include threaded plugs and pigmented wax fills. Tool marks appear on the surface of the metal as a result of chasing, decorating, and enhancing the textures: file and wire brush marks run around the torsos and limbs, and along the snake's body; chisel and punch marks are visible in the hair of the youth to the right; punch marks appear in the base and the leaves. Thin-section analysis determined the core to be composed of a plaster matrix with small amounts of brown clay, red clay, quartz, and calcite.

## PROVENANCE

Purportedly in the collection of the Lebeuf de Montgermont family or, alternatively, in the collection of the duc de Gramont; La Rochefoucauld family, at least since the early twentieth century (sold, Palais Galliera, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, 26 November 1974, lot 42, to Alain Moatti); Alain Moatti, Paris, from 1974 until 1976/77; Jacques Petit Horry, Levallois-Perret, France, sold to Marie Picau; Marie Picau, Cannes, France, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Advertising Supplement," *Burlington Magazine* 117 (June 1975): pl. 28; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 262, no. 250; G. Pratesi, ed., *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento* (Turin, 1993), vol. 1, 80, vol. 2, figs. 216–23; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 21.

UPON ITS DISCOVERY IN 1506, the ancient marble group depicting the Trojan priest Laocoön and his sons struggling against the painful and deadly bites of serpents immediately took its place among the most famous antiquities of Rome (FIG. 32A).<sup>1</sup> Set up in the Belvedere courtyard soon after it was unearthed, *Laocoön* enjoyed a steady reputation among antiquarians and collectors throughout the Renaissance, Baroque, and Neoclassical periods, making it one of the most widely copied sculptures.<sup>2</sup> Although full-size casts or replicas of the ancient group were executed in marble, plaster, or bronze,<sup>3</sup> small bronze reductions like that in the Getty Museum were even more popular and were produced in greater numbers.<sup>4</sup>

The right arm of Laocoön and that of one of his sons were missing from the marble sculpture when it was excavated, and various restorations were proposed and implemented throughout the group's subsequent history. The Getty *Laocoön* reflects the terra-cotta restoration that was attached in the 1530s<sup>5</sup> and remained intact until 1725/27, when Agostino Cornacchini replaced it with a marble addition



32A *Laocoön*, Hellenistic. Marble. H: 242 cm (95 1/4 in.). Rome, Musei Vaticani.





32B Detail, Laocoön's face

that changed the arrangement of the serpent's coils as they descend from Laocoön's right hand.<sup>6</sup> The date of the model for the Getty reduction can therefore be firmly placed prior to 1725.

The attribution of the Getty *Laocoön* to Giovanni Battista Foggini is based on both documentary and stylistic evidence.<sup>7</sup> An entry in the 1780 inventory of the porcelain factory at Doccia describes a "Gruppo del Laoconte. Del Foggini in cera con forma," and a 1748 record of payment to Vincenzo Foggini, Giovanni Battista's son, for "gruppi di Laoconte" survives in the Archivio Ginori Lisici in Florence.<sup>8</sup> The *Laocoön* group or groups from Vincenzo no longer exist,<sup>9</sup> but compositions acquired from him by the Doccia factory are generally attributed to his father. Therefore, the existence of a bronze *Laocoön* by the elder Foggini is highly probable.

Giovanni Battista's authorship of the Getty bronze is further substantiated by its extremely high quality and certain stylistic details. The frontality of the Getty *Laocoön*—the back of the altar is left unfinished and open, necessitating its placement against a wall—and the meticulous punching found on its base are typical of late Baroque Florentine bronze groups in general.<sup>10</sup> The leafy, floppy plants on the base, the tousled curly hair of the male figures, especially Laocoön himself, and the modeling of Laocoön's facial features are all, however, particular to Giovanni Battista Foggini's work and find a striking parallel in his other small bronzes. Most relevant in this respect are Foggini's *Apollo Slaying Marsyas* and *Binding of Prometheus* for the similar treatment of the striated, leaf-strewn bases, the hair, and the pain-contorted faces of the suffering Marsyas and Prometheus.<sup>11</sup> These bronzes also share with the Getty *Laocoön* an exactitude in anatomical modeling and an equally precise and expert finishing of details. The treatment of the Getty *Laocoön* is entirely consistent with the bronze-making virtuosity so highly praised by Francesco Saverio Baldinucci in his biography of Foggini.<sup>12</sup>

Foggini must already have been a skilled copyist of antiquities by 1683/84, when he was approached by agents of Louis XIV to execute full-scale replicas of some of the more famous statues in the Florentine ducal collection for Versailles.<sup>13</sup> In 1716 Foggini was commissioned by the grand duke to produce bronze casts of the *Venus de' Medici*, the



32c Profile from proper right



32D Profile from proper left



32E Three-quarter back view from proper right

*Faun*, the *Wrestlers*, and the *Knife Grinder*.<sup>14</sup> In the same year he received payment for the restoration of antique statues.<sup>15</sup> For Lord Strafford of Wentworth Castle, Foggini executed four statues after the antique: *Antinous*, *Apollo*, *Ceres*, and a *Priestess*.<sup>16</sup> His artistic experience of ancient sculpture was therefore extensive and included a specific consideration of the marble *Laocoön* in Rome. Also, a drawing of the *Bronze Serpent*, in which the central nude figure is based on *Laocoön* seen from behind, demonstrates that he had studied the ancient marble during his years in Rome with a view toward incorporating it into his own compositions.<sup>17</sup> In fact, even

when reproducing the group more literally, as in the Getty *Laocoön*, Foggini made it stylistically his own by placing it within an invented landscape and introducing a pictorial element to the three-dimensional sculpture.

There are three unattributed bronze reductions of the *Laocoön* that also have irregular, striated bases ornamented with leafy vegetation.<sup>18</sup> They do not, however, appear to be cast from the same model as the Getty *Laocoön* since they differ in the handling and placement of the plants along the base.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

Notes

1. The group was instantly identified as that praised by Pliny (*Natural History*, bk. 36, chap. 37), according to Francesco da Sangallo, who went to see the statue with his father, Giuliano, and Michelangelo. Francesco's account is recorded in C. Fea, *Miscellanea filologica, critica e antiquaria* (Rome, 1790), vol. 1, 329–31, and quoted by G. Agosti and V. Farinella, *Michelangelo e l'arte classica* (Florence, 1987), 54.
2. For a discussion of the *Laocoön's* history after its discovery and the numerous copies made of it, see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1981), 243–47; M. Bieber, *Laocoön: The Influence of the Group Since Its Rediscovery* (Detroit, 1967); H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm, 1970), 74–119; H. Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenskopie* (Berlin, 1958), 41–46; M. Winner, "Zum Nachleben des Laokoon in der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 16 (1974): 83–121; O. Rossi Pinelli, "Chirurgia della memoria: Scultura antica e restauri storici," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. S. Settis (Turin, 1986), vol. 3, 183–91. Most recently, see S. Settis, *Laocoonte: Fama e stile* (Rome, 1999).
3. For instance, the bronze cast from Primaticcio's molds taken from the *Laocoön* in 1540 and now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, or the plaster in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm (Brummer, *Statue Court*, 87–89, fig. 72, 99, fig. 85, respectively).
4. For early bronze reductions, see S. Settis, "Laocoonte de bronzo, Laocoonte di marmo," in *Il Cortile delle Statue: Der Stauenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan* (Mainz, 1998), 128–60, esp. 128–32.
5. See, most recently, M. Winner, "La collocazione degli dei fluviali nel Cortile delle Statue e il restauro del Laocoonte del Montorsoli," in *Cortile delle Statue*, 117–28.
6. R. Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome* (University Park and London, 1976), 196, and Brummer, *Statue Court*, 90–101. Brummer lists numerous drawings and engravings that document Montorsoli's restoration. The same restoration is also exhibited by the following extant sculptures: the full-scale bronze cast by the Keller brothers, probably under the supervision of Girardon, around 1690 (now in Houghton Hall, Norfolk; see D. Cooper, ed., *Great Family Collections* [London, 1965], 227–28); the plaster cast in Stockholm (see note 3 above); two terra-cotta replicas in the Princeton Art Museum (Brummer, *Statue Court*, figs. 91, 93); a marble by Tuby in the gardens at Versailles (F. Souchal, *French Sculptors of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* [Oxford, 1987], vol. 3, 355); a bronze reduction set on a Boulle socle in the Louvre, Paris (*Europäische Barockplastik am Niederrhein* [Düsseldorf, 1971], pl. 219, no. 356); a bronze in the Skulpturensammlung, Dresden (H. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten* [Braunschweig, 1967], 247, fig. 300); a bronze in the British royal collection (F. Souchal, "La collection du sculpteur Girardon," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 82 [1973]: fig. 99); a bronze reduction with French royal inventory number 241, which sold at Sotheby's, London, 7 December 1989, lot 70; another bronze reduction with French royal inventory number 222, which sold at Christie's, Monte Carlo, 15 June 1997, lot 113;



32F Detail, older son's face

- and a so-called Neapolitan bronze sold at Sotheby's, New York, 12–15 January 1991, lot 79.
7. The Getty *Laocoön* was once attributed to Jacques Buirette based on its similarity to a description and engraving of Buirette's reduction in Girardon's *Galerie* ("Advertising Supplement," pl. 28; see also Souchal, "Collection du sculpteur Girardon," 55, fig. 98). No further evidence to support the Buirette attribution has come to light. It was first attributed to Foggini by Peter Fusco when it was acquired by the Getty Museum in 1985 ("Acquisitions/1985," 262, no. 250).
8. Both published by K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 122, 22:24.
9. A seemingly unrelated terra-cotta *Laocoön* made in 1793 by Gaspero Bini survives at Doccia (ibid., pl. 134). A. Mottola Molfino, *L'arte della porcellana in Italia* (Busto Arsizio, 1967), pl. 469, and F. Stazzi, *Italian Porcelain* (New York, 1964), fig. 22, publish a Doccia porcelain version of the *Laocoön* set on a low rocky base and cast with its own ornamented socle (now in a private collection, Milan). The porcelain reflects Baccio Bandinelli's copy (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi) after the ancient marble, in which Laocoön's right arm is bent at a sharper angle and the coiling of the snake is more complex than in the sixteenth-century restoration. Mottola Molfino associates the porcelain with Piamontini. It cannot be associated with the *Laocoön* purchased from Vincenzo Foggini by the Doccia factory.



32G Detail, younger son's face

10. J. Montagu, "Hercules and Iole' and Some Other Bronzes by Foggini," *Apollo* 87 (March 1968): 170.
11. Both bronzes are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. A.2-1967 and A.3-1967, respectively). See J. Pope-Hennessy, "Foggini and Soldani: Some Recent Acquisitions," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* 3 (October 1967): 135–44. Other Foggini bronzes relevant for comparison because of their bases or the portrayal of a bearded male figure include *The Slaying of Argus* (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello), *Hercules and Iole* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), and *Time Ravishing Beauty* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art).
12. Francesco Saverio Baldinucci's "Vita dello scultore e architetto Giovanni Battista Foggini" is published in K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* (Munich, 1962), 223–38 (for specific reference to his skill in working bronze, see 237).
13. Letter from Foggini to A. Bassetti from Florence, and an account written by M. de la Teuillière in 1684, both published *ibid.*, 268, nos. 254, 256. There is some disagreement among Foggini's early biographers concerning the subjects of these copies. Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri identifies them as the *Venus de' Medici*, the *Faun*, the *Wrestlers*, and the *Knife Grinder* (cited *ibid.*, 226). Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi lists them as the *Knife Grinder*, the *Faun*, Michelangelo's *Bacchus*, and the *Wild Boar* (cited *ibid.*, 232). Francesco Saverio Baldinucci gives them as the *Venus de' Medici*, the *Faun*, the *Boar*, and Michelangelo's *Bacchus* (cited *ibid.*, 234).
14. Baldinucci, cited *ibid.*, 236.
15. *Ibid.*, 273, no. 283, account of payment dated 20 May 1716.
16. H. Honour, "English Patrons and Italian Sculptors," *Connoisseur* 141 (June 1958): 223, 226 n. 15.
17. The drawing is in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, Fondo Corsini 128683, vol. 158.H.10, reproduced in L. Monaci, "Inediti fogginiana," *Paragone* 25, no. 289 (1974): fig. 24. Monaci (53) dates the drawing to Foggini's early, Roman period.
18. *Objets d'art et de très bel ameublement des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, sale cat., Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, 21 February 1978, lot 17; *Important European Sculpture and Works of Art*, sale cat., Christie's, London, 7 July 1987, lot 174; *European Works of Art and Sculpture*, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, 9 July 1992, lot 161. Other bronze versions of the Laocoön with very different landscaped bases sold at Christie's, London, 11 April 1990, lot 108, and Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 24 May 1996, lot 50.

## AFTER MODELS BY GIOVANNI BATTISTA FOGGINI

Florence 1652–1725

## PROBABLY MADE BY GASPERO BRUSCHI

Florence 1701–Doccia 1780

## PRODUCED BY THE DOCCIA PORCELAIN FACTORY

1737–1896

*Mercury and Argus and  
Perseus and Medusa*

c. 1749

Glazed porcelain, polychrome with  
parcel gilt

Mercury group (with socle):

H: 45.5 cm (17¾ in.)

W: 34.5 cm (13½ in.)

D: 28 cm (11 in.)

Perseus group (with socle):

H: 45.5 cm (17¾ in.)

W: 33 cm (13 in.);

D: 28 cm (11 in.)

94.SE.76.1–2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Painted with the Roman numeral I on the  
underside of the Mercury group, and II on the  
underside of the Perseus group.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The porcelain groups sit on socles that were  
separately molded and fired; both are in excellent  
condition. Mercury's sword and caduceus and  
Perseus's sword are missing. Firing cracks occur  
on both the inner and outer surfaces of the  
groups (for example, vertically in the rocks at the  
back of the Mercury group) and have beenfilled with what is most likely a low-fire clay and  
inpaint. A cylinder of the same low-fire clay,  
unpainted, has also been added as a support  
between Perseus's left leg and Medusa's drapery.  
There are small chips apparent in the following  
areas: the left wing of Mercury's helmet; the  
snakes in the hair of Medusa; the thumb of  
Medusa's left hand. Several areas of both groups,  
especially where there is a matte brown pigment,  
appear orange under ultraviolet light. It is un-  
clear whether these areas consist of glaze or over-  
paint. The damaged feet of the candleholders  
at each corner of both bases were partially recast  
and reattached in a previous restoration. Both  
groups were assembled from separately molded  
pieces. Three types of join lines are visible:(1) where a limb was molded in two halves,  
which were joined in the wet clay, leaving a seam  
(Mercury's left arm, helmet, and shoulder;  
Perseus's left shin); (2) where a limb was molded  
separately from the body and attached in the wet  
clay (Mercury's left arm); (3) where a limb was  
molded and fired separately from the body and  
attached after the first firing using a low-fire  
clay fill (both of Mercury's legs, Perseus's left  
leg). In both groups the underside of the integral  
base is structurally reinforced by a cross support  
or webbing. The tool and hand marks on  
the interior of the integral bases indicate that  
the groups were press-molded. *Mercury and  
Argus* appears to have been fired in the following  
sections: (1) Mercury's body, drapery, and both  
arms; (2) Mercury's right leg; (3) Mercury's left  
leg, the body of Argus, and the rocky base.The sword and caduceus would also have been  
fired separately. *Perseus and Medusa* appears to  
have been fired in fewer pieces: (1) Perseus's  
body, drapery, arms, shield, head, and Medusa's  
right forearm and hand; (2) Perseus's left leg.  
The sword would have been fired separately.  
Medusa's right elbow, between shoulder and fore-  
arm, was omitted from the composition. No  
analysis of the clay or glaze components has been  
carried out.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, England, sold to Daniel Katz;  
Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, sold to Alain  
Moatti; Alain Moatti, Paris, sold to the J. Paul  
Getty Museum, 1994.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Acquisitions/1994," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*  
23 (1995): 122, no. 101; L. Melegati, "Scultura  
e porcellana nella manifattura di Doccia," *Ce-  
ramic antica* 6 (February 1996): 26–37, figs. 1,  
1a, 2, 2a; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of Euro-  
pean Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los  
Angeles, 1997), 22; C. Hess, in *Masterpieces of  
the J. Paul Getty Museum: Decorative Arts* (Los  
Angeles, 1997), 84–85, no. 64; G. Wilson and  
C. Hess, *Summary Catalogue of European Deco-  
rative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los An-  
geles, 2001), no. 376; C. Hess, *Italian Ceramics:  
Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection*  
(Los Angeles, 2002), no. 38.EACH TWO-FIGURE PORCELAIN GROUP represents a  
standing aggressor poised to slay a supine victim. The groups  
are similar in their subject matter, their tight organization,  
the poses of the figures (especially that of each attacker, who  
straddles his victim's body), the use of drapery to unite the  
composition and lend a sense of movement, the brilliant  
palette, and the landscape setting. Each arrangement of  
porcelain figures is integrally molded with a rocky basedetailed with touches of brown and violet and green tufts of  
foliage or grass. The groups are set on socles with elaborate  
scrolls, acanthus leaves, and *rocaille* decoration; at each of  
four corners the socles support a candle socket with green  
foliate and gold decoration.The porcelain groups depict episodes from Ovid's  
*Metamorphoses* but depart from a literal interpretation of the  
text. According to Ovid (1.668–721), Mercury disguised





himself as a shepherd, lulled the multi-eyed monster Argus to sleep with music from a reed pipe, and beheaded him. In the porcelain, Mercury appears in divine form rather than as a shepherd, and Argus is not a monster but a very human-looking, fur-clad shepherd with two eyes, which are slightly open rather than fully closed. In Ovid's story of Perseus (4.773–85), the hero cleverly overcame Medusa's power to turn all who gazed upon her into stone by looking instead at her reflection in his shield while he slew her. In the porcelain group, however, Perseus looks directly at Medusa as he raises his sword, now missing, to decapitate her. The depiction of Medusa, who is awake and open mouthed as she writhes at the feet of her attacker, also varies from Ovid's text, which specified that she was in a deep slumber when killed. While these departures from Ovidian narrative may have been intended to heighten the immediacy of the scenes, they also undermine the logic of the story, as in the case of Perseus. Both groups focus on the moment just before the climactic murder. Formally the compositions have been associated with Antonio Tempesta's engraved illustrations of these scenes from *Metamorphoses*, but the similarities are not specific enough to support a direct connection.<sup>1</sup>

Both porcelain groups reproduce models for bronzes by Giovanni Battista Foggini. Wax models for the ceramic sculptures are listed in an inventory of the Doccia porcelain factory of around 1780, in which they are described as a "Group of Perseus who cuts off the head of Medusa. By Gio. Batta. Foggini in wax with mold" and a "Group of Mercury who cuts off the head of Argus. By Gio. Batta. Foggini in wax with mold."<sup>2</sup> A record in the Doccia archives from September 9, 1749, records payment to Vincenzo Foggini (d. 1755), Giovanni Battista's son, for casting these two groups in wax, presumably from his father's piece molds.<sup>3</sup> The fine-grained white clay of the Getty porcelain groups indicates that they were early products of the Doccia factory, which achieved a distinctive hard paste using clay from Montecarlo (near Lucca), Venetian kaolin, and white Viennese kaolin.<sup>4</sup> This and another hybrid hard paste (*masso nuovo*) were in use at Doccia from around 1737 to 1760 and yielded a fired porcelain that was smooth and white without inclusions. In 1765 a new, less expensive paste (*masso bastardo*) was invented, which was gray in color with black



33A *Mercury and Argus*, back view

flecks of impurities. The palette of the Getty sculptures—including blue, lemon yellow, violet, purple, and green—is also consistent with early Doccia manufacture.<sup>5</sup>

Two bronze casts of *Mercury and Argus* exist, one in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence and the other formerly on the London art market.<sup>6</sup> The Bargello version is described in the 1713 inventory after the death of Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici as "Mercury in the act of



33B *Mercury and Argus*, profile from proper right



33C *Mercury and Argus*, three-quarter view from proper right



33D *Mercury and Argus*, detail, Mercury's face



33E *Mercury and Argus*, detail, Argus's face

263



33F *Perseus and Medusa*, three-quarter back view from proper right

wounding a shepherd, who lies sleeping beneath his feet.<sup>7</sup> The Getty porcelain replicates the Bargello bronze fairly exactly, except for a loss of detail in the modeling of the musculature and limbs, a change of the rocky base from an oval to a rectangle with cropped corners, and the omission of wings at Mercury's ankles. A wax cast of *Mercury and Argus* is preserved in the museum at Doccia; the wax *Mercury* holds in his left hand a caduceus (missing from the Getty porcelain, broken in the Bargello bronze, and changed to a flute in the London bronze), and in his right a straight sword (simi-



33G *Perseus and Medusa*, detail, Perseus's head

lar to that in the London bronze but unlike the curved sword of the Bargello cast).<sup>8</sup> A monochrome white porcelain version of *Mercury and Argus*, without a separate *rocaille* socle, is in the collection of Marquis Leonardo Ginori Lisici in Florence. A similarly conceived figure of Mercury—seminude with drapery wrapped around his groin and right shoulder, wearing a winged helmet, and striding forward—appears in another composition by Foggini, the bronze *Binding of Perseus* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.<sup>9</sup>



33H *Perseus and Medusa*, profile from proper left

Bronze casts of *Perseus and Medusa* are in the Fogg Art Museum (FIG. 33J) and the Art Gallery of Ontario.<sup>10</sup> A bronze of this composition was also described in the 1713 Medici inventory noted above, but its association with one of the extant versions has not been established. The Getty porcelain varies slightly from the bronzes in several small, ornamental details: the porcelain retains the stippling on Perseus's cuirass, but the Baroque decoration of the helmet and the beading of the shield's rim are transformed into a more delicate Rococo vocabulary of flowers and scrollwork,

picked out in gold. The base has also been changed from an oval to a rectangle with blunted corners. Most remarkably, the right arm of Medusa has been deleted between the upper shoulder and forearm because the slightly tighter composition in the porcelain apparently left no room for it below Mercury's shield. A monochrome porcelain version of the *Perseus and Medusa* that retains Foggini's ornamentation of the helmet and shield is in a private collection in Florence.<sup>11</sup> The latter porcelain lacks a separate socle.

The figure of Perseus relates to several drawings and other bronze compositions by Foggini. A similar figure wearing a plumed helmet and cuirass, with drapery billowing over his left shoulder and right hip, and preparing to draw his sword, appears in a drawing thought to be a study for a bronze statuette of Mars seen from two views.<sup>12</sup> Figures reminiscent of the Perseus appear in two other drawings, one a design for a monument and the other a study for a relief depicting the myth of Procne.<sup>13</sup> Perseus is also similar in costume and facial features to the figure of Jason in *Jason and the Dragon*, a bronze by Foggini in the Museum of Applied Art in Budapest.<sup>14</sup> A wax composition of *Perseus and Medusa* at Doccia, in which Perseus steps over the decapitated body of Medusa and holds her head aloft in his left hand, has been associated with Giovanni Battista Foggini by Klaus Lankheit.<sup>15</sup> The wax *Perseus* is actually closer in pose and costume to the Budapest *Jason* than to the Getty *Perseus*. The Doccia porcelain factory appropriated Foggini's figure of Perseus from the *Perseus and Medusa* group, combining it with Massimiliano Soldani Benzi's composition of *Andromeda and the Sea Monster* to create a pastiche representing Perseus rescuing Andromeda. An example of this composition is preserved in the Doccia museum.<sup>16</sup>

The socles and candle sockets of the Getty porcelain groups indicate their original function as candelabra; the numbers painted under their bases suggest that they may have been part of an elaborate table centerpiece that included other figural porcelain groups. Although porcelain table decorations of comparably high quality are rare, a group depicting the Three Graces (or Fates)—set on a *rocaille* base that appears to have supported candle sockets, now missing, at its four corners—may have originally belonged to the same table ensemble as the Getty porcelain sculptures.<sup>17</sup>

PEGGY FOGELMAN



331 *Perseus and Medusa*, three-quarter view from proper right



33J Giovanni Battista Foggini. *Perseus Slaying Medusa*, c. 1690. Bronze. H: 40 cm (15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.). Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Annie Swan Coburn Fund, inv. 1949.67A.

#### Notes

1. See, for example, *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743*, exh. cat. (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts; Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 1974), 416, no. 244. For Tempesta's engravings see S. Buffa, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch* (New York, 1983), vol. 36, 14, no. 647, 30, no. 678. In Tempesta's engraving *Mercury Killing Argos* the god is in the act of cutting off Argus's head with a forehand, rather than backhand, swing of his sword, and Argus's head falls forward rather than backward and rests on his elbow. In Tempesta's *Perseus Killing Medusa*, the hero has already beheaded Medusa, whose head he holds up in his left hand as he stands behind her.
2. K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 121, nos. 16, 18.
3. Archivio Ginori Lisci in Florence, C.R. 1749–50, published *ibid.*
4. L. Ginori Lisci, *La porcellana di Doccia* (Milan, 1963), 84–85, 125–27; A. P. Darr, "The Figure Revisited: Early Doccia Porcelain Sculpture in Detroit and Its Development in Eighteenth-Century Italy," *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (Oxford, 1994), 10–11.
5. M. Bennini, "Produzione tardo barocca e rococò delle ceramiche del primo periodo Ginori," *Antichità viva* 23 (July–October 1984): 51; R. Monti, ed., *La manifattura Richard-Ginori di Doccia* (Milan and Rome, 1988), 47.
6. For the Bargello bronze, see K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* (Munich, 1962), 81–82, fig. 122; *Museo Nazionale del Bargello: Bronzetti dal xv al xvii secolo* (Florence, 1989), 26, fig. 20. The London bronze, which was in the Heim Gallery, is published in G. Pratesi, *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento* (Turin, 1993), vol. 1, 80, and vol. 2, pls. 210–11. The London version differs in the shape of its (now broken) sword and in the presence of a flutelike instrument, which is broken and therefore unidentifiable in the Bargello cast.



33K *Perseus and Medusa*, detail, Medusa's head

7. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Guardaroba 1222, c. 72r (published in *Twilight of the Medici*).
8. Reproduced in Lankheit, *Doccia*, fig. 131.
9. J. Pope-Hennessy, "Foggini and Soldani: Some Recent Acquisitions," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* 3 (October 1967): 137, fig. 2; *Twilight of the Medici*, 64, no. 28.
10. For the Fogg version, see *Florentine Baroque Art from American Collections*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1969), 70, no. 78, fig. 40; E. Szmodis-Eszlár, "Un bronzetto sconosciuto di Giovanni Battista Foggini," *Acta Historiae Artium* 28 (1982): fig. 7. For the Toronto bronze, which was formerly in the Heim Gallery in London, see *From Tintoretto to Tiepolo*, exh. cat. (London: Heim Gallery, 1980), no. 36; Pratesi, *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina*, vol. 1, 79, and vol. 2, pl. 215; C. Avery, *Baroque Sculpture and Medals in the Art Gallery of Ontario* (Toronto, 1988), 24–25, no. 4.
11. Lankheit, *Doccia*, fig. 132.
12. L. Monaci, *Disegni di Giovan Battista Foggini (1652–1725)* (Florence, 1977), no. 3, fig. 6.
13. *Ibid.*, nos. 62–63, figs. 54–55, and no. 66, fig. 58. For this group of Foggini's drawings, see also K. Lankheit, "Il giornale del Foggini," *Rivista d'arte* 34 (1959): 55–92 and catalogue.
14. Szmodis-Eszlár, "Bronzetto sconosciuto," figs. 3–8.
15. Lankheit, *Doccia*, fig. 127.
16. The composition was recognized as a pastiche by Jennifer Montagu in *Twilight of the Medici*, 108, no. 70. For the porcelain, see G. Morazzoni, *Le porcellane italiane* (Milan, 1960), vol. 2, pl. 248 (where the group is erroneously attributed to Piamontini); G. Liverani, *Il Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia* ([Milan?], 1967), 66, pl. 36 (where the entire composition is given to Soldani).
17. Art market, Florence; published in Melegati, "Scultura e porcellana," fig. 3.

## MASSIMILIANO SOLDANI BENZI

Montevarchi 1656–1740;<sup>1</sup> active in Florence*Venus and Adonis*

c. 1715–16

Bronze

H: 46.4 cm (18 ¼ in.)

W: 49 cm (19 ¼ in.)

D: 34.3 cm (13 ½ in.)

93.SB.4

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface of the bronze is coated with a translucent brownish lacquer. Some areas of the lacquer are slightly worn, most notably on the chest of Adonis and the back of Venus. A small plug that repaired the top of Venus's fluttering drapery has fallen out, leaving a .3-centimeter (⅛-in.) loss, which was later filled. There is a long crack in the wing of the putto holding the dog's leash. AAS and XRF revealed the composition of the metal to be a leaded copper-tin alloy (see appendix B). The joining metal contains higher levels of lead, presumably to lower its melting point.

The bronze was cast, using the indirect lost-wax process, in at least twelve discrete parts, which were then attached in the metal using a variety of methods, including cast-in joins, threaded screws, and mortise-and-tenon joins with iron wedges. The separately cast pieces

of the group are: Venus's body and the top of the clouds; Venus's left arm between the elbow and wrist, which was cast on in solid bronze and may be a repair; Venus's left leg, fluttering drapery, and right foot, which were cast separately and joined to the rest of the figure; Adonis's body, with his arms cast on below the shoulders; Adonis's drapery, which was attached to his body by a mortise-and-tenon join; the rocky base and the bottom of the clouds; Adonis's bow, quiver, and the rest of his drapery, which were attached to the base with threaded iron pins; the putto holding the dog, which was cast onto the base, with his quiver cast separately and joined to his back by an iron pin; the dog, which was cast onto the base; the dog's leash; and the dove seated on Venus's drapery, attached with a bronze plug. Cold repairs include rectangular patches and threaded bronze plugs.

The surface is carefully finished, so that repairs and plugs can be detected only through close examination and X rays. Tool marks from chasing include a punch used to suggest texture in the clouds, hair, wings, and quiver; chisel marks behind Adonis's head and on the underside of the base; fine wire brush marks over the entire surface. Thin-section analysis revealed the core to be a sandy clay and gypsum mixture. Small bubblelike accretions on the interior surface indicate that the core was added as a slurry.

## PROVENANCE

Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford (of the second creation, 1711); by descent to

the heirs of Thomas Wentworth, Wrotham Hall, Middlesex (sold, Christie's, London, 8 December 1992, lot 108, to Cyril Humphris); Cyril Humphris, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1993.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

G. Pratesi, ed., *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento* (Turin, 1993), vol. 1, 102; F. Russell, ed., *Christie's: Review of the Season, 1993* (London, 1993), 136–37; P. Fogelman, "Acquisitions: Sculpture and Works of Art," *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, winter 1993–94, unpaginated; "Acquisitions/1993," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994): 102, no. 70; *Gazette des beaux-arts* 123 (March 1994): 54, fig. 238; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 90; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 48; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 262; C. Avery, "Lord Burlington and the Florentine Baroque Bronze Sculptor Soldani: New Documentation on the Anglo-Florentine Art Trade in the Age of the Grand Tour," in *Lord Burlington: The Man and His Politics*, ed. E. Corp (Lewiston, N.Y., 1998), 33, 46–47, fig. 8; P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 86–87.

IN A LETTER DATED October 15, 1716, to an Italian merchant-entrepreneur in London named Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni, Massimiliano Soldani Benzi describes a bronze group, about two-thirds of a *braccio* high, representing "the wounded Adonis in the arms of Venus, whose figure has descended from the heavens to succor him, accompanied by an Amor, who uncovers the wound and weeps, and another small Amor, who, together with a hunting dog, drags the head of the wild boar."<sup>2</sup> Soldani goes on to state that the group is well finished and richly ornamented with drapery, and he values it at 110 louis d'or. In another letter to Zamboni, dated May 3, 1717, Soldani offers a similar explanation of the group, justifies its price on the basis of its size

and the difficult work involved, and adds that "the whole is arranged harmoniously, and would be suitable for the top of a table for a great gentleman."<sup>3</sup> The bronze group *Venus and Adonis* had been intended for Lord Burlington, but it seems from the correspondence that—after much frustration and having received no response from Burlington—Soldani tried to consign it for sale with Zamboni. Soldani also produced, at a cost of 15 louis d'or, a base for the *Venus and Adonis* with bronze mounts (*corniciame di bronzo*) encircling it from bottom to top, a black frieze (*fregiature nere*), and small, framed square insets of *verde antico* marble.<sup>4</sup>

Two known versions of the *Venus and Adonis* described by Soldani are in the Getty Museum and the Walters Art





34A Detail, Venus's head



34B Massimiliano Soldani Benzi. *Venus and Adonis*, c. 1715–16.  
Bronze on ebony base with bronze mounts. H (with base): 70.5 cm  
(27¾ in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum inv. 54.677.

Museum in Baltimore (FIG. 34B).<sup>5</sup> The superlative quality of these bronzes justifies Soldani's insistence on the value of his *Venus and Adonis* group and the amount of labor required for its casting and finishing. The Getty and Baltimore bronzes are identical in the arrangement of figures and accessories, the handling of details, and the high degree of surface chasing. They are also similar in manufacture; like the Getty bronze, the Baltimore group is an indirect lost-wax cast in which numerous discrete pieces are joined together in metal using, among other methods, threaded screws and mortise-and-tenon joins with wedges.<sup>6</sup> The Baltimore sculpture is set on an original ebony base with bronze appliques consisting of elks' skulls, garlands of ivy, a mask, and a cartouche inscribed AMORE RESVRGAM (May I be reborn by love).<sup>7</sup> The funerary symbolism of the base reinforces the tragic poignancy of the scene above, while the minutely

observed foliate swags enhance the scenographic quality of the bronze, established by the rocky ground and clouds. The equation of the Baltimore bronze with Soldani's written descriptions of 1716–17, cited above, seems unlikely, both because of the differences in their bases and because the Baltimore sculpture—which was acquired in 1954 from Albert, fourth earl de Grey—was probably purchased directly from Soldani by Anthony, earl of Harrold (1696–1723), who visited the sculptor's Florentine studio in July 1716.<sup>8</sup>

Conceivably the Getty *Venus and Adonis* once had a base, now lost, that matched Soldani's description. The Getty bronze may, however, also have been acquired directly from the artist by the first owner, Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford (of the second creation), through his agent Charles Crowe in Livorno. In 1715 Soldani had written a letter to Strafford through Crowe in the hopes of gaining a future commission.<sup>9</sup> Another bronze *Venus and Adonis* was owned by Marquess Leonardo Tempi in 1729, when it was exhibited at the Accademia del Disegno in Florence.<sup>10</sup> Whether any of the known *Venus and Adonis* bronzes can be identified as that described by Soldani in his 1716 letter remains uncertain. It is also possible that the bronze mentioned in the letter represents a fourth version of *Venus and Adonis*.

Soldani's 1716 letter provides a definite *terminus ante quem* for his composition. The Baltimore *Venus and Adonis* was first dated by Klaus Lankheit to around 1729, on the assumption that Soldani would have selected one of his most recent works for the exhibition that year at the Florentine Academy.<sup>11</sup> Lankheit revised his dating to circa 1700 by pairing the *Venus and Adonis* with a now-lost composition, *Tancred and the Wounded Clorinda*, which Soldani listed among his studio models in a letter to the prince of Liechtenstein in 1702.<sup>12</sup> Lankheit's early date for the *Venus and Adonis* has been generally accepted.<sup>13</sup> His methodology for dating the group is questionable, however, since the pendant status of the lost *Tancred and Clorinda* cannot be confirmed and is actually undermined by the only detailed record of the composition in bronze, which describes it as gilded.<sup>14</sup> Although the first mention of a small sculptural group by Soldani occurs in 1680,<sup>15</sup> the majority of bronze figural groups that are comparable to the Getty sculpture in the number, organization, and refinement of compositional elements appear to date from the second decade of the eighteenth



34C Profile from proper right



34D Three-quarter view from proper left

century. In his letters Soldani describes, in addition to the *Venus and Adonis*, bronze groups depicting Leda and the Swan, Ganymede and the Eagle, Apollo and Daphne, and Andromeda. It seems reasonable to assume that these may have been fairly recent compositions, which Burlington saw as models in the Florentine studio in 1715.<sup>16</sup> The Getty *Venus and Adonis*—with its strongly frontal orientation, diagonal composition, accumulation of figures and ornament, and elaborate theatricality—would appear to be a mature work by Soldani dating not much prior to 1715 or 1716.

Lankheit's strategy for dating the *Venus and Adonis* raises the question of pendants in Soldani's work. The Baltimore *Venus and Adonis* was at one time considered a pendant to the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, or *Pietà*, also in the Walters Art Museum, with which it shares a provenance.<sup>17</sup> Although Lankheit discounted the pairing because of marked differences in their bases and the indecorous equation of profane and sacred subjects, his own suggestion

of *Tancred and Clorinda* as a pendant encouraged the view that Soldani intended the bronze to be paired. Certain compositions were in fact considered pendants by Soldani himself. In his 1716 letter he mentions "i due compagni" (the two companions, or pendants) and lists *Ganymede and the Eagle* as "un altro Gruppo compagno" (another companion group) to the *Leda and the Swan*, which is the same size and price. The same series of letters treats the *Venus and Adonis*, *Apollo and Daphne*, and *Andromeda* as independent groups, however, distinguished from one another in size, price, and type of base. It seems fairly certain that many bronzes, like the *Venus and Adonis*, were ordered and sold independently, and consequently there is no need to search for a mate to the Getty bronze among the lost works from Soldani's oeuvre.

Soldani derived the subject of his *Venus and Adonis* group from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.708–36), in which Adonis, ignoring Venus's warning to avoid hunting large beasts, was gored to death by a wild boar—an event



34E Back view



34F Profile from proper left

commemorated by the red anemones that sprang from the blood of his wound. The sculptor represented the doomed lovers in a naturalistic landscape in which the rocky ground, clouds, bow, quiver, and boar's head serve as stage set and props for the unfolding narrative. The figures enact their drama in a frontal composition oriented toward a stationary viewer—an arrangement that recalls contemporary operatic productions, a theatrical genre that was invented in Florence a century earlier. In addition to their formal and thematic functions, the accessories and the drapery, which flutters unsupported or is made to stretch tautly in a manner that convincingly transforms bronze into cloth, can be interpreted as a self-conscious demonstration of artistic virtuosity.

One of three scenes was commonly chosen in Baroque painting and sculpture to represent the Ovidian story of Venus and Adonis: the amorous lovers and cupid(s) set in a landscape with hunting dogs or weaponry foreshadowing the tragic end of the tale, Venus trying to dissuade Adonis

from leaving for the hunt, and Venus discovering or mourning the lifeless body of her dead paramour. Instead of the more common image of Venus and the dead Adonis, Soldani chose to depict Adonis still alive, heightening the poignancy of the moment by having the ill-fated lovers gaze into each other's eyes. By doing so, he combined elements of the first and third types of representation, incorporating the tender gestures and positions of the figures from amorous images into the tragic scene of Adonis's death. Although there appears to be no direct source for Soldani's conception, it is close in sentiment to Alessandro Algardi's somewhat quieter bronze group, in which Venus, gazing into the face of the dead Adonis, cradles his head in her right arm while raising her cloak with her left, and a solemn cupid covers, or uncovers, Adonis's wound with a piece of drapery.<sup>18</sup> The positioning of Adonis's reclining body and the motif of Venus cradling his head from behind in the Getty bronze are also reminiscent of earlier works by Soldani, such as *Peace and*



34G Detail, Adonis's head

*Justice* (Vaduz, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein), the *Lamentation* (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum), and *Bacchus and Cupid* (London, private collection).<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the diagonal thrust of *Venus and Adonis*; the high, rocky base; the alternating of taut and flowing drapery to unite the composition and add dramatic flourishes; and the psychological intensity of the group closely recall Soldani's other Ovidian subjects, such as *Leda and the Swan* (cat. no. 35; alternate version in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum), *Ganymede and the Eagle* (Fitzwilliam Museum), and *Andromeda and the Sea Monster* (cat. no. 35).<sup>20</sup>

The terra-cotta *Venus Finding the Dead Adonis* in the Landesmuseum in Schwerin was formerly attributed

to Soldani and thought by Lankheit to represent a preliminary stage in the development of the more complex Baltimore and Getty bronzes.<sup>21</sup> The sculpture represents Adonis already dead, with his mostly nude torso propped up against a rock and his head falling backward. Venus rushes toward him, with her left hand raised to her cheek, while a blindfolded cupid tries in vain to hold her back. The Schwerin terra-cotta has, however, been convincingly reattributed to Giuseppe Mazzuoli by Monika Butzek, followed by Giancarlo Gentilini and Carlo Sisi, on the basis of an entry for *Venus and the Dead Adonis* in the 1767 inventory of the Mazzuoli workshop, as well as its stylistic similarities to Mazzuoli's compositions of the dead Christ.<sup>22</sup>

A Venus and Adonis group is listed in 1744 among the models acquired by the Ginori porcelain manufactory at Doccia from Massimiliano Soldani Benzi's son Ferdinando.<sup>23</sup> Lankheit identified this model with an entry in the 1780s inventory of the Doccia factory and associated the composition with the Baltimore bronze.<sup>24</sup> A porcelain group derived from Soldani's model survives at Doccia and is virtually identical to the Getty and Baltimore bronzes except for a missing dog leash and dove, small changes in the arrangement of Adonis's drapery and bow, and a general reduction in the quality of the details.<sup>25</sup> Lankheit equated a smaller group of *Venus and Adonis* attributed to Soldani in the Doccia inventory with a different porcelain in the Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia at Sesto Fiorentino.<sup>26</sup> This latter porcelain group cannot, however, be by Soldani and may instead be attributable to Agostino Cornacchini, as Alessandra Motola Molfino suggested.<sup>27</sup> In this group Venus approaches the wounded Adonis from the front rather than from behind, resulting in the physical and psychological separation of the protagonists, whose sweet expressions and rhetorical gestures similarly diminish the pathos of the scene. The seated cupid and dog, though they gaze mournfully at the dying hunter, are merely ornamental in a way that Soldani's active, expressive cupids in the Getty bronze are not. Finally, the facial features and anatomy of the seminude figures in this porcelain are fleshier and less refined than those of the figures in Soldani's composition.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

#### Notes

1. G. Corti ("L'inventario dell'eredità di Massimiliano Soldani Benzi," in *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana* [Munich, 1976], 177, n. 2) published the notice of Soldani's death, which states that the sculptor died in his villa at Montevarchi. S. Blasio (in Pratesi, *Repertorio*, vol. 1, 59) mistakenly lists his place of death as Florence. K. Lankheit (in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner [New York, 1996], vol. 29, 28) follows Corti in listing Montevarchi as the place of death.
2. Letter in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University (Rawlinson MS, Letters 132), published by Avery, "Lord Burlington," 27–49. The author would like to thank Charles Avery for his generosity in making the transcripts of these letters available prior to his publication and allowing excerpts to be included here. Avery is currently preparing an edition of the correspondence to be published by the German Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence in its series *Italienische Forschungen*. All subsequent references to the letters are cited in

these notes by folio number and date if known; all translations are the author's. ms.f.IV, 15 October 1716 (attached list of bronzes): "Un gruppo di bronzo con figure, alte ca. 2 terzi di braccio, che rappresentano Adone ferito in braccio a Venere, che figura scesa dal cielo, soccorrerlo accompagnata da un Amore, che gli scopre la ferita, e piange; et un altro Amorino, che assieme con un cane levriero strascicano la testa del cignale. I Gruppo e arricchito con panni turcassi, et altro, e ben finito e varra no.cento dieci Luigi d'oro." As Avery notes, two-thirds of a *braccio* is about eighteen inches, the approximate height of the Getty bronze.

3. ms.f.614r, 3 May 1717: "Circa al Gruppo del Morte di Adone io non ne vorrei meno di cento Luigi d'oro, essendo questo assai difficile a lavorarsi, ed e di buona grandezza, consistendo, Venere su le nuvole accompagnata da due colombe scesa a soccorrere Adone ferito, tenendolo fra le braccia, dove vi sono due amorini che uno scopre la ferita, che ha nella coscia Adone, a l'altro avendo tagliato la testa al Cignale, la lascia assieme con un cane in buona attitudine; et il tutto e aggruppato che pare faccia un buon concerto, e che sia proprio per adattarsi sopra una tavola per un gran Signore" (About the group of the Death of Adonis I wouldn't want less than 100 louis d'or for it, this one being difficult enough to work, and of large dimensions, consisting of Venus on the clouds accompanied by two doves descended to succor the wounded Adonis, holding him in her arms, where there are two small Amors of which one uncovers the wound, which is in Adonis's thigh, and the other having cut off the head of a boar, drags it together with a dog in good posture; and the whole is arranged harmoniously, and would be suitable for the top of a table for a great gentleman).
4. ms.f.24r, 23 August 1717(?): "la base per detto gruppo [Venus and Adonis] consistendo in corniciame di bronzo, che la rigira da piedi e da capo, poi la fregiature nere, e i riquadrati nelle facciate di detta base sono di verde antico bellissimo con tutte le corniciate, che legano, e circondano i detti riquadrati che fanno una nobile, e soda accompagnatura sotto al detto Gruppo" (the base for the said group [Venus and Adonis] consisting of bronze mounts which encircle it from bottom to top, then [there is] black frieze work and small square panels of beautiful *verde antico* on the faces of the base with all the little cornices that link and circle the said squares, which make a noble and correct accompaniment under the group).
5. The *Venus and Adonis* in the Walters Art Museum (inv. 54.677) measures 47 cm (18 1/2 in.) high excluding its ebony base with bronze mounts, and 70.5 cm (27 3/4 in.) including its base.
6. F. Bewer, technical report, JPGM object file.
7. The translation of the inscription is taken from O. Raggio's entry in *Art in Italy, 1600–1700*, exh. cat. (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1965), 122, no. 133.
8. T. Friedman, "Lord Harrold in Italy, 1715–16: Four Frustrated Commissions to Leoni, Juvarra, Chiari, and Soldani," *Burlington Magazine* 130 (November 1988): 845. Harrold was the son of Henry Grey, first duke of Kent (1671–1740), of Wrest Park in Bedfordshire, to whom Albert, fourth earl de Grey, was distantly related.

- The Baltimore *Venus and Adonis* is said to have come from the Liddell family of Ravensworth Castle, which was linked to Wrest in the early nineteenth century.
9. K. Lankheit (*Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* [Munich, 1962], 282, nos. 340–41) published two pieces of correspondence between Crowe, Strafford, and Soldani. Crowe, who had mistakenly assumed that Strafford's "brazen statues" were ordered from Soldani, wrote the sculptor to send them to Livorno. Soldani responded to Strafford, through Crowe, that the statues had in fact been ordered from Foggini but that Soldani would be only too happy to serve Lord Strafford and hoped to be honored with an opportunity to do so.
  10. F. Borroni Salvadori, "L'esposizioni d'arte a Firenze, 1674–1767," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 18 (1974): 124. See also *Nota de' Quadri che sono esposti per la Festa di S. Luca dagli Accademici del Disegno nella loro Cappella . . . l'anno 1729* (Florence, 1729), 6.
  11. K. Lankheit, "Two Bronzes by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19–20 (1956–57): 17.
  12. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 138–39, 334, no. 671.
  13. See, for example, Raggio, in *Art in Italy*, 122, no. 133, and Friedman, "Lord Harrold in Italy," 845, fig. 33.
  14. G. Palagi, *La Villa di Lappoggi e il poeta Gio. Batt. Fagioli* (Florence, 1876), 19, n. 2: "In mezzo di questo salotto stava un gruppo di bronzo dorato, opera di Massimiliano Soldani, rappresentante la storia di *Tancredi ed Erminia*, con ornamenti nella base di putti, ghirlande, fiori e fogliami, e con due cartelle parimente di bronzo." Lankheit does not discuss the difference between this record and Soldani's 1702 description of the subject as *Tancred and Clorinda*. Even if Palagi was simply mistaken in his identification of the subject, the fact that the bronze was gilded made it an unlikely companion to the ungilded *Venus and Adonis*, unless Lankheit was presuming the existence of ungilded versions of *Tancred and Clorinda*.
  15. G. B. Mancini to A. Bassetti, 29 June 1680, published in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 258, no. 154. The subject of the group is unspecified.
  16. J. Ingamells (*A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* [New Haven and London, 1997], 160) dates Burlington's stay in Florence to 14–16 February 1715; Avery, "Lord Burlington," 30, states that Burlington visited Florence late in 1714. In his letter of 15 October 1716, ms.f.IV, cited above and in note 2, Soldani states that Burlington was in his studio in Florence some time ago, had ordered two reliefs, two companion pieces (*due compagni*), and other groups (the *Death of Adonis*, *Leda*, and *Ganymede*), which he saw in the form of models and had definitely commissioned in bronze. To this letter Soldani attached a list of the groups (to which he added *Apollo and Daphne*), which gives detailed descriptions and prices.
  17. Friedman, "Lord Harrold in Italy," 845.
  18. Formerly collection Marquis Georges de Lastic, Paris; now Trinity Fine Art, London. See J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven and London, 1985), vol. 2, fig. 187, 404, no. 124.C.2.
  19. See, respectively, *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 84, no. 52; Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, pl. 89; *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743*, exh. cat. (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts; Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 1974), 106–7, no. 69.
  20. Reproduced in Pratesi, *Repertorio*, vol. 3, pls. 535, 536, and 538, respectively. Further discussion of the Fitzwilliam groups appears in S. Bellesi, "Note sulla collezione Guicciardini e su due gruppi bronzei [sic] del Soldani Benzi," *Antichità viva* 32, no. 5 (1993): 26–32.
  21. Lankheit, "Two Bronzes," 17. The Schwerin terra-cotta was first published with an attribution to Gianlorenzo Bernini by E. Steinmann, "Zwei neuerworbene Terrakotta-Modelle Berninis im grossherzoglichen Museum zu Schwerin," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 2 (1907): 47–49. The terra-cotta was reattributed to Soldani by A. E. Brinkmann, *Barockbozzetti* (Frankfurt, 1923), vol. 1, 136–37.
  22. M. Butzek, "Die Modellsammlung der Mazzuoli in Siena," *Pantheon* 46 (1988): 93, no. 122; G. Gentilini and C. Sisi, *Collezione Chigi-Saracini: La scultura, bozzetti in terracotta, piccoli marmi e altre sculture dal XIV al XX secolo* (Siena, 1989), vol. 2, 322. Vincenzo Buzzi (1708–80) executed a terra-cotta *bozzetto* representing the sleeping Endymion, which is strikingly similar in composition to the Schwerin model; see R. Bossaglia and V. Terraroli, *Settecento lombardo* (Milan, 1991), 341–42.
  23. The list of Soldani's models acquired from his son is published in L. Ginori Lisci, *La porcellana di Doccia* (Milan, 1963), 229.
  24. K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 123, no. 36: "No. 36 Adone e Venere. Di Massimiliano Soldani in cera con forma."
  25. G. Morazzoni, *Le porcellane italiane* (Milan, 1960), vol. 2, pl. 249a.
  26. Lankheit, *Doccia*, 152, no. 10. This second *Venus and Adonis* group is listed in the inventory as "No. 10 Un gruppo rappresentante Venere e Adone. Del Soldani. Con sue forme."
  27. A. Mottola Molfino, *L'arte della porcellana in Italia* (Italy, 1976), no. 471. Also reproduced in G. Liverani, *Il Museo della Porcellane di Doccia* (Milan, 1967), pl. 35, where it is assigned to Soldani. Stylistically the group also recalls the work of Giuseppe Plura the Elder.

## MASSIMILIANO SOLDANI BENZI

Montevarchi 1656–1740; active in Florence

*Andromeda and the Sea Monster*

Designed before 1717, likely cast c. 1725

*Leda and the Swan*

Designed 1725, likely cast c. 1725

Bronze on gray-green marble (possibly *verde antico*) socles with bronze mounts

Andromeda group:

H (without base): 50 cm (19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

H (with base): 64 cm (25<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Leda group:

H (without base): 49.5 cm (19<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

H (with base): 62.5 cm (24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.)

97.SB.61.1–2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The bronze mounts and the underside of the stone socles have corresponding, scratched-in markings. The four feet of the *Andromeda* are marked I–III. Seven of the feet of the *Leda* are marked I–III, X, Ω, and ≠, while the eighth foot is not marked.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The groups are covered with a translucent golden brown lacquer; where this lacquer is heaviest, it appears black, and where it is worn away, the

exposed metal appears olive green. The surfaces reveal meticulous brushing, filing, and texturing. For example, the flesh, rocks, and drapery are polished with a wire brush, while the hair, trees, and feathers are worked with a small punch.

The sculptures show few signs of damage: a tree branch above Andromeda's proper right arm is broken off, and the Cupid in the *Leda* probably once held an arrow, now lost.

Both bronzes were cast by the indirect lost-wax method in many sections, which were joined together in the cold metal by various methods, as is evident on the interiors of the pieces. For example, in *Andromeda*, screws, nails, hooks, and other, more complex, devices were used. *Leda* reveals other joining methods, including overlapping lobe-shaped flanges. X rays show metal-to-metal joins, for example, in Andromeda's left wrist and left upper arm, in her right forearm, and below her neck, and in both of Leda's wrists, both of her upper arms, and her left thigh. Others are likely present but not visible in the radiographs, due to the complex compositions and overlapping forms.

Casting flaws in both bronzes were repaired with threaded plugs and patches. A fine crack runs up the center of the back of *Leda* and was reinforced on the interior with cast-in metal. Each bronze has integrally cast-in flanges that attach the pieces to their marble socles, which are original, and the bronze mounts are attached to the marble with screws.

ICP-MS and XRF showed that the alloy is a leaded-tin bronze, and that the percentages of copper and tin are similar among these groups and *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 34), though

the alloys are not identical (see appendix B). The core material in the *Andromeda* group is primarily clay with added sand; TL dating (Berlin, 1997) of *Andromeda* is consistent with the proposed date. The core in *Leda* is contaminated with unfired soil and therefore could not be TL-tested.

## PROVENANCE

Possibly in the collection of Senator Francesco Giovacchino Buondelmonti, Florence, from 1725 to at least 1767; Gerald Burdon of Onslow, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum through Joanna Barnes Fine Arts, London, 1997.

## EXHIBITIONS

B. Bonsi, *Il trionfo delle bell'arti . . . In occasione, che gli Accademici del Disegno . . . fanno la solenne mostra delle opere antiche di più eccellenti artefici nella propria cappella, e nel chiostro secondo de' PP. della SS. Nunziata in Firenze l'anno 1767*, Florence, 1767; *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 27 March–2 June 1974; Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 28 June–30 September 1974, nos. 70 (*Andromeda*) and 71 (*Leda*).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

M. G. Roethlisberger, "La thème de Leda en sculpture," *Genava* 35 (1987): 75, fig. 18; G. Pratesi, *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del seicento e settecento* (Turin, 1993), vol. 3, pl. 538 (*Andromeda*); C. Avery, "The Pedestals, Frames, Mounts, and Presentation of Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi's Bronze Statuettes and Reliefs," *Furniture History* 31 (1995): 9, 10, 20–21, fig. 2 (*Andromeda*); K. Lankheit, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (London and New York, 1996), vol. 29, 30.

THESE TWO BRONZE GROUPS represent the mythological scenes of Andromeda and the Sea Monster and Leda and the Swan.<sup>1</sup> Executed as a pair, they are mounted on identical green marble bases (possibly *verde antico*) with bronze mounts (dolphins for *Andromeda* and sea monsters for *Leda*) at the corners. Both demonstrate Soldani's ability as a dramatic storyteller, presenting the figures as if actors on a stage, meant to be seen from the front by their audience. Each composition is organized on principles of diagonal

lines set against a strong vertical element, in both cases a tree trunk. These strong diagonals also create an interplay between the two groups, which are otherwise an exercise in contrasting forms and emotions.

The complicated compositions of the Getty bronzes, requiring the assembly of many parts; the exquisitely detailed and refined chasing; and the carefully polished surfaces of the present groups are among the finest examples of the work of Soldani.<sup>2</sup> As a young man, he was sent by Grand







35A *Andromeda and the Sea Monster*, back view



35B *Andromeda and the Sea Monster*, detail, sea monster

Duke Cosimo III to the Tuscan Academy in Rome, which the grand duke had founded, hoping to revive Florentine art by immersing young artists in the world of High Baroque Rome. Along with traditional training in painting and sculpture, students there created relief versions of famous paintings,<sup>3</sup> and this surely had an impact on Soldani's approach to narrative both in relief and in the round. His work as medallist and goldsmith is evident in the precision and refinement of finish of these bronze groups.

The story of Andromeda and the sea monster appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4.664–764), as well as in a play by Euripides (*Andromeda*) and elsewhere. Soldani stresses the terror of the encounter between the lovely, chained princess and the terrifying monster about to attack her. Perseus, the hero of the tale, is not represented, and so we focus on the high point of dramatic tension. Andromeda was the innocent victim of her mother's boasts of her own beauty, which

had angered the gods. Andromeda was chained to a rock as prey for a horrible sea monster. Perseus caught sight of her, fell in love, saved her from her fate by killing the monster, and married her.

In Soldani's scene the horned monster, with fierce eyes and open mouth, is poised to leap from a rock at the upper left of the composition (see FIG. 35B). Andromeda, whose arms are caught by chains attached to the tree trunk, tries to flee (see FIG. 35C). Her left arm is forced to bend at the elbow as it is caught up by the chain, and her fingers are spread wide in terror. She turns her head back toward the monster as she screams in fright. Andromeda's body forms a sharp diagonal thrust out and up to the right of the composition, and the beast stretches down in an opposing diagonal line. Sharp claws, spiky tails and horns, sharp branches and roots, and splayed fingers create a harsh and jagged quality, which adds to the emotion of the group.



35C *Andromeda and the Sea Monster*, detail, Andromeda



35D Massimiliano Soldani Benzi. *Leda and the Swan*, before 1717. Bronze. H: 34.5 cm (13<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); W: 30.5 cm (12 in.); D: 15 cm (5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

*Leda and the Swan*, in contrast, shows a happy and harmonious coupling of a woman and a beast. The group tells the story, mentioned in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.109) and recounted by other classical authors, such as Euripides in his *Helen*, of the amorous encounter between Leda and Zeus, in the guise of a swan. From this union were born Castor and Pollux, Helen, and Clytemnestra. The theme became popular in the sixteenth century in Italy and was represented by both Leonardo and Michelangelo, whose designs were widely reproduced.<sup>4</sup> Leonardo's Leda was presented standing, with the swan at her side and newly hatched eggs on the ground nearby. Michelangelo's image showed Leda reclining with the swan between her legs; Bartolomeo Ammanati's marble group in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, reflects this design. Correggio's interpretation of the theme is the closest precedent for Soldani's conception of the amorous encounter.<sup>5</sup> Like Correggio, Soldani stresses Leda's pleasure and participation in the event, carefully describing its landscape setting with trees, rocks, and water.

Soldani's Leda reclines on a rock, with her right leg extended and bent slightly, while her left leg bends sharply at the knee. Her upper body curves upward and to her left as she extends her arms to embrace the swan. The long, elegant arc of her right arm ends with her fingers grasping the outstretched right wing of the bird, while she holds the base of



35E Massimiliano Soldani Benzi. *Ganymede and the Eagle*, before 1717. Bronze. H: 31.5 cm (12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); W: 37.5 cm (14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.); D: 19.5 cm (7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

the creature's neck with her left hand. The swan has alighted on a rock and, with wings spread, extends its neck down and then up again to kiss Leda's smiling mouth (see FIG. 35H). Cupid rides upon the back of the bird and aims an arrow (now lost) toward the couple (see FIG. 35G). His wings extend the diagonal approach of the swan toward the longer, softer diagonal of the figure of Leda. Drapery across Leda's right hip, roots and branches of the tree, and the suggestion of waves at the base contribute to the rhythmic flow of the group.

The history of the designs indicates that Soldani developed the composition of *Leda* from that of his own *Andromeda* group, mirroring the general lines of a strong diagonal set against the vertical of the tree trunk but then contrasting in every way the forms and emotions expressed. Thus the dramatic and visual impact of the individual groups is increased when the two are viewed together as pendants. *Andromeda* was completed at least by July of 1717, when Soldani described it in a letter to the Italian merchant Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni in London as "Andromeda almost completely nude, bound to some trees with some rocks, where the Dragon is about to pounce on her; she, all afraid, is in the act of fleeing, and it makes a rather harmonious group. It has a base in stone the color of the waters of the sea, and at the angles there are two dolphins at each corner, and if it pleases you would cost 80 louis d'or, and it

would make a beautiful display on a table.”<sup>6</sup> Thus we know that Soldani created *Andromeda* as an independent group, mounted on a marble base with dolphins at the corners. This group was sent to London and arrived by July of 1718.<sup>7</sup>

In a letter written by Soldani in July 1725 to Zamboni in London, the sculptor said that he was currently working on the model of a Leda group that would form a pair with his earlier *Andromeda*.<sup>8</sup> Shortly thereafter, on September 25, 1725, Soldani wrote again of this Leda group, saying that it was no longer available since he had decided to sell it to Cavaliere Buondelmonti.<sup>9</sup> In 1767 Francesco Giovacchino Buondelmonti exhibited a pair of bronzes representing Leda and the Swan and *Andromeda* and the Sea Monster at Santissima Annunziata in Florence.<sup>10</sup> It is conceivable but unlikely that the *Andromeda* sent to England in 1717–18 was later sent back to Florence to function as a pendant to the new *Leda*. Since Soldani frequently cast more than one version of his groups, it is much more likely that Soldani created for Buondelmonti a second version of the *Andromeda* group as a pendant to his new *Leda*. If this is so, it seems very possible that the Getty groups were these bronzes. Their identical bases and the use of sea monsters as bronze mounts for the *Leda*, which make little narrative sense, clearly establish the groups as a pair.

Soldani was willing to create groups that could stand on their own or be paired with complementary groups, following the requirements of the art market or the wishes of his patrons. In 1717 he had shipped to Zamboni in London another pair of bronzes, one a different composition of the Leda theme (in which she sits more upright, with the swan at her left side and Cupid at her right), which was paired with a group representing Ganymede with the Eagle, an erotic theme closer in spirit to the Leda story than the *Andromeda* myth.<sup>11</sup> These groups, too (a pair of which is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; FIG. 35D–E), reflect each other in their diagonal compositional structure but do not have the strong vertical element of the tree trunk or the approach of the beasts from above.

Avery illustrates another bronze version of *Andromeda* in a private collection. It is possible that this is the first version, shipped to London in 1717–18, though it does not retain its original base and mounts.<sup>12</sup> A later, slightly smaller (45.7 cm [18 in.]) and less fine bronze cast of *Leda* appeared



35F *Leda and the Swan*, back view

on the art market in 1968.<sup>13</sup> Its present location is unknown. The molds for these groups were in Soldani's studio at his death in 1740<sup>14</sup> and were acquired by Carlo Ginori for reproduction in the Doccia porcelain studio.<sup>15</sup> A wax model of the *Leda* is in the Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia in Sesto Fiorentino,<sup>16</sup> while the wax model of the *Andromeda* is now lost. Both, however, are listed in a late eighteenth-century inventory of models at Doccia.<sup>17</sup>

White porcelain casts of these groups dating to around 1750 are in the Museo Stibbert, Florence.<sup>18</sup> They, like the present pair, were made as pendants, with identical bases. Another porcelain *Andromeda* group is in the Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia in Sesto Fiorentino, with a clothed *Andromeda* and including the figure of *Perseus*, derived from Foggini's model for *Perseus Killing Medusa*.<sup>19</sup>

MARIETTA CAMBARERI

Notes

1. The author would like to thank Victoria Avery for her work on this entry.
2. For Soldani, see K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670–1743* (Munich, 1972), 110–60; idem, in *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 29, 28–30, for further bibliography.
3. A point stressed by J. Montagu, in “The Bronze Groups Made for the Electress Palatine,” in *Kunst des Barock in der Toscana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici* (Munich, 1976), 132.
4. For a survey of the Leda theme in sculpture, see Roethlisberger, “La thème de Léda,” 65–89.
5. Pace Roethlisberger (*ibid.*, 75), who contends that Soldani’s work does not reflect any of the sixteenth-century precedents. For Correggio’s *Leda* in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin-Dahlem, see C. Gould, *The Paintings of Correggio* (London, 1976), 130–35, pl. 190, and D. Ekserdjian, *Correggio* (New Haven and London, 1997), 288–91.
6. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS 132, fol. 20r, 15 July 1717. Thanks to Charles Avery for generously providing the references in this and the following notes from the unpublished letters of Soldani in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Rawlinson MSS 132 and 135. Also for the Soldani correspondence, see Avery, “Pedestals, Frames, Mounts,” 7–22; idem, “Lord Burlington and the Florentine Baroque Bronze Sculptor Soldani: New Documentation on the Anglo-Florentine Art Trade in the Age of the Grand Tour,” in *Lord Burlington: The Man and His Politics*, ed. E. Corp (Lewiston, N.Y., 1998), 27–49. Avery is currently preparing an edition of the correspondence, to be published by the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence in the series *Italianische Forschungen*.
7. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS 132, fol. 75r, 7 July 1718: “Godo, che sia comparsa la nave, che ha portato I due consaputi Gruppi.” The second group referred to was a *Venus and Adonis*.
8. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS 132, fol. 273v, 5 July 1725: “Presentemente lavoro un modello che rappresenta una Leda con il cigno, ed un amorino che lo stimola ad accortarsi, e questa e tutta diversa da quella che mi pare che io gli mandassi un tempo fa, et accompagna all’Andromeda legata allo scoglio, parendomi che riesca un gruppo assai ricco e lo travaglio di tutto mio genio.”
9. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS 135, fol. 253r, 28 September 1725: “Il gruppo che si lavora presentemente della Leda con il Cigno del quale gli avevo scritto che lo facevo per mio conto, ho destinato di darlo al Sig.re Cav.re Buondelmonte onde non lo posso mandar fuori.”
10. Jennifer Montagu—in a catalogue entry on these bronzes written in 1974, before their acquisition by the Getty Museum and before the discovery of the documents cited above—raised the possibility that these were the bronzes displayed in Florence in 1767; she also presented the visual and documentary evidence for their creation in the years around 1710–16, the likely date for the first composition—that is, *Andromeda*—completed by 1717; see *Twilight of the Medici*, 108–9, nos. 70–71.
11. Avery, “Pedestals, Frames, Mounts,” 11, for a document dated 15 July 1717, from the Zamboni correspondence, discussing this pair of



35G *Leda and the Swan*, detail, Cupid

- bronzes. See also S. Bellesi, “Note sulla Collezione Guicciardini e su due gruppi bronzei [*sic*] del Soldani Benzi,” *Antichità viva* 32, no. 5 (1993): 26–32.
12. Avery, “Lord Burlington,” 37, fig. 12.
  13. “Notable Works of Art Now on the Market,” *Burlington Magazine* 110 (June 1968): pl. xx.
  14. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 284, doc. 351.
  15. *Ibid.*, 284, doc. 353.
  16. G. Liverani, *Il Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia* (Milan, 1967), 77, pl. CXLVI.
  17. K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 119, no. 1, fig. 114 (*Leda*), and 128, no. 20 (*Andromeda*).
  18. L. Ginori Lisci, *La porcellana di Doccia* (Milan, 1963), 141, pl. XXXIV (*Leda*); idem, “Bruschi, Gaspero,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 14 (Rome, 1972), 704; *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze* (Milan, 1974), vol. 2, 131, no. 1372, fig. 252, and no. 1377, fig. 253.
  19. G. Morazzoni and S. Levy, *Le porcellane italiane* (Milan, 1960), vol. 2, pl. 248.



35H *Leda and the Swan*, detail

## FRANCESCO BERTOS

Born Venice; active in Rome, Venice, Padua, and Passariano, 1693–1739

*Group of Eleven Figures  
(Allegory of Autumn)*

First half of the 18th century

Bronze

H: 79.5 cm (31 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)W: 44.1 cm (17 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)D: 36.8 cm (14 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.)

85.SB.74

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Inscribed on four sides of central plinth, BERTOS /INVENTOR ET SCVLTOR /SOLVS /DEI GRATIA /FVSIT /PERFECIT /FECIT (Bertos, inventor and sculptor, alone [by/for] the favor of God, cast [it], perfected [it], made [it]).

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The surface is coated with a dark brown lacquer-like substance that is very uneven, matte, and worn or flaked off in many areas. Green copper corrosion products can be detected on one of the figures. There is a large crack in the base between the nursing mother and the two children, which was probably an original casting flaw, and several of the figures' attributes are miscast.

XRF analysis shows that the alloy is primarily copper and zinc with small amounts of tin and lead (see appendix B). Like the groups of *Stupidity and Fortune* and *Industry and Virtue* (cat. no. 37), this sculpture was cast by the indirect lost-wax process and in several parts. X rays show that the figures were, for the most part, molded in separate parts and reassembled in the wax (see appendix A). The torsos, heads, and thighs of most of the figures were cast hollow, though most of the arms and the legs from around the knees are solid, often due to cast-in repairs. The visible side-to-side core pins consist of thin wires that traverse the figures' bodies. The figures are generally repaired and joined to each other with cast-in metal and, occasionally, threaded plugs. The rounded, circular base was cast together with the four-sided altar and some of the figures that rest on it. There are numerous small casting flaws and hairline cracks in the surface of the bronze. The chasing is often cursory, and many of the repairs have been left visible. Most of the core material has been removed. Thin-section analysis reveals the core to be a gypsum plaster matrix with a noticeable absence of sand, as in the group *Industry and Virtue*.

## PROVENANCE

August Lederer (d. 1936), Vienna, by inheritance to his widow, Serena Lederer, 1936; Serena Lederer (d. 1943), Vienna, looted by the Nazis, 1938;<sup>1</sup> in the possession of the Nazis, restituted by the Allied forces to the Austrian government, 1947; Austrian government, restituted to the son of Serena Lederer, Erich Lederer, 1947; Erich Lederer (1896–1985), Geneva, by inheritance to his widow, Elisabeth Lederer, 1985; Elisabeth Lederer, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," *Dedalo* 9, no. 1 (1928): 209–21, illus. 211; W. L. Hildburgh, "Some Bronze Groups by Francesco Bertos," *Apollo* 27 (February 1938): 84; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1964), vol. 2, 662; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 262, no. 249; E. Viancini, "Per Francesco Bertos," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 19 (1994): 152–53, fig. 22; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 6.

VIRTUALLY NOTHING IS KNOWN of Francesco Bertos's life. Documentary evidence provides only a scant outline of his career. He is recorded as working in Rome in 1693, in Venice around 1710,<sup>2</sup> for the Santo in Padua in 1733, and for the Villa Manin at Passariano in 1737–38.<sup>3</sup> Recently Peta Evelyn extended the period of his activity by one year, to 1739.<sup>4</sup> Bertos's bronze sculptures are clearly distinguishable by means of their unique and consistent stylistic traits. His small and larger groups of figures twisting in open compositions are intended to be viewed from multiple angles and are often compared with the ephemeral sugar sculptures produced in Italy as table centerpieces.<sup>5</sup> In the larger groups the acrobatic figures—seated, standing, leaping, being lifted, and turning in various directions—form a roughly pyramidal structure rising from a rounded base. The figures themselves exhibit elongated proportions; smooth, schematic

musculature; small faces; a summary treatment of hands and feet; and a relative indifference to surface finish. In fact, the recurrence of certain figures throughout various compositions suggests that Bertos reused his models or molds, recombining them in different configurations and perhaps altering them slightly in the wax before casting. Some works in marble have also been attributed to Bertos, and he is documented as having carved at least two marbles for Marshall von der Schulenburg, who also commissioned bronzes from the artist.<sup>6</sup>

The composition of the Getty sculpture revolves around a central altar or plinth, each side of which bears a figure in relief and part of the inscription. A male figure seated on the plinth supports another male, who in turn lifts a female figure holding a fruit-bearing vine. In front of the altar a reclining boar munches on a piece of fruit. To the right a





36A Details of all four sides of central altar showing inscription and symbolic figures in relief

woman, seated on an overturned vessel, nurses a child and holds a bird in her raised left hand. To the left a kneeling nude man supports a female figure with a basket or bowl, filled with the vine, on her head. On the other side of the altar a man and two putti hold up bits of fruit and foliage, while a third putto clenches a snake above his head.

The exact meaning of Bertos's eleven-figure group is difficult to determine, and it is clear from some of his other works (see cat. no. 37) that his subjects could be rather recherché allegories. Here, as with most of Bertos's bronzes, the attributes held by the figures are sometimes visually unreadable or iconographically ambiguous, and the figures themselves—unclothed and often reused in several different compositions—yield few clues. The vine with its fruit is clearly central to both the activity and the theme, however, suggesting a harvest or autumn, the time of harvest. The boar and snake, both associated with Bacchus,<sup>7</sup> reinforce the possibility that the bronze represents autumn, which the

god of wine sometimes personified in depictions of the four seasons. A three-figure Bertos group in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, containing a similar vine and boar (FIG. 36B), is considered to be an allegory of autumn.<sup>8</sup> The absence of grape clusters would seem to negate Leo Planiscig's suggestion that the bronze more specifically represents a bacchic allegory.<sup>9</sup>

The reliefs on the altar depict Father Time, a winged, bearded man with an hourglass; an artist or a personification of one of the liberal arts crowned and holding a compass; a nude, bearded, and turbaned man who holds a square with chisels lying beneath his feet, who may represent sculpture; and a fourth, clothed figure whose attributes are indiscernible. Identical reliefs appear in another Bertos composition of an entirely different subject: *The Triumph of Chastity* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.<sup>10</sup> The altar's reuse in a different context would seem to divorce its meaning from the allegorical subject being acted out by the figures



around it. By alluding to the art of the sculptor, the iconography of the altar may relate more directly to the content of the inscription, which asserts Bertos's intellectual and technical abilities.

The arrangement of figures around and upon a central altar is a recurring formula in Bertos's bronze compositions. Most bronzes adhering to this format include a rearing equine animal (for instance, a horse, stag, unicorn, or centaur) joining the seated figure atop the altar. Examples of this compositional type are found in the collection of Baron Alphonse von Rothschild, Vienna;<sup>11</sup> formerly in the collection of Lionel Harris;<sup>12</sup> in the Palazzo Reale, Turin;<sup>13</sup> in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London;<sup>14</sup> in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool;<sup>15</sup> and in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.<sup>16</sup>

Only one other known bronze, formerly in the collection of Mme de Polès, Paris,<sup>17</sup> adheres to this compositional scheme but, like the Getty sculpture, excludes a rearing animal. The de Polès bronze is similarly composed of eleven

figures moving around and above a central altar, with the familiar sequence of a seated (in this case winged) figure supporting a leaping male who lifts a female figure. The round base is populated by seated or kneeling figures, putti, and a reclining dog rather than a boar. The altar bears the same inscription but different reliefs than the Getty sculpture. Planiscig described the de Polès group as an allegory of glory<sup>18</sup> and believed it to be a pendant to the Getty sculpture. The winged figure and uppermost, trumpet-blowing woman of the de Polès bronze closely recall the *Allegory of Spring* by Bertos in the Walters Art Museum.<sup>19</sup> If the de Polès bronze is also an allegory of spring, its thematic and formal similarities to the Getty bronze would make it a likely pendant.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



36B Francesco Bertos. *Allegory of Autumn*, early 18th century. Bronze. H: 63.5 cm (25 in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum inv. 54.721.



36C Profile from proper right



36D Back view



36E Profile from proper left

Notes

1. Documents in the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., indicate that some works from the Lederer collection were stored separately from the main body of the collection, held at the salt mines at Bad-Aussee. This allegorical group by Bertos is one that remained in Austria at Bartensteingasse 8, Vienna. It appears on list B of the Bartensteingasse inventory as number 188: "Grosse vielfigurige alleg. Bronzegruppe, BERTOS, H = etwa 75."
2. A. Bertolotti, *Artisti veneti in Roma* (Venice, 1884; reprint, Bologna, 1965), 67; P. Zani, *Enciclopedia metodica critico-ragionata delle belle arti* (Parma, 1812–17), vol. 4, 15.
3. J. D. Draper, in "The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Addenda to the Catalogue," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 21 (1986): 163, 165, n. 1. Draper credits the information concerning Bertos's activities in 1738 to Jasminka di Luigi, as transmitted by Alessandra Mottola Molfino. Viancini states that in 1738 Bertos also executed marble groups for Marshall von der Schulenburg ("Per Francesco Bertos," 152).
4. P. Evelyn, in *European Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. P. Williamson (London, 1996), 139. The dates of his activity are still listed as 1693–1733, however, in J. Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), vol. 3, 862.
5. Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," 210; Draper, "Linsky Collection," 165.
6. See, for example, P. Rossi in *Dal Medioevo a Canova: Sculture dei Musei Civici di Padova dal trecento all'ottocento*, ed. D. Banzato, F. Pellegrini, and M. De Vincenti (Venice, 2000), 149–50. For the patronage of von der Schulenburg, see A. Binion, *La galleria scomparsa del Maresciallo von der Schulenburg: Un mecenate nella Venezia del settecento* (Milan, 1990).
7. The handling of snakes was an element of bacchic rites, and the boar, as a symbol of lust, was appropriate in the depiction of such ceremonies (J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* [New York, 1979], 37).
8. Inv. 54.721; the bronze is discussed in an unpublished article by Marvin Ross, "More Bronzes by Francesco Bertos," 3–4. Thanks to Dr. William Johnston and Victoria Gross for kindly providing a copy of this article.
9. Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," 210.
10. Inv. A.3-1949; Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture*, vol. 2, 662, fig. 701; Evelyn, in *European Sculpture*.
11. The Rothschild collection contains two bronzes: a harvest or vintage scene with a horse; and an allegory, perhaps of war, with a stag. See Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," 213, 215.
12. The Lionel Harris collection included versions of the two Rothschild bronzes cited in the previous note, with different attributes held by some of the figures. In addition, the collection contained an *Allegory of Sculpture* with a centaur and an *Allegory of Drama* with a centauress. See Hildburgh, "Some Bronze Groups," figs. IV–VII.
13. Versions of the two Rothschild bronzes mentioned in note 11; see L. Planiscig, "Dieci opere di Francesco Bertos conservate nel Palazzo Reale di Torino," *Dedalo* 9, no. 3 (1928–29): 561–64.
14. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture*.
15. *Homage to Sculpture*, a slightly different gilt version of the *Allegory of Sculpture* in the Harris collection (note 12). See *Walker Art Gallery: Foreign Catalogue* (Liverpool, 1977), vol. 1, 289–90, no. 6597, and vol. 2, 422.
16. Inv. 1855.59, a version of the *Allegory of Drama* in the Harris collection (note 12), missing some attributes.
17. *Catalogue des objets d'art . . . composant la très importante collection de Mme de Polès*, sale cat., Georges Petit, Paris, 22–24 June 1927, lot 205, pl. 74. Ross ("More Bronzes," 4) believes this bronze to be identical to a signed eleven-figure group sold from the Rusca collection, Florence, 10–21 April 1883, lot 113.
18. Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," 214. His interpretation of the subject is probably based on the uppermost figure blowing a raised trumpet.
19. Inv. 54.722; see Ross, "More Bronzes."

## FRANCESCO BERTOS

Born Venice; active in Rome, Venice, Padua, and Passariano, 1693–1739

*Stupidity and Fortune*  
and *Industry and Virtue*First half of the 18th century  
Bronze on marble bases*Stupidity and Fortune:*H (including base): 65 cm (24<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

W: 22.9 cm (9 in.)

D: 16.5 cm (6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.)*Industry and Virtue:*H (including base): 65 cm (24<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)W: 19 cm (7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.)D: 14.3 cm (5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

85.SB.73.1–2

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Each inscribed on top of marble base, OPVS BERTOS; *Stupidity and Fortune* inscribed on four sides of marble base, STVLTVS / VBIQVE. ET / FORTVNA / CONVENIVNT; *Industry and Virtue* inscribed on four sides of marble base, STVDIVM / FELICITER ET / VIRTVS / ELVCENT.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The sculptures exhibit cursory finishing, with most of the details modeled in the wax and only summarily chased in the metal. Much of the surface is covered with dense, parallel scratch, brush, and file marks. In some areas, such as in *Stupidity's* fur, punch marks were used for texturing. The surface of both groups is coated with

a thick, reddish brown layer that has wrinkled and cracked in some areas. In certain recesses, such as the underside of the male figure's upper arm and the inner thigh of the female figure in *Industry and Virtue*, there are remains of a translucent golden lacquerlike coating. Repairs and cracks are visible despite the thick coating.

XRF reveals that both groups are made of a leaded copper-zinc-tin alloy (see appendix B). Both groups are cast by the indirect lost-wax process and in several parts. X rays of the sculptures reveal that the figures are hollow but that most of the limbs are solid and were joined on either in the wax or in the metal. The thickness of the metal varies considerably. Thin-section analysis determined the core from *Industry and Virtue* to be primarily gypsum plaster with no sand added. Although no armature and internal core supports are visible in the X rays, numerous core-pin wires traverse the interiors of the body and limbs of all the figures. Metal-to-metal joints are visible in the thighs of both figures in *Stupidity and Fortune* as well as in the mid-thigh of the male in *Industry and Virtue*, below his left shoulder, and in his right forearm. Both sculptures are porous and heavily flawed, with many repairs. X rays show large cast-in repairs in the male's torso and lower arms and the female's right thigh in *Stupidity and Fortune*. In *Industry and Virtue* the repairs appear in the male's right thigh and left shoulder and in the female's left hip and shoulder. There is a crack below the female's wrist in *Stupidity and Fortune*, which may be the location of a cast-in repair. Numerous threaded plugs are visible in both males' thighs.

In *Stupidity and Fortune* the attribute held in the female figure's right hand is broken off and missing, as is part of the crown in her left hand. In *Industry and Virtue* the attribute held in the female figure's left hand is missing, as is her left index finger.

## PROVENANCE

Dr. James Simon, Berlin (sold, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, 25–26 October 1927, lot 198, to August Lederer); August Lederer (d. 1936), Vienna, by inheritance to his widow, Serena Lederer, 1936; Serena Lederer (d. 1943), Vienna, looted by the Nazis, 1938;<sup>1</sup> in the possession of the Nazis, restituted by the Allied forces to the Austrian government, 1947; Austrian government, restituted to the son of Serena Lederer, Erich Lederer, 1947; Erich Lederer (1896–1985), Geneva, by inheritance to his widow, Elisabeth Lederer, 1985; Elisabeth Lederer, Geneva, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," *Dedalo* 9, no. 1 (1928): 209–21, illus. 217; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 262, no. 248; *Important European Sculpture and Works of Art*, sale cat., Christie's, London, 24 April 1986, cited under lot 21; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 5; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, 2 July 1997, cited under lot 129.

THESE TWO GROUPS EACH consist of a running or leaping male figure lifting a female, set on a four-sided waisted marble base signed on top and adorned with applied bronze swags and inscribed cartouches. The sculptures are characteristic of Francesco Bertos's style, as exhibited in his signed or attributed bronzes. The upwardly spiraling compositions intended to be viewed from many angles—as well as the attenuated proportions, fluid and generalized anatomy, and small faces of the figures—recur in Bertos's larger multi-figure groups (see cat. no. 36).

The subjects of these bronzes are identifiable by means of the inscriptions on their bases. The inscription on the first group can be translated "Stupidity and Fortune appear together everywhere," and that on the second group, "Industry and Virtue happily shine." The figures themselves, however, do not in all cases conform to the standard personifications of the concepts they purport to represent. Their attributes are sometimes ambiguous or missing altogether. In both groups the two figures share attributes of each virtue or vice rather than symbolizing one concept







37A *Stupidity and Fortune*, three-quarter view from proper right



37B *Stupidity and Fortune*, three-quarter back view from proper left

individually. In *Stupidity and Fortune* the male figure steps on a wheel, an attribute of Fortune, and holds what appears to be a whirligig, an attribute of Stupidity or Folly.<sup>2</sup> The object held in the right hand of the woman being lifted has broken off; in her left hand she raises a crown, sometimes associated with Fortune or with Ignorance.<sup>3</sup> In *Industry and Virtue* the hands of the bearded male figure are occupied with holding up the female. The raised female figure clutches four palm leaves, a possible attribute of Virtue; the attribute in her left hand is now missing.

The Getty groups closely resemble another pair of Bertos's bronzes, which appeared on the London art market in 1986 (FIG. 37C).<sup>4</sup> Like the Getty examples, each London sculpture depicts a running male supporting a female, set on a four-sided marble socle decorated with bronze garlands. The tops of the socles display the same signature, OPVS BERTOS, as the Getty bronzes. According to their inscribed cartouches, the London sculptures represent Intellect and Wisdom and Kindness and Gratitude. Their compositions are strikingly similar to the Getty *Industry and Virtue* in particular. The stance of the male figure is identical in *Industry and Virtue* and *Intellect and Wisdom*, and the poses of the female figures, despite variations in the angle of their bodies, differ little from each other except in the *Kindness and Gratitude* group. In fact, the female figures seem to derive, in reverse, from a common source—Giambologna's bronze two-figure *Rape of a Sabine*<sup>5</sup>—of which Bertos was undoubtedly aware.<sup>6</sup>

The Getty and London sculptures probably formed a set of allegorical couples, which may have included other bronzes that are now lost. Patricia Wengraf suggested that the ensemble originally contained, in addition, four other known, two-figure bronze statuettes: *Calumny Carrying Off Fame*, *Folly Supporting Spring* (both in a private collection, Washington, D.C.), *Time Revealing Truth*, and *Health Supporting Beauty* (both formerly in the Salomon collection, Berlin).<sup>7</sup> As in the Getty sculptures, each bronze depicts a male figure lifting a female, but here the four groups are set on round, banded bronze socles. Wengraf speculated that the four statuettes at some point in their history belonged to the same collector or dealer, who removed them from their original marble bases (this seems particularly unlikely if these bases were signed). Four statuettes with the male figure



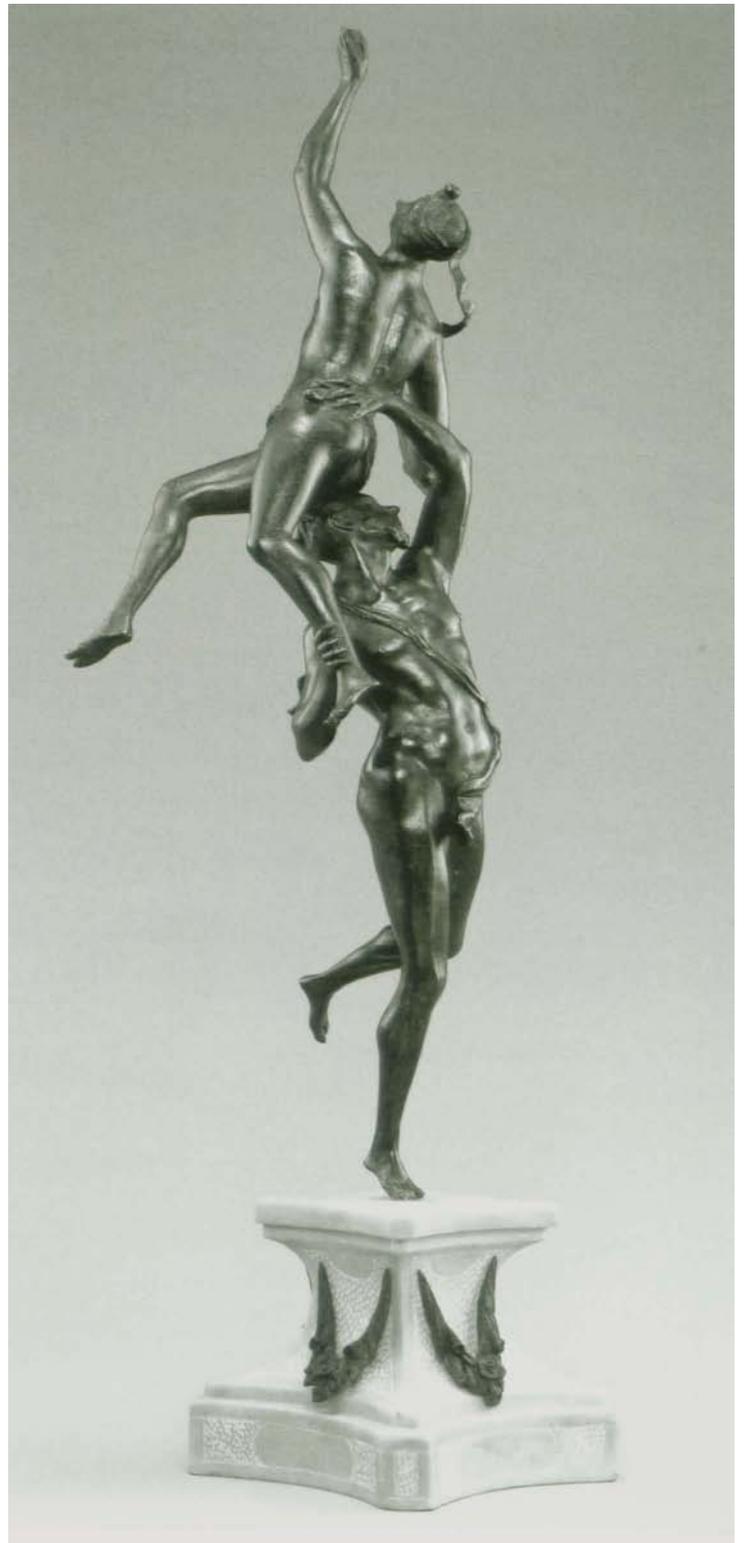
37C Francesco Bertos. *Intellect and Wisdom* and *Kindness and Gratitude*. Bronze on marble socles with bronze swags. H (with base): 65 cm (25 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.) and 67 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.), respectively. Formerly Christie's, London, 24 April 1986, lot 21.

standing on his right leg (the Getty and London bronzes) and four with the male standing on his left leg (the Washington and Berlin examples) would, therefore, have constituted a single set or series. It seems more likely, however, that the eight bronzes represent two different sets, that the Washington and Berlin bronzes never belonged to the same collection, or that their presumed mutual provenance indicates an origin distinct from that of the Getty statuettes.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

*Notes*

1. Both of these pieces were among the group stored by the Nazis at Bartensteingasse 8, Vienna, and are recorded on list B of the inventory from that location (see cat. no. 36, note 1). *Stupidity and Fortune* appears as number 190: "Bertos, Alleg. Bronzegruppe, Mann mit Windrad und Rad, eine weibl. Gestalt tragend, auf Marmorsockel, sign., Opus Bertos, H = 63 cm." *Industry and Virtue* follows its pendant as number 191: "Alleg. Bronzegruppe auf Marmorsockel, Mann trägt weibl. Figur, H = 64,5."
2. C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611; reprint, New York, 1976), 183, 406; N. Cecchini, *Dizionario sinottico di Iconologia* (Bologna, 1976), 181–82.
3. Cecchini, *Dizionario*, 99; J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York, 1979), 160.
4. *Important European Sculpture and Works of Art*, Christie's, London, 24 April 1986, lot 21 (present whereabouts unknown).
5. Versions of Giambologna's group are in the National Museum, Naples, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), 263, pls. 79, 144; C. Avery and T. Radcliffe, *Giambologna: Sculptor to the Medici* (London, 1978), 105–7, nos. 56, 57.
6. L. Planiscig ("Dieci opere di Francesco Bertos conservate nel Palazzo Reale di Torino," *Dedalo* 9, no. 3 [1928–29]: 561–75) discusses the influence of Giambologna on Bertos and even attributes a marble copy of Giambologna's three-figure *Rape of the Sabine* (Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi) to Bertos.
7. See P. Wengraf, in *The Glory of Venice: Art in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1994; Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995), 432, no. 59, which illustrates the two Washington bronzes. For the bronzes formerly in Berlin, see Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," illus. 216; and *Skulpturen-Sammlung aus Berliner Privatbesitz*, sale cat., Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, 15 May 1917, lots 21–22, where the two bronzes are identified as *America* and *Europe* and attributed to Pietro Tacca. The titles for all four bronzes follow Wengraf, although the identification of each figure is tentative.



37D *Industry and Virtue*, three-quarter view from proper right



37E *Industry and Virtue*, three-quarter back view from proper left

## BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI

Rome 1716/17–1799

*Bust of Emperor  
Caracalla*

c. 1750–70

Marble

H: 71.1 cm (28 in.)

W: 54.6 cm (21½ in.)

D: 33 cm (13 in.)

94.SA.46

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Signed on the front, proper right side, at the bottom edge of the cuirass, BARTOLOMEVS / CAVACEPPI / FECIT.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The bust is carved from a single piece of white marble with very minor inclusions. The socle is

carved separately of a similar white marble.

There are a few minor chips in the drapery and hair; otherwise, the bust is in excellent overall condition. X rays reveal that the bust and socle are held together by a hand-forged dowel approximately five inches long.

## PROVENANCE

Private collection, New York (sold, Sotheby's, New York, 6 June 1994, lot 112); Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994.

## EXHIBITIONS

*Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 16 March–28 May 2000, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 25 June–17 September 2000.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Sotheby's Art at Auction: The Art Market Review, 1993–94* (London, 1994), 194; "Acquisitions/1994," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1995): 121, no. 100; sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, 7 December 1995, under lot 96; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles and London, 1997), 25; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 15; P. Fogelman, in *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat., ed. E. Peters Bowron and J. J. Rishel (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2000), 241, no. 119.

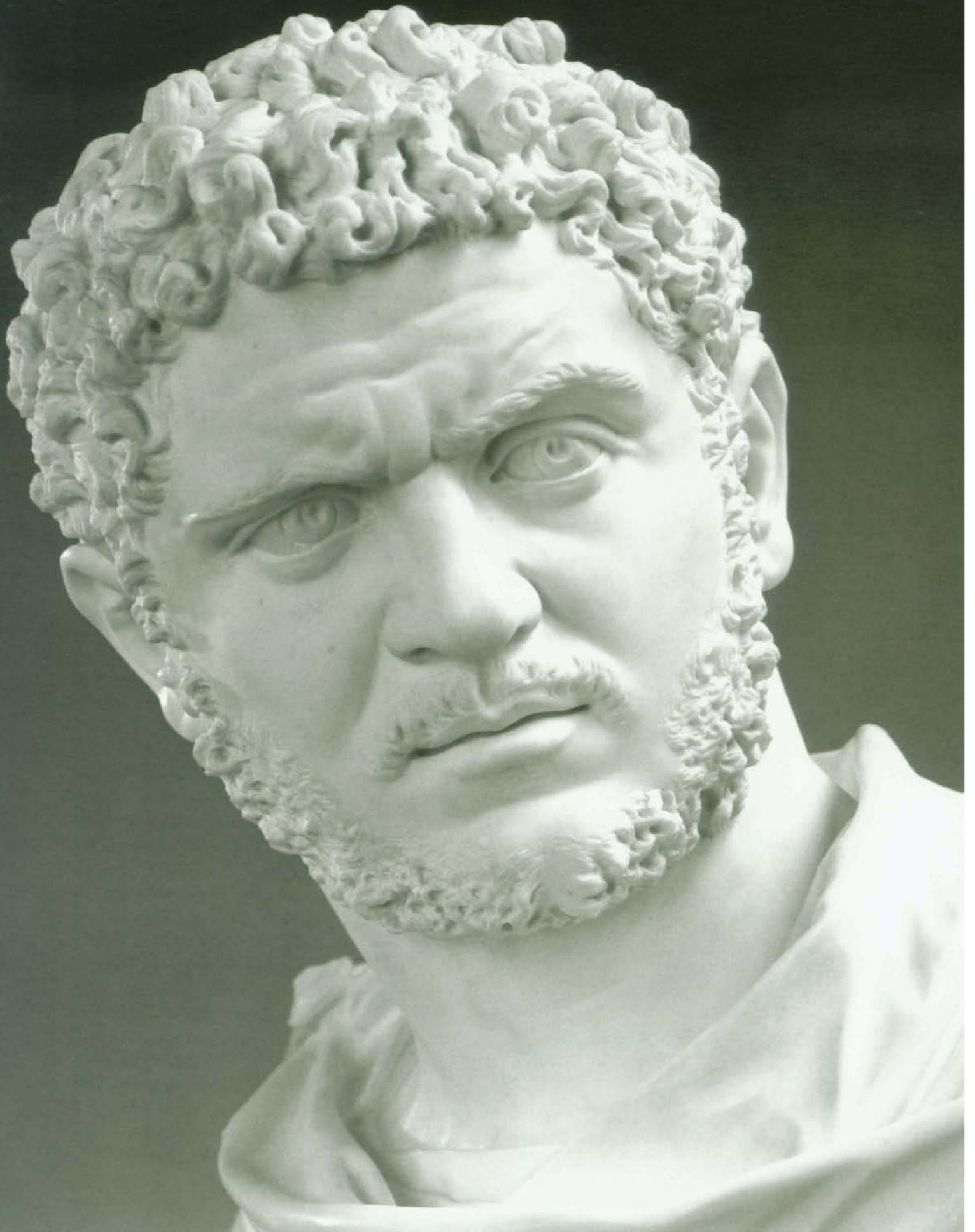
BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI'S SIGNED *Bust of Emperor Caracalla* is a copy of an ancient portrait of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 188–217), nicknamed Caracalla, who ruled the Roman empire from A.D. 211 until his assassination. Busts of Caracalla were popular in the eighteenth century, especially among English collectors.<sup>1</sup> The Getty marble is only one of many contemporaneous copies after the antique, for example, those executed for Woburn Abbey, Finchcox, Kent, and Ince Blundell Hall.<sup>2</sup> These copies all derive from the same or similar prototypes. Characteristic of these portraits, in which Caracalla dons the cuirass and toga of a Roman soldier, are the simple, compact volumes; strong turn of the head; furrowed brow; tense facial features; and almost scowling expression. The fascination with this bust type no doubt derived from its forceful evocation of ancient history as well as its obvious aesthetic appeal, which Johann Joachim Winckelmann ranked as being worthy of Lysippus.<sup>3</sup>

Cavaceppi seldom signed his copies after the antique. Among his other rare signed copies are the *Bust of Faustina the Younger* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the *Bust of the Blind Homer* from the Wallmoden collection.<sup>4</sup> The prominence of the artist's signature on the front of the Getty bust may indicate his pride in the quality of its carving,

which is exceptional within Cavaceppi's oeuvre. Other versions of Caracalla's portrait by Cavaceppi include a marble bust, possibly identifiable as the Getty bust, in the sculptor's possession when he died;<sup>5</sup> a reduced model after the antique, identified by Carlo Gasparri as one of the "Dodici Cesari in bustini" listed in Cavaceppi's studio and now in a private collection;<sup>6</sup> and a restored antique bust made for Charles Townley, now in the British Museum, London.<sup>7</sup> In this last example the head, purportedly excavated in Rome in 1776, is much more frontal than that in the Getty example, and the modern chest differs in its drapery and truncation.

The dating of the Getty bust remains problematic. According to the stylistic chronology put forth by Seymour Howard, as Cavaceppi matured, his restorations and copies became more and more constrained in their volumes, shallower in their modeling, homogeneous in the finish of their surfaces, and suppressed in their colorism.<sup>8</sup> Cavaceppi's earlier work, by contrast, exhibits deeper modeling and a combination of polished and matte surfaces. Stylistically the Getty *Bust of Emperor Caracalla*, with its deep drill work and carving of the hair and beard creating dramatic contrasts with the smooth surfaces of the face and neck, would seem

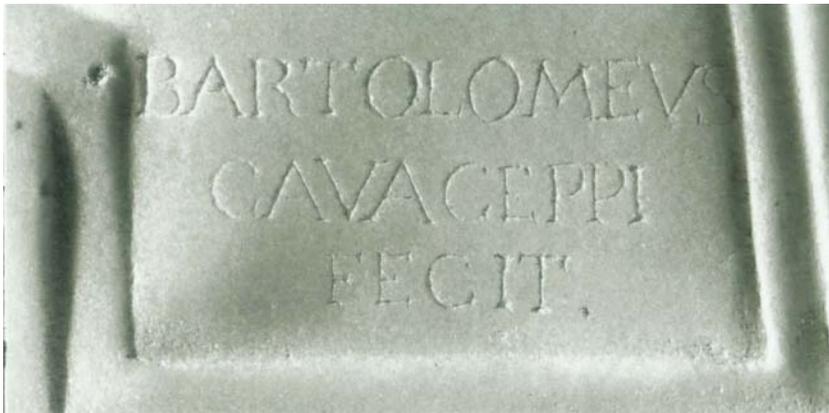




38A Detail, head



38B *Bust of Caracalla*, Roman. Marble. H: 60 cm (23 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.).  
Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6033.



38c Detail, signature

to belong to Cavaceppi's early years, before the end of the 1760s. This conclusion has no documentary basis, however, and it may not be possible to assign a more specific and accurate date to the bust without further information on its commission and provenance.

The prototype for Cavaceppi's marble and similar copies has traditionally been identified as Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's *Bust of Caracalla*, which stood in the family's Roman palace in the mid-sixteenth century and is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (FIG. 38B).<sup>9</sup> The Farnese *Caracalla* gained a reputation, lasting centuries, as the primary, most beautiful ancient example of this portrait type. Although many scholars now doubt its ancient origins, the Farnese *Bust of Caracalla* was considered by eighteenth-century antiquarians to be the archetypal antique representation of that Roman emperor.<sup>10</sup> Bertrand Jestaz recently asserted that Cardinal Alessandro's marble had left the Palazzo Farnese in Rome by around 1570 and had been replaced by a different bust of Caracalla, in which the orientation of the costume was reversed.<sup>11</sup> This does not seem to be the case, however, since Jonathan Richardson, for example, clearly described the Farnese *Caracalla*—which is distinguished by the broken and restored tip of the nose—in 1722 in the Palazzo Farnese.<sup>12</sup> At any rate, other Caracalla portraits that accurately follow the Farnese type could be seen by Cavaceppi in Rome. For instance, a very good marble bust of Caracalla was in the Vatican collection and, considering Cavaceppi's position as primary restorer of antiquities for Cardinal Albani and the pope, would have been easily accessible.<sup>13</sup> Cavaceppi had a plaster cast of a Caracalla bust in his studio when he died, and one can reasonably assume that it was the same portrait type as that represented by the Vatican bust and copied in the Getty marble.<sup>14</sup>

PEGGY FOGELMAN

Notes

1. The popularity of the subject in Britain may have had to do with the fact that Caracalla was elected emperor at York, creating a circumstantial connection between that ruler and England, as suggested by J. Fleming and H. Honour, "Francis Harwood: An English Sculptor in XVIII Century Florence," *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin, 1968), vol. 1, 511.
2. The Caracalla at Woburn Abbey is signed by Laurent Delvaux and was probably executed in 1732 (C. Avery, *Studies in European Sculpture II* [London, 1988], fig. 4); the bust formerly at Finchcox, signed and dated 1763 by Francis Harwood, was sold at Christie's, New York, 1 June 1994, lot 103, and bought by Daniel Katz Ltd., London; the Caracalla bust made for Henry Blundell is now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (*Supplementary Foreign Catalogue, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool* [Liverpool, 1984], 37, no. 10336). It is described by S. Howard ("Ancient Busts and the Cavaceppi and Albacini Casts," *Journal of the History of Collections* 3, no. 2 [1991]: 245), R. Roani Villani ("Copie dall'antico: F. Harwood e G. B. Piamontini," *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s., nos. 43–47 [1993]: 110, n. 23), and J. Fejfer ("The Roman Portraits from the Ince Blundell Collection," *Journal of the History of Collections* 3, no. 2 [1991]: 246, pl. 10) as being signed F.H. by Harwood, but the Liverpool catalogue makes no mention of a signature or specific attribution. A version of the Caracalla bust by Joseph Claus, signed and dated *Josephus Claus fecit 1757* and i.c., sold at Sotheby's, London, 7 December 1995, lot 96. An unattributed version of the bust is in the Palais de Rohan in Strasbourg.
3. J. J. Winckelmann, *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi*, ed. C. Fea (Rome, 1783–84), vol. 2, 131.
4. The Philadelphia bust, inv. 1978-70-130, is reproduced in S. Howard, "Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and the Origins of Neo-classical Sculpture," *Art Quarterly* 33 (summer 1970): 123, fig. 8, and mentioned by C. Picon, in *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi*, exh. cat. (London: Clarendon Gallery, 1983), 66, where it is incorrectly cited as being in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. For the Wallmoden bust, see *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Wallmoden: Ausstellung zum Gedenken an Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812)*, exh. cat. (Göttingen: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Göttingen, 1979), 94–96, no. 52.
5. "Libro delle sculture della collezione Cavaceppi che sono in società delli Signori Marchese Torlonia, Vincenzo Pacetti e Giuseppe Valadier," no. 982, published in Carlo Gasparri and Olivia Ghiandoni, *Lo studio Cavaceppi e le collezioni Torlonia* (Rome, 1994), 277. The possible connection between the Getty bust and this inventory item was first made by Maria Giulia Barberini (correspondence, 8 November 1994, JPM object file).
6. Ghiandoni, *Lo studio Cavaceppi*, 39, 282, fig. 39.
7. *The British Museum: The Townley Gallery* (London, 1836), vol. 2, 51; attributed to Cavaceppi by S. Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth-Century Restorer* (New York and London, 1982), 264, no. 12.
8. Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi*, 226.



38D Profile from proper right

9. Inv. 6033; see A. Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli: Antichità* (Naples, 1911), 235–36; J. J. Bernouilli, *Römische Ikonographie* (Hildesheim, 1969), vol. 2, pt. 3, 50; F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1981), 172, who mistakenly illustrate another bust of Caracalla in Naples, inv. 6088 (see below, note 11); A. Hekler, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer* (Stuttgart, 1912), XLV, fig. 290; H. B. Wiggers, *Caracalla, Geta, Plautilla* (Berlin, 1971), 70; K. Fittschen, "Sul ruolo del ritratto antico nell'arte italiana," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. 2 (Turin, 1985), 406–7. For the Farnese provenance, see *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia* (Florence and Rome, 1878), vol. 1, p. 73; B. Jestaz, ed., *L'inventaire du Palais et des propriétés Farnèse à Rome en 1644* (Rome, 1980), 186, no. 4506, and note; C. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese* (Weinheim, 1989), 58, no. 10.



38E Back view



38F Profile from proper left

10. For example, Jonathan Richardson (*An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy* [London, 1722], 50, 150, 282) upheld the Farnese bust as the standard of comparison for all other busts of Caracalla, taking for granted its unchallenged authenticity.
11. B. Jestaz, "Copies d'antiques au Palais Farnèse," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 105 (1993): 37–41. Based on his analysis of the Farnese inventories, Jestaz concluded that Cardinal Alessandro's marble (now inv. 6033 in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples) was sent to a Farnese residence outside Rome. Later the Farnese acquired a second marble Caracalla bust (now inv. 6088 in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale)—in which the costume and orientation were exactly the reverse of the first bust—to decorate their Roman palace.
12. Richardson (*Some of the Statues*, 150) described the bust as "Caracalla, the famous one, of Parian marble; End of the nose broke

of [sic], but well restored." Jestaz ("Copies d'antiques," 40) assumed that eighteenth-century visitors, antiquarians, and critics all saw the second marble—with the reversed orientation—and confused it with the first, thereby transferring the brilliant reputation of Cardinal Alessandro's *Bust of Caracalla* onto the bust acquired later. Some of them, however, like Richardson (whose father had a cast of this portrait type), saw busts of Caracalla in the Florentine ducal collection, the Chigi palace in Rome, and the Farnese palace in close enough succession that they would likely have noticed the differences among them.

13. Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti, 292. See Wiggers, *Caracalla, Geta, Plautilla*, 82–83.
14. Howard, "Ancient Busts," 210, no. 219.

## ANTONIO CANOVA

Possagno 1757–Venice 1822; active in Rome

*Apollo Crowning Himself*

1781–82

Marble

H: 84.7 cm (33 3/8 in.)

W: 41.9 cm (16 1/2 in.)

D: 26.4 cm (10 3/8 in.)

95.SA.71

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Signed and dated on the tree trunk, ANT.

CANOVA / VENET. FACIEB. / 1781.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The figure and its base are carved out of a single block of fine-grained Carrara marble. Large-grain inclusions are visible on the surface of the marble in several locations, for example, in the center of the forehead and on the top of the proper left hand. Varying degrees of polish and tool-mark patterning were used by the sculptor to differentiate the surface textures. Acid cleaning has softened some of these contrasts. The penis is a replacement, and there are minor losses to the lyre and the laurel wreath.

## PROVENANCE

Don Abbondio Rezzonico (d. 1810), Rome, from 1781, bequeathed to Filippo Bernardo Orsini; Filippo Bernardo Orsini, former duke of Gravina; collection of Baron Martial Daru of Montpellier, by 1816, who took the sculpture to France some time before 1824; duke of Treviso; M. Chassinat-Gigot, Paris (sold, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 17 April 1951, lot 73, to Fabius Frères); Fabius Frères, Paris, sold to George Encil, 1957; George Encil, Freeport, the Bahamas (sale, Sotheby's, London, 13 December 1990, lot 94, unsold); Rainer Zietz Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995.

## EXHIBITIONS

*Antonio Canova*, Museo Correr, Venice, 22 March–30 September 1992, no. 121.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

G. G. de' Rossi, "Sopra il gruppo del Tesco vincitore del Minotauro," in *Memorie per servire alla storia letteraria e civile* (Venice, 1796), 56; F. Tadini, *Le sculture e le pitture di Antonio Canova, pubblicate fino a quest'anno 1795* (Venice, 1796), 37; "Abbozzo di biografia di Antonio Canova" (c. 1804), manuscript in the Biblioteca Civica of Bassano del Grappa, published in *Studi Canoviani* (Rome, 1973), 229; C. F. Fernow, "Über der Bildhauer Canova und diesen Werke," *Römische Studien* (Zurich, 1806), vol. 1, 75–76; A. Neumayr, *Illustrazione del Prato della Valle* (Padua, 1807), 329; *Catalogo cronologico delle sculture di Antonio Canova pubblicato dietro richiesta di S.A.R. il Principe di Baviera* (Rome, 1817), 4; P. A. Paravia, *Notizie intorno alla vita di Antonio Canova* (Venice, 1822), 53; L. Cicognara, *Biografia di Antonio Canova* (Venice, 1823), 13, 58, 82; G. Falier, *Memorie per servire alla vita del Marchese Antonio Canova* (Venice, 1823), 19, n. 1; I. Albrizzi Teotochi, *Opere di scultura e di plastica di Antonio Canova* (Pisa, 1824), vol. 4, 102–4; L. Cicognara, *Storia della scultura* (Prato, 1824), vol. 7, 258; M. Missirini, *Della vita di Antonio Canova libri quattro* (Prato, 1824), 42, 500; G. Rosini, *Saggio sulla vita e sulle opere di Antonio Canova* (Pisa, 1825), 8; H. Moses, *The Works of Antonio Canova . . . Engraved in Outline* (London, 1828), unpaginated; A. C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Canova et ses ouvrages* (Paris, 1834), 26–27; A. d'Este, *Memorie di Antonio Canova* (Florence, 1864), 26, 303; V. Malamani, *Canova* (Milan, 1911), 19; A. Muñoz, "Le prime opere di Antonio Canova," *Capitolium* 7, no. 3 (1931): 122; E. Bassi, *Canova* (Bergamo, 1943), 15; G. Fallani, *Canova* (Bergamo, 1949), 17; M. Rossi, *Catalogo illustrato delle opere di Antonio Canova* (Treviso, 1950), 45; E. Bassi, *La Gipsoteca di Possagno* (Venice, 1957), 49–50; A. Muñoz, *Antonio Canova* (Rome, 1957), 22; H. Honour, "Antonio Canova and the Anglo-Romans, Part II: The First Years in Rome," *Connoisseur* 144 (January 1960): 225; V. Martinelli, "Canova e la forma

neoclassica," *Veltro* 4 (July 1960): 22; G. Hubert, *La sculpture dans l'Italie napoléonienne* (Paris, 1964), 69; G. C. Argan, *Antonio Canova* (Rome, 1969), 20, 105; H. Honour, "Canova's Theseus and Minotaur," *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook* 1 (1969): 4–5; G. Pavanello, *L'opera completa del Canova* (Milan, 1976), 91, no. 19; E. Noè, "Rezzonorum cineres: Ricerche sulla collezione Rezzonico," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 3 (1980): 292; idem, "Il testamento di Abbondio Rezzonico," *Arte veneta* 36 (1982): 271; G. Pavanello, "Antonio Canova: Apollo Crowning Himself," in *Experience and Adventures of a Collector* (Paris, 1989), 350–61; idem, "Una scheda per l' 'Apollo che si incorona' di Antonio Canova," *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s., nos. 35–38 (1990): 4–12; "J. Paul Getty Museum: Apollo," *J. Paul Getty Trust Report* (1995–96): 21; "Acquisitions/1995," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996): 138–39, no. 89; "Acquisitions/ Sculpture," *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar*, spring 1996, unpaginated; "Museum Acquisitions," *Getty Bulletin* 10 (summer 1996): 17; G. Pavanello, "Antonio Canova," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 5, 626; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 24, 47; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 13; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 271; "Selected Acquisitions Made by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995–97," *Burlington Magazine* 139 (December 1997): 823; J. Walsh and D. Gribbon, *The J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Collections: A Museum for the New Century* (Los Angeles, 1997), 207; P. Fogelman, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 102–3; C. M. S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1998), 48–49, fig. 20.



THIS STATUETTE OF APOLLO, begun in 1781 and completed in February 1782,<sup>1</sup> was Antonio Canova's earliest Roman work in marble and, as his first full-fledged Neoclassicizing sculpture, marked a stylistic turning point in his career.<sup>2</sup> The figure served as an exemplar of the classically inspired, graceful style that would become his trademark for the next forty years. Although not entirely successful in its resolution of antique models and Rococo sentiment, *Apollo* was the first major step in Canova's establishment of an ideal, heroic male type using a Neoclassical idiom.

The circumstances of the *Apollo's* execution are well known and extensively published.<sup>3</sup> During Canova's second trip to Rome in the spring of 1781, he was asked to model a statuette of Apollo for Don Abbondio Rezzonico, the nephew of the Venetian pope Clement XIII, who would prove to be an influential patron and close friend of the sculptor in the following years.<sup>4</sup> Canova produced a plaster, which survives at Possagno,<sup>5</sup> and carved the Getty marble while he was awaiting the arrival of the block for *Theseus and the Minotaur*.<sup>6</sup> The *Apollo* commission appears to have been calculated to give Canova an opportunity to prove himself, to demonstrate his assimilation of the forms and principles of the ancient art he had studied firsthand in Rome. To this end his statuette was judged<sup>7</sup> in relation to a now lost figure of *Minerva Pacifica* by Giuseppe Angelini,<sup>8</sup> a slightly older Roman sculptor who had already established himself as a Neoclassicist in the Anglo-Roman circle to which Canova was introduced. The size of the *Apollo*, as well as the subject, must have been specified by Rezzonico, because Canova early on recognized his own preference and talent for life-size figures and almost never again produced a marble statuette on this scale.<sup>9</sup>

One aspect of the commission is, however, still ambiguous. Authors seem to disagree as to whether Angelini's sculpture was executed in marble or whether the competition took place between two plaster models and then Canova, as the victor, was given a marble block to realize his creation in a more permanent and costly material.<sup>10</sup> If Canova's early biographers can be believed, there are several reasons to adopt the latter hypothesis. Both Leopoldo Cicognara and Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy suggest that Canova gave the marble statuette of Apollo to Rezzonico as a gift, implying that the marble was Canova's to keep if he



39A Profile from proper right



39B Back view



39C Profile from proper left



39D Detail, signature

wished and was therefore a sort of reward.<sup>11</sup> Quatremère de Quincy further states that Canova intended to execute a pendant to the *Apollo* according to the advice of the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Zulian. Canova's proposition of a paired statuette would seem less likely if a pendant in marble already existed. Lastly, the complete disappearance of Angelini's *Minerva* and its absence from Rezzonico's will, which leaves Canova's statuette to the former duke of Gravina, is more understandable if the *Minerva* remained in a preparatory state.<sup>12</sup>

Although Rezzonico presumably chose Apollo as the subject of Canova's statuette, the sculptor seems to have had ample freedom in determining the god's specific appearance and action. Canova derived the details of his theme from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.557–59), in which Apollo laments the loss of his beloved Daphne, now a laurel tree, with the following words: "Since thou canst not be my bride, thou shalt at least be my tree. My hair, my lyre, my quiver shall always be entwined with thee, O laurel."<sup>13</sup> As Faustino Tadini explained in 1795, the poems of Giambattista Marino (1569–1625), which describe the particular gesture of Apollo placing a laurel wreath on his head, must have provided further inspiration for Canova's composition.<sup>14</sup> Canova focused on a moment of calm stasis in an otherwise action-packed drama. The choice of a standing figure at rest, devoid of extreme motion or emotion, underscores its purpose as a

demonstration of Canova's progress toward the classicizing ideals promulgated by Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Canova's selection is also, however, characteristic of the sculptor's later work. In general, he seems to have preferred poignant, introspective scenes just before or following the climactic moment in a dramatic sequence. For example, *Theseus and the Minotaur* depicts the hero after he has conquered the Minotaur, and in *Perseus* the hero raises the head of Medusa, whom he has already vanquished.<sup>15</sup> Among the rare exceptions are *Hercules and Lichas* and *The Boxers* (*Creugante and Damosseno*), which are, arguably, two of Canova's least successful works.<sup>16</sup>

The Getty *Apollo* is a study in classical pose and proportion. *Apollo* raises his left arm to crown himself with laurel leaves and leans on a tree stump with his right arm as he steps slightly forward, bending his right leg. His stance conforms to a canonical contrapposto in which tensed limbs are opposite relaxed limbs and the body reposes in harmonious equilibrium animated by the subtle diagonal shift in the figure's weight. As is appropriate for a demonstration piece, the Getty *Apollo* emulates several ancient prototypes without copying any of them exactly, in an effort to rival rather than imitate the antique. The *Apollo Belvedere*, which Canova studied and sketched during his first visit to Rome in 1779 to 1780, provided an obvious precedent for the broad musculature, the turn of the head, and the forward step of Canova's statuette.<sup>17</sup> As Giuseppe Pavanello pointed out, the gesture of the bent, raised arm may be derived from the so-called *Apollino* in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence, which was sometimes paired in eighteenth-century literature with the *Apollo Belvedere* and which would have been well known to Canova from a plaster cast in the Galleria Farsetti in Venice.<sup>18</sup>

The close relationship in pose, musculature, and figure type between Canova's marble and the *Statue of a Young Athlete* (FIG. 39E) in the garden of the Palazzo Quirinale in Rome has not previously been noted.<sup>19</sup> The positioning of the *Athlete's* legs and arms (the arms in reverse) is so strikingly similar, however, that its influence on Canova is difficult to discount. The Quirinale statue was identified as an Apollo and served as a focal point for the Fountain of Apollo as early as the sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Canova went to the Quirinale (or Monte Cavallo, as he referred to it) to study and draw several times during his first Roman sojourn.<sup>21</sup>



39E *Statue of a Young Athlete*. Marble. H: 147 cm (57<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). Rome, Palazzo Quirinale.  
Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

Hugh Honour has suggested that Canova's *Apollo* was derived from Anton Raphael Mengs's portrayal of the god in his *Parnassus* ceiling in the Villa Albani.<sup>22</sup> The parallels between the two may, however, be the result of common antique prototypes. At any rate, the anatomy and stance of Canova's more heroic *Apollo* represent a vast improvement over Mengs's rather vapid, mincing god.

Canova had depicted the subject of Apollo once before in his career, in a terra-cotta model presented to the Venetian Academy on the occasion of Canova's admission as a member in 1779. The terra-cotta is preserved there today.<sup>23</sup>

He had most likely sculpted the model the year before, for a series of garden statues commissioned by Ludovico Rezzonico, the Venetian procurator. The terra-cotta relies heavily on the famous precedent by Gianlorenzo Bernini.<sup>24</sup> Although still enthralled with Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* when he saw it in the Villa Borghese on March 11, 1780,<sup>25</sup> Canova understandably rejected it as a source for the Getty *Apollo*, his Neoclassical showpiece.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

Notes

1. See Canova's letters to Giuseppe Falier, published in G. Falier, *Memorie*, 19–20, and Cicognara, *Biografia*, 82.
2. C. L. Fernow, "Über den Bildhauer Canova und dessen Werke," *Römische Studien* (Zurich, 1806), 75–76; "Abozzo di biografia di Antonio Canova," published in *Studi Canoviani: 1, Le Fonti; 2, Canova e Venezia* (Rome, 1973), 229.
3. For citations and excerpts of the references to Canova's *Apollo* and its commission, see Pavanello, "Una scheda per l'Apollo," 11–12. Pavanello misread the catalogue of the Galerie Charpentier sale of 1952, which included the *Apollo* (*Tableaux anciens, tableaux modernes, objets d'art et de bel ameublement, estampes*, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 27 April 1951, lot 73), stating that the marble was in the collection of a "M. S. d'H." The catalogue reads "M. R. d'H." Furthermore, the Canova *Apollo* is included under a different heading, which reads "Appartenant à divers." Thus Pavanello was mistaken in placing the marble in the collection of Marcel Schwob d'Héricourt. This error was repeated in subsequent references to the *Apollo*.
4. On Rezzonico's friendship with Canova, see Pavanello, "Apollo Crowning Himself," 350, and on the friendship as expressed in Rezzonico's last will and testament, see Noè, "Testamento di Abbonio Rezzonico," 268, 271. See also Johns, *Canova and the Politics of Patronage*, 48, 51.
5. For Canova's plaster model of the *Apollo*—which is in the Gipsoteca at Possagno, is missing its head and proper left hand, and wears a fig leaf—see E. Bassi, *Antonio Canova a Possagno* (Treviso, n.d.), 21, no. 2; idem, *Canova*, 15; *Il settecento a Roma*, exh. cat. (Rome: Associazione Amici dei Musei di Roma, 1959), 76, no. 125; C. Vermeule, *European Art and the Classical Past* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 135, fig. 111; Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 91, no. 20.
6. D'Este, *Memorie*, 26; Honour, "Canova's Theseus," 4.
7. See, for example, Canova's letter to Giuseppe Falier in Cicognara, *Biografia*, 83; d'Este, *Memorie*, 26–27; Honour, "Canova's Theseus," 4.
8. For Angelini's biography and the most complete bibliography to date, see M. Pepe, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1961), vol. 3, 214–15.
9. Tadini, *Le sculture e le pitture*, 37. One rare exception is the marble reduction of his *Orpheus* (140 cm high) in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 89, no. 7).
10. A. Muñoz (*Antonio Canova: Le opere* [Rome, s.d.], 22, and "Le prime opere," 122) implies that both Canova's and Angelini's sculptures may have been in marble. Bassi, in her 1943 monograph (*Canova*, 15), states that two marble statuettes were commissioned and that a comparison was made between Canova's and Angelini's marble figures; in 1957 the same author clearly specified that the commissioning of Canova's figure in marble was the result of his success in the competition with Angelini, thereby implying that Angelini's *Minerva* never made it past the model stage. Hugh Honour (correspondence, 25 November 1995, JPM object file) believes that Angelini's *Minerva* was marble. Other sources, including the artist himself, are vague on this point.
11. Cicognara, *Biografia*, 13; Quatremère de Quincy, *Canova et ses ouvrages*, 27.
12. Noè, "Testamento di Abbonio Rezzonico," 271.
13. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. F. J. Miller (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1977), 41.
14. Tadini, *Le sculture e le pitture*, 37. Marino's poetry as a source for Canova's *Apollo* is further elaborated in Pavanello, "Apollo Crowning Himself," 353.
15. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and Vatican Museums, Rome, respectively; see Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 91–93, no. 21, 104–5, no. 121.
16. In the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, and the Vatican Museums, Rome, respectively; see *ibid.*, 106–7, no. 131, 105–6, nos. 126, 129.
17. Canova mentions his study of the *Apollo Belvedere* in several diary entries, in *I quaderni di viaggio (1779–1780)*, ed. E. Bassi (Venice, 1959), 28, 38, 42, 113, 139.
18. Pavanello, "Una scheda per l'Apollo," 8. For the *Apollino*, see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1981), 146–48; for its association with the *Apollo Belvedere*, see L. Lanzi, *Giornale de' letterati* (Pisa, 1782), 175, and T. B. Éméric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire chez les anciens et chez les modernes* (Paris, 1805), 337.
19. L. Guerrini and C. Gasparri, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale: Catalogo delle sculture* (Rome, 1993), 15–20, no. 1. The restorations to the statue were already in place when Canova would have seen it.
20. C. Baggio and P. Zampa, "Le Fontane del Quirinale nel Codice Barberiniano Latino 4409 alla Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," *Bollettino d'arte* 30 (March–April 1985): 85–94; J. Wasserman, "The Quirinal Palace in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 45 (September 1963): 212.
21. Canova, *Quaderni di viaggio*, 116, 122, 123, 126, 133.
22. Honour, "Canova and the Anglo-Romans," 225.
23. Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 90, no. 12; *Antonio Canova*, exh. cat. (Venice: Museo Correr, 1992), 159, no. 77.
24. Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* was available to Canova in the form of a small plaster replica in the Galleria Farsetti (Pavanello, "Una scheda per l'Apollo," 9).
25. Canova, *Quaderni di viaggio*, 103.



39F Detail, face in profile

## ANTONIO CANOVA

Possagno 1757–Venice 1822; active in Rome

*Herm of a Vestal Virgin*

1821–22

Marble

H: 49.8 cm (19 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.)W: 31.9 cm (12 $\frac{3}{16}$  in.)D: 24.1 cm (9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.)

85.SA.353

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Inscribed on front, VESTALIS.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The bust and its termination are carved from a single block of fine-grained white marble. Two types of graining appear in the stone: yellow- to gray-colored grain lines running diagonally across the bust and a colorless grain, which appears darker due to accumulated dirt, running horizontally through the stone. A brown staining occurs on the surface of the marble in certain areas and may be the result of an earlier coating or treatment. The face and front of the bust have been more finely polished than the rest of the marble and have a milky translucency

that is not the result of waxing or application of any surface coating. Examination under visible light, magnification, and long-wave ultraviolet (UV) light revealed no coating on the surface.

## PROVENANCE

Possibly commissioned by Cavalier Paolo Marulli d'Ascoli, Naples, from 1822 until at least 1845; purportedly by inheritance to the heirs of Sebastiano Marulli and Carolina Berio, Naples, until 1937; Fabian Walter, Basel, 1937, sold to Capricorn Art International S.A.; Capricorn Art International S.A., Chiasso, Switzerland, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

None.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Cicognara, *Biografia di Antonio Canova* (Venice, 1823), 69; L. Cicognara, *Storia della scultura* (Prato, 1824), vol. 7, 268; M. Missirini, *Della vita di Antonio Canova* (Prato, 1824), 513; D. Anselmi, *Opere scelte di Antonio Canova* (Naples, 1842), 216; *Napoli e i luoghi celebri delle sue vicinanze* (Naples, 1845), vol. 2, 338; A. d'Este, *Memorie di Antonio Canova* (Florence,

1864), 346; D. Fastidio, "La quadreria di casa Marulli a Napoli nel 1825," *Napoli nobilissima* 7 (January 1898): 182–83; A. Borzelli, *Le relazioni del Canova con Napoli* (Naples, 1900), 38; L. Coletti, "Unknown Works of Antonio Canova," *Art in America* 16 (February 1928): 80–83; G. Hubert, *La sculpture dans l'Italie napoléonienne* (Paris, 1964), 474; G. Pavanello, *L'opera completa del Antonio Canova* (Milan, 1976), 132, no. 330; "Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 263, no. 251; "Marble Bust of a Vestal," *Good Life*, 6–12 November 1986, 3; "Il Canova del Getty," *Giornale dell'arte* 5 (March 1987): 25; sale cat., Christie's, London, 24 September 1987, lot 153 (note); F. Mazzocca, in *Antonio Canova*, exh. cat. (Venice: Museo Correr, 1992), 332, no. 150; P. Fogelman, "'S'eri tu in viso qual ti feo Canova': Canova's *Herm of a Vestal Virgin*," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994): 43–55; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 13; M. R. Figueiredo, *Calouste Gulbenkian Museum: European Sculpture*, vol. 2 (Lisbon, 1999), 88, 90, 92, 93, fig. 99.

CANOVA IS KNOWN TO HAVE EXECUTED, toward the end of his life, three marble busts or herms depicting a Vestal Virgin that are recorded by his early biographers.<sup>1</sup> The first, done in 1819 for Frederick Webb of London, was described as a "herm of the Tuccia Vestal." Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi in 1824 published an engraving of the *Tuccia Vestal* that closely resembled Canova's contemporaneous bust of the poet Corinne, with a crown of curls peeking out of her fringed head wrap.<sup>2</sup> Ignoring or dismissing as incorrect Albrizzi's engraving of the *Tuccia Vestal*, some scholars suggest—on the basis of its inscription, TVCIA VESTALIS, and its English provenance—that a bust in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, may be identical with the 1819 Webb marble.<sup>3</sup> Canova executed another marble Vestal in 1819 for the banker Luigi Uboldi of Milan. It is usually identified, without documentation, as a bust in the Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Milan.<sup>4</sup> Canova made his third and last marble bust of a Vestal for Cavalier Paolo Marulli d'Ascoli of Naples.<sup>5</sup> According to

documents discovered by Hugh Honour in the archive at Bassano del Grappa,<sup>6</sup> Marulli first approached Canova in 1817 through the agency of Giuseppe Capecelatro, the ex-bishop of Taranto. Although desirous of a full-length statue, Marulli agreed in a letter dated December 28, 1821, to accept instead a herm of a Vestal.<sup>7</sup> Marulli may have received the bust as early as January 18, 1822.<sup>8</sup> It was still in his house in Naples in 1845.<sup>9</sup> This bust can most likely be identified with the Getty *Herm of a Vestal Virgin*, which purportedly came from the descendants of the patron, the Marulli-Berio family, as recently as 1937.<sup>10</sup> Although its provenance from the Marulli-Berio collection was not documented and therefore cannot be confirmed, the exceptional quality of the carving and surface treatment in the Getty *Vestal* upholds its status as one of the three original versions executed by Canova.

A pointed plaster model that must have served for the Getty *Vestal* survives at the Gipsoteca of Possagno



VESTALIS



40A Profile from proper right



40B Back view



40C Profile from proper left

(FIG. 40D).<sup>11</sup> The Possagno model is truncated just below the lowest fold of drapery at the chest and does not exhibit the sharp vertical cut on the front of the base present in the Getty marble, explaining variations in the terminations of the extant *Vestal* busts that may have been roughed out from this model.<sup>12</sup> Despite the fact that only three *Vestals* are known with certainty to have been created by Canova, at least nine versions resembling the Getty bust exist today in either marble or plaster.<sup>13</sup> Although most are universally regarded as copies, their exact relation to the output of Canova's studio both before and after his death has not been determined.<sup>14</sup> Canova was not only aware of but also encouraged the copying of his sculptures during his lifetime, helping younger artists secure commissions for replicas, giving them advice, and even supplying them with plaster casts.<sup>15</sup> In addition, copies were commissioned and produced after his death, in some cases perhaps with direct access to his original plaster<sup>16</sup> or to the sixteen busts "modeled to be sculpted," which were found in the studio.<sup>17</sup>

The Getty *Herm of a Vestal Virgin* belongs to a category of Canova's sculpture known as the "ideal heads" (*teste ideali*), a term Canova himself used in a letter to his friend Leopoldo Cicognara.<sup>18</sup> Canova began producing these heads in 1811 and continued sculpting them until his death.<sup>19</sup> The subjects of the ideal heads can be divided into three broad groupings: subjects derived from Greek or Roman mythology or religion (Muses such as Clio, Calliope, and Erato; Helen of Sparta; Vestal Virgins); imaginary portraits of historical or literary personalities (women associated with famous Italian poets, such as Beatrice, Laura, Eleanora d'Este, and Lucrezia d'Este; Greek poetesses such as Corinne and Sappho); allegorical heads representing abstract concepts (Gratitude, Peace, Philosophy); and, finally, miscellaneous female heads, the subjects of which have not been specified or are fairly generic in nature (such as a head of a dancer).<sup>20</sup> Canova sculpted these heads with *amore caldissimo*,<sup>21</sup> and they became for him exercises in the portrayal of ideal beauty, removed from the irregularities of individualized nature but informed by the principles of nature generalized and perfected.<sup>22</sup>

The Vestal Virgin was an extremely popular subject in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,<sup>23</sup> due in part to the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii and the discovery



40D Antonio Canova. *Herm of a Vestal Virgin*, 1818–19. Pointed plaster model. H: 45 cm (17¾ in.); W: 33 cm (13 in.); D: 25 cm (9¾ in.). Possagno, Fondazione Canova di Possagno inv. 267.

at the latter site of what became known as the House of the Vestals.<sup>24</sup> The Vestal Virgin was also, in a sense, the ideal subject for the portrayal of ideal beauty. In order to be appointed as a priestess of the goddess Vesta, a young girl had to be perfect in form and mind; she could have no speech impediment, no hearing impairment, no corporal blemish, and no other bodily defect.<sup>25</sup> In addition, she had to be a virgin and remain chaste throughout her service on penalty of death. By choosing a Vestal for one of his ideal heads, Canova indulged and exploited the concept of perfection inherent and necessary to the subject in order to make his own statement about ideal beauty.

Although undoubtedly inspired by ancient sculpture, the Getty bust has no exact precedent in the numerous depictions of Vestals in statuary, gems, and coinage known to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarians.<sup>26</sup> Canova's *Vestal* most closely resembles a bust in Naples, the so-called *Zingarella* (or young gypsy woman; FIG. 40E),<sup>27</sup> which may portray a dancer and was well known by the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> In 1722 Jonathan Richardson identified this bust, then in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, as a Vestal, suggesting that Canova's appropriation of the bust's drapery for his own *Herm of a Vestal Virgin* may have had a thematic as well as a formal motivation.<sup>29</sup>

Canova experimented with various neo-Renaissance and classicizing bust forms in the course of his career.<sup>30</sup> After 1819 he increasingly used the herm termination for his ideal heads, as in the Getty *Vestal*.<sup>31</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century, the rise of Neoclassicism, the discovery of archeological finds from new excavation sites, and a more literal adherence to antique forms contributed to the increased popularity of herm busts. The traditional formula of a truncated bust on a socle was identified as Roman rather than Greek, and proponents of a "purer," Grecian brand of Neoclassicism advocated the herm format as aesthetically preferable.<sup>32</sup> Regardless of its reference to antiquity, however, Canova's wrapping of the base of the Getty *Vestal*—the drapery envelops what is clearly a sculpted herm—is entirely modern in its self-conscious treatment of the bust as an object of sculpture rather than as a representational fragment of a real person.<sup>33</sup> Pushing to its limit an already abstract form, Canova placed his *Herm of a Vestal Virgin* squarely in the realm of art rather than life.

PEGGY FOGELMAN

Notes

1. For instance, Cicognara, *Biografia*, 68–69; Missirini, *Della vita*, 511, 513; Anzelmi, *Opere scelte*, 215–16. For a fuller discussion of these busts and their modern identifications, see Fogelman, “Canova’s *Herm*,” 43–49.
2. I. Teotochi Albrizzi, *Opere di scultura e di plastica di Antonio Canova* (Pisa, 1821–24), vol. 4, 9–10, pl. 114.
3. Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 131, no. 325; H. Honour, undated letter (JPGM object file). Calouste Gulbenkian acquired the bust at a London auction from the estate of Edward Arthur Vestey Stanley, heir to Henry Labouchère, the first Lord Taunton (Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, London, 16 July 1920, lot 3). The Gulbenkian bust (inv. 2214) is of poor aesthetic quality despite a distinguished provenance, and in light of the unresolved questions raised by Albrizzi’s alternative model for the *Tuccia*, the identification of the Webb *Vestal* as the Gulbenkian marble remains problematic.
4. See L. Caramel and C. Pirovano, *Galleria d’Arte Moderna: Opere dell’ottocento* (Milan, 1975), vol. 1, 38, no. 443, pl. 437.
5. V. Malamani, “Giustina Renier Michiel, i suoi amici, il suo tempo,” *Archivio veneto* 38 (1889): 311, lists another marble *Vestal* made by 1819 for an English patron named Baring, who could not be identified more specifically. Although Baring commissioned many works from Canova, no other source records a *Vestal* for him. It would seem that Malamani was mistaken.
6. Hugh Honour, correspondence, 13 January 1991 (JPGM object file), whom the author would like to thank for his help and generosity in sharing the contents of these documents.
7. Presumably because the price for a statue, 2,000 zecchini, was too high (Capecelatro to G. B. Sartori Canova, 15 July 1817; quoted by Honour, *ibid.*).
8. Coletti (“Unknown Works of Antonio Canova,” 80–83) cites a letter to Canova in the Bassano archive, dated January 18, 1822, in which Marulli acknowledges receipt of the *Vestal*. According to Honour (*ibid.*), however, the January 18 letter was actually sent to Canova from Carolina Berio, daughter of Canova’s deceased friend Francesco Berio and wife of Sebastiano Marulli. Carolina had contacted Canova the previous year about selling her father’s *Venus and Adonis* group by Canova. Possibly, as Honour suggests, the *Vestal* was given to Carolina and Paolo Marulli as part of the arrangement for the sale of the *Venus and Adonis*. Less likely is the possibility that Canova executed two different *Vestals*, for Carolina and for Marulli. Angelo Borzelli (*Relazioni del Canova*, 38) believes that Canova himself delivered the *Vestal* to Marulli when he visited Naples for the last time, in May 1822. In any case, Antonio d’Este’s statement that the *Vestal* owned by Marulli was sculpted in 1823 and therefore not by Canova is incorrect (*Memorie*, 346).
9. *Napoli e i luoghi celebri*, vol. 2, 338.
10. The bust passed to the heirs of Sebastiano Marulli, who in 1813 had married Carolina Berio, daughter of Francesco Berio, the duke of Salsa and Canova’s longtime friend and patron. The bust remained in the Marulli-Berio family until the early part of this century, when it was purportedly sold to Fabian Walter of Basel, Switzerland. The



40E *Bust of a Woman* (so-called *Zingarella*), Hellenistic. Marble. H: 49 cm (19<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6194.

- Museum acquired the bust from the art dealer who purchased it from Mr. Walter. The relationship between Paolo Marulli and the rest of the Marulli family, which is the line of the dukes of Ascoli and descends through Sebastiano, is unclear. Borzelli (*Relazioni del Canova*, 38, n. 4) believed that the *Vestal* was made for Sebastiano Marulli, thereby implying that Paolo and Sebastiano were really one and the same; as Honour has pointed out, however, Borzelli was often wrong. Pavanello (*Opera completa*, 132, no. 330) seems to agree since he identifies Paolo as the son-in-law of Marchese Berio, which Sebastiano certainly was. Hubert (*Sculpture*, 474) cites two heads of Muses also commissioned by Marulli from Canova, but such commissions are not corroborated by Canova's early biographers.
11. Inv. 267, 45 x 25 x 33 cm (17<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 13 in.); see E. Bassi, *La Gipsoteca di Possagno* (Venice, 1957), 237, and Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 131–32, no. 329.
  12. The Getty, Lisbon, and Milan versions of Canova's *Herm of a Vestal Virgin* all differ slightly from one another in their terminations. As Hugh Honour ("Canova's Studio Practice—II: 1792–1822," *Burlington Magazine* 114 [April 1972]: 225–26) points out, where multiple versions of a composition by Canova exist, they are usually roughed out from a single *modello* but may differ from it and from one another in detail.
  13. Besides the Lisbon and Milan marbles mentioned previously, they are: a plaster in the Museo Correr, Venice, 51 x 30 x 27 cm (20 x 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.), inscribed TVCIA VESTALIS on the front of the base, considered by Vittorio Malamani ("Giustina Renier Michiel," 310–11) and by Honour (letter, 5 December 1993, JPM object file) to be a cast from one of the marbles and of relatively low quality; a marble in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 91.9, H: 50.2 cm (19<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.), uninscribed, attributed to "Canova or his studio," but probably a later copy; a marble, called a "variant" of the Milan bust, formerly in the collection of Mario Ceconi di Monteccecon, 64 x 32 x 38 cm (25<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 12<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 14<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.) (A. Ottina della Chiesa, *L'età neoclassica in Lombardia* [Como, 1959], 149, no. 426); two marble *Vestals* attributed to Canova in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan (G. Galbiati, *Itinerario per il visitatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* [Milan, 1951], 113), which Hubert called "bad replicas" (*Sculpture*, 474), and which now appear to have been lost or destroyed during World War II (Dr. Angelo Paredi, letter, 8 January 1991, JPM object file); a marble in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (Hubert, *Sculpture*, 474, also called a "bad replica"); two plaster casts, painted black, purportedly in the Grand Hotel della Madonna del Rosario, Pompeii; a marble *Vestal*, 50 cm (19<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.) high, sold at Christie's, London, 24 September 1987, lot 153, uninscribed, catalogued as "nineteenth-century Italian . . . after Canova."
  14. Except in the case of the Correr plaster (see previous note), which was cast as a gift from the sculptor to Giustina Renier Michiel, author of the celebrated *Origine delle feste veneziane*. G. Pavanello (*Venezia nell'età di Canova*, exh. cat. [Venice: Museo Correr, 1978], 104, no. 143) cites a letter from Canova to Leopoldo Cicognara, first published by Vittorio Malamani (*Un'amicizia di Antonio Canova* [Castello, 1890], 117), in which Canova asked Cicognara to procure for him a copy of Giustina's book. Canova apparently gave Giustina plasters of both the *Vestal* and *Sappho* as a token of friendship. She thanked him in a July 15, 1821, letter now in the Bassano archives (Honour, letter, 5 December 1993, JPM object file). Her profusely laudatory response is further quoted by Malamani ("Giustina Renier Michiel," 309–10). The busts descended to the Donà dalle Rose collection (G. Lorenzetti and L. Planiscig, *La collezione dei Conti Donà dalle Rose a Venezia* [Venice, 1934], 46, pl. 51) and entered the Correr from that collection in 1935.
  15. Honour, "Canova's Studio Practice," 226.
  16. On the one hand, Honour (*ibid.*) raises the possibility that Raimondo Trentanove may have been allowed to use the plaster *modello* in Canova's studio when he made a marble copy of the *Vestal* for the duke of Devonshire. On the other hand, a reproduction of the *Vestal* made by Pompeo Marchesi shortly after Canova's death was exhibited at the Milan Academy, as the property of Count Giovanni Bertoglio ("Discorso letto nella grande aula dell'Imperiale Regio Palazzo," in *Atti dell'I. R. Accademia delle Belle Arti in Milano* [Milan, 1827], 50); it was probably executed without direct reference to Canova's *modello*. This bust may or may not be identical to Marchesi's copy of Canova's *Vestal* wearing a wreath of flowers on her head, which was in the collection of the dukes of Genoa (*Cultura figurativa e architettonica negli Stati del Re di Sardegna, 1773–1861* [Turin, 1980], vol. 2, no. 621) and sold at Sotheby's, London (2 July 1997, lot 253).
  17. Cicognara, *Biografia*, 71, mentions sixteen busts—"some ideal, some portraits"—found in Canova's studio upon his death, under the heading "Opere modellate per essere conservate e scolpite."
  18. Letter, 18 April 1818, referring to a head of Beatrice. Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 127, no. 289. On Canova's ideal heads, see *Canova: Ideal Heads*, exh. cat. (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1997); O. Stefani, *Antonio Canova: La statuaria* (Milan, 1999), 146–57.
  19. *Head of Clio or Calliope* (1811), in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier (Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 121, no. 235). Cicognara (*Storia della scultura*, 264) records the ideal heads as originating in 1814. For earlier male heads that might be categorized as ideal, see the following note.
  20. Conventionally *teste ideali* is a category used to refer to female heads. Canova did execute a male *Head of a Tomb Genius* (c. 1790, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage) and several versions of a bust of Paris (one of which, dated 1809, is now in the Art Institute of Chicago), however, that could be considered ideal. Ian Wardropper and Thomas Rolands ("Antonio Canova and Quatremère de Quincy: The Gift of Friendship," *Art Institute of Chicago: Museum Studies* 15 [1988–89]: 43) discuss the *Bust of Paris* as falling between various genres of Canova's work: preparatory study, copy, and ideal head. Both the *Head of a Tomb Genius* and the Hermitage *Bust of Paris* were included under the heading of ideal heads in the 1992 exhibition catalogue *Antonio Canova*, nos. 144, 152.

21. According to Canova's letter of 18 April 1818, cited in Pavanello, *Opera completa*, 127, no. 289.
22. Canova was no doubt influenced by the aesthetic theories of Quatremère de Quincy, for which see Wardropper and Rolands, "Antonio Canova and Quatremère de Quincy," 39–46, esp. 44–46; F. Will, "Two Critics of the Elgin Marbles: William Hazlitt and Quatremère de Quincy," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 14 (June 1956): 462–74; and M. Messina, "L'arte di Canova nella critica di Quatremère de Quincy," *Studi Canoviani* (Rome, 1973), 119–51.
23. Sculptural depictions of the subject include Clodion's *Vestal Bowing at a Tripod and Crowned with Flowers* (1765), Pierre Julien's bas-relief *Albinus and the Vestals* (1765), and Houdon's full-figure and bust portrayals of a Vestal, which range in date from 1777 to 1789. In 1807 Gaspare Spontini's three-act opera *La Vestale* premiered in Paris. In 1818 Salvatore Viganò created a ballet on the same subject for Milan's La Scala, which, according to Lady Morgan, received "applause as clamorous as the first night of its exhibition" even after its thirtieth performance (Lady S. Morgan, *Italy* [London, 1821], vol. 1, 99).
24. Reproduced in an engraving in Sir W. Gell and J. P. Gandy, *Pompeiana* (London, 1817–19), pl. 23.
25. B. de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (Paris, 1719), vol. 2, pt. 1, chap. 8; T. C. Worsfold, *The History of the Vestal Virgins of Rome* (London, n.d.), 22–23.
26. For example, Bernard de Montfaucon in 1719 published twenty-four images of antiquities depicting or symbolizing the goddess Vesta or the Vestal Virgins (*Antiquité expliquée*, vol. 1, bk. 2, chap. 6). See also the three draped female figures thought to represent Vestal Virgins that were discovered at Herculaneum and sent to Dresden in 1736 (P. Hermann, *Verzeichnis der antiken Original-Bildwerke* [Dresden, 1915], nos. 326–28; and H. Protzmann, "Die Herkulanerinnen und Winckelmann," in *Die Dresdener Antiken und Winckelmann*, ed. K. Zimmermann [Berlin, 1977], 33–44).
27. Museo Nazionale, Naples, inv. 6194. B. Maiuri, *Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Novara, 1957), 45. Gypsy women were noted for wearing "chin cloths"; a modern head wearing such a chin strap and placed atop an antique torso in the Borghese collection led to this statue's appellation of *Zingara* or *Zingarella* (F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture* [New Haven and London, 1981], 340). The fame of the Borghese statue may explain the incongruous application of this term to the Naples bust.
28. A representation of the bust was included by Boucher to symbolize sculpture in his painting *Les génies des Beaux-Arts* of about 1731 (A. Laing, in *François Boucher* [New York, 1986], 155–56, no. 24), and a version of it also appeared in Francis Hayman's portrait of Dr. Charles Chauncey (B. Allen, *Francis Hayman* [New Haven and London, 1987], 93–94). Copies of the bust were produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See the sale catalogues for Christie's East, New York, 18 November 1986, lot 90; Sotheby's, London, 7 December 1986, lot 179. The model collection of the Doccia porcelain factory contained a cast of the *Zingarella* for reproduction, as shown in a nineteenth-century photograph in K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), fig. 4, upper middle of right wall.
29. J. Richardson, *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy* (London, 1722), 132. My thanks to Malcolm Baker for pointing out this reference to the Naples bust.
30. A Renaissance-style termination of a straight cut across the chest above the pectorals in *Bust of a Young Man*, Gipsoteca, Possagno, before 1800; a classicizing nude bust with a rounded cut below the chest, and arms sliced diagonally beneath the shoulders in *Bust of Domenico Cimarosa*, Capitoline Museum, Rome, 1808; and a slightly rounded termination in a cuirassed and draped *Bust of Francis I of Austria*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1804–5 (Pavanello, *Opera completa*, nos. 49, 161, 152, respectively).
31. From 1819 until his death in 1822, Canova used the herm termination for more than half of his ideal heads, as compared with none before around 1818–19.
32. For instance, Thomas Hope (*Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* [1807; reprint, London, 1970], 47) declared "that the Grecian method of cutting the chest square, and placing its whole mass immediately on a term or other solid support, seems much preferable to the more prevailing Roman fashion of rounding off that chest, and balancing its center only on a slender and tottering pivot."
33. For a discussion of other contemporary busts that experiment with truncations in a similar way, see Fogelman, "Canova's *Herm*," 50–51.

## FRANCESCO ANTONIO FRANZONI

Carrara 1734–Rome 1818

*Sketch for a Fireplace  
Overmantel*

c. 1789

Terra-cotta

H: 53.5 cm (21 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.)W: 42.5 cm (16 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.)

95.SC.77

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The relief is composed of a soft, light-colored terra-cotta. Surface smearing, numerous fingerprints, and various tool marks indicate that the wet clay was worked quickly. X rays (see appendix A) show that the smooth, rectangular center, corresponding to the position of the mirror, is composed of eight rolled clumps of clay packed together. The decoration of the frame was most likely built up by hand. For example, small wafers of clay have been pressed with a finger onto the wings of the eagle. Several types of tool marks are visible: a flat .6 cm ( $\frac{1}{4}$  in.) tool created shallow, flat channels on the drapery at the left and over the spear; a .16 cm ( $\frac{1}{16}$  in.) probe with a dull tip was used to form details, for example, on the armor and the prow of the ship; a 1.3 cm ( $\frac{1}{2}$  in.) wide brush seems to have been used to create the smooth, flat surfaces of the background and center.

There are numerous drying and firing cracks, which occur most often where the clay pieces are joined. X rays show several metal dowels along these joins. A large horizontal fracture extending across the lower part of the relief has been rejoined. A long, hand-forged metal dowel was added at the lower left to provide support. A second horizontal fracture across the top is rejoined and supported by three metal dowels. Several relief elements have been broken and restored with a claylike material that is pitted and more orange in color than the original surfaces. In the top half of the composition, they are: the top of the cross; the eagle's head and the tips of both wings; the tip of the wing of the angel to the left; the right half of the communion wafer; and the bottom edge and two straps of the miter. Restorations on the bottom half are: the projecting tips of three protruding spears, on the right and left sides of the relief and at the bottom; the right half of the wreath on the right; the extending lower part of the ship and the outer part of the trumpet, which rests on top; the blade of the axe to the right of the armor; the tip of the helmet; and the small animal head to the right of the lion. The vessels above the tiara and at the right edge of the relief are complete replacements. Several metal pins, evident in the X rays, were inserted to strengthen restorations. TL testing (Berlin, 1995) on a sample taken from the bottom edge gave a date of manufacture of A.D. 1736  $\pm$  27 years (1709–63). A molded cornice, which projected below the bottom edge of the relief when it was acquired, was not original and was removed.

## PROVENANCE

Possibly passed from the artist to the workshop of Giuseppe Valadier; Giuseppe Valadier (1762–1839), Rome, presumably sold to the heirs of the Spagna family or one of the Roman families who financed the Spagna enterprise; purportedly sold to a private collector, Germany, early nineteenth century; by descent within the same family, until the last decade of the twentieth century, sold to Artemis Fine Arts Ltd.; Artemis Fine Arts Ltd., London, sold to Trinity Fine Art Ltd.; Trinity Fine Art Ltd., London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995.

## EXHIBITIONS

*An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings and European Works of Art*, Newhouse Galleries, New York, 4–18 May 1995, no. 113.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

R. Carloni, "Francesco Antonio Franzoni: Il Camino Braschi," *Antologia di belle arti (Studi su neoclassicismo IV)*, n.s., nos. 43–47 (1993): 67–70; "Acquisitions/1995," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996): 139, no. 90; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 95; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 25.

THIS TERRA-COTTA BOZZETTO features ecclesiastical symbols and military trophies—energetically modeled in high relief and detailed with rapid strokes of a stylus and other tools, whose marks are still visible—surrounding a flat rectangular area, which has been left blank. Rosella Carloni first associated the terra-cotta with the Palazzo Braschi in Rome and identified it as a model for Francesco Antonio Franzoni's so-called *camino Braschi*, a fireplace featuring a marble overmantel inset with a rectangular mirror.<sup>1</sup> The existence of the marble overmantel, which is now lost, is documented by several entries in the *Diario ordinario* from 1789 to 1794, a description by Giuseppe Antonio Guattani in

1806, and a late nineteenth-century photograph, which, however, shows the overmantel surmounting a fireplace different from the one for which it was made.<sup>2</sup>

The original fireplace was of simple design, decorated with *verde di Corsica* marble panels set into a white marble structure of pilasters and an architrave with projecting moldings. The panels—framed by borders of classical motifs, including egg and dart, bead, and bead and reel—were ornamented with gilt bronze emblems of the Braschi family, which are now missing.<sup>3</sup> This fireplace, originally installed on the first floor of Palazzo Braschi, still exists on the second floor, which is now used for storage. The *verde di Corsica*





41A Detail, upper left corner

panels, the inner border of the fireplace opening, and the lowest cornice exhibit small, dark holes where the gilt bronze decorations were attached. The dimensions of the fireplace, approximately 140 by 214 centimeters (55 by 84 in.), indicate that the *bozzetto* for it was executed on an approximately 1:5 scale.<sup>4</sup> Judging from the nineteenth-century photograph of the finished marble overmantel, Franzoni followed his model faithfully in the disposition and details of the weaponry, liturgical vestments, and vessels. Nevertheless, the marble appears less compressed, with more “breathing” space provided between the various elements of the composition, and certain components, such as the eagle and the standing putti, appear to be slightly elongated, perhaps owing to the larger scale of the marble.



41B Detail, top center

The commission for the overmantel merits some review. First, it would appear from the existence of the Getty *bozzetto* that Franzoni himself was entrusted with the design as well as the carving of the marble overmantel. The terracotta, together with several drawings by Giuseppe Valadier, was rediscovered in the late twentieth century in a private collection. In light of this fact, the authors of the 1995 exhibition catalogue, which included both the *bozzetto* and the drawings, speculated that Franzoni might have been working from a design by Valadier for the fireplace.<sup>5</sup> The common provenance of the drawings and the Getty terracotta might, however, result from pure coincidence, from a particular collector's taste and talent for gathering such examples of Roman Neoclassical decoration, or from

Valadier's participation in another aspect of the commission—namely, the fireplace's gilt bronze ornaments. In addition, as Alvar González-Palacios has concluded from a study of account documents, Franzoni seemed to specify his own authorship when requesting payment for clay models, confirming his claim to the invention as well as the execution of those projects.<sup>6</sup> There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that the inventive composition of the Getty *bozzetto* and the final marble originated with anyone but Franzoni himself.

The intended destination of the mantelpiece is less clear. According to Carloni, the marble overmantel was described as already executed in 1789.<sup>7</sup> Presumably it had been commissioned by or at least intended for Pope Pius VI Braschi (born 1717; r. 1775–99) since, during a papal visit

to his studio on October 25, 1789, Franzoni apparently gave the fireplace to the pope, who in turn gave it to his nephew Luigi Braschi-Onesti (1745–1816), the duke of Nemi.<sup>8</sup> Pius VI could not have ordered the mantelpiece specifically for Palazzo Braschi, since land for the palace was not purchased until 1790 and construction did not begin until 1791 (although it is possible that he had already envisioned a palace for the papal nephew).<sup>9</sup> Moreover, despite the fact that the iconography of the overmantel, which combines papal and Braschi-Onesti emblems, was perfectly suited for the Palazzo Braschi, the marble appears to have remained in Franzoni's studio until at least 1806.<sup>10</sup>

It is unknown when the fireplace and overmantel were finally transferred to the palace.<sup>11</sup> The Palazzo Braschi was sacked by the French in 1798. Pius VI and his nephew fled to Venice, where the pope died in 1799. Returning to Rome, Luigi received compensation for his losses in 1802, which enabled him to complete the building.<sup>12</sup> It may have been during this period of renewed construction, when Luigi was serving the new pope, Pius VII, and before he was excommunicated for collaborating with the French in 1809, that the marble overmantel was finally removed from Franzoni's studio and installed in the palace.<sup>13</sup> Even though the overmantel relates specifically to the late Braschi pope rather than to Pius VII, one cannot imagine the incorporation of such overtly papal symbolism in the palace's decoration after Luigi's serious breach with the papal office in favor of the French secular government, unless it marked an attempt to reassert his loyalty. In any case, the overmantel may have left the palace soon after it arrived. Luigi Braschi-Onesti, despite his political success in Napoleonic Rome, never recovered his privileged financial status, and by 1809 he began selling off some of his collections.<sup>14</sup> It is conceivable that Luigi himself sold or relinquished ownership of the overmantel, whose propagandistic iconography was, in any case, no longer relevant to his situation.<sup>15</sup>

The iconography of the Getty *bozzetto*, and subsequently of the marble overmantel, was very specific. It illustrated the close, nepotistic relationship between Pius VI and Luigi Braschi-Onesti, and between papal and secular spheres of influence.<sup>16</sup> In fact, the overmantel may have been conceived as a frame for the ideal viewer—either the pope or his

nephew—who would see his reflection in the mirror surrounded by the symbols of his power. The imagery of the terra-cotta is divided into upper and lower portions; the top half symbolizes the pope, the Church, and spiritual power, while the bottom half includes Braschi-Onesti heraldry and emblems of military, temporal power. The relief displays, from left to right at the top, a winged angel or putto with a maniple over one arm, supporting the keys of the Church; a papal cross behind an eagle with spread wings, resting the talons of one foot on the keys; and a miter below. A double-headed eagle decorates the pope's *stemma*,<sup>17</sup> though Franzoni had earlier used an ordinary eagle with spread wings to refer to Pius VI in his decoration of the Stanza Rotonda (also called the Stanza della Biga) in the Vatican Museums.<sup>18</sup> To the right of the eagle a chalice and communion wafer, book, papal tiara, and crozier tumble down toward the chasuble-draped shoulders of another putto. He stands on a shield decorated with a she-wolf suckling twins—emblematic of Rome—and partly obscured by the prow of a boat. Two more shields (one with a rampant lion), a pile of armor, and the Onesti lion (holding a dagger rather than the pinecone required by the *stemma*), complete the bottom portion of the terra-cotta.<sup>19</sup>

The weapons, armor, and standards in Franzoni's *bozzetto* are closely based on ancient examples.<sup>20</sup> The choice of this type of decoration—and its arrangement in a seemingly chaotic or random, crowded mass—recalls the designs of Giambattista Piranesi, in whose studio Franzoni had worked.<sup>21</sup> The scattering of heraldic motifs to achieve a more decorative, naturalistic composition than would occur in a straightforward coat of arms is typical of Franzoni himself, however, and is a common feature of his work for Pius VI.<sup>22</sup>

PEGGY FOGELMAN

Notes

1. Carloni, "Il Camino Braschi," 67–70. Carloni first discussed the marble fireplace in her earlier, more extensive article on Franzoni, "Francesco Antonio Franzoni, tra virtuosismo tecnico e restauro integrativo," *Labyrinthos* 10, nos. 19–20 (1991): 190, 211, but presumably she did not yet know of the existence of a model for it. The association of the terra-cotta with the *camino Braschi* by Trinity Fine Art Ltd. in the catalogue of the exhibition at the Newhouse Galleries, New York, in 1995 was based on Carloni's article (*An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings*, 212, no. 113).
2. L. A. Chracas, *Diario ordinario* (Rome), 10 October 1789, no. 1514; 31 October 1789, no. 1548, 12; 1 October 1794, no. 2070, 10–12; 1 November 1794, no. 2074, 10. G. A. Guattani, *Memorie enciclopediche romane sulle belle arti, antichità* (Rome, 1806), vol. 1, 117–19. Photograph published in Carloni, "Il Camino Braschi," 69, fig. 2, and idem, "Franzoni, tra virtuosismo tecnico," 207, fig. 24.
3. Carloni, quoting *Diario ordinario*, in "Franzoni, tra virtuosismo tecnico," 190; C. Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Braschi* (Rome, 1958), 44. E. Ricci (*Palazzo Braschi: Storia ed architettura di un edificio settecentesco* [Rome, 1989], 12) attributes the loss of the gilt bronze fireplace ornaments to the postwar occupation of the Palazzo Braschi by approximately three hundred families and the inevitable destruction or deterioration that resulted.
4. The author would like to thank Jonathan Mennell for obtaining the measurements of the fireplace (fax, 27 June 1995, JPMG object file).
5. *An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings*, 212, and the Valadier drawings from the so-called London album catalogued under nos. 22, 23, 24, and 25.
6. A. González-Palacios, "Per Francesco Antonio Franzoni, intagliatore di Pio VI," *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s., nos. 48–51 (1994): 107.
7. Carloni, "Franzoni, tra virtuosismo tecnico," 190.
8. *Ibid.*, n. 118; Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, 31 October 1789, 12, no. 1548. The pope was apparently in the habit of visiting the studios of artists who worked for him, such as Piranesi, Pacetti, and Franzoni. On another such occasion he purportedly presented Franzoni with a gold snuff box; see L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. E. F. Peeler (Liechtenstein, 1969), vol. 39, 82–83.
9. Ricci, *Palazzo Braschi*, 11; Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Braschi*, 18–26. The building that was formerly the Palazzo Orsini was demolished to make way for the new palace to be built for Pius VI's nephews, Luigi and Romualdo, according to the design and under the supervision of the architect Cosimo Morelli (1732–1812). The family began to move into the palace in 1793, even though the building was not yet finished. See also G. Hubert, *La sculpture dans l'Italie napoléonienne* (Paris, 1964), 54–55, for a brief summary of the building's history.
10. Where it was seen by Guattani, *Memorie enciclopediche romane*, 117–19.
11. In both of her articles, Carloni ("Franzoni, tra virtuosismo tecnico" and "Il Camino Braschi") assumes that the overmantel was actually installed in the Palazzo Braschi. In light of the fact that the *verde di Corsica* fireplace was installed and still exists in the palace, her



41C Detail, upper right corner



41D Detail, lower left corner

- assumption is most likely correct. It should be noted that she does not produce any documentary evidence, however, in the form of palace inventories or contemporary descriptions, to support this supposition. The nineteenth-century photograph of the overmantel reproduced in her articles does not include enough of its interior setting to determine whether it was taken in the Palazzo Braschi or some other location. Carloni does not explain why the overmantel in the photograph surmounts a different fireplace, nor does she specify whether this other Neoclassical fireplace also originates from the Braschi palace. Perhaps the overmantel was more easily removed from its setting without its original fireplace. Carloni's discussion does not, however, address the possibility that the overmantel and its fireplace were separated before ever reaching the Palazzo Braschi.
12. For example, the staircase was finished in 1804: Ricci, *Palazzo Braschi*, 19; Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Braschi*, 31; C. Saunier, *Les conquêtes artistiques de la Revolution et de l'Empire* (Paris, 1902), 154–55 (letter to the count of Pradel, 17 November 1815, citing reparations made to the duke).
  13. D. Panziera, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1974), vol. 14, 62.
  14. Specifically, his collection of antiquities, most of which was acquired for the Munich Glyptothek: Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Braschi*, 32; Hubert, *Sculpture*, 112.
  15. Carloni (“Franzoni, tra virtuosismo tecnico,” 211) traces the overmantel, separate from any fireplace, to an 1870 exhibition in Rome, where it is listed as the property of the dealer Pietro Tomassini (*Catalogo degli oggetti ammessi del 1870 relativo all'arte cristiana e al culto cattolico nel chiostro di Santa Maria degli Angeli alle Terme Diocleziane ordinata dalla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Pio IX felicemente regnante* [Rome, 1870], no. 44).
  16. Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, 1 November 1794, IOF, no. 2074, quoted in Carloni, “Il Camino Braschi,” 69. The assertion that the relief alluded particularly to Luigi's position as captain of the Papal Guards of the Light Cavalry, to which he was appointed in 1792, seems unlikely if the fireplace had already been executed by 1789.
  17. V. Spreti, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana* (Bologna, 1928; reprint, 1981), vol. 2, 178–79; T. Amayden, *La storia delle famiglie romane* (Rome, n.d.), vol. 1, 221; C. Pietrangeli, *I Musei Vaticani: Cinque secoli di storia* (Rome, 1985), 67, n. 18.
  18. González-Palacios, “Per Francesco Antonio Franzoni,” 123; Pietrangeli, *Musei Vaticani*, 92, pl. 98.
  19. See Spreti, *Enciclopedia*, and Amayden, *Storia delle famiglie romane*. See also G. Marini, *Giovanni Volpato, 1735–1803* (Bassano del Grappa, 1988), no. 365, for an image of Duke Braschi-Onesti's calling card, which included a lion pawing a pinecone.
  20. For descriptions and illustrations of similar antique weaponry, see P. Connolly, *Greece and Rome at War* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1981), 219 (standards), 262–72 (boats). See also the friezes with naval trophies that were in the basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura since the thirteenth century and copied in a drawing from Dosio's workshop (E. Casamassima and R. Rubinstein, eds., *Antiquarian Drawings from Dosio's Workshop* [Milan, 1993], nos. 60V A–B, 61V A–B). The two friezes remained in San Lorenzo until acquired by Alessandro Albani around 1720 and installed in the Palazzo Albani del Drago. In 1733 Clement XI bought them for the new museum on the Campidoglio, and they are now in the Stanza dei Filosofi, Museo Capitolino, Rome.
  21. For example, the remodeling of Santa Maria del Priorato and the decoration of overdoors for the Villa Albani. See J. Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi as Architect and Designer* (New York, New Haven, and London, 1993), 95, fig. 91, and 142–43, figs. 137, 139; A. Bettagno, *Disegni di Giambattista Piranesi* (Vicenza, 1978), nos. 30, 39, 42–43.
  22. For instance, the naturalistic base of the *Dog Attacking a Stag* (Sala degli Animali, Museo Pio-Clementino), an ancient fragment restored by Franzoni, with foliage alluding to the Braschi arms (*The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art* [New York, 1982], 126, no. 61); or the ram supports for tables now in the Sala degli Animali, in which a blowing Boreas and a swaying lily confront each other from opposite sides of a central, hollow void (G. Lizzani, *Il mobile romano* [Milan, 1970], pl. 72; González-Palacios, “Per Francesco Antonio Franzoni,” fig. 12; idem, *Il tempio del gusto: Roma e il Regno delle Due Sicilie* [Milan, 1986], vol. 2, fig. 157).

## ATTRIBUTED TO GENNARO LAUDATO

Naples, active 1790s

## AFTER A MODEL BY GIUSEPPE SANMARTINO

Naples 1720–1793

*Saint Joseph with the Christ Child*

1790s

Polychrome *terraglia* (white-bodied, glazed earthenware)<sup>1</sup>H: 53.8 cm (21 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.)

91.SE.74

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

None

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

There are no losses, breaks, or old repairs in the piece. There are some firing cracks, which are visible primarily on the interior surface. Hairline cracks evident on the exterior are found across Joseph's left ankle; sloping diagonally downward from left to right across the lower part of Joseph's yellow cloak near his right ankle and continuing across the ankle; across the upper left thigh of the Christ child; and under the left arm of the Christ child, beginning at the front and continuing around to the back of his upper chest. There are some minor losses of glaze near these cracks, as well as small chips in several places, for example, at the tip of the second toe of Christ's right foot, on the back of Joseph's left

hand, and along the edges of Joseph's cloak. There are several minor chips along the base.

The piece is open at the back (see FIG. 42D), where the paste was scooped out to ensure safe drying and firing; paste was removed from underneath the base for the same reason. Close examination of the areas where the piece has been chipped (e.g., Joseph's left hand and an area of his cloak on his proper left side) shows that the clay is covered with a white lead glaze, over which colored glazes were applied.

## PROVENANCE

Possibly in the William Charlesworth collection, Naples (sold, Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome, 29 January–3 February 1901, lot 631);<sup>2</sup> Bauzá collection, Madrid, by 1953; by descent within the Bauzá family, sold to Same Art Ltd.; Same Art Ltd., Zurich, 1990, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1991.

## EXHIBITIONS

Possibly shown at the *Esposizione nazionale di belle arti*, Naples, 1877.<sup>3</sup>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

M. Olivar Daydí, *La porcelana en Europa desde sus orígenes hasta principios del siglo XIX* (Barcelona, 1953), vol. 2, 109, 340, fig. 241; B. Martínez Caviro, *Porcelana del Buen Retiro: Escultura* (Madrid, 1973), 20; T. Fittipaldi,

"Bernardo Tanucci: Appunti per una raccolta iconografica," in *Bernardo Tanucci: Statista letterato giurista*, ed. R. Ajello and M. D'Addio (Naples, 1986), vol. 2, 654–55, 699–700; "Acquisitions/1991," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 20 (1992): 179, no. 78; C. Hess, *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar* (summer 1992), cover, 2; *J. Paul Getty Trust Report, 1991–1992* (Los Angeles, 1992), 15; G. Donatone, "Lo scultore Gennaro Laudato e la terraglia della Real Fabbrica di Napoli," *Centro Studi per la Storia della Ceramica Meridionale (Quaderno 1991)* (Bari, 1993), 40; G. Donatone, "Aggiunte a Gennaro Laudato ed alla produzione di terraglia della Real Fabbrica di Napoli," *Centro Studi per la Storia della Ceramica Meridionale (Quaderno 1995)* (Bari, 1996), 32–33, 42, fig. 4; G. Donatone, "Ancora una scultura di Gennaro Laudato," *Centro Studi per la Storia della Ceramica Meridionale (Quaderno 1996)* (Bari, 1997), 49; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 45; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 263; *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Decorative Arts* (Los Angeles, 1997), 91; G. Wilson and C. Hess, *Summary Catalogue of European Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 2001), no. 380; C. Hess, *Italian Ceramics: Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection* (Los Angeles, 2002), no. 41.

THE PIECE REPRESENTS THE STANDING SAINT JOSEPH with the Christ child. The composition of the group conveys a sense of intimacy between the two figures. Joseph embraces and supports the child with his left hand, holding Christ's right foot in his right hand. The infant Jesus reaches around Joseph's back with his right hand and points toward him with his left hand. Both figures look downward as if to engage a spectator below them. Saint Joseph, dressed in a purple undergarment and a bright yellow cloak, stands firmly on his right leg, with his left foot supported on a small, colorful, rocky ledge. The nude Christ child sits on

a burgundy red pillow with a yellow tassel, placed atop a pedestal composed of brilliantly pigmented, rocky forms. The artist achieved remarkable verisimilitude in the flesh tones of the figures: buff pink darkens to rosy orange in the areas of the flesh that are more deeply modeled and to red in the lips of both figures.<sup>4</sup> All of the colors used in the figures, drapery, and cushion appear in bright, saturated patchy areas in the rocky formations of the base and support for the infant Jesus; in addition, a bright copper green is included among these brilliant colors. The fantastic suggestion of landscape is unified by the application of brown pigments.





42A Giuseppe Sanmartino. *Saint Joseph with the Christ Child*, 1790–92. Marble. Taranto, cathedral, Chapel of San Cataldo.



42B Gennaro Laudato. *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist*, 1794. *Terraglia*. H: 34.6 cm (13<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). London, The British Museum.

The piece was first published in 1953 by Marçal Olivar Daydí as a product of the Buen Retiro porcelain factory in Madrid, with a tentative attribution to Giuseppe Gricci and a date of c. 1765.<sup>5</sup> This identification was accepted by Balbina Martínez Caviro in 1973.<sup>6</sup> In 1986 Teodoro Fittipaldi noted that *Saint Joseph with the Christ Child* was a ceramic version of a monumental marble sculpture of 1790–92 of the same subject by Giuseppe Sanmartino in Taranto cathedral (FIG. 42A) and for this reason could not have been a product of the Buen Retiro factory dated to the 1760s.<sup>7</sup> Fittipaldi also noted that the Getty ceramic was closely related to a polychrome terra-cotta *Madonna and Child* signed by Gennaro Laudato (active 1790s) and dated 1791, pointing out that both objects depended upon Sanmartino's Taranto sculpture.<sup>8</sup> This was the first step both in the proposed attribution to Laudato of the Getty *Saint Joseph* and in the identification of works by this otherwise undocumented Neapolitan artist. Guido Donatone, following Fittipaldi's argument, presented the ceramic in publications in 1991 and 1993 as the work of Laudato, gathering together several pieces that either bear Laudato's signature or can be grouped stylistically with the signed works.<sup>9</sup> Donatone also asserted that the Getty *Saint Joseph* was produced in the Real Fabbrica, Naples, and could be identified with a ceramic group representing Saint Joseph with the Christ child once in the Charlesworth collection, Naples, exhibited in the *Esposizione nazionale di belle arti* held in Naples in 1877, and sold in Rome in 1901.<sup>10</sup> Recently he proposed a date for the piece after 1794.<sup>11</sup>

Donatone, who is currently reconstructing Laudato's oeuvre, sees him as a sculptor and ceramist working in the circle of Sanmartino.<sup>12</sup> His conclusions derive from stylistic analysis of Laudato's signed works; the Getty group's dependence upon a statue by Sanmartino; and the fact that another piece in *terraglia* signed by Laudato is based on a drawing by Sanmartino for a silver group of Tobias and the Angel (executed by the silversmiths Giuseppe and Gennaro Del Giudice and completed in 1797, after Sanmartino's death) in the chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro in Naples.<sup>13</sup> Laudato's *terraglia Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist*, signed and dated 1794, in the British Museum, London (FIG. 42B), is also derived from Sanmartino's

Taranto *Saint Joseph*, probably known to Laudato from a terra-cotta model by the master.<sup>14</sup>

In 1790 the archbishop of Taranto, the Neapolitan nobleman Giuseppe Capecelatro, commissioned the marble statue of Saint Joseph from Sanmartino for his seat at Taranto cathedral.<sup>15</sup> Sanmartino produced a terra-cotta model for the sculpture, which was seen and approved by Capecelatro before November 1790.<sup>16</sup> Thus Laudato could have known the Sanmartino model as early as 1790 and certainly knew it by 1791, the date of his terra-cotta *Madonna and Child*, which is clearly based on the Taranto composition. This also provides a likely *terminus post quem* for the Getty *Saint Joseph*.

The Getty piece employs a formula typical for images of the standing Madonna and Child but substitutes Saint Joseph for the Virgin. This manner of presenting Saint Joseph became popular in the seventeenth century and is a clear indication of the development of the cult of the saint.<sup>17</sup> Joseph was revered for his privileged role as husband of Mary, stepfather of Christ, and protector of the Holy Family. His intimate relationship with Christ was seen as a sign of his holiness, and Joseph came to be seen as a protector of the faithful as he had been protector of Jesus. The Getty ceramic stresses Joseph's handsome vigor, as Sanmartino did in his Taranto sculpture. There the image conveyed the idea that Joseph would act as protector of his namesake, Archbishop Giuseppe Capecelatro, and that the saint and, in turn, the archbishop would act as protectors of Taranto's faithful. Given the personal resonance of the Taranto commission, one might consider the possibility that Capecelatro also commissioned the ceramic piece as a private record of the marble sculpture.<sup>18</sup>

The ceramic version differs from the marble (and presumably from the model for the statue) in ways that indicate that it was reworked specifically for production in the new medium, taking into account the possibilities offered by polychromy, the lighter material, smaller scale, and private function of the group as a devotional object. For example, the figure of Christ is brought closer to Joseph, his right leg bent sharply and his left foot hanging free, whereas in the heavier marble he presses his left foot into the rocky support while fully extending his right leg. Above all, the polychromy enhances the ceramic composition, the fantastic



42c Three-quarter view from proper right



42D Back view



42E Three-quarter view from proper left

colors acting as a foil for the flesh tones. The fine modeling of the forms and the creative reworking of the model, in technical and expressive terms, encourage seeing the piece as an independent work of sculpture.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Sanmartino played a direct role in its creation, but surely it was Laudato who fully understood and exploited the possibilities of the ceramic medium.

MARIETTA CAMBARERI AND CATHERINE HESS

#### Notes

1. The piece has not yet been scientifically analyzed to determine the material, so this identification remains tentative. Visual analysis suggests that the piece is made of *terraglia*, the Italian version of white-bodied, glazed earthenware made famous by Josiah Wedgwood in the later eighteenth century and known in England as creamware because of its creamy white color. In late eighteenth-century Naples the medium was called “creta all’uso inglese” (earthenware in the English manner). Later called *terraglia*, this ceramic material was covered with white or transparent lead glaze and sometimes, as in the case of the Getty piece, polychromy. The medium was developed in the second half of the eighteenth century as an alternative to hard- and soft-paste porcelain. It was less expensive and less difficult to work and could achieve the whiteness valued in porcelain, though it does not have the same quality of translucency. For *terraglia*, see G. Morazzoni, *La terraglia italiana* (Milan, 1956); G. Borrelli, “Inediti e rivalutazioni della ceramica Del Vecchia,” *Napoli nobilissima* 24, nos. 1–2 (1985): 30–44; A. Caròla Perrotti, ed., *Le porcellane dei Borbone di Napoli, 1743–1806: Capodimonte e Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda*, exh. cat. (Naples: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 1986), 586–87; E. Baviati, “La terraglia italiana all’uso d’Inghilterra,” *Faenza* 74, nos. 1–3 (1988): 100–120; G. Donatone, *La terraglia napoletana, 1782–1860* (Naples, 1991); T. Fittipaldi, *Ceramiche: Castelli, Napoli, altre fabbriche* (Naples, 1992), 202–7.
2. See note 10 below for Donatone’s theory about the Charlesworth provenance.
3. See note 10 below for this theory.
4. The ability to achieve verisimilitude in polychromy was noted in the nineteenth century as a characteristic of *terraglia*; see Donatone, *Terraglia napoletana*, 12, citing G. Novi, nineteenth-century historian of Neapolitan ceramics.
5. Olivar Daydí, *La porcelana en Europa*, vol. 2, 109, 340, fig. 241. At this time the piece was in the Bauzá collection, Madrid.
6. Martínez Cavero, *Porcelana del Buen Retiro*, 20.
7. Sanmartino’s sculpture decorates a niche in the vestibule of the Chapel of San Cataldo in Taranto cathedral, where it is paired with another marble sculpture by Sanmartino, representing *San Giovanni Gualberto* (1788–90). See note 15 below. For the *San Giovanni Gualberto*, see A. Carducci, “Le sculture ignorate del Sanmartino nella Cattedrale di Taranto,” in *Studi in memoria di P. Adiuto Putignani* (Taranto, 1975), 135–58; M. Ferrara and G. Marciano, *Il Cappellone di S. Cataldo nella Cattedrale di Taranto* (Taranto, 1985).
8. Fittipaldi, “Bernardo Tanucci,” 603–707, esp. 651–57, n. 66. The *Madonna and Child* by Laudato is illustrated in G. Borrelli, *Il presepe napoletano* (Naples, 1970), 118, fig. 214; he locates it in the Hermanin collection, Rome; it is also illustrated in Donatone, *Terraglia napoletana*, fig. 3. Fittipaldi (*Ceramiche*, 207, no. 464) notes that the *Madonna and Child* is dated 1791; this is important because it demonstrates that Laudato knew Sanmartino’s model for the Taranto figure by that date and so may have worked directly with the master, who died in 1793.
9. Donatone, *Terraglia napoletana*, 43, fig. 4; idem, “Lo scultore,” 39–46.
10. A group representing Saint Joseph and the Christ child shown in the *Esposizione nazionale di belle arti* in Naples in 1877 was described in the catalogue (p. 394) as a “Gruppo in porcellana in colori. Epoca iv. Porterebbe la marca N coronata.” Donatone (*Terraglia napoletana*, 43) associated this citation with the Getty *Saint Joseph*, which he had seen only in a photograph. Because the piece does not have the mark of the crowned N, doubt must be cast upon its being the piece exhibited in Naples in 1877. Donatone also asserts that a group described as “S. Giuseppe a Bambino [sic]” offered at the 1901 sale at the Galleria Sangiorgi in Rome of the Charlesworth collection, and listed as no. 631, a “Groupe en faïence coloriée vieux Naples,” is the Getty group, providing a possible provenance for it in a famous Neapolitan collection.
11. Donatone, “Ancora una scultura,” 9.
12. See especially Donatone, “Lo scultore,” and idem, “Aggiunte a Gennaro Laudato,” 31–43. For Sanmartino, see G. Borrelli, *Sanmartino: Scultore per il presepe napoletano* (Naples, 1966); T. Fittipaldi, *Scultura napoletano del settecento* (Naples, 1980), 136–94; E. Catello, *Sanmartino* (Naples, 1988), with additional bibliography; O. Ferrari, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 27, 756–57.
13. For the silver group, see E. and C. Catello, “Quattro statue d’argento di Giuseppe Sanmartino,” *Antologia di belle arti* 2 (March 1978): 49–51; Catello, *Sanmartino*, 97–98, fig. 132; E. and C. Catello, in *Civiltà del ’700 a Napoli 1734–1799*, exh. cat. (Naples: Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, 1979), vol. 2, 227, no. 484, and 218, fig. xiv; *The Treasure of San Gennaro: Baroque Silver from Naples*, exh. cat. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1987), 23, 38, 74. The ceramic version (private collection), signed by Laudato, is illustrated in Donatone, “Lo scultore,” 44–45, figs. 1, 2.

14. *British Museum Society Bulletin*, no. 57 (spring 1988): 30.
15. For Capecelatro, see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 18 (Rome, 1975), 136–94, with bibliography; B. Croce, *Uomini e cose della vecchia Italia*, ser. 2 (Bari, 1943), 159–82. For Sanmartino's sculpture of *Saint Joseph with the Christ Child* in the Chapel of San Cataldo in Taranto cathedral, see Carducci, "Sculture ignorate del Sanmartino"; Ferrara and Marciano, *Cappellone di S. Cataldo*; Catello, *Sanmartino*, 103–5. According to the terms of the contract, Sanmartino was to finish the marble statue by April 1792; see Ferrara and Marciano, *Cappellone di S. Cataldo*, 158, doc. 20. No documents are known that relate to the execution, transport, or installation of the statue, but we may assume that it was complete or nearly so by Sanmartino's death in 1793. Certainly it was in place before 1799, when Capecelatro was removed from his archbishopric in the aftermath of a short-lived revolt against the Bourbon monarchy.
16. See Ferrara and Marciano, *Cappellone di S. Cataldo*, 158–60, for the documents related to the commission, execution, and approval of Sanmartino's terra-cotta model (e.g., 158, doc. 20, dated 25 November 1790: "E risapendosi che il piu celebre scultore di marmi in oggi sia il detto signor Sanmartino molto rinomato per le sue opere statuarie in marmi a cui avendo l'anzidetto monsignor Arcivescovo [Capecelatro] fatta la richiesta per costituzione della suddetta statua con suo piedistallo ed iscrizione il medesimo si è offerto eseguirle talche avendone a richiesta dello stesso monsignor Arcivescovo formato in creta ed avendoglielo rimesso in Taranto dal medesimo è stato approvato in tutte le sue parti").
17. Until the later fifteenth century Saint Joseph rarely appeared as the principal subject of images. He was generally depicted in narrative scenes from the life of Mary (e.g., the Marriage of the Virgin) or the infancy of Christ (e.g., the Nativity) and then generally as a doddering old man. In the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth centuries he came to be represented as a strong young man capable of protecting Christ and the Virgin. Beauty, a sign of grace, became one of his features. See E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trent* (Paris, 1932), 313–25. See also J. Filas, *Joseph: The Man Closest to Jesus* (Boston, 1962), esp. 544–75.
18. Capecelatro was also directly involved in the commission for the other statue, the *San Giovanni Gualberto* by Sanmartino in the Chapel of San Cataldo, Taranto cathedral: he suggested the sculptor to the patron, negotiated the terms of the contract, and, most interesting, kept Sanmartino's terra-cotta model for himself; see Carducci, "Sculture ignorate del Sanmartino," 154–55, esp. 155, doc. 2, a letter from Capecelatro in Naples to the patron in Taranto, dated 26 January 1788: "Ho ricevuto la procura e si è convenuto che debba il Signor S. Martino mandare a voi il disegno della statua di S. Giovanni e lasciarne anche un modello in poter mio."
19. For recent tendencies toward considering ceramic figures and groups as works of sculpture and the evaluation of ceramic artists alongside contemporary sculptors in marble, bronze, wood, and terra-cotta, see A. González-Palacios, *Lo scultore Filippo Tagliolini e la porcellana di Napoli* (Turin, 1988); this issue is emphasized in N. Penny's review of the book in *Burlington Magazine* 132 (December 1990): 880–81. See also R. Schmidt, *Porcelain as an Art and Mirror of Fashion* (London, 1932), esp. 186–291, and, more recently, C. Le Corbeiller, "Porcelain as Sculpture," in *Catalogue of the International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, 1988), 22–28; J. Poole, *Porcelain Personified? European Pottery and Porcelain Figures*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1986); S. K. Tabakoff, "Imitation or Invention: Sources for Eighteenth-Century Porcelain Figures," in *Figures from Life: Porcelain Sculpture from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1740–1780*, exh. cat. (Saint Petersburg, Fla.: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 12–20.

## VINCENZO GEMITO

Naples 1852–1929

*Medusa*

1911

Parcel-gilt silver

DIAM: 24.1 cm (9 1/4 in.)

86.SE.528

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Signed and dated at bottom center of obverse, 1911, *Gemito*.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

Extremely heavy in weight (3859 g [8.5 lb.]), this piece was cast by the lost-wax method in a single pour. The surface finish varies from a very high burnish in the oval scale shapes surrounding the face to the very rough, unchased surface of the scales on the edges and reverse. XRF analysis indicates that the gilding was applied with mercury.

## PROVENANCE

L. Carl and Hazel Bean, Freeport, Maine (sold, Skinner, Boston, 3 October 1980, lot 617, to Mr. and Mrs. Piero Corsini); Mr. and Mrs. Piero Corsini, New York; Piero Corsini, Inc., New York, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1986.

## EXHIBITIONS

Probably to be identified with the *Medusa* exhibited at the Esposizione internazionale di Roma, Rome, 1911, no. 37B.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Antonelli, "Vincenzo Gemito a Roma: La sua Medusa e la sua Sirena," *Tribuna*, 28 April 1911; "Cronaca," *Arte* 14 (March–April 1911): 148; *Esposizione internazionale di Roma, 1911: Catalogo della mostra di belle arti*, exh. cat. (Bergamo, 1911), 13, no. 37B; P. Scarpa, *Artisti contemporanei italiani e stranieri residenti in Italia* (Milan, 1928), 111–12 (ill.); E. Somaré and A. Schettini,

*Gemito* (Milan, 1944), 201, pl. 57; G. Guida, *Vincenzo Gemito* (Rome, 1952), unnumbered plate; *Art News* 82 (December 1983): inside cover advertisement; "Acquisitions/1986," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 221, no. 126; P. Fusco, "Medusa as a Muse for Vincenzo Gemito (1852–1929)," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 16 (1988): 127–32; A. González-Palacios, *Il Velo delle Grazie* (Turin, 1992), 88–89, pl. 11; P. Ward-Jackson, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 12, 268 (general mention); P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 1, 25; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 273; P. Fusco, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 126–27.

VINCENZO GEMITO'S GILT SILVER *Medusa*, with the head of the Gorgon Medusa sculpted in relief on its concave side and snakeskin rendered as if stretched over its entire convex side, is an object typologically difficult to categorize. Unlike a traditional decorative vessel such as a bowl or *tazza*, the Getty *Medusa* has no functional pretensions; nor does it resemble a flat medallion with decoration of equal interest on obverse and reverse. In this *Medusa*, Gemito created a sculpture that lies uncomfortably on its back, one that is neither a medallion nor an object easily viewed from several angles.<sup>1</sup>

Gemito based his *Medusa* on the ancient cameo called the Tazza Farnese (FIG. 43A), which he could have studied at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in his native city, Naples.<sup>2</sup> Dating from the Hellenistic period, the famous antique is made of an agate incised on both sides, depicting eight figures in an allegorical scene on its top, or interior, with the head of the Medusa that inspired Gemito on its bottom, or exterior. Gemito reversed the relationship of concave to convex, however, changing the incised relief on the convex surface of the Tazza Farnese to the raised relief on the concave side of his own *Medusa*. Furthermore, he extended the motif of snakeskin at the edges of the ancient



43A Tazza Farnese, Hellenistic, 3D–1ST century B.C. Incised agate. DIAM: 20 cm (7 7/8 in.). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.





43B Back view

Medusa image to cover the back of his sculpture, giving its front side with the Medusa head obvious primacy. Common to both Gemito's *Medusa* and its ancient prototype is the unusual treatment of the subject's hair: massive, naturalistic, wavy locks that are encroached upon by small snakes. As Gemito himself explained, the image depicts "a moment when the face of the goddess is still beautiful and serene and only the snakes interlace themselves with her hair"—rather than the instant in which "the face becomes terrorizing because it is no longer human."<sup>3</sup>

Gemito approached the subject of the Medusa head several times in his career, perhaps because its legendary power as a talisman<sup>4</sup> attracted him. Its long hair, furthermore, afforded him the means to exploit his facility for sensuous, undulating line.<sup>5</sup> In 1909–10 Gemito executed a gilt silver plate (*piatto*), now lost, with a central raised and engraved image of Medusa.<sup>6</sup> The snake-filled hair of the Medusa on the plate is contained in the central space and set against an undecorated ground, rather than being allowed to curl and writhe across the entire obverse of the object, as it does in the Getty *Medusa*. The face of Medusa on the plate, however, exhibits stylized features similar to those of the Getty image, executed about a year later: a fully frontal, rounded face; wavy eyebrows and a furrowed brow; incised pupils and heavy, sagging lower eyelids; high cheekbones; a rounded chin; a narrow bridge of the nose; and a "Cupid's bow" upper lip. These features also appear in a wax relief model in the Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Milan, which was probably created by Gemito as a study for the lost plate and may have been reused for the Getty *Medusa*.<sup>7</sup> A rougher, more generalized wax sketch in Milan must represent a more preliminary stage in the creative process.<sup>8</sup>

After executing the Getty *Medusa* in 1911, Gemito apparently made a reduction of it to be inserted into the face of a cup (*coppa*), presumably of silver or gilt silver.<sup>9</sup> This cup, now lost if ever produced, would have been one of five metalwork goblets created by Gemito over the course of his career.<sup>10</sup> He obviously contemplated using the motif of the Medusa head for other decorative projects. Three drawings in a Neapolitan private collection show his use of the subject in conjunction with scrolling strapwork and symmetrically placed griffins or caryatids to form what may be a design for a fireplace or overdoor.<sup>11</sup> A signed and dated drawing of 1920



43C Vincenzo Gemito. *Head of Medusa*. Wax. H: 13.5 cm (5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); w: 8.6 cm (3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); D: 8 cm (3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). Milan, Galleria d'Arte Moderna inv. 6535.

depicts a seated, helmeted goddess and above her a more detailed drawing of the head of Medusa; the deity may be identifiable as Minerva, in which case the sketch of Medusa may represent a study for the relief on her shield.<sup>12</sup>

In 1924 Gemito was in Paris modeling a head of Medusa for a Milanese collector.<sup>13</sup> This head can most likely be associated with a three-dimensional gilt silver bust exhibited at the 1938 Gemito exhibition in the Castello Sforzesco.<sup>14</sup> Two wax sketches for the bust survive in Milan (FIG. 43C).<sup>15</sup> The bust and especially the sketches illustrate a conception of the Medusa that differs significantly from that displayed by the Getty sculpture and the lost silver plate. In the three-dimensional head Medusa is portrayed much more naturalistically, as a living portrait subject, rather than as a stylized or decorative motif. Realistic details like the softly modeled cheeks; delicate, rounded eyebrows; the subtle creases of skin in her twisting neck; and the rather tragic pathos expressed in her face all emphasize the Medusa as an actual, animate, womanly creature. It is perhaps relevant in this context to recall an enigmatic statement attributed to Gemito: "No one knows that the Medusa really existed. Everyone believes that she was the product of a mythological tale. I alone knew her really living, truly, in Paris. I and the Eternal Father alone know that the Medusa exists."<sup>16</sup>

PEGGY FOGELMAN AND PETER FUSCO

#### Notes

1. Fusco, "Medusa as a Muse," 132.
2. For further information on the Tazza Farnese, see U. Pannuti et al., *Il tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico: Le gemme* (Florence, 1973), vol. 1, 69–72. For summaries about the date and subject, with previous literature, see U. Pannuti, "La 'Tazza Farnese': Datazione, interpretazione, e trasmissione del cimelo," in *Technology and Analysis of Ancient Gemstones: Proceedings of the European Workshop Held at Ravello, European University Centre for Cultural Heritage, November 13–16, 1987*, ed. T. Hackens and G. Mouchart (Strasbourg, 1989), 205–15; C. Gasparri, "La scudella nostra di calcedonio: Una tazza per molte corti," in *Le gemme Farnese: Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, ed. C. Gasparri (Naples, 1994), 75–83.
3. Antonelli, "Vincenzo Gemito a Roma."
4. J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York, 1974), 206.
5. As suggested by Fusco ("Medusa as a Muse," 131), who also pointed out that Gemito's preference for long-haired subjects may relate to his equation of long beards with men of historical greatness, as recorded by other sources (Somaré and Schettini, *Gemito*, 36).
6. Signed above the Medusa head, *Gemito*. Reproduced in A. Acito, *Catalogo della mostra di sculture e disegni di Vincenzo Gemito, Milano, Castello Sforzesco* (Milan, 1938), pl. 34. Listed as "Piatto della Medusa (1909–10), Argento cesellato e dorato a fuoco," in Somaré and Schettini, *Gemito*, 212, who also note (pp. 37–38) that the plate had been executed in Gemito's house in Via Tasso, which the sculptor left in 1911–12. Listed similarly in F. Bellonzi and R. Frattarolo, *Appunti sull'arte di Vincenzo Gemito* (Rome, 1952), 28.
7. L. Caramel and C. Pirovano, *Galleria d'Arte Moderna: Opere dell'ottocento* (Milan, 1975), vol. 2, no. 1043, fig. 1041.
8. *Ibid.*, no. 1044, fig. 1037. An undated drawing in Naples of a woman with long hair and the perfectly round, symmetrical features of Medusa may relate to the gilt silver plate or the Getty sculpture, or to Gemito's work of a later date. See B. Mantura, *Temi di Vincenzo Gemito* (Rome, 1989), 127, no. 147 (ill.).
9. Scarpa, *Artisti contemporanei*, 112.
10. S. di Giacomo, *Vincenzo Gemito* (Rome, 1923), 36. Di Giacomo traces three to the Minozzi collection, one to Meissonier, and one, probably, to France.
11. Mantura, *Temi*, 127, nos. 148–50 (ill.). Mantura dates the drawings to around 1912.
12. *Ibid.*, 127, no. 152 (ill.).
13. A. Savinio, "Seconda vita di Gemito," *Narrate, uomini, la vostra storia* (Rome, 1944), 96.
14. Acito, *Catalogo della mostra*, pl. 27. Also illustrated in Guida, *Vincenzo Gemito*, unnumbered plate. The whereabouts of this bust are unknown. It is unclear whether the drawing of the head of Medusa in the Consolazio collection, Florence, which is signed and dated 1923, was made in connection with the silver bust (see Somaré and Schettini, *Gemito*, 205, pl. 128).
15. Caramel and Pirovano, *Galleria d'Arte Moderna*, nos. 1041–42, figs. 1039–40. As Fusco ("Medusa as a Muse," 131, n. 16) points out, these wax models should be associated with the gilt silver bust rather than the silver plate.
16. C. Afeltra, "Vincenzo Gemito," *Lettera 29* (March 1929): 266: "Nessuno sa che Medusa è esistita realmente. Tutti credono che essa sia il frutto di una favola mitologica. Io solo l'ho conosciuta realmente viva, vera, a Parigi. Io e il Padreterno soltanto sappiamo che Medusa esiste." It is not known whether, if Gemito actually made this statement, he was speaking literally, referring to the model who posed for him in Paris, or simply attempting to convey the vitality and potency of such mythological figures for him.



43D Detail, signature and snakes

## LUIA ROLDÁN, CALLED LA ROLDANA

Seville 1652–Madrid 1706

*Saint Ginés de la Jara*

169[2?]

Gilt and polychrome wood with glass eyes

H: 175.9 cm (69 ¼ in.)

85.SD.161

## MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Inscribed on the top of the base, [LUI]A RO[LD]AN, ESC[U]L[TO]RA DE CAMAR. AÑO 169[2?] (partially obliterated); also inscribed in several locations on the garment's sleeves and hem: S. GINES DE LAXARA.

## TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

X rays reveal that the figure of the saint was basically constructed from two vertically stacked, hollow, rectangular boxes, each made of four wood planks butt-joined with glue and nails. The upper box forms the front of the chest, the neck, the figure's back, and the back of the head. The bottom portion of the upper box fits into the somewhat larger lower box, which extends from the waist to the bottom of the robe. Additional pieces of wood were added to fill out the form or were carved separately and attached: vertical planks for drapery folds; the right foot, constructed of three different pieces of wood joined to the main body beneath the hem of the robe; the chasuble; and the arms. The hands were also carved separately and made to be removable; each was attached to the forearm, inside the sleeve, by means of a dowel. The face and beard were carved of a single, separate piece of wood, attached to the head along a vertical seam in front of the ears, and the proper right ear was pieced in. The eyes are glass and were probably glued in position before the front and back halves of the head were joined. Knots and seams were covered with cloth to even out the surface. The base was carved separately but is original to the sculpture. Microscopic wood

identification of samples (B. Hoadly, 1994) showed the main body and the base to be Scots pine, with the added pieces primarily cypress.

Analysis of cross sections (N. Khandekar and M. Schilling, 1998) from various locations on the sculpture demonstrated the sequence of materials used to compose the flesh tones (*encarnaciones*) and the illusionistic brocade of the garment (*estofado*). The entire wood sculpture was first covered with animal glue, sometimes mixed with gypsum, to even out the surface and to prevent the binding medium of subsequent layers to be absorbed by the pores of the wood. The sculpture was then covered with several layers of fine gesso (calcium sulfate dihydrate). For the flesh tones, lead white, organic red, and smalt for the veins were applied in a linseed oil medium. The garment was achieved using a red bole, over which gold leaf was applied and burnished. Light gray pigment (lead white and charcoal), followed by darker gray and then browns (brown being varying mixtures of umber, charcoal, and iron reds) in an egg tempera medium were applied in thin layers over the gold; the paint was scratched through or removed according to a pattern, revealing the gold beneath it. Punch marks and white and black highlights were added directly to the exposed gold.

Although relatively well preserved when acquired, the statue required extensive cleaning, consolidation, and inpainting. An old, darkened sandarac varnish had been applied to the front and sides of the figure, but not the back, indicating its placement in a niche or against a wall; this varnish was removed. Layers of grime were cleaned from face, beard, hands, and robe. Losses to the *estofado* were minor enough to allow for light toning and inpainting. The missing cuff of the right sleeve, as well as losses to the right thumb and tips of the second and third fingers, were replaced. The repaired cuff was textured and inpainted in a manner better matching that of the original. The base of the sculpture had been covered by a streaky, granular green paint,

which obscured the original details and subtle shadings. This later overpaint was removed, the surface was cleaned, and losses to the original paint and gilding around the base were toned.

## PROVENANCE

Possibly commissioned by Charles II as a gift for a royal convent or monastery; Heim Gallery, London, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

## EXHIBITIONS

*Spanish Polychrome Sculpture, 1500–1800, in United States Collections*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 21 April–26 June 1994 (not in catalogue).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Acquisitions/1985," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 264, no. 255; R. Westmoreland and T.-A. Hermanès, "Examination and Treatment of a Seventeenth-Century Spanish Polychrome Sculpture by José Caro," in *Conservation of the Iberian and Latin American Cultural Heritage: Preprints of the Contributions to the 11C Madrid Conference*, ed. H. W. M. Hodges et al. (London, 1992), 175–78; "Conservation News: Sculpture," *J. Paul Getty Museum Calendar* (summer 1994), unpaginated; M. Sullivan, "Giving Spain Its Due," *Daily News*, 23 April 1994, 16–17; M.-T. Alvarez, "The Reattribution of a Seventeenth-Century Spanish Polychrome Sculpture," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996): 61–68; J. Bassett and P. Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, 1997), 82; P. Fusco, *Summary Catalogue of European Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), 44; *The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), 261; J. Walsh and D. Gribbon, *The J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Collections: A Museum for the New Century* (Los Angeles, 1997), 203; M. Cambareri, in *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: European Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1998), 76–77.





44A Back view



44B Detail, inscription in reserve on hem of garment, identifying subject

THIS FIGURE OF AN ELDERLY, BEARDED SAINT is sculpted fully in the round and exhibits the same refinement of decoration and finish on all sides. He strides forward with his right foot, which barely touches the illusionistic ground painted on the top of the original wood base. His left foot is planted firmly and appears to bear most of his weight. The fingers of the saint's outstretched right hand are fully open, and this gesture—combined with his parted lips and wide-eyed, penetrating gaze—gives him the appearance of being surprised or awed, perhaps by a heavenly vision. The figure's left arm is bent forward, and his fingers are posed as if holding an object, most likely a staff, now missing; a small, unpainted, circular area on the base indicates the original position of the staff's termination. The saint wears a long gown patterned with fleurs-de-lis and foliate ornament, executed in the *estofado* technique of paint over gold leaf, which simulates the rich brocade of contemporary liturgical garb. The vestment takes the form of a full-length tunic, gathered at the waist by a triple-knotted rope cord, with a chasuble resting over the shoulders and a friar's hood at the back. The saint's flesh tones (*encarnaciones*) are painted with extreme

delicacy as well as realism, displaying subtle tonal transitions between the pale flesh, ruddy cheeks, bulging blue veins, and raw, chapped knuckles and toes. The glass eyes and the painted lower lashes enhance the verisimilitude of the facial features; the upper eyelashes are missing, which suggests that they were originally made of real hair and have since fallen out.

Inscriptions in the reserves around the hem of the robe identify the figure as Saint Ginés de la Jara (see FIG. 44B), a historical personality whose cult, originating in the Spanish region of Murcia, had by the seventeenth century expanded northward to include such cities as Madrid and Saragossa. According to one eighteenth-century writer, Saint Ginés was the son of the French monarchs Rolan and Oliva and the nephew of Charlemagne.<sup>1</sup> His purported association with French royalty explains the incorporation of the fleur-de-lis into his iconography. The accounts of Saint Ginés's life, which vary considerably, seem to agree that he came to Spain in the eighth century, perhaps to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, and settled near Murcia, becoming a monk or hermit.<sup>2</sup> From at least the fifteenth century on,



44C Profile from proper right



44D Detail, face



44E Profile from proper left

the saint is depicted wearing a monastic habit and holding a staff to symbolize both his pilgrimage and his hermetic life. The lack of sandals in the Getty figure further alludes to this aspect of the saint's humble status and lifestyle. A monastery dedicated to Saint Ginés de la Jara was established at Murcia and directed by the Augustinian order; by the sixteenth century Franciscans had taken over the monastery and cult. Early sources also mention a reliquary of the head of Saint Ginés located in Cartagena, Spain.<sup>3</sup>

When acquired by the Museum in 1985, the statue of Saint Ginés was attributed to the Spanish sculptor José Caro (active in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century) and dated 1699. This attribution was based primarily on a misreading of the signature on the base, which was interpreted as: CARO [FR?]AN[C?]ESC[?] L[D?] OBRA DE CAMAR AÑO 169[9?]. José Caro came from a family of sculptors living in Orihuela, in the region of Murcia. His association with Murcia, the center of the Saint Ginés cult, and his purported execution of a *retablos* and statue of the saint for the hermitage of Saint Ginés de la Jara, outside the walls of Cartagena, seemed to strengthen the attribution. In 1996, however, Mari-Tere Alvarez correctly read the inscription as: [LUI]S[A] RO[LD]AN, ESC[U]L[TO]RA DE CAMAR. AÑO 169[2?], thereby securing the statue's attribution to the court artist Luisa Roldán. Known as "La Roldana," she was in 1692 appointed "sculptor to the bedchamber" (*escultora de cámara*) by Charles II.<sup>4</sup> The Getty's statue of Saint Ginés was thus established as Roldán's only large-scale work, and her only polychrome wood sculpture, outside Spain.<sup>5</sup>

Luisa Roldán was born in Seville and learned the art of sculpture from her father, Pedro Roldán (1624–99), who himself had trained in Granada and gained prominence in Seville after the death of that city's foremost sculptor, Juan Martínez Montañés, in 1649.<sup>6</sup> Luisa was one of the few female artists in Spain to achieve independent recognition, although at least two of her siblings, Maria Josefa and Francisca, also practiced in their father's workshop. In 1671 Luisa married another sculptor, Luis Antonio de los Arcos (1652–1711), and from around 1684 the couple established their own studio in Cádiz, collaborating on commissions for polychrome wood devotional figures and groups. Sometime in 1688 or 1689 the family moved to Madrid, where Luisa was

appointed official court sculptor in 1692, though she seems not to have received a stipend or actual payments for her position until 1697.<sup>7</sup> In addition to her life-size sculptures, Roldán also began producing small terra-cotta groups of religious subjects while in Madrid. After the death of Charles II her position at court was renewed by Philip V in 1701. Around 1703 Luisa began receiving payments from her only known private patron, Don Juan de Dios de Silva y Mendoza, x duque del Infantado (1672–1737). She was named *academica di merito* by the Accademia di San Luca in Rome on the day of her death, January 10, 1706.

In her life-size polychrome wood figures, such as the Getty's *Saint Ginés*, Roldán's style is marked by its vitality and theatrical appeal, as well as by her expert mastery of anatomy, evident in the finely carved hands, well-defined bone structure, expressive facial features, and raised veins traced in blue. In fact, she earned great fame for her exceptional modeling of hands and feet.<sup>8</sup> *Saint Ginés* shares with Roldán's other statues certain design motives, such as the patterned gilt border along the edge of the base, which also appears in her first royal commission, the 1692 group *The Archangel Michael Fighting the Devil* in the Escorial. In addition, Roldán's concern for placing her figures in a naturalistic landscape setting by incorporating minutely observed, often symbolic plants and animals into the base—a feature particularly characteristic of her small terra-cotta groups—is also apparent in the delicately painted foliage on the base of the Getty statue.

After her official appointment, Luisa was able to sign her work with the title “sculptor to the bedchamber” whether or not the object was a royal commission.<sup>9</sup> Although only about eight life-size, single male figures by her are known, Roldán claimed in 1701 to have executed more than eighty statues for the king of Spain.<sup>10</sup> Despite the fact that she did not specify their scale and medium, at least some of these works must have been large wood figures, perhaps representing saints. The exceptionally high quality of the carving and the complexity of the *estofado* design in the Getty statue make it likely that *Saint Ginés* was produced as a royal commission, possibly to be given to one of the monasteries or convents patronized by the Spanish king. It has been proposed that, once the carving was completed,

Roldán's husband may have executed the *encarnaciones* and *estofado* on the figure of *Saint Ginés*.<sup>11</sup> The painter seems more likely, however, to have been Luis Antonio's brother, Tomás de los Arcos, who also carried out the polychromy on the statues of San Germán and San Servando for the Cádiz city council's chapter room (now in Cádiz Cathedral) and on the group of the Archangel Michael for the Escorial.<sup>12</sup>

*Saint Ginés de la Jara* epitomizes the startling realism typical of Baroque sculpture in Spain, which was intended to elicit an empathic response in worshipers, to inspire piety, and to guide their prayer and devotional practices. Furthermore, such veristic images expressed the Spanish Counter-Reformation reaction to iconoclasm as well as to Protestant challenges to the cult of saints. The Getty sculpture's excellent condition and the preservation of its original polychromy, without successive layers of later overpaint, argue against its ever having functioned as a processional image. It may have been displayed permanently on a pedestal against a wall, in a niche over an altar, or as part of an altarpiece. With its pale skin tones, white hair and beard, and reflective gold patterns, one can imagine how striking this statue would have been in its original setting, seen by the flickering light of numerous candles and lamps in a dark chapel.

The centrality of such images to the devotional practice of the seventeenth-century viewer has been much discussed.<sup>13</sup> Their role in relation to the maker's religious experience, however, has yet to be explored. In 1684 Luisa Roldán executed a masterful, poignant rendition of the suffering Christ in her *Ecce Homo* for the Regina Angelorum Convent in Cádiz (now in the cathedral). A document found inside the head of the figure records the sculptor's name, dates the statue's completion, invokes the blessings of those against whom Roldán and her husband have sinned, and requests that others make suffrages to pardon their souls.<sup>14</sup> Such tantalizing evidence suggests that, at least for Luisa Roldán, sculpting religious images may have been a spiritual act, like a votive offering. The resulting statues, such as the Getty's *Saint Ginés de la Jara*, may therefore have functioned as vehicles of religious devotion for their maker as well as their beholder.

PEGGY FOGELMAN



44F Detail, inscription of signature on base

#### Notes

1. F. Cascales, *Discursos históricos de la ciudad de Murcia* (Murcia, 1775), 271.
2. The legends and imagery of Saint Ginés, and their sources, are cited by Alvarez, "Reattribution," 66–68, nn. 2, 8, 9.
3. W. M. Whitehall and G. Prado, *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela, 1944), chap. 8, as cited in *ibid.*, n. 2.
4. Alvarez, "Reattribution," 61–68.
5. Roldán's autograph small-scale terra-cotta works in non-Spanish collections include *The Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine* and *The Death of Saint Mary Magdalen* in the Hispanic Society of America, New York, for which see B. Gilman Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," pts. 1–3, *Connoisseur* 155, nos. 624–26 (1964): 128–32, 199–203, and 269–73; a *Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist* in the Loyola University Museum of Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque Art in Chicago, for which see D. F. Rowe, *The First Ten Years: Notable Acquisitions of Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque Art* (Chicago, 1979); and *The Virgin and Child with Saint Diego of Alcalá* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for which see M. Trusted, *Spanish Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1996), 70–74, no. 27.
6. The most complete and up-to-date biographical information on Luisa Roldán is found in C. Hall-van Elsen, "The Life and Work of the Sevillian Sculptor Luisa Roldán (1652–1706) with a Catalogue Raisonné" (Ph.D. diss., La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1992); Trusted, *Spanish Sculpture*, 70; M. Trusted, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 26, 553; C. Hall-van Elsen, in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. D. Gaze (London and Chicago, 1997), vol. 2, 1192–94.
7. Although Charles II had ordered that Roldán receive five reales per day in 1692, she apparently had great difficulty collecting her stipend, and Hall-van Elsen ("Life and Work," 143) asserts that the first record of actual payment, as opposed to payment in principle, occurred on December 9, 1697. See also Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," 128.
8. G. Mayáns y Siscar, *Arte de pintar* (Valencia, 1854), 46–47.
9. Alvarez, "Reattribution," 67, n. 5.
10. Hall-van Elsen, "Life and Work," 147, 299, app. 11.23. Hall-van Elsen lists Roldán's accepted works on pp. 178–79.
11. Alvarez, "Reattribution," 65.
12. Hall-van Elsen, "Life and Work," 87, 190.
13. See especially G. McKim-Smith's essay, "Spanish Polychrome Sculpture and Its Critical Misfortunes," in *Spanish Polychrome Sculpture, 1500–1800, in United States Collections*, exh. cat. (New York: Spanish Institute, 1993), 13–31.
14. Hall-van Elsen, "Life and Work," 78–79. Documentation of the actual commission does not survive. The sculpture has been tentatively associated with a document recording the donation by the *racionero* Francisco Maderuelo of an *Ecce Homo* by an unnamed sculptor to a chapel of the convent (E. Hormigo Sanchez, "Historia de una escultura: El *Ecce Homo* de la catedral," *Diario de Cádiz*, 2 April 1985). The *Ecce Homo* had not been attributed to Luisa Roldán until the discovery of the document inside its head during restoration.

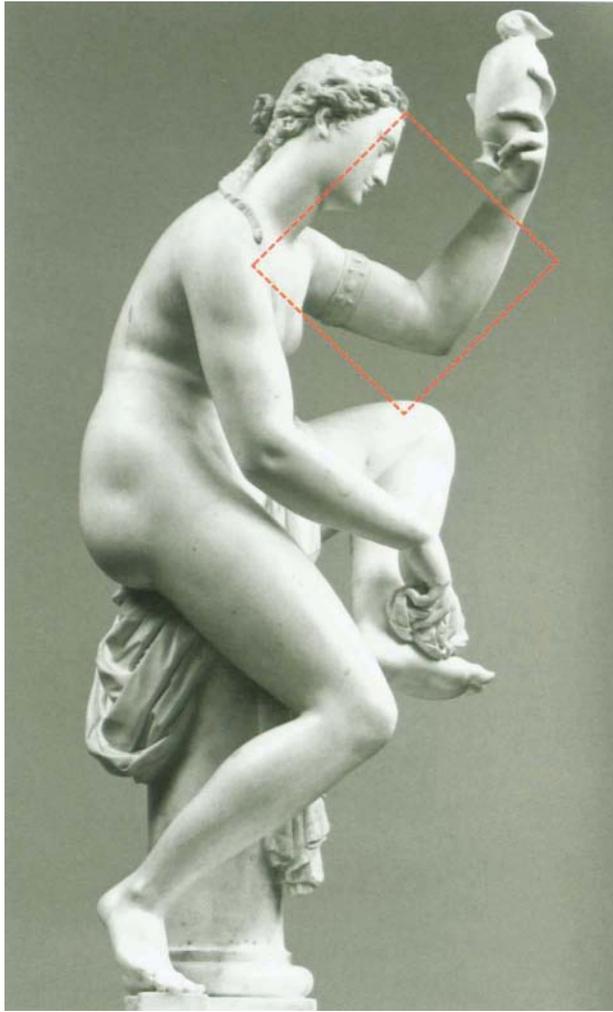
## APPENDIX A

### X RAYS OF SELECTED SCULPTURES

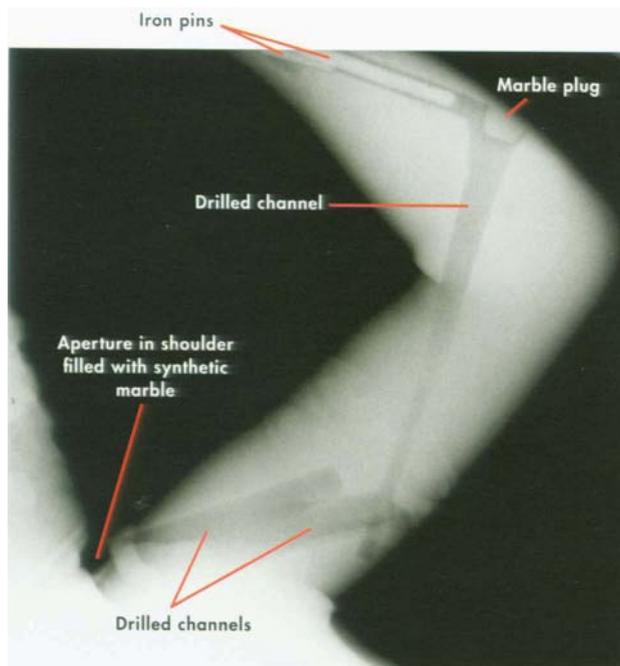
X rays reveal features normally hidden inside a sculpture by indicating areas of greater density, which appear white, and of lesser density, which appear dark. X rays can serve as tools to help determine how a sculpture was made or to reveal changes, such as breaks and repairs, that have occurred over time. The amount and type of information vary according to the individual sculpture and to the type of material being examined. X-ray images of bronzes are often most revealing, since evidence of the complex sequence of steps involved in casting is often preserved within the metal itself, or within its hollow interior. This can include indications of how the core and wax model were built, how sections were joined, or how casting flaws were repaired. By revealing the voids and tool marks in terra-cotta sculptures, X rays can help determine the method by which the sculpture was formed (whether press-molded, slip-cast, modeled freehand, or formed by a combination of methods). Although X rays can also be used on marble sculptures, the crystalline quality of the stone, and the resultant internal scatter of the X rays, tends to produce images lacking in contrast and focus. Generally X rays can aid in identifying later restorations to a sculpture. Re-adhered breaks, drilled voids, added metal pins or staples, as well as other restoration materials, such as lead or synthetic fills, are usually easily distinguished.

There can be inherent difficulties in reading X rays. The process of locating and interpreting features within the X ray is often quite complicated, as elements on the front and back surfaces, as well as the interior of the sculpture, are overlaid together onto the film. Even more problematic can be the reading of X rays taken from complex groupings in which there is considerable overlap of compositional elements. In addition, density variations often mean that the correct exposure for one area results in the overexposure or underexposure of an adjacent area.

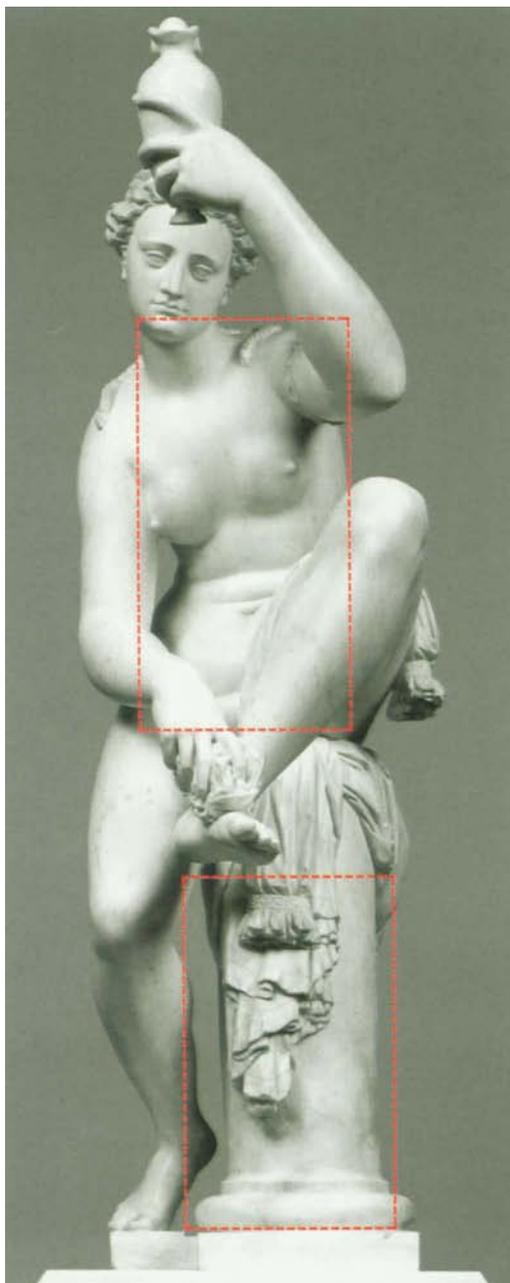
X rays of six different sculptures have been included in this appendix: four bronzes, a terra-cotta, and a marble. These particular X rays were chosen because they are relatively easy to read and because they illustrate the types of images that are produced from different sculptural materials in various types of compositions (relief, single-figure, and complex figural groups). These examples also represent the range of information commonly used in preparing the technical description for each of the catalogue entries.



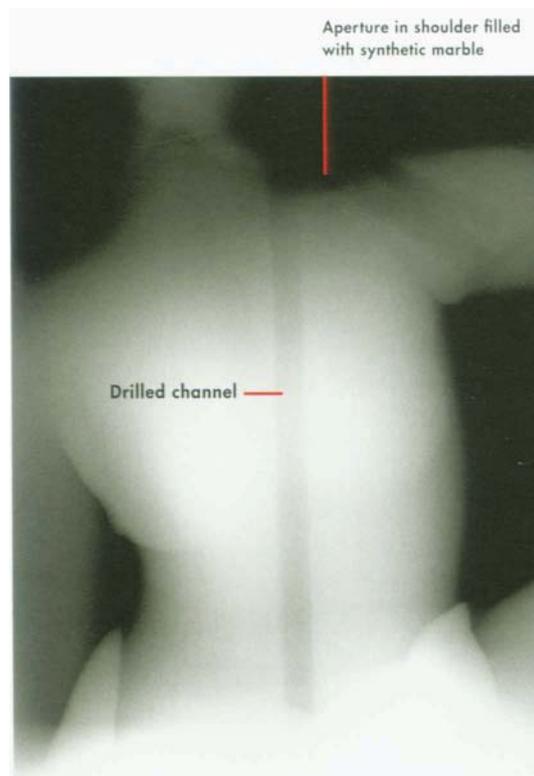
1 Giambologna, *Female Figure*, marble, profile from proper right (cat. no. 12)



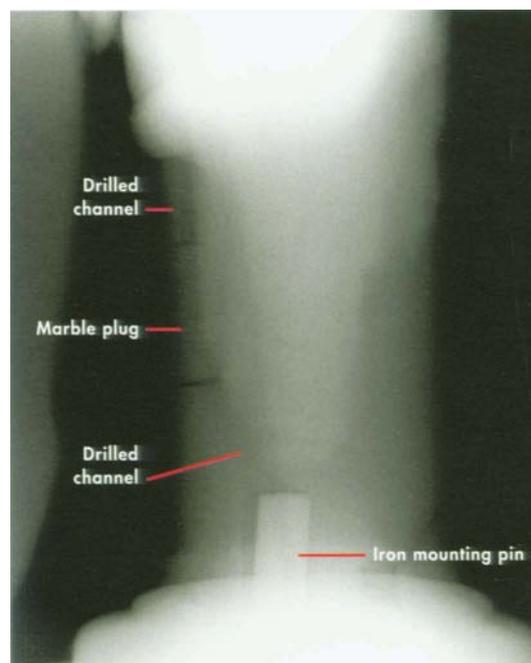
2 Giambologna, *Female Figure*, marble, detail, proper left arm (cat. no. 12)



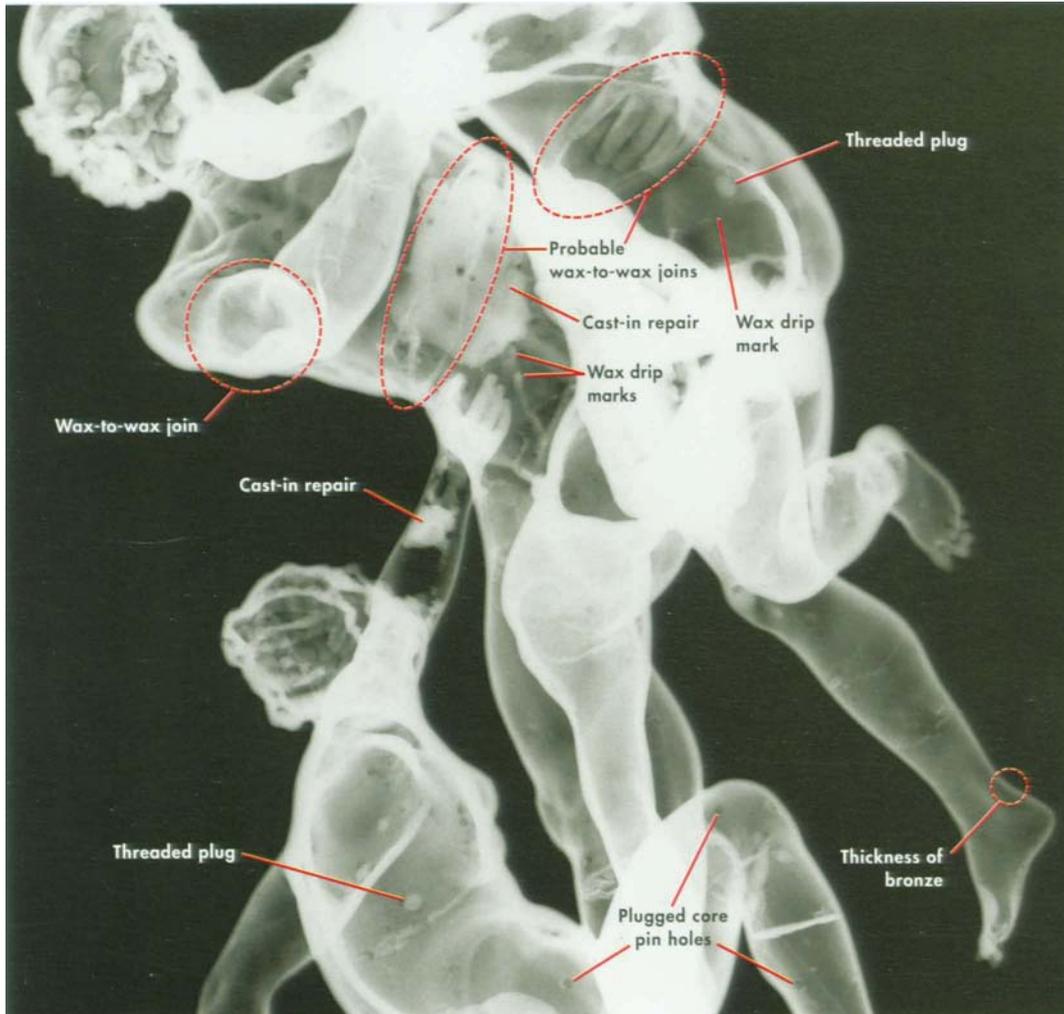
3 Giambologna, *Female Figure*, marble, front (cat. no. 12)



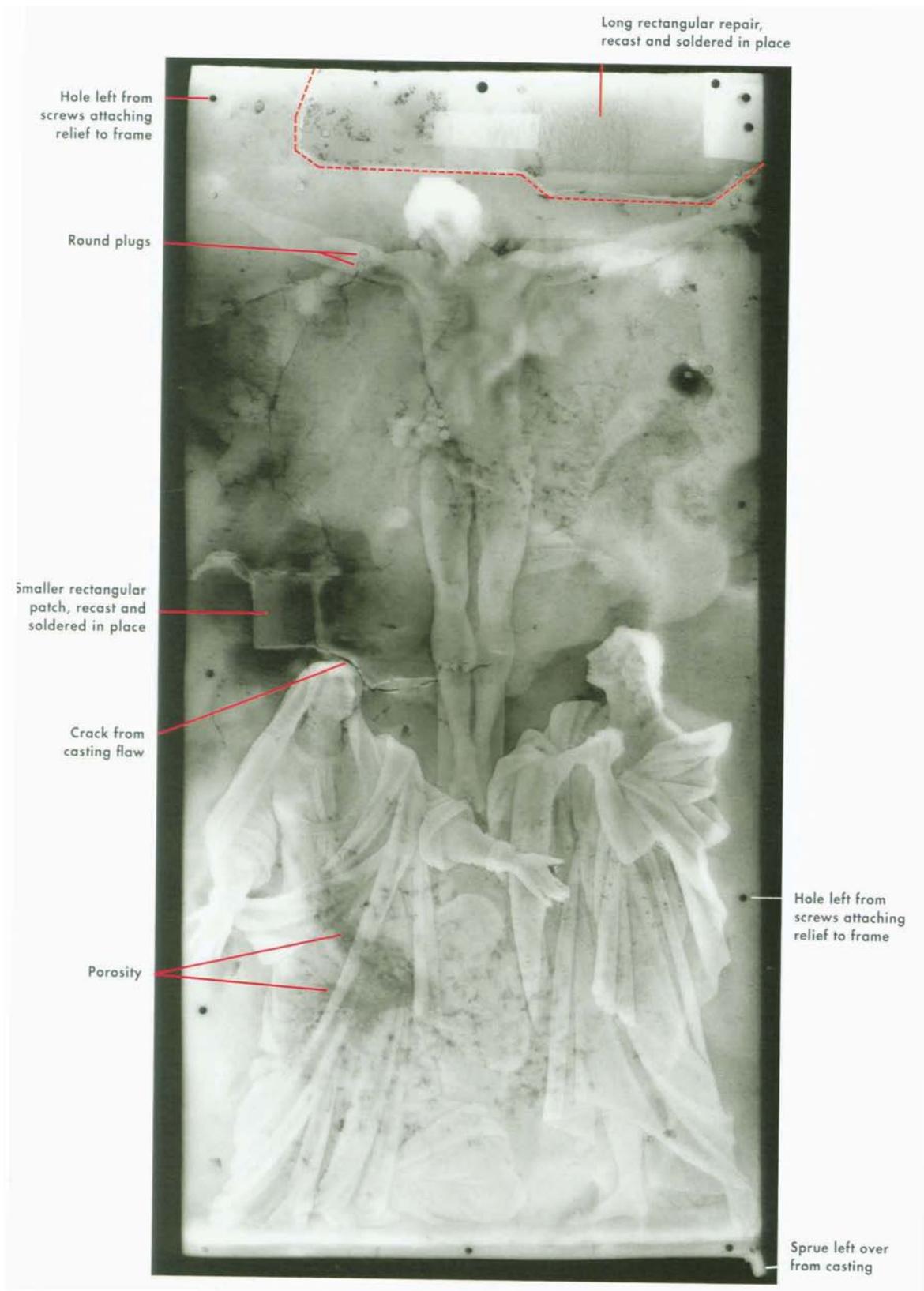
4 Giambologna, *Female Figure*, marble, detail, torso (cat. no. 12)



5 Giambologna, *Female Figure*, marble, detail, column and base (cat. no. 12)



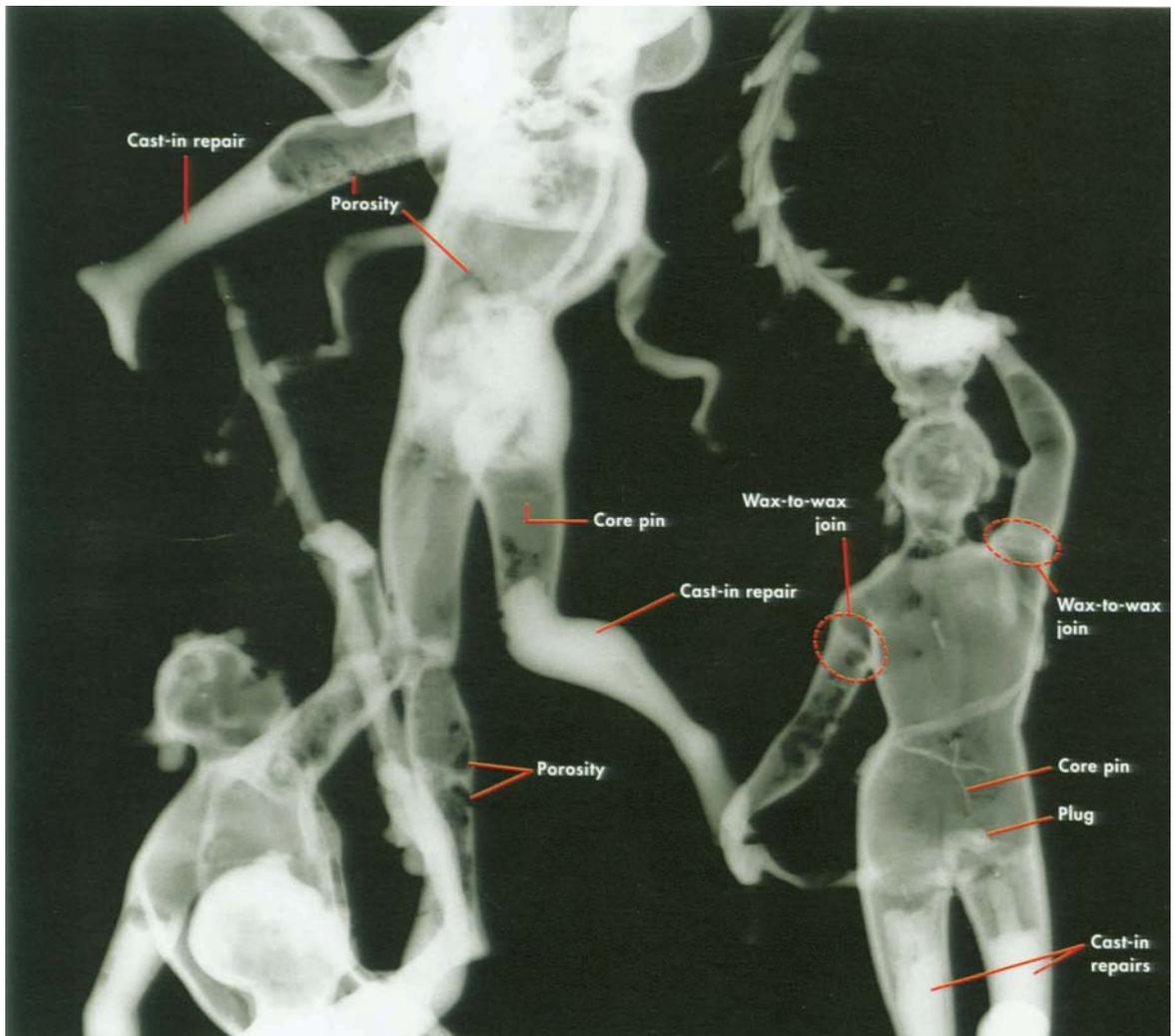
6 Giovanni Francesco Susini, *The Abduction of Helen by Paris*, bronze, detail, three-quarter view from proper left (cat. no. 24)



7 Francesco Mochi, *Tabernacle Door with the Crucifixion*, bronze (cat. no. 25)



8 Giovanni Battista Foggini, *Dancing Faun*, bronze, front (cat. no. 30)



9 Francesco Bertos, *Group of Eleven Figures (Allegory of Autumn)*, bronze, detail, profile from proper right (cat. no. 36)



10 Francesco Antonio Franzoni, *Sketch for a Fireplace Overmantel*, terra-cotta (cat. no. 41)

# APPENDIX B

## ANALYSIS OF BRONZE ALLOYS

			Tin Sn	Zinc Zn	Lead Pb	Arsenic As	Iron Fe	Nickel Ni	Silver Ag
		<i>Maximum detection limit</i>	0.0004	0.007	0.0004	0.1	0.4	0.007	0.009
	Sample Location†	Report Date							
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Bull</i> , c. 1510–25 (cat. no. 2)	bottom, back left hoof	2/01	*1.62	*7.7	*4.7	0.211	*0.42	*0.174	*0.123
Antico, <i>Bust of a Young Man</i> , c. 1520 (cat. no. 3)	right armpit	10/95	3.85	0.494	3.55	0.665	nd	0.223	0.262
Antico, <i>Bust of a Young Man</i> , date unknown (cat. no. 3)	back of gilt drape, modern addition	8/96	*1.03	*23.6	*1.59	int	*0.5	*0.0655	*0.0411
After Cellini, <i>Satyr</i> , modeled c. 1542, date of cast uncertain (cat. no. 6)	back, right side of head near the right hand	5/95	2.26	12.5	12.5	0.25	0.488	0.126	0.0742
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Andiron</i> (female herm), c. 1540–45 (cat. no. 7)	under foot	12/95	*3.33	*6.87	1.51	0.191	0.491	0.304	0.0844
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Andiron</i> (male herm), c. 1540–45 (cat. no. 7)	under foot	12/95	*2.47	*7.08	2.14	0.293	0.432	0.39	0.113
Circle of Sansovino, <i>Venus and Cupid</i> , c. 1550 (cat. no. 8)	right foot	5/95	2.53	2.48	10.1	0.463	1.18	0.213	0.438
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Mortar</i> , c. 1550 (cat. no. 9)	inner surface	9/95	7.44	0.148	15.1	0.335	nd	0.4	0.194
Vittoria, <i>Mercury</i> , 1559–60 (cat. no. 10)	base	9/95	3.21	2.73	10.1	0.31	0.533	0.284	0.0785
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Sphinx</i> [.1], c. 1560 (cat. no. 11)	base	10/95	3.45	0.299	1.06	nd	nd	0.301	0.102
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Sphinx</i> [.2], c. 1560 (cat. no. 11)	rim of base	10/95	4.14	1.36	2.03	nd	nd	0.292	0.054
Volute scroll, c. 1560 (under cat. no. 11)	from inner sprue	8/96	*7.82	*0.23	*1.56	int	*0.48	*0.308	*0.069
Volute scroll, c. 1560 (under cat. no. 11)	from inner sprue	8/96	*7.52	*0.48	*3.67	int	*0.40	*0.581	*0.0721
Campagna, <i>Infant</i> , 1605–7 (cat. no. 16)	top of head	3/95	4.42	0.414	8.73	0.414	3.14	0.745	0.106
Campagna, <i>Infant</i> , 1605–7 (cat. no. 16)	under right foot	3/95	5.02	0.681	9.88	0.456	2.08	0.708	0.116
Campagna, <i>Infant</i> , 1605–7 (cat. no. 16)	back	3/95	4.69	0.758	9.97	0.434	2.4	0.679	0.108
Aspetti, <i>Male Nude</i> , c. 1600 (cat. no. 18)	under base	5/95	4.64	3.55	4.53	nd	nd	0.175	0.0386
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Dog</i> , c. 1600 (cat. no. 19)	base	10/95	8.35	0.0412	3.54	0.154	0.9	0.227	0.0839
Unknown Italian artist, <i>Bear</i> , c. 1600 (cat. no. 19)	base	10/95	7.3	0.0364	2.78	0.14	0.74	0.229	0.0719
After Bernini, <i>Neptune</i> , probably 17th cent. (cat. no. 22)	rim of base	10/95	7.14	0.265	3.44	0.179	nd	0.242	0.0775
Susini, <i>Lion Attacking Horse</i> , first quarter 17th cent. (cat. no. 23)	rock under lion's foot	7/96	*9.1	*0.0724	7.27	nd	nd	0.0926	0.0194

Gold Au	Antimony Sb	Bismuth Bi	Cobalt Co	Cadmium Cd	Molybdenum Mo	Tungsten W	Palladium Pd	Rhodium Rh	Aluminum Al	Strontium Sr	Barium Ba	Europium Eu	Gadolinium Gd
0.003	0.003	0.0001	0.0002	0.0003	0.0003	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.002	0.0001	0.0005	0.0001	0.0001
nd	*0.174	*0.008	*0.0116	nd	nd	0.0037	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.575	0.0109	0.00769	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.0003	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	*0.031	0.012	*0.0017	*0.004	nd	nd	nd	0.00015	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.451	0.0103	0.00624	nd	nd	0.00417	nd	0.00034	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.0689	0.0031	0.00706	nd	nd	0.00018	nd	0.00012	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.175	0.00478	0.00985	nd	nd	bdl	nd	0.00013	0.002	nd	0.0013	nd	nd
nd	0.408	0.0102	0.00831	0.00461	nd	0.00205	nd	0.0003	0.004	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.73	0.012	0.00287	0.0051	nd	0.00029	0.0015	0.00054	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.36	0.0103	0.0152	0.0052	nd	0.00447	0.002	0.00041	0.0045	0.00048	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.129	0.00192	0.0016	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00024	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.158	0.00309	0.0025	nd	nd	0.0012	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	*0.316	0.00523	*0.0067	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00018	nd	nd	*0.001	0.00011	0.00022
nd	*0.445	0.0086	*0.0088	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00016	nd	nd	*0.0013	0.00012	0.00025
nd	0.993	0.0107	0.0115	0.00351	nd	0.00016	nd	0.00031	0.0037	nd	0.00101	nd	nd
nd	1.19	0.0114	0.00888	0.00389	nd	0.00068	nd	0.00029	0.0168	nd	0.00161	nd	nd
nd	1.01	0.0114	0.00986	0.00476	nd	nd	nd	0.00025	nd	nd	0.0007	nd	nd
nd	0.176	0.000324	0.00335	nd	0.0022	0.00173	nd	0.00017	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.369	0.00562	0.00311	nd	nd	0.00052	nd	0.0003	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.309	0.00439	0.00356	nd	nd	0.00285	nd	0.0003	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.201	0.00608	0.0042	nd	nd	0.00615	nd	0.0001	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
0.0033	0.0837	0.00292	0.0126	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00016	nd	nd	0.0008	nd	0.00017

			Tin Sn	Zinc Zn	Lead Pb	Arsenic As	Iron Fe	Nickel Ni	Silver Ag
		<i>Maximum detection limit</i>	0.0004	0.007	0.0004	0.1	0.4	0.007	0.009
	<b>Sample Location†</b>	<b>Report Date</b>							
Susini, <i>Lion Attacking Horse</i> , first quarter 17th cent. (cat. no. 23)	excess from cast-on front of horse	7/96	*8.91	*0.254	12	nd	nd	0.114	0.0284
Susini, <i>Lion Attacking Bull</i> first quarter 17th cent. (cat. no. 23)	bull's hoof	7/96	*8	*0.102	7.9	nd	nd	0.445	0.032
Susini, <i>Abduction of Helen</i> , 1627 (cat. no. 24)	rim of base	10/95	6.67	1.23	9.27	0.341	nd	0.202	0.092
Mochi, <i>Tabernacle Door</i> , c. 1625–35 (cat. no. 25)	sprue	7/96	*6.93	*0.0201	2.73	nd	nd	0.0544	0.0481
Tacca, <i>Putto</i> (left shield), 1650–55 (cat. no. 27)	below foot	5/95	4.3	0.116	1.99	0.166	nd	0.613	0.0579
Tacca, <i>Putto</i> (right shield), 1650–55 (cat. no. 27)	below foot	5/95	4.06	0.0716	1.84	0.15	nd	0.499	0.0548
Foggini, <i>Faun</i> , c. 1700 (cat. no. 30)	bottom rim, back	2/01	*6.3	*0.56	*1.97	0.18	nd	*0.12	*0.113
Foggini, <i>Bacchus and Ariadne</i> , first quarter 18th cent. (cat. no. 31)	under Ariadne's left foot	5/95	2.06	3.2	2.47	0.29	0.491	0.205	0.131
Foggini, <i>Laocoön</i> , c. 1720 (cat. no. 32)	bottom rim, back, right side	2/01	*3.4	*2.04	*6.5	0.216	nd	*0.099	*0.128
Soldani Benzi, <i>Venus and Adonis</i> , c. 1715–16 (cat. no. 34)	base under Adonis's buttock	2/01	*6.6	*0.049	*1.31	1.07	*0.49	*0.125	*0.149
Soldani Benzi, <i>Andromeda and the Sea Monster</i> , cast c. 1725 (cat. no. 35)	under front bottom edge	8/99	*5.4	*0.57	2.24	0.73	0.88	*0.195	*0.142
Soldani Benzi, <i>Leda and the Swan</i> , cast c. 1725 (cat. no. 35)	under front bottom edge	8/99	*5.1	*2.55	1.95	0.83	nd	*0.212	*0.082
Bertos, <i>Group of Eleven Figures</i> , first half 18th cent. (cat. no. 36)	base under boar's left hoof	2/01	*0.86	*3.7	*1.27	nd	nd	*0.133	*0.082
Bertos, <i>Stupidity and Fortune</i> , first half 18th cent. (cat. no. 37)	left foot	2/01	*4.8	*7.4	*4.1	0.229	*0.5	*0.204	*0.074
Bertos, <i>Industry and Virtue</i> , first half 18th cent. (cat. no. 37)	left foot	2/01	*5.8	*5.6	*5.3	0.275	nd	*0.222	*0.077

bdl below detection limit

nd element not detected

int interference from digestion matrix

\* indicates quantitative results (all other results are semiquantitative)

† descriptions of left and right mean proper left and proper right

Gold Au	Antimony Sb	Bismuth Bi	Cobalt Co	Cadmium Cd	Molybdenum Mo	Tungsten W	Palladium Pd	Rhodium Rh	Aluminum Al	Strontium Sr	Barium Ba	Europium Eu	Gadolinium Gd
0.003	0.003	0.0001	0.0002	0.0003	0.0003	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.002	0.0001	0.0005	0.0001	0.0001
nd	0.188	0.00486	0.0088	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00018	nd	nd	0.0007	nd	0.00011
nd	0.229	0.00586	0.01	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00013	nd	nd	0.001	nd	0.00028
nd	1.11	0.0129	0.0055	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00018	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
0.0053	0.154	0.00257	0.0014	nd	nd	0.0002	nd	0.00014	nd	nd	0.0006	nd	nd
nd	0.238	0.00801	0.00094	nd	nd	0.0005	nd	0.00013	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.202	0.00772	0.194	0.00812	nd	0.00396	nd	0.00014	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	*0.264	*0.0082	*0.00298	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
0.00884	0.262	0.00344	0.00283	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.00017	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	*0.55	*0.0143	*0.0041	nd	nd	0.0016	nd	nd	*0.00207	*0.00092	nd	nd	nd
nd	*0.33	*0.0071	*0.0089	nd	nd	0.00026	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
0.0051	0.26	0.0069	0.0071	nd	nd	0.00211	0.00047	0.00024	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	0.264	0.0062	0.0121	nd	nd	0.00104	0.00047	0.00023	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
nd	*0.185	*0.0066	*0.004	nd	nd	0.0141	nd	nd	nd	*0.00012	nd	nd	nd
*0.0034	*0.41	*0.045	*0.0082	*0.00131	nd	0.012	nd	nd	*0.127	nd	nd	nd	nd
*0.0032	*0.53	*0.037	*0.0082	nd	nd	0.0024	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd

The alloy compositions have been analyzed by inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) using a Quadrupole ICPMS, VG Plasmaquad II, or PE Elan 6000. Solid carbide drill bits have been used to take samples. The data are by weight percent. The analytical precision for quantitative data is between 5 and 10 percent and up to 50 percent for semiquantitative data. Detection limits vary by element and also depend on sample size. As a result, the individual data reports have different detection limit values. For accurate comparison of data in this chart, the largest detection limit given among individual data reports for a given element has been selected as the maximum limit of detection. Some of the

original data reports contain weight percent values for elements at levels below the maximum detection level in this chart. In these cases, the results have been reported as "nd."

Only twenty-one of the sixty-five analyzed elements are reported in this chart. Forty-three of the remaining analyzed elements are not listed since they were not detected in any of the samples, and they are as follows: Be, B, Br, Ca, Ce, Cs, Cr, Dy, Er, Ga, Ge, Hf, Ho, I, Ir, La, Li, Lu, Hg, Mg, Mn, Nd, Nb, Os, Pt, Pr, Re, Rb, Ru, Sm, Se, Na, Ta, Te, Th, Ti, Tl, Tm, U, V, Yb, Y, Zr. Copper is the major element for all samples and was not quantitatively reported.



# INDEX

Note: Italicized page numbers indicate illustrations. Page numbers followed by the letters *n* and *t* indicate endnotes and tables, respectively.

## A

- Abduction of Helen by Paris* (Susini), 190–99, 355, 362*t*–363*t*  
 Adonis, 235, 268–76  
*Adonis* (Parodi), 235  
*Adoration of the Magi* (Leonardo), 35  
*Adoration of the Magi* (Mantegna), 1  
*Aeneas Fleeing Troy* (Susini), 197  
*Aeneid* (Virgil), 170, 198  
 Alari-Bonacolsi, Pier Jacopo. *See* Antico  
 Alexander the Great, 20, 27  
 Alexander VIII, Pope, 224–31  
 Algardi, Alessandro, 167, 174, 210, 211, 227, 273  
*Allegory of Autumn* (Bertos), 286–92, 358, 362*t*–363*t*  
*Allegory of Spring* (Bertos), 289  
 Allison, Ann H., 18–20, 21  
 Amator, Saint, 8  
*Ambling Horse*, 14  
 Amico, Leonard, 18, 20, 21  
 Ammanati, Bartolomeo, 282  
 Andrea del Sarto, 27, 61  
 Andromachus, 100, 107  
*Andromeda* (Euripides), 280  
*Andromeda and the Sea Monster* (Soldani), 265, 272, 274, 277–85, 362*t*–363*t*  
 Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques, 27, 46  
*Angel* (Fontana), 103, 104  
 Angelini, Giuseppe, 308–10, 312*n*10  
 Anjou, René d', 6  
*Annunciation* (Mochi), 204  
 Anthony Abbot, Saint, 124  
 Anthony of Padua, Saint, 232  
 Antico, 1, 16–23, 360*t*–361*t*  
*antidotum Mithridaticum*, 97, 100  
*Antinous* (Foggini), 254  
 Antoninus Pius, 18, 135, 137  
*Apollo* (Foggini), 254  
*Apollo Belvedere*, 310  
*Apollo Crowning Himself* (Canova), 306–13  
*Apollo and Daphne* (Bernini), 311  
*Apollo and Daphne* (Finelli), 210  
*Apollo and Daphne* (Soldani), 272  
*Apollo Slaying Marsyas* (Foggini), 247, 253  
 Aprile, Francesco, 227  
 Aragon, house of, 4, 6  
*Archangel Michael Fighting the Devil* (Roldán), 350  
 Arcos, Luis Antonio de los, 349, 350  
 Arcos, Tomás de los, 350  
 Aretino, Pietro, 59–60

- Argus  
 in *Mercury and Argus*, 257–67  
 in Sansovino's *Mercury*, 73  
 in Vittoria's *Mercury*, 70, 73  
 Ariadne, 238, 244–49  
 Aspetti, Tiziano, 140–48, 360*t*–361*t*  
*Assumption of the Virgin* (Fontana), 110  
 Avery, Charles, 86, 87, 89, 181, 283
- ## B
- Bacchi, Andrea, 166  
 Bacchus  
 in Foggini's *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 238, 244–49, 362*t*–363*t*  
 in Soldani's *Bacchus and Cupid*, 274  
 in Tacca's *Infant Bacchus*, 220  
 Baldinucci, Filippo, 87, 132, 144, 170, 180, 181–82, 192  
 Baldinucci, Francesco Saverio, 253  
 Bambaia, 36  
 Bandini, Giovanni, 113  
*Baptism of Christ* (Algardi), 174  
 Barberini, Cardinal Carlo, 164–65, 229  
 Barberini, Don Carlo, 164  
 Barberini, Francesco, 164, 226, 229  
 Barberini, Francesco Junior, 226, 227, 229  
 Barberini, Maffeo, Pope Urban VIII, 164, 166, 210  
 Barberini, Maffeo, prince of Palestrina, 229  
 Barberini, Maria, 210, 211  
 Barberini family, 204–6, 210  
 Bargello, Museo Nazionale del, 12, 14, 41, 68, 83, 88, 182, 260, 264, 282  
 Bartolommei family, 217, 221, 223*n*9  
*Bear*, 149–55, 360*t*–361*t*  
*Beheading of the Baptist* (Danti), 82  
 Bellano, Bartolomeo, 12, 14  
 Bellesi, Sandro, 246  
 Bellini, Giovanni, 35  
 Bernini, Gianlorenzo, 192, 210, 227, 311  
*Apollo and Daphne* by, 311  
*Boy Bitten by a Snake* by, 167, 168*n*23  
*Boy on a Dolphin* by, 166, 166, 167, 168*n*23  
*Boy with a Dragon* by, 1, 162–69  
*David* by, 172, 174  
*Neptune and Triton* by, 170–72, 173, 174  
*Neptune with Dolphin* after, 170–76  
*Pluto and Proserpine* by, 170  
*Rape of Proserpine* by, 197  
 Bernini, Pietro, 164, 166, 167  
 Bertos, Francesco, 286–99, 362*t*–363*t*  
 Berzighelli, Camillo, 144  
 Bescapè, Ruggiero, 180, 182  
*Binding of Perseus* (Foggini), 264

- Binding of Prometheus* (Foggini), 247, 253  
 Bolgi, Andrea, 208, 210  
 Bologna, Giovanni. *See* Giambologna  
 Bordoni, Francesco, 59  
 Borghese, Scipione, 211, 211  
 Borghese family, 166, 167, 174  
 Borghini, Raffaello, 86, 87, 132  
 Borromeo, Carlo, 115*n*19, 203, 204  
*Boxers* (Canova), 310  
*Boy Bitten by a Snake* (Bernini), 167  
*Boy on a Dolphin* (Bernini), 166, 166, 167  
*Boy Standing with a Goose*, 167  
*Boy with a Dragon* (Bernini), 1, 162–69  
*Boy with a Tortoise* (Algardi), 167  
 Brambilla, Francesco, 59  
 Brancusi, Constantin, 6  
 Brandani, Federico, 59  
 Brandi, Cesare, 166  
 Braschi family, 322, 325–26  
 Braschi-Onesti, Luigi, 326  
 Breughel, Jan, the Younger, 182  
 Brière, Gaston, 24  
 Briosco, Andrea. *See* Riccio, Andrea  
 bronze, analysis of, 360–63  
*Bronze Serpent* (Foggini), 254  
 Brook, Anthea, 192, 217, 220  
 Brunelleschi, Filippo, 156  
 Bruschi, Gaspero, 257  
 Buen Retiro porcelain factory, 333  
 Bulifon, A., 165  
*Bull Grazing Seen from the Rear* (Bellano), 12  
*Bull with Lowered Head*, 12–15, 360*t*–361*t*  
 Buondelmonti, Francesco Giovacchino, 283  
 Buontalenti, Bernardo, 108  
 Burlington, Lord, 268, 272  
 Busca, Giovanni Battista, 110  
*Bust of Antoninus Pius*, 135, 136  
*Bust of Antonio Cerri* (Algardi), 210  
*Bust of Battista Sforza* (Laurana), 4, 6, 6, 9–10  
*Bust of the Blind Homer* (Cavaceppi), 300  
*Bust of Caracalla*, 18, 303, 303  
*Bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese* (Finelli), 211, 211  
*Bust of Christ* (Caccini), 132  
*Bust of Cleopatra*, 16  
*Bust of Emperor Caracalla* (Cavaceppi), 300–305  
*Bust of Emperor Commodus*, 128–38  
*Bust of Faustina the Younger* (Cavaceppi), 300  
*Bust of Hadrian as a Young Man*, 135, 136  
*Bust of Laura Frangipane* (Bolgi), 208  
*Bust of a Man* (della Robbia), 24–29  
*Bust of a Man (Constantine?)* (della Robbia), 24, 24  
*Bust of Marcus Aurelius* (Godecharle), 136, 136

*Bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli* (Finelli), 210, 210, 211  
*Bust of a Noblewoman* (Finelli), 208–16  
*Bust of the Virgin* (Caccini), 132  
*Bust of a Woman* (Zingarella), 318, 319  
*Bust of a Young Girl* (della Robbia), 26, 27  
*Bust of a Young Man*, 18, 19, 22n8  
*Bust of a Young Man* (Antico), 16–23, 360t–361t  
 Busti, Agostino. *See* Bambaia

## C

Caccini, Giovanni, 131, 132, 135  
 Caffà, Melchiorre, 227  
*Calumny Carrying Off Fame* (Bertos), 297  
*Calvary* (Laurana), 6  
 Campagna, Girolamo, 116–27, 360t–361t  
 Canova, Antonio, 1, 306–21  
*Cantoria* (Donatello), 83  
 Capecciatro, Giuseppe, 314, 334  
 Capranica, Domenico, 208  
 Caracalla, 18, 300–305  
 Caradosso, 36  
 Carcani, Filippo, 227  
 Carlisle, Lord, 135, 136  
 Carloni, Rosella, 322, 325, 327n11–329n11  
 Caro, José, 347  
 Carracci, Annibale, 246  
 Carracci, Ludovico, 158  
 Cartari, Vincenzo, 73  
 Castello, Medici villa at, 149–52  
 Castor, 282  
 Cavaceppi, Bartolomeo, 300–305  
 Cellini, Antonia Nava, 166, 167  
 Cellini, Benvenuto  
   animal sculptures by, 149  
   Francis I's recruitment of, 27  
   *Satyr* after model by, 38–42  
   and *Two Sphinxes*, 78, 82  
   writings of, 1, 78, 108, 122  
 Celsi, Angelo, 208  
 Celsi, Isabella, 208–10  
 Celsi, Lorenzo, 208  
*Ceres* (Foggini), 254  
 Cervi, Benedetto, 30–37  
 Charity, 121  
*Charity* (Sansovino), 61, 62  
*Charity group* (Giambologna), 221  
 Charlemagne, 347  
 Charles II, king of Spain, 349, 350, 351n7  
 Charles V, emperor of Rome, 135  
 Château d'Assier, 24, 27, 28n4, 28n10, 28n12  
 Christ  
   in Algardi's works, 174  
   in Brunelleschi's *Crucifix*, 156  
   in Caccini's *Bust of Christ*, 132

in Campagna's *Madonna and Child*, 116–21  
 in Cervi's *Virgin and Child*, 30–37  
 in *Christ Child*, 232–37  
 in *Christ in Glory*, 68  
 in *Corpus*, 156–61  
 in Laudato's *Madonna and Child*, 333, 333–34  
 in Laudato's *Saint Joseph*, 330–37  
 in Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks*, 32  
 in Mochi's *Tabernacle Door*, 200–207  
 in Raphael's *Virgin and Child*, 32, 32  
 in Sansovino's *Madonna and Child*, 61, 61  
 in Targone's *Virgin Mourning*, 108–15  
 Christina, queen of Sweden, 224  
 Cicognara, Leopoldo, 308, 317  
 Cipriani, Pietro, 240  
 Clement XI, Pope, 165  
 Clement XIII, Pope, 308  
 Clement XIV, Pope, 131  
 Clytemnestra, 282  
 Collier, William, 170–72  
 Colonna, Vittoria, 158  
 Commodus, emperor of Rome, 128–38  
 Constantine, 24, 24, 27  
 Corinne, 314  
 Cornacchini, Agostino, 250, 275  
*Corpus*, 156–61  
 Correggio, 282  
 Cosimo I, 83  
 Cosimo III, 247, 280  
 Cousin, Jean, the Elder, 50  
*Crouching Venus* (Doidalsas), 88  
 Crowe, Charles, 271, 276n9  
*Crucifix* (Brunelleschi), 156  
*Crucifix* (Donatello), 156  
*Crucifixion* (Michelangelo), 158  
 Cupid  
   in Medici *Venus*, 56  
   in Palma Vecchio's *Venus and Cupid*, 62  
   in Sansovino's *Venus and Cupid*, 54–63  
   in Soldani's *Bacchus and Cupid*, 274  
   in Susini's *Venus Burning Cupid's Arrows*, 197  
   in Susini's *Venus Chastising Cupid*, 197  
   in Veronese's *Venus Disarming Cupid*, 62  
 Cynothoe, 170  
 Cyricus, Saint, 4–11

## D

Dallaway, James, 136  
*Dancing Faun*, 238, 238, 243n1, 243n2  
*Dancing Faun* (Foggini), 238–43, 357, 362t–363t  
 Daniel, Saint, 144  
 Danti, Vincenzo, 82–83, 121  
 Daphne, 210, 272, 311  
*David* (Bernini), 172, 174

Davis, Charles, 83  
 Del Giudice, Gennaro, 333  
 Del Giudice, Giuseppe, 333  
*Design for a Mausoleum*, 50, 50  
*Diana/Venus* (Vittoria), 73, 76n9  
 Doccia porcelain factory, 244, 246, 247, 253, 260, 264, 265, 275, 283  
*Dog*, 149–55, 360t–361t  
 Doge's Palace (Venice), 70–73, 75n3–76n3  
 Doidalsas, 88  
 Dolfin, Andrea, 119  
 Donatello, 35, 36, 83, 156  
 Donatone, Guido, 333  
 Dosio, Giovan Antonio, 132  
 Draper, James D., 18, 182, 244  
*Dwarf Morgante Riding a Tortoise* (Giambologna), 167  
*Dying Alexander*, 135

## E

*Ecce Homo* (Roldán), 350  
 Edey, Winthrop, 244  
 Elizabeth, Saint, 30–37, 32  
*Entombment* (after della Porta), 113, 113  
*Entombment* (after Giambologna), 203, 204  
 Étampes, duchesse d', 48, 50  
 Euripides, 280, 282  
*Europa and the Bull*, 14

## F

Farnese, Alessandro, 303  
 Farnese, Ranuccio, 204  
 Farnese family, 103  
*Faun* (Foggini), 254  
*Faun Riding a Dolphin*, 167  
 Fehl, Philipp, 166, 167  
*Female Figure* (Giambologna), 84–96, 353, 354  
 Ferrata, Ercole, 227  
 Finelli, Giuliano, 208–16  
*Fireplace with Central Medallion Representing Marriage* (Primaticcio), 48, 49  
 Fittipaldi, Teodoro, 333  
 Fittschen, Klaus, 18, 131  
*Flaying of Marsyas* (Foggini), 240  
*Florence Triumphant over Pisa* (Giambologna), 86  
 Foggini, Giovanni Battista, 182, 197, 221  
   *Bacchus and Ariadne* by, 238, 244–49, 362t–363t  
   *Dancing Faun* by, 238–43, 357, 362t–363t  
   *Laocoön* by, 238, 240, 250–56, 362t–363t  
   *Mercury and Argus* based on, 257–67  
   *Perseus and Medusa* based on, 257–67  
   *Perseus Killing Medusa* by, 283  
 Foggini, Vincenzo, 253, 260

*Folly Supporting Spring* (Bertos), 297  
 Fontainebleau, Château de, 38–40, 46–51  
 Fontana, Annibale, 97–107, 110  
*Fontana della lumaca* (Bernini), 172  
*Fontana del moro* (Bernini), 172, 176n18  
*Fontana del tritone* (Bernini), 172  
 Ford, Brinsley, 174  
 Francavilla, Pietro, 59, 132–35  
 Francesco I, duke of Tuscany, 185  
 Francis I, king of France, 27, 38, 41, 46–51, 149  
 Francis of Lorraine, 185  
 Franzoni, Francesco Antonio, 322–29, 359

## G

Gaignères, François-Roger de, 27  
 Galatea, 66, 67  
 Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence), 56, 135, 238, 246, 310  
*Ganymede and the Eagle* (Soldani), 272, 274, 282  
 Gasparri, Carlo, 300  
 Gatti, Sergio, 36  
 Gemito, Vincenzo, 338–43  
 Genouillac, Jacques (Galiot) de Gourdon de, 27  
 Gentilini, Giancarlo, 24, 274  
 Giambologna  
   animals by, 12, 149–52, 180–81, 184  
   *Bust of Emperor Commodus* and, 132, 135  
   Caccini and, 132  
   *Dwarf Morgante* by, 167  
   *Entombment* after, 203, 204  
   *Female Figure* by, 84–96, 353, 354  
   Francavilla and, 59, 135  
   *Lion* bronze groups and, 180–81, 184  
   Mochi and, 204  
   *Rape of a Sabine* by, 192, 197–98, 297  
   reliefs by, 204  
   restoration by, 135  
   Tacca and, 221  
   Targone and, 108, 110  
   *Venus and Cupid* and, 59  
 Ginés de la Jara, Saint, 344–51  
 Ginori, Carlo, 283  
 Giorgetti, Antonio, 229  
 Giorgetti, Giuseppe, 229  
 Girardon, François, 181, 182  
 Giulio Romano, 50  
 Godecharle, Gilles Lambert, 136, 137  
 Gonzaga, Federico II, 18–20, 59  
 Gonzaga, Gianfrancesco, 18  
 Gonzaga, Laura, 144  
 Götz-Mohr, Brita von, 184  
 Grassi, Luigi, 172  
 Gregory, Alexis, 121  
 Grey, Albert, fourth earl de, 271, 275n8

Gricci, Giuseppe, 333  
 Grimani, Antonio, 144  
*Grotticella Venus* (Giambologna), 86  
*Group of Eleven Figures (Allegory of Autumn)* (Bertos), 286–92, 358, 362t–363t  
 Guattani, Giuseppe Antonio, 322  
 Guidi, Domenico, 227–29  
 Gustavus II Adolphus, king of Sweden, 87

## H

Hadrian, emperor of Rome, 135, 136  
 Håleman, Johan, 87  
 Hall, Michael, 174  
 Harris, Lionel, 289  
 Harrold, Anthony, earl of, 271, 275n8  
*Head of Commodus*, 128–31, 131, 132  
*Head of Medusa* (Gemito), 341, 342  
*Health Supporting Beauty* (Bertos), 297  
 Heemskerck, Maarten van, 87–88  
 Helen, 190–99, 282  
*Helen* (Euripides), 282  
 Hercules, 41, 165, 167, 310  
*Hercules and Lichas* (Canova), 310  
*Herm of a Vestal Virgin* (Canova), 314–21  
 Heseltine, J. P., 88  
 Hispanic Society of America, 18, 20  
 Homer, 300  
 Honour, Hugh, 311, 314  
*Hope* (Sansovino), 61, 61  
 Howard, Seymour, 300

## I

*Ignorance Expelled* (Rosso Fiorentino), 50  
*Imagini de i dei degli antichi* (Cartari), 73  
*Immaculate Conception* (Piola), 235, 235  
*Industry and Virtue* (Bertos), 293–99, 362t–363t  
*Infant* (Campagna), 122–27, 360t–361t  
*Infant Bacchus (Bacchino)* (Tacca), 220  
*Infant Hercules Killing Snakes*, 167  
*Infant Squeezing a Wineskin*, 167  
 Innocent X, Pope, 224  
 Innocent XI, Pope, 224  
*Intellect and Wisdom* (Bertos), 297, 297  
 Isabella d'Este, 18, 20

## J

Janus, 132  
*Jason and the Dragon* (Foggini), 265  
 Jestaz, Bertrand, 110, 303  
 Jesus. *See* Christ  
 Joanna of Austria, 185  
 John the Baptist, Saint  
   in Campagna's *Madonna and Child*, 116–21  
   in Cervi's *Virgin and Child*, 30–37

  in Laudato's *Madonna and Child*, 333, 333–34  
   in Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks*, 32  
   in Mochi's *Tabernacle Door*, 200–204  
   in Raphael's *Virgin and Child*, 32, 32  
 Johnson, Barbara Piasecka, 132  
 Joseph, Saint, 30, 330–36, 337n17  
 Julitta, Saint, 8  
 Jupiter, 41, 73, 75n3–76n3, 76n9  
*Jupiter* (Cellini), 41

## K

Keutner, Herbert, 84, 86, 87, 89, 95n13  
*Kindness and Gratitude* (Bertos), 297, 297  
*Knidian Venus*, 60, 63n12  
 Kosofski, Marvin and Jacqueline, 24

## L

*Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (Soldani), 272, 274  
 Lankheit, Klaus, 247, 265, 271, 272, 274, 275  
*Laocoön*, 250, 250  
*Laocoön* (Foggini), 238, 240, 250–56, 362t–363t  
 Laroussilhe, Brimo de, 12  
 Laudato, Gennaro, 330–37  
 Laurana, Francesco, 4–11  
 Lavin, Irving, 164, 166, 167  
 Lawrence, Saint, 144, 147, 148n16  
*Leda and the Swan* (Soldani), 272, 274, 277–85, 362t–363t  
 Leithe-Jasper, Manfred, 14, 182  
 Le Nôtre, André, 197  
 Leonardo da Vinci, 30–32, 35, 282  
*Leopard Attacking a Bull*, 182  
 Leopardi, Alessandro, 67  
 Lichas, 310  
 Liechtenstein, Karl Eusebius von, 181–82, 197  
 Liechtenstein collection, 20, 181–82, 274  
 Linsky, Jack and Belle, 144  
*Lion Attacking a Bull* (Soldani), 182  
*Lion Attacking a Bull* (Susini), 177–89, 362t–363t  
*Lion Attacking a Horse* (Soldani), 182  
*Lion Attacking a Horse* (Susini), 177–89, 360t–363t  
*Lion Attacking a Horse* (unknown artist), 180, 180  
 Lisci, Leonardo Ginori, 264  
 Loggetta, 60–61, 67, 73  
 Loggia dei Lanzi, 192, 197–98  
 Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo, 35–36  
 Lorenzi, Stoldo, 172  
 Louis XIV, king of France, 197, 238, 253  
 Louvre, Musée du (Paris), 27, 30, 181, 197, 210  
 Loyola, Saint Ignatius, 232  
 Lucius Aelius Aurelius. *See* Commodus  
 Lundberg, Gunnar W., 86

## M

*Madonna of the Chiesetta* (Sansovino), 121  
*Madonna and Child* (Sansovino), 61, 61  
*Madonna and Child with Angels and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (Campagna), 116–21  
*Madonna and Child with Saint Anne* (Leonardo), 35  
*Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist* (Laudato), 333, 333–34  
*Madonna della Muneghette* (Sansovino), 121  
*Madonna Dolfin* (Campagna), 119, 120, 121, 122  
*Madonna of the Rocks* (Leonardo), 30–32, 35  
 Magdalen, Mary, 200–204  
*Male Nude* (Aspetti), 140–48, 360t–361t  
*Male Nude with Torch* (Aspetti), 144–47, 145  
 Mantegna, Andrea, 1, 35  
 Maragliano, Anton Maria, 235  
 Marcus Aurelius  
   Antico's *Bust of a Young Man* as, 18–20  
   *Bust of Emperor Commodus* as, 136  
   in Caccini's *Marcus Aurelius*, 132  
   equestrian bronze of, 18, 23n12  
   in Godecharle's *Bust of Marcus Aurelius*, 136, 136  
   Lucius Verus and, 20, 23n21  
 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. *See* Caracalla  
 Marino, Giambattista, 310  
*Mars*(?) (Aspetti), 144  
*Mars* (da Salò), 73  
 Marsyas, 147n2, 240, 247, 253  
 Martínez Caviro, Balbina, 333  
*Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (Aspetti), 144, 147, 148n16  
 Marulli d'Ascoli, Cavalier Paolo, 314  
 Mary, Virgin  
   in Algardi's works, 174  
   in Caccini's *Bust of the Virgin*, 132  
   in Campagna's *Madonna and Child*, 116–21  
   in Cervi's *Virgin and Child*, 30–37  
   in Laudato's *Madonna and Child*, 333, 333–34  
   in Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks*, 30–32, 35  
   in Mochi's *Tabernacle Door*, 200–204  
   in Raphael's *Virgin and Child*, 32, 32  
   in Sansovino's works, 61, 121  
   in Targone's *Virgin Mourning*, 108–15  
 Mary Magdalen, 200–204  
 Massinelli, Anna Maria, 110  
 Matthew, Saint, 119, 122  
 Mazzuoli, Giuseppe, 274  
 Medici, Ferdinando de', 260  
 Medici, Francesco I de', 108, 113  
*Meditations on the Life of Christ*, 30, 35, 232  
 Medusa  
   in Foggini's *Perseus Killing Medusa*, 283  
   in Gemito's *Medusa*, 338–43

  in *Perseus and Medusa* (based on Foggini), 257–67  
 Menghini, Nicolò, 164  
 Mengs, Anton Raphael, 311  
*Mercury* (Sansovino), 73  
*Mercury* (unknown artist), 41  
*Mercury* (Vittoria), 70–77, 360t–361t  
*Mercury and Argus* (after Foggini), 257–67  
*Metamorphoses* (Ovid), 170, 257–60, 272–73, 280, 282, 310  
 Meyer, Gerhardt, 88, 89, 89–90, 90  
 Michael, Archangel, 350  
 Michelangelo, 83, 158, 240, 282  
 Middeldorf, Ulrich, 64, 69, 108, 113  
*Minerva* (Vittoria), 72, 73–75, 76n7  
*Minerva Pacifica* (Angelini), 308–10  
 Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, 100  
 Mochi, Francesco, 200–207, 356, 362t–363t  
 Montagu, Jennifer, 174, 244  
 Montalto, Cardinal. *See* Peretti, Alessandro  
 Montefeltro, Federico da, 9  
*Mortar* (Getty Museum), 64–69, 360t–361t  
*Mortar* (Metropolitan Museum), 68, 68–69  
*Moses and the Brazen Serpent* (Danti), 82

## N

Naccherino, Michelangelo, 210  
 Neale, John Preston, 136  
 Neptune  
   in Bernini's *Neptune and Triton*, 170–72, 173, 174  
   in Doge's Palace, 73, 75n3–76n3  
   in Lorenzi's *Neptune Fountain*, 172  
   in *Mortar*, 66, 67, 68  
   in *Neptune with Dolphin*, 170–76  
 Nero, emperor of Rome, 100  
 Nicholas, Saint, 174  
*Nymph of Fontainebleau* (Cellini), 149

## O

Oliva, 347  
*One of a Pair of Flambeaux* (Tacca), 220, 220  
 Ottoboni, Pietro Vito. *See* Alexander VIII  
 Ottoni, Lorenzo, 224–31  
 Ovid, 170, 172, 257–60, 272–73, 280, 282, 310  
*Owl* (Giambologna), 152

## P

*Pair of Andirons in the Form of a Female and a Male Herm*, 43–53, 360t–361t  
*Pair of Drug Jars* (Fontana), 97–107  
*Pair of Putti Holding Shields* (Tacca), 217–23, 362t–363t  
 Palma, Felice, 144, 147  
 Palma Vecchio, 62

Pamphilj, Andrea Doria, 131  
 Paris, 190–99  
 Parker, Lord, 240  
*Parnassus* (Mengs), 311  
 Parodi, Filippo, 235  
 Passeri, Giovanni Battista, 210  
 Pavanello, Giuseppe, 310  
*Peace* (Sansovino), 60, 60–61  
*Peace and Justice* (Soldani), 273–74  
 Peretti, Alessandro, 170  
 Perseus  
   in Canova's *Perseus*, 310  
   in Cellini's *Perseus Delivering Andromeda*, 41, 82  
   in Foggini's *Binding of Perseus*, 264  
   in Foggini's *Perseus Killing Medusa*, 283  
   in *Perseus and Medusa*, 257–67  
 Petel, Georg, 158  
 Peter, Saint, 147  
 pharmaceutical preparations, 97–107  
 Philip V, king of Spain, 165, 167, 350  
 Piacenza, 203, 204  
 Piamontini, Giuseppe, 244–46, 247  
*Pietà* (Algardi), 174  
*Pietà* (Michelangelo), 158  
*Pietà* (Soldani), 272  
 Piola, Domenico, 235  
 Piranesi, Giambattista, 326  
 Pius II, Pope, 185  
 Pius VI, Pope, 325–26  
 Pius VII, Pope, 326  
 Pizzorusso, Claudio, 131, 132, 136  
 Planiscig, Leo, 116, 288, 289  
 Pliny, 60, 63n12  
 Plutarch, 20  
*Pluto and Proserpine* (Bernini), 170  
 Polès, Mme de, 289  
 Polidoro da Caravaggio, 172  
 Pollux, 282  
 Pope-Hennessy, John, 36, 40, 166, 170, 247  
 Porta, Guglielmo della, 108, 113, 158  
*Portrait Bust of Alexander VIII* (Guidi), 227, 227–29  
*Portrait Medallion of Pope Alexander VIII* (Ottoni), 224–31  
*Portrait of a Widow* (Carracci), 158  
 Poulsen, Frederik, 135  
*Priestess* (Foggini), 254  
 Primaticcio, Francesco, 41, 48, 50, 59  
*Procession towards a Contest* (Cervi), 36  
 Prometheus, 247, 253  
 Psyche, 87  
 Puget, Pierre, 235  
 Pulzone, Scipione, 158, 200  
*Putto with Moneybag* (Campagna), 126

## Q

Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine-Chrysostome, 308–10, 321n22

## R

Raggi, Antonio, 227  
 Raggio, Olga, 144, 166  
 Raimondi, Marcantonio, 113  
*Rape of Proserpine* (Bernini), 197  
*Rape of a Sabine* (Giambologna), 192, 197–98, 297  
 Raphael, 32, 113  
 Regina Angelorum Convent (Cádiz), 350  
 Reni, Guido, 200  
 Reynolds, Joshua, 170  
 Rezzonico, Abbondio, 308, 310  
 Rezzonico, Ludovico, 311  
 Riccio, Andrea, 14, 83n4  
 Richardson, Jonathan, 238, 303, 318  
 Riesener, Jean-Henri, 41  
 Rigaud, Hyacinthe, 247  
 Ripa, Cesare, 121  
 Robbia, Giovanni della, 27  
 Robbia, Girolamo della, 24–29  
 Roccatagliata, Niccolò, 122, 124  
 Rockwell, Peter, 131  
 Rolan, 347  
 Roldán, Francisca, 349  
 Roldán, Luisa, 344–51  
 Roldán, Maria Josefa, 349  
 Rosso Fiorentino, 27, 48, 50  
 Rothschild, Alphonse von, 289  
 Rubens, Peter Paul, 158  
 Rudolf II, emperor of Rome, 224  
 Rustici, Giovanni Francesco, 27

## S

*Saint Anthony Abbot* (Campagna), 124  
*Saint Cyricus* (Laurana), 4–11  
*Saint Daniel Dragged by a Horse* (Aspetti), 144  
*Saint Daniel Nailed between Two Boards* (Aspetti), 144  
*Saint Ginés de la Jara* (Roldán), 344–51  
*Saint John the Baptist* (Mochi), 204–6  
*Saint Joseph with the Christ Child* (Laudato), 330–37  
*Saint Joseph with the Christ Child* (Sanmartino), 332, 333–34  
*Saint Nicholas of Tolentino* (Algarði), 174  
*Saint Peter* (Aspetti), 147  
*Saint Sebastian* (Vittoria), 73, 77n12, 147n2  
*Saint Thaddeus* (Mochi), 206  
*Saint Veronica* (Mochi), 204, 206  
 Salò, Pietro da, 73  
 San Marco, Piazza, 60–61, 67, 73, 184, 185

Sanguineti, Daniele, 235  
 Sanmartino, Giuseppe, 332, 333–34, 336  
 Sanquirico, Antonio, 18  
 Sansovino, Jacopo, 59–61  
   Campagna and, 116, 121  
   Doge's Palace and, 73  
   *Mortar* and, 67, 68  
   *Venus and Cupid* by circle of, 54–63, 360t–361t  
   Vittoria and, 73  
 Santi di Tito, 158, 204  
*Satyr* (after Cellini), 38–42, 360t–361t  
 Schulenburg, Marshall von der, 286, 292n3, 292n6  
 Schütze, Sebastian, 166, 172  
 scrolls, volute, 81, 8t, 360t–361t  
*Seated Boy with a Fox-Goose or Bird*, 167  
 Sebastian, Saint, 73, 77n12, 147n2  
 Sebastiano del Piombo, 113  
 Seligmann, Arnold, 122  
 Seligmann, François-Gerard, 122  
 Serlio, Sebastiano, 48  
 Sforza, Battista, 4, 6, 6, 9–10  
 Siciolante da Sermoneta, 158  
 Sickenhauer, Amberg Rentmeister, 87  
 Silva y Mendoza, Juan de Dios de, 350  
 Sisi, Carlo, 274  
*Sketch for a Fireplace Overmantel* (Franzoni), 322–29, 359  
 Smith, Robert H., 182  
 Söderberg, Bengt G., 86  
 Soldani Benzi, Ferdinando, 275  
 Soldani Benzi, Massimiliano, 197, 221  
   *Andromeda and the Sea Monster* by, 265, 272, 274, 277–85, 362t–363t  
   *Dancing Faun* by, 240, 243n9  
   *Leda and the Swan* by, 272, 274, 277–85, 362t–363t  
   *Lion Attacking a Bull* by, 182  
   *Lion Attacking a Horse* by, 182  
   *Venus and Adonis* by, 268–76, 362t–363t  
 Spark, Victor, 174  
 Sparre, Eric, 87  
 Sphinxes, 78–83  
*Spiritual Exercises* (Loyola), 232  
*Standing Venus Drying Herself* (Giambologna), 88, 89  
*Statue of a Young Athlete*, 310, 311  
 Stenbock, Johan Gabriel, 87  
 Stone, Richard, 16  
 Strafford, Lord, 254  
 Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, 271, 276n9  
*Study for a Small Bronze with Bacchus* (Foggini), 246, 246  
*Stupidity and Fortune* (Bertos), 293–99, 362t–363t  
*Suicide of Lucretia* (Cervi), 36

Susini, Antonio, 12, 108, 110  
   *Lion* bronze groups and, 177–89, 362t–363t  
 Susini, Giovanni Francesco  
   *Abduction of Helen by Paris* by, 190–99, 355, 362t–363t  
   *Lion* bronze groups and, 177–89, 362t–363t

## T

*Tabernacle Door with the Crucifixion* (Mochi), 200–207, 356, 362t–363t  
 Tacca, Ferdinando, 217–23, 362t–363t  
 Tacca, Pietro, 221  
 Tadini, Faustino, 310  
*Tancred and the Wounded Clorinda* (Soldani), 271, 272  
 Targone, Cesare, 108–15  
 Tazza Farnese, 338, 338–41  
 Tempesta, Antonio, 260, 266n1  
 Tempi, Leonardo, 271  
 Teotochi Albrizzi, Isabella, 314  
 Tessin, Carl Gustaf, 87  
 Tessin, Nicodemus, the Elder, 87  
 Tessin, Nicodemus, the Younger, 87, 168n5  
 Thaddeus, Saint, 206  
*theriaca Andromachi*, 97, 100, 103  
*Theseus and the Minotaur* (Canova), 308, 310  
*Time Revealing Truth* (Bertos), 297  
 Townley, Charles, 300  
*Treatise on Goldsmithing* (Cellini), 108  
*Treatise on Sculpture* (Cellini), 78, 122  
 Triton, 170, 172  
*Triumph of Chastity* (Bertos), 288  
*Tuccia Vestal*, 314  
*Two Sphinxes*, 78–83, 360t–361t  
*Two Warriors* (Cervi), 36

## U

Uboldi, Luigi, 314  
 Urban VIII, Pope (Maffeo Barberini), 164, 166, 210

## V

Valadier, Giuseppe, 325  
 Vasari, Giorgio, 83, 83n9, 156  
 Venier, Francesco, 61  
 Venus  
   in Danti's *Venus*, 82  
   in Doidalsas's *Crouching Venus*, 88  
   Giambologna's *Female Figure* as, 87–88  
   in Giambologna's *Grotticella Venus*, 86  
   in Giambologna's *Standing Venus*, 88, 89  
   Knidian, 60, 63n12  
   in Mazarin *Venus*, 56, 56  
   in Mazzuoli's *Venus Finding the Dead Adonis*, 274

Medici, 53, 56, 253  
in Palma Vecchio's *Venus and Cupid*, 62  
in Piamontini's *Venus and Amor*, 244–46, 247  
in Sansovino's *Venus and Cupid*, 54–63  
in Soldani's *Venus and Adonis*, 268–76  
in Susini's *Venus Burning Cupid's Arrows*, 197  
in Susini's *Venus Chastising Cupid*, 197  
in Veronese's *Venus Disarming Cupid*, 62  
in Vittoria's *Diana/Venus*, 73, 76n9  
Veronese, Paolo, 62  
Veronica, Saint, 204, 206  
Verus, Lucius, 20, 23n21  
Vestal Virgins, 314–21  
Victoria and Albert Museum (London), 36, 170,  
172, 204, 240, 247, 264, 288, 289  
Virgil, 170, 198  
*Virgin and Child* (Algardì), 174

*Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and Saint  
John* (Raphael), 32, 32  
*Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and the  
Young Saint John the Baptist* (Cervi), 30–37  
*Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*  
(Maragliano), 235  
Virgin Mary. *See* Mary, Virgin  
*Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ* (Targone),  
108–15  
Vitry, Paul, 24  
Vittoria, Alessandro, 115n18, 122  
*Mercury* by, 70–77, 360t–361t  
volute scrolls, 81, 81, 360t–361t  
Vredenburgh, Edric van, 131  
Vries, Adriaen de, 84  
*Vulcan with Hammer* (Aspetti), 144

## W

Waagen, Gustav Friedrich, 136  
Walters Art Museum (Baltimore), 113, 182, 268–  
71, 272, 274–76, 288, 289  
Webb, Frederick, 314  
Wegner, Max, 135  
Weihrauch, Hans R., 73, 116–19  
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 300, 310  
Wittkower, Rudolf, 165–66, 170

## Z

Zamboni, Giovanni Giacomo, 240, 268, 282–83  
Zeh, Markus, 180  
Zeus, 282  
*Zingarella*, 318, 319  
Zulian, Girolamo, 310



ISBN 0-89236-689-3



9 780892 366897 90000

Printed in Italy